

# The Chronography of George Synkellos

A Byzantine Chronicle of Universal  
History from the Creation

Translated with Introduction and Notes by  
WILLIAM ADLER and PAUL TUFFIN

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# Preface

We began collaborating on this translation in the spring of 1994. When Paul Tuffin informed Professor Alden A. Mosshammer about his interest in preparing an English translation of Synkellos' chronicle, he learned from him that William Adler had already completed a draft translation of the entire work. Shortly thereafter, Adler and Tuffin agreed to undertake a joint effort to see the project through to completion. The translators are indebted to Professor Mosshammer for acting as an intermediary in the initial stages of our collaboration. Professor Elizabeth Jeffreys first encouraged Tuffin to pursue the project. Dr Ann Geddes kindly made available to us an English translation of the Latin preface of Mosshammer's edition of the Greek text of Synkellos. She also sat in and offered valuable advice during several working sessions in Adelaide. Correspondence with Professor David Pingree helped to clarify the meaning of a few troubling passages in the Greek text. His observations are noted with gratitude at the appropriate places. Ms. Ann Rives provided invaluable assistance in the preparation of the textual citation index. For his painstaking reading of the typescript and his numerous suggestions and improvements, we should finally like to express especial gratitude to Dr Leofranc Holford-Strevens at Oxford University Press.

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The translation is dedicated to the memory of Nancy Jill Adler

(1948-98), the late wife of William Adler. Her selfless and unfailing support for the project from its inception made its timely completion possible.

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# Abbreviations

## 1. *Periodicals and Reference Works*

ByzAus	Byzantina Australiensia
BZ	<i>Byzantinische Zeitschrift</i>
CChr	Corpus Christianorum
CFHB	Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae
CIL	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum</i>
CSCO	Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium
CSEL	Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum
CSHB	Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae
DOP	<i>Dumbarton Oaks Papers</i>
DOS	Dumbarton Oaks Studies
FGrH	<i>Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker</i> , ed. F. Jacoby, 3 vols. (Berlin and Leiden, 1923–58)
FHG	<i>Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum</i> , ed. K. Müller, 5 vols. (Paris, 1928–38)
GCS	Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten [drei] Jahrhunderte
HRRel	<i>Historicorum Romanorum Reliquiae</i> , ed. H. Peter, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1906–1914)
JSJ	<i>Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic and Roman Period</i>
JQR	<i>Jewish Quarterly Review</i>
LSJ	<i>A Greek–English Lexicon</i> , ed. H. G. Liddell, R. Scott, and H. S. Jones, 9th edn. with revised supplement (Oxford, 1996)
LCL	Loeb Classical Library
OrChr	<i>Oriens Christianus</i>

## Abbreviations

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PG	<i>Patrologia Graeca</i> , ed. J.-P. Migne
PL	<i>Patrologia Latina</i> , ed. J.-P. Migne
RE	<i>Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft</i> , rev. F. Wissowa <i>et al.</i> (Stuttgart, 1894–1980)
ROC	<i>Revue de l'Orient chrétien</i>
RPh	<i>Revue de Philologie</i>
SBLDS	Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series
SBLMS	Society of Biblical Literature Monograph Series
SC	Sources chrétiennes
TU	Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur
VC	<i>Vigiliae Christianae</i>
ZKG	<i>Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte</i>
ZRVI	<i>Zbornik Radova Vizantološkog Instituta, Sprska Akademija Nauka</i>

### II. Ancient Authors and Works

Aelian, <i>Nat. animal.</i>	Aelian, <i>De natura animalium</i> , ed. R. Hercher (Leipzig, 1864)
Africanus	Sextus Julius Africanus, <i>Chronographiae</i> (excerpts collected in <i>Reliquiae sacrae</i> , ed. M. J. Routh, ii (Oxford, 1846), 225–309)
— <i>Ep. Aristid.</i>	Julius Africanus, <i>Epistle to Aristides</i> , in <i>Die Briefe des Sextus Julius Africanus an Aristides und Origenes</i> , ed. W. Reichardt (Leipzig, 1909)
Agath.	Agathias, <i>Historiae</i> , ed. R. Keydell (CFHB 2; Berlin, 1967)
Alex. Polyhist.	Alexander Polyhistor, in <i>FGrH</i> 273
Ammian. Marc.	Ammianus Marcellinus, <i>Rerum gestarum libri quae supersunt</i> , ed. and tr. J. C. Rolfe, 2 vols. (LCL; Cambridge, MA, 1935–9)
Anast. Sin.	Anastasios Sinaïtes
<i>Anec. Gr. Par.</i>	<i>Anecdota Graeca e codd.</i>



## Abbreviations

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- Anon. Matr.* *manuscriptis Bibliothecae Regiae Parisiensis*, ed. J. A. Cramer, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1839; rpr. Hildesheim, 1967)  
*Anonymi chronographia syntomos e codice Matritensi No. 121*, ed. A. Bauer (Leipzig, 1909)
- Apollod.* Apollodoros of Athens, *Chronica*, in *FGrH* 244 F 1–87
- Ps.-Apollod. Bibl.* Pseudo-Apollodoros, *Bibliotheca*, ed. R. Wagner, *Mythographi Graeci* (Leipzig, 1894), i. 1–169
- App. Mithr.* Appian, *Historia Romana, Mithridatica*, ed. P. Viereck, *et al.*, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1962), i. 418–531
- *Syr.* Appian, *Historia Romana, Syriaca*, ed. P. Viereck, *et al.*, i. 352–418
- Ps.-Arist. Ep.* *Aristeae epistula ad Philocratem*, ed. and tr. A. Pelletier (SC 89; Paris, 1962)
- Arist. Or.* Ailios Aristeides, *Orationes*, ed. W. Dindorf, 3 vols. (Leipzig, 1829; rpr. Hildesheim, 1964)
- Aristoph. Wasps* Aristophanes, *Wasps*, ed. D. M. MacDowell (Oxford, 1971)
- Aristot. Interpret.* Aristotle, *De interpretatione*, ed. L. Minio-Paluello (Oxford, 1949)
- *Nicom. Ethics* Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, ed. I. Bywater (Oxford, 1894)
- *Physics* Aristotle, *Physics*, ed. W. D. Ross (Oxford, 1950)
- fr(r). *Aristotelis qui ferebantur librorum fragmenta*, ed. V. Rose (Leipzig, 1886)
- Arrian, Anab.* Arrian, *Anabasis*, in *Flavii Arriani quae exstant omnia*, ed. A. G. Ross and G. Wirth, i (Leipzig, 1967)
- Athen. Deip.* Athenaios, *Deipnosophistai*, ed. G. Kaibel, 3 vols. (Stuttgart, 1887–90)
- Aug. Civ. dei* Augustine, *De civitate dei*, ed. B. Dombart and A. Kalb (CChr Series Latina 47, 48; Turnhout, 1955)

Abbreviations

Aug. <i>Diver. quaest.</i>	Augustine, <i>De diversis quaestionibus octoginta tribus liber</i> , ed. A. Mutzenbecher (CChr Series Latina 44A; Turnhout, 1975), 1–249
— <i>Quaest. Hept.</i>	Augustine, <i>Quaestiones in Heptateuchum</i> , ed. I. Fraipont (CChr Series Latina 33; Turnhout, 1958), 1–377
Aurel. Vict. <i>Caes.</i>	Sextus Aurelius Victor, <i>De Caesaribus</i> , ed. Fr. Pichlmayr (Leipzig, 1966)
Bar Hebr.	<i>The Chronography of Bar Hebraeus</i> , tr. E. A. W. Budge (London, 1932)
Ps.-Barn. <i>Ep.</i>	<i>Barnabae epistula</i> , ed. and tr. R. A. Kraft and P. Prigent (SC 172; Paris, 1971)
Bas. Caes. <i>Hom. Hexaem.</i>	Basil of Caesarea, <i>Homiliae in Hexaemeron</i> , ed. S. Giet, 2nd edn. (SC 26; Paris, 1968)
<i>b. Ber.</i>	<i>Berakot</i> (Babylonian Talmud)
Berossos	Berossos, <i>Babyloniaka</i> , in <i>FGrH</i> 680 F 1–14 (F 1–5 = Synkellos/Eusebios excerpts)
Cass. Dio	Cassius Dio, <i>Historiae Romanae</i> , ed. U. P. Boissevain, 5 vols. (Berlin, 1895–1931)
<i>Chron. pasch.</i>	<i>Chronicon paschale</i> , ed. L. Dindorf (CSHB; Bonn, 1832)
<i>Χρον. συντ.</i>	<i>Χρονογράφιον σύντομον</i> , in Schoene, i, Appendices, cols. 59–102
Clem. Al. <i>Quis dives salvetur</i>	Clement of Alexandria, <i>Quis dives salvetur</i> , ed. O. Stählin <i>et al.</i> (GCS 17; Berlin, 1970)
— <i>Strom.</i>	Clement of Alexandria, <i>Stromateis</i> , ed. and tr. M. Caster (SC 30, 38, 278, 279; Paris, 1951–81)
Cod. Alex.	Codex Alexandrinus
Cyr. Al. <i>Jul.</i>	Cyril of Alexandria, <i>Contra Julianum</i> (PG 76.509–1064)
Dexipp.	Dexippos of Athens, <i>Χρονική ιστορία</i> , in <i>FGrH</i> 100 F 1–23
Didym. <i>De Trinitate</i>	Didymos the Blind, <i>De Trinitate</i>

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- (bks. 1–2), ed. J. Hönscheid and I. Seiler (Beiträge zur klassischen Philologie, 44, 52; Meisenheim am Glan, 1975)
- Didym. Chalk. *Xen. hist.* Didymos Chalkenteros, *Ἐνὴ ἱστορία*, in *Didymi Chalcenteri grammatici Alexandrini fragmenta quae supersunt omnia*, ed. M. Schmidt (Leipzig, 1854), 353–63
- Diod. Sic. Diodoros Siculus, *Bibliotheca historica*, ed. F. Vogel and K. T. Fischer, 3rd edn., 5 vols. (Leipzig, 1888–1906)
- Diog. Laert. *Lives* Diogenes Laertios, *Lives of Eminent Philosophers*, ed. H. S. Long (Oxford, 1964)
- Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* Dionysios of Halikarnassos, *Antiquitates Romanae*, ed. K. Jacoby, 4 vols. (Leipzig, 1885–1905)
- Ἐκλ. ἱστ. Ἐκλογὴ ἱστοριῶν, ed. Cramer, *Anec. Gr. Par.* ii. 165–230
- Ἐκλ. χρ. Ἐκλογὴ τῶν χρονικῶν, ed. Cramer, *Anec. Gr. Par.* ii. 231–42
- Elias Nis. Elias of Nisibis, *Opus Chronologicum I*, tr. E. W. Brooks (CSCO 63 = *Scriptores Syri*, 23; Leuven, 1954)
- 1 *En.* *First Book of Enoch*
- 1 *En*<sup>Eth</sup> Ethiopic version of the *First Book of Enoch*, ed. and tr. M. A. Knibb, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1978)
- 1 *En*<sup>Pan</sup> Gizeh fragment of the *First Book of Enoch*, ed. M. Black, *Apocalypsis Henochi Graece* (Leiden, 1970), 20–44
- 2 *En.* *Second Book of Enoch*, tr. F. I. Anderson, in J. H. Charlesworth (ed.), *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, i (Garden City, NY, 1983), 91–221
- Ephr. Syr. *Parad.* Ephrem Syrus, *De paradiso*, in *Hymnen De paradiso und Contra Julianum*, ed. E. Beck (CSCO 174 = *Scriptores Syri*, 78; Leuven, 1957)

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<i>Epigram. anthol.</i>	<i>Epigrammatum anthologia Palatina cum Planudeis et appendice nova</i> , ed. F. Dübner <i>et al.</i> , 3 vols. (Paris, 1864–90)
Epiph. <i>Anc.</i>	Epiphanius, <i>Ancoratus</i> , ed. K. Holl (GCS 25; Leipzig, 1915)
— <i>Pan.</i>	Epiphanius, <i>Panarion</i> , ed. K. Holl (GCS 25, 31, 37; Leipzig, 1915–33)
Eunap. <i>Vit. soph.</i>	Eunapius, <i>Vitae sophistarum</i> , ed. G. Giangrande (Rome, 1956)
Eus. 1	<i>Die Chronik des Eusebius aus dem Armenischen übersetzt</i> , ed. and tr. J. Karst (GCS 20 = Eusebius Werke, 5; Leipzig, 1911), 1–143 (bk. 1 of Eusebius' chronicle)
Eus. 2	<i>Die Chronik des Hieronymus</i> , ed. R. Helm, 3rd edn. (GCS 47 = Eusebius Werke, 7; Berlin, 1984) (Jerome's Latin version of Eusebius' <i>Canons</i> )
Eus. 2 <sup>Arm</sup>	<i>Die Chronik des Eusebius aus dem Armenischen übersetzt</i> , ed. and tr. J. Karst (GCS 20 = Eusebius Werke, 5; Leipzig, 1911), 144–227 (Eusebius' <i>Canons</i> in Armenian)
Eus. <i>DE</i>	Eusebius, <i>Demonstratio evangelica</i> , ed. I. Heikel (GCS 23 = Eusebius Werke, 6; Leipzig, 1913)
— <i>HE</i>	Eusebius, <i>Historia ecclesiastica</i> , ed. and tr. G. Bardy (SC 31, 41, 55, 73; Paris, 1952–60)
— <i>Onomast.</i>	Eusebius, <i>Onomastica</i> , ed. E. Klostermann (GCS 11.1 = Eusebius Werke, 3.1; Leipzig, 1904), 2–176
— <i>PE</i>	Eusebius, <i>Praeparatio Evangelica</i> , ed. and tr. J. Sirinelli <i>et al.</i> (SC 206, 215, 262, 266, 292, 307, 338, 369; Paris, 1974–91)
Ps.-Eustath. <i>Comm. Hexaem.</i>	Pseudo-Eustathios, <i>Commentarius in Hexaemeron</i> (PG 18.708–94)
Eutrop.	Eutropius, <i>Breviarium ab urbe condita</i> , ed. F. Rühl (Leipzig, 1897)
Exc. Barb.	<i>Excerpta Barbari</i> , ed. C. Frick,

Abbreviations

<i>Exc. Eus.</i>	<i>Chronica Minora</i> (Leipzig, 1892) 'Εκ τῶν τοῦ Εὐσεβίου χρονικῶν, ed. Cramer, <i>Anec. Gr. Par.</i> ii. 115–63
<i>Gen. Rab.</i>	<i>Genesis Rabbah</i> , tr. J. Neusner (Atlanta, 1985)
Georg. Mon.	Georgios Monachos, <i>Chronicon</i> , ed. C. de Boor, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1904); 2nd edn. with P. Wirth (Stuttgart, 1978)
Greg. Naz. <i>Carm. dog.</i>	Gregory of Nazianzos, <i>Carmina dogmatica</i> (PG 37.397–522)
— <i>De filio</i>	Gregory of Nazianzos, <i>De filio (Oratio 29)</i> , in <i>Gregor von Nazianz: Die fünf theologischen Reden</i> , ed. J. Barbel (Düsseldorf, 1963), 128–68
— <i>De theologia</i>	Gregory of Nazianzus, <i>De theologia (Oratio 28)</i> , ed. Barbel, 62–126
Greg. Nys. <i>Mos.</i>	Gregory of Nyssa, <i>Vita Mosis</i> , ed. and tr. J. Daniélou, 3rd edn. (SC 1; Paris, 1955)
Herodian	Herodian, <i>Ab excessu divi Marci</i> , ed. K. Stavenhagen (Leipzig, 1922)
Herodot.	Herodotos, <i>Historiae</i> , ed. Ph.-E. Legrand, 11 vols. (Paris, 1932–59)
Hesychios	Hesychios, <i>Lexicon</i> , ed. K. Latte, 2 vols. (Copenhagen, 1953–66)
Hippolyt.	Hippolytos of Rome, <i>Chronicon</i> , ed. R. Helm post A. Bauer (GCS 46 = Hippolytus Werke 4; Berlin, 1955)
— <i>Comm. Dan.</i>	<i>Commentarium in Daniele</i> , ed. and tr. M. Lefèvre (SC 14; Paris, 1947)
— fr(r).	Chronological fragments, in <i>Chronica Minora</i> , ed. C. Frick (Leipzig, 1892), i. 437–55
— <i>Philosophum.</i>	<i>Philosophumena</i> (= <i>Refutatio omnium haeresium</i> ), ed. P. Wendland (GCS 26 = Hippolytus Werke, 3; Leipzig, 1916)
Hyg. <i>Fab.</i>	Hyginus, <i>Fabulae</i> , ed. P. K. Marshall (Stuttgart, 1993)
Iambl. <i>De myst.</i>	Iamblichos, <i>De mysteriis</i> , ed. Éd. des Places (Paris, 1966)

Abbreviations

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Il.	<i>Iliad</i>
Iren. <i>Haer.</i>	Irenaeus, <i>Adversus Haereses</i> , ed. and tr. A. Rousseau <i>et al.</i> (SC 100, 152, 153, 210, 211, 263, 264, 293, 294; Paris, 1965–82)
Jerome, <i>Comm. Hiezech.</i>	Jerome, <i>Commentariorum in Hiezechielem libri XIV</i> , ed. F. Glorie (CChr Series Latina 75; Turnhout, 1964)
— <i>Heb. quaest.</i>	Jerome, <i>Hebraicae quaestiones in librum Geneseos</i> , ed. P. Antin (CChr Series Latina 72.1.1; Turnhout, 1959), 1–56
Joh. Ant.	John of Antioch, in <i>FHG</i> iv. 535–622
Joh. Chrysost.	John Chrysostom
Joh. Dam. <i>De haeres.</i>	John of Damascus, <i>De haeresibus</i> (PG 94.677–780)
Joh. Lyd. <i>De mag.</i>	John Lydus, <i>De magistratibus populi Romani</i> , ed. R. Wünsch (Leipzig, 1903)
Joh. Mal.	John Malalas, <i>Chronographia</i> , ed. L. Dindorf (CSHB; Bonn, 1831)
Joh. Philop. <i>De opif. mundi</i>	John Philoponos, <i>De opificio mundi</i> , ed. W. Reichardt (Leipzig, 1897)
Jos. Ag. <i>Ap.</i>	Josephos, <i>Against Apion</i> , ed. B. Niese, <i>Flavii Iosephi Opera</i> , 7 vols. (Berlin, 1887–95), v
— <i>Ant.</i>	Josephos, <i>Antiquities</i> , ed. Niese, i–iv
— <i>JW</i>	Josephos, <i>Jewish War</i> , ed. Niese, vi
Josip. <i>Hypomnest.</i>	Josippon, <i>Hypomnestikon</i> , ed. and tr. R. M. Grant and G. W. Menzies (Atlanta, 1996)
<i>Jub.</i>	<i>The Book of Jubilees</i> , ed. and tr. J. C. Vanderkam (CSCO 510–11 = <i>Scriptores Aethiopici</i> , 87–8; Leuven, 1989)
Ps.-Jul. Pol.	Pseudo-Julius Pollux, <i>Chronicon</i> , ed. I. Hardt (Leipzig, 1792)
Justin.	Junianus Justinus, <i>Epitoma historiarum Philippicarum Pompei Trogi</i> , ed. O. Seel (Leipzig, 1935)

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- Just. Mart. 1 *Apol.* Justin Martyr, *First Apology*, ed. E. J. Goodspeed, *Die ältesten Apologeten* (Göttingen, 1915), 26–77
- *Dial.* Justin Martyr, *Dialogue with Trypho*, ed. E. J. Goodspeed, *Die ältesten Apologeten*, 90–265
- Ps.-Justin, *Cohort.* Pseudo-Justin Martyr, *Cohortatio ad Graecos*, ed. M. Marcovich (Patristische Texte und Studien, 32; Berlin and New York, 1990), 23–78
- Kedr. Georgios Kedrenos, *Compendium Historiarum*, ed. I. Bekker, 2 vols. (CSHB; Bonn, 1838–9)
- Kleonides, *Intr. harm.* Kleonides, *Introductio harmonica*, ed. H. Menge, *Euclidis opera omnia*, viii (Leipzig, 1916) 185–223
- Leo Gramm. Leo Grammaticus, *Chronographia*, ed. I. Bekker (CSHB; Bonn, 1842)
- Livy Livy, *Ab urbe condita*, ed. W. Weissenborn and M. Mueller, 4 vols. (Leipzig, 1930–3)
- Lucian, *De Syria dea* Lucian, *De Syria dea*, ed. and tr. A. M. Harmon (LCL; Cambridge, MA, 1925)
- *Hist. Conscr.* Lucian, *Quomodo historia conscribenda sit*, ed. and tr. K. Kilburn (LCL; Cambridge, MA, 1959)
- *Peregr.* Lucian, *De morte Peregrini*, ed. and tr. A. M. Harmon (LCL; Cambridge, MA, 1936)
- LXX Septuagint, in *The Old Testament in Greek*, ed. A. E. Brooke and N. McLean, 3 vols. (Cambridge, 1906–32); supplemented by *Susanna, Daniel, Bel et Draco*, ed. J. Ziegler (Göttingen, 1954)
- Manetho Manetho, *Aigyptiaka*, ed. and tr. W. G. Waddell (LCL; Cambridge, MA, 1940). See also *FGrH* 609 F 1–12 (F 2–3 = Synkellos and Eusebios excerpts)

## Abbreviations

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Metrod.	Metrodoros of Lampsakos, ed. H. Diels and W. Kranz, <i>Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker</i> , 6th edn., 3 vols. (Berlin, 1951–2), ii. 49–50 (no. 61)
Mich. Glyk.	Michael Glykas, <i>Annales</i> , ed. I. Bekker (CSHB; Bonn, 1836)
Mich. Syr.	<i>Chronique de Michel le Syrien, patriarche jacobite d'Antioche 1166–1199</i> , ed. and tr. J. B. Chabot, 4 vols. (Paris, 1899–1924; rpr. Brussels, 1963)
MT	Masoretic Text (Hebrew Bible)
b. Ned.	<i>Nedarim</i> (Babylonian Talmud)
Nikeph. Chron. synt.	Nikephoros, <i>Chronographikon syntomon</i> , in <i>Nicephori Archiepiscopi Constantinopolitani opuscula historica</i> , ed. C. de Boor (Leipzig, 1890), 80–135
Od.	<i>Odyssey</i>
Orig.	Origen
Oros. Adv. pagan.	Paulus Orosius, <i>Historiarum adversum paganos libri VII</i> , ed. K. Zangemeister (Teubner, 1889)
Palaiph. Incredib.	Palaiphatos, <i>Περὶ ἀπίστων</i> , ed. N. Festa, <i>Mythographi Graeci</i> , iii/2 (Leipzig, 1897)
Paus.	Pausanias, <i>Graeciae descriptio</i> , ed. F. Spiro, 3 vols. (Leipzig, 1903)
b. Pesah.	<i>Pesahim</i> (Babylonian Talmud)
Philo, Agr.	Philo, <i>De agricultura</i> , ed. L. Cohn and P. Wendland, <i>Philonis Alexandrini opera quae supersunt</i> , 6 vols. (Berlin, 1896–1915), ii. 90–124
— Cont.	Philo, <i>De vita contemplativa</i> , ed. Cohn and Wendland, vi. 32–50
— Flaccus	Philo, <i>In Flaccum</i> , ed. Cohn and Wendland, vi. 86–120
— Immut.	Philo, <i>Quod Deus immutabilis sit</i> , ed. Cohn and Wendland, ii. 56–89
— Leg.	Philo, <i>Legatio ad Gaium</i> , ed. Cohn and Wendland, vi. 121–88



## Abbreviations

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- *Migr. Abr.* Philo, *De migratione Abrahami*, ed. Cohn and Wendland, ii.259–306
- *Moses* Philo, *De vita Mosis*, ed. Cohn and Wendland, iv. 101–66 (bk. 1); 167–221 (bk. 2)
- *Opif.* Philo, *De opificio mundi*, ed. Cohn and Wendland, i. 1–50
- *Post. Caini* Philo, *De posteritate Caini*, ed. Cohn and Wendland, ii. 1–42
- *Quest. and Answers on Gen.* Philo, *Questions and Answers on Genesis*, tr. R. Marcus (LCL; Cambridge, MA, 1971)
- *Virt.* *De virtutibus*, ed. Cohn and Wendland, v. 223–70
- Philochor. Philochoros, *Atthis* = FGrH 328 F 1–71
- Philost. *Apollonios* Philostratos, *Vita Apollonii*, ed. C. L. Kayser (Leipzig, 1870)
- Phot. *Bibl.* Photios, *Bibliotheca*, ed. R. Henry, 9 vols. (Paris, 1959–77)
- *Lex.* Photios, *Lexicon*, ed. S. A. Naber, 2 vols. (Leiden, 1864–5)
- *Quaest. ad Amphilochoch.* Photios, *Quaestiones ad Amphilochochium*, ed. L. G. Westerink, *Photii Patriarchae Constantinopolitani Epistulae et Amphilochochia*, iv–v (Leipzig, 1986)
- Plato, *Euthyd.* Plato, *Euthydemus*, ed. C. F. Hermann, *Platonis Dialogi*, iii (Leipzig, 1939), 89–134
- *Laws* Plato, *Laws*, ed. C. F. Hermann, *Platonis Dialogi*, v (Leipzig, 1934)
- *Tim.* Plato, *Timaeus*, ed. C. F. Hermann (Leipzig, 1925)
- Pliny, *NH* Pliny, *Natural History*, ed. C. Mayhoff, 6 vols. (Leipzig, 1933)
- Plut. *Ant.* Plutarch, *Antonius*, ed. Cl. Lindskog and K. Ziegler, *Plutarchi vitae parallelae* iii/1 (2nd edn.; Leipzig, 1971), 60–148
- *Caes.* Plutarch, *Caesar*, ed. Lindskog and Ziegler, ii/2. 253–337

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Plut. <i>Cic.</i>	Plutarch, <i>Cicero</i> , ed. Lindskog and Ziegler, i/2. 353–420
— <i>Demetr.</i>	Plutarch, <i>Demetrius</i> , ed. Lindskog and Ziegler, iii/1. 1–60
— <i>Paul.</i>	Plutarch, <i>Aemilius Paullus</i> , ed. Lindskog and Ziegler, ii/1. 184–222
— <i>Pyrrh.</i>	Plutarch, <i>Pyrrhus</i> , ed. Lindskog and Ziegler, iii/1. 153–203
— <i>Thes.</i>	Plutarch, <i>Theseus</i> , ed. Lindskog and Ziegler, i/1. 1–35
— <i>Platon. quaest.</i>	Plutarch, <i>Platonicae quaestiones</i> , ed. C. Hubert, <i>Plutarchi Moralia</i> , vi/1 (Leipzig, 1954) 113–42
— <i>Quaest. Rom.</i>	Plutarch, <i>Quaestiones Romanae</i> , ed. W. Nachstadt, <i>et al.</i> , <i>Plutarchi Moralia</i> , ii (Leipzig, 1935), 273–336
Polyaen. <i>Strat.</i>	Ioulios Polyainos, <i>Strategemata</i> , ed. E. Woelfflin and J. Melber (Leipzig, 1887)
Pomp. Trog.	Pompeius Trogus
Porph. <i>Pythagoras</i>	Porphyrrios, <i>Vita Pythagorae</i> , ed. A. Nauck, <i>Porphyrii philosophi Platonici opuscula selecta</i> , 2nd edn. (Leipzig, 1886), 17–52
Prok. <i>Comm. Tim.</i>	Proklos Diadochos, <i>Commentaria in Platonis Timaeum</i> , ed. E. Diehl, 3 vols. (Leipzig, 1903–6)
<i>Prophets</i>	<i>The Lives of the Prophets</i> , ed. and tr. C. C. Torrey (JBLMS 1; Philadelphia, 1946)
Ptol. <i>Geog.</i>	Claudius Ptolemy, <i>Geographia</i> , ed. K. F. A. Nobbe, 3 vols. (Leipzig, 1843–5)
Ptol. <i>Mend.</i>	Ptolemy of Mendes, in <i>FGrH</i> 611
<i>b. Sabb.</i>	<i>Shabbat</i> (Babylonian Talmud)
<i>b. Sanh.</i>	<i>Sanhedrin</i> (Babylonian Talmud)
<i>Seder 'Olam</i>	<i>Seder 'Olam</i> , tr. H. W. Guggenheimer (Northvale, NJ, 1998)
SHA	<i>Scriptores historiae Augustae</i> , ed. E. Hohl <i>et al.</i> , 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1971)
— <i>Aurel.</i>	SHA <i>Aurelian</i>
— <i>Car.</i>	SHA <i>Carus</i>

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— <i>Carac.</i>	<i>SHA Caracalla</i>
— <i>Claud.</i>	<i>SHA Claudius</i>
— <i>Gall.</i>	<i>SHA Gallienus (I)</i>
— <i>Macr.</i>	<i>SHA Macrinus</i>
— <i>Nig.</i>	<i>SHA Niger</i>
— <i>Sev.</i>	<i>SHA Severus</i>
— <i>Tyrann.</i>	<i>SHA Tyranni triginta</i>
— <i>Valer.</i>	<i>SHA Valerian</i>
Sozom. <i>HE</i>	Sozomen, <i>Histoire ecclésiastique</i> , ed. and tr. J. Bidez and A.-J. Festugière (SC 306, 418; Paris, 1983)
Strabo	Strabo, <i>Geographica</i> , ed. A. Meineke, 3 vols. (Leipzig, 1898–1903)
<i>Suda</i>	<i>Suidae lexicon</i> , ed. A. Adler, 4 vols. (Leipzig, 1928–38)
Suet. <i>Claud.</i>	Suetonius, <i>Claudius</i> , ed. M. Ihm, <i>De vita Caesarum</i> (Leipzig, 1907–8)
— <i>Ner.</i>	Suetonius, <i>Nero</i>
— <i>Tib.</i>	Suetonius, <i>Tiberius</i>
— <i>Vesp.</i>	Suetonius, <i>Vespasian</i>
Sulp. <i>Sev.</i>	Sulpicius Severus, <i>Chronica</i> , ed. C. Halm (CSEL 1; Vienna, 1866), 1–105
Ps.-Sym.	Pseudo-Symeon (= Parisinus Gr. 1712)
Tac. <i>Ann.</i>	Tacitus, <i>Annales</i> , ed. C. Halm <i>et al.</i> (Leipzig, 1934)
— <i>Hist.</i>	Tacitus, <i>Historiae</i> , ed. E. Klostermann (Leipzig, 1950)
Tg. Ps.-J.	Targum pseudo-Jonathan
Tg. Onk.	Targum Onkelos
Tat. <i>Orat.</i>	Tatian, <i>Oratio ad Graecos</i> , ed. and tr. M. Whittaker (Oxford, 1982)
Tert. <i>Adv. Iud.</i>	Tertullian, <i>Adversus Iudaeos</i> , ed. A. Kroymann (CChr Series Latina 2; Turnhout, 1954), 1337–96
— <i>Apol.</i>	Tertullian, <i>Apology</i> , ed. H. Hoppe (CSEL 69; Vienna, 1939)
T. 12 <i>Patr.</i>	<i>The Testaments of the 12 Patriarchs</i> , tr. H. C. Kee, in <i>The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha</i> , ed. Charlesworth, i. 775–828

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Theod. Mel.	Theodosios Melitenos, <i>Chronographia</i> , ed. L. Tafel (Munich, 1859)
Theodoret. <i>Quaest. Gen.</i>	Theodoret, <i>Quaestiones in Genesin</i> , ed. N. Fernández Marcos and A. Sáenz-Badillos, <i>Theodoreti Cyrensis Quaestiones in Octateuchum</i> (Testos y Estudios 17; Madrid, 1979)
Theophan.	Theophanes, <i>Chronographia</i> , ed. C. de Boor, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1893)
Theoph. Ant.	Theophilos of Antioch, <i>Ad Autolyicum</i> , ed. and tr. G. Bardy and J. Sender (SC 20; Paris, 1948)
Theopompos	Theopompos of Chios, in <i>FGrH</i> 115 F 1-411
Thuc.	Thucydides, <i>Peloponnesian War</i> , ed. H. S. Jones and J. E. Powell (Oxford, 1942)
Xen. <i>Anab.</i>	Xenophon, <i>Anabasis</i> , ed. E. C. Marchant (Oxford, 1904)
Zon.	John Zonaras, <i>Epitome Historiarum</i> , ed. L. Dindorf, 6 vols. (Leipzig, 1868-75)

### III. Modern Studies and Collections

Adler, <i>Time Immemorial</i>	W. Adler, <i>Time Immemorial: Archaic History and its Sources in Christian Chronography from Julius Africanus to George Syncellus</i> (DOS 26; Washington, DC, 1989)
Bauer, <i>Die Chronik</i>	A. Bauer, <i>Die Chronik des Hippolytos</i> (TU 29 = NF 14; 1905-6)
Berthelot, <i>Alchimistes grecs</i>	M. P. E. Berthelot (ed. and tr. with Ch.-E. Ruelle), <i>Collection des anciens alchimistes grecs</i> , 3 vols. (Paris, 1887-8)
Bredow, 'Dissertatio'	G. G. Bredow, 'Dissertatio de Georgii Syncelli Chronographia', in Dindorf ii. 3-49
Burstein, <i>Babyloniaca</i>	S. Burstein (tr.), <i>The Babyloniaca of Berossus</i> (Malibu, 1978)
Cameron, 'Sassanians'	A. Cameron, 'Agathias on the Sassanians', <i>DOP</i> 23-4 (1969-70), 67-183

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| Charles, <i>Enoch</i>                    | R. H. Charles (tr.), <i>The Book of Enoch</i> (Oxford, 1912)  |
| Cumont–Bidez, <i>Les Mages</i>           | F. Cumont and J. Bidez, <i>Les Mages hellénisés</i> (Paris, 1938)   |
| Dindorf                                  | W. Dindorf (ed.), <i>Georgius Syncellus et Nicephorus CP.</i> , 2 vols. (CSHB; Bonn, 1829)  |
| Festugière, <i>Révélation</i>            | A.-J. Festugière, <i>La Révélation d'Hermès Trismégiste</i> (Paris, 1949)   |
| Fowden, <i>Hermes</i>                    | G. Fowden, <i>The Egyptian Hermes</i> (Cambridge, 1986)   |
| Fraidl, <i>Siebzig Wochen</i>            | F. Fraidl, <i>Die Exegese der siebzig Wochen in der alten und mittleren Zeit</i> (Graz, 1883)   |
| Freudenthal, <i>Alexander Polyhistor</i> | J. Freudenthal, <i>Alexander Polyhistor und die von ihm erhaltenen Reste jüdischer und samaritanischer Geschichtswerke</i> (Hellenistische Studien, Hefte 1–2; Breslau, 1875)             |
| Gelzer                                   | H. Gelzer, <i>Sextus Julius Africanus und die byzantinische Chronographie</i> (Leipzig, 1880–98; rpr. New York, 1967)   |
| Ginzberg, <i>Legends</i>                 | L. Ginzberg, <i>Legends of the Jews</i> , 7 vols. (Philadelphia, 1925)  |
| Ginzel, <i>Chronologie</i>               | F. K. Ginzel, <i>Handbuch der mathematischen und technischen Chronologie</i> , 3 vols. (Leipzig, 1906–14)   |
| Grumel, <i>La Chronologie</i>            | V. Grumel, <i>La Chronologie</i> (Traité d'Études Byzantines, 1; Paris, 1958)   |
| Gutschmid,<br>'Untersuchungen'           | A. von Gutschmid,<br>'Untersuchungen über den Διαμερισμὸς τῆς γῆς und andere Bearbeitungen der Mosaischen Völkertafel', <i>Kleine Schriften</i> , ed. F. Rühl (Leipzig, 1894), v. 585–717 |
| Halma, <i>Tables manuelles</i>           | M. Halma, <i>Tables manuelles astronomiques de Ptolémée et de Théon</i> (Paris, 1823)   |
| Huxley, 'Erudition of Synkellos'         | G. L. Huxley, 'On the Erudition of George the Synkellos', <i>Proceedings</i>  |

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- of the Royal Irish Academy, 81<sup>c</sup>/6  
(1981), 207–17
- Jacoby, *Apollodors Chronik* F. Jacoby, *Apollodors Chronik*  
(Philologische Untersuchungen 16;  
Berlin, 1902)
- Laqueur, 'Manethon' R. Laqueur, 'Manethon (1)', *RE*  
xiv/1 (1928), 1059–101
- 'Synkellos' R. Laqueur, 'Synkellos (1)', *RE* ivA/2  
(1932), 1388–410
- Leopardi, *Scr. fil.* Giacomo Leopardi, *Scritti filologici*  
(1817–1832), ed. Giuseppe Pacella  
and Sebastiano Timpanaro  
(Florence, 1969)
- Mango, 'Theophanes' C. Mango, 'Who Wrote the  
Chronicle of Theophanes?', *ZRVI*  
18 (1978), 9–17
- Mango–Scott C. Mango and R. Scott (trs.), *The*  
*Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor*  
(Oxford, 1997)
- Milik, *Books of Enoch* J. T. Milik (ed.), *The Books of Enoch*  
(Oxford, 1976)
- Mosshammer A. A. Mosshammer (ed.), *Georgii*  
*Syncelli Ecloga chronographica*  
(Leipzig, 1984)
- Neugebauer, *HAMA* O. Neugebauer, *A History of*  
*Ancient Mathematical Astronomy*,  
3 vols. (Berlin, New York, 1975)
- Petit, *La Chaîne* Fr. Petit (ed.), *La Chaîne sur la*  
*Genèse*, 4 vols. (Leuven, 1991–6)
- Rönsch, *Jubiläen* H. Rönsch, *Das Buch der Jubiläen*  
(Leipzig, 1874; rpr. Amsterdam,  
1970)
- Routh M. J. Routh (ed.), *Reliquiae sacrae*,  
ii (Oxford, 1846), 225–309  
(fragments from the *Chrono-*  
*graphiae* of Julius Africanus)
- Scal. *Thesaurus temporum*, 2 vols.  
(Leiden, 1606; rpr. Osnabrück, 1968)
- Schnabel, *Berosos* P. Schnabel, *Berosos und die baby-*  
*lonisch-hellenistische Literatur*  
(Leipzig, 1923; rpr. Hildesheim,  
1968)

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| Schoene                                    | Alfred Schoene (ed.), <i>Eusebi chronicorum libri duo</i> , 2 vols. (Dublin and Zurich, 1875)  |
| Schürer, <i>Hist. of the Jewish People</i> | E. Schürer, <i>History of the Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ</i> , tr. J. Macpherson (Edinburgh, 1890)  |
| Schwartz, 'Apollodoros'                    | E. Schwartz, 'Apollodoros', <i>RE</i> i/2, 2855–66   |
| — <i>Die Königslisten</i>                  | E. Schwartz, <i>Die Königslisten des Eratosthenes und Kastor, mit Excursen über die Interpolationem bei Africanus und Eusebios</i> (Göttingen, 1894)               |
| Scott, <i>Hermetica</i>                    | W. Scott (ed. and tr.), <i>Hermetica</i> , 4 vols. (Oxford, 1936)  |
| Serruys, 'Les Canons'                      | D. Serruys, 'Les Canons d'Eusèbe, d'Annianos et d'Andronicus d'après Élie de Nisibe', <i>BZ</i> 22 (1913), 1–36  |
| — 'Les transformations'                    | D. Serruys, 'Les transformations de l'aera alexandrina minor', <i>RPh</i> , NS 31 (1907), 251–64   |
| Ševčenko, 'The Search for the Past'        | I. Ševčenko, 'The Search for the Past in Byzantium around the Year 800', <i>DOP</i> 46 (1992), 279–93  |
| Sirinelli, <i>Les Vues historiques</i>     | J. Sirinelli, <i>Les Vues historiques d'Eusèbe de Césarée durant la période prénicéene</i> (Publications de la section de langues et littératures 10; Dakar, 1961) |
| Trieber, 'Africanus'                       | C. Trieber, 'Die Chronologie des Julius Africanus', <i>Nachrichten von der königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaft</i> (Göttingen, 1880), 49–75                  |
| Unger, <i>Manetho</i>                      | G. F. Unger, <i>Chronologie des Manetho</i> (Berlin, 1867)   |
| Vailhé, 'Monastères'                       | S. Vailhé, 'Répertoire alphabétique des monastères de Palestine', <i>ROC</i> 4 (1899), 512–42  |
| Wachsmuth, <i>Einleitung</i>               | C. Wachsmuth, <i>Einleitung in das Studium der Alten Geschichte</i> (Leipzig, 1895)  |

## Abbreviations

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### iv. Conventional Symbols and Abbreviations

[ ]	text inserted by translators where the meaning would otherwise be unintelligible
< >	text inserted by Mosshammer
< * >	textual lacuna
{ }	text designated by Mosshammer as misplaced or doubtful
ooo]	page numbers from Mosshammer's edition (inserted in margin of translation)
a.Abr.	<i>anno Abraham</i>
a.Ad.	<i>anno Adam</i>
AM	<i>anno mundi</i>
AS	<i>anno Seleuci</i>
Di.	textual emendations suggested by Dindorf
fr(r).	fragments
Go.	Readings of Jacob Goar in apparatus of Dindorf's edition
Go. <i>Emend.</i>	textual emendations suggested by Jacob Goar, <i>Emendationes et Annotationes</i> (in Dindorf ii. 335–560)
Go. <sup>m</sup>	conjectures of Jacob Goar in the margin of Dindorf's edition
Moss.	A. A. Mosshammer (ed.), <i>Georgius Syncellus. Ecloga Chronographica</i> (Leipzig: Teubner, 1984)
Ol.	Olympiad
Scal.	textual emendations by Joseph Scaliger
Synk.	George Synkellos

### v. Sigla

A	Codex Parisinus Bibl. Nat. Gr. 1711 (11th century)
B	Codex Parisinus Bibl. Nat. Gr. 1764 (11th century)
C	Codex Parisinus Bibl. Nat. Coislinianus 133 (12th century)



## *Abbreviations*

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M	Codex Monacensis 391 (16th century)
O	Codex Oxoniensis Aed. Christi Wake 5 (9th century)
P	Codex Vaticanus Palatinus 395 (16th century)
Q	Codex Vaticanus Gr. 979 (16th century)
R	Codex Romanus Vallicellianus 92 (16th century)
S	Codex Basiliensis 82 (16th century)
T	Codex Vaticanus Gr. 154 (12th century)
V	Codex Vaticanus Gr. 155 (9th/10th century)
t	archetype of x and z
x	consensus of COTV
z	archetype of P, from the latter of which MQRS are descended



# Introduction

Among the many Byzantine universal chronicles, the chronicle of George Synkellos (hereafter Synkellos) was widely praised for its scope, accuracy, and wealth of source material. From several statements in the chronicle, we may assume that Synkellos commenced the project *c.*AD 808 and continued work on it at least up to the year AD 810.<sup>1</sup> *Ἐκλογὴ χρονογραφίας*, the title provided by MS A, is a somewhat misleading description of a work with greater ambitions than the simple compilation of chronographic excerpts.<sup>2</sup> Two objectives guided Synkellos' work. The first was to confirm what in his mind was a fundamental article of Christian chronography, namely Christ's Incarnation at the beginning of AM 5501 and his Resurrection in AM 5534, both on 25 March, the same day as the day of creation.<sup>3</sup> The second was to compose a running history up to his own day. Because of his death, this second goal went unrealized, and it was left to his successor Theophanes Confessor to complete the work from the reign of Diocletian (285) up to Theophanes' own day (813).<sup>4</sup> The final product was a work of impressive size and erudition. Together with its continuation by Theophanes, Synkellos' chronicle has been justly characterized as the 'greatest achievement of Byzantine historical scholarship'.<sup>5</sup>

According to both Theophanes and the superscription to the chronicle, the author served in Constantinople as the synkellos to the patriarch Tarasios (784–806). The principal source of

<sup>1</sup> Despite Synkellos' initial expectation to complete the chronicle within a year, he continued work on it well beyond that time. See Synk. 2.32; 6.12. There the author states his intention to cover the period from the creation up to the year 6300 (= AD 808). But cf. Synk. 2.29, where he promises to 'make known whatever notable events took place in the intervening period of time involving nations and kingdoms in the succeeding 802 years (from Christ's birth)'; see also 244.31, which refers to 6302 as the 'current year'.

<sup>2</sup> Synkellos' own description of the work is variously *χρονογραφία* (100.28), *χρονογραφεῖον* (91.12; 94.1; 96.13), or *χρονογράφιον* (396.2).

<sup>3</sup> Synk. 1.21–2.2; 2.26–32; 376.26–377.6; 381.5–10; 397.13–19. On Synkellos' dating of the Incarnation and Resurrection, see below, p. xlvi.

<sup>4</sup> In the preface to his continuation, Theophanes states that Synkellos 'was overtaken by the end of his life and was unable to bring his plan to completion, but . . . had carried his composition down to Diocletian when he left this earthly life and migrated unto the Lord'; tr. Mango–Scott, 1. On Theophanes' relationship with Synkellos see *ibid.*, pp. xliii–lxiii; Mango, 'Theophanes'; and below, pp. lxxxii–lxxxiii. In this latter article (14), Mango argues that Synkellos was still alive as late as 813.

<sup>5</sup> Mango, 'Theophanes', 17.

information about his life before his elevation to synkellos. is Anastasius Bibliothecarius. In the preface to his Latin translation of the chronicle, he states that Synkellos, a tireless crusader against the heretics, was rewarded with this office in recognition of the constancy of his faith and the numerous bodily afflictions that he suffered from rulers 'who raged against the rite of the Church'.<sup>6</sup> On only rare occasions in his chronicle does Synkellos himself speak about personal experiences and travels. He recalls having tasted manna when it was brought back from Parthia.<sup>7</sup> Dispersed throughout his lengthy account of the Exodus are a handful of reminiscences about his travels in and around Palestine. He mentions here a trip taken from Kades Barne up to the valley of Zareth, which required less than five days.<sup>8</sup> He also describes witnessing grain being harvested at the vernal equinox in Jericho.<sup>9</sup> A statement by the author about having seen the tomb of Rachel on frequent journeys to Bethlehem and the Old Lavra of St Chariton raises the likelihood of extended stays in this monastery.<sup>10</sup> But his connection with the monastery remains uncertain.

#### I. SYNKELLOS AND THE CHRISTIAN CHRONOGRAPHIC TRADITION

When a copy of Synkellos' chronicle was first made known in Europe in the sixteenth century, scholars immediately recognized the value of his work as a witness to ancient source material at the time either entirely unknown or poorly attested elsewhere. This was especially true of the earlier part of Synkellos' chronicle, a segment of the work marked by copious citations from Babylonian and Egyptian antiquities, and various Jewish extra-biblical sources

<sup>6</sup> Anastasius Bibliothecarius, in *Theophanis Chronographia*, ed. C. de Boor (Leipzig, 1885), ii. 34. Anastasius' assertion that Synkellos was commended by the Roman legates at the Seventh Oecumenical Council probably arises from a misidentification of George Synkellos with George of Cyprus. Because of this confusion, Mango-Scott (p. xliii) express some distrust of Anastasius' claims about Synkellos' struggles against heresy; see also Gelzer ii. 177-8.

<sup>7</sup> Synk. 150.17-19.

<sup>8</sup> Synk. 165.15-19.

<sup>9</sup> Synk. 168.12-16. Other evidence produced by Huxley, 'Erudition of Synkellos', 215, in support of Synkellos' knowledge of and travels in Palestine is misleading. The descriptions of the marvellous properties of the Dead Sea (114.1-24) and the terebinth tree at Shechem (123.13-21) are derived from Julius Africanus, who, like Synkellos, spent considerable time in Palestine.

<sup>10</sup> Synk. 122.20-2. The monastery was located between Teqo'a and the Dead Sea. See Mango-Scott, p. xliii. On the Lavra of St Chariton, see also Vailhé, 'Monastères', ROC 4 (1899), 524-5.

from the time of the Second Temple.<sup>11</sup> Synkellos' chronicle also proved to be an invaluable guide in reconstructing the origins and development of Christian chronography. Much of Synkellos' work is devoted to the exposition and critique of his predecessors, chief among them Julius Africanus (c.160–240), Eusebios of Caesarea, and his Alexandrian authorities, the monks Panodoros and Annianos (early fifth century). Because Synkellos views himself as part of an established tradition, it is necessary to speak briefly here about the state of the discipline before his time.

The surviving fragments of the chronicle of Julius Africanus (mainly preserved by Synkellos) reveal a work governed by rigidly dogmatic principles.<sup>12</sup> For Africanus, the past was not an isolated or random series of events, upon which the historian had to impose order and meaning. The primary task of the Christian historian was, rather, to uncover the plan of a providential mind governing the course of time from the very beginning of creation. According to this plan, the whole train of human history conformed to the design of creation. Just as God required six days to create the universe and rested on the seventh day, so would the world run its course in six millennia, to be followed by a thousand years of rest. Fascination with mathematical symmetry and numerical symbolism permeates Africanus' chronicle. By Africanus' calculations, the date of Christ's Incarnation occurred in the year 5500, precisely halfway through the sixth millennium.<sup>13</sup> Methuselah, the eighth biblical patriarch, symbolized the 'transmundane (*ὑπερκόσμιον*)' number that is to follow the world-week of seven millennia. The 31-year difference between the 969 years of Methuselah's life and the year 1000, 'the primary and complete period of time', foreshadowed the 31 years of Jesus' life.<sup>14</sup> And the death of the patriarch Phalek, reflecting the meaning of his Hebrew name (Peleg = 'division'), occurred in the year 3000, the exact midpoint in the 6000 years of human history.<sup>15</sup>

A work arranged according to these principles tolerated little room for uncertainty about the past. It is true that on a few occasions Africanus allowed for difficulties in interpretation. The rule of the elders and judges of Israel, he acknowledges, poses

<sup>11</sup> For discussion, see Adler, *Time Immemorial*, 5–8, 10–14.

<sup>12</sup> For a collection of excerpts from Africanus' chronicle, see Routh, whose work should be supplemented by the material assembled in Gelzer, vol. i. For recent discussion of Africanus as historian, see O. Andrei, 'La formazione di un modulo storiografico cristiano: dall'esamerone cosmico alle "Chronographiae" di Giulio Africano', *Aevum* 69 (1995), 147–70.

<sup>13</sup> See Gelzer i. 24–6.

<sup>14</sup> Cited in Synk. 21.1–8.

<sup>15</sup> In Synk. 97.11. See Gelzer i. 66–7.

intractable chronological problems, not readily solved.<sup>16</sup> And after an exhaustive and intricate discussion of Dan. 9.24–7, Africanus admits that the 'somewhat symbolic' language of the prophecy discouraged absolute confidence about its meaning.<sup>17</sup> But these were interpretative matters that in no way cast doubt on the reliability of scripture itself. For this reason, Africanus resisted the tendency, commonplace among Greek chronographers, to consign the remote (or even not so remote) past to the chronologically indeterminate. The 5500 years from Adam to Christ's birth were, he writes, an immutable and inerrant datum, revealed through Moses and the remaining books of the Hebrew Bible.<sup>18</sup> Knowledge about even the most ancient events in the biblical record was thus no less possible than that for more recent history.

Insofar as Africanus' system did not allow for much deviation from a predetermined set of principles, his chronicle was marked by a certain parochialism in approach. Africanus knew that the Babylonians, Phoenicians, and Egyptians boasted of a continuous chronology of their past stretching back thousands of years. But their records were a mass of absurdities, wildly discordant with biblical chronology and thus undeserving of any serious attention.<sup>19</sup> Nor was there any need to expend undue effort integrating Greek chronology into his record of events. Because Greek historical records before the introduction of the Olympiads were in complete disarray, 'the most celebrated of the mythical histories down to the 1st Olympiad', he writes, warranted only the most cursory treatment. Even for later events, Africanus had at best a secondary interest in Greek chronology. For Greek history after the 1st Olympiad, Africanus writes, 'I shall combine together in chronological order each to each, the Hebrew with the Greek, carefully examining (*ἐξιστορῶν*) the Hebrew and touching upon (*ἐφαπτόμενος*) the Greek.'<sup>20</sup> At least in the normally understood sense of the word, Africanus' chronicle was thus not really a 'universal' chronicle at all.

Despite Eusebios' generally respectful treatment of his predecessor's chronicle (a work that he once praises as a monument of industry and accuracy<sup>21</sup>), Eusebios felt in no way constrained by the standards set by it. What Eusebios considered his most important finding—his dating of Moses—was also a sharp departure from convention. Eusebios was aware that worthy historians, Africanus, Clement, and Tatian among them, agreed that Moses was a con-

<sup>16</sup> In Synk. 204.8–9.

<sup>18</sup> In Synk. 18.5–10.

<sup>20</sup> In Eus. *PE* 10.10.2.

<sup>17</sup> In Synk. 393.7–8.

<sup>19</sup> In Synk. 17.30–18.5.

<sup>21</sup> Eus. *HE* 6.31.2.

temporary of the Argive kings Inachos and his son Phoroneus, and Ogygos, in whose time a great flood took place in Attica.<sup>22</sup> This date was rooted in Jewish and Christian apologetics. Starting with Eratosthenes and Apollodoros, Greek historians relegated Ogygos and Inachos to the realm of the mythical or historically indeterminate.<sup>23</sup> Synchronizing Moses with them implied, therefore, that the Jews had received their constitution and laws when Greek history was still enveloped in myth. Eusebios, the pre-eminent Christian apologist of the early fourth century, acknowledged that Moses' antiquity made a potent weapon in the Christian ideological war against the Greeks. But even while praising the efforts of earlier authorities to establish Moses' antiquity, the conventional wisdom in no way dissuaded Eusebios from reaching an independent conclusion. Moses lived much later than Inachos: 'Israel, the forefather of the Hebrews was in the time of Inachos. . . . And it is clear that Abraham and Semiramis were contemporaries. . . . But our history demonstrates that Kekrops was contemporary with Moses and predated the Trojan War by 350 years.'<sup>24</sup>

To the extent that Eusebios' chronicle devoted far more attention than Africanus to the antiquities of the Babylonians, Egyptians, Phoenicians, and Greeks, his chronicle is probably more deserving of the description 'universal'. On the other hand, Eusebios freely allows that certain segments of world history were beyond the reach of historical and chronological knowledge. Genesis' story of Paradise, Eusebios claims in the first book of his chronicle, described collective humanity living in a more blessed state than was true of the human condition after the Fall. Because Moses referred neither to an earthly habitation nor to the life of an earthly man, Adam's life in Paradise was outside the realm of space and time, and therefore inaccessible to chronological inquiry.<sup>25</sup> The *Canons* are even

<sup>22</sup> See Eusebios-Jerome, *Canons*, in Eus. 2, Praef. 7.11-17; Synk. 140.9-21. Both Synkellos and Eusebios state that the same synchronism was endorsed by the Jewish historians Justus of Tiberias and Josephos. But Justus' work does not survive, and this dating is not stated explicitly in Josephos' preserved works. The best discussion of this subject is by Sirinelli, *Les Vues historiques*, 497-515.

<sup>23</sup> See e.g. the tripartite chronological division of Greek history by the Roman antiquarian Varro, cited in Censorinus, *De die natali*, ed. N. Sallmann (Leipzig, 1983), 21.1-3. Only the period beginning with the 1st Olympiad belongs to the category of historical. Everything before that time was consigned to the ahistoric. For Varro, the flood at the time of Ogygos marked the dividing point between the 'mythical' and 'indeterminate (*ἀδελον*)'.

<sup>24</sup> See Eus. 2, Praef. 9.5-10; 10.2-4. For a synopsis of Eusebios' argument, see Eus. *PE* 10.9.

<sup>25</sup> See Eus. 1.36.25-37.9. Eusebios' interpretation recalls Origen's interpretation of

more circumspect. Whereas Africanus found in biblical chronology before the Flood invaluable foreshadowings of and clues into the divine plan, Eusebios chose to ignore the period altogether. It is true that Eusebios does occasionally offer dates from Adam; but this, he states, was only in order to satisfy inquisitive readers.<sup>26</sup> The first secure date in world history, and the point from which subsequent events were generally dated, was the birth of Abraham in the forty-third year of the reign of the Assyrian king Ninus.<sup>27</sup> The problems and disagreements in the sources for pre-Abrahamic history allowed no other course.

Far more willing than Africanus to live within certain self-imposed constraints, Eusebios exempted no source from suspicion, including the Bible. 'Neither from the Greeks', he writes, 'nor from the barbarians, nor from any others, **not even from the Hebrews**, can one learn with security the general chronography of the world.'<sup>28</sup> His willingness to speak openly about ambiguities in biblical chronology is remarkable. When he first broaches the sensitive matter of the differences in the pre-Abrahamic chronologies of the Hebrew, Samaritan, and Greek Bibles, Eusebios sounds a strong note of partisan support for the Septuagint.<sup>29</sup> But in the actual computation of dates, Eusebios is more ambivalent, on several occasions preferring the dating of the Hebrew Bible. After acknowledging the difference between the Septuagint and the Hebrew Bible for the rule of the Israelite judge Eli, he opts for the latter's chronology of 40 years.<sup>30</sup> In reckoning the period from the Exodus up to the building of Solomon's temple, he appeals to the Hebrew Bible and Jewish tradition. And he freely acknowledges that his proposed solution to the vexed problem of the period of the judges was borrowed from the Hebrew Bible and 'Jewish sages'.<sup>31</sup>

Eusebios' motives in pursuing his work so cautiously have been subjected to much speculation. There can be no doubt that Eusebios

the expulsion from Paradise as an allegory of the fall of the soul. See e.g. *Orig. Homilies on Genesis* 1.13, ed. W. Baehrens (GCS 29; Leipzig, 1920).

<sup>26</sup> Eus. 2, Praef. 14.20-15.7: 'Uerum in curiositate ne cesses, et cum diuinam scripturam diligenter euolueris, a natiuitate Abraham usque ad totius orbis diluuium inuenies retrorsum annos DCCCCXLII, item a diluuiio usque ad Adam annos II CCXLII, in quibus nullus penitus nec Graeca nec barbara et, ut loquar in commune, gentilis inuenitur historia.'

<sup>27</sup> Eus. 2, Praef. 15.7-16; 20.1-6.

<sup>28</sup> Eus. 1.2.8-11, 35-8.

<sup>29</sup> Eus. 1.37.32-6.

<sup>30</sup> Eus. 1.49.16, 52.24; 2.63<sup>b</sup>: 'In Hebraeorum libro XL anni inueniuntur, in LXX autem interpretatione XX.' Cf. 1 Sam. 4.18; 1 Kgdms. 4.18.

<sup>31</sup> Eus. 1.50.8-23.



sought to chart a course for Christian chronography independent of Africanus' influence. He demonstrates little interest in the neat chronological symmetries that for Africanus were intimations of a divine plan. The sum of the years that Eusebios calculates from Adam to Phalek's death, or from Adam to Christ's Incarnation, for example, are completely indifferent numbers, devoid of the millennialist significance that Africanus had assigned to the date of the same event.<sup>32</sup> And Eusebios could be sharply critical of his predecessor's conclusions, especially involving central issues in biblical chronology. By calling attention to the many pitfalls of chronographic research, Eusebios, no friend of a naïve chiliasm, may thus have hoped to undermine the foundations of Africanus' millennialist-based theory of world history. But we should not define his motives so narrowly. Eusebios knew that Christ's warning in Acts 1.7 about 'times and seasons' was meant, in its original context, to deter eschatological expectation. Yet, as he tells his readers, these words could apply to the reckoning of all times.<sup>33</sup>

## II. SYNKELLOS' CONTRIBUTION TO CHRONOGRAPHY

If we may judge from the quantity of material surviving from his chronicle, Eusebios' work gained far greater attention than Africanus'. What survives of the latter's chronicle consists mainly of a handful of excerpts. By contrast, Eusebios' chronicle was translated, epitomized, and widely excerpted. It also underwent revision and intense scrutiny. In his Latin translation of the chronicle, Jerome chose to ignore the first book of Eusebios' chronicle, thereby depriving readers in the West of a valuable collection of Egyptian and ancient Near Eastern source material. Since Eusebios' treatment of later Roman history was superficial, Jerome decided at the same time to augment the final section of Eusebios' *Canons*.<sup>34</sup> The critique and revision of Eusebios' chronicle in the Christian East was more thoroughgoing. At the end of the fourth century, Diodoros, bishop of Tarsos, set about invalidating Eusebios'

<sup>32</sup> From Adam to Phalek, Eusebios calculates 2980 years (Eus. 1.42.7; Synk. 97.11). See also Eus. 1.62.2-3; 2.173<sup>f</sup>, where he counts 5228 years from Adam to 15 Tiberius (when Jesus was 30 years of age). According to Synk. 396.7, Eusebios counted 5232 years from Adam to Christ's Resurrection at age 33.

<sup>33</sup> Eus. 1.30-2.6. For discussion, see E. Schwartz, 'Eusebios', *RE* 6.1, 1379; Sirinelli, *Les Vues historiques*, 38-41; W. Adler, 'Eusebios' Chronicle and its Legacy', in *Eusebios, Christianity and Judaism*, ed. H. Attridge and G. Hatei (Detroit, 1992), 481.

<sup>34</sup> See Jerome's introduction to the *Canons*, in Eus. 2.6.8-7.9.

chronicle by demonstrating its many errors.<sup>35</sup> Some of the most disparaging analyses of the work came from Synkellos' early fifth-century Alexandrian authorities, Panodoros and Annianos. They censured his equivocating treatment of Babylonian and Egyptian antiquities, his omission of the post-diluvian Kainan, and his overall omission of 290 years in his calculation of the period of time from Adam up to the Vicennalia of Constantine.<sup>36</sup>

Synkellos' own assessment of Eusebios' chronicle should be seen as part of the same process. His mixed feelings towards Eusebios emerge most visibly in a discussion of his failings most notable for its abusive tone. While conceding, however begrudgingly, Eusebios' diligence in compiling excerpts, Synkellos finds it completely mystifying that anyone could call Eusebios 'astute (*φρόνιμος*)'. When others describe Eusebios in this way, he writes, it can only be understood as 'antiphrasis', that is, the use of laudatory language to convey an opposite meaning.<sup>37</sup> Synkellos' antipathy towards him must have had something to do with his contempt for Eusebios' Origenism; the last part of his chronicle is full of attacks on Eusebios for his embrace of the 'ravings' of the 'ungodly Origen'.<sup>38</sup> But his critique of specific components of Eusebios' chronicle arises from disagreements far more fundamental than that. Essential elements of Eusebios' chronicle—among them his dating of Moses and Christ's birth, and his questionable loyalty to the chronology of the Septuagint—were in Synkellos' view dangerous departures from accepted tradition. At the same time, however, Synkellos knew that simply reiterating the traditional wisdom would not suffice. Eusebios' critique of Africanus, much of it incisive, and Eusebios' own equivocations on important questions, required a fresh approach.

<sup>35</sup> See Elias of Nisibis *Opus Chronologicum*, tr. E. W. Brooks (CSCO 63 Scriptorum Syri 23; Louvain, 1954) 2.111.7–12. Since Diodoros' work was not translated into Syriac, however, Elias can only report what he has learned in a register of Diodoros' books. On Diodoros' corrections of Eusebios' chronicle see also *Suda*, s.v. *Διόδωρος*.

<sup>36</sup> See Synk. 36.5–37.15.

<sup>37</sup> Synk. 197.18–19.

<sup>38</sup> Synk. 459.28, 460.6–8, where he accuses Eusebios of Arianism as well. On Synkellos' criticism of Eusebios' Origenism, see also 445.22–447.4. But H. Hunger's statement that 'die Polemik des Chronisten gegen Eusebios beruht weniger auf sachlichen Differenzen als auf der verschiedenen Einstellung zu Origenes' overestimates the importance of Synkellos' anti-Origenism. See H. Hunger, *Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur der Byzantiner* (Munich, 1978), i. 332.

*(a) Synkellos and pre-Abrahamic history*

It is no surprise that this portion of the chronicle constitutes about one-fourth of the whole. Insofar as Synkellos was committed to establishing a continuous chronology from creation, he could hardly relegate this period, as Eusebios had done, to the ahistoric. At the very outset of the work, Synkellos tackles one problem that Eusebios had made famous, namely the duration of Adam's stay in Paradise.<sup>39</sup> Amidst what must have been considerable discussion of this matter, Synkellos opts for the chronology put forth by John Chrysostom: Adam was expelled from Paradise on the day of his creation.<sup>40</sup> A mysterious passage in Genesis 6 about the 'sons of God' and their giant offspring claims his interest, in part, he says, because of doubts about its historicity. Following an interpretation first endorsed by Africanus, Synkellos offers a demythologizing interpretation of the passage designed to allay any doubts about its veracity: the sons of God were not angels in the literal sense, but rather descendants of the exalted line of Seth.<sup>41</sup>

From that point, Synkellos focused his attention on internal inconsistencies in the chronological narrative of Genesis. If, as Synkellos determined, the Flood occurred in the year AM 2242, he had to account for the apparent conundrum of Methuselah somehow managing to survive the Flood.<sup>42</sup> But the problem of Methuselah was a relatively minor discrepancy when compared to the chronological differences among the various versions of the Bible. Up to the time of Abraham, the Greek Bible consistently assigned an additional hundred years to the date of the birth of each patriarch. Since chronographers performed their calculations on the basis of the age at which each patriarch begot the succeeding patriarch, the cumulative discrepancy between the Greek and the Hebrew Bibles became progressively greater over time. Moreover, the Septuagint included a second post-diluvian Kainan, unattested in the Hebrew text, thereby adding an additional 130 years to

<sup>39</sup> Synk. 3.19–5.25.

<sup>40</sup> Synk. 3.19–22. For a sample of the variety of other chronologies for this period, see Kedr. i. 12.1–13.5. Note that not all Byzantine chronographers rejected Eusebios' claim that Adam's life in Paradise was indeterminate; see e.g. Michael Glykas *Annales*, ed. I. Bekker (Bonn, 1836) 227.5–6, which states that chronography only begins from the time Adam was expelled from Paradise.

<sup>41</sup> Synk. 11.12–14. On Africanus' interpretation of the same passage, see Synk. 19.23–20.4; Adler, *Time Immemorial*, 114–15.

<sup>42</sup> See Synk. 20.7–25; 130.30–131.16.

genealogical computation. Both Africanus and Eusebios, for reasons that are not entirely clear, excluded this second Kaïnan from their reckoning.<sup>43</sup> Their oversight struck Synkellos as particularly glaring, in that the gospel of Luke explicitly named Kaïnan in his genealogy of Jesus (Luke 3.36). Although the omission of this patriarch elicited sharp criticism of both of them, Synkellos predictably reserved most of his abuse for Eusebios. He returns to this subject repeatedly, in one place stating disdainfully that a single Luke was incomparably superior to '10,000 Eusebioi'.<sup>44</sup>

The bulk of Synkellos' treatment of ante-diluvian history has to do with the available sources for Babylonian and Egyptian archaic history, notably the histories of Berossos and Manetho. Recognizing that these histories coincided in places with Genesis, Jewish and Christian apologists and historians liked to cite them as evidence of the veracity of the biblical narrative. But the chronological discrepancies were of such magnitude as to frustrate attempts at complete harmonization. Africanus, who quoted an epitomized version of Manetho's list of kings, found in the latter's *Aigyptiaka* a few notices of antiquarian interest and even some helpful information about the date of Moses. But no amount of chronographic sleight-of-hand could conceal the hard truth about Egyptian recorded history. As with the histories of the Babylonians and Phoenicians, its seemingly endless chronology of kings was, in Africanus' words, mere boastfulness, a 'joke' entirely inconsistent with the 'less pretentious (*ἀτυφότερον*)' chronology of Moses and other writers of the Bible.<sup>45</sup> Eusebios, unwilling to abandon these sources as corroborating historical witnesses, was less peremptory in his judgement, proposing a few possible ways to harmonize these sources with biblical chronology.<sup>46</sup> But he failed to formulate a fully convincing explanation of the discrepancies, or at least one that would satisfy his fiercest critics, the Alexandrian monks Panodoros and Annianos.

An inventive theory about primitive reckoning of time enabled Synkellos' Alexandrian authorities to reconcile these sources with Genesis, and at the same time prove the existence of Babylonian

<sup>43</sup> A few manuscripts of the Septuagint, probably corrected in accordance with the Hebrew text of Genesis, exclude the second Kaïnan. Africanus, who was known to consult variant readings of the Bible to solve chronological or interpretative problems, may have appealed to this minority tradition in order to maintain the numerical significance of Phalek's death in the year 3000. Eusebios' motives are harder to explain.

<sup>44</sup> Synk. 197.27-30.

<sup>45</sup> In Synk. 17.30-18.10.

<sup>46</sup> Eus. 1.9.5-30, 63.23-64.29.

and Egyptian civilizations before the Flood.<sup>47</sup> Synkellos had no doubt that Panodoros and Annianos were men of integrity and learning, certainly more trustworthy on the whole than Eusebios. But on this one subject, Synkellos aligned himself with Eusebios. No uncontested proof, he writes, could be produced to establish the existence of Babylonian and Egyptian civilizations before the post-diluvian division of the nations in the time of Phalek. In Synkellos' opinion, allegations about their existence before that time were foolishness, bordering on outright heresy.<sup>48</sup>

*(b) From Abraham to the Babylonian captivity*

Some of Synkellos' most extensive and original research involved the critical question of the date of Moses. Synkellos' chief objective here was to rehabilitate the traditional dating of Moses and the Exodus in the face of Eusebios' own determined effort to date this event much later. Confirming the traditional Moses/Inachos/Ogygos synchronism was no easy task, since it required chronographers to venture into that poorly documented segment of Greek history before the introduction of Olympiad dating. This was a period of time for which Greek historical records were, in the words of Africanus, 'all confused and in no point agreeing among themselves'.<sup>49</sup>

Africanus' method was to push backwards into the misty recesses of the Greek past from more secure dates in Greek history. According to the consensus of Greek universal historians, Cyrus acceded to power during the 1st year of the 55th Olympiad, that is 217 years from Ol. 1.1. Attic chronological records for the pre-Olympiad period also reckoned 1020 years from the flood of Ogygos up to the 1st Olympiad. All told, then, a total of 1237 years had elapsed from Ogygos' flood up to Cyrus' accession to power. On the assumption that Cyrus' accession coincided with his liberation of the Jews from their seventy years of captivity in Babylon (cf. Ezra 1.1-4 [= LXX 2 Esdr. 1.1-4]), Africanus could then fill in the details of the 1237 years from Moses' Exodus up to the end of the Babylonian captivity.<sup>50</sup> Unfortunately, Africanus' celebrated learning deserted

<sup>47</sup> Synk. 17.20-7; 37.12-18; 41.29-42.19. For fuller treatment of this subject, see Adler, *Time Immemorial*, 75-80.

<sup>48</sup> See e.g. Synk. 16.1-17.6; 37.12-38.29; 43.4-27; and esp. 34.1ff. See further below, p. liv.

<sup>49</sup> In Eus. *PE* 10.10.1.

<sup>50</sup> Africanus, in *PE* 10.10.10: 'From the Exodus of Moses to Cyrus, who reigned after the Captivity, there were 1237 years. For the remaining years of Moses' life

him here. A singular mistake on his part—confusing Cyrus' accession to power in Persia (560 BC) with the date of his conquest of Babylon and his decree liberating the Jews from captivity (538 BC)—produced an error of 22 years.<sup>51</sup>

In a sharply worded analysis of Africanus' reckoning, Eusebios established a convincing case that his predecessor had also drastically inflated the duration of Israelite history from the Exodus to the end of the Babylonian captivity. The 744 years that Africanus calculated from the Exodus to the building of Solomon's temple were especially vulnerable to criticism. How, Eusebios asked, could so many years have passed, when the Bible recorded only five generations of Judahites from the Exodus to King David? If true, each of these five generations would have lived, on average 140 years, and 'no one of sound mind would be able to grant this'.<sup>52</sup>

Eusebios found equally unacceptable Africanus' assertion about the duration of the captivity and his interpretation of Jeremiah's oracle against the Jews, condemning them to seventy years of exile (Jer. 25.11–12; 29.10). Working back from the first year of Cyrus' reign, Africanus determined that the *terminus a quo* of Jeremiah's prophecy was the first year of the reign of Sedekias, the last of the pre-exilic kings of Judah.<sup>53</sup> But Cyrus' decree was only the first stage in the liberation of the Jews. Why, then, should one assume that it, and not some later event, marked the fulfilment of the prophecy? After examining the matter in some detail, Eusebios concluded that dating the completion of the seventy-year prophecy to the reign of Cyrus failed to meet a serious objection.<sup>54</sup> Years after Cyrus' decree, during the reign of Dareios, the prophet Zechariah was still entreating God to end the seventy years of servitude (Zech. 1.12). And thus

were 40: of Joshua, who became the leader after him, 25 years; of the elders who were judges after him, 39 years; and of those included in the book of Judges, 490 years. Of the priests Eli and Samuel, there were 90 years; of the kings of the Hebrews, who came next, 490 years; and 70 of the Captivity, the last year of which was, as we have said before, the first year of the reign of Cyrus.' According to Synk. 71.15, Africanus assigned 1235 years to the span of time from Moses to Cyrus; for discussion of this discrepancy, see Gelzer i. 41–4. See also Sirinelli, *Les Vues historiques*, 509–11.

<sup>51</sup> See Gelzer i. 101.

<sup>52</sup> Eus. 1.47.6–48.8 (summarized in Synk. 204.1–205.16). For the Greek text of Eusebios' critique of Africanus, see *Ἐκλογὴ ἱστοριῶν*, ed. Cramer, *Anec. Gr. Par.* ii. 177.17–178.19. For discussion, see Gelzer ii. 42–3.

<sup>53</sup> Synk. 261.16–17; 266.5–6.

<sup>54</sup> One school of interpretation held that, since Jeremiah's oracle was delivered in the fourth year of the reign of Joakeim (Jer. 25.1), the 70 years must be computed from that point. Still others believed that since, in the same prophecy, Jeremiah states that he began to prophecy in 13 Josiah (Jer. 25.3), then this must have been the *terminus a quo*; see Eus. 2.103<sup>b</sup>.

Eusebios reasoned that the completion of the seventy years must have occurred with the restoration of the temple during the reign of Dareios, well after Cyrus' decree. According to Eusebios' calculation, this would mean that the prophecy actually began with Nebuchadnezzar's destruction of the Temple, in the eleventh year of the reign of Sedekias.<sup>55</sup>

Although confident that Eusebios' own calculation of the time from Moses and the Exodus to the end of the Babylonian captivity was gravely in error, Synkellos' investigations had convinced him that Africanus' dating of the same period, however well intentioned, needed overhauling. It was not only that Eusebios had dismantled so much of it; Synkellos himself had identified numerous other problems as well. From his own researches, Synkellos determined that Jeremiah's prophecy of seventy years of captivity could not have commenced, as Africanus believed, in the beginning of the reign of Sedekias.<sup>56</sup> Nor was Synkellos persuaded by Africanus' treatment of the chronological gap between Jacob and Moses. Because the Bible provided no clear chronological information for the dates of Moses' forefathers, Amram, Kaath, and Levi, this information had to be teased out from other chronological notices. A skilful application of deductive reasoning enabled Synkellos to establish a chronology of this period to replace what he considered to be the flawed reckoning of Africanus.<sup>57</sup> Further to refine his dating of Moses, Synkellos was able to enlist the aid of Egyptian records. Basing himself on the Egyptian historian and grammarian Apion, Africanus concluded that Amosis was pharaoh in Egypt during the time of the Exodus. Synkellos believed he could demonstrate that Africanus had confused two Egyptian pharaohs of the same name. In fact, the Amosis known to Africanus was the pharaoh at the time of Moses' birth. It was during the reign of a second Amosis, some eighty years later, that the Exodus actually occurred.<sup>58</sup>

Synkellos volunteers all these criticisms of Africanus in a gentle, almost self-effacing spirit, at one point even asking Africanus to forgive him for his words of reproof.<sup>59</sup> He is far less sparing of Eusebios, accusing him of deliberate distortion, misrepresentation,

<sup>55</sup> Eus. 2.100<sup>a</sup>; 105<sup>ad</sup> (following Clement of Alexandria). On the date of Nebuchadnezzar's destruction of the temple, see 2 Kgs. 25.2 (= 4 Kgdms. 25.2).

<sup>56</sup> See Synk. 265.7-9, where Synkellos puts the *terminus a quo* of the prophecy in 4 Joakeim.

<sup>57</sup> See below, pp. li-lii.

<sup>58</sup> Synk. 69.18-70.14; 78.4-79.22.

<sup>59</sup> Synk. 79.9-10.

and self-contradiction.<sup>60</sup> Eusebios, he charges, committed numerous deceptions and errors in calculating the seventy years of captivity, and the period of the judges.<sup>61</sup> In order to justify his late dating of Moses, he wilfully corrupted Africanus' version of Manetho's *Aigyptiaka* by transferring names from the Egyptian 15th dynasty to the 17th dynasty.<sup>62</sup> Most tellingly, he writes, Eusebios witnessed against himself. In the *Canons*, Eusebios dated the union of Zeus and Inachos' daughter Niobe during the time of Jacob, and thus well before Moses.<sup>63</sup> But in the prologue to the *Canons*, Eusebios had reassured his readers that Moses, although later than Inachos, was still earlier than 'all those whom the Greeks regard as very ancient, . . . as well as the deeds of Zeus himself'.<sup>64</sup> Synkellos relished exposing the inconsistency of the 'deranged (*ἐμβρόντητος*)' Eusebios:

If Moses lived after Phoroneus and was a contemporary of Kekrops the Double-Natured, he is **not** earlier than the deeds of Zeus himself and all the events recorded by the Greeks in their ancient histories, as has been demonstrated. But if, as both Eusebios himself and all his predecessors attest, Moses was in fact earlier than Zeus and a contemporary of Inachos and Phoroneus, then the possibility does arise that he also preceded all past events involving the Greeks.<sup>65</sup>

*(c) Post-exilic Judaism up to Christ's Incarnation and Resurrection*

Like chronographers before him, Synkellos understood the importance of preserving continuity in the narrative of sacred history leading up to the birth of Christ. In the absence of scriptural documentation for the entire post-exilic period, supplementary sources had to fill in the gaps. For this period, Synkellos claims to follow a course laid out by Eusebios.

The canonical Hebrew books up to Esdras and Nehemiah [he writes] were handed down for use in the churches by the blessed apostles and disciples of the Lord God, our Saviour Jesus Christ, and the holy fathers; but as to what subsequently happened to or was done by the Jews up until the divine Incarnation, Josephos recounts this in his Maccabaeian histories, and after him Africanus in an epitome.<sup>66</sup>

<sup>60</sup> Synk. 180.1.

<sup>61</sup> See e.g. Synk. 204.10–205.6; 271.12–25.

<sup>62</sup> Synk. 69.1–7; 70.15–71.7.

<sup>63</sup> Eus. 2.30<sup>b</sup>.

<sup>64</sup> Eus. 2.9.11–19; for the Greek text see Synk. 74.11–16.

<sup>65</sup> Synk. 75.25–30; 180.1.

<sup>66</sup> Synk. 299.19–24; cf. Eus. 2.113<sup>a</sup>.



As will be seen below, however, Synkellos' approach departed both from Eusebios and Africanus in several notable ways.

Africanus' approach to post-biblical chronology was entirely consistent with the method that he had employed for previous periods. A well-known and much-discussed oracle in the book of Daniel (9. 24–7) provided him with a scripturally based chronological underpinning. In this oracle, the angel Gabriel revealed to Daniel an apocalyptic survey of Jewish history extending a period of '70 weeks' (= 490 years) from the post-exilic restoration of Jerusalem to the coming of an 'anointed one' and the messianic kingdom. Like other Christian interpreters, Africanus understood the text Christologically, concluding that the Resurrection of Christ defined the chronological end-point of the 490 years. The wording of the passage also persuaded him that the realization of the prophecy was set in motion when Nehemiah was dispatched as governor by the Persian king Artaxerxes to resettle the city of Jerusalem. With a Persian king as the connecting link, Africanus now had the desired point of intersection between Jewish history and Olympiad dating. From the book of Nehemiah (5.14), Africanus knew that Artaxerxes authorized this resettlement in the twentieth year of his reign, corresponding to Ol. 83.4. All that remained was for him to demonstrate that the sequence of Olympiads corresponded to the 490 years from the twentieth year of Artaxerxes' reign up to the Resurrection of Christ in the sixteenth year of the emperor Tiberius.<sup>67</sup>

Africanus himself had to concede that the elapsed time from the twentieth year of Artaxerxes to the Resurrection of Christ came to 475, not 490, years (Ol. 83.4 to Ol. 202.3). To account for the surplus fifteen years, Africanus argued that the 490 years were really lunar years of the Jewish calendar.<sup>68</sup> Here again, Eusebios further unsettled matters by pointing to Africanus' misrepresentations of the chronology of Daniel's oracle. Unswayed by Africanus' far-fetched, albeit ingenious, attempt to reconcile the discrepancy, he accuses Africanus of failing to understand the segmentation of the 490 years, of misinterpreting key figures in the prophecy, and of miscalculating the dates. Using the thirty-second year of Artaxerxes as the *terminus a quo* of Daniel's prophecy, Eusebios pointed out that the 490 years would actually have been completed in the reign of Nero, on the eve of the Roman destruction of the Jerusalem temple.<sup>69</sup> In this way, Eusebios effectively nullified Africanus' Christological interpretation of Daniel's oracle.

<sup>67</sup> In Synk. 392.1–393.3.

<sup>68</sup> In Synk. 392.6–14.

<sup>69</sup> Eus. 2.114<sup>f</sup> (summarized in Synk. 299.25–30). Eusebios chose 32 Artaxerxes (not

Although certain Byzantine chronographers continued to endorse Africanus' interpretation,<sup>70</sup> Eusebios' critique was apparently so decisive that Synkellos himself could find little to offer in its defence. Even without Eusebios' criticisms, however, Synkellos knew that Africanus' interpretation was untenable for another reason. Like other Christian interpreters of his day, Africanus assumed that the duration of Christ's ministry was a single year, his death and Resurrection occurring in AM 5532. This was entirely at odds with Synkellos' own repeatedly stated goal, namely to demonstrate that after a ministry of three years, Christ's Resurrection occurred in AM 5534.<sup>71</sup> So there was little point in reviving a theory predicated on a false premiss. Another approach had to be devised.

Establishing a chronology for this period was complicated by both the perceived inadequacies and the questionable authority of the source material. Although Synkellos was willing to credit the reliability of his sources for this period (specifically Josephos and the books of the Maccabees), he knew that they were still secular histories failing to meet the standard of divinely inspired and canonical books.<sup>72</sup> Nor did these sources provide an uninterrupted chronological record of events. Because post-exilic Judaism was a theocracy, it was a natural choice for Synkellos to trace the flow of sacred history through the high-priestly line. But there were repeated disruptions and gaps in the recorded accounts of the high-priestly succession. Although Eusebios was able to reconstruct the dates for the post-exilic high priesthood, he made only guarded use of this chronological data in the *Canons*. Suspending the practice of maintaining a separate *filum* for post-biblical Jewish history, the version of Eusebios' *Canons* known to us through Jerome's redaction contains only sporadic notices about the years of the high priests. Synkellos, on the other hand, was more determined in his effort to preserve continuity in the narrative. Just as he had for pre-exilic biblical chronology, he records the years of the high priests under the rubric *κόσμου ἔτη*.<sup>73</sup> Where Synkellos obtained his chronology of the high priests is unclear. In places, he either depended on

his 20th year, as Africanus had done), because this was the date when the rebuilding of Jerusalem was completed. For Eusebios' other criticisms of Africanus, see *DE* 8.2.50; *Eclogae Propheticae* 3.45 (*PG* 22.1180 A).

<sup>70</sup> See Gelzer i. 111–13.

<sup>71</sup> See Synk. 395.19–22.

<sup>72</sup> See Synk. 329.14–16, where Synkellos excludes the Maccabean histories from divinely-inspired scripture and attributes their authorship to Josephos.

<sup>73</sup> See e.g. Synk. 288.6–21.

the books of the Maccabees and Josephos, or drew on sources about which we are uninformed.<sup>74</sup>

In other cases, Synkellos developed his own independent chronology of the Jewish high priesthood. One of the sources that he used for this purpose was a work unknown either to Africanus or to Eusebios. This was the so-called 'Ecclesiastical Computation (ἐκκλησιαστικὴ στοιχείωσις)'.<sup>75</sup> Consisting of a running list of the names and dates of Babylonian, Persian, Greek, and Roman kings, this table provided Synkellos with a most useful aid in resolving well-known *aporiai* in exilic and post-exilic chronology. Basing himself upon it, Synkellos determined, for example, that Jeshua, the first post-exilic high priest, must have served far longer than the generally held chronology of thirty-one years.<sup>76</sup> And in his refutation of Eusebios' calculation of the dates of the seventy years of captivity, he appeals to the Ecclesiastical Computation to formulate his own alternative chronologies of the seventy years, one beginning with the fourth year of Joakeim, the other with the death of Nebuchadnezzar.<sup>77</sup>

From what can be gathered from Synkellos' own testimony, the Ecclesiastical Computation was a redacted version of the 'Astronomical Canon (ὁ ἀστρονομικὸς κανὼν)', another king-list also known to Synkellos.<sup>78</sup> Comparison of this latter work with other lists makes it clear that the Astronomical Canon was mainly a version of Claudius Ptolemy's 'Canon of Reigns (κανὼν βασιλειῶν)'.<sup>79</sup> For the most part, the Astronomical Canon and Ecclesiastical Computation were overlapping lists, both of them beginning with the reign of the Babylonian king Nabonasar, and extending 424 years up to the death of Alexander the Great (AM 5170). Where necessary, however, the Ecclesiastical Computation modified, sometimes arbitrarily, Ptolemy's list so as to conform better with sacred chronology.<sup>80</sup> In Synkellos' view, the Astronomical Canon's most flagrant deviation from divine truth concerned the issue that was the occasion for the

<sup>74</sup> For discussion, see Gelzer ii. 172-6; Moss., p. xxx.

<sup>75</sup> Synk. 246.19-29.

<sup>76</sup> See Synk. 288.16-21, where he assigns 60 years to Jeshua's high priesthood. He arrives at this chronology from the Ecclesiastical Computation, which records 60 years from 1 Cyrus to 20 Dareios (Synk. 247.16-19).

<sup>77</sup> Synk. 265.7-28. For the section of the Ecclesiastical Computation upon which Synkellos relied for the raw data, see 247.11-19.

<sup>78</sup> Synk. 245.6,12-246.18.

<sup>79</sup> For the relevant data, see C. Wachsmuth, *Einleitung in das Studium der alten Geschichten* (Leipzig, 1895), 301-6.

<sup>80</sup> See e.g. Synk. 245.5-11, where Synkellos as much as grants this point in respect to the divergence between the two lists for the years of Cyrus' reign.

writing of the chronicle in the first place: the dating of Christ's Incarnation and birth. According to the *Astronomical Canon*, 294 years elapsed from the death of Alexander and the first year of Philip Aridaios (AM 5170) up to Cleopatra's death, suggesting that Augustus subdued Egypt in AM 5463. From this point, this latter work ascribed 43 years to the rule of Augustus; hence Augustus' death occurred in AM 5505.

The complication arose when Synkellos sought to harmonize these dates with 'ecclesiastical tradition'.<sup>81</sup> From the gospel according to Luke (3. 1, 23), Synkellos knew that around the age of 30, Jesus began his ministry in the fifteenth year of the reign of the emperor Tiberius. Thus, by Synkellos' calculations, Tiberius began his reign in AM 5515 and the last year of Augustus' reign occurred some time between AM 5514 and 5515. From this, Synkellos concluded that Augustus' fifty-six-year reign commenced around the end of AM 5458. By the same reasoning, Jesus' Incarnation and Nativity in the year 5501 corresponded with Augustus' forty-third year. These dates were clearly incompatible with those of the *Astronomical Canon*, according to which Jesus' Incarnation would have occurred about ten years earlier than the conventional date.<sup>82</sup> Panodoros, Synkellos' learned Alexandrian predecessor, had attempted to reconcile the discrepancy, but at the cost of surrendering a time-honoured teaching of the Church. This was a sacrifice Synkellos was not prepared to make. For him, the orthodox dates of Christ's Incarnation and Resurrection were non-negotiable items, not to be bargained away in exchange for the learning of 'pagan scholars (ἄλλοι ἐξ ἑξω σοφοίς)'.<sup>83</sup>

*(d) From the Resurrection of Christ to Diocletian*

If Synkellos' treatment of this period seems more perfunctory than his handling of previous history, it has to do in part with an ambivalence about the purpose of the Christian universal chronicle built into the genre from its very inception.

When Africanus composed his chronicle in the third century, he genuinely believed in the possibility of speaking about a collective human destiny guided by a divine providence and moving inexorably to some ultimate future resolution. There were two cardinal points in this divine plan: the Incarnation of Christ, and

<sup>81</sup> Synk. 396.26–7.

<sup>82</sup> Synk. 396.17–397.6.

<sup>83</sup> Synk. 378.7–9; 396.12–16. On Panodoros' dating of Christ's Incarnation and Synkellos' reaction to it, see further below, p. lxiii.

the as yet unrealized end of the age. One difficulty arising out of this conception of universal history was attaching some meaning to the intervening period between these two dates. Africanus alludes to the problem in his discussion of the meaning of Daniel's apocalypse of seventy weeks. While personally persuaded that all the elements of the prophecy had been fulfilled in Christ's ministry, he admits, if only for the sake of argument, that part of the prophecy might have some future eschatological significance. But he then retreats from this interpretation with the telling remark that 'nothing extraordinary (οὐδὲν . . . παράδοξον)' had happened in the nearly 200 years between the death of Christ and his own time.<sup>84</sup> A comment by Photios about the organization and structure of his chronicle conveys the same sense of diminished purpose. Africanus' chronicle begins, Photios writes, 'from the Mosaic cosmogony, and continues down as far as the advent of Christ. And it also superficially (ἐπιτροχάδην) treats events from Christ up to the reign of the Roman emperor Macrinus, at whose time, he says, this work, comprising 5723 years, concluded.'<sup>85</sup> After demonstrating the providential date of Christ's birth in 5500, Africanus' resolve to see the chronicle through to his own time seems to have slackened.

In the fourth century, the unification of the Roman empire under one Christian emperor enabled Eusebios to sustain the vigour of his narrative up to his own day. But how did later chroniclers retain the same lofty perspective? Following the pattern sanctified by tradition, Byzantine chroniclers still begin their narratives from creation. By reiterating the 6000-year millennialist scheme first formulated by Africanus, some chroniclers even managed to retain some faint future expectation.<sup>86</sup> But their treatment of these matters grows increasingly mechanical, as if they were no longer certain of the value and meaning of what they were doing. The great sense of divine purpose implied by telling the story of humanity from its very origins quite often trails off into an annalistic account of Byzantine imperial history and ecclesiastical politics. Synkellos' treatment of history after Christ's birth and Resurrection reflects the same narrowing of horizons. Outwardly, this portion of the chronicle retains the pattern of the previous part of the work. He continues, for example, to use the rubric of universal years, inserting along the way brief historical notices, culled mainly from Eusebios' *Canons*. But the work now takes a decidedly polemical turn, consisting largely of long excerpts from Eusebios'

<sup>84</sup> Synk. 393.3-5.

<sup>85</sup> Photios, *Bibl.* 34, 7<sup>a</sup>9-12.

<sup>86</sup> For discussion, see Gelzer i. 67.

*Ecclesiastical History* and laced with gibes against Eusebios' embrace of the heretic Origen. Dealing mainly with ecclesiastical conflicts of the second and third centuries, these excerpts have little or no direct bearing on chronological matters. Completely absent here are the kinds of detailed discussions of theoretical issues and the spirited exchanges with his predecessors that make Synkellos' work unique in the Byzantine chronographic tradition.

The manner in which Synkellos' chronicle concludes gives the distinct impression of a work broken off *mediis rebus*. Towards the end of his chronicle, Synkellos inserts a catalogue of Persian kings continuing up to the Arab expulsion of Hormisdas. Evidently, it was to serve as scaffolding for that part of the work treating Byzantine relations with the Sasanian Persian empire.<sup>87</sup> But none of this plan came to fruition. Instead, the chronicle concludes unimpressively, with a long quotation from Eusebios' *Ecclesiastical History* about the heresy of Paul of Samosata. On the other hand, we need not assume that the chronicle's abrupt ending with the reign of Diocletian was entirely accidental. Earlier, in his discussion of Ptolemy's *Handy Tables*, Synkellos comments on the reliability of these tables for several successive divisions of universal history, including the period from the 'beginning of the reign of Philip, the successor to Alexander . . . to Augustus Caesar, and even up to Diocletian, and again up to the current 6302nd year'.<sup>88</sup> This would at least raise the possibility that the conclusion of the work with the reign of Diocletian marked the end point of a discrete epoch, and was not strictly a fortuitous consequence of Synkellos' unexpected death.

### III. MODES OF CHRONOLOGICAL ARGUMENTATION

#### (a) *Synkellos' adjudication of contradictory chronological evidence*

For Christian chronographers, settling contradictions and inconsistencies in biblical chronology was not only a matter of allaying doubts about the reliability of the biblical record. In the case of

<sup>87</sup> Synk. 441.5-442.5.

<sup>88</sup> Synk. 244.29-31. It should further be noted that the era of Diocletian, beginning 29 August AD 284, was used in Alexandrian chronography, including the Alexandrian Easter tables. Renamed the 'era of the martyrs', it was also used by Coptic and Ethiopian Christians. Ginzler points out that Coptic documents date events in years of the era of the Diocletian and the universal era of Panodoros; see Ginzler, *Chronologie*, iii. 175, 321-2. It is thus conceivable that Synkellos found the 1st year of the era of Diocletian a convenient place to discontinue the work.

Africanus, there was a dogmatic objective as well, namely to ensure conformity with a predetermined chronological system. Although less committed than Africanus to resolving all the discrepancies and contradictions, Eusebios was adept at exposing problems in chronology, and weighing possible solutions to them. Indeed, he assures his readers at the beginning of his chronicle that he will not exempt Hebrew chronology from the same scrutiny given his other sources.<sup>89</sup>

Synkellos proceeded from a different set of assumptions. One of them was his unwavering preference for the chronology of the Greek Bible over other competing versions. After scolding Eusebios for betraying his own avowed allegiance to the Septuagint, Synkellos defends the superior reliability of the Greek Bible by an admittedly far-fetched appeal to the Aristotelian theory of virtue as observance and practice of the mean.<sup>90</sup> Traces of Aristotelian logic also underlie his treatment of a chronological discrepancy in the narrative of Abraham's migration from Ur provided by Gen. 12.4 and Acts 7.1–4. Certain unnamed chronographers had posed what in Synkellos' view was an untenable solution to the problem: either Genesis or Acts, but not both of them, could be correct. Granted, Synkellos writes, his own alternative explanation of the discrepancy was not necessarily the only, or even the most persuasive, one. But at least it adhered to sound principles. In logical demonstration, he writes, that which is 'necessary (*ἀναγκαῖον*)' must be the precondition for that which is 'possible (*ἐνδεχόμενον*)'. And one 'necessary' premiss from which all 'possible' explanations of the contradiction must flow is this: both Acts and Genesis are truthful since they are both divinely inspired. The distinction that Synkellos draws here recalls, however obscurely, Aristotle's discussion of necessity and possibility.<sup>91</sup>

Although Theophanes' praise of Synkellos for having 'surpassed all his predecessors' in reconciling and correcting discrepancies is an understandable overstatement, he does demonstrate real resourcefulness in solving celebrated chronological problems for which the recorded evidence was either lacking or contradictory. Synkellos comes up with an ingenious, albeit not fully satisfactory, explanation to account for the conflicting reports in Gen. 15.13 and Exod. 12.40–1 about the duration of Israel's sojourn in Canaan and Egypt (400 and 430 years respectively).<sup>92</sup> He claims to have

<sup>89</sup> Eus. 1.2.35–3.2.

<sup>90</sup> Synk. 75.3–15.

<sup>91</sup> Synk. 106.15–23. For this distinction between necessity and possibility see e.g. Aristot. *Interpret.* 12–13.

<sup>92</sup> Synk. 136.13–30.

committed much time and labour to reconciling a discrepancy in the chronology of the divided kingdoms of Judah and Israel. It was, in fact, only a chance discovery of a biblical manuscript corrected by Basil of Caesarea and made available to him from the library of Caesarea in Cappadocia that enabled him to resolve what would otherwise have been a seemingly insuperable contradiction in the chronology of Fourth Kingdoms for the last two kings of Israel, Phakeë and Oseë.<sup>93</sup>

On those occasions when ingenuity, concentrated effort, or a lucky manuscript discovery could not rescue him, Synkellos either owns up to doubt or accepts multiple interpretations. After concluding that neither Africanus nor Eusebios had solved the problem of Methuselah's life satisfactorily, Synkellos himself proposes two mutually contradictory solutions.<sup>94</sup> His resolution of the celebrated discrepancy in the narrative of Abraham's migration from Ur is an exemplary specimen of biblical exegesis.<sup>95</sup> But after an exhaustive and meticulous examination of the subject, he vows to abandon his own explanation, provided that someone else can develop a more cogent solution.<sup>96</sup> Elsewhere, Synkellos allows that the correct way to interpret Jeremiah's prophecy of seventy years of captivity had eluded historians; it is nearly impossible, he writes, to find two historians in agreement about this matter.<sup>97</sup> And so Synkellos makes an unavoidable concession to historical uncertainty. Since the return from captivity occurred only in stages, he writes, 'the truth is that the seventy years of captivity are to be calculated in different ways, and the same captivity of the Jewish nation occurred over different times'.<sup>98</sup>

Nor was Synkellos able to produce a satisfactory resolution to the problems associated with the period of the judges. For the entire interval of time from the Exodus up to the building of Solomon's

<sup>93</sup> Synk. 240.2-31. On Synkellos' personal examination of biblical manuscripts, see also 257.24-33.

<sup>94</sup> See Synk. 20.7-25; 130.30-131.16.

<sup>95</sup> Synk. 105.6-107.5.

<sup>96</sup> Synk. 108.9-11.

<sup>97</sup> Synk. 272.5-7. Although Synkellos was predisposed to accept Africanus' view that the prophecy concluded with 1 Cyrus, his own calculations disqualified Africanus' claim that the prophecy commenced in the beginning of the reign of Sedekias. See Synk. 265.7-9, where Synkellos puts the *terminus a quo* of the prophecy in 4 Joakeim. But it was exposing Eusebios' numerous deceptions and errors in calculations to which Synkellos devoted most of his energies. At the same time, however, he acknowledges that Zechariah's appeal to God long after Cyrus' decree virtually ruled out the possibility of establishing a single and ironclad chronological standard (294.14-295.14).

<sup>98</sup> Synk. 271.32-272.1.



temple, the Hebrew version of 1 Kings 6.1 assigned 480 years, the Greek (3 Kgdms. 6.1) only 440 years. On the other hand, a speech by Paul recorded in Acts 13.18 assigned a full 450 years to the era of the judges alone. While Eusebios' own independent assessment of the chronology tended to confirm Paul, it was clearly irreconcilable even with First Kings. After a review of all the evidence, Eusebios then makes a surprisingly frank admission, one bound to inflame Synkellos. Jewish sages informed Eusebios that the reign of foreign rulers should be counted collaterally with the rule of the judges. Following their counsel, he accepts the 480-year chronology found in the Hebrew text of First Kings. And he dismisses Paul as an unreliable witness in matters of chronology. The apostle, he writes, 'has not given, as it were, a treatise on chronology, nor has he delivered a reckoning with precise accuracy'.<sup>99</sup> Although Synkellos was sure that Eusebios pursued an ulterior motive in consulting Jewish scholars and preferring the shorter chronology of First Kings, he was never able to put the issue to rest. After a lengthy recapitulation of Eusebios' arguments, Synkellos' response is a simple confession of belief: 'As for me,' he writes, 'I follow the divine Paul and the book of Judges.'<sup>100</sup> How this declaration was to be reconciled with First Kings is left unresolved.

*(b) Inferential reasoning from fragmentary evidence*

Although the Bible presents for the most part a reasonably continuous chronological record, there are gaps in the record in which only inferences from the available evidence are possible. An outstanding example of deductive reasoning on Synkellos' part concerned two subjects about which scripture was silent: the duration of time from the death of Joseph to the birth of Moses, and the dates of Moses' ancestors. From scripture, Synkellos knew that Joseph was 30 years of age when he entered the service of Pharaoh (Gen. 41.46), and that Jacob was 130 years of age (= AM 3602) when he arrived in Egypt (Gen. 47.9). Certain clues in scripture enabled Synkellos to postulate a ten-year interval between Joseph's elevation to power and Jacob's arrival; therefore Joseph was 40 years of age when Jacob descended to Egypt.<sup>101</sup> Since Jacob lived another 17

<sup>99</sup> Eus. 1.50.8–23.

<sup>100</sup> Synk. 204.10–205.16.

<sup>101</sup> Synkellos draws this conclusion from Gen. 45.6, which speaks of two years of famine that had already elapsed when Joseph's brothers arrived in Egypt. This, added to the seven years of plenty, would mean that Jacob and his family arrived in Egypt in the tenth year after Joseph's rise to power.

years in Egypt (Gen. 47.28), his death occurred at age 147, when Joseph was 57 years (= AM 3619). On the basis of Genesis' report that Joseph died at age 110, Synkellos was now able to determine that Joseph outlived Jacob by 53 years (= AM 3672).

To calculate the unaccounted-for period of time from Joseph's death in AM 3672 to the birth of Moses, Synkellos begins with a statement in Exodus 12. 40 (LXX), assigning 430 years to the duration of Israel's sojourn in Canaan and Egypt. There is unanimous agreement, he writes, that the 430 years commenced with Abraham's migration to Canaan at age 75 (= AM 3387). From that point, the full 430 years were realized at the time of Israel's Exodus in AM 3817 (3387 + 430 = 3817). Knowing that Moses was 80 years of age when the Exodus occurred, Synkellos could then determine that his birth occurred in AM 3737. And thus, the interval between Joseph's death (3672) and Moses' birth (3737) came to 65 years.<sup>102</sup>

The single task remaining for him was to account for these 65 years genealogically. Since Moses was of the tribe of Levi, there was no way to establish a genealogical connection between him and Joseph. Nor did Genesis offer any concrete chronological information about Moses' forefathers, Levi, Kaath, and Amram. Unimpressed by the solutions of other chronographers, both Christian and Jewish, who had speculated on this subject before him, Synkellos stakes out an independent position. By Synkellos' calculations, Jacob was 91 when he begot Joseph. From this fixed datum, Synkellos worked backwards from the birth of Joseph to arrive at an age of 82 when Jacob begot Levi. Knowing now that Jacob was 82 years when Levi was born, Synkellos calculates a total of 167 years up to this time. Since he knew from scripture that the Exodus from Egypt occurred when Moses was 80, 183 years would remain for the period from the birth of Levi to the birth of Moses. From this same data, he could also determine that Levi was around 47 or 48 years at the time of Jacob's arrival in Egypt at age 130.<sup>103</sup> It is a testimony to Synkellos' ingenuity that even his harshest critics were prepared in this case to praise his originality and imagination in deriving chronological information from fragmentary witnesses.<sup>104</sup>

<sup>102</sup> Synk. 135.15-16.

<sup>103</sup> For Synkellos' analysis, see 128.6-28; 133.23-136.12; 137.5-138.11.

<sup>104</sup> Gelzer (ii. 186), usually dismissive of Synkellos' abilities, regarded his solution of this and other biblical puzzles as 'wohl am ehesten eigne Leistungen'. See also R. Laqueur, 'Synkellos (1)', 1396-7.

*(c) Resolving chronological aporiai from supplementary sources and tradition*

There is probably no more pronounced difference in the chronographic approaches of Eusebios and Synkellos than in their respective views about the authority of tradition. Both in the introduction to his chronicle and elsewhere, Eusebios celebrates as one of his greatest accomplishments his refutation of his predecessors and his own non-traditional dating of Moses. Chief among Synkellos' criticisms is his charge that Eusebios' novel dating of Moses was a dangerous and arrogant betrayal of an enshrined Jewish and Christian tradition. While proud of his original solutions to long-standing and stubborn problems in Christian chronography, Synkellos saw his task as that of defending a time-honoured consensus, and drawing upon it to fill in chronological gaps. After his extended examination of the missing period from Levi to Moses, Synkellos concedes that the dates for Moses' father and grandfather were still unsettled. And so for these two figures, Amram and Kaath respectively, Synkellos turns to what he calls a universally held tradition.<sup>105</sup> For much the same reason, he appeals to an 'unwritten tradition (*ἀγγραφος συνήθεια*)' to supply the dates for Joshua and the Israelite elders who succeeded him; although scripture, he writes, has nothing to say on this matter, the 'almost universal' assent to this tradition ensures its reliability.<sup>106</sup> Even when his own research might yield a contrary conclusion, Synkellos is prepared to submit to the authority of chronographic tradition. Among his predecessors, he writes, there was wide agreement that Eliasoub succeeded his father Joakeim as high priest. Synkellos' own research had convinced him 'with complete certainty' that Esdras, not Eliasoub, succeeded Joakeim. Nevertheless, he capitulates to the traditional view. 'Since all our predecessors', he writes, 'have numbered Eliasoub, whom they also call Eliasibos, after Joakeim his father, we too are compelled to do likewise.'<sup>107</sup>

One subject that comes up repeatedly in Synkellos' treatment of chronological problems in scripture has to do with the proper use of supplementary source material, especially the many ethnic and universal histories of the Hellenistic period. Diodoros Siculus and Josephos, both widely respected historians with a long tradition of use in Christian chronography, were authors of whom Synkellos had a generally high opinion. He is far less confident about Berossos' and Manetho's respective works on Babylonian and Egyptian

<sup>105</sup> Synk. 135.25–136.4.

<sup>106</sup> Synk. 204.1–3.

<sup>107</sup> Synk. 303.29–304.2.

antiquities. Like Africanus before him, Synkellos found some limited value in their testimony. A version of Egyptian history allegedly composed by Manetho proved helpful to him in dating Moses. And Berossos' report about Nebuchadnezzar serves to document the biblical narrative of the Babylonian captivity.<sup>108</sup> But he dismisses as complete fabrication everything either of these writers had to say about their civilizations before the division of nations in AM 2776 (Gen. 10). If there were some illusory similarities between Genesis and Berossos for this period, it was only because they had been stolen from Moses and artificially introduced into his *Babyloniaka* to mislead the gullible.<sup>109</sup>

Jewish and Jewish-Christian pseudepigrapha, some dating back to the period of the Second Temple, were sources about which Synkellos entertained fewer misgivings. He quotes extensively from several of them, including the *Testament of Adam*, the *Life of Adam*, the *Book of Enoch*, and the *Book of Jubilees*. A long history of use of some of these works by Greek and Syriac chronographers at least partially offset official condemnation of them. If Gelzer is correct, Africanus himself knew and used *Enoch* and *Jubilees*.<sup>110</sup> The prestige of this latter work had been further elevated by extensive interpolations of Josephos' *Antiquities* with material from *Jubilees*. These interpolations led Byzantine chronographers, Synkellos included, to think that the highly respected Josephos and *Jubilees* had more in common than they actually had.<sup>111</sup> Even despite these efforts to legitimize the work, however, the attitude of Byzantine chronographers about its authority varied widely. In the prologue to his chronicle, Kedrenos goes so far as to cite *Jubilees* as one of his principal sources; Michael Glykas, on the other hand, exhorts his readers to treat the book as 'a joke and . . . a diversion'.<sup>112</sup>

Synkellos seizes the middle ground, neither rejecting pseud-epigrapha out of hand nor endorsing them unconditionally. Because these works have been 'corrupted by Jews and heretics', they are not suitable, he writes, for less sophisticated readers. But at the same time he points out that the apostle Paul cites isolated passages from non-canonical writings in several of his epistles. Why, then, is it not acceptable for Christian historians to appeal to them as well?<sup>113</sup> The key to judicious use of these works is to determine the extent to

<sup>108</sup> Synk. 262.11-263.15.

<sup>109</sup> Synk. 32.4-22.

<sup>110</sup> See Gelzer ii. 293-7.

<sup>111</sup> See e.g. Synk. 4.16-22; III.13-17; 120.4-8; 121.5-7; 124.1-14; 129.18-23.

<sup>112</sup> Kedr. i. 6.2-4; Mich. Glyk. 206.20-2.

<sup>113</sup> Synk. 27.8-18.

which they conform to ecclesiastical tradition and enhance understanding of the biblical narrative. Confident that his readers will find *Enoch's* account of the fallen angels a helpful elaboration of Gen. 6, Synkellos offers his first quotation from that work without justification.<sup>114</sup> But he is scornful of the efforts of his Alexandrian authorities to make *Enoch* the key to reconciling Egyptian and Babylonian antiquities with Genesis.<sup>115</sup> And so his second citation from *Enoch* is hedged with qualifications. Even if the work is apocryphal and doubtful in places, he says, at least it is 'more akin to our scriptures' than the lies of Berossos and Manetho.<sup>116</sup> He steers the same course with *Jubilees*, a work that he also knows as the *Apocalypse of Moses*. There is much in *Jubilees* of which Synkellos disapproves, including the work's chronology of Adam's stay in Paradise and in his view its irrational discourses on the seductions of demons.<sup>117</sup> In order to prevent his readers from indiscriminately embracing this and other works like it, Synkellos urges them to be satisfied with preselected excerpts.<sup>118</sup> But this warning did not prevent him from citing the work at length. True to its Greek name τὰ λεπτὰ Γενέσεως ('The details of Genesis'), *Jubilees* served a useful function in elaborating on subjects about which Genesis provided only sketchy or inconsistent information.<sup>119</sup>

#### IV. STRUCTURE AND ORGANIZATION IN THE CHRISTIAN UNIVERSAL CHRONICLE FROM EUSEBIOS TO SYNKELLOS

Among the earlier universal chronicles, the organization of Eusebios' work stands out as a model of good sense and elegance. It is divided into two books, of which the first consisted of excerpts and epitomes, and lists from primary source material, accompanied by his own analysis of the problems that these sources raised. Eusebios presented this material in single blocks, divided into five simple categories: Chaldaean, Hebrew, Egyptian, Greek, and Roman.

This section of the chronicle served both as a prolegomenon and, in Eusebios' words, as 'a kind of raw material for a future work', namely the *Canons*.<sup>120</sup> The plan of the *Canons* was synoptic: 'to set

<sup>114</sup> Synk. 11.12-14.

<sup>115</sup> Synk. 27.22-30; 34.15-29; 41.19-42.17; 88.24-89.6.

<sup>116</sup> Synk. 24.6-9.

<sup>117</sup> Synk. 4.16-23; 27.33-28.9.

<sup>118</sup> Synk. 27.33-28.11.

<sup>119</sup> On Synkellos' use of material from *Jubilees* for this purpose, see e.g. 107.22-4; 124.1-14; 129.18-23. In some of these cases, however, Synkellos believed that Josephos was the source of this material.

<sup>120</sup> Eus. 2.8.9-10.

dates alongside one another and count the years of individual peoples'. Using the material from the first book, Eusebios organized the *Canons* into running synchronous columns. Inserted into these tables were brief historical notices of various kinds, for example, the names of kings, famous founders, and important wars. The era that served as the hallmark of these tables was *ab Abraham*. In dating events from Abraham, the *Canons* did not designate individual years, but rather decades. Occasionally, Eusebios also indicated years from Adam, even as he remained unconvinced that pre-Abrahamic history could be securely dated. More systematic was the use of Olympiads, the numbers for which Eusebios placed alongside the dates *ab Abraham*. Designed to satisfy a very practical need, the *Canons* enabled readers to know immediately when, for example, Abraham, Isaac, and Moses lived in relationship to Ninus, Ogygos, and Deukalion. The flexible format of the *Canons* could accommodate columns ranging from one to as many as nine, as circumstances demanded.

Later editors and translators of the work experimented with various techniques intended to assist the reader in deciphering the sometimes complex tabular form of the *Canons*. Jerome's Latin translation of the *Canons* tried to improve the legibility of the work by devising a system of colour-coding.<sup>121</sup> The Armenian version of Eusebios' chronicle, on the other hand, completely revised the format of the *Canons* by assigning the far-left column to a consecutive numbering of years from Abraham, reorganizing the *fila regnorum*, and setting historical notices in the margins. As Mosshammer has shown, this rearrangement simplified the task of the copyist and made it easier to compare Eusebios' chronology with competing systems.<sup>122</sup> At the same time, chroniclers experimented with other ways to organize the material. In the Antiochene chronicle of John Malalas (sixth century), one of the earlier Byzantine universal chronicles, the Eusebian structure has largely been supplanted by a more narrative format, into which are inserted occasional chronological notices.<sup>123</sup> Ecclesiastical controversies over the calculation of the Paschal cycle required Alexandrian chronographers of the early fifth century to take a more systematic

<sup>121</sup> He describes this method in his introduction to the *Canons* (Eus. 2.5.11-16).

<sup>122</sup> See A. A. Mosshammer, *The Chronicle of Eusebius and Greek Chronographic Tradition* (Lewistown, 1979), 74-9. Mosshammer credits Panodoros with this revision of the *Canons*.

<sup>123</sup> See B. Croke, 'Early Byzantine Chronicles', in E. Jeffreys (ed.), *Studies in John Malalas* (ByzAus 6; Sydney, 1990), 32-3. On the chronological system of Malalas, see also E. Jeffreys, 'Chronological Structures in Malalas' Chronicle', *ibid.* 111-66.

approach. In the pursuit of a uniform rule for the date of Easter, the Alexandrian monk Annianos, one of Synkellos' authorities, designed a chronicle entirely different in structure from Eusebios'. According to Synkellos, it was a kind of Easter computus, dating from the origin of the universe and structured in the form of tables of 532-year Easter cycles, into the margin of which were inserted brief historical notices.<sup>124</sup>

Although Synkellos extracted extensive primary material from Eusebios, he too chose not to emulate the bipartite structure of his predecessor's work. Instead, he organized his chronicle according to the sequence of universal years, based on biblical chronology and typically presented by the expression *κόσμου ἔτη* or some comparable formula (for example, *χρονογραφία ἀπὸ κτίσεως κόσμου*).<sup>125</sup> For each of these years, he then presented, as was required, relevant narrative, quotations, tables, historical notices, discussion of chronological problems, and exchanges with his predecessors. As a result, the presentation of material tends on occasions to become disjointed and fragmented, especially when Synkellos had to manage chronological material from different sources. Running lists of kings from various nations had to be segmented into smaller units.<sup>126</sup> Historical notices, for the most part extracted from the *spatium historicum* of Eusebios, were often grouped rather indiscriminately under the catch-all category of *Σποράδην* ('Miscellany').<sup>127</sup>

Theophanes' praise of Synkellos for writing a 'concise chronography (*σύντομον χρονογραφίαν*)' should thus be understood to mean 'clear-cut and to the point', and not 'short' or 'brief'. Synkellos' chronicle is anything but brief. Nor did he intend it to be so. At the beginning of his work, he informs his readers that establishing his central arguments would require numerous tables and explanations.<sup>128</sup> He adjudges thoroughness a virtue, even if the achievement of this objective meant including extraneous, wrong, or dangerously

<sup>124</sup> Synk. 35.25–7. See further below, pp. lxiii–lxiv.

<sup>125</sup> There appears to be a change in the designation of universal years after Synkellos' account of Pompey's capture of Jerusalem (360.1–9). Up to that point, the manuscripts have the heading *κόσμου ἔτη* in large letters, without the year number. After that, there first appears the heading *χρονογραφία ἀπὸ κτίσεως κόσμου, εὐνη'* (368.6). Universal years from that point are denoted in large letters by the words *κόσμου ἔτη* followed by the year number.

<sup>126</sup> Synkellos does give Africanus' and Eusebios' epitomes of Manetho's *Aigyptiaka* as a single block, but this is only because he did not consider either of them authoritative. His own source for Egyptian chronology is a third list, probably the *Book of Sothis*, pseudonymously attributed to Manetho. Portions of this latter work are scattered throughout his chronicle. See Gelzer ii. 206–14.

<sup>127</sup> See Moss., p. xxvii.

<sup>128</sup> Synk. 1.21.

misleading material. In his treatment of the duration of Adam and Eve in Paradise, Synkellos states that both *Jubilees* and the *Life of Adam* contain an erroneous account of this period. But he inserts a synopsis of their chronology anyway, if only to 'satisfy curious readers' and to keep them from descending into more serious error.<sup>129</sup> And despite his absolute certainty about the uselessness of archaic Egyptian and Babylonian records, Synkellos provides a few 'small excerpts' from them as well as a table of their chronology of kings. He does this, he writes, in order to demonstrate their contradictions and to avoid leaving the impression that his work is incomplete.<sup>130</sup> In some cases, Synkellos' reasons for including material are left unexplained. A protracted narrative of the life of Moses and the Israelite Exodus is mainly an abridgement of portions of the Pentateuch; containing very little chronological data, it is at best of only secondary relevance to chronography.<sup>131</sup>

Retractions and structural defects in his chronicle suggest that Synkellos was unable to integrate the many facets of his chronicle into a fully unified system. His chronological catalogue of the pre-exilic kings of Israel and Judah interweaves two conflicting chronological versions of the same period.<sup>132</sup> Under the heading *Ἀπὸ Ἀδάμ πάλιν*, a supposed recapitulation of the chronology of the pre-Abrahamic patriarchs actually includes silent corrections of previously made claims about the same period. In this section, Synkellos, without explicitly saying so, corrects his earlier dates for the biblical patriarchs Arphaxad and Kaïnan.<sup>133</sup> Here too he disavows a self-refuting earlier explanation of the problem of Methuselah's dates, offering in its place a more sensible alternative.<sup>134</sup> Repetition, occasionally fairly extensive, is also not

<sup>129</sup> Synk. 4.19-23; 5.26-7.

<sup>130</sup> Synk. 16.30-17.5, 33; 28.12-16; 32.3-8.

<sup>131</sup> Synk. 138.15-142.18; 147.1-171.11. See Laqueur, 'Synkellos', 1391, who notes that in this entire segment 'von Datierungen keine Rede ist'. Laqueur makes a similar observation on Synkellos' quotations from Josephos' *Antiquities* and Eusebios' *Ecclesiastical History*. Although outside the realm of chronography, they may have found their way into Synkellos' chronicle in order to satisfy ecclesiastical or antiquarian interests.

<sup>132</sup> See Gelzer ii. 240-3.

<sup>133</sup> At 88.3-5, Synkellos states that Arphaxad begot Kaïnan at age 135 in AM 2377 and lived an additional 430 years up to the year 2808. But in his subsequent rehearsal of the same material at 132.13-15, he states that Arphaxad begot Kaïnan at age 135 in 2377 and lived another 355 years. Similarly, at 88.10-12, Synkellos states that 'when he was 130, Kaïnan begot Sala in AM 2507. After the birth of this Sala, Kaïnan lived another 330 years up to AM 2837'. But cf. 132.23-4, where he states that 'when he was 130, Kaïnan begot Sala in AM 2507, and lived another 430 years. Some of the manuscripts read 330 years'. See Laqueur, 'Synkellos', 1394.

<sup>134</sup> Synk. 131.11-16; cf. 20.21-5.



uncommon.<sup>135</sup> On the other hand, promises to his readers are not met. After first introducing the work of Annianos to his readers, Synkellos vows to insert at 'the appropriate place a highly accurate rendition of his Paschal tables, together with the equivalences worked out by us'.<sup>136</sup> But he soon recognized that this was a largely superfluous task; only rarely does he supply this promised information.<sup>137</sup>

Although Synkellos is for the most part scrupulous in citing his sources, editorial insertions and ambiguous attributions sometimes frustrate attempts to differentiate the words of Synkellos himself from those of his source. A good illustration of this is his treatment of pre-Flood history. This part of the work starts out reasonably well; but once Synkellos begins his critique of his Alexandrian predecessors Panodoros and Annianos, organization, coherence, and narrative flow deteriorate. The problem originates in Synkellos' initial commitment to respect the anonymity of his Alexandrian authorities.<sup>138</sup> As he intensified his attack against them, this approach proved impractical, climaxing in a long unattributed excerpt from one of his Alexandrian sources. This quotation soon lapses into what Laqueur calls 'complete confusion'.<sup>139</sup> The insertion of an occasional *φησί* leaves no doubt that Synkellos is quoting at length from one of his Alexandrian authorities. But his unwillingness to identify the source by name, along with interpolated editorial comments by Synkellos himself, makes it difficult to know whether it is Synkellos, Panodoros, or Annianos who is speaking.<sup>140</sup> Synkellos seems to have grown weary of his own stated intention to preserve the anonymity of Panodoros and Annianos, for he finally reverses this policy, providing biographical details about these two monks and describing their chronicles in some detail. From that point, there is a marked improvement in the flow of the argument. Mid-course corrections like this and *ad hoc* improvisation of different organizational strategies support Laqueur's conclusion that the work as we now have it was only a preliminary draft awaiting further (and never fully realized) improvements by the author.<sup>141</sup>

<sup>135</sup> See e.g. Synk. 261.14–262.7 = 266.3–25.

<sup>136</sup> Synk. 35.29–31.

<sup>137</sup> Synkellos does note the passing of the first and second 532-year cycle (10.12–13; 17.9–10). But he does not resume this practice until he reaches the critical date of Christ's Resurrection (388.22–4).

<sup>138</sup> Synk. 16.31–2.

<sup>139</sup> Laqueur, 'Synkellos', 1403.

<sup>140</sup> See e.g. Synk. 32.29–35.4.

<sup>141</sup> Laqueur, 'Synkellos', 1405–7.

V. SYNKELLOS' SOURCES AND ORIGINALITY

(a) *Synkellos and Eusebios*

Anthony Grafton has a colourful description of a reader's despairing reaction upon confronting Synkellos' chronicle for the first time. 'Reading Syncellus', he writes, 'has all the charm and difficulty of visiting a Levantine city under the guidance of a dragoman both richly informed and badly confused. The interpreter's voice mingles with those of the citizens he introduces and interrogates. Quotations blur into narrative, narrative into quotations, bits of older texts into anecdotes about the dragoman's own travels. Even now it is far from clear what Syncellus simply took from existing sources, what conjectures and combinations were his own, and a rich and polemical literature confounds confusion on almost every major point of disagreement.'<sup>142</sup>

It is one of the great curiosities of scholarship on Synkellos that, for his defenders, the very features of his chronicle to which Grafton alludes—a complex, even punishing, narrative and a sometimes tortured literary relationship with his sources—offer the clearest proof of his genius and originality. For Laqueur, the seemingly unfinished character of the chronicle demonstrated that Synkellos could not have been a simple 'Abschreiber' of one or two earlier and more original chronicles. A plagiarized work would have turned out better.<sup>143</sup> In his *editio princeps* of Synkellos' chronicle, Jacob Goar urged much the same conclusion. In reaction to Scaliger's claim that Synkellos was little more than an incompetent and fault-finding transcriber of Eusebios' chronicle, Goar concluded that the work's complex arrangement and its conflicting chronological systems presupposed several different authorities, not a single work 'wrenched from the hands of Eusebios'.<sup>144</sup>

Goar offered this argument before the first book of Eusebios' chronicle became known in the West. But his intuitions were vindicated by the discovery of the full text of Eusebios' chronicle, available in Armenian translation. To Scaliger's credit, this version of Eusebios did demonstrate that Synkellos depended heavily on his chronicle (either directly or through intermediaries). Portions of the

<sup>142</sup> A. Grafton, *Joseph Scaliger: A Study of the History of Classical Scholarship. II. Historical Chronology* (Oxford, 1993), 548.

<sup>143</sup> Laqueur, 'Synkellos', 1407. Laqueur made this argument in reaction to Gelzer's views on Synkellos' sources, on which see below, pp. lxiii–lxviii, lxxix–lxxx.

<sup>144</sup> Goar, 'Praefatio', in Dindorf ii. 61. For Scaliger's claims about Synkellos' dependence on Eusebios, see below, pp. lxxvii–lxviii.

chronicle read so much like transcripts of Eusebios that they have adventitious value as a check on the Latin and Armenian translations of that work.<sup>145</sup> Notwithstanding, the scope of Synkellos' source material far exceeds that of Eusebios, as the following inventory will show.

(i) *Greek and Roman historians.* Unattested in Eusebios' chronicle are Synkellos' citations from the Athenian chronicler Dexippos (third century AD) and a list of the so-called 'Theban' kings of Egypt that Apollodoros purportedly took over from the chronicle of Eratosthenes of Cyrene.<sup>146</sup> Even in those cases when Synkellos cites the same Greek historians and chroniclers as Eusebios, he often quotes more extensively from several of them. This is especially true of his treatment of Macedonian history, for which he gives larger excerpts from the works of Porphyry and Diodoros Siculus.<sup>147</sup> In his summary of Roman chronology from its founding up to the time of Caesar Augustus, Synkellos also refers to 'certain Roman treatises'.<sup>148</sup> On the basis of this notice and some striking parallels with Roman historians, Mosshammer proposed the possibility that Synkellos consulted a Greek epitome compiled from various Latin sources.<sup>149</sup>

(ii) *Jewish sources.* Missing from Eusebios are Synkellos' large collection of Jewish and Christian pseudepigrapha and his citations from Josephos, including the extensive interpolations of Josephos' *Antiquities* with material from the book of *Jubilees*.<sup>150</sup> It is also of

<sup>145</sup> For discussion of the version of Eusebios known to Synkellos, see Moss., pp. xxvif. As Mosshammer points out, mistakes common to both the Armenian translation and Synkellos' text of Eusebios suggest that he and the Armenian translator depended on Greek exemplars that were very closely related, if not identical.

<sup>146</sup> See, for example, Synk. 459.5-15 (= Dexippos), 103.5-18 (= Ps.-Apollodoros and Ps.-Eratosthenes).

<sup>147</sup> See Synk. 315.1-324.28.

<sup>148</sup> Synk. 375.1-3.

<sup>149</sup> Mosshammer, *Praef.*, p. xxix. See especially his discussion of corruptions in Synkellos' spelling of Latin names, which in his view betray a dependence on the *Historiae Philippicae* of the Augustan historian Pompeius Trogus and the late-4th-c. Roman historian Flavius Eutropius. For discussion of Synkellos' use of Latin historians, see also A. Alföldi, 'Die Hauptereignisse der Jahre 253-261 n. Chr. im Orient in Spiegel der Münzprägung', *Berytus*, 4 (1937), 41-68; id., 'Die römische Münzprägung und die historischen Ereignisse im Osten zwischen 260 und 270 n. Chr.', *Berytus*, 5 (1938), 47-92, esp. pp. 76-7. In these same studies, Alföldi also suggested that a Latin compendium of late Roman history was used by both Synkellos and other Byzantine chroniclers, especially John Zonaras. The notes to the translation provide the parallels to the relevant passages from Zonaras, Eutropius' *Breviarium ab urbe condita*, and Justinus' epitome of Trogus' history.

<sup>150</sup> See above, pp. liii-lv. From Africanus' chronicle, Synkellos also knows a Jewish source for the period from the Maccabees to the reign of Herod the Great that differs significantly from Josephos' account of the same period. Gelzer (ii. 255-65) believed

interest that Synkellos seems to have acquired (possibly during his stay in Palestine) some familiarity with rabbinic exegesis.<sup>151</sup>

(iii) *Sources of Egyptian provenance.* Among the Egyptian sources unknown to Eusebios are Africanus' version of Manetho's *Aigyptiaka*, and the *Astronomical Canon*. Synkellos also knows several products of Egyptian hermetism, including the fourth-century Egyptian alchemist Zosimos, the so-called *Old Chronicle*, and the *Book of Sothis*, a curious pseudepigraph of late Antiquity attributed by Synkellos to Manetho.<sup>152</sup>

(iv) *Patristic sources.* Most of Synkellos' citations from Africanus are not preserved in any of Eusebios' works. Even overlapping citations are not identical, suggesting that Synkellos knew these excerpts from a work other than Eusebios' chronicle.<sup>153</sup> Synkellos also refers occasionally to Hippolytos of Rome, especially his *Commentary on Daniel*.<sup>154</sup> Of particular interest is his catalogue of the nations after the division of the earth in the time of Phalek (cf. Gen. 10).<sup>155</sup> First attested in the chronicle of Hippolytos, versions of this catalogue circulated widely among Christian chroniclers; Eusebios, however, does not refer to it.<sup>156</sup> There are as well several post-Eusebian patristic sources, dating mostly from the fourth to the sixth centuries. Synkellos cites some of these sources explicitly, including John Chrysostom, Gregory of Nazianzos, Ephrem Syrus, the Alexandrian chroniclers Panodoros and Annianos, and Maximos Confessor. In other cases, dependence can be established by source analysis. Synkellos' list of Sasanian kings is almost certainly derived from Agathias, and his narration of Moses and the Exodus shows striking verbal parallels with Gregory of Nyssa's *Life of Moses*.<sup>157</sup>

this source was the Jewish historian Justus of Tiberias. For recent discussion, see S. Schwartz, 'Georgius Syncellus's Account of Ancient Jewish History', *Proceedings of the Tenth World Conference of Jewish Studies*, Division B, ii (Jerusalem, 1990). 1-8.

<sup>151</sup> See Synk. 107.31-108.5; 137.12-13; 236.17-26; 295.25-6. The parallel passages from the relevant rabbinic works are indicated in the annotations to these passages. In none of these cases, however, does Synkellos say that he depended on Jewish informants. In two cases, he simply introduces these traditions with the words *τινὲς νομιζοῦσι οἱ φασί*.

<sup>152</sup> Synk. 14.1-4 (Zosimos); 41.10-28 (*Book of Sothis*); 56.23-57.11 (the *Old Chronicle*).

<sup>153</sup> Cf. e.g. Synk. 391.1-393.27 with Eus. *DE* 8.2.45-54; Synk. 70.15-73.4 with Eus. *PE* 10.10.

<sup>154</sup> See e.g. Synk. 274.13-15.

<sup>155</sup> Synk. 48.12-56.6.

<sup>156</sup> *Ibid.* See Bauer, *Die Chronik*, 162-242, esp. pp. 191-4.

<sup>157</sup> Synk. 141.3; 148.13-21 (from Gregory of Nyssa); 441.1-442.5 (from Agathias).

*(b) Synkellos and his Alexandrian authorities*

A more nuanced attempt to revive the 'transcription theory' appeared later in Heinrich Gelzer's very influential study of Synkellos and his sources. Expanding on a conjecture first proposed by G. F. Unger, Gelzer maintained that Synkellos' impressive learning and mastery of sources were mostly derivative. He really knew only a few sources first-hand, of which his principal authorities were the Alexandrian monks Panodoros and Annianos.<sup>158</sup> Since Gelzer's theory has exerted such a profound influence on scholarship on Synkellos and Byzantine chronography in general, it is worth examining its merits in some detail.

According to Synkellos' own testimony, Panodoros and Annianos were contemporaries, whose chronicles were in some respects quite similar, especially in their criticisms of Eusebios.<sup>159</sup> While respecting Panodoros' erudition and commending the work for 'cleaving to the truth on many matters', Synkellos faulted it for being repetitive, containing too many parts (including tables of lunar and solar motion), and indulging in too much speculation about esoteric calendrical and astronomical matters.<sup>160</sup> The singular failing of the work was its error in dating Christ's Incarnation. Synkellos suggests that excessive dependence on 'pagan scholars' (by which he means the *Handy Tables* of Claudius Ptolemy) led Panodoros to commit an error of seven years in calculating the date of Christ's Incarnation in AM 5493.<sup>161</sup>

As with Panodoros, Synkellos faulted Annianos for his handling of Babylonian and Egyptian antiquities. But in most other respects, Annianos produced a work more in line with Synkellos' standards. Apart from being more abbreviated, it preserved what for Synkellos was an unalterable presupposition of Christian chronography, Gelzer (ii. 188–9) also thinks that an explanation of the name *Σαρακηνοί* (113.14–16), the origin of which Synkellos ascribes only to 'others', originated in John of Damascus' *De haeresibus* 101 (PG 94.764 A).

<sup>158</sup> Gelzer ii. 189.

<sup>159</sup> In Synkellos' quotation from him (36.21–37.11), Annianos faults Eusebios for his omission of the post-diluvian Kainan and Aodon, one of the judges of Israel; his failure to count the 111 years of the domination of foreign kings in the period of the judges; and his omission of the 40 years of anarchy after the death of Samson the judge. According to Annianos' computation, the sum total of years produced by these errors was 290 years from Adam to Constantine's Vicennalia (AM 5527 instead of 5816). After providing this citation, Synkellos states that Panodoros agreed with all these criticisms (37.12–15).

<sup>160</sup> Synk. 35.31–36.4; 396.12–15.

<sup>161</sup> For Synkellos' explanation of Panodoros' error, see 396.12–397.10.

namely the Incarnation of Christ in AM 5500/1. The tabular arrangement of his chronicle in Easter cycles also furnished a handy and reproducible model for later chronographers to follow. Probably for these reasons, Annianos' work enjoyed a far more favourable reception than did Panodoros', especially in the Christian East. In Syriac chronography as late as the twelfth century, Annianos is quoted as an authority alongside Eusebios and Africanus.<sup>162</sup> Panodoros' more learned, but cumbersome, work suffered a different fate. Were it not for Synkellos' testimony, his chronicle would have faded into oblivion altogether.

From Synkellos' comments about the relationship between the two works, Gelzer concluded that Annianos' chronicle was a digested and 'corrected' version of the more original and independent work of his older colleague. Synkellos, who had access to both sources, mainly depended upon Panodoros for the bulk of his non-biblical sources; Panodoros' chronicle also provided him with the structural blueprint for his own work.<sup>163</sup> Where necessary, however, he incorporated Annianos' orthodox corrections of Panodoros. The Ecclesiastical Computation, for example, represented Annianos' attempt to bring Panodoros' Astronomical Canon into conformity with biblical chronology and the traditional dating of Christ's Incarnation. In the same way, contradictions only partially reconciled in Synkellos' chronicle reflected his own half-hearted efforts to incorporate both sources into his own work.<sup>164</sup> Gelzer granted that Synkellos occasionally devised innovative solutions to celebrated problems in biblical chronology, and that he may have consulted a handful of other patristic and early Byzantine authors. But, to quote Gelzer himself, 'as the real sources of his work, one can name only holy scripture and the two Alexandrian chroniclers'.<sup>165</sup>

<sup>162</sup> For the influence of Annianos' chronicle on the Ethiopian Easter computus, see O. Neugebauer, *Ethiopic Astronomy and Computus: Sitzungsberichte der Oesterreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, phil.-hist. Klasse 347 (Vienna, 1979), 8, 23, 56-66. On Annianos in Syriac chronography, see Gelzer ii. 431-4; Serruys, 'Les Canons', 16-28.

<sup>163</sup> Gelzer ii. 184-6.

<sup>164</sup> On Synkellos' incorporation of Annianos' corrections, see e.g. Gelzer ii. 226-9, 247-9.

<sup>165</sup> Gelzer ii. 189. Gelzer speculated that the only authors whom Synkellos knew independently of his Alexandrian sources were those who either were later than the early 5th c. (for example, Maximos Confessor and John of Damascus), took positions opposed to the Alexandrian chroniclers (Gregory of Nazianzos and Ephrem Syrus), or were *personae non gratae* in the Alexandria of Theophilus' time (John Chrysostom). While uncertain about the extent, if any, of Synkellos' independent knowledge of Africanus' and Eusebios' chronicle (ii. 185-6), Gelzer considered it 'ziemlich zweifellos' that Synkellos made direct use of Eusebios' *Ecclesiastical History* (ii. 189 n. 2).

Facets of Gelzer's thesis are confirmed from internal analysis of Synkellos' chronicle. Synkellos, mostly approving of Panodoros' and Annianos' criticisms of Eusebios, repeats and elaborates many of them in his own chronicle.<sup>166</sup> He as much as acknowledges that his Alexandrian authorities supplied him with his sources for Babylonian and Egyptian antiquities.<sup>167</sup> Given Synkellos' statements about Panodoros' use of Claudius Ptolemy, it is a reasonable supposition that Synkellos incorporated into his own chronicle a version of Ptolemy's *κανὼν βασιλειῶν* originating in Panodoros' chronicle. His dating of Christ's birth, which includes its number in the 532-year Easter cycle, is derived from Annianos' tables.<sup>168</sup> Syriac chronicles confirm Synkellos' dependence on the Alexandrian monks for source material. Michael Syrus' attribution of his citation from the *Book of Enoch* to Annianos makes it reasonably certain that Synkellos' own citation from that work originated in the work of one of his Alexandrian authorities.<sup>169</sup> And Annianos' version of Assyrian chronology, as it can be known from Elias of Nisibis, leaves little doubt about Synkellos' dependence on him for his own catalogue of Assyrian kings.<sup>170</sup>

But Gelzer's more far-reaching claims about Synkellos' dependence on his Alexandrian sources are not credible. Source analysis shows that Synkellos' use and adaptation of other patristic and Byzantine sources were more extensive than Gelzer estimated.<sup>171</sup>

<sup>166</sup> For Synkellos' recapitulation of their criticisms, see e.g. 197.30–198.3; 396.2–11. In neither of these cases, however, does he explicitly ascribe these criticisms to his Alexandrian authorities.

<sup>167</sup> See e.g. Synk. 17.11–27, where, in connection with his sources for Babylonian and Egyptian chronology, Synkellos refers to the false interpretation of these same sources by 'some of our historians'. On Panodoros' use of the Hermetic *Book of Sothis*, one of Synkellos' sources for Egyptian chronology, see 41.20–42.19.

<sup>168</sup> See Synk. 381.10–13, on the date of Christ's birth: 'This is the commencement of the 181st year of the 11th 532-year cycle, the first-created Hebrew month of Nisan on the first day of the year, which always coincides with the 25th of the Roman month of March, and the 29th of the Egyptian month of Phamenoth, eight days before the Kalends of April.'

<sup>169</sup> See Mich. Syr. 1.3–4. For discussion of the source of Michael's *Enoch* excerpt, see Gelzer ii. 440–1; S. Brock, 'A Fragment of Enoch in Syriac', *JTS*, NS 19 (1968), 626–31.

<sup>170</sup> Elias Nis. 1.15.9–16.14 gives the lists of Assyrian kings from Annianos, Eusebios, and Andronikos. The most telling evidence of Synkellos' use of Annianos here is that even his variants from Eusebios' Assyrian chronology parallel Annianos'. For discussion, see Serruys, 'Les Canons', 22–3.

<sup>171</sup> For example, in his catalogue of sources that Synkellos knew independently of the Alexandrians, Gelzer failed to mention Agathias (6th c.) and Gregory of Nyssa's *Life of Moses*.

Since Synkellos endorsed most of their criticisms of Eusebios, Gelzer assumed, with no sound justification, that all Synkellos' own attacks on Eusebios were appropriated from them.<sup>172</sup> Gelzer could identify very little unambiguous evidence of Synkellos' incorporation of Annianos' 'corrections' of Panodoros. In the absence of such evidence, he sometimes proposed highly dubious emendations, reversed himself, or made impressionistic judgements about the influence of the Alexandrian chroniclers.<sup>173</sup> His attempts to extend his analysis to other Byzantine sources became even more tenuous. On the basis of parallels between Synkellos and other Byzantine chronicles, Gelzer believed it possible, for example, to uncover evidence of the Panodoros/Annianos source, even where neither chronicler was actually named.<sup>174</sup> Critical leaps like these confirm Serruys's observation that 'la reconstruction était méthodique mais les fondations étaient trop caduques'.<sup>175</sup>

From the fragments of Annianos preserved by the Syriac chronicler Elias of Nisibis (a source unavailable to Gelzer), Serruys established that Annianos was far more than an unoriginal redactor of his contemporary. A reference in Synkellos to 'Panodoros and others', for example, led Gelzer to conclude that Annianos' chronology of the post-diluvian Chaldaean and Arab dynasties beginning with Nimrod/Euechios 'durchaus dem Panodoros folgte'.<sup>176</sup> But, as Serruys shows, Annianos' chronology of these dynasties bears only a remote relationship to Panodoros'.<sup>177</sup> Annianos' chronology of kings from Cyrus to Alexander does not conform in particulars with the Ecclesiastical Computation. And his independent reckoning of a celebrated crux in biblical chronology, namely the period from the Exodus to the building of Solomon's temple, scarcely fits the depiction of him as a captive to tradition. Elias in fact derides his dating of this period for precisely the opposite reason; the 640 years that he

<sup>172</sup> Gelzer ii. 193–6.

<sup>173</sup> As an example, see Gelzer i. 10, where he proposes that Synkellos' account of eating 'manna' brought to him from Parthia must have come from Africanus. In the second volume of the same work (ii. 183), he then reversed himself, suggesting that this report might have originated with Synkellos, but that the whole section should be considered as 'panodorisch mit Zusätzen von Synkellos'. On his arbitrary emendations, see Gelzer ii. 212, where, on very flimsy grounds, he proposes emending Synk. 58.7 from αὐτῶν ὁ χρόνος to αὐτῷ ὁ Ἀννιανός.

<sup>174</sup> See Gelzer ii. 152 (on *Chron. pasch.*), 280–97, 298–314 (*Ἐκλογή ἱστοριῶν*).

<sup>175</sup> Serruys, 'Les Canons', 17.

<sup>176</sup> Synk. 89.3–4; Gelzer ii. 203.

<sup>177</sup> Serruys, 'Les Canons', 21–2 shows that, unlike Panodoros, for whom the dynasty of the Chaldaeans commenced in AM 2405, Annianos (and Synkellos as well) assigned the beginning of the Chaldaean kingdom to AM 2776.



assigned to this period, Elias writes, lacked the support of 'either the Bible or of nature'.<sup>178</sup>

Even where dependence can be established, Synkellos himself was far from a servile transcriber of his Alexandrian predecessors. By Synkellos' own admission, his treatment of archaic history cited many of the same sources that they did. But he then rearranged and reinterpreted these sources in order to refute their treatment of this same material. Synkellos is largely in agreement with Annianos' chronology of sacred history from the Flood up to the Exodus; after that, however, their respective chronologies deviate significantly.<sup>179</sup> While drawing upon Annianos' register of the Median and Persian dynasties, Synkellos adapted his catalogue of kings to conform to his own divergent chronology of Jewish history up to the time of Cyrus. Serruys's comment on the whole matter is to the point: 'Le Syncelle a certes fait des emprunts considérables à Annianos mais il ne lui doit ni l'armature de sa chronologie sacrée ni partant les listes profanes qui étaient incompatibles avec son propre système. Si le Syncelle n'est qu'un imitateur d'Annianos, du moins peut-on prétendre qu'il a imité jusqu'à la liberté de son modèle.'<sup>180</sup>

Quite apart from specific examples, there is the broader question of the extent of Synkellos' access to and knowledge of his Alexandrian sources. Unlike Africanus and Eusebios (whom Synkellos cites without elaboration), Panodoros and Annianos are first named in his chronicle along with lengthy biographical descriptions about their background and the contents of their chronicle. Nor does Synkellos seem all that well informed about the specific contents of their work. His description of the relationship of these two writers to one another is vague and imprecise. After a detailed discussion of their chronicles in his narrative of ante-diluvian history, the rare later references to them are either in passing or a repetition of something said earlier. When, at the conclusion of his chronicle, Synkellos does have occasion to refer to Panodoros by name, he speaks only of 'a certain Panodoros'.<sup>181</sup>

<sup>178</sup> Elias of Nisibis, 1.8.28–9. For fuller discussion of these matters, see Serruys, 'Les Canons', 20–2, 25–6.

<sup>179</sup> For example, according to Elias Nis. 1.8.19, Annianos calculated 640 years from the Exodus to the building of Solomon's temple; Synkellos, on the other hand, assigned 664 years to this period, that is, from AM 3816 (147.3) to 4478 (213.4).

<sup>180</sup> Serruys, 'Les Canons', 26; see also Laqueur, 'Synkellos', 1402.

<sup>181</sup> Synk. 396.12, in the context of describing Panodoros' error in dating Christ's Incarnation. For Synkellos' scattered references to Panodoros in his treatment of post-diluvian chronology, see 88.12–89.4, which is a continuation of his criticism of 'Panodoros and others' for their interpretation of Babylonian chronology; 266.1–2, where Synkellos notes Panodoros' putting the time of Daniel in the Assyrian period

This is hardly the sort of characterization one expects to find from an author who was purportedly transcribing Panodoros throughout the entire work. Indeed, the very magnitude, complexity, and apparent redundancy of Panodoros' work would have limited its preservation to epitomes and collections of excerpts, examples of which are commonplace in Byzantine chronicles. Although far more than this, Synkellos' chronicle was also an *ἐκλογή*. It is thus reasonable to suppose that, as with so many of his other sources, Synkellos did not know the works of his Alexandrian predecessors in their entirety, but simply as a body of excerpts assembled by some earlier editor or editors.

In Byzantium of the ninth century, Panodoros and Annianos were hardly household names. Neither author is known to Photios; Synkellos is in fact the only Byzantine writer to refer to either of them by name. The Eusebios tradition fared only slightly better. Gelzer thought it implausible that in the early ninth century a copy of Eusebios' chronicle was not available to Synkellos in the patriarchal library of Constantinople.<sup>182</sup> But since the Greek text of the chronicle is now known only in scattered excerpts preserved by Synkellos and a few other Byzantine chronicles, the Greek transmission of that work into the ninth century is a matter of legitimate doubt.<sup>183</sup> All this contrasts sharply with the use and preservation of these historians in Syriac. As already noted, Syriac chronographers repeatedly cite Annianos as one of the foremost authorities of their discipline. Eusebios' chronicle, which is reported to have been translated into Syriac as early as the seventh century, survives in several Syriac epitomes and collections of extracts. And the Armenian translation, the most complete text of his chronicle now available, was probably based, at least in part, on a Syriac exemplar.<sup>184</sup>

These circumstances naturally invite speculation about a possible

(but cf. 274.14-15, where Synkellos attributes the same dating only to 'others'); 377.31-378.18, which also deals with the influence of Ptolemy's *Handy Tables* on Panodoros' dating of Christ's Incarnation.

<sup>182</sup> Gelzer ii. 185.

<sup>183</sup> For Greek excerpts from Eusebios' chronicle, see, in addition to Synkellos, the collection of chronological excerpts in *Anec. Gr. Par.* ii. 114-63.

<sup>184</sup> In the 7th c. Jacob of Edessa and a Syriac chronicler named Simeon are both said to have translated Eusebios' chronicle into Syriac. On the transmission of Eusebios' chronicle in Syriac, see P. Kesseling, 'Die Chronik des Eusebius in der syrischen Überlieferung', *OrChr*, 3rd ser. 1 (1927), 23-48, 223-41; 2 (1927), 33-56. On the Armenian version's use of a Syriac text of Eusebios, see J. Karst, in *Eus.* 1, pp. xxxviii-liv; and Mosshammer, *The Chronicle of Eusebius*, 73-4.

connection between Synkellos and Syriac chronography. Cyril Mango has already proposed that Theophanes' detailed treatment of Syrian and Palestinian history under Arab rule originated in a Melkite chronicle, originally composed in Syriac, which Synkellos discovered during his monastic service in the Old Lavra of St Chariton.<sup>185</sup> Some of Synkellos' own citations betray a familiarity with works of Syriac provenance. He cites, for example, a Greek excerpt from Ephrem Syrus' *Hymns on Paradise*, and knows pseudepigrapha independently attested in Syriac recensions. A note about the Antiochene calendar appended to one of Synkellos' quotations from Africanus may also betray the hand of a Syrian editor.<sup>186</sup> To what extent Synkellos' awareness of the Syriac chronographic tradition enhances our understanding of the transmission of Eusebios and his Alexandrian successors is a subject that must await further inquiry. It is in any case possible that sources of Syrian/Palestinian origin played a greater role than previously imagined in the mediation of source material to Synkellos and, by extension, to the later Byzantine chroniclers dependent on him.<sup>187</sup>

## VI. CHRONOLOGICAL CONVENTIONS: ERAS AND CYCLES

Throughout the chronicle, Synkellos uses various eras and other dating conventions, among them years of the indiction cycle, years dated from the creation of the universe, and years of the Paschal cycle. As an aid to the reader, we describe here the meaning of these conventions.

### (a) Universal years

This is the basic chronological unit of the chronicle.<sup>188</sup> AM 1 is the first year of the chronicle, which for Synkellos begins on 25 March (= 1 Nisan). Synkellos' universal era is neither the traditional Byzantine era (= 5508 BC), nor the era of Africanus (= 5502 BC). It is rather the Alexandrian era of Annianos. Translated into years of the Christian Era, AM 1 of Annianos' era = 5492 BC. To convert years of this era into years AD, 5492 is subtracted from the *annus mundi* for

<sup>185</sup> See Mango, 'Theophanes', 12–17, and below, p. lxxxii.

<sup>186</sup> For the citation of Ephrem, see Synk. 15.11–31. On Synkellos' citations from pseudepigrapha of Syriac provenance, see Gelzer ii. 266 ff. For the editorial addition to the citation from Africanus, see Synk. 373.9–10, and note ad loc.

<sup>187</sup> On this, see below, pp. lxxxii–lxxxiii.

<sup>188</sup> Occasionally, Synkellos refers as well to years ἀπὸ Ἀδάμ (7.26; 120.31).

dates from 25 March to 31 December, and 5491 years for dates from 1 January to 24 March. For years BC, subtract the *annus mundi* from 5493 for dates from 25 March to 31 December, and from 5492 for dates from 1 January to 24 March.<sup>189</sup>

A few examples from Synkellos' chronicle should illustrate the conversion of years of the Alexandrian universal era to years of the common era. In two passages quoted by Synkellos, Annianos mentions the dates of Constantine's Vicennalia and the death of Theophilos, archbishop of Alexandria. For the latter date, Annianos gives the year 5904. Subtracting 5492 years from 5904 yields 412, which corresponds to the date of Theophilos' death in October of the year 412. Annianos also dates the Vicennalia of Constantine in 5816. Subtracting 5492 years yields AD 324. Synkellos' own use of the Alexandrian era is evident, for example, in his date of Alexander's death, which he gives as 5170; for 5493–5170 = 323, that is, 323 BC. Applying the conversion formula also makes it possible to determine the dates of the composition of his chronicle (AM 6800–2). By subtracting 5492 from these two numbers, it can be determined that Synkellos composed his chronicle between the years AD 808 to 810.

(b) *Generations of patriarchs*

Beginning with the post-diluvian Kaïnan, Synkellos provides a fairly consistent format for indicating the number of the generation of successive biblical patriarchs. The usual notation is Γενεά followed by the number of the generation, the name of the patriarch, the total years of his life, and the universal year in which the epoch of this patriarch begins. Abraham's epoch, for example, is indicated by the following (110.24–5):

Γενεά κα'. Ἀβραάμ ἔτη ρ'. τοῦ δὲ κόσμου ἦν ἔτος γτιγ' ('21st generation. 100 years of Abraham. AM 3313').

It will be noted that the beginning of Abraham's epoch in 3313 is one year later than the date of his birth in 3312 (105.5–6). Since this is a consistent practice for most of the biblical patriarchs, Gelzer correctly surmised that the epoch of a patriarch begins in the year following his birth.<sup>190</sup>

<sup>189</sup> The reason for this is that there is no year '0' in the era of Dionysius Exiguus. For discussion of Annianos' era, see Serruys, 'Les transformations', 260–2; Grumel, *La Chronologie* (Paris, 1958) 92–4, 97.

<sup>190</sup> Gelzer ii. 233.

(c) *Years from the Incarnation*

For Synkellos, the Incarnation refers to Jesus' conception in the womb, not his birth. His initial promise to prove that the Incarnation of Christ occurred in AM 5500 is somewhat imprecise. When he later addresses this matter in more depth, he refines this statement: the conception of Jesus occurred at the completion of AM 5500, on the first day of AM 5501 (= 25 March).<sup>191</sup> Since Synkellos follows the era of Annianos, this would translate into AD 9 (5501 - 5492 = 9).<sup>192</sup> After establishing this date, Synkellos provides years from the divine Incarnation, alongside universal years. He calculates these years by subtracting 5500 complete years from the universal year.

The following table gives a brief overview of Synkellos' system; note that the equivalences are those which ought to obtain whether or not they actually do in his calculations:<sup>193</sup>

	AM	Ol.	BC	Synk. p.
Creation	1		5492	
	1000		4493	
Flood	2242		3251	22.24-8
Dispersion of the nations	2776		2717	48.9-11
Birth of Abraham	3312		2181	96.27-97.1
Death of Joseph	3672		1821	127.22-3
Exodus	3817		1676	147.3-4
End of Judges	4352		1141	205.17-19
Construction of the first Temple	4478		1015	213.1-4
Beginning of Olympiads	4717	1.1	776	235.22 <sup>194</sup>
4 Joakeim (first year of Babylonian captivity)	4883	42.3	610	265.19-23
1 Cyrus (end of Babylonian captivity)	4952	59.4	541	278.11-18
	5000	71.4	493	

<sup>191</sup> Synk. 377.25-378.4; 381.5-22.

<sup>192</sup> Synkellos states that Africanus also dated the birth of Christ to 5500. But since Africanus' universal era was different from Annianos', the year 5500 in Africanus' chronicle does not translate into the same year of the Christian Era. The year 5500 in Africanus' chronicle equates with 2 BC, not AD 9.

<sup>193</sup> This is particularly true of the relations between his Olympic years and the regular reckoning given in the table. In fact, Synkellos seems to be using as many as three Olympiad eras: Ol. 1.1 is AM 4721 at 231.3-4, 4719 at 234.12-13, and 4725 at 233.7-8.

<sup>194</sup> This is the correct date, but Synkellos gives variously AM 4719 = 774 BC (234.13), AM 4725 = 768 BC (233.7-8), and (apparently) AM 4726 = 767 BC (235.22).

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	AM	Ol.	BC	Synk. p.
Death of Alexander	5170	114.2	323	241.6-7
1 Judas Maccabaeus	5334	155.2	159	346.6-7
1 Julius Caesar	5454	185.2	39	365.19
1 Augustus	5458	186.2	35	368.7-8
	5492	194.4	1	
	AM	Ol.	AD	Synk. p.
	5493	195.1	1	
Incarnation <sup>195</sup>	5501	196.4	9	381.10-22
Crucifixion	5533	205.1	41	388.22- 389.12
Resurrection	5534	205.2	42	397.13-14
	5600	221.4	108	
	5700	246.4	208	
1 Diocletian	5777	266.1	285	360.6-8
	5800	271.4	308	
Vicennalia	5816	275.4	324	36.16-19

Africanus' chronology, as presented by Synkellos (other witnesses sometimes disagree), may be summarized as follows:

	a.Ad.	Ol.	BC	Synk. p.
Creation	1		5501	
The Flood	2262		3240	59.16-18
Death of Phalek	3000		2502	97.11
Birth of Abraham	3202		2300	
Migration of Abraham	3277		2225	105.4-5
Death of Joseph	3563		1939	122.2-3
The Exodus <sup>196</sup>	3707		1795	71.8-17
End of the Judges	4292		1210	205.17-18
Construction of the first Temple				
= 8 Solomon	4457		1045	213.4-5
Beginning of Olympiads				
= 1 Achaz	4726	1.1	776	233.11-17
1 Sedekias	4872	37.3	630	261.16-17
(first year of 70 years of Babylonian captivity)				
1 Cyrus	4942	55.1	560	71.12-13
(end of 70 years of Babylonian captivity)				

<sup>195</sup> See remarks prefacing this table.

<sup>196</sup> So Synkellos; according to Eusebios (*PE* 10.10.10), Africanus dated the Exodus 1237 years before 1 Cyrus (= AM 3705).

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	a.Ad.	Ol.	BC	Synk. p.
20 Artaxerxes (beginning of the 70 year-weeks of Dan. 9. 24-7)	5057	83.4	445	392.4
Beginning of Macedonian kingdom	5172	112.3	330	372.24-5
Death of Cleopatra <sup>197</sup> (end of Macedonian kingdom)	5472	187.3	30	372.26-9
Incarnation	5500	194.3	2	395.19-20
	a.Ad.	Ol.	AD	Synk. p.
Crucifixion <sup>198</sup>	5531	202.2	30	395.20-2
3 Elagabalus (last year of chronicle)	5723	250.2	222	251.24-9

Eusebios' chief dates as given by Synkellos are listed below without reference to evidence in other sources:<sup>199</sup>

	a.Ad.	a.Abr.	Ol.	BC	Synk. p.
Birth of Adam	1			5199	
Flood	2242			2958	59.18-19
Birth of Abraham	3184	1		2016	98.17
Death of Joseph	3545	361		1655	128.7-8
Exodus = 45 Kekrops	3689	505		1511	180.1-4
End of the Judges	4044	860		1156	205.18
Construction of the first Temple					
= 8 Solomon	4170	986		1030	213.5
First Olympiad					
= 50 Azarias	4424	1242	1.1	776	
11 Sedekias (destruction of the Temple and the first year of 70 years of captivity)	4609	1425	47.2	591	270.3
1 Cyrus (partial restoration of the Jews from captivity)	4640	1458	55.1	560	270.6-7

<sup>197</sup> Synkellos actually gives the Olympiad date as Ol. 187.4 (379.29).

<sup>198</sup> According to other witnesses Africanus dated the Crucifixion to 5532; see below, p. 471 n. 2.

<sup>199</sup> Except for the dates of Ol. 1.1 and the Nativity, imported from Eus.-Jer. *Canons*. The Olympiad dating derived from Synkellos' does not always coincide with the dates found in other versions of Eusebios' chronicle. Note too that while Synkellos usually gives Eusebian dates in years from Adam, Eusebios' more customary practice is to count from Abraham; hence an additional column is needed giving dates according to the Abrahamic era. Reflecting Synkellos' own practice, the count of years from Abraham does not include his first year.

## Chronological Conventions

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	a.Ad.	a.Abr.	Ol.	BC	Synk. p.
2 Dareios (rebuilding of the Temple, and the final year of 70 years of captivity)	4679	1495	64.4	521	271.12-14
Nativity = 42 Augustus	5199	2015	194.4	1	
	a.Ad.	a.Abr.	Ol.	AD	Synk. p.
Crucifixion	5232	2048	203.1	33	396.7
Vicennalia	5526	2342	276.3	327	36.18

### (d) Indiction

The 15-year indiction cycle was a system of dating widely in use in the Byzantine world. Unlike Olympiads, indiction cycles are not numbered; there is only a single number indicating the position of a year in the sequence of a given cycle. For that reason, the primary value of an indiction number is in relationship to some other system of dating. To derive an indiction number corresponding to Synkellos' *annus mundi*, an additional unit must be added to the remainder after the universal year is divided by 15. The reason for this is that AM 1 of the Alexandrian era corresponds to the second year of the indiction. When, for example, Synkellos equates AM 6800 with the first year of the indiction, he arrived at this number by adding one to the remainder of 6800 divided by 15 (= 0).<sup>200</sup>

### (e) The 532-year Easter cycle

Annianos is credited with the formulation of this cycle, which assisted in the calculation of the dating of Easter from AM 1 (= 5492 BC). The cycle is the multiple of the 19-year lunar cycle and the 28-year solar cycle. For each year of this cycle, the Easter table noted the day of the month and week of Luna 14, as well as the date of Easter Sunday. The underlying principle is that after the completion of this cycle, Luna 14 returns to the same day of the month and the same day of the week, and thus Easter Sunday returns to the same day of the month as well. The remainder after dividing the universal year by 532 gives the number of a universal year in the Easter cycle.

According to Synkellos, Annianos used these tables to disprove

<sup>200</sup> See Ginzel, *Handbuch der mathematischen und technischen Chronologie*, iii. 291.



Eusebios' dating of the Vicennalia of Constantine.<sup>201</sup> While making only irregular use of Annianos' Easter computus, Synkellos provides the number in the Easter cycle for significant events. Thus Christ's Incarnation on 25 March, at the beginning of AM 5501, is the 'commencement of the 181st year of the eleventh 532-year cycle'.<sup>202</sup> He also uses Annianos' computus to establish his central argument about the dates of Christ's death and Resurrection. True to his stated intention of proving that the Resurrection occurred on the same date as the day of creation, Synkellos asserts that Christ's Resurrection occurred on 25 March in the year AM 5534. This dating is confirmed by Annianos' computus, according to which AM 5534 corresponds to the 214th year of the Easter cycle. In that year of the cycle, Easter Sunday corresponds to 25 March. Working backwards from that date, Synkellos can then determine that Christ's passion occurred on Friday, 23 March of the previous year (AM 5533), corresponding to the 213th year of the 11th 532-year cycle.<sup>203</sup>

#### VII. TEXTUAL HISTORY AND GREEK EDITIONS OF SYNKELLOS

On the basis of a relatively complete codex discovered by Isaac Casaubon, Cod. Parisinus Bibl. Nat. Gr. 1711 (= MS A), Joseph Scaliger first published portions of Synkellos' chronicle in his *Thesaurus Temporum*. Scaliger selected passages from the chronicle chiefly for their value in reconstructing the chronicle of Eusebios, the first book of which was at the time not available in Europe.<sup>204</sup> Despite repeated efforts to locate other complete manuscript witnesses, only fragmentary copies of the chronicle were subsequently discovered. Some fifty years after the publication of Scaliger's work, Jacob Goar published the first complete edition of Synkellos' chronicle. While basing himself chiefly on the Paris manuscript, Goar collated readings from two additional manuscripts for the last part of the chronicle. Later scholars severely criticized Goar's edition for its numerous questionable readings and emendations.

<sup>201</sup> Synk. 36.21-9.

<sup>202</sup> Synk. 381.10. Since 31 March falls on Sunday in AM 5501, it can be assumed from this that 25 March in AM 5500/5501 was on a Monday.

<sup>203</sup> Synk. 388.32-389.19; 390.25-31. For the dating of Easter in the 214th year of the Easter cycle according to the Alexandrian (= Annianos') era, see the relevant entry in the tables in Grumel, *La Chronologie*, 270.

<sup>204</sup> Scaliger, *Thesaurus Temporum* (2 vols.; Leiden, 1606; repr. Osnabrück, 1968), i. 3-72 (in the section entitled *Τῶν χρονικῶν παντοδαπῆς ἱστορίας Εὐσεβίου τοῦ Παμφίλου τὰ σωζόμενα*).

In the latter half of the seventeenth century, a second Paris manuscript of the whole work was discovered, Cod. Parisinus Bibl. Nat. Gr. 1764 (= MS B). But it was several years before this manuscript became publicly known. In his own edition of Synkellos' chronicle (published in the early part of the nineteenth century for the *Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae*), Wilhelm Dindorf used this second manuscript to correct readings in Goar's *editio princeps*. Despite the shortcomings of this edition and numerous appeals for a new one, Dindorf's text remained the standard edition for over 150 years.<sup>205</sup>

The Greek text used in this translation was edited by A. A. Mosshammer and published in 1983 for the Teubner collection. As a matter of editorial policy, Mosshammer avoided emendations of readings found in the codices, limiting them largely to minor corrections of orthography and other noticeable discrepancies. Although Mosshammer's printed text does not differ substantially from Dindorf's, the edition has a much fuller *apparatus criticus*, incorporating readings from the *traditio obliqua* (parallel matter from three other Byzantine chronicles), and, for the latter part of Synkellos' chronicle, the witness of several additional manuscripts. Mosshammer also records marginal scholia and provides a thorough *apparatus fontium* (to which the present translation is heavily indebted).

The introduction to the edition also presents an exemplary analysis of the manuscript witnesses, their value, and their relationship to one another. It is necessary here only to summarize Mosshammer's reconstruction of the manuscript tradition.<sup>206</sup> Although in most respects B is superior to A, these two manuscripts (both of which date to the eleventh century) descend from a common hyparchetype. MS P, a manuscript dating to the sixteenth century, is the hyparchetype for the more recent manuscripts (MP QRS). P itself descends from a lost manuscript, designated in Mosshammer's apparatus as 'z'. MSS COz, V, and T descend from a common source, which Mosshammer designates **t**, and which is manifestly different from MSS A and B. A striking example of this divergence occurs before Synkellos' narrative of Pompey's siege of Jerusalem. Manuscripts of the **t** group commence here, opening the text with a heading describing the author and summarizing the material to follow. Although this heading is lacking in MSS AB, there are calligraphic indications of a break in these two

<sup>205</sup> On the inadequacies of Dindorf's edition, see Moss., p. vii.

<sup>206</sup> Moss., pp. xvi–xix. For an explanation of his manuscript sigla, see above, under 'Abbreviations'.

manuscripts at this point. After the word *δηλωθήσεται*, MS B, for example, marks the beginning of a new part of the chronicle by adding the word *οὖν* to *Πομπήιος* and making the capital letter *Π* of the name so large that it extended over four lines.<sup>207</sup>

Mosshammer believes that with these words the scribe of MS B began copying from a portion of Synkellos' chronicle that was preserved in a separate codex. From this he drew an important conclusion about the physical circumstances of the transmission of the chronicle, maintaining that at a relatively early stage (in his view some time before 870), the manuscript tradition was split into two parts. Perhaps Synkellos himself had written the chronicle in two codices, the second codex beginning with the accession of Pompey to power. In any case, the chronicle circulated in two segments from the time of Theophanes. This bipartite division of Synkellos' chronicle would also account for the uneven state of the work's preservation. Because the first part was larger and contained relatively unfamiliar material, it survived only in a few manuscripts. The second part, which came to include the continuation of Theophanes as well, was far better preserved.<sup>208</sup>

#### VIII. SYNKELLOS' CHRONICLE IN SCHOLARSHIP SINCE SCALIGER

Theophanes' preface to his continuation of the chronicle eulogized Synkellos as a historian of 'distinction and great learning' who far surpassed his predecessors in correcting errors and reconciling contradictions. Soon after examining the Paris manuscript of Synkellos, Joseph Scaliger reached an entirely different conclusion. Demonstrating little aptitude for his chosen discipline, Synkellos' chief contribution to the field was in transcribing 'universam Eusebii chronologiam sine ulla verborum immutatione'.<sup>209</sup> Because of Scaliger's reputation for prodigious learning, especially in the study of ancient chronology, his heated denunciations dealt the work a severe blow. The question of the chronicle's originality continues to dominate much of the scholarship on Synkellos even up to the present day.

Jacob Goar's campaign both to rehabilitate Synkellos' reputation

<sup>207</sup> See Moss., p. xviii, and his notes to 360.1-9.

<sup>208</sup> See Moss., p. xvii. This same point was earlier noted by Goar, 'Praef.' 69.

<sup>209</sup> J. J. Scaliger, 'Notae', in *Thesaurus Temporum*, ii. 241. In the same passage Scaliger also characterized Eusebios' chronicle as 'nihil aliud . . . quam τὸ ἱστορικὸν Africani recoctum'. The story of Scaliger's views on these three chronographers and his uneasy relationship with Synkellos leading up to the publication of *Thesaurus Temporum* is ably recounted in Grafton, *Joseph Scaliger*, ii. 541-8.

and to establish his independence from Eusebios was unfortunately compromised by his own arbitrary and often erroneous corrections of the few Greek manuscripts available to him.<sup>210</sup> In a learned essay originally delivered to the literary society of Paris, G. G. Bredow sought to negotiate a compromise between the two extremes of Theophanes and Scaliger.<sup>211</sup> Readers, he wrote, would undoubtedly have been better served had Scaliger, and not Goar, prepared the *editio princeps* of Synkellos' chronicle. At the same time, however, their estimation of its author would have been unfairly tarnished by a critic 'nimius . . . et in Eusebio laudando et in Georgio vituperando'; if only for his diligence in collecting and comparing the chronologies of so many ancient sources, Synkellos did indeed deserve the epithet *πολυμαθέστατος* conferred upon him by Theophanes. But even while disapproving of Scaliger for his outbursts against Synkellos, Bredow allowed that Synkellos' work suffered from the shortcomings of many works of its genre: among them a certain blandness of style, redundancy, a lack of editorial judgement in quoting sources, and a failure to reconcile sometimes glaring contradictions in chronology.<sup>212</sup>

Heinrich Gelzer's *Sextus Julius Africanus und die byzantinische Chronographie*, has already been mentioned in Section V(b) with relation to Synkellos' debt to his Alexandrian sources. This imposing study inaugurated a second phase in Synkellos scholarship. In reconstructing the chronicle of Africanus from its fragmentary remains in later sources, Gelzer understandably focused his efforts on Synkellos' chronicle, the single most important collection of Africanus excerpts. Using Synkellos' citations, Gelzer believed it possible to locate vestiges of Africanus in other Byzantine chroniclers, even where this material was not explicitly attributed to him.<sup>213</sup> In the second volume of his study, Gelzer then turned to the development of Christian chronography after Africanus. Here he set forth his more controversial opinions about Synkellos' abilities and originality, and the extent of his debt to his Alexandrian authorities. Theophanes' praise of Synkellos for having read and analysed numerous previous chroniclers and historians, Gelzer wrote, would have carried more authority had he not been himself 'ein vollkommener *homo rudis*'.<sup>214</sup> Gelzer

<sup>210</sup> For Goar's defence of Synkellos against Scaliger, see his 'Praefatio', rpr. Dindorf ii. 53–73, esp. pp. 59–64, 67–8.

<sup>211</sup> G. G. Bredow, 'Dissertatio de Georgii Syncelli Chronographia', rpr. *ibid.* 3–49.

<sup>212</sup> *Ibid.* 11.

<sup>213</sup> Gelzer i. 57 ff.

<sup>214</sup> *Ibid.* ii. 184.

stopped short of calling Synkellos an outright fraud, even conceding to him some small measure of originality. But Synkellos' method of citing sources, artfully designed to disguise the full measure of his dependence on intermediaries, created the impression of a scholar with more learning than he actually had.<sup>215</sup> The overall verdict was only slightly less severe than Scaliger's. For both scholars, Synkellos' chronicle appeared as a poor reproduction of some earlier (and lost) original.

Gelzer's views about Synkellos' sources were themselves not entirely new. G. F. Unger's study of Egyptian material in his chronicle had earlier anticipated many of Gelzer's findings.<sup>216</sup> But because Gelzer's case for Synkellos' dependence on Panodoros and Annianos was more thoroughgoing, he is usually credited with its formulation. Given the previous direction of Synkellos scholarship, it was almost inevitable that later reviews of his work concentrated on Gelzer's trenchant remarks about Synkellos' originality. Recapitulation of his findings in Krumbacher's influential handbook reinforced the generally low assessment of Synkellos prevalent around the turn of the century.<sup>217</sup> Although isolated challenges had appeared not long after the publication of Gelzer's study, the first systematic reconsideration of his reconstruction began with the articles of D. Serruys and R. Laqueur.<sup>218</sup>

Laqueur's dissatisfaction with Gelzer's ideas appears to have evolved in stages. In his analysis of Synkellos' versions of Africanus' and Eusebios' epitomes of Manetho's *Aigyptiaka*, he suggested that, although Synkellos may have depended on Panodoros 'im weitesten Maße', the actual presentation of this material represented Synkellos' own editorial judgement.<sup>219</sup> In a subsequent study, Laqueur mounted a far more vigorous case for Synkellos' independence. He confessed that, like many other scholars, he had

<sup>215</sup> Ibid. ii. 185–8, 263 (here in reference to Synkellos' quotations from Jewish pseudepigrapha).

<sup>216</sup> G. F. Unger, *Chronologie des Manetho* (Berlin, 1867), 35 ('Panodor ist überhaupt für profane Chronologie der Hauptgewährsmann Syncells, insbesondere auch in methodischer Beziehung'); 40 ('Annian ist Syncells erster Gewährsmann in den eigentlich kirchlichen Partien seiner Chronologie . . .'). Gelzer (ii. 191) acknowledged his debt to Unger.

<sup>217</sup> K. Krumbacher, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Literatur*, 2nd edn. (Handbuch der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft, 9/1; Munich, 1897), 340–1.

<sup>218</sup> Laqueur, 'Synkellos'; Serruys, 'Les Canons'. On Serruys's critique of Gelzer, see above, pp. lxvi–lxvii. For an earlier attempt to refute Gelzer's thesis, see C. de Boor, 'Römische Kaisergeschichte in byzantinischer Fassung', *BZ* 1 (1892), 12–33, esp. pp. 30 ff. On the basis of parallels with John Zonaras, de Boor concluded that Synkellos' treatment of Persian and Roman imperial history must have originated in a source much later than Panodoros.

<sup>219</sup> Laqueur, 'Manethon', 1083.

earlier fallen under the influence of Gelzer's source analysis. But Serruys's examination of Annianos material preserved by Elias of Nisibis and his own re-examination of the chronicle had deepened his respect for Synkellos' abilities. The partially revised work that Synkellos passed on to Theophanes revealed an original and autonomous author constantly encountering new problems, and struggling to impose order and structure on an unwieldy and complex body of source material. However overdrawn, Theophanes' praise of Synkellos conformed better to 'der historischen Realität' than the judgements of modern scholars influenced by Gelzer.<sup>220</sup>

With G. L. Huxley's article, scholarship on Synkellos had come almost full circle. Theophanes, not Scaliger, was the more credible judge of Synkellos' abilities. Gelzer's ridicule of Synkellos as a product of 'byzantinische Denkfähigkeit' was an undeserved slur.<sup>221</sup> His spirited critique of his Alexandrian authorities, his 'conscientious attitude to his sources', and his personal examination of biblical manuscripts combined to produce a 'world-history of rare erudition'.<sup>222</sup> Ihor Ševčenko's essay on Byzantine historiography in the time of Synkellos echoed the same sentiment.<sup>223</sup> Theophanes' praise of Synkellos' diligence was 'on the right track'. In weighing the testimony of his sources and formulating independent judgements, Synkellos, he wrote, 'behaved like a modern scholar'.<sup>224</sup>

One subject about which detractors and defenders of Synkellos have disagreed concerns the quality of his critique of his authorities, chiefly Africanus, Eusebios, and the Alexandrian chronographers. Predictably, Scaliger, who considered Synkellos 'Eusebio iniquior' on most subjects, dismissed his attacks on Eusebios as mostly gratuitous.<sup>225</sup> Even Bredow faulted Synkellos for a lamentable tendency to belabour his criticisms endlessly.<sup>226</sup> Gelzer was unimpressed with the quality of Synkellos' critique of Eusebios, characterizing it as the product 'eines exacten, aber kleinlichen und

<sup>220</sup> Laqueur, 'Synkellos', 1392-407, esp. pp. 1402-7.

<sup>221</sup> Huxley, 'Erudition of Synkellos', 214; cf. Gelzer ii. 186.

<sup>222</sup> Huxley, 'Erudition of Synkellos', 213, 217.

<sup>223</sup> Ševčenko, 'The Search for the Past'.

<sup>224</sup> Ibid. 281. See also Hunger, *Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur der Byzantiner*, 332, who concludes that even though Theophanes' high praise was excessive, the subsequent dismissal of Synkellos as an unoriginal copyist was equally unfounded.

<sup>225</sup> Scaliger, 'Notae', in *Thesaurus Temporum*, ii. 245, here in reference to Synkellos' criticisms of Eusebios for asserting that kingdoms existed before the Flood. Synkellos' claims to the contrary, Scaliger wrote, constituted a 'caninam declamationem' (246), lacking 'ullo valido argumento, praeterquam pertinacia, quae illi familiaris est' (245).

<sup>226</sup> Bredow, 'Dissertatio', 11.

dogmatisch beschränkten Kritikers'. Worse than that, it was not his own; his most penetrating arguments against Eusebios actually originated with Panodoros.<sup>227</sup> Laqueur and Huxley, on the other hand, pointed out that Synkellos' sharp condemnation of Panodoros, especially in the latter's treatment of ante-diluvian history, demonstrated a degree of critical detachment from him.<sup>228</sup> W. Adler's study of archaic history and its sources in Christian chronography stressed the same point. In his treatment of ante-diluvian chronology, Synkellos probably used many of the same non-biblical sources as his Alexandrian authorities; but in his use and interpretation of these same sources, he departed radically from them.<sup>229</sup>

Since Synkellos' chronicle ceased with the reign of Diocletian, Byzantinists have only recently considered the work's potential value as a source for the time in which it was written. Interest in Synkellos' chronicle as a witness to Byzantine civilization in the early ninth century stems mainly from his own reports of his travels in and around Palestine, and his possible links to centres of learning located there. Because of the difficulties of distinguishing between Synkellos' personal recollections and first-person narrative transcribed by him from earlier historians, scholars have been divided about the authenticity of these reports. Gelzer, who believed that accounts of his travels in the Holy Land were genuinely autobiographical, even held out the possibility that Synkellos was a Palestinian.<sup>230</sup> In Laqueur's view, Synkellos' journeys to biblical sites once again demonstrated his ability to conduct independent investigations; these visits were not chance or casual encounters, but part of a systematic research effort on his part.<sup>231</sup> V. Grecu was more sceptical, speculating that Synkellos' stories of travels in Palestine actually originated in narrative copied from Africanus and Eusebios.<sup>232</sup>

Cyril Mango's much-quoted article on the chronicle of Theophanes revisited the question of Synkellos' connection with Palestine, this time, however, from a completely fresh perspective.<sup>233</sup> By Mango's calculation, Theophanes required a mere three

<sup>227</sup> Gelzer ii. 193-6.

<sup>228</sup> Laqueur, 'Synkellos', 1402-5; Huxley, 'Erudition of Synkellos', 211-13.

<sup>229</sup> Adler, *Time Immemorial*, 132-58.

<sup>230</sup> See Gelzer ii. 180-2, where he also laments the lack of firm criteria to decide the question of Synkellos' background.

<sup>231</sup> Laqueur, 'Synkellos', 1389.

<sup>232</sup> V. Grecu, 'Hat Georg Synkellos weite Reisen unternommen?', *Bulletin de la Section Historique, Academie Roumaine*, 28/2 (1947), 241-5.

<sup>233</sup> Mango, 'Theophanes'.

years to complete his continuation of Synkellos' chronicle. While labouring on it, he suffered from a wasting disease that left him physically debilitated. Under such constraints, Theophanes, a monk not acclaimed either for learning or culture, would hardly have had sufficient time to complete the work unassisted. When, therefore, he stated that Synkellos gave him the ἀφορμαί with which to complete the chronicle, he must have meant something more than 'starting-points' or 'incipits'. The ἀφορμαί referred instead to a 'bulky dossier' of documents which encompassed the period that Synkellos was unable to finish on his own, and which he handed over to Theophanes for 'minor editing and publication'.<sup>234</sup> Mango also noted that in his account of Syrian and Palestinian history during the seventh and eighth century, Theophanes seemed to rely on a source that closely correlated with material found in several Syriac chronicles. Who other than the Palestinian monk Synkellos could have linked Theophanes to Syriac chronography? Mango believed that before his arrival in Constantinople, Synkellos had served as a monk in one of the Orthodox monasteries of Palestine, in all likelihood the Old Lavra of St Chariton. It was during this time that he discovered a Melkite source for Syrian and Palestinian history that made up part of the dossier bequeathed to Theophanes before Synkellos' death.<sup>235</sup>

In the same article, Mango pointed out that in Palestinian ecclesiastical circles of Synkellos' time, the Alexandrian era continued in use. The fact that Synkellos/Theophanes used this same system of reckoning (not the Byzantine era) thus bolstered the case for Synkellos' connections with Palestine. Mango also conjectured that the Syriac version of Theophanes' source for Syrian and Palestinian history was translated into Greek either by Synkellos himself or, more likely, some other intermediary.<sup>236</sup> In a subsequent study, Mango extended his thesis about Syriac chronography to explain the Greek 'rediscovery' of Eusebios' chronicle by Synkellos/Theophanes in the ninth century. Although the structure of Theophanes' chronicle seems to reflect the influence of Eusebios,

<sup>234</sup> Mango, 'Theophanes', 9–12.

<sup>235</sup> Ibid. 13–14. Cf. W. Brooks, 'The Sources of Theophanes and the Syriac Chroniclers', *BZ* 15 (1906), 578–87. Brooks suggested that the chronicle, originally written in Greek by a Melkite monk of Palestine, was made available to Theophanes in Constantinople. For discussion of Theophanes and the Syriac chronicles, see also Mango–Scott, pp. lxxxii–lxxxvii; N. V. Pigulevskaya, 'Theophanes' *Chronographia* and the Syrian Chronicles', *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinischen Gesellschaft*, 16 (1967), 55–60; A. S. Proudfoot, 'The Sources of Theophanes for the Heraclian Dynasty', *Byzantion*, 4 (1974), 367–439, esp. pp. 405–7.

<sup>236</sup> Mango, 'Theophanes', 13–14, 17.



the author could not have learnt about his chronicle through an uninterrupted Greek tradition. The transmission of that work in Greek had ceased long before that time, possibly with Panodoros in the fifth century. By the ninth century, 'there is no trace of Eusebius' Chronicle at Constantinople, nor, indeed, that of Panodoros'. Hence the version of Eusebios that Theophanes knew must have derived instead from the Syriac chronographic tradition, as it was mediated to him by Synkellos.<sup>237</sup>

As Mango recognized, Synkellos' possible use of documents available to him in both Constantinople and Palestine has broader ramifications for the study of the cultural landscape in Byzantium of the ninth century. Later studies of the chronicle expanded Mango's ideas about Synkellos' activities in Palestine and his relationship to Theophanes. Huxley conjectured that by the time he arrived in Constantinople from Palestine, Synkellos had already completed the bulk of his research. In Constantinople, the demands of his office would have discouraged him from continuing his inquiry, especially since Tarasios might have disapproved of some of the sources that he chose to investigate.<sup>238</sup> Paul Speck offered his own conjectures about the composition of Synkellos' 'dossier', and its relationship to source material found in the chronicles of Theophanes and Nikephoros. Among other things, Speck argued that the material common to Theophanes and the Syriac chroniclers came to him from a Greek chronicle of Palestinian provenance, composed either by Synkellos himself or some other historian of around the same time. On the supposition that Synkellos began assembling source material for his chronicle while still in Palestine, Speck also proposed that the first step 'zu einer Wiederaneignung von Geschichte' in the ninth century began in the Holy Land, and not in Constantinople.<sup>239</sup> Ševčenko was largely in agreement with Mango's other findings; but he dissented from his 'maximalist' claims about Theophanes' dependence on Synkellos, pointing out Theophanes' own claims about having 'searched for many books'.<sup>240</sup> As Ševčenko again stressed, the scope of Synkellos' chronicle, unparalleled in Byzantine chronography, underscored the importance of historical research on the eve of the Byzantine revival.<sup>241</sup>

<sup>237</sup> C. Mango, 'The Tradition of Byzantine Chronography', *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*, 12/13 (1988/9), 360–71, esp. p. 369.

<sup>238</sup> Huxley, 'Erudition of Synkellos', 216.

<sup>239</sup> P. Speck, 'Das geteilte Dossier', *Ποικίλα Βυζαντινά*, 9 (1988), 499–519, esp. pp. 516–17.

<sup>240</sup> Ševčenko, 'The Search for the Past', 287–8.

<sup>241</sup> *Ibid.* 288, 293.

IX. PREVIOUS TRANSLATIONS

Towards the end of the ninth century, Anastasius Bibliothecarius completed a Latin translation of a portion of Synkellos' chronicle extending from Pompey's capture of Jerusalem up to Diocletian's accession to power (= Moss. 360.10–472.26).<sup>242</sup> While of limited use as a translation, this Latin version has considerable value for the study of the manuscript tradition of Synkellos' chronicle. In particular, the fact that Anastasius' translation commenced with Synkellos' account of Pompey's capture of Jerusalem supports Mosshammer's thesis about an early bifurcation in the textual transmission of Synkellos' chronicle.<sup>243</sup>

Although the present volume represents the first complete translation of Synkellos into a modern language, we were able to make selective use of earlier translations. Goar's Latin version, the only translation of the entire text of the chronicle, is included in Dindorf's edition. Several of the ancient works cited by Synkellos are available in English translation. The Loeb Classical Library includes bilingual editions of the *Bibliotheca* of Diodoros Siculus, the *Roman Antiquities* of Dionysios of Halikarnassos, the *Jewish Antiquities* and *Jewish War* of Josephos, and the *Ecclesiastical History* of Eusebios of Caesarea.<sup>244</sup>

Most of the fragments from Classical Greek, Hellenistic, and Christian historians for whom Synkellos is the major, if not the only, witness have been edited and translated. F. Jacoby's *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker* remains the best single edition of Synkellos' excerpts from the fragments of the classical Greek and Hellenistic historians. The annotations to the present translation incorporate some of Jacoby's suggestions and emendations. The Loeb edition of Diodoros' *Bibliotheca* includes an English translation of the fragments of the work preserved only in

<sup>242</sup> For the text of Anastasius' translation, see *Theophanis Chronographia* (Leipzig, 1885), ed. C. de Boor, ii. 60–77. Anastasius also translated sections from Theophanes and the *Chronographeion Syntomon* of Nikephoros. On Anastasius, see G. Arnaldi, 'Anastasio Bibliotecario', *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, iii (1961), 25–37, esp. p. 34; Mango–Scott, p. xcvi.

<sup>243</sup> See above, pp. lxxvi–lxxvii.

<sup>244</sup> *Diodorus of Sicily*, ed. and tr. C. H. Oldfather *et al.*, 12 vols. (London, 1933–67); *Josephus: Jewish Antiquities*, ed. and tr. H. St. J. Thackeray *et al.*, 6 vols. (London, 1930–65); *Josephus: Jewish War*, ed. and tr. H. St. J. Thackeray, 2 vols. (London, 1927–8); *Eusebius: The Ecclesiastical History*, ed. and tr. K. Lake and J. E. L. Oulton, 2 vols. (London, 1926, 1932); *Dionysius of Halicarnassus: Roman Antiquities*, tr. E. Cary, 7 vols. (London, 1937–50).

Synkellos.<sup>245</sup> For the Loeb edition of the fragments of Manetho's *Aigyptiaka*, W. G. Waddell translated Synkellos' recensions of Africanus' and Eusebios' epitomes. The same edition contains an English translation of Synkellos' excerpts from the *Book of Sothis* of Ps.-Manetho, the so-called *Ancient Chronicle*, and the list of Theban kings attributed by Synkellos to Apollodoros and Eratosthenes.<sup>246</sup> S. Burstein's translation of the fragments from Berossos' *Babyloniaka* includes Synkellos' Greek excerpts from that work.<sup>247</sup> G. P. Verbrugghe and J. M. Wickersham have published an English translation of the fragments of the *Babyloniaka* and *Aigyptiaka*, including the extracts from Synkellos.<sup>248</sup> An English translation of most of Synkellos' excerpts from the chronicle of Julius Africanus can be found in volume vi of the *Ante-Nicene Fathers*.<sup>249</sup> For the Greek citations from Eusebios' chronicle, we compared the parallel passages in Karst's German translation of the Armenian version of the chronicle.<sup>250</sup> M. H. Dodgeon and S. Lieu have also translated sections from Synkellos' treatment of Roman-Persian relations in the third century.<sup>251</sup>

Synkellos' citations from Old Testament pseudepigrapha survive in several other versions, most notably Ethiopic, Syriac, and more recently the Aramaic and Hebrew texts from the Dead Sea Scrolls of Qumran. Annotations to the present translation include selective textual commentary from modern editions of the pseudepigrapha cited by him. In his edition of *Jubilees*, H. Röscher provides, along with commentary, a German translation of the fragments of that book in the Byzantine chronographers, including the excerpts from Synkellos.<sup>252</sup> An English translation of Synkellos' citations from *Jubilees*, along with other fragmentary versions witnesses to it in Hebrew, Greek, Syriac, and Latin can be found in the second volume of J. C. Vanderkam's edition.<sup>253</sup> J. T. Milik's edition of the

<sup>245</sup> Synkellos' fragments are from Books 7, 22, 25, 31, and 33 of the *Bibliotheca*.

<sup>246</sup> Manetho, *Aigyptiaka*, ed. and tr. W. G. Waddell (London, 1940), 235-49, 227-33, 213-25.

<sup>247</sup> S. Burstein (tr.), *The Babyloniaka of Berossus* (Malibu, 1978).

<sup>248</sup> G. Verbrugghe and J. Wickersham (tr.), *Berossos and Manetho, Introduced and Translated* (Ann Arbor, 1996).

<sup>249</sup> A. Roberts and J. Donaldson, eds., *The Ante-Nicene Fathers*, vi (New York, 1926), 130-8.

<sup>250</sup> J. Karst (tr.), *Die Chronik des Eusebius aus dem Armenischen übersetzt* (GCS 20 = Eusebius Werke 5; Leipzig, 1911).

<sup>251</sup> M. H. Dodgeon and S. Lieu, *The Roman Eastern Frontier and the Persian Wars (A.D. 226-363)* (London and New York, 1991) *passim*.

<sup>252</sup> Röscher, *Jubiläen*, 278-302.

<sup>253</sup> *Jub.* ii. 328-68.

fragments of *Enoch* from Qumran includes an English translation of an otherwise unattested passage excerpted by Synkellos.<sup>254</sup>

X. THE PRESENT TRANSLATION AND ITS CONVENTIONS

Although the translators have attempted to render the Teubner Greek text as faithfully as possible, occasions arose in which we were required to make some modest alterations. In what follows, we outline the policies that governed our decisions on spelling, formatting, abbreviations, and textual emendation.

(a) *Proper names*

Proper names, including *nomina barbara*, are mostly transliterated from the Greek (the practice also observed in this introduction). The following correspondences should be noted:  $\upsilon = y$ ;  $\phi = ph$ ; initial  $\rho = rh$ ;  $\chi = ch$  (not *kh*). For Hebrew names rendered in Greek, initial I is transliterated as J as well as I. Thus, *Ἰωακείμ* appears in the translation as 'Joakeim'. Where the Greek transliteration differs substantially from the recognized name, the more familiar name is provided in the notes and the index. Minor variations in spelling (e.g. Charan/Charran) are reproduced without comment.

Certain occasions required the translators to depart from the system of strict transliteration:

(i) For well-known figures and places (e.g., Jesus, Cyrus, and Nebuchadnezzar), the familiar English spelling is used; biblical names in this case follow the New Revised Standard Version. The translators appeal for the reader's indulgence where the application of this principle seems arbitrary. In the absence of hard and fast rules, deciding what qualifies as 'well-known' can be subjective.

(ii) For Latin names, we usually give Latin, not Greek, spellings. If, however, the proper name is better known by its Greek spelling, the latter spelling is preferred (e.g., 'Maximos the Confessor' instead of 'Maximus the Confessor'). In a few instances, Synkellos' Greek spelling differs markedly from the standard Latin spelling of a proper name. In these cases, we have Latinized Synkellos' Greek spelling instead of giving the more familiar Latin spelling. For example, the name of the Egyptian prefect Flaccus Avilius appears in Synkellos as both *Φλάκκος Ἀσύλαιος* (394.23) and *Φλάγκος Ἀγκύλιος* (402.10). The former spelling appears in the translation as 'Flaccus

<sup>254</sup> Milik, *Books of Enoch*, 318.

Asylaeus', the latter as 'Flancus Ancylius'. In the notes and the index, the reader will find the standard spelling of the Latin name.

*(b) Formatting*

To distinguish headings and superscriptions, Mosshammer tried to reproduce in print the textual presentation of MS B, and for the latter part of the chronicle the consensus of MSS COTV. Following MS B, Mosshammer printed the heading *ΚΟΣΜΟΥ ΕΤΗ* in large type. Titles of the second rank are printed in somewhat smaller characters. These include lists of kingdoms and, for the latter part of the chronicle, universal years. Headings of the third rank are printed in upright Greek characters. These include certain superscriptions and notices in the manuscripts in red ink. To reproduce this format, we have employed the following type styles: uppercase bold italic for titles of the first rank (e.g. **UNIVERSAL YEARS**); uppercase bold for titles of the second rank (e.g. **KINGS OF THE LATINS**); capital and lower-case bold for titles of the third rank (e.g. **From Eusebios, according to the text of the Samaritan version**).<sup>255</sup>

Synkellos is far from consistent in arranging his tables of rulers, often disrupting them with long discussions of chronological matters. Where possible, we have attempted to tabulate these lists in a columnar format, making it easier to see regnal years in relationship to universal years, e.g.:

**KINGS OF THE ASSYRIANS**

(1) The first king of the Assyrians was Belos	55 years AM 3216
(2) The second king of the Assyrians was Ninos	52 years AM 3271

Although this does not strictly conform to the presentation in the Greek text, we believe it will assist readers in better understanding the system of reckoning underlying the chronicle. In such lists, numbers followed by a full stop are present in the manuscripts, those in angle-brackets were added by Mosshammer, those in parentheses were added by us.

<sup>255</sup> In order to avoid cluttering the text with different styles, third-rank usages other than titles have not been made bold in the translation.

*(c) Notes*

Two sets of notes accompany the translation. In relatively rare cases, we have made emendations to Mosshammer's Greek text and incorporated them into the English translation. The first set of notes, designated by letters of the English alphabet, supplies these emendations. The second, numbered set of notes consists of annotations, parallel passages, cross-references, and sources. In these notes, readers will also find suggested corrections and emendations that have not been incorporated into the English translation. The annotations consist mainly of comments on and explanations of chronological matters.

A SELECTION OF CHRONOGRAPHY  
COMPOSED BY GEORGE THE MONK, WHO  
WAS THE SYNKELLOS OF TARASIOS, PATRIARCH  
OF CONSTANTINOPLE, FROM ADAM UP TO  
DIOCLETIAN

'In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth.'<sup>1</sup> It is the beginning of the whole chronological process in the visible creation subject to time, when the heaven and the earth were brought forth through immeasurable goodness from non-being into being by God the Father through the only-begotten Son and Holy Spirit, the holy consubstantial Trinity, source of life. This is the holy first-created day of the first month called Nisan by the Hebrews and the divinely inspired scriptures, corresponding to the 25th of the Roman month of March, and the 29th of the seventh Egyptian month.<sup>2</sup> This fact is acknowledged by all our holy fathers and teachers and the holy catholic and apostolic Church. On this day also Gabriel foretold the divine conception in his salutation and greeting to the Holy Virgin.<sup>3</sup> On this day also the only-begotten Son of the Father, after his ineffable Incarnation from her and the complete fulfilment of the divine plan, arose from the dead; on this same holy day of the life-bringing Resurrection, the 5534th year from the creation of the universe commenced.

Concerning this issue,<sup>4</sup> I have made every effort to arrange the chronology presented here with tables and explanations, disagreeing

<sup>1</sup> Gen. 1.1.

<sup>2</sup> The punctuation suggested by Bredow, 'Dissertatio', 11-12 and Dindorf would produce a different sense: 'The beginning of the whole chronological process in the visible creation subject to time—in which the heaven and the earth were brought forth through immeasurable goodness from non-being into being by God the Father through the only begotten Son and Holy Spirit, the holy consubstantial Trinity, the source of life—is the holy first-created day of the first month called Nisan by the Hebrews and the divinely-inspired scriptures, corresponding to the 25th of the Roman month of March, and the 29th of the seventh Egyptian month.'

<sup>3</sup> Luke 1.28.

<sup>4</sup> This is apparently a reference to the dates of Christ's conception and Resurrection.

as it does with the majority of the historians in claiming the following:<sup>1</sup> (a) that in AM 5500 our Lord and God was made incarnate from the Holy Virgin<sup>2</sup> and (b) that in the beginning of the year 5534, as has been previously stated, on the 1st of the Hebrew month of Nisan, the 25th of the Roman month of March, and the 29th of the seventh Egyptian month of Phamenoth, he trampled upon death and arose from the dead. And it is abundantly clear that for those deemed worthy of divine grace the first Pascha of the Lord<sup>3</sup> also began on this holy first-created day.

2] With good reason, then, the Holy Trinity, creator of all things, began the creation of the visible world also on this day, since it prefigures the holy day of the Resurrection. And it was for this reason that Moses, the beholder of God, learnt naturally and through divine instruction that it was also the 1st day of the first month of Nisan and commenced his narrative from it, saying, 'In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth.' For it is abundantly clear that a day is at the head of every monthly and yearly chronological cycle. And that [there came into being concurrently<sup>a</sup>] the heaven and the earth and the light and the darkness, both the spirit and the abyss and the first-created 24-hour day itself, which in fact is by nature the beginning of the chronological process, just as the individual unit<sup>b</sup> is for the numbers that succeed it—this, no one of sound mind will oppose.<sup>c</sup> Nor would anyone propose that the heaven and the earth and the composition of the visible world preceded the first day. Rather, they were in any case created and commenced with it and during it.

For if we do not grant this, there will be one beginning of the

<sup>a</sup> There is a possible lacuna in the Greek text. The bracketed material is supplied, as required by the sense.

<sup>b</sup> Text: ὡσπερ ἦτις μονὰς. Emended to ὡσπερ ἡ τις μονὰς.

<sup>c</sup> Text: ἀντιφράσαι. Following Di. emended to ἀντιφράσει.

<sup>1</sup> But cf. below, pp. 449–50, 455 (= Moss. 377.4–6, 381.23–382.4), where Synk. states that his dating of Christ's Incarnation, Nativity, and Resurrection is derived from apostolic teachings and earlier authorities. For discussion, see Intro. pp. xxix, xlvi.

<sup>2</sup> The term 'made incarnate (ἐσαρκώθη)' does not refer to the birth, but rather to the conception of Jesus in the womb. Gelzer points out that Synk.'s claim that this occurred in AM 5500 is 'nicht ganz genau' (ii. 248). According to the more precise chronology provided later, the conception of Jesus occurred at the *completion* of AM 5500, on the first day of AM 5501; see below, pp. 449, 454–5 (= Moss. 376.26–377.6, 381.5–22).

<sup>3</sup> Text: πρῶτον κυριακὸν πάσχα, in reference to Easter, that is the Christian Passover.



heaven and the earth earlier in time and another one later, during which the first-created day began its existence—which is opposed to divinely inspired utterances and to the natural order of things. For by what was time measured before the first-created day, when there was not yet solar and lunar motion nor was there a visible creation, through which the movement of the daily 24-hour intervals of time has been wisely determined by God? For in the case of eternal, that is, immaterial beings, a span of time completely free of darkness is co-extensive with them, just as for us who are subject to creation and corruption, time is measured by the course of the sun, as Gregory the great theologian says at some point.<sup>1</sup> From every respect, therefore, this holy first-created day is incontrovertibly proved to be a chronological beginning, during which the heaven and the earth came into being. And having established this day as a solid foundation and unmoveable basis<sup>a</sup> for the present narrative, I entreat Christ our God who not only gave substance to the perceptible creation on and during this day, but who also established in him a new creation:<sup>2</sup> may he assist me, a most ignorant man, in this undertaking, so that I may offer clear proof that in AM 5500, his dispensation in the flesh took place, and that I may make known whatever notable events took place in the intervening period of time involving nations and kingdoms and in the succeeding 802 years, both the 33 years and 40 days of his activity on earth, and the 766 years and 10 months and 20 days after his holy assumption into heaven, that is, dating from the first-created day up to AM 6300, the 1st year of the indiction, as is indicated below.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Text: *θεμέλιον ἀρραγῆ καὶ βάσιν ἄσειστον*. *Ἀρραγῆ* emended to *ἀρραγές*, to agree with the neuter noun *θεμέλιον*.

<sup>1</sup> Greg. Naz. *De filio* (Orat. 29) 3.

<sup>2</sup> For the expression 'new creation' in Christ, see Gal. 6.15; 2 Cor. 5.17: 'If anyone is in Christ, there is a new creation (*εἴ τις ἐν Χριστῷ, καινὴ κτίσις*).'

<sup>3</sup> On the indiction cycle, see Intro. p. lxxiv. On the year AM 6300 as the current year, see below, p. 8 (= Moss. 6.12). Note that in this same sentence, however, Synk. states that 802 years elapsed from the Incarnation to his own day, which would translate into AM 6302 (5500 + 802). This is also the date that Synk. later gives as the 'current year'; see below, p. 244 (= Moss. 244.31). Against Goar and Gelzer ii. 183, who emend 802 to 800, see Laqueur, 'Synkellos', 1398. Laqueur proposes that when Synk. first began his work the year was 6300. By the time he reached the end of his chronicle, however, two years had elapsed; recognizing this, he returned to the beginning of the chronicle, and in a marginal note added the word *δύο*, which was subsequently inserted into the text.

3] The first day Africanus calls 'intelligible', because the first-created light was yet unformed and diffuse.<sup>1</sup>

On the first-created full day,<sup>2</sup> the 1st day of the first Hebrew month of Nisan, as has been shown above, the 25th of the Roman month of March, and the 29th of the Egyptian month of Phamenoth, on the Lord's day, that is on the first of the week, God created the heaven and the earth, the darkness and the waters, spirit and light and a full day: altogether seven works. On the second full day, the firmament came into being: one work. On the third full day, there were four works: the manifestation and drying of the land, Paradise, all kinds of trees, and plants and seeds. On the fourth day, God created the sun and the moon and the stars. On the fifth day, God created all reptiles and swimming things (sea monsters and fish and whatever is in the waters), as well as birds: altogether three works. On the sixth day, God created four-footed animals, land reptiles, wild beasts, and man: four works. Altogether there are twenty-two works, equal in number with the twenty-two letters of the Hebrew alphabet, and the twenty-two books of the Hebrew Bible, and the twenty-two generations of patriarchs from Adam up to Jacob, as it is reported in the *Little Genesis*, which some say is also a revelation of Moses.<sup>3</sup> This work states that the heavenly powers were created on the first day.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Text: ἀδιοργάνιστον. Cf. Kedr. i. 7.21: ἀδιάγνωστον ('indistinguishable'). Africanus' description of the first day as 'intelligible' implies that he excluded this day from chronological measurement. On the 'intelligible light (νοητὸν φῶς)', see Bas. Caes. *Hom. Hexaem.* 1.5, who speaks of the φῶς νοητόν that existed before creation in a condition of timelessness and eternity. See also Philo, *Opif.* 31, 33, where, in his account of God's creation of the incorporeal world, Philo speaks of the 'invisible light perceptible only by mind (τὸ . . . ἀόρατον καὶ νοητὸν φῶς)' that came into being as an 'image of the divine word', and preceded the creation of the sun. See Routh, fr. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Lit.: 'night and day'.

<sup>3</sup> This work, extensively used by the Christian chronographers, is better known as the *Book of Jubilees*. Λεπτὴ Γένεσις, the title by which Synk. knows this book, is meant to convey the idea that the work is a minute treatment of events described in the book of Genesis. Synk. later refers to the book as the *Details of Genesis* (τὰ λεπτὰ Γενέσεως); see below, p. 11 (= Moss. 7.28).

<sup>4</sup> Synk.'s enumeration of the 22 acts of creation is mostly derived from *Jub.* 2.2–23. But he rejects *Jubilees'* claim that the 'heavenly powers (οὐρανίους δυνάμεις)' were created on the first day. Instead of 'the spirits that serve before God' (see *Jub.* 2.2), Synk. names 'spirit (πνεῦμα)' as one of the acts of the first day of creation; see above, p. 2 (= Moss. 2.7). The

The holy John Chrysostom, great amongst teachers, states in his *Commentary on the Gospel according to Matthew* that on the sixth day of the first week, that is on the same day of his creation, Adam was expelled from Paradise, as well as Eve.<sup>1</sup> And this we too believe.

The seventh day was for a rest, in which God rested from his works and sanctified this day. Now Moses the beholder of God has left unaccounted for the duration of time spent by the protoplasts<sup>2</sup> in Paradise. And the novices amongst us should not investigate and meddle in matters about which divinely inspired scripture is silent.<sup>3</sup> For whatever was useful and comprehensible to humanity, this has been provided to us through the Holy Spirit, and those who read correctly should not transgress divine boundaries, lest in exchange for a small benefit they incur a great penalty.<sup>4</sup>

[4

But there are some who carry on arguments without restraint, either out of a feigned intellectual curiosity or stung by vainglory. And with divine texts in their hands, they attempt to show that our forefather Adam was not immediately placed into Paradise by God; or else that he entered into Paradise before the forming of the woman and conferred names on the beasts and the birds of the sky, which, as they insist, would not be a work of one day for the infirmity and capacity of the human being. For scripture states that

symmetry with the 22 generations described in *Jubilees* is based on the Hebrew chronology, which excludes the second Kaïnan. According to Synk.'s own chronology, there are actually 23 generations from Adam up to and including Jacob; see below, p. 148 (= Moss. 120.3).

<sup>1</sup> Joh. Chrysost. *Homilies on Matthew* 59.1 (on Matt. 18.7) (PG 58.575): 'For if having lived in Paradise for a short time, **perhaps not even a full day**, and having partaken of pleasure, he reached such a degree of depravity as to imagine for himself equality with God, and to regard the deceiver as a benefactor, and not to keep one commandment; if he had lived the rest of his life without affliction, what would he not have done?'

<sup>2</sup> Meaning the first-formed human beings.

<sup>3</sup> Text: *χρὴ τοὺς καθ' ἡμᾶς ἀτελείς μὴ ζητεῖν καὶ περιεργάζεσθαι τὰ σεσιγημένα τῆ θεοπνεύστῳ γραφῆ.* For a similarly worded warning respecting the events in Paradise, see Anast. Sin. *Viae Dux* 4.32–3: *οὐ γὰρ δεῖ ἡμᾶς περιεργάζεσθαι τὰ σεσιωπημένα τῆ θείᾳ γραφῆ.*

<sup>4</sup> On the duration of time that Adam spent in Paradise, see Eus. 1.36.16–37.9, who states that it is impossible to speak with certainty on this subject. Some of the Byzantine chronographers continue to endorse Eusebios' contention that reckoning of time only begins from the time when Adam was expelled from Paradise; see e.g. Mich. Glyk. 227.5–6. See also Kedr. i. 12.1–13.5, which discusses at some length the differing chronologies of Adam's life in Paradise.

'God also planted Paradise in Eden to the East and set there the man whom he formed, and out of the ground God made to grow every tree that is pleasant to the sight and good for food, the tree of life also in the midst of the garden, and the tree of the knowledge of good and evil.'<sup>1</sup> 'And God formed as well from the earth every beast of the field and all the birds of the sky. And he led them to Adam to see what he would call them.'<sup>2</sup> Then after these things, it adds: 'And to Adam there was not found a helper in his likeness. And the Lord cast a deep trance upon Adam, and put him to sleep, and he took one of his ribs, and filled flesh in its place, and the rest.'<sup>3</sup>

For this reason, I have been compelled also to make a statement about this matter in turn, to the extent that among other historians who have composed either Jewish antiquities or Christian histories there has been discussion of this matter on the basis of *Little Genesis* and the so-called *Life of Adam* (even if it appears not to be authoritative).<sup>4</sup> I do this lest those who investigate these matters fall into even more absurd notions. At all events, there is found in the so-called *Life of Adam* the numbering of the days for the naming of the beasts and the forming of the woman, the entry of Adam himself into Paradise and God's command to him concerning the eating from the tree, and the subsequent entry of Eve into Paradise, as well as the narrative of the transgression and what happened after the transgression, as is given below:<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Gen. 2.8-9.

<sup>2</sup> Gen. 2.19.

<sup>3</sup> Gen. 2.20-1.

<sup>4</sup> 'Jewish antiquities' based on *Jubilees* and the *Life of Adam* almost certainly refers to the *Antiquities* of Josephos. Like other Byzantine chronographers, Synk. knows a text of Josephos' *Antiquities* that has undergone extensive interpolation from *Jubilees*; see Intro., p. liv. For Christian chronographers who used *Jubilees* and related literature to establish the time when Adam and Eve were introduced into Paradise, see Anast. Sin. *Anagog. contemplat.* 7.895 (PG 89.967 D): 'On the basis of a book not received into the Canon, which is called in fact the *Testament of the Protoplasts*, the Hebrews say that on the fortieth day Adam entered Paradise. And so it also seems to a certain Pyrrho, as well as certain other expositors.' On the chronographer Pyrrho, see also Mich. Glyk. 156.12-15; cf. also 392.18-393.5, where Michael cites the relevant passage from *Jubilees*, only to dismiss it as inconsistent with the chronology of Genesis.

<sup>5</sup> The citation from the *Life of Adam* about the chronology of Adam and Eve in Paradise appears to be an expanded form of *Jub.* 3.8-14. For discussion of this work and its relationship to *Jubilees* and other Jewish and Christian pseudepigrapha, see Gelzer ii. 264-72; Rönisch, *Jubiläen*, 280-1.

On the first day of the second week, which was the third day after Adam was formed, on the 8th day of the first month of Nisan, on the 1st day of the month of April, and on the 6th day of the Egyptian month of Pharmouthi, Adam named the wild beasts, by a kind of divine gift of grace. On the second day of the second week, he gave names to the domesticated animals. On the third day of the second week, he gave names to the birds. On the fourth day of the second week, he gave names to the reptiles. On the fifth day of the second week, he gave names to the swimming things. On the sixth day of the second week, which according to the Romans was 6 April, according to the Egyptians 11 Pharmouthi, God took a part of the side of Adam and formed the woman. On the forty-sixth day from the creation of the world, on the fourth day of the seventh week, 14 Pachon, 9 May, with the sun in Taurus and the moon in opposition in Scorpio, in the rising of the Pleiades, God introduced Adam into Paradise on the fortieth day after he was formed. On the fiftieth day from the creation of the world, on the forty-fourth day from the creation of Adam, on the Lord's day, 18 Pachon, 13 May, three days after his entrance into Paradise, with the sun in Taurus and the moon in Capricorn, God ordered Adam to refrain from eating from the tree of knowledge. [5]

On the ninety-third day from creation, on the second day of the fourteenth week, during the summer solstice, with the sun and moon in Cancer, on the 25th day of the month of June, on 1 Epiphi, Eve the helper of Adam was introduced by God into Paradise, on the eightieth day after she was formed. When Adam received her, he called her Eve, which means 'life'. For this reason, that is on account of the days of their separation from Paradise after their creation, God ordained through Moses in Leviticus that in giving birth to a male, a woman is impure for forty days, in giving birth to a female, for eighty days.<sup>1</sup> For since Adam was introduced into Paradise on the fortieth day after he was formed, for this reason they also introduce male children that are born into the temple on the fortieth day, in accordance with the law. But in the case of a female child, God ordained that she is impure for eighty days, because of Eve's entrance into Paradise on the eightieth day, and because of the impurity of the female in relation to the male. Then when she is menstruating again, she does not enter into the temple until the seventh day, in accordance with divine law.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Lev. 12.1-5.

<sup>2</sup> Lev. 15.19.

These things, for the sake of intellectual curiosity, I have briefly outlined from the so-called *Life of Adam*, namely the events involving Adam in the first year from his creation.

6] And the rest of the narrative will be summarized next, up to the 930th year of his life, as well as the remaining generations, both on the basis of divinely inspired scriptures and the more illustrious historians who are consistent with them. From them, I have extracted the greater part of this work, with the exception of a few things that have taken place in our times. And I shall endeavour to make a kind of synopsis, always alert to combining continuity with accuracy, and maintaining correspondence in the sequence of events: I mean the various kings and the numbering of priests as well as prophets and apostles, martyrs and teachers, and those celebrated by the Greeks or other nations for their wisdom, or some other skill, or military valour, or for notorious depravity, culling everything from the aforementioned historians, to the extent that I am able. And finally, I shall treat the covenant, abominable to God, that has been made against Christ and our nation both by 'the tents of the Idumaeans and by the Ishmaelites', who pursue the people of the Spirit and by the judgement of God also practise the apostasy at the end of days that was prophesied by the blessed Paul.<sup>1</sup> These things I shall describe to the best of my ability up to the current year, the 6300th from the creation of the universe, the 1st year of the indiction.

And let anyone who reads this reckon the 1st of the first Hebrew month of Nisan as the beginning of every year in this chronicle, and not the 1st of the Egyptian month of Thoth, or the 1st of the Roman month of January, or some other beginning-point used by some other nation. For among various nations, differing conventions have been agreed upon for months and the beginnings of months and years. And for those who want to undertake precise research of some kind involving days, or months, or years, ignorance of these matters causes no slight misunderstanding. Therefore, I consider it a good idea to set forth for the intellectually curious the differing versions of them that are better known, three in number and easily identified in patristic teachings.<sup>a</sup> But I pass over the others, since they are, so to speak, untrodden ground: those

<sup>a</sup> Text: διὸ καλὸν ἡγούμενος τὰς ἐπισημοτέρας αὐτῶν διαφορὰς τρεῖς οὕσας καὶ ταῖς πατρικαῖς διδασκαλίαις εὐδιαγνώστους εἶναι τοῖς φιλομαθέσιν ἐκθήσομαι. Following Bredow, 'Dissertatio', 15, εἶναι is omitted.

<sup>1</sup> 2 Thess. 2.3–12. On the expression 'tents of the Idumaeans and Ishmaelites', see Ps. 82.6 (LXX).

of the Indians, the Chaldaeans, or of any other obscure nations. Now the following three varieties are the Hebrew, the Egyptian, and the Roman:

According to the usage ordained by God, the first month is the Hebrew month of Nisan. It is 30 full days, from 25 March up to 23 April, and from 29 Phamenoth up to 28 Pharmouthi.<sup>1</sup>

The second month, Iares,<sup>2</sup> consists of 30 days: from 24 April up to 23 May, and from 29 Pharmouthi up to the 28th of the month of Pachon.

The month of Souian<sup>3</sup> has 31 days: from 24 May up to 23 June (the sum of the three months is 92 days<sup>4</sup>), and from 29 Pachon up to 29 Payni.

Summer solstice.

The month of Thamnei<sup>5</sup> has 30 full days: from 24 June up to 23 July and from 30 Payni up to 29 Epiphei.<sup>6</sup>

The fifth month of Arei<sup>7</sup> has 30 days: from 24 July up to 22 August, and from 30 Epiphei up to 29 Mesore.

The sixth month is Eilou,<sup>8</sup> consisting of 31 days: from 23 August up to 22 September (the sum of all these months is 182 days), and from 30 Mesore, up to 25 Thoth, including the epagomenal days, which extend from 24 to 28 August.<sup>9</sup> For the beginning of Thoth

<sup>1</sup> Although the traditional Jewish calendar was lunar, Synk. here as elsewhere represents it as a solar year of 365 days. Since the months of Synk.'s Hebrew calendar are fixed in their relationship to the months of the Julian year, 1 Nisan always corresponds to 25 March. For discussion of Synk.'s rendering of the Hebrew calendar, see J. Tubach, 'Synkellos' Kalender der Hebräer', *VC* 47 (1993), 379–89.

<sup>2</sup> Iyyar in the Hebrew calendar.

<sup>3</sup> Sivan.

<sup>4</sup> The sum of 30, 30, and 31 is actually 91 days.

<sup>5</sup> Tammuz.

<sup>6</sup> Epeiph in the Egyptian calendar.

<sup>7</sup> Ab.

<sup>8</sup> Elul.

<sup>9</sup> The ancient Egyptian calendar consisted of 12 months, each of 30 days. To make up a 365-day year, five supplementary ('epagomenal') days were added on to the end of Mesore, the last month of the Egyptian calendar. Since the year was approximately  $\frac{1}{4}$  day shorter than the solar year, the beginning of the Egyptian year, 1 Thoth, was moveable, receding one day every four years in respect of the Roman solar calendar. In order that 1 Thoth should always fall at the same time of year, Augustus reformed the Egyptian calendar by adding a sixth epagomenal day every four years, similar to the *bissextus* of the Julian calendar. This year came to be known as the Alexandrian year. As Synk. correctly observes, the five epagomenal days, added on at the end of the Egyptian month of Mesore, extend from 24 to 28 August, the sixth in leap years being 29 August, which is otherwise 1 Thoth.

from 29 August is, with the addition of five days, 30 August. With the addition of six days, it is 31 August.<sup>1</sup>

Autumn.

The seventh month of Theëleiph<sup>2</sup> has 30 days: from 23 September up to 22 October, and from the 26th of the first Egyptian month Thoth up to 25 Phaophi.

The eighth month of Mersouan<sup>3</sup> is 30 full days: from 23 October up to 21 November, and from 26 Phaophi to 25 Athyr.<sup>4</sup>

The ninth month of Chassaleu<sup>5</sup> has 30 days (the sum of all these months is 273 days): from 22 November up to 22 December, and from 26 Hathyr up to 26 Choiak.

Winter solstice.

The tenth month of Tybeth<sup>6</sup> has 30 days: from 23 December up to 21 January, and from 27 Choiak up to 26 Tybet.<sup>7</sup>

The eleventh month of Sabbat<sup>8</sup> has 30 days: from 22 January up to 20 February, and from 27 Tybet up to 26 Mecheir.

The twelfth month of Adar has 32 days: from 21 February up to 24 March, and from 27 Mecheir up to 28 Phamenoth (together with the additional five-day period<sup>9</sup>).

These equivalents have been computed in the form of a general overview of the threefold variety of monthly measurements most widely in use. So next we must commence from the very first year of Adam and proceed in sequence.

The 1st year from the creation of the universe.

<sup>1</sup> The meaning of this sentence is obscure. Goar (*Emend.* 346–7) conjectured that Synk. might have been referring here to an error in intercalation made by the Roman *pontifices* when the Julian calendar was first instituted. He emends ἡ γὰρ ἀρχὴ τοῦ Θῶθ ἀπὸ τὰς κθ' Αὐγούστου ἐστὶ ἐπιπενθήμερος λ' Αὐγούστου, ἐπὶ δὲ ἑξημέρου λα' Αὐγούστου το ἡ γὰρ ἀρχὴ τοῦ Θῶθ, ἢ νῦν ἀπὸ τὰς κθ' τοῦ Αὐγούστου ἐστὶν ἐπιπενθήμερος, καὶ ὄφειλεν εἶναι εἰς λ' Αὐγούστου, ἐπὶ δὲ ἑξημέρου εἰς λα' Αὐγούστου: 'The beginning of Thoth, which now, with the addition of five days, dates from 29 August; it ought to have been on 30 August, and with the addition of six days, on 31 August.'

<sup>2</sup> Tishri.

<sup>3</sup> Marheshvan.

<sup>4</sup> Hathyr in the Egyptian calendar.

<sup>5</sup> Chislev.

<sup>6</sup> Tebeth.

<sup>7</sup> Correctly Tybi (in the Egyptian calendar).

<sup>8</sup> Shebat.

<sup>9</sup> Referring back to the previously included epagomenal days of the Egyptian calendar.



From the *Little Genesis*<sup>1</sup>

In the seventh year he transgressed and in the eighth they were cast out of Paradise, as it is reported, forty-five days after the transgression, in the rising of the Pleiades.

Adam spent in Paradise a 'year-week' of 365-day years. And because of the transgression, he was cast out with his wife Eve on the 10th of the month of May.<sup>2</sup>

[8]

The wild beasts, the four-footed animals, and the reptiles, say Josephos and the *Little Genesis*, spoke the same language as the protoplasts before the transgression.<sup>3</sup> This is because, it says, the serpent spoke to Eve in a human voice, which seems to be impossible. For every speaking creature is in the image of God, but these are not in the image of God. Now we grant that the serpent did converse with Eve, the serpent's mind becoming possessed of a mouth. It was through this mouth that he achieved his purpose, since, in contrast to the other wild animals, it was unfamiliar to the human being; and by this means he led astray our forefathers. After this, he also spoke in inanimate idols to those idolaters who were tempted in many ways by him. But that the serpent was formerly four-footed, and after his evil counsel was reptilian, we do not doubt.<sup>4</sup>

In the 55th year, it says, Adam knew his wife Eve.<sup>5</sup>

In the 70th year, the first-born son Cain was born to them.<sup>6</sup>

In the 77th year, it is said that the righteous Abel was born.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Lit. 'From the *Details of Genesis*', referring to *Jub.* 3.17, 32.

<sup>2</sup> Adam's expulsion from Paradise on 10 May assumes that the first day of creation occurred on 25 March. Following the chronology of *Jubilees*, Adam entered Paradise 46 days later, on 10 May. His expulsion occurred one year later. Although the basic outline of this chronology originates in *Jubilees*, it has been emended to conform to the Alexandrian Christian era: 25 March, the first day of creation, represents the Alexandrian era reflected, for example, in the chronicle of Annianos. In the original version of *Jubilees*, a year represents a period of 364 (not 365) days.

<sup>3</sup> *Jub.* 3.28; *Jos. Ant.* 1.41, 50. See also Philo, *Opif.* 156.

<sup>4</sup> On the tradition that the serpent was originally four-footed, see *Jos. Ant.* 1.50; Tg. Ps.-J. on Gen. 3.14.

<sup>5</sup> *Jub.* 3.34. The dates of the subsequent events listed here are largely derived from *Jubilees*.

<sup>6</sup> *Jub.* 4.1, which dates this 'in the 3rd week in the 2nd jubilee' (= AM 64-70).

<sup>7</sup> *Jub.* 4.2 (5th week of 2nd jubilee = AM 71-7).

In the 85th year, a daughter was born to them, and they called her Asouam.

In the 97th year, Cain made an offering.

In the 99th year, Abel offered up his sacrifice to God, in his twenty-second year, in the full moon of the seventh month according to the Hebrews, that is at the Feast of Tabernacles.<sup>1</sup>

It should be noted that whereas scripture calls the fruit that Cain brought a 'sacrifice', it calls what Abel brought 'gifts', thereby denoting the character of each one.<sup>2</sup>

In that same 99th year,<sup>a</sup> Cain killed Abel, and the protoplasts grieved for him for four year-weeks, that is, twenty-eight years.<sup>3</sup>

In the 127th year, Adam and Eve ceased their grieving.<sup>4</sup>

In the 135th year, Cain took as a wife his own sister Asaunan, who was 50 years of age. He was 65 years old.<sup>5</sup>

#### From divine scripture concerning the line of Cain<sup>6</sup>

9] And Cain knew his wife and when she had conceived she bore Enoch. And he was building a city and called the city after the name of his son Enoch. To Enoch, Gaïdad was born. And Gaïdad begot Maleleël.<sup>7</sup> And Maleleël begot Methuselah. And Methuselah begot Lamech.

This Lamech, the sixth from Cain, <who> became the first murderer among men, took two wives and committed a second murder. Cain, then, the first murderer of Abel the righteous represents a type of the devil, revealing himself at the beginning of the world's creation as both the inventor of evil and one lacking in remorse. And Lamech is a type of the Jewish people, the slayers of the Lord, who crucified the Saviour in the middle of the sixth age of the world, and whose sin and retribution are also many times more. But the Lord is also the seventy-seventh from Adam.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Text: *θ'*. Emended to *ϑθ'* ('99'), following *Jub.* 4.2.

<sup>1</sup> *Jub.* 4.2-3 (1st year of 3rd jubilee = AM 99-105).

<sup>2</sup> Gen. 4.3-4. See Leo Gramm. 6.1-21 (= Theod. Mel. 11-12 = Ps.-Jul. Pol. 44-6): Scripture calls Cain's gift a 'sacrifice' because he cut away portions of his produce; Abel's sacrifice on the other hand is called a 'gift' because he did not withhold for himself a portion of his sacrificial victims.

<sup>3</sup> *Jub.* 4.2, 7.

<sup>4</sup> *Jub.* 4.7.

<sup>5</sup> *Jub.* 4.9.

<sup>6</sup> Gen. 4.17-18.

<sup>7</sup> For this variant, instead of Maiel (LXX)/Mehujal (MT), see Brooke-McLean ad loc.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Luke 3.23-38. On the punishment of Lamech, see Gen. 4.24.

In the 196th year, Enoch was born to Cain.<sup>1</sup> He was the first to discover ploughing.

In the 197th year, Cain built a city in the name of his son Enoch, while Abel set his mind on righteousness.<sup>2</sup> But Cain after his judgement became rather rapacious and very greedy, the first to invent measurements and weights and boundaries of land. After he collected all his household into one place, he taught them to engage in wars.<sup>3</sup> Because of God's curse, he was small in stature, as well as those descended from him. Separated from Seth at the behest of Adam, he inhabited the land that quakes, being low. Seth's offspring, called sons of God and Watchers, inhabited the more elevated region of Eden, near Paradise.<sup>4</sup>

In Adam's 230th year, in which Seth was born, it was Cain's 160th year.<sup>5</sup>

In the 234th year, Adam begot a daughter, whom he named Azoura.<sup>6</sup>

In the 243rd year of Adam, Seth was weaned.

In the 270th year of Adam, Seth was taken up by angels and given instruction as to what would happen concerning the transgression of the Watchers, and the affairs concerning the coming flood of water, and about the coming of the Saviour; and after his disappearance for forty days he returned and related in full to the protoplasts what he had been taught by the angels. He was 40 years old at that time. Seth was devout and exceedingly well formed, and all his descendants were devout and beautiful. At the behest of Adam, they inhabited the more elevated region of Eden, opposite Paradise, living as angels do, up to AM 1000. The author of evil, unable to tolerate the sight of their virtuous conduct, did harm to them by using the beauty of the daughters of men of that time. Concerning them, the divine Moses also says that 'the sons of God seeing the daughters of men that they were beautiful, took for themselves wives from among them.'<sup>7</sup>

[10]

<sup>1</sup> *Jub.* 4.9 (at the close of the 4th jubilee = AM 190-6).

<sup>2</sup> *Jub.* 4.9 (1st year of the 1st week of the 5th jubilee = AM 197).

<sup>3</sup> *Jos. Ant.* 1.61-2.

<sup>4</sup> The identification of the Sethites with the 'sons of God' of Gen. 6 and the 'Watchers' of the *First Book of Enoch* is essential to Synk.'s interpretation of pre-flood history; see below, pp. 15-19 (= Moss. 11.7-14.21).

<sup>5</sup> Gen. 5.3.

<sup>6</sup> *Jub.* 4.8. Because Synk.'s chronology follows the Septuagint, the remaining dates from this point on diverge widely from *Jubilees*, which reflects the chronology of the Hebrew Bible.

<sup>7</sup> Gen. 6.2.

In the 425th year, Seth married Azoura, his own sister. Seth was 195 years of age, Azoura was 191 years old.<sup>1</sup>

In the 435th year, Enosh was born to Seth. When Enosh was 190 years old, he begot Kainan in the 625th year.<sup>2</sup>

From Adam until the birth of Enosh were 435 years, scripture revealing that 'Enosh was the first to hope to make use of the name of the Lord God', that is to be called by the name of God. For Enosh is interpreted as 'man' according to the Hebrew sense. Thus also the Saviour is the son of the 'one who is man', according to Africanus' discussion of his nature.<sup>3</sup>

The first period of 532 years was completed in this year.<sup>4</sup> This was Seth's 302nd year, Enosh's 98th.

In the 600th year, Adam, when he repented, learnt through a revelation about the Watchers and the Flood and about repentance and the divine Incarnation and the prayers sent up to God at every hour of the day and night from all the creatures through Uriel the archangel of repentance, as follows:<sup>5</sup>

(In the first hour of the day, the first prayer is completed in heaven; in the second, the prayer of angels; in the third, the prayer of birds; in the fourth, the prayer of domesticated beasts; in the fifth, the prayer of wild beasts; in the sixth, the presentation of the angels and judging of all creation; in the seventh, angels' coming to God and their going out; in the eighth, the praise and offerings of angels; in the ninth, supplication and worship by men; in the tenth, visitations of the waters and entreaties by

<sup>1</sup> *Jub.* 4.10–11.

<sup>2</sup> *Gen.* 5.9.

<sup>3</sup> Here Synk. attempts to eliminate an ambiguity in the meaning of the word *ἐπικαλεῖσθαι* in the Septuagint text of *Gen.* 4.26. He suggests that Enosh, whose name in Hebrew means 'man', was the first to be called by the name God. The purpose of this interpretation is to justify the reading of the 'sons of God' of *Gen.* 6 as sons of Seth and Enosh; see below, p. 19 (= *Moss.* 14.17–21). In Africanus' own interpretation of Enosh (= Routh, fr. 2), he attempts to link him typologically with Christ as 'the son of man'. For discussion, see Gelzer i. 62.

<sup>4</sup> The early 5th-c. Alexandrian monk Annianos is usually credited with formulating this 532-year Easter cycle; see below, p. 47 (= *Moss.* 35.26–31).

<sup>5</sup> This revelation to Adam, similar in contents to the previous revelation to Seth, is found also in *Kedr.* i. 17.18–18.7, and in several Syriac versions under the name of Testament of Adam; see *The Testament of Adam*, ed. S. E. Robinson (SBLDS 52; Chico, 1982), 15–33.

heavenly and earthly things; in the eleventh, the thanksgiving and exultation of all things; in the twelfth, the petition of men for divine favour.)<sup>1</sup>

In the 625th year, Kainan was born to Enosh. When the former was 170 years, he begot Maleleël.<sup>2</sup>

In the 790th year after Adam, Kainan married Maleth.<sup>3</sup>

In the 795th year, Kainan, when he was 170 years, begot Maleleël.<sup>4</sup> When he was 165 years of age, Maleleël begot Jared, in AM 960.<sup>5</sup>

In the 930th year, Adam went to his rest, leaving thirty-three male offspring and twenty-seven daughters. He ruled the human race all the years of his life.

In that same 930th year, Cain also died when his house fell in on him, for he himself had also killed Abel with stones. Thus, when a year had been completed after the death of Adam, Cain died.<sup>6</sup>

After Adam, Seth ruled over the people of that time. In AM 1000, in Jared's 40th year, the 770th year of Seth himself, 200 Watchers of his line went astray and went down and took for themselves wives from the daughters of men, and begot giants, 'men of renown', as scripture states.<sup>7</sup> But since some dispute these things, I have decided also to cite a series of a few passages concerning them as well, from the *First Book of Enoch*, from Moses himself, and from Peter, the chief of the apostles.

In the 960th year, Maleleël begot Jared.<sup>8</sup>

When Jared was 162 years, he begot Enoch in AM 1122.<sup>9</sup>

{(40th) year of Jared, AM 1000.}

<sup>1</sup> The prayers for the individual hours of the day are found in the margin of MS A, but are not legible. Mosshammer has restored the text from Kedr. i. 17.24–18.7 and Ps.-Symeon.

<sup>2</sup> Gen. 5.12.

<sup>3</sup> Jub. 4.15.

<sup>4</sup> Gen. 5.12.

<sup>5</sup> Gen. 5.15.

<sup>6</sup> Jub. 4.31.

<sup>7</sup> Gen. 6.2–4. The reference to the '200 Watchers' is based on *1 Enoch*, on which see below, p. 16 (= Moss. 11.28–12.2).

<sup>8</sup> Gen. 5.15.

<sup>9</sup> Gen. 5.18.

**From the *First Book of Enoch* concerning the Watchers<sup>1</sup>**

12] And it came to pass when the sons of men became numerous that beautiful daughters were born to them, and the Watchers desired them and went astray after them, and said to one another, 'Let us choose for ourselves wives from among the daughters of men of the earth.' And Semiazas, their chief, said to them, 'I am afraid that you will not want to commit this deed, and I alone shall be liable for a great sin.' And they all answered him and said, 'Let us all swear an oath and bind one another by a curse not to abandon our resolve until we see it through to completion.' Then all of them swore together and bound one another by a curse. These were the 200 who came down in the days of Jared to the top of Mount Ermonieim and they called the mountain Ermom, because they swore and bound one another by a curse on it.<sup>2</sup>

And these are the names of their leaders:<sup>3</sup> [1] Semiazas, their captain; (2) Atarkouph; (3) Arakiel; (4) Chobabiel; (5) Horammame; (6) Rhamiel; (7) Sampsik; (8) Zakiel; (9) Balkiel; (10) Azazel; (11) Pharmaros; (12) Amariel; (13) Anagemas; (14) Thausaël; (15) Samiel; (16) Sarinas; (17) Eumiel; (18) Tyriel; (19) Joumiel; (20) Sariel.

These and all the rest took for themselves wives in AM 1170, and they began to defile themselves with them up to the Flood.<sup>4</sup> And they bore for them three races. First, the great giants. Then the giants begot the Napheleim, and to the Napheleim were born Elioud.<sup>5</sup> And they were increasing in accordance with their great-

<sup>1</sup> *1 En.* 6.1–9.4. A condensed form of this excerpt, probably adapted from Synk.'s text, appears in Kedr. i. 19.12–20.2. Another Greek citation of this passage (abbreviated here as *1 En<sup>Pan</sup>*) was found in Akhmim, ancient Pano-  
polis. For Synk.'s use of *1 Enoch*, see Intro. pp. liv–lv.

<sup>2</sup> This is a word-play on the relationship between Hermon and the Hebrew word קרע ('curse'). The dating of the fall of the Watchers in the time of Jared probably derives from the meaning of the Hebrew name Jared (= 'descend').

<sup>3</sup> The names that follow are markedly different in spelling from the names found in other witnesses to *1 Enoch*; for discussion, see Milik, *Books of Enoch*, 152–6.

<sup>4</sup> The reference to AM 1170, lacking in the other witnesses to *1 Enoch*, is probably an editorial insertion either by Synk. or his source. How this date was arrived at is unclear. Later (p. 26 = Moss. 19.21), Synk. dates this event to the year 1177.

<sup>5</sup> The details about the offspring of the giants are lacking in the other witnesses to *1 Enoch*; but cf. *Jub.* 7.21–2, where Noah recalls the disorder created by the giants, the Naphil, and the Elyo.

ness, and they taught themselves<sup>1</sup> and their wives the uses of potions and spells. First, Azaël, the tenth of the leaders, taught them to make swords and armour and every instrument of war and how to work the metals of the earth and gold, and how to make them into adornments for their wives, and silver. He showed them also the use of cosmetics and beautifying the face<sup>2</sup> and choice stones and colouring tinctures. And the sons of men did this for themselves and their daughters and they transgressed and led astray the righteous. And there was great impiety on the earth. And they made their ways corrupt. And their chief Semiazas taught them to be objects of wrath<sup>3</sup> against reason, and the roots of plants of the earth. The eleventh, Pharmaros,<sup>4</sup> taught the uses of potions, spells, lore, and the remedies for spells. The ninth taught them the study of the stars. The fourth taught astrology. The eighth taught divination by observing the heavens. The third taught the signs of the earth. The seventh taught the signs of the sun. The twentieth taught the signs of the moon. All of them began to reveal mysteries to their wives and offspring. [13] After this, the giants began to devour the flesh of men. And people began to become few upon the earth. And those who remained cried out to heaven about their abuse, saying that their remembrance should be carried before the Lord. And when they heard this, the four great archangels, Michael, Uriel, Raphael, and Gabriel peered down at the earth from among the holy ones of heaven. And when they saw much blood poured out on the earth and all impiety and lawlessness taking place on it, they went in and said to one another, 'The spirits and the souls of humanity are groaning, making petition, and saying: "Bring our cause to the Most High, and our destruction before the glory of His Majesty, before the Lord of all lords in his majesty." ' And they said to the Lord of ages: 'You are God of gods and Lord of lords and the King

<sup>1</sup> Although the subject of the verb is unclear, the context demands that it should be the Watchers, not their offspring, who instructed the women.

<sup>2</sup> Text: τὸ στιλβεῖν καὶ τὸ καλλωπίζεῖν (lit. 'how to polish and beautify'). Charles, *Enoch*, 19 (note on 1 En. 8.1) emends Synk.'s text τὸ στιλβεῖν to τὸ στιβίζεῖν ('the art of using antimony'); cf. 1 En<sup>Pan</sup> ad loc.: στιβεις ('powdered antimony'). Antimony was used as eye-paint.

<sup>3</sup> Text: εἶναι ὀργὰς. The text may be corrupt. Cf. 1 En<sup>Pan</sup> ad loc.: ἐπαοιδὰς ('enchantments').

<sup>4</sup> Cf. 1 En<sup>Eth</sup> ad loc.: 'Amaros. An Aramaic fragment of the passage from Qumran has Hermonî ('of Hermon'). The corrupt name Φαρμαρός in Synk.'s text is intended to link his name with his revelations of potions and remedies.

of kings and God of the ages, and the throne of your glory is for all the generations of the ages, and your name is holy and blessed through all the ages . . . and so on.<sup>1</sup> Then the Most High commanded the holy archangels, and they bound their leaders and cast them into the abyss until the judgement, and so forth.<sup>2</sup>

To these things, then, Enoch is witness.

And Moses, the beholder of God, says in Genesis:<sup>3</sup>

And it came to pass that, when mankind became numerous on the earth and daughters were born to them, the sons of God, when they saw the daughters of men that they were beautiful, took for themselves wives from among all of them whom they chose.

(Furthermore:<sup>4</sup>) And after this, the sons of God used to go into the daughters of men, and they bore children for them; these were the giants of old, the men of renown, and so forth.

Peter, the chief apostle, speaks in this way about them in his second letter:<sup>5</sup>

For if God did not spare the sinning angels, but having cast them into Tartarus in chains of darkness, gave them over to judgement to keep them in punishment, and did not spare the old world, but preserved Noah, herald of righteousness, with seven others when he brought a flood on the world of the ungodly.

14] Thus, for the benefit of those who want them, I have cited these passages from the divine scriptures. But it is also fitting to cite a passage regarding them from Zosimos, the philosopher of Panopolis, from his writings to Theosebeia in the ninth book of *Imouth*, reading as follows:<sup>6</sup>

The holy scriptures, that is the books,<sup>7</sup> say, my lady, that there is a race of demons who avail themselves of women. Hermes also

<sup>1</sup> A summary of *1 En.* 9.

<sup>2</sup> A summary of *1 En.* 10.

<sup>3</sup> Gen. 6.1-2.

<sup>4</sup> Gen. 6.4.

<sup>5</sup> 2 Pet 2.4-7.

<sup>6</sup> Zosimos, the 4th-c. alchemist of Panopolis and Alexandria, composed a work entitled *Imouth* and consisting of 28 sections. Theosebeia was apparently a woman of means with an interest in alchemy. A version of this excerpt also survives in a Syriac manuscript; see M. P. E. Berthelot and R. Duval, *Histoire des sciences: La chimie au moyen âge* (3 vols.; Paris, 1893; rpr. Osnabrück, 1967) ii. 238.

<sup>7</sup> Text: *αἱ ἱερὰ ἑταῖ βιβλοῖ*. Zosimos is not necessarily referring here to the Bible. Elsewhere, he speaks of the 'holy scriptures of Hermes (*αἱ ἱερὰ Ἑρμοῦ βίβλοῖ*)'; see e.g. Zosimos' *Περὶ τοῦ ω στοιχείου* 1.15, in *Zosime de Panopolis*, ed. M. Mertens, *Les Alchimistes grecs* (Paris, 1995), iv. 1.



mentioned this in his *Physika*, and nearly every treatise, both public and esoteric, made mention of this.<sup>1</sup> Thus the ancient and divine scriptures said this, that certain angels lusted after women, and having descended taught them all the works of nature. Having stumbled because of these women, he says, they remained outside heaven, because they taught mankind everything wicked and nothing benefiting the soul. The same scriptures say that from them the giants were born. So theirs is the first teaching concerning these arts handed down by Chemeu. He called this the book of Chemeu, whence also the art is called Alchemy, and so forth.

These things being so concerning the Watchers descended from Seth, it is necessary to recognize that in divinely inspired scripture nothing is mentioned about a kingdom of any kind before the Flood. For it is clear that the forefathers of the race—Adam, Seth, and Enosh and the more distinguished of their contemporaries—these ruled over the masses up until the giants finally seized power, who we believe exercised tyranny over weaker men, those who were not like them [in stature], up until the Flood at the time of Noah; on account of them, the earth was devastated.<sup>2</sup>

But Berossos, the author of the Chaldaean ancient history, who flourished, as he says, during the period of Alexander the Macedonian, found in Babylon the records of many [writers] carefully preserved, which encompassed about 150,000<sup>3</sup> years and a little more: certain stories about heaven and earth and the sea and the antiquity of kings and their deeds, and the location of the region of Babylonia and its fertility, and certain creatures that appeared from the Erythraean Sea, unnatural in form, and other such mythical things—these he recorded with a certain boastfulness, all of which considered in the light of true reasoning appear to be figments of demons.<sup>4</sup> Therefore, I consider it necessary also to set

<sup>1</sup> For the Hermetic and alchemical use of the legend of the fallen Watchers and their secret revelations, see Scott, *Hermetica*, iv. 149–50; Festugière, *Révélation*, i. 254–60.

<sup>2</sup> The detailed discussion that follows aims to disprove the existence of Babylonian and Egyptian kingdoms before the Flood.

<sup>3</sup> The same number appears in Synk.'s extract from Polyhistor/Berossos; see below, p. 38 (= Moss. 28.24). This number is probably corrupt, since, as Synk. says later, Berossos assigned 432,000 years to ante-diluvian Babylonian history alone.

<sup>4</sup> Berossos was a Babylonian priest of Bel, who in the early 3rd c. BC dedicated to Antiochos I a three-volume work on the history and civilization of Babylonia. The Greek text of this work survives mainly in Synk., who

15] out the chronology of these things in a table from AM 1058, although I am fully convinced that it was out of a desire to glorify the Chaldaean nation and to show that it was older than all the other nations that Berossos and his followers (I mean Alexander, who is called Polyhistor, and Abydenos) have written these things.<sup>1</sup>

For to think rather that the land that we inhabit, in which the region of the Babylonians and Egypt are situated, was uninhabited before the Flood appears to correspond better with divine scripture and certain patristic witnesses, and the natural order of things; and indeed with scripture, which states the following: 'And he cast out Adam and settled him opposite the Paradise of pleasure.'<sup>2</sup> But the land of the Babylonians and our whole inhabited world lie somewhere far away from Eden, which is to the East, in which we say Paradise is situated. And in order that we may adduce a divinely inspired teacher as a witness to this statement, let divine Ephraïm, overflowing like the ocean in speech, step forward; he speaks in his doctrinal discourses on Paradise as follows:<sup>3</sup>

Paradise is higher than all the other beautiful high places. And the Flood reached to its base. The people who lived before the Flood dwelt between Ocean and Paradise, the offspring of Cain in the land called Od, which is translated 'trembling', and the descendants of Seth in the higher place, having been commanded by Adam not to mingle with the line of Cain, the fratricide. His offspring were small in stature because of the curse of Cain. But the descendants of Seth were giants and like angels of God, [dwelling] in the elevated region. But the daughters of Cain, coming to them with wind and stringed musical instruments, led them down from their own land, and [the Sethites] took them. When their lawlessness abounded, the Flood came. And God led the ark of Noah away to Mount Ararat. And from that time, people came to dwell in this land. This illustrates that the land now inhabited was then uninhabited. For on account of the com-

includes extracts from Berossos' *Babyloniaka* preserved by Alexander Polyhistor, Abydenos, and Ps.-Apollodoros. The Armenian version of the first book of Eusebios' chronicle contains essentially the same excerpts as Synk. In all likelihood, Synk. owes his knowledge of the *Babyloniaka* either directly or indirectly to Eusebios' chronicle. For edition of the preserved witnesses to Berossos' history, see Jacoby, *FGrH* 680 F 1-14 (F 1-5 = Synkellos/Eusebios excerpts).

<sup>1</sup> AM 1058 (more precisely, 1059) is the year in which, according to Panodoros and Annianos, Babylonian and Egyptian civilization began. See below, p. 43 (= Moss. 33.8-18).

<sup>2</sup> Gen. 3.24.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Ephr. Syr. *Par.* 1.10-11.

passion of God, the people who lived before the Flood dwelt near Paradise between Ocean and Paradise. Now the 'outer darkness', about which Christ spoke, comes from within Paradise.<sup>1</sup> And Paradise, together with Ocean, encircles the world. Eden is toward the East, and the lights of the sun and the moon rise from within Paradise, but they set outside, passing through it, and so on.

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For those, then, who are open to persuasion, I think that these passages provide complete certainty, that before the Flood, people inhabited the land between Ocean and Paradise, and neither did Babylon exist on the earth, nor the kingdom of the Chaldaeans, as is held by Berossos and his successors in a way that overturns divine scriptures; nor was there an Egyptian dynasty, as Manetho, the liar and glorifier of the Egyptian race, saw fit to write. But if someone is not satisfied by the foregoing citations, let him finally be convinced by that which Moses the beholder of God states further on in his writings after the Flood narrative:<sup>2</sup>

Cush begot Nimrod. He began to be a giant on the earth. He was a mighty hunter before the Lord. For this reason, they say, 'like the giant Nimrod'. And the beginning of his kingdom was Babylon, Orech, Archad, and Chalane in the land of Senaar. From that land, he went out to Asour, and built Nineveh and the city of Rhoboth and Chalach. That is the great city.

It is clear from this that the kingdom of the Babylonians, that is of the Chaldaeans, began with Nimrod, who flourished in the 630th year after the Flood. And it is necessary for those who correctly heed divine scriptures not to accept any written record documenting Chaldaean or Egyptian history before the Flood—even if, after stealing narrative from divinely inspired scriptures concerning the Flood and the chest (that is, the ark) they appropriate it as their own, by which means the less sophisticated, embracing the rest of their nonsense, are easily harmed (I mean the nonsense involving the myriads of years in sars, ners, and sosses). Included in this narrative is also talk about some kind of 'Annidotioi', in shape part fish, part human, who spend the day on land taking no sustenance, but at night submerge into the sea.<sup>3</sup> These creatures impart to humankind

<sup>1</sup> Matt 8.12; 22.13; 25.30.

<sup>2</sup> Gen. 10.8–12.

<sup>3</sup> The 'Annidotioi' refer to the succession of mythical sea creatures, beginning with Oannes, who emerged from the sea in Babylonian prehistory and revealed civilization to the primitive Babylonians; see the citations below from Abydenos and Ps.-Apollodoros, pp. 52, 53 (= Moss. 39.8–9, 40.9–15, where the singular is spelt 'Annedotos').

letters and knowledge of sciences and crafts, the founding of cities, the establishment of temples, the introduction of laws, and the gathering of seeds. And from that time, they say, human beings have made no further discovery. And when authors of Christian histories see that all of this and a great deal more are saturated with a large amount of prattle and are at odds with our divine scriptures, I am amazed how they have at all consented to subject to a tabular arrangement what is unworthy of any mention whatsoever. Out of respect for these men, I deem it unnecessary to mention them by name.<sup>1</sup> But it is because of them that I too am required to make use of this same arrangement, lest my work appear incomplete. Since, then, the Chaldaean kingdom has been demonstrated to have begun from Nimrod, it has been also clearly demonstrated at the same time that what has been written about the Egyptian dynasties by Manetho of Sebennytos to Ptolemy Philadelphos is full of untruth and fabricated in imitation of Berossos at about the same time or a little later than him. Nevertheless, even though this material is useless, it will be arranged chronologically on the basis of the tabulations found in many historians.

In AM 1058, the Watchers descended and continued in their transgression up to the Flood.<sup>2</sup>

The second cycle of 532 years was completed, and the third cycle began in AM 1065, in the 270th year of Maleleël.

If you pay close attention to the two tables given below, you will be immediately and utterly convinced that the thinking of both of them, as was stated above, is contrived: the thinking both of Berossos and of Manetho, who seek to glorify their own nation, the one the nation of the Chaldaeans, the other that of the Egyptians. Marvel how they felt no shame about assigning a beginning to their fantastic compositions from one and the same year.<sup>3</sup> But Berossos wrote his narrative in sars and ners and sosses, of which a sar is a period of 3600 years, a ner is 600 years, and a soss is 60 years. And

<sup>1</sup> This is a reference to his Alexandrian predecessors, Panodoros and Annianos, whom Synk. does later identify by name; see below, pp. 46–50 (= Moss. 35.4–37.15)

<sup>2</sup> Synk. here confuses the fall of the Watchers in AM 1000 (see above, p. 15 = Moss. 11.7–11) with Panodoros' and Annianos' dating of the beginning of the ante-diluvian kingdoms of Egypt and Babylon; see below, pp. 43, 56 (= Moss. 33.14–18, 42.13–15).

<sup>3</sup> This is not a reference to Berossos and Manetho, but rather to Panodoros and Annianos, who attempted to demonstrate that Babylonian and Egyptian civilization began in the same year (= AM 1058); see below, pp. 42–8, 56–7 (= Moss. 32.29–36.9, 41.29–43.3).

he came up with a total of 120 sars over a span of ten kings, that is a period of 432,000 years. Now these years some of our historians speculatively reckoned as days, criticizing Eusebios Pamphilou for not recognizing that the years of sars are days.<sup>1</sup> But in this they criticize him vainly. For how was he able to know about something that has no reality—this man who was both a polymath and familiar with the Greek notion that affirms that many ages, that is, myriads of years, have elapsed from the creation of the universe, based on their fanciful idea about the motion of the zodiac from the beginning of the sign of the ram to its diametrical opposite and back to the same sign of the cycle?<sup>2</sup> What was driving them to reconcile the lie with truth?

### From Africanus, concerning the mythical chronology of the Egyptians and the Chaldaeans<sup>3</sup>

The Egyptians, then, in order to make something of an impression, have set forth outlandish chronological cycles and myriads of years according to some sort of system based on astrological calculations made by them; which some of them, reputed for their accuracy in these matters, compress, saying that they are lunar years.<sup>4</sup> But inclining no less than the others to the mythical, they manage to reconcile these years with the eight and nine thousand years that the Egyptian priests in Plato falsely enumerate to Solon.<sup>5</sup>

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(And after some other words:) Of the 30,000 years of the Phoenicians or of the absurdity of the Chaldaeans, with their 480,000 years, why should one even speak? For although it is from the Chaldaeans that the Jews as descendants of Abraham

<sup>1</sup> On Panodoros' and Annianos' criticisms of Eusebios, see below, pp. 47–50 (= Moss. 36.5–37.15).

<sup>2</sup> On this cycle, see below, pp. 48, 73 (= Moss. 36.10–14; 57.12–17).

<sup>3</sup> Routh, fr. 10.

<sup>4</sup> This does not mean a lunar calendar of 354 days. In order to reduce Egyptian chronology to a more manageable size, Egyptian astrologers argued that primitive Egyptian years should be reckoned as months. Evidence of this sort of chronological manipulation by Egyptian priests is already attested in Diod. Sic. 1.26.1–5.

<sup>5</sup> See Plato, *Tim.* 23 E (citing the words of an Egyptian priest to Solon): 'And the duration of our civilization as set down in our sacred writings is 8000 years. Of the citizens, then, who lived 9000 years ago, I will declare to you briefly certain of their laws and the noblest of the deeds they performed.'

derive their origins, they have received through the spirit of Moses more modest and moderate teaching, together with the truth. And from their remaining Hebrew histories, they have handed down a period of 5500 years up to the advent of the Word of salvation that was announced during the sovereignty of the Caesars.

<u>[Chaldaeian king]</u>	<u>[Length of rule]</u>
1. Aloros	10 sars
2. Alasparos	3 sars
3. Amelon	13 sars
4. Amenon	12 sars
5. Metalaros	18 sars
6. Daonos	99 years <sup>1</sup>
7. Euedorachos	18 sars
8. Amphis	10 sars
9. Otiartes	8 sars
10. Xisouthros	$\langle 18 \rangle^2$ sars

### **Concerning the ancient history of the Egyptians**

Manetho of Sebennytyos, the high priest of the polluted temples in Egypt, lived after Berossos in the time of Ptolemy Philadelphos; he writes to this Ptolemy, telling falsehoods himself just like Berossos, concerning six dynasties, or six gods who never existed. These, he says, continued in their rule for a period of 11,985 years. The first of which, the god Hephaistos, he says, was king for 9000 years. Again, some of our historians claim that these 9000 years should be considered as lunar months. And after dividing the number of days in these 9000 lunar months by the 365 days of the year, they come up with a total of  $727\frac{3}{4}$  years.<sup>3</sup> They think they have accomplished

<sup>1</sup> As Synk.'s extract from Ps.-Apollodoros (see below, p. 53 = Moss. 40.13-14) makes clear, Daonos was king for ten sars, or 36,000 years; this would then make a total of 120 sars for the succession of pre-flood kings. Synk. mistakenly gives here the years of Daonos' reign after they were 'reduced' to days by Panodoros and Annianos ( $36,000 \div 365 \approx 99$  years). On their application of this technique to pre-flood Chaldaeian chronology, see below, pp. 42-3 (= Moss. 32.29-33.23).

<sup>2</sup> The missing number is supplied by Mosshammer based on a subsequent statement by Ps.-Apollodoros assigning 18 sars to Xisouthros' reign, making a total of 120 sars. See below, p. 54 (= Moss. 40.23).

<sup>3</sup> The calculation of  $727\frac{3}{4}$  seems to assume a month of approximately  $29\frac{1}{2}$  days:  $9000 \times 29\frac{1}{2} = 265,500$  days;  $265,500 \text{ days} \div 365 \approx 727\frac{3}{4}$  years.

something extraordinary, but one might rather say they are harmonizing a lie deserving of ridicule with truth.

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### First Dynasty<sup>1</sup>

<u>[Egyptian king]</u>	<u>[Length of rule]</u>
<u>[Gods]</u>	
1. Hephaistos, the first dynasty	727 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>4</sub> years
2. Helios, the son of Hephaistos	80 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>6</sub> years <sup>a</sup>
3. Agathodaimon	56 <sup>7</sup> / <sub>12</sub> years
4. Kronos	40 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>12</sub> years
5. Osiris and Isis	35 years
6. <*****> <sup>2</sup>	
7. Typhon	29 years
<u>[Demigods]</u>	
8. Horos	25 years
9. Ares	23 years
10. Anoubis	17 years
11. Herakles	15 years
12. Apollo	25 years
13. Ammon	30 years
14. Tithoes	27 years
15. Sosos	32 years
16. Zeus	20 years

<sup>a</sup> Text: π'Ος'. The translation follows Dindorf's text in omitting the Ο (= '1/2').

<sup>1</sup> Ps.-Manetho *FGIh* 609 F 27. Unlike his chronology of ante-diluvian Babylonian kings, Synk.'s list of Egyptian god-kings represents the years of their reign 'reduced' by Panodoros to months of 29<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> days; see below, p. 56 (= Moss. 42.2–19). The reigns of the demigod-kings are reduced from years to 'seasons'. The 100 years of the reign of Horos are thus given as 25 years. The total years come to 1183, according to Panodoros the duration of the combined reigns of ante-diluvian Egyptian rulers. Since this text is unattested in the other witnesses to Manetho, it is widely assumed that Synk.'s text is based on the *Book of Sothis*, a work pseudonymously attributed to Manetho; see below, pp. 54–5 (= Moss. 40.31–41.20).

<sup>2</sup> The lacunose entry for the sixth dynasty (*Αἰγυπτίων 5' ἐβασίλευσεν <\*\*\*\*\*>*) is probably to be omitted for two reasons: (i) from Hephaistos up to Isis, there are six rulers, which, according to Synk.'s previous comment, represent the total number of Egyptian god-kings; (ii) excluding this entry yields for the gods' and demi-gods' reigns a total of 969 + 214 = 1183 years, which is also the number that Panodoros and Annianos ascribe to ante-diluvian Egyptian chronology; see below, p. 56 (= Moss. 42.15–19).

### Years from the creation of the world and the transgression of the Watchers

In AM 1122, Jared begot Enoch. When he was 165 years of age, Enoch begot Methuselah in AM 1287. In AM 1042, Seth died. In AM 1177, the Watchers openly committed adultery.

#### From Africanus, concerning the Watchers<sup>1</sup>

20] When humankind became numerous upon the earth, angels of heaven had intercourse with daughters of men. In some copies, I found: 'the sons of God'. In my opinion, it is recounted [that the descendants] of Seth are called sons of God by the Spirit, since the genealogies of the righteous and the patriarchs up until the Saviour are traced from him. But the descendants of Cain it designates as human seed, as having had nothing divine because of the wickedness of their line and the dissimilarity of their nature,<sup>2</sup> so that when they were mingled together, God grew angry.<sup>3</sup> But let us understand them as 'angels'. Then it was they who transmitted knowledge about magic and sorcery, as well as the numbers of the motion of astronomical phenomena,<sup>4</sup> to their wives, from whom they produced the giants as their children; and when depravity came into being because of them, God resolved to destroy every class of living things in a flood—this would be unbelievable.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Routh, fr. 7.

<sup>2</sup> Text: *διὰ τὸ τῆς φύσεως ἀνόμοιον*, probably in reference to the dissimilarity of their nature to God's.

<sup>3</sup> Africanus is the first preserved Christian writer to propose identifying the 'sons of God' and the 'daughters of men' with the Sethites and Cainites respectively. For discussion of this exegetical tradition, see Adler, *Time Immemorial*, 113–16.

<sup>4</sup> The words *ἀριθμῶν κινήσεως τῶν μετεώρων* ('numbers of the motion of astronomical phenomena') probably refer to the measurement of time on the basis of the motion of the heavenly spheres. For measured time as *ἀριθμὸς κινήσεως*, see Aristot. *Physics* 221<sup>b</sup>10, where it is stated that 'time is not motion, but the numbering of motion'.

<sup>5</sup> Text: *ἔγνω πᾶν ἀφανίσαι ζώων γένος ὁ θεὸς ἐν κατακλυσμῷ ἄπιστον*. The word *ἄπιστον* possibly refers to *γένος*, in which case the translation would read: 'God resolved to destroy every class of living things in a flood for being faithless.' Note, however, that *ἄπιστον* is lacking in the continuation of this passage from Africanus' chronicle, identical save in word-order; see p. 29 (= Moss. 21.27–8): *ἔγνω πᾶν ὁ θεὸς ἀφανίσαι ζώων γένος ἐν κατακλυσμῷ, ἀπειλήσας ῥκ' ἔτη οὐχ ὑπερβήσεσθαι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους*. It may be an editorial gloss, intended to



In the 1277th year,<sup>1</sup> Enoch begot Methuselah. When Methuselah was 167 years of age, he begot Lamech.<sup>2</sup>

This was in AM 1454, but some of the manuscripts report the birth of Lamech in the 187th year of this Methuselah. With them Africanus is also in agreement, who reckoned the date of the Flood at the time of Noah in AM 2262. But this does not seem to us to be sound. For in my opinion Africanus reckoned the date of the Flood in AM 2262 because the 969-year duration of Methuselah's life began in AM 1287 and continued up to AM 2256, within the period of 2262 years.<sup>3</sup>

But Eusebios says about Methuselah that the span of his life can be demonstrated to have exceeded this flood. And we have seen reported in some of the manuscripts: 'he lived another 782 years'. In this way, he did not see the Flood—and this is in fact what Eusebios says.<sup>4</sup> However, if someone grants that this is true, Methuselah will be found to have died after 949 years, and Jared his grandfather, who lived 962 years, will have greater longevity than he. But it is agreed by all that Methuselah was the longest-lived of all men and that he died in the Flood. Therefore one might rather suppose that Methuselah was born in the 153rd year of Enoch, that is in AM 1273. The 969 years of the life of Methuselah added to these make 2242 years, which coincide with the Flood, at which time Methuselah died.<sup>5</sup>

express doubts about the identification of the 'sons of God' as angels. But the present translation seems to convey most adequately the sense of Africanus' interpretation of Gen. 6.1-4. He rejects the identification because he considers it implausible (ἀπίστον) that the transgression of angels would have induced God to destroy all living things in a flood. He prefers the interpretation of the 'sons of God' and 'daughters of men' as Sethites and Cainites, respectively, because their unlawful mixing would have been suitable grounds for God's destruction of the entire ante-diluvian population. (In Moss. 19.31, the comma should follow ἔχειν, not τούτους.)

<sup>1</sup> Probably an error for 1287; see above, p. 26 (= Moss. 19.20).

<sup>2</sup> Gen. 5.21-5.

<sup>3</sup> Since, according to Synk., the Flood occurred in AM 2242, Methuselah would have survived the Flood by 14 years (1287 + 969 = 2256). Africanus, following certain manuscripts of the Septuagint, solved the problem by dating Lamech's birth in the 187th (not the 167th) year of Methuselah's life, thereby supplying an additional 20 years for the date of the Flood (AM 2262).

<sup>4</sup> Eus. 1.38.22-6.

<sup>5</sup> Synk.'s own explanation is self-defeating. His dating of the Flood is determined by the ages of the pre-flood patriarchs when each begot the succeeding patriarch. By dating Methuselah's birth in Enoch's 153rd year, he would also be required to redate the Flood 14 years earlier (that is, in AM

In the 1340th year, Enosh died.

In the 1423rd year, Enoch received a revelation about the Flood.

In the 1438th year, Methuselah took a wife.

In the 1454th year, Lamech was born to Methuselah.

When Lamech was 188 years of age, he begot Noah in AM 1642. After begetting this Noah, Lamech lived another 565 years. All his days were 753 years. And he died in AM 2207, thirty-five years before the Flood. He was the shortest-lived of all those who lived before the Flood, with the exception of Abel the righteous. And he was the first of the patriarchs to die before his own father, Methuselah. For Methuselah died in the Flood, concerning whom Africanus wrote:<sup>1</sup>

This man lived longer than anyone else, both those who preceded him and those who succeeded him up to our time, 969 years in all. Perhaps his longevity has some meaning, because of the supramundane eighth day, the Lord's day. For he happens to be numbered eighth from the first.<sup>2</sup> And what he is lacking, this the Saviour has completed in order to fulfil the millennium, the primary and complete period of time.<sup>3</sup>

(Then he says:) There are three descendants of Cain whose names are in a certain way identical with those of the descendants of Seth, namely Enoch, Methuselah, and Lamech.<sup>4</sup>

2228, instead of 2242). Synk. provides an alternative explanation of the problem below, p. 163 (= Moss. 131.11-16).

<sup>1</sup> Routh, fr. 5.

<sup>2</sup> For Africanus, Methuselah (the eighth patriarch before the Flood) and the day of Christ's Resurrection (the first day after the Jewish Sabbath) prefigure the end of the 7000-year millennial week. For the number eight as a symbol of eternity, see e.g. Bas. Caes. *Hom. Hexaem.* 2.8; Origen, *Selecta in Psalmos* (PG 12.1624 BC); 2 *En.* 33.1-2: 'And I appointed the eighth day also, that the eighth day should be the first-created after my work, and that the first seven revolve in the form of the seventh thousand, and that at the beginning of the eighth thousand there should be a time of non-counting, endless, with neither years nor months nor weeks nor years nor seasons.'

<sup>3</sup> The 31 years of Christ's life on earth bring the 969 years of Methuselah's life to the 'complete' number of 1000. For Africanus' reckoning of Jesus' age as 31 at the time of his death, see below, p. 471 (= Moss. 393.28-30).

<sup>4</sup> According to Gen. 4.17-18 (LXX), Cain's offspring include three sons named Enoch, Mathousala, and Lamech. In remarking on this identity in names, Philo maintains that the same name can have different meanings when applied to Sethites and Cainites; see *Post. Caini* 40-8. This could be the reason why Africanus states that the names of three of Cain's offspring

In the 1488th year, Enoch was translated into Paradise, just as divine scripture also states: 'All the days of Enoch were 365 years, and Enoch pleased God and was not found, because God translated him.'<sup>1</sup>

In the 1535th year, Kainan died.

In the 1630th (year), Lamech took a wife.

In the 1642nd year, Noah was born to Lamech.

In the 1690th year, Maleleël died.

In the 1925th year, Jared died.<sup>2</sup>

In AM 2121, judgement against the Watchers.<sup>3</sup>

In the 2128th year, Noah took a wife.

In the 2140th year, God's commandment to Noah concerning the building of the ark.

In AM 2141, Noah was 500 years old. And he begot three sons. And in that same year, Shem was born to Noah.

In the 2144th year, Ham was born.

In the 2147th year, Japheth was born. Then scripture states: 'And the Lord said, "Let not my spirit abide among these men for ever, because they are flesh. Their days will be numbered as 120 years."' <sup>4</sup>

**⟨From Africanus⟩<sup>5</sup>**

God resolved to destroy every class of living things in a flood, after threatening that humankind would not live beyond 120 years. Let it not be considered a problem because some later lived

are 'in a certain way identical' with Sethite names. His comment may also reflect the text of the Septuagint known to him; instead of the Cainite name 'Mathousala', a few manuscripts of the Septuagint read 'Mathusael'.

<sup>1</sup> Gen. 5.23.

<sup>2</sup> If Jared was born in AM 960 (p. 15 = Moss. 10.29) and lived for 962 years (p. 27 = Moss. 20.18–19), his death would have occurred in AM 1922.

<sup>3</sup> This date may be based on the statement in Gen. 6.3 that, as a result of the transgression of the 'sons of God', God limited the age of mortals to 120 years. Christian and Jewish interpreters understood this verse to refer to the number of years remaining before the universal Flood; see below, p. 30 (= Moss. 21.27–22.2) with n. 1. Since by Synk.'s chronology the ark was completed in AM 2241 and the Flood occurred towards the beginning of AM 2242, God's pronouncement against the Watchers occurred in AM 2121. But cf. below, (= Moss. 21.23), where Synk. dates the divine decree in AM 2147. <sup>4</sup> Gen. 6.3.

<sup>5</sup> Routh, fr. 7. Since the words at the beginning of this excerpt are virtually identical to the last words of the preceding excerpt from Africanus (p. 26 = Moss. 20.4), this citation must have immediately followed Africanus' narrative about the fallen Watchers.

22] a longer period than that. For the interval of time invoked against the sinners of that age was 100 years up to the Flood (for they were 20 years old).<sup>1</sup> To Noah, who was well-pleasing to him because of his righteousness, God gave orders to prepare an ark. And when it was completed, there entered into it Noah himself and his sons, his wife and their young wives, and firstlings from every living thing, in order to ensure the survival of their species. And Noah was 600 years of age when the Flood occurred. But when the water receded, the ark came to rest on the mountains of Ararat, which we know to be in Parthia, but some say is in Kelainai of Phrygia. I have seen both places. The Flood persisted for a year. And then the earth became dry. And they came out of the ark in pairs, as can be discovered, and not in the manner in which they entered, according to species; and they were blessed before God.<sup>2</sup> So then each of these events of importance signifies something.

In AM 2206, Lamech died.

In the 2228th year, Shem took a wife for himself.

In the 2233rd year, Ham took a wife for himself.

In the 2236th year, Methuselah died.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Jewish and Christian interpreters, recognizing that many later patriarchs lived far beyond the 120-year limit decreed in Gen. 6.3, speculated that the divine sentence extended only to the sinning pre-flood generations. See e.g. Tg. Onk. ad loc.: 'I will give them an extension of time, 120 years, to see if they will repent.' For other Jewish and Christian sources, see Ginzberg, *Legends*, v. 174 n. 19. In the above excerpt, Africanus refines the explanation to suit the demands of ante-diluvian chronology. Africanus assumed that the divine sentence imposed in Gen. 6.3 occurred in the same year that Noah, at age 500, begot his three sons (Gen. 6.1). Since Noah was 600 years of age when the Flood occurred (Gen. 7.11), God must have allowed the sinning generations only 100 (not 120) years to repent. From this, Africanus further concluded that the sinners against whom this edict was pronounced could not have been older than 20 years of age at the time of the divine decree. Other interpreters, aware of the same problem, suggest that the increasing wickedness of pre-flood generations led God to reduce the time of repentance from 120 to 100 years. See e.g. Jerome, *Heb. quaest.* (on Gen. 6.3); Georg. Mon. i. 48.1-5.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Gen. 7.9, 15, 16. Here it is stated that all the species of animals entered the ark in pairs. Gen. 8.19 states that they came forth from the ark 'according to their kind'. For some reason, Africanus reverses the sequence.

<sup>3</sup> The year 2236 assumes that Methuselah died at age 949 (1287 + 949 = 2236). This is also the date suggested by Eusebios; see pp. 27, 163 (= Moss. 20.14-17, 131.3-10), and Eus. 1.38.24-6. Elsewhere, Synk. rejects this date, arguing that if Methuselah lived only 949 years, he would not have been the

In the 2237th year, Japheth took a wife for himself. The ark was completed in AM 2241.

In this year, 2241 years from Adam and the creation of the whole world, and the 599th year of the life of Noah the righteous, the ark was completed, which, by a decree from God, he had built over a full 100-year period. Concerning this, only Moses, the beholder of God, informed by God before everyone else, has accurately recorded the day of the month and the year in which Noah entered the ark together with his whole household, and with every species of living things; at which time, he alone, together with those with him, was saved, since he alone in his generation was found pleasing to God. This is in AM 2242, the 600th year of Noah's life, on the 27th of the second month, called Iar by the Hebrews, 25 Pachon among the Egyptians, that is on 20 May among the Romans, the first of the week, as some think, on Luna 27.<sup>1</sup> On that day, God closed the ark from the outside, as the divine verses of scripture state, and the waterfalls of heaven were opened and the springs of the abyss broke forth for 40 days, that is up to the 5th of the fourth Hebrew month of Thamnei, in the eleventh Egyptian month of Epiphei, the seventh Roman month, also known as July, on the fifth day of the week, it is said, on Luna 7.<sup>2</sup> This was most miraculous, that at the middle of the summer season storms of such extraordinary magnitude burst down upon the world because of the extreme depravity. But when, at the command of God, a wind blew upon the earth after 150 days, the water began to subside, from the 24th of the seventh Hebrew month Theëleiph, the 19th of the Egyptian second month of Phaophi, which is for the Romans the tenth month of October, the third day of the week, and, it is said, on Luna 1, the new moon, up to the 1st of the eleventh Hebrew month of Sabat, that is the 25th of Tybit, which is also in the first Roman month of January;<sup>3</sup> on the second day of the week, on Luna 10, the ark came to rest on the mountains of Ararat, that is, of Armenia. And the tops of the mountains appeared. And after 40 days, Noah sent out through a window of the ark the raven to see if the water had abated, on the 11th of the twelfth month of Adar, on 5 Phamenoth, at the beginning of the

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oldest of all the pre-Flood patriarchs; see pp. 27, 163 (= Moss. 20.17–25, 131.7–16), where Synk. offers as well his own solutions to the problem of the chronology of Methuselah's life.

<sup>1</sup> See Gen. 7.11, which dates the Flood in the '600th year of the life of Noah, in the second month, on the 27th day of the month'.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Gen. 7.17.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Gen. 8.3.

third Roman month of March, on the seventh day of the week, on Luna 20.<sup>1</sup> And after the raven went out, it did not return. And after seven days, he sent out the dove, and when it did not find a place to rest, it returned to him.<sup>2</sup> And after another seven days, on the 18th of the month of Adar, on the 12th of Phamenoth and of March,<sup>3</sup> he again sent it out from the ark; and on the seventh day of the week, Luna 22, it returned towards evening carrying an olive branch in its mouth.<sup>4</sup> After another seven days, he again released the dove, on the 25th of the same twelfth Hebrew month of Adar, that is on 21 Phamenoth, 18 March,<sup>5</sup> and it did not return any more.<sup>6</sup>

In the beginning of AM 2243, in the 601st year of the life of Noah, on the 1st of the first month of Nisan, that is on the 29th of the seventh Egyptian month Phamenoth, 25 March, on the first day of the week, on Luna 12, the water subsided from the land.<sup>7</sup> On the 27th of the second month of Iar, that is 25 Pachon, the land became dry.<sup>8</sup> And there came out from the ark Noah and those with him, on the first day of the week.<sup>9</sup> And since these matters are contained for us in divinely inspired scriptures handed down through Moses, attending to Chaldaean and Egyptian histories would be superfluous for those who are unwavering in their belief that the universal flood occurred at the time of Noah in AM 2242. For these sources introduce endless myriads of years, and they fabricate everything for the purpose of subverting the truth, even if, with respect to a flood and giants and Noah himself, whom they call Xisouthros, they appear to agree partly with divinely inspired scriptures. For from them, those who have compiled these histories have appropriated every worthwhile idea.

But since poisons when not recognized often have the power to bring about death to the inexperienced who partake of them, I think it necessary to quote a few excerpts alongside those available to us from divine scriptures. This is not to confirm them—by no means!—but rather to refute their lying talk. But before this, I shall cite the corresponding account about the Watchers from the *First Book of Enoch*, since this account is more akin to our scriptures, even if it is apocryphal and questionable in places. It reads something like the following:

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Gen. 8.3, 5–7.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Gen. 8.8–9.

<sup>3</sup> Text: β' τοῦ Φαμενώθ, Μαρτίου δέ. GO.<sup>m</sup>: ιδ' τοῦ Φαμενώθ, Μαρτίου δέ ι' ('on 14 Phamenoth, 10 March').

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Gen. 8.10–11.

<sup>5</sup> Text: Μαρτίου δέ ιη'. GO.<sup>m</sup>: Μαρτίου δέ ιζ' ('17 March').

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Gen. 8.12.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Gen. 8.13.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Gen. 8.14.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Gen. 8.18.

**From the *Book of Enoch*<sup>1</sup>  
The remaining narrative about the Watchers**

At that time, humanity cried out to heaven, saying: 'Bring our case to the Most High, and our destruction before his great glory, before the Lord of all lords in his majesty.'

And when the four great archangels Michael, Uriel, Raphael, and Gabriel heard them, the four of them peered out on the earth from among the holy ones of heaven. And when they saw much blood poured out on the earth and all lawlessness and impiety taking place on it, they went in and said to one another: 'The spirits and souls of men are making petition, groaning and saying: "Bring our entreaty to the Most High."' And after they approached him, the four archangels said to the Lord, 'You are God of gods and Lord of lords and king of kings and God of humanity, and the throne of your glory is for all the generations of the ages, and your name is holy and blessed for all the ages. For you are the one who created all things, and you have power over all things. And all things before you are manifest and unhidden, and you see everything, and there is nothing that is able to be hidden from you. You see how much Azaël did, how much he introduced and how much he taught, and the iniquities and sins on the earth, and every deception on the ground. For he taught the mysteries and revealed to the world heavenly matters. And the sons of men are pursuing what he taught them, to gain knowledge of the mysteries. And you gave to Semiazas authority over those who were together with him, and they went into the daughters of men of the earth, and slept with them and became polluted with the females and revealed to them all the sins, and taught them to make charms for producing hatred.<sup>2</sup> And now, look, the daughters of men have brought forth from them giant sons. And baseness is poured out over the land of humanity. And the whole earth is filled with wrongdoing. And now, look, the spirits of the souls of deceased humanity are making their plea, and their groaning has ascended up to the gates of heaven. And it is not possible to go out from the face of the transgressions that are occurring on the earth. And you know things before they take place and you see humanity and leave it to itself, and say nothing. What is to be done to them about this?'

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<sup>1</sup> *I En.* 8.4–10.14; 15.8–16.1.

<sup>2</sup> Text: *μίσητρα ποιεῖν* (A: *μίσιτρα ποιεῖν*). Cf. Charles, *Enoch*, n. ad loc., who considers this a corruption of *μισητίαν ποιεῖν* ('to practise lewdness').

Then spoke the Most High, the Holy and Great One gave voice, and sent Uriel to the son of Lamech saying: 'Go to Noah and say to him, "Hide yourself in my name", and reveal to him the end that is approaching, that all the earth is to be destroyed. And say to him that a flood is about to come over all the earth and destroy everything from the face of the earth. Teach the righteous one what he is to do, this son of Lamech. His soul he will preserve for life, and he will survive this age. And a plant will be sown from him and it will be established for all the generations of the world.' And he said to Raphael: 'Go forth, Raphael, and bind Azaël, shackle him by his hands and feet, and cast him into the darkness, and open up the wilderness that is in the desert of Doudaël, and lead him there and cast him therein. And put under him sharp and jagged stones, and shroud him in darkness, and let him dwell there for ever. And cover up his face, and let him not see light. And on the day of judgement, he will be led away to the fiery conflagration. And heal the earth which the Watchers have made corrupt. And show them the cure for the affliction, in order that they might heal the affliction and in order that all the sons of men might not be destroyed by the mystery which the Watchers spoke and taught their sons. And all the earth has been made desolate by the works of the teaching of Azaël. And to it<sup>1</sup> ascribe all the transgressions.' And to Gabriel, he said: 'Go forth, Gabriel, to the giants, to the base ones, to the sons of unchastity, and wipe out the sons of the Watchers from the sons of men. Send them against one another, one part against the other, in war and destruction. And there will not be a lengthening of days for them. And no request will be granted to their fathers: for they hope to live an eternal life, and that each of them will live 500 years.' And to Michael, he said, 'Go forth, Michael, and bind Semiazas and the others with him, those who intermixed with the daughters of men so as to be corrupted with them in their impurity. And when their sons are slaughtered and they see the destruction of their beloved ones, bind them for seventy generations in the valleys of the earth, until the day of their judgement, until the day of the final consummation, until the judgement of eternity is completed. Then they will be brought out into the chaos of fire and into the torment and into the prison of eternal confinement. And he who is judged and destroyed hereafter, will be bound with them until the consummation of their generation.'

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(And after some other words:) And now the giants who have

<sup>1</sup> Text: *αὐτῆ;* cf. I En<sup>Pan</sup>: *αὐτῶ* ('to him', that is Azaël).



been born from spirits and flesh: they will call them 'wicked spirits on the earth', because their habitation will be on the earth. They will be wicked spirits, the spirits having come out from the body of their flesh, because they were from men, and from the holy ones, the Watchers, is the beginning of their creation and foundation. They will be wicked spirits upon the earth, the spirits of the giants holding sway, doing wrong, despoiling, attacking, fighting and contending, laying waste over the earth, committing aggressions. And they take no food, rather they go hungry and thirsty and cause conflicts. And the spirits will rise up against the sons of men and women, because they have proceeded from them.

And from the day and moment of the slaughter and destruction and death of the giant Naphileim<sup>1</sup> shall the mighty of the earth, the great ones of renown, the spirits coming out from their soul, since they will be from the flesh, ravaging without incurring judgement, in this way cause devastation until the day of completion, up to the great judgement, in which the great age will be completed, and will be completed all at once.

(And again:)<sup>2</sup> [. . .] from the mountain on which they swore, and bound themselves by a curse to the one next to him, that he would not abandon him for eternity:<sup>a</sup> 'May frost and snow and rime and dew not descend upon it, unless it come down as a curse, until the day of the great judgement. At that time, it will be burnt and crushed. And it will be consumed by fire and melted like wax by fire; in this way it will be burnt up for all its deeds. And now I say to you, sons of men, "There is great wrath against you, against your sons, and this wrath will not cease from you, until the time of the slaughter of your sons. And your beloved will be destroyed and those you cherish will perish from all the earth, because all the days of their life henceforth will not be more than 120 years. And do not expect to live any more years beyond that. For there is no way of escape for them from this

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<sup>a</sup> Mosshammer's text has been repunctuated to produce this English translation. Although fragmentary, the passage seems to consist of a divine curse on Mount Hermon, the site where the Watchers descended and corrupted the daughters of men.

<sup>1</sup> Spelt 'Naphleim' above, p. 16 (= Moss. 12.11).

<sup>2</sup> This last excerpt, not attested in any of the other surviving witnesses to 1 Enoch's 'Book of the Watchers', is generally considered an interpolation from another book of the Enoch corpus, either the 'Book of Noah' (so Charles, *Enoch*, 14, note to 1 En. 6.2) or the 'Book of the Giants' (so Milik, *Books of Enoch*, 317-20).

point on, because of the wrath that the King of all the Ages has against you. Do not suppose that you will escape this."'

And this is from the *First Book of Enoch* concerning the Watchers, even if it is necessary that especially the more unsophisticated should not heed apocrypha wholeheartedly, insofar as they contain some strange material, out of line with ecclesiastical teaching, and have been adulterated by Jews and heretics. Nevertheless blessed Paul occasionally used some passages from apocrypha,<sup>1</sup> as when he says in his first letter to the Corinthians: 'What the eye has not seen and the ear has not heard also does not go up to the heart of man', and so forth, from the *Apocrypha of Elijah*.<sup>2</sup> And again in the letter to the Galatians from the *Apocalypse of Moses*: 'For neither is circumcision some great thing nor uncircumcision, but a new creation.'<sup>3</sup> And in the letter to the Ephesians from the so-called *Apocrypha of Jeremiah*: 'Let him who sleeps awake, rise from the dead, and Christ will give you rest.'<sup>4</sup> We say this not to grant licence to those who wish to read apocrypha indiscriminately, not at all! For many have gone astray by putting faith in all these works, whence the holy Church of God and the company of our divinely

<sup>1</sup> In the following discussion, Synk. mentions Paul's citation from Jewish apocrypha as justification for his own citations from *1 Enoch*. The apocryphal sources that Synk. names are virtually identical with those found in the catalogue of Paul's citations from sacred scriptures compiled by Euthalios, the 5th-c. Alexandrian deacon (see following nn.). Synk.'s use of Euthalios' list of Paul's quotations, or a list similar to it, might explain why he overlooked the one New Testament passage that would have made the strongest argument for his case, namely the much-discussed citation from *1 En.* 1.9 in Jude 14.

<sup>2</sup> *1 Cor.* 2.9. The attribution of this quotation to an Elijah apocryphon was widely accepted in the early Church, including Euthalios (*PG* 85.721 A). For the witnesses, see Schürer, *Hist. of the Jewish People*, iii. 130-2.

<sup>3</sup> *Gal.* 6.15. On the attribution of this quotation to a non-canonical work of Moses, see Euthalios (*PG* 85.721 B); Phot. *Quaest. ad Amphiloch.* 151 (v. 194.21-4, ed. Westerink). As Synk. states earlier (p. 4 = Moss. 3.17), *Apocalypse of Moses* is another title for *Jubilees*, which book lacks the citation from Paul's epistle to the Galatians. Since Euthalios and Photios refer to the work as the *Apocrypha of Moses*, it is possible that Synk. confused *Jubilees* with another Moses apocryphon.

<sup>4</sup> *Eph.* 5.14. On the attribution of this quotation to an apocryphal work of Jeremiah, see also Euthalios (*PG* 85.721 C); Phot. *Quaest. ad Amphiloch.* 151 (v. 194.25-7, ed. Westerink). Other Christian authors have differing opinions about its origin. See e.g. Hippolyt. *Comm. Dan.* 4.56 (Isaiah); Epiph. *Pan.* 42.12.3 (an Elijah apocryphon).

inspired fathers have prevented us from reading them as if they were the rest of divine scripture. And we have cited the aforementioned passages in order to show only the transgression of the Watchers and the impiety of the giants, concerning which divine Moses also makes mention, and that because of them the universal flood occurred; so that Christians<sup>a</sup> who have written Chaldaean and Egyptian antiquities need not assume that from canonical or apocryphal books they have any basis whatsoever to compose a defence of their own fakery and the endless years and the kings and dynasties reported by them;<sup>1</sup> but also in order that those who search into apocryphal books concerning these matters be satisfied with the previously cited passages from them and that they not, by heedlessly reading these treatises wholesale, fall away from the right and true purpose. Indeed, in the so-called *Apocalypse of Moses*, it is reported about them<sup>2</sup> that after the Flood in AM 2582 they were moved by envy and after their death led astray the sons of Noah.<sup>3</sup> And when Noah prayed that they withdraw from them, the Lord ordered the archangel Michael to cast them into the abyss until the day of judgement. But the devil requested to receive a portion of them in order to test humanity. And a tenth of them was given to him according to a divine order, so as to try humanity and probe the loyalty of each person to God; but the remaining nine parts were cast into the abyss.<sup>4</sup> But this seems absurd to us, that a living person should be tested by the soul of one who has died. Therefore, we also advise that those who read apocrypha either here or elsewhere should not follow in all things the ideas reported in them.

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But it remains after this, just as we promised, to quote small excerpts from the authors of Chaldaean and Egyptian histories. Through them their disagreement both with each other and with divine scripture will be completely clear to the faithful, as well as the refutation of their fantastic nonsense:

<sup>a</sup> Text: *χριστιανῶν*. Following Go.<sup>m</sup>, emended to *χριστιανούς*.

<sup>1</sup> See below, pp. 42–6 (= Moss. 32.29–35.19), where Synk. criticizes the Alexandrian chroniclers Panodoros and Annianos for appealing to the *Book of Enoch* to harmonize the chronology of Genesis with Berossos and Manetho.

<sup>2</sup> That is, the giants of Gen. 6.

<sup>3</sup> Text: *μετὰ θάνατον ἐπλάνησαν*, apparently in reference to the death of the giants. Since *Jub.* 10.1 describes the temptation and destruction of the sons of Noah by the unclean demons, Rönsch (*Jubiläen*, 290) emends *μετὰ θάνατον* to *μετὰ θανάτου*, understanding the text to mean 'verführten und tödteten'.

<sup>4</sup> On the temptation of the sons of Noah by the giant offspring of the Watchers, see *Jub.* 10.1–10.

**From Alexander Polyhistor concerning the ten kings of the Chaldaeans who ruled before the Flood and the Flood itself, and concerning Noah and the ark, in which he also inserts some fantastic stories, as they are written in Berossos<sup>1</sup>**

29] And Berossos in the first book of his *Babyloniaka* says that he lived in the time of Alexander son of Philip, and that he preserved with great diligence records of many in Babylon spanning a period of time approximately over 150,000 years. And these documents encompassed the histories of heaven and the sea and the first birth and the kings and their deeds. And he says first of all that the land of the Babylonians lies in the middle of the Tigris and Euphrates rivers, and that the land produces wild wheat, barley, lentils, and sesame, and edible roots which grow in the marshes. And these are called 'gongas'. And the roots have the same properties as barley. And there are also dates, apples, and other fruits and fish, and birds both of land and of the marshes. And whereas the parts of it in Arabia are arid and barren, the area that lies opposite Arabia is mountainous and productive. And in Babylon there was a great throng of men of other races dwelling in Chaldaeia. And these lived without rules like wild animals.

But in the first year there appeared from the Erythraean Sea in a place adjacent to Babylonia a silly<sup>2</sup> beast by the name of Oannes, just as Apollodoros also recorded, having the whole body of a fish;<sup>3</sup> but under the head, another head grew alongside under the head of the fish, and similarly human feet had grown out from the tail of the fish. It had a human voice. And its image is still preserved even now. He says that this beast spends its day with humans, taking no sustenance, and imparts to humanity the knowledge of letters and sciences and crafts of all types. It also teaches the founding of cities, and the establishment of temples, the introduction of laws and land-measurement, and shows them seeds and the gathering of fruits, and in general it imparts to

<sup>1</sup> Alex. Polyhist. *FGrH* 273 F 79 = Berossos, *FGrH* 680 F 1. For the parallel excerpt in Eusebios' chronicle, see Eus. 1.6.14-8.35.

<sup>2</sup> Text: ἄφρονον. Cf. Eus. 1.7.6: 'furchtbares' (tr. Karst). The description of Oannes as 'silly' must be either an editorial gloss or a textual emendation, possibly a corruption of the Greek word εἰμφρον ('sensible').

<sup>3</sup> Ps.-Apollodor. *FGrH* 244 F 84<sup>b</sup>. Apollodoros of Athens (c.180-120 BC) lived after Berossos, for which reason this attribution to him is certainly an interpolation from a later editor of Berossos. Since Apollodoros' chronicle did not treat archaic Babylonian history, the interpolation cannot have originated in his chronicle.

humanity all that pertains to the civilized life. From that time, nothing beyond this has been discovered. And with the setting of the sun, this creature Oannes again submerges into the sea, and spends the nights in the sea. For it is amphibious. And later other beasts similar to it appeared, about which he says he will explain in his record of the kings. And (he says) this Oannes wrote about birth and government and transmitted the following account to humanity:

'There was a time', he says, 'in which all was darkness and water, and during this time, fantastic beings, having peculiar forms, came to life. Men were born with two wings, and some with four wings, and two faces. And they had one body, but two heads, male and female, and double genitalia, male and female. And other men had the legs and horns of goats, others had the feet of horses, and others the hind parts of horses, and the foreparts of men, who were hippocentaurs in form. And bulls were born having the heads of men, and four-bodied dogs, having the tails of a fish from their hind parts, and dogheaded horses and humans and other creatures having heads and bodies of horses, but tails of fish, and other creatures having the forms of all kinds of wild animals. In addition to these there were fish and reptiles and snakes and many other creatures, marvellous and having appearances differing one from the other, votive images of which are found in the temple of Bel. Over all these ruled a woman by the name of Homoroka; in Chaldaean it is Thalath, but in Greek it is translated as 'Thalassa', or 'Selene' according to numerical value.<sup>1</sup>

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And when everything had coalesced in this way, Bel rose up and cut the woman in two, and he made one half of her body the earth and the other half heaven, and destroyed the creatures in her. He says this is to be interpreted as an allegory about nature. For when everything was watery and creatures had been born in it, this god removed his own head, and the blood that flowed out the other gods mixed with the earth and moulded human beings. For this reason, they are both intelligent and share in divine wisdom.

And Bel, whom they translate as Zeus, split the darkness in half and divided the earth and heaven from each other, and ordered the universe. But the creatures could not bear the power of the light

<sup>1</sup> The numerical value of the Greek letters of the name 'Selene' is 301 (200 + 5 + 30 + 8 + 50 + 8). In order to produce the same total, the correct spelling of the Babylonian name would have to be *Θμόρκα*, not *Θμόρωκα* (70 + 40 + 70 + 100 + 20 + 1 = 301). For discussion, see Burstein, *Babyloniaca*, 14 n. 14.

and were destroyed. And Bel, seeing the land barren and infertile, ordered one of the gods to cut off his own head and to mix the earth with the blood that flowed out and to mould humans and wild beasts capable of enduring the air. And Bel brought to completion the stars and the sun and the moon and the five planets.'

This is what Alexander Polyhistor says that Berossos states in his first book.

Now in the second book, [he describes] the ten kings of the Chaldaeans and the period of their rule, 120 sars, that is 432,000 years, up to the Flood. And from the ninth king Ardates up to the tenth king called Xisouthros by them, this same Alexander speaks again later on as follows, quoting from the writing of the Chaldaeans:<sup>1</sup>

When Ardates died, his son Xisouthros reigned eighteen sars. In his time, a great flood occurred. The account is recorded as follows:

31] 'Kronos stood over him in his sleep, and said that on the 15th of the month of Desios humanity would be destroyed by a flood. He thus ordered him to dig a hole in Heliopolis in Sippar and bury in it the beginnings and the middles and the ends of all knowledge preserved in writings. And after building a boat, he was to embark on it with his kin and immediate friends. And he was to place in it food and drink, and to load in also birds and four-footed animals, and prepare everything for sail. And when asked where he was to sail, he was to say, "To the gods, in order to pray<sup>a</sup> that good things come to humanity." Now he did not disobey and built a ship, five stades in length, and two stades in width, and he collected all the things that had been ordered, and he put on board his wife and children and his close friends.

'And when the Flood had come and straightaway stopped, Xisouthros released some of the birds. When they found neither food nor a place to alight, they again returned to the boat. And after a few days, Xisouthros again sent out the birds. And they again returned to the ship, with muddied feet. And when they were sent out a third time, they no longer returned. And Xisouthros concluded from this that land had reappeared. And tearing apart a portion of the seams of the boat, and seeing the boat resting upon a mountain, he disembarked with his wife and

<sup>a</sup> Text: *εὐξάμενον*. Following Schoene, i. 22.7-8, emended to *εὐξόμενον*.

<sup>1</sup> Alex. Polyhist. *FGrH* 273 F 79 = Berossos *FGrH* 680 F 4<sup>b</sup>. For parallel excerpt, see Eus. I.10.17-12.5.

his daughter and the pilot. And after he had performed obeisance to the land, and built an altar, and made sacrifices to the gods, he became invisible along with those who had disembarked from the boat. And those that remained in the boat, when those with Xisouthros had not come back in, disembarked and searched for him, calling out his name. But Xisouthros himself no longer appeared to them, but there was a voice from the air ordering that it was necessary for them to be godly. For he, because of his piety, was going forth to live with the gods. And his wife and daughter and the pilot shared in the same honour. He said to them that they would return to Babylon and told them, as it was decreed, to dig up the writings of Sippar and distribute them to humanity; and that the place where they found themselves was the land of Armenia. And when they heard this, they made sacrifices to the gods, and journeyed on foot to Babylonia.

'And the ship having alighted in Armenia, a part of it still remains in the mountains of the Kordyraioi of Armenia. And some scrape off asphalt from the ship and take it away and use it as talismans.<sup>1</sup> So when they arrived in Babylon, they dug up the writings from Sippar and after building many cities and establishing temples, they rebuilt Babylon.'

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The previous passage is from Alexander Polyhistor, quoting from Berossos, the lying author of the *Chaldaïka*. So for those whose interest is the correct way to approach the divine book of Genesis and the previously cited Chaldaean fantasy, it is possible [to see] the extent to which they have disagreed with one another, and how it contradicts divinely inspired writings in most matters.<sup>2</sup> From them, this fantasy entirely derives, and by mixing in falsehood, it endeavours to slip in idolatry and some other kind of universal creative power both in time and in nature. In fact, it avoids saying that it stole the essentials of its narrative from Mosaic writings and it puts forth Oannes, the sea creature, who neither existed, nor ever appeared to anyone, nor has any reality, just as there are neither 'thingumajigs' nor 'doohickeys'. And it says that this creature taught humanity that there was once a time in which all was darkness and water. But since he<sup>3</sup> did not have the courage to state openly the words of the beholder of God, 'and darkness was upon

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Jos. Ant.* 1.93.

<sup>2</sup> Text: . . . ἔξεστι . . . πόσον ἀλλήλων διενηρόχασι, πῶς τε ἐν τοῖς πλείοσιν ἀντιπίπτειν τοῖς θεοπνεύστοις ῥητοῖς. Cf. *GO.*<sup>m</sup>: . . . ἔξεστι . . . πόσον ἀλλήλων διενηρόχασι, κατανοεῖν τε πῶς ἐν τοῖς πλείοσιν ἀντιπίπτει τοῖς θεοπνεύστοις ῥητοῖς.

<sup>3</sup> Presumably referring to Oannes.

the abyss', he altered the words.<sup>1</sup> But he has not thereby escaped at all the notice of sensible people, even if he also adds on to this talk about fantastic creatures and so forth. This fantasy thus endeavours to confuse the listener, and proposes both the existence of darkness and water before the heaven and the earth, as well as the reality of non-existent creatures, lacking any substance and full of the most idolatrous madness. Images of these creatures, it says, are preserved in the temple of Bel.

Similarly, the remaining narrative about the sea and the heaven and the earth and the creation of humans it sets forth with obscure and demonic artifices and the mental figments of an evil demon (to quote the divine Gregory),<sup>2</sup> shrouding it in a veil of so-called myth. And it introduces the error of polytheism to those persuaded by it, and from pre-existent matter it endeavours to prove the existence of the universe fashioned out of a watery essence.

Therefore, concerning the immense number of years and the ten kings before the Flood and whatever other nonsense is recorded in it, I renounce it as being not at all true. Nor do I accept the reduction or division of years into days; nor those who interpret these years figuratively,<sup>3</sup> asserting that

33] people before the Flood reckoned the year as a day, after learning from the fourth leader of the Watchers, Chorabiel,<sup>4</sup> that the distance encompassed by the orbit of the sun covers twelve signs of the zodiac, and equals 360 degrees. And a degree is one day and one minute. Now people of that time, he claims, did not know what the length of a year is, because the measure of the year had not yet been made known to humanity. So how was it possible for anyone to know that a span of a year is encompassed in the orbit of the sun around the twelve signs of the zodiac, when they did not realize that a year is made up of twelve parts and twelve months?

<sup>1</sup> Gen. 1.2. The passage from the *Babyloniaka* to which Synk. refers may in fact be a later interpolation by a Jewish editor; see Schnabel, *Berosos*, 155–62.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Greg. Naz. *De theologia* (Orat. 28) 14.

<sup>3</sup> Since Synk. had promised not to reveal the names of the advocates of this solution to Chaldaean and Egyptian chronology (see above, p. 22 = Moss. 16.31–2), he at first quotes them anonymously. Later, however, he relents and identifies them as Panodoros and Annianos. The harmonizing explanation that follows could have originated in the chronicle of either writer.

<sup>4</sup> Text: *Χωραβιήλ*. Cf. above, p. 16 (= Moss. 12.4): *Χωβαβιήλ*.



(Then he says:) At all events, that which is called by them a sar is 3600 days. And the ner is 600 days. And the soss is 60 days. And the sar of 3600 days reduced to the 365 days of the year makes 9 years and 10 months. And the 600 days of the ner make one year and 7<sup>5</sup>/<sub>6</sub> months. And the soss makes two months. The 120 sars make up 432,000 days. These reduced to the individual year make 1183 years and 6<sup>5</sup>/<sub>6</sub> months.<sup>1</sup> These years added to the 1058 kingless years yield from Adam up to the Flood 2242 years in harmony with our scripture. The measure of the 1058 years occurred in weeks, so that from Adam up to Aloros there would be 55,167 weeks.

(Then he says:) Now that I have scientifically solved the ambiguous deeper meaning of the Chaldaeans, I have considered it necessary first to interpret the events before the teaching<sup>2</sup> of the Watchers up to the 165th year of Enoch in the year 1286.<sup>3</sup> Next I proceed to outline the chronological sequence from Adam up to the 20th year of Constantine, so that by identifying according to their nation the kings who held dominion, I may show in my computation a total of 5816 continuous years.<sup>4</sup>

Moreover, on the basis of the men whose genealogies have been traced in divine scriptures, from Adam up to Theophilos,<sup>5</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Text: τὸν τῶν ,εωις' ἐτῶν. After ἐτῶν, read ἀριθμὸν.

<sup>1</sup>  $432,000 \div 365 = 1183.56 = 1183$  years and 205 days = 1183 years 6<sup>5</sup>/<sub>6</sub> months.

<sup>2</sup> Text: παραδόσεως. Goar's marginal emendation to παραβάσεως ('transgression') is unnecessary. The author is referring here not to the transgression of the Watchers, but rather to their corrupt teachings (especially the astronomical revelations of Chobabiel).

<sup>3</sup> As Synk. states later, his Alexandrian authorities claimed that before the revelation to Enoch (AM 1286), the only accurate reckoning of time was in days and weeks.

<sup>4</sup> The Vicennalia of Constantine formed the end-point of Eusebios' chronicle. Panodoros and Annianos sharply criticized Eusebios for his 290-year error in dating this event; see below, p. 48 (= Moss. 36.16–20). The anonymous author of this excerpt, one of Synk.'s Alexandrian predecessors, probably mentions his own dating of Constantine's Vicennalia in order to contrast it with Eusebios' own faulty reckoning. If, as is generally believed, the excerpt originates in the chronicle of Annianos, the year 5816 is based on his Alexandrian era (AM 1 begins 25 March 5492 BC). It would, therefore, overlap the years 324/5 of the Christian era. For discussion, see Serruys, 'Les transformations', 261.

<sup>5</sup> For the dates of Panodoros and Annianos, see below, p. 46 (= Moss. 35.6–8).

destroyer of idols, the praiseworthy twenty-second archbishop of Alexandria, Egypt, and the two Libyas, I shall compute the chronology, and set forth the total number of years as 5904<sup>1</sup>—this, so that both the heresiarchs and pagans, wise in their self-conceit, may find no basis of support in our divine scriptures. For the pagans, wise in their self-conceit, believed that the universe was many thousands of years old, whereas the heresiarchs, by contrast, confess that Christ the creator of time was subject to time, saying, 'there was a time when he was not'.<sup>2</sup> But let all of them withdraw from before the catholic Church when they hear, 'Beloved one, how do you come in, not wearing the garb of marriage?'<sup>3</sup>

34] Now at this point the author [of the above passage] has put a seal on his discourse that is both fitting and acceptable. And we, along with right-minded readers, accept the last sentence of this quotation as its most compelling part. But since he recognized that the situation is just as they stated—that the pagans wise in their self-conceit think that the universe is many tens of thousands of years in age—he should have despised their thinking, and striven instead to demonstrate that, as a godless falsehood, it is entirely incompatible with our truth. For, just as I have already clearly demonstrated and will again (with God's grace) demonstrate from Genesis as the discussion proceeds, neither a Chaldaean kingdom nor nation was in evidence before the Flood; nor was Babylon even in existence, which, it is said, was established after the Flood. And as to his proposal that from the beginning, in the six-day cosmogony, the first book given to us by Moses gave no indication of measures of time except for a day, night, and week—this is absurd! For everywhere it makes mention of years, when it says 'Adam lived 930 years and died', and likewise for all the remaining generations.<sup>4</sup>

Nevertheless, suppose someone might be convinced by the following claim of his (which I do not believe) that:<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This would suggest that the chronicle of the unnamed author concluded with the death of Theophilus. Theophilus died in October of the year 412; AM 5904 of the Alexandrian era translates into AD 412.

<sup>2</sup> Quoting the Arian creed: *ἦν ποτε ὅτε οὐκ ἦν.*

<sup>3</sup> Matt. 22.12.

<sup>4</sup> Gen. 5.5.

<sup>5</sup> Like the previous excerpt, this anonymous citation originates in the chronicle of one of Synk.'s Alexandrian sources.

His, that is Adam's, posterity, used to reckon time in weeks, up to the 165th year of Enoch, which was AM 1286.<sup>1</sup> In this year, at the behest of God who is over all things, the archangel Uriel, who is placed over the stars, revealed to Enoch what a month is and a season and a year, as it is recorded in the book of this same Enoch,<sup>2</sup> and that a year has 52 weeks;

and that:

1286 years amount to 469,390 days and 67,056 weeks, during which time neither a month nor seasons nor years nor the measures of them were made known to men.

Even if we accept this, we shall arrive at a more absurd conclusion for the authors of works on Chaldaea, and the kings who were ruling at that time<sup>a</sup> (which is both their opinion, and that of the most holy monk and historian Annianos, and Panodoros, a historian and his monastic contemporary): for if, 956 years before the Flood, the duration of a year and its division into four seasons and twelve months were made known to Enoch and his contemporaries, then people about 1000 years, that is 956 years, before the Flood, knew how to reckon the years of their kings in solar years and months.<sup>3</sup> And concerning the 700 years,<sup>4</sup> there is no need for us

<sup>a</sup> Text: *τοῖς τὰ Χαλδαϊκὰ συγγραψαμένοις τότε βασιλεύουσιν*. Following Go.<sup>m</sup>, emended to *τοῖς τὰ Χαλδαϊκὰ συγγραψαμένοις τοῖς τε βασιλεύουσιν*.

<sup>1</sup> The determination of the 165th year of Enoch's life as the date of his revelation is probably based on Gen. 4.23: 'And Enoch lived 165 years and begat Methuselah. And Enoch was well pleasing to God after his begetting Methuselah . . .'. As is implied by Synk.'s subsequent computation of the year 1286 in weeks and days, the revelation will have actually occurred at the beginning of AM 1287, after the **completion** of 1286 years. This is suggested as well by Synk.'s earlier statement that in AM 1287 Enoch, when he was 165 years of age, begot Methuselah (p. 26 = Moss. 19.19–21). In a later summary of Panodoros' explanation of Manetho's chronology, Synk. gives the date of Enoch's revelation as AM 1282, which is probably a corruption; see below, p. 56 (= Moss. 42.3).

<sup>2</sup> *I En.* 72–3; see also *Jub.* 4.17.

<sup>3</sup> If, as is claimed, Enoch and his contemporaries finally learnt about the true duration of a year in the year 1286 (that is about 1000 years before the Flood), then Synk. asks why the Babylonians continued to misconstrue years as days. As Synk. suggests later, Panodoros actually had an answer to this: although Enoch learnt the measure of the solar year, it was not until Zoroaster that this learning was accurately applied to the reckoning of Chaldaean regnal years; see below, p. 112 (= Moss. 89.2–6).

<sup>4</sup> Text: *περὶ τῶν ψ'*. Synk. is silent about the meaning of these 700 years. The

to consider as days the years found in their reckoning just because, as they claim, this harmonizes with divine scripture and the truth (which they have departed from in every way); nor should we, in order to strengthen confidence in our own witnesses, pay attention either to the evidence they produce about a flood or to anything else in their demonic history. For I dare say, from this history, as if from some filthy spring, and from material akin to it, every mythical doctrine of Greek and Manichæan heresy has sprung up. And not a few of the heresies in our midst have taken their beginnings from deceptive writings of this kind as their point of departure.

For this reason, and for the safety of those who consider fables like these relevant, we have been persuaded to cite the aforementioned testimonies of Alexander and the two previously mentioned monks Annianos and Panodoros. The latter were contemporaries, flourishing at the time of Theophilos the twenty-second archbishop of Alexandria, and from their labour they have produced many useful historical chapters. However, in this particular part, although they think they have accomplished something, they have brought forth no gain to truth: they accepted the opinions of (a) the aforementioned Alexander concerning the kingdom of the Chaldaeans, namely that there were rulers in Babylon before the Flood; and (b) those who interpreted figuratively their reckoning in myriads of years. In addition to this, they accepted the opinions of Abydenos and Apollodoros, who fabricated a fantasy about these same matters, and Manetho as well, who manufactured an analogous fantasy about a dynasty of Egyptian kings before the Flood. As to the excerpts from these writers—I mean Abydenos, Apollodoros, and Manetho—I think it right to place them as well in public view, so that their disagreement with each other may be grasped and that their evil may be the cause of its undoing; and in this way, to assign to years after the Flood the chronological details as far as I am able.

But of the two aforementioned historians and monks, both very devout men, it should be known that Annianos' work is more succinct and more accurate and aligned with apostolic and patristic tradition. In it, he shows that the divine Incarnation occurred at the completion of the 5500th year and the beginning of the 5501st year;

number 700 appears twice later in reference to Manetho's chronology. See p. 55 (= Moss. 41.28), in connection with the 700 three-month periods that the ancient Egyptians used to call years; and p. 146 (= Moss. 118.5), in reference to the 700 years that Manetho reckoned from Mestraïm up to Koncharis.

and that the holy day of the Resurrection, illuminating everything, the 25th of the Roman month of March, the 29th of the Egyptian month of Phamenoth, occurred at the beginning of AM 5534, on this very same life-bringing day of the first Lord's Pascha. That this day of the Resurrection was also the first-formed day he has demonstrated in the Paschal tables of 532 years that he compiled together with some learned observations. In the present work, the inquiring reader will find at the appropriate place<sup>1</sup> a highly accurate rendition of his Paschal tables, together with the equivalencies worked out by us. On the other hand, the work of Panodoros has many facets and many elements, and contains a great deal of useful material; this pertains not only to chronological theory, but also to the motion of the two luminaries, the sun and the moon, arranged in tabular form. Yet his work is repetitive in many places and falls seven years short of the date of the ineffable Incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ in the year 5500.<sup>2</sup> And for this reason it erred concerning the day of the Pascha<sup>a</sup> (for it presents the view that this occurred in AM 5525 on 20 March, that is on 20 Phamenoth<sup>3</sup>); and what it states about the year of our Saviour's birth is similarly unsound.

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Now both of them reprove Eusebios of Caesarea of Palestine for not being able, as they were, to conceptualize the myriads of Chaldaean years (that is, 124 myriads<sup>4</sup>) as days; and what they have done is to reduce or divide them, as has already been shown, in order that they might be found in harmony with scripture.<sup>5</sup> But we

<sup>a</sup> Text: *περὶ τὸ πασχάλιον ἡμέραν*. Following Go.<sup>m</sup>, *περὶ τὸ* emended to *περὶ τήν*.

<sup>1</sup> The words *κατὰ τὸν δέοντα τόπον* might also mean 'where necessary'. Only on rare occasions does Synk. provide Annianos' dating according to 532-year Paschal cycles; see above, pp. 14, 22 (= Moss. 10.12; 17.9); and below, p. 455 (= Moss. 381.10).

<sup>2</sup> For Panodoros' 'unorthodox' dating of Christ's birth in AM 5493, see below, pp. 451, 475 (= Moss. 378.7-9; 397.7-10).

<sup>3</sup> Text: *Φαμενώθ κ'*. Go.<sup>m</sup>: *Φαμενώθ κδ'* ('24 Phamenoth').

<sup>4</sup> That is 1,240,000 years. But cf. above, pp. 19, 38 (= Moss. 14.25; 28.24), which give 150,000 years for the duration of Chaldaean history; cf. also the citation from Alexander Polyhistor in Eus. 1.6.19-20, which ascribes 2,150,000 years to this period.

<sup>5</sup> On Annianos' use of 1 *Enoch* to reduce the 432,000 years of antediluvian Babylonian history, see the extract from Annianos in Mich. Syr. 1.3-4. See also the fragment in the Barberini chronography (in *FGrH* 680 F 3, n. to ll. 1-12). As these excerpts show, Synk.'s Alexandrian authorities identified the first Chaldaean kings with the Sethite Watchers of 1 *Enoch* and Gen. 6. For discussion, see Gelzer ii. 198-200, 440-1; Adler, *Time Immemorial*, 117-22.

rather approve of him for not harmonizing the lie with the truth. For as one of encyclopaedic learning, he was aware that, whereas the Chaldaeans ascribe an eternity to the creation of the universe, the Greeks and Egyptians say that in 25 periods of 1461 years (that is, 36,525 years) a cosmic revolution takes place, namely a revolution from heavenly sign to sign, as it is reported in the *Genika* of Hermes and the *Kyrannides*.<sup>1</sup> For this reason, he considered it useless to interpret their alien ideas figuratively, and rightly so.

But their criticism of him in another matter is justified, because, in the sum total of his chronological computation, he committed an error of 290 years: 5526 instead of 5816 years. His method of calculation was as follows. From Adam up to the birth of Abraham he counted 3184 years in all. And from Abraham up to the twentieth year of Constantine he counted a total of 2343 years overall. All told, this comes to 5526 years.<sup>2</sup> 'Now such deranged thinking', says Annianos,

is disproved by the cyclical segmentation of the Paschal cycle, that is by the solar cycle of 532 years. For if we break down the 5526 years into these cycles, we come up with 10 cycles and a remainder of 206 years. If we insert this remainder into the Paschal table at the appropriate point,<sup>3</sup> we find that Luna 14 and the day of the Resurrection, the Lord's day, coincide with the year 5816. Similarly, if we divide the 5816 years by 532, we find 10 cycles and a remainder of 496.<sup>4</sup> If we insert these years into the

<sup>1</sup> Although not mentioned in Eusebios' chronicle, the cycle of 36,525 is an apparent reference to the Egyptian *Ancient Chronicle*, one of the chronicles purportedly used by Manetho; for Synk.'s discussion of this work, as well as the *Genika* and *Kyrannides*, see below, pp. 71–4 (= Moss. 56.24–57.30).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.231<sup>ef</sup>, which dates the Vicennalia of Constantine in the year 2342 from Abraham. For the 3184 years that Eusebios calculates from Adam to Abraham, see Eus. 1.42.31–3 and below, p. 123 (= Moss. 98.16). But cf. the Armenian text of the first book of Eusebios (1.62.6), which assigns 5518 years to the period from Adam to 20 Constantine.

<sup>3</sup> Text: εἰς τὸν τοῦ πάσχα τόμον (lit. 'into the section of the Pascha').

<sup>4</sup> Text: ταῦτα εἰσαγαγόντες εἰς τὸν τοῦ πάσχα τόμον ἀκόλουθον εὐρίσκομεν τὴν ιδ' τῆς σελήνης καὶ τὴν ἀναστάσιμον ἡμέραν τὴν κυριακὴν τῷ ,εωίς. ὡσαύτως ἀναλύσαντες εἰς φλβ' εὐρίσκομεν περιόδους ι' καὶ λοιπὰ υῤῥς' ἔτη. There may be a lacuna after the word τῷ, after which one would expect the date of the full moon and Easter Sunday. Supplying this information would produce the following: 'For if we break down the 5526 years into these cycles, we come up with 10 cycles and a remainder of 206 years.' If we insert this remainder into the Paschal table at the appropriate point, we find that Luna 14 and the day of

Paschal table at the appropriate point, we find that Luna 14 corresponds to 29 Phamenoth, which is 25 March, and that Sunday is 3 Pharmouthi, that is 29 March.<sup>1</sup> And the proof of the omission of 290 years by this Eusebios is found in the divine scriptures as follows. After the Flood Arphaxad was born to Shem, then he in turn begot Kainan.<sup>2</sup> Now Eusebios did not count in his genealogy this Kainan, who begot Sala in the 130th year of his life. Moreover, he also did not count Aodon<sup>3</sup> the judge who served Israel in this role for ten years.<sup>4</sup> The Seventy Translators listed him as the eleventh judge. Furthermore, he did not count the years of the domination of foreign kings in the period of the judges, who reigned off and on for 111 years, reasoning that these years were included in the reckoning of the period of the judges.<sup>5</sup> But the Septuagint translators expressly stated in their translation that they ruled Israel for 111 years, and that the thirteen judges acted as judges of Israel for 299 years, so that the overall dominion of the judges was 410 years. In addition, he did not include in his summation the forty years after the death of Samson the judge, when the people were without a government, that is, were at peace.<sup>6</sup> But Africanus did make mention of these years, and in the sum total of his chronography includes them in the reckoning.<sup>7</sup>

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the Resurrection, the Lord's day, coincide with 21 March and 28 March in the year 5816. Similarly, if we divide the 5816 years by 532, we find 10 cycles and a remainder of 496. If we insert this remainder into the Paschal table, we discover that Luna 14 corresponds to 29 Phamenoth, which is 25 March, and that Sunday is 3 Pharmouthi, that is 29 March.

<sup>1</sup> The year 5816 is the 496th year of Annianos' 532-year Easter cycle. Since Luna 14 (25 March = 29 Phamenoth) is a Wednesday in this year of the cycle, Easter falls on 29 March (= 3 Pharmouthi).

<sup>2</sup> Gen. 11.10–13 (LXX).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. below, p. 238 (= Moss. 193.7), where Synk. assigns 10 years to the judge 'Aeilon' (Ailom LXX, Elon MT).

<sup>4</sup> Judg. 12.12. Cf. Eus. 2.60<sup>b</sup>, which asserts that, contrary to the Hebrew version of Judges, the Septuagint does not make reference to the judge Aealon (= Elon).

<sup>5</sup> See Eus. 1.50.8–23. For Synk.'s own critique of Eusebios on this subject, see below, pp. 253–5 (= Moss. 204.10–205.16).

<sup>6</sup> See below, p. 251 (= Moss. 203.25).

<sup>7</sup> On Annianos' critique of Eusebios' omissions, see also the letter of Jacob of Edessa (c.640–708) to John the Stylite. For Syriac text and French translation of this letter, see F. Nau, 'Lettre de Jacques d'Édesse à Jean le Stylite sur la chronologie biblique et la date de la naissance du Messie', *ROC* 5 (1900), 581–96, esp. pp. 590–1.

This is verbatim what Annianos rightly says in his criticism of Eusebios Pamphilou, concerning the omission of 290 years. Panodoros also agrees with Annianos in charging Eusebios for these failings, excerpts from whom we deem it superfluous to quote regarding this matter. Nevertheless, Eusebios, Josephos, and other historians do clearly say concerning the kingdom of the Chaldaeans that there were kings before the Flood, in this they follow Alexander Polyhistor, Abydenos, and Apollodoros, since they have no basis whatever in the divine scriptures.

For after the Flood, when they had been allocated portions of the whole world, the three sons of Noah migrated from these regions back to the East.<sup>1</sup> And from there, as scripture states, in a kind of repetition of the narrative,<sup>2</sup> after the division of the earth and their begetting of children, they came into the land of Senaar, that is Babylon; this is translated 'confusion', because of the confusion there of the tongues of those who were building the tower. Concerning this, one should listen attentively to what scripture has to say:

And it came to pass as they moved from the East, they found a plain in the land of Senaar, and they settled there. And one man said to his neighbour, 'Come let us make bricks and bake them in fire.'<sup>3</sup>

(And a little further on:) And the Lord scattered them thence over the face of the earth and stopped them from building the city and the tower. For this reason, its name was called 'Confusion'.<sup>4</sup>

38] Now Babylon means 'confusion' in Hebrew. And a little bit before, it has stated that 'Cush begot Nimrod. He began to be a (giant) upon the earth. He was a mighty hunter before the Lord. And the beginning of his kingdom was Babylon, Orech, and Archad, and Chalane in the land of Senaar.'<sup>5</sup> What could we hope to hear more straightforward than this concerning Babylon—that it had not yet

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Gen. 10.32–11.1. Although Gen. 10 describes the division of the nations throughout the world, Gen. 11.1–2 implies that the descendants of Noah were still located in the East. Synk. assumes therefore that they returned to the East from the regions that had been assigned to them.

<sup>2</sup> Text: *κατ' ἐπανάληψίν τινα*. This is probably in reference to the fact that Gen. 11 gives a second account of the dispersion of the nations, already discussed in Gen. 10.

<sup>3</sup> Gen. 11.2–3.

<sup>4</sup> Gen. 11.8–9.

<sup>5</sup> Gen. 10.8–10.



appeared before the Flood or afterwards until humanity became numerous and moved from the East and settled in the land of Senaar, and built the city and the tower? At that time, Nimrod, the warrior against God, was leading them as their king; and in imitation of the giants before the Flood, he was acting the part of the complete tyrant, persuading those subject to him first to disobey God and to build a tower as high as the heavens in opposition to him. Therefore, the verses of scriptures say, 'He began to be a giant on the earth', that is, after the destruction of the previous giants, he began to be a giant, foremost in evil after them on the earth. 'He was a mighty hunter before the Lord', the proverbial 'adversary of God'.

And since Babylon, as has been demonstrated by divinely inspired utterances, did not exist before the Flood, neither will there have been a kingdom of the Chaldaeans in the time before the reign of Nimrod and the building of the tower. And along with this, the account written by Manetho concerning the Egyptian dynasties before the Flood is also shown to be false. This is seen (1) from the fact that while each of them, that is those who write on Chaldaea and those who write on Egypt, confirms himself, neither mentions nor confirms the other: not the author of the *Aigyptiaka* as to the contents of the *Chaldaïka* (according to what they say about them, they tell lies about the past), nor the author of the *Chaldaïka* as to the contents of the *Aigyptiaka*. Rather, in glorifying his own nation and homeland, each weaves a web of lies; and (2) from the fact that Egypt was first settled and ruled by Mestrem the second son of Ham, according to scripture, and uncle of Nimrod, the son of Cush, the first son of Ham, after whom even up to the present time the region is accordingly called 'Mestraia' by the Hebrews, Syrians, and Arabs.<sup>1</sup> And this is abundantly clear to all historians. All the same, I do not know how they have seen fit to arrange chronologically, just as they did for Chaldaean history, the falsehoods about the Egyptian dynasty; for they are constituted entirely of lies, as has been demonstrated solely by the truth, than which nothing is stronger.<sup>2</sup>

So now that this has been in my opinion clearly and adequately demonstrated, it is suitable to cite some small sections from Abydenos and Apollodoros concerning the same matters, and Manetho as well, so that my refutation of them will be completely

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Jos. Ant.* 1.132: 'The Mersaioi (Mestraioi) also have kept their memory alive in their name, for we in these parts all call Egypt Merse and the Egyptians Mersaioi.'

<sup>2</sup> Cf. 1 Esdr. 4.35.

verified; and lest anyone seeking to read these works be distracted with many books, I should set a limit to my discussion about them and thus move on to my treatment of the rest of the historical narrative, as far as I am able. Now what Abydenos says is in agreement, although not entirely, with Alexander:

39]

**From Abydenos  
Concerning the kingdom of the Chaldaeans<sup>1</sup>**

So much then concerning the wisdom of the Chaldaeans. Now this is what is said: Aloros was the first king of the region, and he circulated a report on his own behalf that God had appointed him as a shepherd of the people. He ruled ten sars. Now a sar is 3600 years, a ner 600 years, and a soss 60 years.

After him, Alaparos ruled for three sars. After him, Amillaros from the city of Pautibiblon reigned for thirteen sars. During his reign, a second Annedotos arose out of the sea, a demigod, similar in appearance to Oannes. After him, Ammenon from Pautibiblon ruled for twelve sars. After him Megalaros from Pautibiblon ruled for eighteen sars. Then Daos, a shepherd from Pautibiblon, reigned for ten sars. During his reign, four creatures possessed of a dual nature arose on land from the sea, whose names are these: Euedokos, Eneugamos, Eneuboulos, Anementos. And at the time of Euedoreschos, who ruled thereafter, came Anodaphos. After him, others ruled and finally Sisouthros,<sup>2</sup> so that there are in all ten kings, and the combined duration of their reign comes to 120 sars.

And as to the Flood, what he says is similar [to Alexander's account], but not identical, as follows:<sup>3</sup>

After Euedoreschos, some others ruled, as well as Sisithros.<sup>4</sup> And it was to him that Kronos foretold the coming of a great torrent of rainfall on the 15th of Desios. And he ordered him to hide everything committed to writing in Heliopolis, in Sippar. And Sisithros carried out the order, and then immediately sailed up to Armenia. And straightaway what had been predicted by the god befell him. But on the third day when the rain abated, he sent out some of the birds, to try to find out if perhaps they might see

<sup>1</sup> See Eus. I.15.27–16.8.

<sup>2</sup> Xisouthros in Polyhistor, and Sisithros below.

<sup>3</sup> Eus. I.16.8–29 = *PE* 9.12.1–5.

<sup>4</sup> Xisouthros in Polyhistor.

land somewhere rising out of the water. But as they were met by the vast gaping ocean and were at a loss where to find a haven, they returned safely to Sisithros,<sup>a</sup> and then others after them. But when he was successful with the third set (for indeed they came back with the bottoms of their feet full of mud), the gods removed him from men's sight. And in Armenia the ship used to provide the inhabitants with wooden amulets as antidotes to poison.

So see how he has restamped the Mosaic writings with a rather different verbal sense, saying that Kronos issued a command to Noah, that is Xisithros (the name upon which they all agree). But Kronos was a knave and a scourge who, as will be demonstrated, lived many years after the Flood and the building of the tower. [40]

Add to these citations Apollodoros, the author of fantasies of similar content, who says the following:<sup>1</sup>

This is what Berossos has reported: 'First to become king was Aloros from Babylon, a Chaldaean, and he reigned for ten sars, and in succession Alaparos, and Amelon, from Pautibiblon; and then Ammenon the Chaldaean, during whose reign he says the loathsome Oannes,<sup>2</sup> the Annedotos, appeared from the Erythraean Sea.' (Which creature Alexander has predated by stating that he appeared in the first year, whereas this writer says it was after forty sars, while Abydenos states that the second Annedotos appeared after twenty-six sars.<sup>3</sup>) 'After that Megalaros, from the city of Pautibiblon, became king and reigned for eighteen sars. And after him Daonos, a shepherd from Pautibiblon, reigned for ten sars. At his time, he says that there again appeared from the Erythraean Sea the fourth Annedotos, who in bodily form was the same as the previous ones, a mixture of fish and human. Then Euedoranchos from Pautibiblon began his rule, and he reigned for eighteen sars. At his time, he says, another creature appeared from the Erythraean Sea, similar in its composite fish

<sup>a</sup> The Greek text of Mosshammer has been repunctuated to produce this translation.

<sup>1</sup> Ps.-Apollod. *FGrH* 244 F 83 = Berossos *FGrH* 680 F 3<sup>b</sup>. Cf. Eus. 1.4.18-5.22. In Eusebios, the excerpt from Ps.-Apollodoros makes up part of Alexander Polyhistor's citation from Berossos. On the identity of this Apollodoros, see Schwartz, 'Apollodoros', 2861-2.

<sup>2</sup> Text: τὸν μυσσάρων Ψάννην. The word μυσσάρων ('loathsome') is undoubtedly an editorial insertion by a Jewish or Christian interpolator.

<sup>3</sup> The parenthetical statement is an insertion by Synk. confirming the contradictions between the reports about ante-diluvian Babylonia.

and human form. His name was Odakon. And he says that all of these creatures explained in detail the matters spoken of summarily by Oannes.' (Concerning this, Abydenos says nothing.<sup>1</sup>) 'Then Amempsinos, a Chaldaean from Laranja, began his rule; the eighth king, he reigned for ten sars. Then Otiartes, a Chaldaean from Laranja, began his rule, and reigned for eight sars. When Otiartes died, his son Xisouthros reigned for eighteen sars. At his time, he says, the great flood took place. Altogether this would come to ten kings, and 120 sars.'

I have offered these citations from (those) who boast about things Chaldaean: Alexander Polyhistor, Abydenos, and Apollodoros. I do this in order to refute their irrational and fictitious thinking and to benefit those who read them and those of our historians who, while appealing to them as witnesses, are as a result harmed instead; and I do this so that they may not believe that what they say is truthful. Now it remains to treat small passages from the writings of Manetho of Sebennyptos concerning the dynasty of the Egyptians. At the time of Ptolemy Philadelphos, he was serving as a high priest of the temples of idols in Egypt, [and wrote a work] on the basis of monuments lying in the Seriadic land, inscribed, he says, in a sacred language and priestly characters by Thoth, the first Hermes, and translated after the Flood from the sacred language into Greek wording with hieroglyphic characters. They were committed to books by Agathodaimon the son of the second Hermes, father of Tat, in the shrines of the holy places of Egypt.<sup>2</sup> [This work] Manetho dedicated to the above Philadelphos, Ptolemy II, in the *Book of Sothis*, writing in precisely the following words:

<sup>1</sup> This is a comment by Synk.

<sup>2</sup> Synk.'s description of the translation of the monuments of Hermes after the flood is riddled with difficulties, not the least of which is the curious statement that the ante-diluvian stelae of Hermes were 'translated after the flood from the sacred language into Greek wording with hieroglyphic characters.' W. Scott suggests that the entire passage has been corrupted by omissions and faulty reinsertions by copyists. For his attempt to reconstruct the original text, see *Hermetica*, iii (Oxford, 1926), 491. For a parallel Jewish legend about monuments inscribed by ante-diluvian generations, see *Jos. Ant.* 1.70-1. According to Josephos, Seth and his descendants were said to have erected brick and stone monuments before the flood and deposited them in the land of Seiris. In this way, they hoped to protect their astronomical discoveries from destruction by flood or fire. On the legendary land of Seiris, see G. J. Reinink, 'Das Land "Seiris" (Šir) und das Volk der Serer in jüdischen und christlichen Traditionen', *JSJ* 6 (1975), 72-85.

### Letter of Manetho of Sebennytos to Ptolemy Philadelphos<sup>1</sup>

To the great king Ptolemy Philadelphos Augustus, Manetho the high priest and scribe of the holy shrines in Egypt, from Sebennytos and dwelling at Heliopolis, greetings to my Lord Ptolemy:

It is our obligation, greatest king, to consider all those matters about which you wanted us to inquire. So, then, as you are doing research about the future of the universe, in response to your request, I will produce for you those sacred books composed by our forefather Hermes Thrice-Greatest of which I was aware. I bid you farewell, my lord King.

This is what he says about the translation of the books by the second Hermes. Now after this, he also narrates about the five Egyptian classes [of kings] in thirty dynasties, called by them gods, demigods, spirits of the dead, and mortal men. About them Eusebios Pamphilou makes mention in his *Chronika*, speaking as follows:<sup>2</sup>

The Egyptians string together a long and silly succession of myths about gods, demigods, and besides them the spirits of the dead and other mortal kings. And the most ancient among them used to say that the years were lunar, consisting of 30 days.<sup>a</sup> And the demigods who succeeded them used to call three-month years 'horoi'.<sup>b3</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Text: οἱ γὰρ παρ' αὐτοῖς παλαιότατοι σεληναῖους ἔφασκον εἶναι τοὺς ψ' τριμηναίους τοὺς ἐνιαυτοὺς ἐξ ἡμερῶν λ' συνεστῶτας. The words τοὺς ψ' τριμηναίους ('the 700 three-month periods'), which make no sense in this context, have been omitted in the translation.

<sup>b</sup> Text: τοὺς ψ' τριμηναίους ('the 700 three-month periods'). Following Jacoby, emended to τοὺς τριμηναίους (but see above, p. 45 = Moss. 34.30).

<sup>1</sup> Ps.-Manetho, *FGrH* 609 F 27. The anachronisms in the letter that follows reveal this work of Egyptian Hermetism to be a later forgery. In the time of Manetho (3rd c. BC) the royal title Σεβαστός (= 'Augustus') and the epithet 'Thrice-Greatest' applied to Hermes were unknown. For analysis of this letter, see Laqueur, 'Manetho', 1100-1; Adler, *Time Immemorial*, 58-60; Scott, *Hermetica*, iii. 491-2; Fowden, *Hermes*, 30-1.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Eus. 1.63.23-64.7.

<sup>3</sup> Eusebios appears to be claiming that during this period in Egyptian history, three-month years were given the name 'horoi' in recognition of the Egyptian demigod Horos. See above, p. 25 (= Moss. 19.9), where Synk. identifies Horos as the first of the Egyptian demigods. This would also establish a connection between the ancient Egyptian trimestrial year and the Greek words ὄρος ('year') and ὥρα ('season'). Cf. Diod. Sic. 1.26.5, according to whom Egyptian priests claimed that the primitive Egyptian year at one

And with good grounds, Eusebios wrote this in criticizing them for their silliness.<sup>1</sup> But Panodoros, without good reason in my opinion, criticized him in this matter, claiming that he was unable to solve the meaning of the historians, which Panodoros thinks he has succeeded in doing through a kind of novel method, as follows:

From the creation of Adam (up to) Enoch, that is 1282,<sup>2</sup> neither the numbering of a year nor a month was known to humanity. But the Watchers descended in AM 1000, and after having intercourse with human beings, taught them that the revolutions of the two luminaries through the twelve signs of the zodiac consist of 360 degrees. But they looked at the 30-day lunar cycle, which is closer to earth, smaller and clearer, and ordained that it should be numbered as a year, because the revolution of the sun is also completed in the same twelve signs of the zodiac in an equal number of 360 degrees. Wherefore it occurred that the years of the reign of the gods who ruled among them for six generations in six dynasties were reckoned by them in 30-day lunar cycles. These come to a total of 11,985 years, or 969 solar years. These added together to 1058 solar years before their reign make altogether 2027 years.<sup>3</sup>

Similarly, for the two dynasties of the nine demigods (who never existed, though they were treated as if they existed) Panodoros endeavours to make up 214½ years out of the 858 seasons, that is periods of three months, so that with the 969 years they make, he says, 1183½ years; and these, when added to the 1058 years from the time of Adam to the reign of the gods, complete a total of 2242 years to the Flood.<sup>4</sup>

time consisted of the four months that make up the seasons of each year. For that reason, he says, some of the Greeks called their years 'horoi' and their annual records 'horographs'.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Eus. 1.64.4-15, where Eusebios somewhat hesitantly allows that this method might produce agreement with biblical chronology.

<sup>2</sup> Text: ,ασπβ'. More accurately ,ασπς' (AM 1286), the date previously given for Uriel's revelation to Enoch; see above, p. 45 (= Moss. 34.19).

<sup>3</sup> Panodoros' argument parallels the explanation of Babylonian chronology found in the previous anonymous excerpt; see above, pp. 42-3 (= Moss. 33.1-33.18). Just as the primitive Babylonians mistook days for years, the earliest Egyptians first confused months, then seasons, with years.

<sup>4</sup> For the 'reduced' years of the reigns of the first Egyptian kings, see above, p. 25 (= Moss. 19.1-17). Through this method, Panodoros believed he had demonstrated that Babylonian and Egyptian civilization began in the same year of the world (AM 1059).

And this is what Panodoros writes, in his struggle to prove that the Egyptian writings against God and divinely inspired scriptures are in harmony with them. And he rebukes Eusebios, not realizing that these theories of his are both beyond proof and beyond reason, and are shown to be against himself and against truth. For just as we have demonstrated above from Genesis, neither Babylon nor Chaldaea existed before the Flood, nor was Egypt ruled by a king before Mestrem. And in my opinion it was not even inhabited, just as the name of that region which has persisted even up to the present time is Mestraia in Hebrew and in the Hebrew copy of the Bible. Indeed, it is called 'Egypt' in Greek by a Greek convention in accordance with which the Septuagint translators have used this term. This was because those who requested the translations of the divine scriptures from Hebrew—I mean the most erudite Ptolemy Philadelphos and his associates—recognized that what they were hearing was the name for Egypt only if what they heard was 'Aigyptos', after a certain one named Aigyptos, the brother of Danaos. At a later time, he was the seventh ruler in the 19th dynasty and reigned for 68 years in approximately AM 4000, as the chronology will show; and it was he who renamed the region called 'Mestraia' after his own name Aigyptos.<sup>1</sup>

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Now that we have thus analysed these subjects, let us move on to the sequential arrangement of the chronology from the Flood, adhering to divine scripture and to those historians who have written in accordance with it. Now there is absolutely no indication in scripture of a king immediately after the Flood. Indeed, scripture states that Noah exercised sole authority over his own sons and of the rest of humanity for the entire 350 years of his life after the Flood. And after him his son Shem succeeded to rule over a sparse population for the remaining 150 years of his life. After him his son Arphaxad governed for 33 years, so that altogether the rule of the three of them after the Flood comes to 534 years, and 2775 years from their forefather Adam. At the time of Arphaxad, slightly before his rule by about seven years, that is in AM 2736, the 594th year of Shem, the 493rd year of Arphaxad, the 358th year of Kaïnan (not included in Eusebios' chronology), the 230th year of Sala (the 138th year of Heber, and the 4th year of Phalek), the descendants of the sons of Noah, fearing that they would again be wiped out at some time by a flood, formed a depraved plan to erect a tower reaching up to heaven. When they came to the land of Senaar, as scripture states, they began to build it; at that time Nimrod, the son of Cush,

<sup>1</sup> See below, p. 224 (= Moss. 182.1-7).

the son of Ham, the son of Noah, was their ruler and king, the beginning of whose kingdom was Babylon. And after they had worked on the building for 40 years, with Nimrod especially urging them on to rebellion against God, God sent them into confusion by dividing them into many tongues. But Nimrod continued to dwell there, not giving up his work on the tower and acting as king over one particular group. The tower collapsed upon him in a violent wind, so it is reported, and struck him down in divine judgement. Josephos also makes mention of this, as follows:

**From Josephos concerning the story of the building of  
the tower after the Flood<sup>1</sup>**

44] Noah lived after the Flood for 350 years, spending all this time in happiness, and he died, having lived in all a total of 950 years. Let no one, comparing the life of the ancients with our own and the brevity of the days and years, imagine that what is recorded of them is false. Nor should one infer this from the fact that since now no one attains to such longevity, people then also did not reach that span of life. For since they were beloved of God, being of God himself, and because of their sustenance which was more conducive to longer life, it was fitting that they used to live such an abundance of years. Moreover, because of their virtue and to promote the usefulness of their discoveries in astronomy and geometry, God furnished to them a longer life, since if they had not attained 600 years, they would not have been able to make predictions with certainty. For the Great Year is completed over this duration of years. Attesting to my words are all those who have composed ancient histories among the Greeks and barbarians: Manetho, the annalist of the Egyptians, and Berossos who compiled the *Chaldaïka*; both Mochos and Hestiaios, and in addition to these the Egyptian Hieronymos, the three authors of works on Phoenicia. The above agree with what I have said. And Hesiod, Hekataios, Hellanikos, and Akousilaos, and in addition to them Ephoros and Nikolaos, report that the ancients lived for a thousand years.

The three sons of Noah, Shem, Japheth, and Ham, were born 100 years before the Flood. And they first descended from the mountains to the plains, and established a settlement there. And they persuaded the others who were extremely afraid of the plains because of the Flood to take courage and be imitators of them.

<sup>1</sup> Jos. Ant. I.104-17.



And the plain in which they first settled is called Senaar. And to increase their population, God ordered them to send out colonies, in order that they might not fight with each other, but might rather cultivate much of the land and enjoy an abundance of its fruits; but because of their ignorance they disobeyed God. And for this reason, they fell headlong into calamities and so learnt of their sin. For when they were flourishing with a mass of young people, God again took counsel with them to establish a colony. But they did not believe that their blessings were through his benevolence. And assuming instead that it was their own strength that was the cause for their well-being, they were disobedient. And to their disobedience to the will of God, they added the suspicion that God was plotting against them in urging them to emigrate, so that they might be divided and hence extremely open to attack.

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And Nimrod incited them to insolence towards God and contempt. The grandson of Ham, the son of Noah, and a daring man of action, he persuaded them not to attribute to God the prosperity they had through him, but to think that their own virtue furnished this to them. And he began little by little to transform the state of affairs into a tyranny, lawlessly believing that if they continuously lived under the same power, people would abandon their fear of God. And he started threatening to retaliate against God if he resolved to flood the earth again. For he would build a tower higher than the water was able to reach, and he would avenge the destruction of their forefathers.

And the population was eager to follow the teachings of Nimrod, considering it servitude to give way to God. And they began to build the tower. And it reached its height faster than one would have expected because of the length of time.<sup>1</sup> But its thickness was so great as to make it seem shorter to the observer. And it was built from baked brick cemented with asphalt, so that it would not wash away. Seeing them acting madly in this way, God determined not to destroy them all at once, because they had not been taught self-control even by the destruction of the first casualties; rather he threw them into discord and made them speak different languages, and by multiplying their languages he made them unintelligible to one another. And the place in which they built the tower is now called Babylon because of the confusion of the clarity in speech that first existed. For Hebrews call confusion 'Babel'.

<sup>1</sup> Text: *πολυχρονίας*; cf. Jos. *Ant.* 1.115: *πολυχειρίας* ('multitude of hands').

This is Josephos' testimony about those who lived after the Flood, and about Nimrod<sup>a</sup> and the building of the tower and Babylon itself. But Alexander Polyhistor, allegedly quoting from the Sibyl, and Abydenos say the following:

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**From Alexander Polyhistor, concerning the building  
of the tower<sup>1</sup>**

The Sibyl says: 'when all people spoke the same language, some of them built an exceedingly high tower, in order that they might climb up to heaven. But when God breathed winds, he overturned them. And he gave a unique language to each person, for which reason the city was called Babylon. After the Flood there arose Titan and Prometheus.'

And this is Alexander's testimony concerning the story of the building of the tower, and he himself also states that because of the confusion, it was called 'Babylon', which they fictitiously say was ruled by kings many tens of thousands of years before.

**From Abydenos, concerning the same events<sup>2</sup>**

There, it is said that the first men who arose, being puffed up by their strength and stature, and indeed proudly thinking that they were better than the gods, raised a huge tower, which is now Babylon. And they were already nearer to heaven. And the winds coming to the aid of the gods brought the structure down around them, the ruins of which were called Babylon. And being up to that time of one language, they received from the gods a confused language. And afterward, war arose between Kronos and Titan.

Clearly, then, he too, as if having forgotten his earlier boasts about Babylon, admits that it received this name at the time of the building of the tower on account of the confusion of the languages and of the seventy-two nations, given below, who were dispersed over all the inhabited world. This the righteous Noah allocated to his three sons in AM 2572, the 934th year of his life, on the basis of a divine decree, as follows:<sup>3</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Text: τὸν Νεβρωδ. Emended to τοῦ Νεβρωδ.

<sup>1</sup> Eus. I.12.9-16; see also the citation from the Sibyl in Jos. Ant. I.118.

<sup>2</sup> Eus. I.17.11-23; PE 9.14.1.

<sup>3</sup> For discussion of the sources of this expanded version of the table of nations in Gen. 10 see Bauer, *Die Chronik des Hippolytos*, 191-4; Gutschmid, 'Untersuchungen', 585-717, esp. pp. 622-4.

When Shem his first-begotten son was in his 431st (year), he gave him the region from Persia and Bactria up to India in length, in breadth from India up to Rhinocorura in Egypt, that is the areas from the East up to a portion of the South, both Syria and Media and the river Euphrates which defines his boundaries. When Ham his second son was in his 427th year, he gave him the regions to the south, south-west, and part of the west, from Rhinocorura in Egypt: Ethiopia, Egypt, and Libya, Africa, and Mauritania up to the Pillars of Herakles (that is, up to the Western and South-Western Ocean), and the river Nile as a border, which is known also as Geion,<sup>1</sup> and Chrysorroas.<sup>2</sup> When Japheth was in his 425th year, he gave him the regions from Media to the north and the west as far as Gadeira<sup>3</sup> and the British Isles: Armenia and Iberia,<sup>4</sup> Pontos and Kolchis and the regions and islands beyond, as far as Italy and Gaul and Spain and Celtiberia and Lusitania.<sup>5</sup> When he divided it in this way and committed the testament to writing, as it is said, he read it aloud to them, set his seal on it, and kept it to himself until the 2592nd year from Adam, in which year he went to his rest. Now when he was about to die, he enjoined his three sons not to invade one another's boundaries and not to act lawlessly to one another, since this would become for them the cause of conflict and of internecine warfare. And he gave his testament to Shem, since he was the first-born son and more devout than his brothers. He succeeded to leadership after him, and was allotted the most choice of the blessings bestowed by him, as is reported in Genesis. And Noah went to his rest in the mountain of Loubar.<sup>6</sup>

In AM 2791, that is 200 years after the death of Noah, Canaan the son of Ham rose in revolt and set foot on the territories of Shem; it was there, in violation of the edict of Noah, that he settled, along

<sup>1</sup> The River Gihon of Gen. 2.13.

<sup>2</sup> Lit. 'streaming with gold'.

<sup>3</sup> Cádiz.

<sup>4</sup> A country of Asia located centrally in the area between the Black and Caspian Seas; its territory covered southern and south-western regions of present-day Georgia. 'Iberia' was also used as an ancient name for Spain and it is present with this meaning in the form 'Celtiberia' (see next n.).

<sup>5</sup> *Σπανική* (Spain) would incorporate both Celtiberia (an area in north-central Spain) and the Roman province of Lusitania which covered central Portugal and much of western Spain. Synk. is possibly not clear on the interrelationship since the text links all three as of equal standing.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Gen. 9.26, 28-9; *Jub.* 9.14-15; 10.14-17. According to *Jub.* 5.28; 7.1, Mount Loubar, one of the Ararat mountains, was also the site on which the ark rested, and on which Noah planted a vine.

with the seven nations that issued from him: the Amorites, the Hittites, the Perizzites, the Hivites, the Girgashites, the Jebusites, and the Canaanites.<sup>1</sup> These God annihilated through Moses and Joshua; and over the course of time, he restored through the judges the ancestral land to the sons of Israel, since they were descended from Shem through thirty-eight generations and 1687 years. This extended up to the 4475th year, that is in the twenty-third year of the reign of Solomon, at which time he consecrated the lavish temple built by him, and made offering in a magnificent manner to the God of his people.<sup>2</sup> Concerning these matters, we, with God's assistance, shall speak of each of these thirty-eight generations in its proper context and to the extent that it can be accommodated within a compendium of the main points. But now let us return again to the building of the tower and the confusion of the seventy-two nations and the confounding of languages. And let us discuss what has been said before by the greater part of the historians who have preceded us: out of the seventy-two dispersed nations, which and how many of them fell to the lot of each of the three sons of Noah. But one should be mindful of what has been previously stated, that they began to build the tower in AM 2736, which was the 594th year of Shem, the 493rd year of his son Arphaxad, the 358th of his son Kainan, the 230th of Sala, and the 99th of Heber. And they continued their building for forty years up to AM 2776. In this year, they were dispersed by God over all the inhabited world in the following way:

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Jub.* 10.27-34. Christian interpreters frequently cited the *Jubilees* story of Canaan's transgression to justify the later Israelite conquest of Canaan. See, for example, Epiph. *Pan.* 66.83-4; Georg. Mon. i. 57.1-9.

<sup>2</sup> AM 2791 (the date of Canaan's transgression) + 1287 = AM 4478, not 4475. AM 4478 is also the date Synk. gives later for the completion of the temple; see below, p. 265 (= Moss. 213.4). The completion of Solomon's temple in the 23rd year of his reign is approximately the year found in 2 Chr. 3.3; 8.1. However, it contradicts Synk.'s own chronology, according to which the temple was completed in the 8th year of his reign; see below, p. 265 (= Moss. 213.1-3).

**The names of the seventy-two nations renamed after the  
patriarchs who had been dispersed**  
**From Shem, the first-born son of Noah, there are twenty-five  
nations as follows:<sup>1</sup>**

<u>[Patriarch]</u>	<u>[Nation descended from him]</u>
1. Arphaxad	Chaldaeans
2. Alam	Eloumaioi <sup>2</sup>
3. Asour	Assyrians
4. Loud	Lydians
5. Aram	Syrians

**The sons of Aram**

6. Os	Trachones <sup>3</sup>
7. Oul	Magardoï
8. Gather	Armenians
9. Mosoch	Messenians

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**The sons of Arphaxad<sup>4</sup>**

10. Kaïnan	Gasphenoi
11. Sasan <sup>5</sup>	Kosaioi <sup>6</sup>
12. Hebraïr	Hebrews
13. Phalek	Bactrians
14. Elmodam	Indians
15. Jektan	Madinaioi <sup>7</sup>
16. Araboth <sup>8</sup>	Arabs

<sup>1</sup> Synk.'s list of nations has been arranged in tabular form to aid understanding. Since the names of many of Noah's descendants are corrupt, the biblical identities of some of them are difficult to restore.

<sup>2</sup> Inhabitants of Elymaïs or Elam, a district of Susiana, one of the chief provinces of the ancient Persian empire.

<sup>3</sup> Presumably inhabitants of Trachon, better known as Trachonitis, a district in the north-east of ancient Palestine.

<sup>4</sup> For the descendants of Arphaxad (not all in the first generation) see Gen. 10.24-9; the names, as often in such lists, are mostly corrupt, in some cases almost beyond recognition.

<sup>5</sup> Σασάν. Probably a variant of Σάλα (LXX) = Shelah.

<sup>6</sup> More frequently spelt with double sigma, this people inhabited Kossaia, a region on the north-eastern side of Susiana.

<sup>7</sup> Midianites.

<sup>8</sup> Probably Hasarmoth (LXX)/Hazarmaveth (MT).

17. Idouram <sup>1</sup>	Kamelioi
18. Dera <sup>2</sup>	Medes
19. Jezia <sup>3</sup>	Ariandnoi
20. Deklam	Kedrousoi <sup>4</sup>
21. Gebel	Scythians
22. Abimeël	Hyrkanians
23. Sabat	Arabs of India
24. Ouer	Ouarnaioi <sup>5</sup>
25. Euen <sup>6</sup>	Gymnosophists <sup>7</sup>

50] All these, descendants of Shem, inhabit the region [stretching westwards] in length from Bactria and India up to Rhinocorura, which marks a boundary for Syria, Egypt, and the Erythraean Sea extending from its mouth at Arsinoë in India,<sup>8</sup> and [stretching southwards] in breadth from Persia and Bactria down to India. These are the names of the countries: Persia and the nations in it, Bactria, Hyrkania, Babylonia, Kodryalia, Assyria, Mesopotamia, Arabia Felix, Koile Syria, Commagene, and Persia proper. These are the nations that arose from them: Hebrews, Jews, Persians, Medes, Magardoi, Parthians, Germans, Elymaioi, Kosaioi, the original Arabs, Kedrousoi, Scythians, Gymnosophists. Those of them who are literate are Jews, Persians, Medes, Chaldaeans, Indians, and Assyrians. These are the twenty-five nations of Shem, together with their countries and their boundaries.

<sup>1</sup> Probably Iarad (LXX)/Jerah (MT).

<sup>2</sup> Probably Odorrha (LXX)/Hadoram (MT).

<sup>3</sup> Probably Aizel (LXX)/Uzal (MT).

<sup>4</sup> Hippolyt. *Chron.* (190.5–6) in his list of peoples has ‘the first Arabs, those called Kedrousoi’.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Ptol. *Geog.* 6.11.6, where the *Οὔαρνοι* are listed as a people of Bactria.

<sup>6</sup> Probably Eueila (LXX)/Havilah (MT).

<sup>7</sup> Naked philosophers of India.

<sup>8</sup> Text: *κατὰ Ἀρσινώην τῆς Ἰνδικῆς*. Since Arsinoë is located in Egypt on the isthmus where the canal empties into the Red Sea at the Arabian Gulf (see Strabo 17.1.25), better sense is produced if *ἕως* is read instead of *τῆς*: ‘from its mouth at Arsinoë as far as India’.

**The thirty-two nations from Ham, the second son  
of Noah, as follows:**

**The sons of Ham, the second son of Noah**

<u>[Patriarch]</u>	<u>[Nation descended from him]</u>
1. Cush	Ethiopians
2. Mestraïm	Egyptians
3. Phoud	Troglodytes <sup>1</sup>
4. Canaan	Canaanites

These fled from the face of the sons of Israel and settled in Tripolis of Africa, since this belonged to the inheritance of Ham.

**The sons of Cush Aithiops, the first son of Ham**

5. Sabat	Sabat
6. Euilat	Ganginoi
7. Sebata	Sabinoi
8. Rhegma	Ichthyophagoi <sup>2</sup>
9. Sebakatha	<***>

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**The Sons of Rhegma<sup>3</sup>**

10. Saba	Marmaritai <sup>4</sup>
11. Joudadan	Phoenicians
12. Nimrod	Giants <sup>5</sup>
13. Loudieid	<***>
14. Nemestieim	<***>
15. Labieim	<***>
16. Nepthabieim	<***>
17. Patrosonieim	<***>

<sup>1</sup> 'Cave-dwellers', used by Greek geographers to describe various primitive peoples in the areas of the west coast of the Red Sea, the coast of Upper Egypt, and Ethiopia.

<sup>2</sup> 'Fish-eaters', a tribe on the Arabian Gulf (see e.g. Strabo 16.4.4) and another on the Persian Gulf (Strabo 15.2.1).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Gen. 10.7, where only Sheba (Saba) and Dedan (Joudadan) are named as sons of Raamah (Rhegma). In his nn. ad loc., Mosshammer supplies the names of the missing nations taken from other witnesses to this tradition.

<sup>4</sup> Possibly the Marmaridai, inhabitants of Marmarica, a district of North Africa located between Cyrenaica and Egypt.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Gen. 10.8–9 (LXX), where Nimrod is called a γίγας.

18. Chaslonieim	<***>
19. Phylistieim	<***>
20. Kaphthonieim	<***>

**The sons of Canaan, of whom the first-born was Sidon**

21. Sidon	Sidonians
22. Chattaïos <sup>1</sup>	<***>
23. Jebousaios	Jebusites
52] 24. Amorraïos	Amorites
25. Gergesaios	Girgashites
26. Euaios	Hivites
27. Aroukaïos	<***> <sup>2</sup>
28. Asennaïos	<***> <sup>3</sup>
29. Aradios	Aradioi <sup>4</sup>
30. Samaraios	Orthosiastai <sup>5</sup>
31. Amatheis	Amathousioi <sup>6</sup>

All these, together with Ham, come to thirty-two.

They inhabit the regions to the south from Rhinocorura to Gadeira. The nations born from them are: Ethiopians, Troglodytes, Angaïoi, Ganginoi, Sabinoi, Ichthyophagoi, Elaïnoi, Egyptians, Phoenicians, Libyans, Marmaritai, Carians, Psyllitai,<sup>7</sup> Mysians, Mosyllioi, Phrygians, Makones,<sup>8</sup> Bithynians, Nomads, Lycians, Mariandenoï,<sup>9</sup> Pamphylians, Mossynoi,<sup>10</sup> Pissynoi,<sup>11</sup> Aigalaïoi, Cilicians, Marousioi,<sup>12</sup> Cretans, Magartai, Numidians, Makones,<sup>13</sup> and Nasamones.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The father of the Hittites.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Hipp. *Chron.* 124.2: Tripolitai.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Hipp. *Chron.* 125.2: Orthosiastai.

<sup>4</sup> Inhabitants of Arados, off the coast of Phoenicia.

<sup>5</sup> Probably referring to the inhabitants of Orthosia, near Tripolis in Phoenicia. Cf. Hippolyt. *Chron.* 127.2: Samareitai.

<sup>6</sup> Amathi (LXX)/Hamathites (MT).

<sup>7</sup> Presumably referring to the Psylloi, inhabitants of North Africa; see Strabo 2.5.33; Ptol. *Geog.* 4.4.10.

<sup>8</sup> Possibly to be identified with the Makrones, a people of the Pontos.

<sup>9</sup> Presumably the inhabitants of Marandynia, a district of Bithynia.

<sup>10</sup> A people on the north coast in Asia Minor in Pontos.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Hippolyt. *Chron.* 132.8: Πισιδηνοί, presumably inhabitants of Pisidia.

<sup>12</sup> Inhabitants of Mauretania.

<sup>13</sup> Given the context, possibly the Makai, see below p. 67 (= Moss. 52.23) and n.

<sup>14</sup> A North African people originally inhabiting the shores of Syrtis Major.



These peoples possess the regions from Egypt as far as the western Ocean, to the southwest and south. Of these, the literate are: Phoenicians, Egyptians, Pamphylians, and Phrygians. Their countries are: Egypt, Ethiopia facing south-south-east towards India, the other Ethiopia facing south, out of which the Nile river flows, that part of the Erythraean looking to the east, the Thebaïd, Libya extending to Korkyrine,<sup>1</sup> Marmaris and all the regions around it,<sup>2</sup> Syrtis<sup>3</sup> with its three nations—the Nasamones, Makai,<sup>4</sup> and the Tautamaioi; Libya from Leptis extending to Syrtis Minor, Numidia, Massouris, Mauritania, also known as Africa,<sup>5</sup> extending to the Pillars of Herakles, opposite Gadeira. In the regions to the north, it includes the areas toward the sea, Cilicia, Pamphylia, Pisidia, Mysia, Lykaonia, Phrygia, Kabbalia,<sup>6</sup> Lycia, Lydia, Caria, Troas, Aiolia, Bithynia, Old Phrygia. It includes three famous islands: Sardo,<sup>7</sup> Crete, and Cyprus, and the less famous islands: Korsoula,<sup>8</sup> Lampadousa,<sup>9</sup> Gaudos,<sup>10</sup> Melite,<sup>11</sup> Kourouna,<sup>12</sup> Menis,<sup>13</sup> Galate,<sup>14</sup> Gorsyne, Crete, Gauloride, Thera, Karpathos, Astypalaia, Chios, Lesbos, Tenedos, Imbros, Thasos, Samos, Knidos, Koös, Nisyros; the river Geon,<sup>15</sup> also known as the Nile, which also encircles Egypt and Ethiopia. Between Ham and Japheth, the mouth of the Western Sea demarcates their adjacent territories.

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Chron. pasch.* 52.15: μέχρι Κυρήνης ('to Cyrene').

<sup>2</sup> Marmarica; see above, p. 65, n. 4.

<sup>3</sup> i.e. Syrtis Major.

<sup>4</sup> An inland people inhabiting the region around Syrtis Major.

<sup>5</sup> The Roman province of Mauretania was separate from but shared its eastern border with the province of Africa.

<sup>6</sup> Also Kabalia, a small district of Asia Minor bordering with Lycia.

<sup>7</sup> Sardinia.

<sup>8</sup> Possibly the small island of Korsoura, Latin *Cossura*, present-day Pantelleria, located between North Africa and Sicily.

<sup>9</sup> An island between Malta and North Africa, present-day Lampedusa.

<sup>10</sup> The island of Gozo, south of Sicily.

<sup>11</sup> Malta.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Hippolyt. *Chron.* 153.2: Κέρκινα ('Kerkina'), a low island off the northern coast of Africa, in the mouth of Syrtis Minor.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. *Chron. pasch.* 53.7: Μήνιξ, more commonly Meninx, an island close to the coast of Africa Propria, at the south-eastern end of Syrtis Minor.

<sup>14</sup> Possibly Galata, a small island near Sicily.

<sup>15</sup> The Gihon, elsewhere in Synk. spelt Geion.

**From Japheth the third son of Noah, the following  
fifteen nations**

**The sons of Japheth, the third son of Noah, the following  
fifteen nations**

<u>[Patriarch]</u>	<u>[Nation descended from him]</u>
1. Gamer	Cappadocians
2. Magog	Celts, also known as the Gauls
3. Madai	Medes
4. Jouan	Greeks, also known as Ionians
5. Thobel	Thessalians
6. Mosoch	Illyrians
7. Theras	Thracians
8. Chettaeim	Macedonians

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**The sons of Gamer, the son of Japheth**

9. Aschanaz	Rhegines <sup>1</sup>
10. Rhichath	Sauromatai
11. Thorgama	Armenians

**The sons of Jouan**

12. Elissa	Sikeloi
13. Tharseis	Iberians
14. Kitioi	Latins, also known as the Romans
15. Rhodios	Rhodians

From these, the islands of the nations were assigned in their land—'each according to their language, in their tribes and in their nations', as scripture states.<sup>2</sup> Altogether there were seventy-two nations.

There are also the Cypriots from the Kitiaioi, and the tribes in the North of the same stock as these Kitiaioi, that is the Romans, and the peoples of Greece, except for those Saïtes who migrated there later, and inhabited Athens, the capital city of Greece, and Thebes. For these are Sidonian colonists descended from Kadmos, the son of Agenor.<sup>3</sup> And the Chaldaeans are Tyrian colonists, and any others

<sup>1</sup> Possibly to be identified with the *Ρηγῖνοι* (inhabitants of Rhegium).

<sup>2</sup> Gen. 10.5.

<sup>3</sup> The text seems to be connecting the Saïtes of Egypt with the Sidonian colonists from Phoenicia.

who migrated to Greece are also colonists. The nations descended from Japheth, scattered from Media up to the Western Ocean, facing towards the North, are as follows: Medes, Albanians, Garganoi,<sup>1</sup> Erraioi, Armenians, Amazons, Kolloi,<sup>2</sup> Korzenoi, Dennagini, Cappadocians, Paphlagonians, Tabiennoi,<sup>3</sup> Chalybes,<sup>4</sup> Sarmatai,<sup>5</sup> Thracians, Mossonoi,<sup>6</sup> Bastranoi,<sup>7</sup> Sauromatians, Illyrians, Maiotai,<sup>8</sup> Scythians, Tauroi,<sup>9</sup> Macedonians, Hellenes, Istrii,<sup>10</sup> Daunii,<sup>11</sup> Venni,<sup>12</sup> Iapyges,<sup>13</sup> Calabrians, Opici,<sup>14</sup> Latins, and Romans, Gauls also known as Celts, Lygistinoi,<sup>15</sup> Celtiberians, Iberians, Gauls, Akoutiano, Illyrians, Basantes,<sup>17</sup> Kyrtanoi,<sup>18</sup> Lusitanians, Vaccaei,<sup>19</sup> Britons, and those who dwell in the islands. Of them, these are the peoples who are literate: Iberians, Latins, also known as Romans, Hispanoi, Hellenes, Medes, and Armenians. Their boundaries extend in length from Media up to the Western

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<sup>1</sup> Probably the Gargareis, whom Strabo (11.5.1) associates with the northern foothills of the Caucasus.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Hippolyt. *Chron.* 80.3: *Κῶλοι*, whom Hekataios identifies as 'a nation near Mt Caucasus' (*FGtH* 1 F 209).

<sup>3</sup> Possibly inhabitants of Tabian (see Memnon, *FHG* iii. 536), Latin *Tavium*, the capital of Troemi in Galatia.

<sup>4</sup> A people of Asia said to dwell on the southern shore of the Black Sea.

<sup>5</sup> A variant of 'Sauromatai' despite this term itself appearing in the same line.

<sup>6</sup> Possibly the Mossynoi; see above p. 66 (= Moss. 52.14) and n. 10.

<sup>7</sup> Possibly the Bastarnae, a tribe of the lower Danube.

<sup>8</sup> A collective name for the Scythian tribes living on the shores of Maeotis Palus (present-day Sea of Azov).

<sup>9</sup> A Scythian nation inhabiting the Tauric Chersonese (present-day Crimea).

<sup>10</sup> Inhabitants of Istria or Histria, a peninsula at the northern extremity of the Adriatic Sea.

<sup>11</sup> Inhabitants of Daunia, the Greek name for the northern part of Apulia.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Epiph. *Pan.* 126.8: *Ἐ(ν)ητοί* = *Veneti*, inhabitants of Venetia.

<sup>13</sup> Iapygia was the name given by the Greeks to the southern part of Apulia.

<sup>14</sup> Oscans.

<sup>15</sup> Presumably the Ligystinoi, a Greek name for the inhabitants of Liguria.

<sup>16</sup> See Strabo 3.3.2, where Akouteia is mentioned as a town of the Vaccaei (see n. 19 below). But cf. also 'Aquitanii' at *Exc. Barb.* 196.13.

<sup>17</sup> Perhaps the Vasates, a people of the Roman province of Aquitania in Gaul.

<sup>18</sup> Perhaps the Cerretani, a people inhabiting the Pyrenees, in the north-eastern border region of Spain.

<sup>19</sup> A people of central northern Spain.

Ocean, including the regions to the North. In breadth, they extend from the river Tanais<sup>1</sup> down to Mastousia lying in the East.<sup>2</sup>

Their regions include: Media, Albania,<sup>3</sup> Armenia Minor and Major, Amazonia,<sup>4</sup> Paphlagonia, Cappadocia, Galatia, Kolchis, Bosphorine,<sup>5</sup> Maiotis,<sup>6</sup> Derris, Sarmatia, Tauriane,<sup>7</sup> Bastrane,<sup>8</sup> Scythia, Thrace, Macedonia, Hellas, Thessaly, Boiotia, Lokria, Aitolia, Achaïa, Peloponnese, Acharnia, Epeiros, Illyria, Lychnitis,<sup>9</sup> Adria, from which the Adriatic Sea received its name, Calabria, Italy, Gaul, Thouskine,<sup>10</sup> Lusitania, Celtica, Messalia,<sup>11</sup> Celtogallia, Spanogallia, Iberia, Hispania Major. There the boundaries of Japheth extend as far as the islands of Britain, facing towards the North. It includes: the islands of Britain, Sicily, Euboa, Rhodes, Chios, Lesbos, Kythera, Zakynthos, Kephallenia, Ithaka and the Kyklades, and a part of Asia called Ionia; and the river Tigris which forms the boundary between Media and Babylon. In these the boundaries of Japheth are completed through what is said in scripture: 'May God fully enlarge what belongs to Japheth.'<sup>12</sup> For he obtained all of Europe and not a small part of Greater Asia; therefore it is also stated, 'And he shall dwell in the tents of Shem.'<sup>13</sup> This is not the only meaning, but there is also an anagogic sense: that almost the entire portion of Japheth has been added on by baptism and by faith in Christ our true God. For this is what is symbolized by the 'tents of Shem', inasmuch as the patriarchs are descended from him, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. And from them the genealogies of the remaining generations of patriarchs are clearly traced up to Christ the ruler. But most of the nations descended from Ham even up to

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<sup>1</sup> The present-day Don.

<sup>2</sup> Mastousia is the south-west point of the Thracian Chersonese.

<sup>3</sup> The ancient 'Albania' was situated to the west of the Caspian Sea.

<sup>4</sup> The Amazons were said to have come from the Caucasus and inhabited various regions around the Black Sea, including that of Trapezous, present-day Trabzon.

<sup>5</sup> Referring to the region around the Cimmerian Bosphoros, the present-day Strait of Kerch.

<sup>6</sup> The Maeotis Palus (Sea of Azov).

<sup>7</sup> i.e. the Tauric Chersonese (present-day Crimea).

<sup>8</sup> The land occupied by the Bastranoi; see above p. 69 (= Moss. 54.22) and n. 7 ad loc.

<sup>9</sup> A lake in southern Illyria, present-day Lake Ohrid.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. *Exc. Barb.* 198.7: 'Tuscinia', presumably the land of the Tusci or Tuscans.

<sup>11</sup> Correctly Massalia (Greek), Massilia (Latin), a Greek colony in southern Gaul, present-day Marseille.

<sup>12</sup> Gen. 9.27.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid.

now are in apostasy in India, Ethiopia and Mauritania, where the Arabs and the Idumaeans are emboldened against God and his saints, having been subjected to the curse of Ham and Canaan. Therefore scripture affirmed that Ham is the slave of Shem and Japheth, referring to him also through his son Canaan.<sup>1</sup>

In this way, then, Noah, at the behest of God, apportioned the whole inhabited world among his three sons, as has been stated above, in AM 2572, the 930th year of the life of Noah the just, 204 years before the dispersion at the time of the building of the tower. And in this very same way, during the confusion of tongues, the seventy-two tribes and tongues were scattered<sup>2</sup> and received their allotment of land, even though later at times some settled here and others there as a result of their senseless practice of warfare, the taking of captives, mutual plunder and despotism. As one first reads divinely inspired scriptures about these matters, one will then proceed to Jewish and Greek and Egyptian or Chaldaean histories; even so, one should not entirely follow the documents of infidels, especially where they introduce ideas about the creation of the universe in terms of polytheism and infinite years. Now there circulates among the Egyptians a certain *Ancient Chronography*, on the basis of which I believe Manetho has also gone astray.<sup>3</sup> It encompasses an enormous period of time consisting of 30 dynasties again in 113 generations, in (and this is not the same duration of time as Manetho) 36,525 years, treating first of the Auritai,<sup>4</sup> then the Mestraioi, and third the Egyptians.<sup>5</sup> It reads just about word for word as follows:

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Gen. 9.26.

<sup>2</sup> Text: *διασπαρέν*. Following Go.<sup>m</sup>, emended to *διασπαρείσαι*.

<sup>3</sup> *FGtH* 610 F 2. Synk., the only surviving witness to this chronicle, subsequently refers to this work as the *Ancient Chronicle* (p. 72 = Moss. 56.23). Although the work purports to pre-date Manetho, it, like the *Book of Sothis* of Ps.-Manetho, is generally regarded as a later forgery, possibly of Egyptian Hermetism. For analysis, see Gelzer ii. 215–17; Unger, *Manetho*, 20–8.

<sup>4</sup> Text: *Αύριτων*. Jacoby emends to *Αεριτων*; see below, p. 224 (= Moss. 182.7), where Synk. refers to the Greek designation for Egypt as *Αερία*.

<sup>5</sup> As Synk. notes later (p. 224 = Moss. 182.7), Mestraia and Aeria are other designations for Egypt. Aeria, he says, was used by the Greeks. Although Synk. states that Mestraia was an older name for Egypt, this name was not used by the Egyptians themselves. It is instead derived from 'Mizraim', the eponymous forefather of the Egyptians mentioned in the Hebrew version of Gen. 10.6 (translated as *Μεστραείμ* in some manuscripts of the Septuagint); see also Jos. *Ant.* 1.132, who states that 'here (in Palestine), we all call Egypt Merse and the Egyptians Mersaioi.' 'Mestraioi' is thus unexpected terminology for a work purporting to be of early Egyptian provenance.

**The reigns of the gods according to the *Ancient Chronicle***

There is no measured time for Hephaistos because of the fact that he shines by night and day. Helios, the son of Hephaistos, reigned for 30,000 years. Then Kronos, it says, and all the remaining twelve gods who succeeded him reigned for 3984 years. Then the eight demigod kings for 217 years, and after them were ascribed the fifteen generations of the Sothic cycle in 443 years.

After them:<sup>1</sup>

57]	The 16th dynasty of the Tanites, eight generations	190 years
	The 17th dynasty of the Memphites, four generations	103 years
	The 18th dynasty of the Memphites, fourteen generations	348 years
	The 19th dynasty of the Diospolitans, five generations	194 years
	The 20th dynasty of the Diospolitans, eight generations	228 years
	The 21st dynasty of the Tanites, six generations	121 years
	The 22nd dynasty of the Tanites, three generations	48 years
	The 23rd dynasty of the Diospolitans, two generations	19 years
	The 24th dynasty of the Saïtes, three generations	44 years
	The 25th dynasty of the Ethiopians, three generations	44 years
	The 26th dynasty of the Memphites, seven generations	177 years
	The 27th dynasty of five Persians <sup>2</sup>	124 years <sup>3</sup>
	The 29th dynasty of the Tanites, (<*>) generations <sup>4</sup>	39 years

<sup>1</sup> The sequence of kings in the *Ancient Chronicle* has been arranged in tabular form to aid understanding.

<sup>2</sup> Text: κζ' δυναστεία Περσῶν ε'. Waddell emends to κζ' δυναστεία Περσῶν, γενεῶν ε' ('the 27th dynasty of Persians, five generations').

<sup>3</sup> The 28th dynasty is omitted in the MSS. Jacoby supplies the missing data apparently from the kings' list of Manetho's *Aigyptiaka*: 'after these, the 28th dynasty of one Saïte king, six years' (see below, pp. 108, 109 = Moss. 85.8, 86.13). However, Manetho's chronology differs from that of the *Aigyptiaka* at numerous other places.

<sup>4</sup> Jacoby supplies the number seven here, which would yield a total of 113 generations.

Finally, the 30th dynasty of a single Tanite 18 years  
All told, 36,525 years consisting of 30 dynasties.<sup>1</sup>

When this total is broken up, or divided, twenty-five times into periods of 1461 years, it describes the revolution of the zodiac fabricated by the Egyptians and Greeks, that is the revolution from one sign of the zodiac back to the same sign. This is the first minute of the first degree of the equinoctial sign of the zodiac, the Ram as it is called by them, just as it is stated in the *Genika* of Hermes and the books of the *Kyrannides*.<sup>2</sup> Hence, it is my belief that Claudius Ptolemy also decreed that his astronomical *Handy Tables* should be calculated in periods of 25 years, since they complete a revolution of the Egyptian and Greek Great Year through the 1461st year; even so, he set forth the table of the twenty-five-year periods in 1476 years, because the number 1461 is not an even multiple of 25, but is fourteen years short. However, he designated the single year as extra, because the movements that occur in the first year are many in number, and do not start at its beginning, as is also the case over the course of monthly cycles.<sup>3</sup> Hence also the disagreement of such

<sup>1</sup> The enumeration of years based on individual dynasties comes to 36,241, not 36,525. The missing 28th dynasty may account at least partly for the inconsistency.

<sup>2</sup> The 1461 years refer to the so-called Egyptian 'Sothic' cycle. The twenty-five years refer to the Egyptian lunar cycle, consisting of approximately 309 mean synodic months. Synk.'s statement that the beginning of this Egyptian cycle coincided with the spring equinox is at odds with the customary Egyptian calculation of the 1461-year Sothic cycle from the heliacal rising of the star Sirius in July. For the use of the number 36,525 in Egyptian Hermetism, see Iamblichos, *De myst.* 8.1, which states that Manetho assigned 36,525 books to the Hermetic corpus. On the name *Kyrannides* and the several Hermetic and scientific works circulating under that title, see R. Ganszyniec, 'Kyraniden', *RE* xii/1. 127-34.

<sup>3</sup> Based on the era of Philip, the *Handy Tables* of Ptolemy extended 1476 years and were arranged in 25-year steps (see below, pp. 300-1, 386 = Moss. 244.19-24; 319.3-5). Synk. suggests here that Ptolemy extended the duration of his tables beyond the 1461-year Sothic cycle, because the latter number is not an even multiple of the Egyptian lunar cycle of 25 years. Recognizing, however, that 1475 (not 1476) is an exact multiple of 25, Synk. then attempts to explain why Ptolemy's cycle included an extra year. But the explanation that he provides is obscure. His explanation of the arrangement of the *Handy Tables* is also unlikely. Ptolemy arranged his *Handy Tables* in 25-year steps for the sake of convenience only; it probably had nothing to do with the lunar period of 25 years. For discussion, see Neugebauer, *HAMA* ii. 971. The same observation applies to the 1476 years as well. In his tables of mean motions of the sun and the moon, Ptolemy's

systems with our divine scriptures and each other is to be observed. For this allegedly more ancient history of the Egyptians assigns a limitless period to Hephaistos, and 36,525 years to the remaining twenty-nine dynasties, although Hephaistos ruled Egypt many years after the Flood and the building of the tower, as will be demonstrated in the proper place.

58] Manetho, a most illustrious man among the Egyptians, wrote about these same thirty dynasties, obviously taking material from them. But he differs widely in chronology with respect to these matters, as one may discern both from what has been said above, and from the discussion to follow.

As for the 113 generations in thirty dynasties recorded in three books, their duration comes to 3555 years in all, beginning in AM 1586 and extending to AM 5147, that is about fifteen years before the conquest of the world by Alexander of Macedon.<sup>1</sup>

If, then, one excludes from these years the 656 years before the Flood in order to complete the 2242 years from Adam up to the Flood (seeing that these are false and non-existent), and the 534 years from the Flood up to the building of the tower and the confusion of tongues and the dispersion of the nations, one will clearly find the beginning of the Egyptian kingdom from Mestraïm the first king of Egypt, called Menes by Manetho, beginning in the year 2776 from Adam up to Nektanabo the last king of Egypt. Thus, all the years from Mestraïm up to this same Nektanabo come to 2365, which end up, as I have stated, in AM 5147, approximately fifteen years before the rule of Alexander the founder.<sup>2</sup>

first entry begins with year 1 (not 0). That would mean that the next entry (1+25) is 26. After that the increments are periods of 25 years, the last entry being 1476 years. In private correspondence, Professor David Pingree points out that this 1476-year total is unrelated to the Egyptian Sothic cycle, reflecting only the structure of the tables. It 'results from having 30 entries on a page, 60 on two pages' (Pingree). That is,  $1 + (59 \times 25) = 1476$ , where '1' represents the first entry and '59' represents the remaining entries on two pages. This arrangement of the *Handy Tables* may be found in Halma, *Tables manuelles*, ii. 66-72.

<sup>1</sup> AM 1586 + 3555 = AM 5141, not 5147.

<sup>2</sup> These dates contradict Synk.'s other statements about Manetho's chronology. According to his previous testimony, Manetho assigned 12,841 years to the reigns of the gods and demigods alone. Panodoros' reduced numbers fixed the beginning of Egyptian rule in AM 1059 (1183 years before the Flood), not AM 1586 (656 years before the Flood). Later, Synk. states that Teos II, the last Egyptian Pharaoh, ruled for two years, beginning in AM 5146. But Synk. puts him in the 32nd, not the 30th, dynasty; see below, p. 374 (= Moss. 309.5-6).



This 2776th year of the universe was the 5th year of the life of Phalek, and the 138th year of the life of Heber, the father of Phalek. In AM 2771, which was the 133rd year of Heber, Phalek was born to him, and four years after the birth of Phalek, that is in AM 2775, the tongues were confused. In the following year, AM 2776, the 138th of Heber, and the 5th year of his son Phalek, the tribes and tongues were dispersed over the inhabited world. From the Flood up to this time over a period of 534 years, Noah, Shem his first-born son and successor, and Shem's child Arphaxad governed the people of that time, as follows:

[59]

### **The chronology of the three men who acted as governors after the Flood up to the dispersion**

After the Flood, Noah governed the world for the remaining 350 years of his life. Shem was governor for the remaining 150 years of his life and Arphaxad for 33 years. Altogether, there are 534 years.

Now the chronology of the Egyptian dynasties<sup>a</sup> from Mestraïm up to Nektanabo proves inadequate for many who have concerned themselves in chronological investigations. And these dynasties taken from Manetho have discrepancies in the versions presented by the ecclesiastical historians with regard to their names and the duration of their reigns, and also in whose reign Joseph was governor of Egypt, and subsequently in whose reign Moses the beholder of God led the Exodus of Israel from Egypt. For these reasons, I have thought it necessary to pick out the two most famous versions and to set them side by side—I mean those of Africanus and his successor Eusebios, called 'Pamphilou'—so that with proper application, one might know the opinion that more closely approaches scriptural truth.<sup>1</sup> But above all else, one must precisely recognize that Africanus adds 20 years in his chronology from Adam up to the Flood, and instead of 2242 years wants there to be 2262 years, which does not appear to be right.<sup>2</sup> Eusebios, on the other hand, was correct in giving 2242 years, in harmony with scripture.<sup>3</sup> But in the years from the Flood up to Abraham and Moses, both of them went wrong by omitting the 130 years of the second Kainan, the son of Arphaxad, one generation, representing

<sup>a</sup> Text: ἐτῶν. Following Bunsen, emended to δυνασθειῶν.

<sup>1</sup> On Synk.'s several versions of Manetho, see Intro., p. lxii.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 27 (= Moss. 20.7-13).

<sup>3</sup> Eus. I.42.32.

the 13th position from Adam in the holy evangelist Luke. But since Africanus, by adding 20 years from Adam up to the Flood, had already removed 20 years for the period after the Flood, only 110 years are missing in his chronology of Kainan and his successors. Therefore up to the first year of Abraham, he counted 3202 years. But Eusebios subtracted a full 130 years, and gave 3184 years up to the first year of Abraham.<sup>1</sup>

### Concerning the dynasties of Egypt after the Flood, according to Africanus<sup>2</sup>

1. After the spirits of the dead, the demigods,<sup>3</sup> the first royal line is numbered at eight kings.

The first of them, Menes of This,<sup>4</sup> reigned for 62 years

He was seized by a hippopotamus and perished.

60] 2. Athothis, his son 57 years

He built the palace in Memphis. His books on anatomy are in circulation; for he was a physician.

3. Kenkenes, his son 31 years

4. Ouenephes, his son 23 years

During his reign, a great famine gripped Egypt. He erected the pyramids around Kochome.

5. Ousaphaidos, his son 20 years

6. Miebidos, his son 26 years

<sup>1</sup> The actual difference between Africanus' and Eusebios' chronology from Adam to the first year of Abraham is 18, not 20, years.

<sup>2</sup> For Africanus' recension of Manetho's *Aigyptiaka*, see Routh, fr. 11. In what follows, Synk. provides, for purposes of comparison, the epitomes of Manetho preserved by Africanus and Eusebios (= Manetho *FGrH* 609 F 2-3). Seeded throughout these lists are Synk.'s own editorial comments, mainly aimed at proving the inferiority of Eusebios' list to Africanus', especially as it concerns the question of the dating of Moses and the Exodus.

<sup>3</sup> Text: *Μετὰ νέκυσας τοὺς ἡμιθέους*. In several other versions of Manetho available to Synk., the 'spirits of the dead' and the 'demigods' represent two distinct categories of rulers; see above, p. 55 (= Moss. 41.22) and below, p. 78 (= Moss. 61.3). But cf. the highly corrupt version of Manetho found in the so-called *Excerpta Latina Barbari* (in Waddell, fr. 4, 20): 'Post hec (*sic*) Ecyniorum (Gr. *Νεκύων*) reges interpretaetavit, Imitheus (= Gr. *ἡμιθέους*) vocans et ipsos . . .' ('Thereafter he [Manetho] gave an account of the kings who were "spirits of the dead", calling them also "demigods"').

<sup>4</sup> Referring to This (Egyptian Theny), the capital of the nome of This, located about 496 km south of Cairo.

7. Semempses, his son	18 years
During his reign, a vast pestilence gripped Egypt.	
8. Bieneches, his son	26 years
Total	253 years <sup>1</sup>

Eusebios also furnished the details of the 1st dynasty in somewhat the same way as Africanus.

### Second dynasty of nine kings of This

(1.) The first of them was Boethos	38 years
During his reign, a chasm opened up in Boubastos, and many perished.	
2. Kaiechos	39 years
During his reign, the bulls, Apis in Memphis and Meneus in Heliopolis, and the Mendesian goat were deemed to be gods.	
3. Binothris	47 years
During his reign, it was decreed that women might possess the privilege of royalty.	
4. Tlas	17 years
5. Sethenes	41 years
6. Chaires	17 years
7. Nephercheres	25 years
There is a story that during his reign, the Nile flowed mixed with honey for eleven days.	
(8. Sesochris	48 years
He was five cubits high and three cubits wide. <sup>2</sup>	
9. Cheneres	30 years
Total	302 years
Total years of the 1st and 2nd dynasties after the flood, according to the second edition <sup>3</sup> of Africanus	
	555 years)

<sup>1</sup> The sum of the individual items is 263 years.

<sup>2</sup> Text: *πλάτος*. Waddell, following Boeckh and Bunsen, emends to *παλαιστῶν* ('His stature was five cubits, three palms').

<sup>3</sup> Text: *κατὰ τὴν δευτέραν ἔκδοσιν Ἀφρικανοῦ*. Scaliger believed this was a reference to the second part of Africanus' chronicle, consisting of chronological tables. But cf. Gelzer i. 29–30, who, following Unger (*Manetho*, 15), considers the word *δευτέραν* as a dittography created by the same word in the preceding line.

61] **Concerning the dynasties of the Egyptians after the Flood,  
according to Eusebios<sup>1</sup>**

After the spirits of the dead and the demigods, they enumerate the 1st dynasty of eight kings. The first of them was Menes, whose leadership over them was renowned. From him, we shall record the rulers from each hereditary line; the succession of their rule is the following:

1. Menes of This and his 17 descendants (but in another version seven<sup>2</sup>). Herodotos called him Men.<sup>3</sup>

He reigned for 60 years

He launched a foreign campaign and was highly esteemed. He was seized by {a horse} a hippopotamus.<sup>4</sup>

2. Athothis, his son, ruled 27 years

He built the palace in Memphis; he practised medicine and composed books on anatomy.

3. Kenkenes, his son 39 years

4. Ouenephes 42 years

During his reign, famine gripped the land. He also erected the pyramids around Kochome.

5. Ousaphais 20 years

6. Niebais 26 years

7. Semempses 18 years

During his reign, there were many portents and a vast pestilence.

8. Oubienthis 26 years

Total years of their reign 252 years<sup>5</sup>

### Second dynasty of nine kings

1. The first was Bochos, during whose reign a chasm opened up at Boubastos, and many perished.

2. A second Choös also succeeded him,<sup>6</sup> in whose time both Apis

<sup>1</sup> For Eusebios' version of Manetho's *Aigyptiaka*, see also Eus. 1.65.3–69.29 (= Manetho *FGrH* 609 F 3).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Eus. 1.65.9, which gives the number seven.

<sup>3</sup> See Herodot. 2.4, 99, where Min (*Mῖν*) is described as the first human king of Egypt.

<sup>4</sup> Text: ὑπὸ {ἵππου} δὲ ἵπποποτάμου; A: ὑπὸ ἵσπου δὲ ἵπποποτάμου; B: ὑπὸ ἵππου δὲ ἵποτάμου.

<sup>5</sup> The sum of the individual items is 258 years. Cf. Eus. 1.65.22, which gives a total of 270 years.

<sup>6</sup> Text: καὶ β' Χῶος. Müller emends to μεθ' ὃν δεύτερος Καίχῶος ('Second after him was Kaichoös'). Cf. Eus. 1.65.25, which has the name Kechoös.

and Mneuis, and the Mendesian goat as well, were deemed to be gods.

[62]

3. Biophis, during whose reign it was decreed that women might also possess the privilege of royalty. Succeeding them were three others, during whose reigns nothing of note took place.<sup>1</sup>

7. There is a story that during the seventh reign, the Nile flowed mixed with honey for eleven days.

{8. Sesochris 48 years

He was five cubits high and three cubits wide.

9. Cheneres 30 years

Total 302 years

Total for the 1st and 2nd dynasties after the flood, according to the second edition of Africanus 555 years<sup>2</sup>}

{8. After him, Sesochris 48 years

In stature, he is reported to have been five cubits and three palms in height.<sup>3</sup>

9. During the ninth reign, nothing worthy of mention occurred.

These kings reigned for 297 years

Total for the 1st and 2nd dynasties, according to the edition of Eusebios 549 years)

### Third dynasty of nine kings of Memphis [according to Africanus]

1. The first of them is Necherophes 28 years

In his reign, the Libyans revolted from the Egyptians; when the moon waxed unexpectedly, they surrendered out of panic.

2. Tosorthros 29 years<sup>4</sup>

Among the Egyptians, he is considered an Asklepios in recognition of his medical skill. The inventor of the art of building with hewn stone, he also pursued the craft of writing.

3. Tyreis 7 years

4. Mesochris 17 years

<sup>1</sup> Hence nos. 4 to 6 are passed over.

<sup>2</sup> The bracketed material is transposed by the editor to the corresponding dynasty in Africanus' version of Manetho; see above, p. 77 (= Moss. 60.25-9).

<sup>3</sup> Text: *ὅς λέγεται γεγονέναι ὕψος ἔχων πηχῶν ε', παλαιστῶν γ' τὸ μέγεθος*. Cf. Eus. I.65.32-3: 'von dem man sagt, dass er gewesen sei an Höhe fünf Ellen und an Breite drei Spannen' (tr. Karst).

<sup>4</sup> Waddell suggests a lacuna here and inserts the words *ἐφ' οὗ Ἰμούθης* ('during whose reign Imouthes lived'). Imouthes, the Egyptian physician and architect, was the Egyptian counterpart to Asklepios.

5. Soyphis	16 years
6. Tosertasis	19 years
7. Aches	42 years
8. Sephouris	30 years
9. Kerperes	26 years
Total	214 years
Total for these three dynasties, according to Africanus	
	769 years

63] **Fourth dynasty of eight kings of Memphis, from another line  
[according to Africanus]**

1. Soris	29 years
2. Souphis	63 years

He erected the Great Pyramid, which Herodotos says was built under Cheops.<sup>1</sup> He also became disdainful of the gods, and composed the *Sacred Book*. This I acquired when I was in Egypt, because it was a great treasure.<sup>2</sup>

3. Souphis	66 years
4. Mencheres	63 years
5. Rhatoïses	25 years
6. Bicheris	22 years
7. Sebercheres	7 years
8. Thamphthis	9 years
Total	274 years <sup>3</sup>

Total for the four dynasties after the flood, according to Africanus  
1046 years<sup>4</sup>

{8. After him, Sesochris 48 years

In stature, he is reported to have been five cubits and three palms in height.

9. During the 9th reign, nothing worthy of mention occurred.

These kings reigned for 297 years

<sup>1</sup> Herodot. 2.126. Jacoby suggests that the reference from Herodotos, lacking in MS B, might be a later addition.

<sup>2</sup> This report about the purchase of the *Sacred Book* is probably a comment by Africanus. According to Eus. *HE* 6.31.2, in his chronicle Africanus described a journey to Egypt to visit Heraklas, bishop of Alexandria.

<sup>3</sup> The sum of the individual items is 284 years.

<sup>4</sup> The sum of the years of the first four dynasties comes to 1043; the discrepancy between the totals can be reconciled by emending the 274 years of the 4th dynasty to 277 (following MS B).

Total for the 1st and 2nd dynasties, according to the edition of Eusebios 549 years<sup>1)</sup>

**Third dynasty of eight kings of Memphis  
[according to Eusebios]**

1. Necherochis, during whose reign the Libyans revolted from the Egyptians; when the sun waxed unexpectedly, they surrendered out of panic.

2. Sesorthos was his successor,<sup>2</sup> who was called Asklepios by the Egyptians because of his medical skill. The inventor of the art of building with hewn stone, he also pursued the craft of writing.

The remaining six accomplished nothing worthy of mention.

These eight reigned a total of 198 years

Total for the three dynasties, according to Eusebios 747 years [64

**Fourth dynasty of seventeen kings of Memphis,  
from another royal line [according to Eusebios]**

The third of them was Souphis, who erected the Great Pyramid, which Herodotos states was built under Cheops. He also became disdainful of the gods. And when he repented, he composed the *Sacred Book*, which the Egyptians esteem as a great treasure.

Of the rest, nothing worthy of mention has been recorded.

They reigned for 448 years

Total for the four dynasties after the flood, according to Eusebios 1195 years

**ACCORDING TO AFRICANUS**

**Fifth dynasty of eight kings from Elephantine**

1. Ousercheres	28 years
2. Sefhres	13 years
3. Nephercheres	20 years
4. Sisires	7 years
5. Cheres	20 years
6. Rhathoures	44 years
7. Mencheres	9 years
8. Tancheres	44 years

<sup>1</sup> Mosshammer relocates the bracketed passage to the 2nd dynasty; see above, p. 79 (= Moss. 62.10-14).

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 79 (= Moss. 62.18-20) n. 4.

9. Onnos	33 years
Total	248 years <sup>1</sup>
Together with the aforementioned 1046 years of the first four dynasties, this makes	1294 years

### Sixth dynasty of six kings of Memphis

1. Othoës He was murdered by his bodyguard.	30 years
2. Phios	53 years
3. Methousouphis	7 years
4. Phiops, whose reign began at the age of 6, ruled continuously up to his 100th year. <sup>2</sup>	
5. Menthesouphis	1 year
6. Nitokris, the most noble and comely woman of her time, fair in complexion. She built the third pyramid and reigned for	12 years

65] These 203 years, together with the aforementioned 1294 years of the first five dynasties, come to a total of 1497 years<sup>3</sup>

### Seventh dynasty of 70 kings of Memphis

These reigned for 70 days

### Eighth dynasty of 27 kings of Memphis

These reigned for 146 years

Together with the aforementioned years, there are for these eight dynasties 1639 years<sup>4</sup>

## ACCORDING TO EUSEBIOS

### Fifth dynasty of 31 kings from Elephantine

The first of them was Othoës: he was murdered by his bodyguard. The fourth was Phiops, who succeeded to rule at age six and reigned up to his 100th year.

<sup>1</sup> The sum of the individual items is 218 years.

<sup>2</sup> According to this notice, Phiops ruled only 94 years. But the total years of 203 years for the 6th dynasty assumes that his reign lasted for 100 years.

<sup>3</sup> Text: Ὀμοῦ ἔτη σγ' γίνονται σὺν τοῖς προτεταγμένοις ,ασφδ'. Τῶν ε' δυναστειῶν ἔτη ,αυφζ'. The translation treats the Greek text as a single sentence.

<sup>4</sup> The sum of the individual items comes to 1643 years.



Together with the aforementioned 1195 years of the first four dynasties, there are, therefore 1295 years

### Sixth dynasty

A woman Nitokris was queen, the most noble and comely woman of her time. Possessed of a fair complexion, she is also said to have built the third pyramid.

These [rulers] reigned for 3 years,  
in another  
copy 203  
years<sup>1</sup>

Together with the aforementioned 1295 years of the first five dynasties, there are 1498 years

One should note the extent to which Eusebios falls short of Africanus' accuracy, in the number of kings, by the omission of names, and in dates. Yet he virtually reproduces Africanus verbatim, as follows:

### Seventh dynasty of five kings of Memphis

These reigned for 75 days

### Eighth dynasty of five kings of Memphis

These reigned for 100 years  
Together with the aforementioned years, there are for these eight dynasties 1598 years

## ACCORDING TO AFRICANUS

### Ninth dynasty of nineteen kings of Herakleopolis

These reigned for 409 years

The first of them was Achthoës. Harsher than his predecessors, he caused hardship for the people of all Egypt. But he later succumbed to madness and was killed by a crocodile.

[66

<sup>1</sup> Text: οἱ καὶ ἐβασίλευσαν ἔτη γ', ἐν ἄλλῳ σγ' (lit. 'who reigned for three years, in another copy 203 years'). Cf. Go.<sup>m</sup>, who emends οἱ καὶ ἐβασίλευσαν to ἡ καὶ ἐβασίλευσεν ('she [Nitokris] reigned for three years'). Neither Africanus nor Eus. (1.66.24) says anything about three years; both versions assign a total of 203 years to the 6th dynasty.

**Tenth dynasty of nineteen kings of Herakleopolis**

These reigned for 185 years

**Eleventh dynasty of sixteen kings of Diospolis**

These reigned for 43 years

Next after these, Ammenemes 16 years

At this point, Manetho concluded his first book.

Total 192 kings 2300 years  
70 days

**FROM BOOK TWO OF MANETHO**

**Twelfth dynasty of seven kings of Diospolis**

1. Sesonchosis, son of Ammanemes 46 years

2. Ammanemes 38 years

He was murdered by his personal eunuchs.

3. Sesostris 48 years

He subjugated all Asia in nine years, and the regions of Europe as far as Thrace, erecting everywhere monuments describing the character<sup>1</sup> of the nations [that he subdued]. For the heroic nations, he engraved on pillars male genitalia; for the ignoble nations, female genitalia. As a result of his acts, he was considered by the Egyptians first in rank after Osiris.

4. Lachares 8 years

He constructed the labyrinth in the nome of Arsinoë as a tomb for himself.

5. Ameres 8 years

6. Ammenemes 8 years

7. Skemiophris, his sister 4 years

Total 160 years

<sup>1</sup> Text: σχέσεως. Go.<sup>m</sup>: κατασχέσεως ('conquest'), following the parallel notice for Sesostris found in Eusebios' version; see below, p. 85 (= Moss. 67.14). See also the notice for Sesostris in the chronicle of Joh. Ant. fr. 1.23 (FHG iv. 539): καὶ μνημόσυνα πεποίηκε τῆς τῶν ἐθνῶν ἀλώσεως ('and he made monuments of his conquest of the nations'). The ultimate source is Herodot. 2.102.4-5.

**ACCORDING TO EUSEBIOS**  
**Ninth dynasty of four kings of Herakleopolis**

These reigned for 100 years

The first of them was Achthoës. Harsher than his predecessors, he caused hardship in all of Egypt. But he later succumbed to madness and was killed by a crocodile.

[67]

**Tenth dynasty of nineteen kings of Herakleopolis**

These reigned for 185 years

**Eleventh dynasty of sixteen kings of Diospolis**

These reigned for 43 years

Next after these, Ammenemes 16 years

At this point, Manetho has concluded his first book.

Total 192 kings 2300 years  
79 days<sup>1</sup>

**FROM BOOK TWO OF MANETHO**  
**Twelfth dynasty of seven kings of Diospolis**

(1) The first of them was Sesonchosis, son of Ammenemes, who reigned for 46 years

(2) Ammanemes 38 years

He was murdered by his personal eunuchs.

(3) Sesostris 48 years

He is said to have been four cubits, three palms, and two fingers' breadths [in height]. He subjugated all Asia in nine years, and the regions of Europe as far as Thrace, erecting everywhere monuments of his conquest of the nations. For the heroic nations, he engraved on pillars male genitalia; for the ignoble nations, female genitalia. As a result of his acts, he was considered by the Egyptians first in rank after Osiris.

<sup>1</sup> The sum of the kings of the individual dynasties comes to 115, excluding the rulers of the sixth dynasty, for which Eusebios does not provide a total. The total for the years of the individual dynasties comes to 1942 years 75 days.

⟨4⟩ After him, Lamaris	8 years
He <sup>a</sup> constructed the labyrinth in the nome of Arsinoë as a tomb for himself.	
His successors reigned for	42 years
Total years of their reigns	245 years <sup>1</sup>

**ACCORDING TO AFRICANUS**  
**Thirteenth dynasty of sixty kings of Diospolis**

These reigned for	453 years
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**Fourteenth dynasty of seventy-six kings of Xoïs**

These reigned for	184 years
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**Fifteenth dynasty of shepherds**

There were six foreign kings from Phoenicia, who also captured Memphis.

68] ⟨1⟩ Their first king was Saïtes, who reigned for	19 years
The Saïte nome is named after him. They also built a city in the Sethroïte nome, which they used as a base of operations when they subdued the Egyptians.	
2. Bnon	44 years
3. Pachnan	61 years
4. Staan	50 years
4. Archles	49 years
5. Aphobis	61 years
Total	284 years

**Sixteenth dynasty of thirty-two additional shepherd kings**

They reigned for	518 years
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**Seventeenth dynasty of forty-three additional shepherd kings, and kings of Theban Diospolis, forty-three in number**

Total for the reigns of the shepherds and Theban kings	151 years
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<sup>a</sup> Text:  $\omega\varsigma$ . Emended to  $\delta\varsigma$ .

<sup>1</sup> The sum of the individual items is 182.

**ACCORDING TO EUSEBIOS**

**Thirteenth dynasty of sixty kings of Diospolis**

These reigned for 453 years

**Fourteenth dynasty of seventy-six kings of Xoïs,  
who reigned for 184 years**

These reigned for 184 years,  
in another  
copy 484  
years

**Fifteenth dynasty of kings of Diospolis**

These reigned for 250 years

**Sixteenth dynasty of five kings of Thebes**

These reigned for 190 years

**Seventeenth dynasty, they were shepherds and brothers,  
foreign kings from Phoenicia, who also seized Memphis**

⟨1⟩ Saïtes, the first of them, reigned for 19 years  
From him the Saïte nome also received its name. They also built  
a city in the Sethroïte nome, which they used as a base of operations  
when they subdued the Egyptians.

2. Bnon	40 years
3. Aphophis	14 years
4. After him, Archles	30 years <sup>1</sup>
Total	103 years

Around their time, Joseph was appointed king of the Egyptians. [69

It should be noted how Eusebios, to suit his own purpose, states  
that the kings who, according to Africanus' report, belonged to the  
15th dynasty were part of the 17th dynasty. For it is agreed by all  
that Joseph was ruler of Egypt at the time of Aphophis.<sup>2</sup> And as  
Eusebios was not at all able to put him during the reign of some  
other king, he transferred Aphophis from the 15th to the 17th

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Eus. 1.67.33–68.1, according to which Aphophis preceded Archles.

<sup>2</sup> See below, pp. 99, 156 (= Moss. 77.12–18; 125.3–8).

dynasty. And he cut short the actual sixty-one years of his rule down to thirty,<sup>1</sup> presented the 151 years of the whole dynasty as 103 years, and instead of six kings gave only four.<sup>2</sup>

**⟨ACCORDING TO AFRICANUS⟩**

**Eighteenth dynasty of sixteen kings of Diospolis**

The first of them was Amos, during whose reign Moses went out from Egypt, as we can prove. (But as our reckoning requires, it follows that in his reign Moses was still a young man.)<sup>3</sup>

**⟨ACCORDING TO EUSEBIOS⟩**

**Eighteenth dynasty of fourteen kings of Diospolis**

The first of them was Amosis 25 years

Here as well Eusebios, while suppressing two kings, added on 85 years, providing 348 years instead of Africanus' 263 years.

Now notice that Africanus would set Amosis in the eightieth year of Moses. This was because of his omission of the 110 years belonging to the thirteenth generation of the second Kainan, son of Arphaxad, as we have already said and shall say repeatedly. Nevertheless, Africanus, more committed to the truth than Eusebios, was aware of the dominant majority view that, during the reign of Amosis, Phoroneus was king of the Argives, as well as Inachos his predecessor and father, in the forty-first year of whose reign Moses was born. And it was this that constrained him, even though such reckoning does not square entirely with his own arguments; but it was because of the truth that he preferred to align himself with the majority opinion. For all the historians of the circumcision, Josephos and Justus, and those of the Greeks, I mean Polemon and Apion, Poseidonios and Herodotos, have recorded the Exodus of Israel from Egypt at the time of Phoroneus and Apis the

<sup>1</sup> But see Eus. 1.68.1, and pp. 87, 99 (= Moss. 68.27; 77.14), according to which Eusebios' version of Manetho assigned 14, not 30, years to the reign of Aphophis. The 61-year reign of Aphophis is found in Jos. Ag. Ap. 1.80, Africanus' version of Manetho, and Synk.'s own list of Egyptian kings; see pp. 86, 156 (= Moss. 68.6; 125.1).

<sup>2</sup> Synk. suggests below that Eusebios' motive in readjusting the reign of Aphophis and the 15th Egyptian dynasty was to justify his own later dating of Moses; see pp. 90, 99 (= Moss. 70.23-6; 77.12-18).

<sup>3</sup> The statement placing Moses' Exodus in the reign of Amos is a gloss by Africanus. The parenthetical comment is an editorial insertion by Synk. See below, p. 99 (= Moss. 76.29-77.8).

kings of the Argives; this was when Amosis was king of Egypt.<sup>1</sup> But it was not the above-mentioned Amosis, but rather the one who succeeded him, who was also known as Mispfragmouthis. For the kings of Egypt are often found to have two or three names. For example, in the divine scripture they are generally called 'Pharaoh', which was an appellation they all shared. This is true of the 'Pharaoh' first mentioned in scriptures at the time of Abraham, and of those who came afterwards during the times of Joseph, Jacob, the servitude of the sons of Israel in Egypt, and their Exodus at the time of Moses. And it is only rarely that one finds their proper names (except for Sousakeim, Nechao, and Ouaphri) throughout all scripture.<sup>2</sup> Now if there had been proper names, there would not have been great disagreement about this matter.<sup>3</sup>

It should also be known that this Amosis, the first king in the 18th dynasty of Egypt, Africanus calls Amos.<sup>4</sup> This was because Amosis had two names; he was also called Tethmosis, son of Aseth.<sup>4</sup> Now in our arrangement, we have made him the second king of the 18th dynasty, since this is the order in which we found

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<sup>4</sup> Text: *Ἀμωσιν*, emended to *Ἀμώς*. See below, pp. 98, 99 (= Moss. 76.23, 29), where Synk. says that Africanus called this Pharaoh 'Amos'.

<sup>1</sup> Justus of Tiberias, *FGtH* 734 F 2-3; Apion, *FGtH* 616 F 2. Some of the witnesses that Synk. adduces in support of this dating of the Exodus in the time of Phoroneus provide ambiguous testimony. See e.g. Jos. Ag. *Ap.* 2.15-17; Herodot. 2.162. Synk.'s list of corroborating Greek witnesses is probably derived from Africanus, who names precisely the same sources in his discussion of the date of Moses and the Exodus; see below, p. 92 (= Moss. 72.3-13). For Synk.'s discussion of the Phoroneus/Exodus synchronism, see also below, pp. 93-8, 213 (= Moss. 73.5-76.21; 173.13-20).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. 1 Kgdms. 14.25; 2 Kgdms. 23.29; Jer. 51.30 (LXX)/44.30 (MT).

<sup>3</sup> The argument that Synk. mounts against Africanus' dating of the Exodus is the following: Africanus accepted the widely held belief that the Exodus occurred during the reign of an Egyptian Pharaoh named Amosis. Based on this, Africanus concluded that this Pharaoh was the Amos identified in his text of Manetho as the first ruler of the 18th dynasty. Against Africanus, Synk. suggests that it was not this Amosis, but rather a later ruler of the same dynasty under whom the Exodus from Egypt occurred. This later ruler was Mispfragmouthis, who Synk. claims also bore the name Amosis. In Synk.'s opinion, Africanus' confusion of the two Egyptian rulers led him to date Moses' 80th year (that is, the time of the Exodus) too early. Synk. also suggests that Africanus' omission of the post-diluvian Kainan was another reason why he wrongly dated the Exodus.

<sup>4</sup> See also below, pp. 98, 99, 178 (= Moss. 76.9-11; 77.1-2; 143.6).

him in other copies and in Josephos' two-volume work *Against Apion* concerning the Exodus of the people of Israel from Egypt.<sup>1</sup> And we have put his father Aseth first, of whom neither Africanus nor Eusebios has made any mention; for whereas Africanus supplied the kings of the 16th and 17th dynasty without names, Eusebios agreed neither with Africanus nor with Josephos nor with anyone else. Instead, he transferred names from the 15th dynasty in Africanus to the 17th dynasty, and in his effort to prove that Moses was contemporary with Kekrops the Double-Natured,<sup>2</sup> he cut short the chronology. But he himself witnesses in the prologue to the *Canons* that these aforementioned writers—Josephos and Justus of the circumcision, and Africanus, Clement, author of the *Stromateis*, and Tatian, men of our doctrine all well-known for their learning—say that Moses lived during the time of Inachos and his son Phoroneus, the first kings of the Argives.<sup>3</sup> And their contemporary, the indigenous Ogygos, was the first king of Akte, now called Attica. It was at the time of this Ogygos that what the Greeks report was the first flood of ancient times occurred in the eightieth year of Moses, and the fifty-fifth year of Phoroneus. It is described by Africanus just about word for word as follows:<sup>4</sup>

So, then, we assert on the authority of this work that Ogygos, who has given his name to the first flood, as having been saved when many perished, lived at the time of the Exodus of the people with Moses from Egypt. This is the method of my calculation:<sup>a</sup> 1020 years will be demonstrated from Ogygos up to the aforementioned 1st Olympiad. From the 1st Olympiad up to

<sup>a</sup> Text: τὸν δὲ τρόπον. Cf. Eus. *PE* 10.10.9: τόνδε τὸν τρόπον. The translation follows Eusebios' reading.

<sup>1</sup> Jos. *Ag. Ap.* 1.94.

<sup>2</sup> On the meaning of this epithet, see below, p. 221 (= Moss. 179.9–12).

<sup>3</sup> See Eusebios' introduction to his *Canons*, 2.7.11–17 = below, pp. 93–4 (Moss. 73.12–18). For the dating of Moses during the time of Inachos, see Clem. Al. *Strom.* 1.21.101–2; Tat. *Orat.* 38–9. For discussion, see Sirinelli, *Les Vues historiques*, 52–9, 497–515.

<sup>4</sup> Routh, fr. 22. For this excerpt from Africanus, see also Eus. *PE* 10.10.9–11; 10.15–23, which states that it originated in the third book of Africanus' chronicle. Cf. the parallel passage in Ps.-Justin, *Cohort.* 9.2–3. For discussion of this passage and Ps.-Justin's dependence on Africanus' dating of Moses, see E. Schürer, 'Julius Africanus als Quelle der Pseudo-Justin'schen *Cohortatio ad Graecos*', *ZKG* 2 (1878), 319–31.



the first year of the 55th Olympiad (that is, to the first year of the reign of Cyrus, which was the year marking the end of the Captivity) there are 215 years. Thus, from Ogygos up to Cyrus there are 1235 years.<sup>1</sup> If you trace back in your calculations the 1235 years from the end of the Captivity, you will discover that the chronological interval up to the first year of the Exodus of Israel from Egypt through Moses corresponds to the interval from the 55th Olympiad back to Ogygos, the founder of Eleusis—quite a noteworthy starting-point for Attic chronography.<sup>2</sup>

Now there are a few stories recorded in Assyrian documents that are even more ancient than this.<sup>3</sup> Three hundred years earlier, not much before Ogygos,<sup>4</sup> Ninos was the first to rule over all of Asia, with the exception of India.<sup>5</sup> And the celebrated Semiramis succeeded him. In many places, she erected earth embankments, seemingly because of the floods. But these embankments were really tombs of her lovers buried alive, as Ktesias records. Thus nothing worthy of memory is recorded by the Greeks before Ogygos, with the exception of Phoroneus his contemporary and Inachos, the latter's father, who was the first

<sup>1</sup> According to Olympiad dating, there are 217 years from Ol. 1.1 to Ol. 55.1. Note that Eusebios' citation of the same passage from Africanus (*PE* 10.10.10) also counts 217 years from the first Olympiad and 1237 years from Ogygos up to the accession of Cyrus; for discussion of this discrepancy see Gelzer i. 40–4. Africanus' dating of 1 Cyrus to Ol. 55.1 derives from the Greek historians; see Eus. *PE* 10.10.4 (quoting Diodoros, Kastor of Rhodes, Thallios, Polybios, and Phlegon). Converted into a year of Africanus' own era, Cyrus' accession occurred in AM 4942 (= 560 BC). Thus the Exodus occurred in AM 3707. But Africanus made the singular mistake of confusing Cyrus' accession to rule in Persia with his subsequent conquest of Babylon (538 BC). Since Cyrus' first year in Babylon also marked the end of Jewish captivity (see Ezra 1.1 = 2 Esdr. 1.1), Africanus' dating of the latter event was 22 years too early. On Africanus' error, see Gelzer i. 101; Routh, ii. 426–7 (fr. 22 n.).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Paus. 1.38.7, which states that Ogygos' son Eleusis founded Eleusis.

<sup>3</sup> This paragraph is lacking in the parallel excerpt from Eusebios. A portion of this section, dealing with Semiramis, is found in the chronicle of Joh. Ant. fr. 1.22, in *FHG* iv. 539.

<sup>4</sup> Text: οὐ πολὺ πρότερον. Mosshammer suggests emending to either ἢ πολὺ πρότερον ('or much before'), or που πρότερον ('some time before').

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.20.1–3: 'Primus omnis Asiae exceptis Indis regnavit Ninus, Beli filius . . .'. Among Greek universal historians, Ninos was considered the first king about whose reign any secure documentation existed. See e.g. Diod. Sic. 2.1.4: 'The first to be handed down by tradition to history and memory as one who achieved great deeds is Ninos, king of the Assyrians.'

king of Argos, as Akousilaos records.<sup>1</sup> His daughter was Io, whose name they changed to Isis and venerated.

72] And such were the events before Ogygos. Now at his time, Moses departed from Egypt.

(And a little later:<sup>2</sup>) From Ogygos, then, to Cyrus, which is as many years as from Moses to the same time, there are 1235 years.<sup>3</sup> But some of the Greek historians also state that Moses lived at this same time. Polemon, for example, states in the first book of his *Greek Histories*: 'At the time of Apis the son of Phoroneus, a portion of the Egyptian army was expelled from Egypt, and settled in the part of Syria called Palestine, not far from Arabia.' These are evidently those who went with Moses. And Apion son of Poseidonios, the most painstaking of grammarians, states in his book *Against the Jews* and in the fourth book of his *Histories* that during the reign of Inachos king of Argos, when Amosis was king of the Egyptians, the Jews revolted, from whom Moses arose.<sup>4</sup> Herodotos also made mention both of this revolt and of Amosis in his second book, and in a certain way of the Jews themselves, numbering them among those who practise circumcision and calling them Assyrians in Palestine, perhaps on account of Abraham.<sup>5</sup> And Ptolemy of Mendes, who recorded the affairs of the Egyptians from the beginning, agrees with all of these, so that the variation of dates is not even worthy of further comment.<sup>6</sup>

But it should be noted that if ever any remarkable story is recorded by the Greeks because of its antiquity, this will be found to have occurred after Moses: the floods and fires, Prometheus, Io,

<sup>1</sup> Akousilaos, *FGrH* 2 F 23<sup>c</sup>. For Akousilaos' testimony about Phoroneus, see also Clem. Al. *Strom.* 1.21.102.6.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Eus. *PE* 10.10.11–14, which includes here a section from Africanus' chronicle explaining how he calculated the 1235 (or 1237) years from Moses to the first year of the reign of Cyrus.

<sup>3</sup> Africanus' dating of Moses' departure from Egypt 1235 years before Cyrus' accession in AM 4942 (Ol. 55.1) would place the Exodus in AM 3707. According to Africanus, Moses' birth would then have occurred 80 years before, in AM 3627. Eusebios' quotation from Africanus (in *PE* 10.10.15), which dates the Exodus 1237 years before Cyrus' accession, would date the Exodus in AM 3705.

<sup>4</sup> Text: ὡν γίνεσθαι Μωυσέα. Cf. Eus. *PE* 10.10.16: ὡν ἡγγεῖσθαι Μωυσέα. On the synchronism of Moses and Inachos, see also Clem. Al. *Strom.* 1.21.3–4; Tat. *Orat.* 38.

<sup>5</sup> Herodot. 2.104.

<sup>6</sup> Ptol. Mend. *FGrH* 611 T 1. Cf. Clem. Al. *Strom.* 1.21.4; Tat. *Orat.* 38.

Europe, Spartoi,<sup>1</sup> the rape of Kore, the mysteries, enactment of laws, the exploits of Dionysos, Perseus, the labours of Herakles, the Argonauts, the Centaurs, the Minotaur, the story of Ilion, the return of the Herakleidai, the settlement of Ionia, and the Olympiads. So it seemed good to me to set out the aforementioned time of the Attic kingdom, intending to place Greek histories alongside the Hebrew histories. And so anyone who wishes to take his starting-point from me can reckon the number of years in the same way as I do.

So then, in the first year of the 1020 years set forth from Moses and Ogygos up to the 1st Olympiad, the Passover and the Exodus of the Hebrews from Egypt took place. But in Attica the flood at the time of Ogygos occurred, and with good reason. For when the Egyptians were being scourged by the wrath of God with hail-stones and tempests, it was fitting for certain parts of the earth to suffer along with them. For it was appropriate that the Athenians should experience the same things the Egyptians did, since they are considered to be emigrants from them, as is stated, among others, by Theopompos in his work *The Three-Headed*.<sup>2</sup> But the intervening period is ignored, in which no special event has been recorded by the Greeks. After ninety-four years, there was Prometheus, according to some.

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This is the truthful and documented witness of Africanus, as he records it in his third book, and in my opinion he is entirely more trustworthy than Eusebios. In this particular matter involving Moses and the flight from Egypt, as was previously stated, he has the endorsement both of those of the circumcision, and of the Christian philosophers out of the Greeks: Clement, who wrote the *Stromateis*, and Tatian. Eusebios himself attests to this in the preface to his *Canons*, in something like the following words:<sup>3</sup>

Moses, a Hebrew by lineage, the first of all the prophets, who committed to scripture oracles and divine precepts both about our Saviour, I mean the Christ, and the knowledge of God made

<sup>1</sup> Lit. 'the sown men', referring to the men who sprang from the dragon's teeth sown by Kadmos.

<sup>2</sup> Anaximenes of Lampsakos, *FGIh* 72 F 20. *The Three-Headed* was a work written by Anaximenes, but purportedly circulated by him in the name of Theopompos. On this, see Paus. 6.18.5; Jos. *Ag. Ap.* 1.221. On the tradition attributed to Theopompos identifying the Athenians as Egyptian emigrants, see Prok. *Comm. Tim.* (21 E) i. 97.30–98.3.

<sup>3</sup> See Eus. 2.7.11–10.4. For the Greek text, see also Ps.-Eustath. *Comm. Hexaem.* (PG 18.708 A–709 A).

possible to the Gentiles through him, flourished in the same time as Inachos. This is what is said by men who are well known for their learning—Clement, Africanus, and Tatian, men of our doctrine, as well as those of the circumcision, Josephos and Justus. Each of them separately produced proof from ancient history. Now Inachos is anterior to the Trojan War by 700 years. But from the Greek philosophers, that man who contrived a plot against us, whoever in the world he was, states in the fourth book of his treatise against us (upon which he laboured in vain) that Moses was chronologically prior to Semiramis. Now Semiramis was queen of the Assyrians 150 years earlier [than Inachos]; therefore, according to him, Moses was anterior to the Trojan War by 850 years.<sup>1</sup>

Now as one who greatly values truthful reasoning, I have also set as my goal the diligent search for accuracy. Setting out from this premiss, in the previous treatise<sup>2</sup> I have provided for myself as raw material a selection of all kinds of chronological documents: the kingdoms of the Chaldaeans, Assyrians, Medes, Persians, Lydians, Hebrews, Egyptians, Athenians, Argives, Sikyonians, Lakedaimonians, Corinthians, Thessalians, Macedonians, and Latins, to whom the name 'Romans' was later affixed. Altogether this comes to fifteen kingdoms.

74] But in the present work I have assembled these dates into a single context. And I have set out the numbering of the years for each nation in parallel columns, and I have fixed this in the form of a tabular chronicle. Now among the Hebrews, I have discovered chronologically divergent versions, one system having a chronology of excessive length, and another coming up short. And I have not hastily seized upon the one that I normally use, I mean the full version; rather, I have consulted the version that falls short.<sup>3</sup> But in this way I have also discovered that Israel the fore-

<sup>1</sup> Eusebios here is referring to the chronology of Porphyry.

<sup>2</sup> This is a reference to the first book of Eusebios' chronicle.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Jerome's Latin translation of the same passage (8.20-9.4): 'Neque me fugit in Hebraeis codicibus dissonantes aetatum annos inueniri plusque uel minus, prout intepretibus uisum est, lectitari sequendumque illud potius, quod exemplariorum multitudo in fidem traxit' ('Nor am I unaware that in the Hebrew manuscripts there are found conflicting years for intervals of time, and that either the longer or shorter chronology is the preferred reading, according to what seems right to interpreters; that reading should rather be followed which the great mass of copies has guaranteed as reliable'). In Synk.'s Greek citation, Eusebios speaks of having occasionally consulted a version of the Bible (that is, the Hebrew

father of the Hebrews, from whom the twelve tribes of the Jewish nation were deemed worthy of the namesake 'Israel', lived around the time of Inachos, who the Greeks say was the first king of Argos. But Abraham, a Chaldaean by race, was at the time of Semiramis, whereas the man who was beloved of God and entrusted to be the first of the prophets among the Hebrews, namely Moses, was later than they were (if I may speak candidly). He was, however, anterior to all those who are described in the ancient histories of the Greeks: I mean Homer and Hesiod and even the Trojan War, as well as the Dioskouroi, Asklepios, Dionysos, and all the heroes, and Hermes and Apollo, and the other gods of the Greeks, and the mysteries and cultic ceremonies, and the deeds of Zeus himself mentioned by the Greeks. This is because the Greeks<sup>1</sup> have a recorded tradition that all these events were later than the age of Kekrops. So the present chronological investigation proposes that Moses was a contemporary of Kekrops the Double-Natured, who, it is said, was the first king of Attica, around 350 years before the Trojan War.

The fact, then, that Eusebios has himself attested to the absurdity of his own reasoning is sufficiently understandable, at least for those who have had any degree of education of any kind, but particularly in what ancient histories hold in common. For this single consideration would be enough to overturn what he has written: namely, that he has contradicted the mass of opinions held by men of such great wisdom, and that he slips in his own opinion without proof. His assertions are introduced in contradiction to the views of the majority, nay rather to the views of everyone; and even if there were a great deal of proof, they would have struggled to receive acceptance from those who have the intellectual capacity to make sound judgements about this matter. Now on the basis of three other arguments as well he has obviously misled himself by false reasoning and defrauded the truth—this is clear. For he states that he found differing chronological systems among the Hebrews, one full, and one short, and that he followed the latter system. And in saying this, he is from the very start dissembling: the Septuagint version, which chronologically exceeds the other two—the Hebrew and the

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version) whose chronology is 'lacking (*ἐλλείπουσαν*)', that is, shorter than the other versions. This statement underlies Synk.'s subsequent refutation of Eusebios for preferring what in Synk.'s view is the 'defective (*ἐλλείπουσαν*)' chronology of the Hebrew Bible; see below, pp. 95–6 (= Moss. 74.31–75.9).

<sup>1</sup> Text: *παῖδες Ἑλλήνων*. Lit. 'children of the Greeks', a common periphrasis.

Samaritan versions—is the one that he used, as he states in the first book.<sup>1</sup>

And besides, even if he speaks truthfully about having consulted the short version, in having done so he is anything but a seeker after truth. For in the theory of virtue, truthfulness is observance of the mean, which avoids deficiencies and excesses as vices and lies. And again, in the practice of virtue, virtues are the mean states, whereas vices bear the character of deficiency. So then Eusebios has not acted rightly by adhering to the version of scripture that is chronologically deficient. For even if they are opposite vices, falsehood is in equal measure an attribute both of excess and of deficiency.<sup>2</sup>

He also strays from the truth by saying that Moses, a contemporary of Kekrops the Double-Natured, came earlier than all the gods and the mysteries among the Greeks, and even the deeds of Zeus himself, which deeds [he says] the Greeks hold were later than the age of Kekrops;<sup>3</sup> he also states that the first woman with whom Zeus had intercourse was Niobe the daughter of Inachos.<sup>4</sup> Now according to Eusebios' own system, Inachos preceded Kekrops by 300 years and in this calculation he roughly approximates Africanus'. Yet in his *Canon* this same Eusebios fixed this report

<sup>1</sup> The argument that Synk. advances here is that in the prologue to the *Canons* Eusebios appeals to the 'shorter' chronology of the Hebrew Bible in order to arrive at his unconventional dating of Moses in the time of Kekrops. Synk. accuses Eusebios of dissembling in this matter, because in his first book he expresses a high regard and preference for the longer chronology of the Septuagint; see Eus. 1.45.13–19. In the first book of his *Chronicle*, however, Eusebios does occasionally prefer the 'shorter' chronology of the Hebrew Bible; see e.g. his treatment of the critical period of the judges (1.50.5–23) and below, p. 253 (= Moss. 204.10–18).

<sup>2</sup> Aristotle's theoretical and practical principles about the 'mean' underlie Synk.'s critique of Eusebios' stated preference for the 'defective' version of biblical chronology found in the Hebrew Bible. See Aristot. *Nicom. Ethics* 2.6.8: 'An expert in any art avoids excess and deficiency (τὴν ὑπερβολὴν μὲν καὶ τὴν ἔλλειψιν φεύγει) and seeks and adopts the mean (τὸ . . . μέσον)'; 2.7.12: 'In respect of truth, then, the middle character may be called truthful, and the observance of the mean truthfulness.' Synk. argues that because Eusebios chose a deficient text (the chronology of the Hebrew Bible), he neither practised virtue nor professed truth. Synk.'s critique of Eusebios for not observing the mean is not entirely apt, however. Of the three available versions of biblical chronology, the Samaritan, not the Septuagint, chronology is the 'mean'; see below, pp. 122–5 (= Moss. 97.19–101.3).

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 95 (= Moss. 74.11–17); Eus. 2.9.11–10.4.

<sup>4</sup> Eus. 2.30<sup>h</sup>.

about Zeus and Niobe, Phoroneus, and Inachos in the fiftieth year of Jacob.<sup>1</sup> And it was this Phoroneus, son of Inachos and Niobe, who was the first to ordain laws and courts. But some of the Greeks say that Niobe was a daughter of this same Phoroneus; on her Zeus begot a child Apis, also known as Serapis. If, then, the deeds (whether factual or not) were committed by the adulterous Zeus among the Greeks at the time of Inachos and Phoroneus, there circulate among them reports of deeds committed by this same Zeus **before** the time of Kekrops the Double-Natured. One of them is this well-known deed involving Niobe, who was the first woman Zeus took in adultery.

So it is in this way that Eusebios again utters an empty falsehood about Moses and the Greeks: for if Moses lived after Phoroneus and was a contemporary of Kekrops the Double-Natured, he is **not** earlier than the deeds of Zeus himself and all the events recorded by the Greeks in their ancient histories, as has been demonstrated.<sup>2</sup> But if, as both Eusebios himself and all his predecessors attest, Moses was in fact earlier than Zeus and a contemporary of Inachos and Phoroneus, then the possibility does arise that he also preceded all past events involving the Greeks. This is because nothing is recorded by the Greeks before Inachos and his son Phoroneus, who were the first kings of Argos.<sup>a</sup> Around their time, there was the first great flood in Akte (now known as Attica), when Ogygos was its king; and Kekrops the Double-Natured succeeded him as king 189 years later, the region remaining without a ruler for as many years because of the vast destruction wrought by this same flood.

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From all these facts, it can therefore be demonstrated that Eusebios erred by at least 200 years in his dating of Moses. For this reason, he also corrupted the chronology of what the Egyptians call 'dynasties'. And, as will be demonstrated at the end of the table of

<sup>a</sup> Text: οὐδὲν γὰρ Ἑλλησι πρὸ Ἰνάχου καὶ Φορωνέως παιδὸς τῶν πρώτως Ἄργους βασιλευσάντων Ἑλλησιν ἱστόρηται. Following Go. and Di.'s emendation, Ἑλλησιν has been deleted.

<sup>1</sup> Eus. 2.29<sup>ce</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> Synk. points out that Eusebios' unconventional dating of Moses in the time of Kekrops was self-defeating. In the introduction to the *Canons* (9.11–19), Eusebios claimed that Moses preceded all of the notable and most ancient events in Greek history (among them the deeds of Zeus himself); in this way, Eusebios sought to retain a valued article of Jewish–Christian apologetic. But as Synk. also recognized, Eusebios' own *Canons* made the affair of Zeus and Niobe, and the reigns of Inachos and Phoroneus, contemporary with Jacob, and hence prior to Moses.

the Assyrian kings, he also corrupted Assyrian chronology,<sup>1</sup> as well as Greek chronology, as has already been shown.

For the moment, I have set for myself this task: to demonstrate that (a) the birth of Moses occurred during the reign of Amosis, also known as Tethmosis, the son of Aseth, who was the first king of the 18th Egyptian dynasty—if, to be sure, we were to ascribe thirty years to the rule of this same Amosis, and sixteen years to his father Aseth. But if, following the majority and more accurate copies, we ascribe twenty years to Aseth's rule and twenty-six years to Amosis, Moses will have been born in the twenty-seventh or twenty-sixth year of this Aseth.<sup>2</sup> With utmost accuracy, we have discovered that this latter date corresponds with AM 3732, the fifty-fifth year of Inachos the first king of the Argives, during which time Sphairos was king of the Assyrians and Orthopolis was king of the Sikyonians;<sup>3</sup> and (b) eighty years later came Ogygos and the flood at his time, when Apis son of Phoroneus was, moreover, king of the Argives, and Misphegmouthosis, also known as Amosis, was king of the Egyptians;<sup>4</sup> at that time [Spartheos was] still [king] of the Assyrians, and [Echyreus was] also [king] of the Sikyonians.<sup>5</sup>

Now let us arrange in sequence the remaining dynasties of the kings of Egypt from the same 18th dynasty and its first king, called Amos according to Africanus and Amosis according to Eusebios. But in the present chronography, and in other accurate ones, as will

<sup>1</sup> For Synk.'s critique of Eusebios' handling of Assyrian chronology, see below, pp. 243–4 (= Moss. 197.5–17).

<sup>2</sup> Text: κζ' ἢ καὶ κς' ἔτος. GO.<sup>m</sup>: ιζ' ἢ καὶ ις' ἔτος ('17th or 16th year'). The dates that Synk. furnishes here for the reigns of Aseth and Amosis differ from the epitomes of Manetho's *Aigyptiaka* preserved by Africanus and Eusebios. They originate in a third version of Manetho attested only in Synk. and generally understood to be the *Book of Sothis* of Ps.-Manetho. According to this version, Aseth's rule (beginning in AM 3716) lasted 20 years. Amosis' rule (beginning in AM 3736) lasted 26 years; see below, p. 178 (= Moss. 143.1–7). Since Synk. dates Moses' birth in AM 3732 (see below, p. 99 = Moss. 77.5), Moses will have been born in the 16th year of the reign of Aseth (but not the 27th or 26th year, as is stated in the text of Synk. here).

<sup>3</sup> But cf. below, p. 181 (= Moss. 145.5), where Synk. dates the beginning of Inachos' reign in AM 3692; the 55th year of Inachos' reign would then be AM 3747. See also p. 184 (= Moss. 147.2).

<sup>4</sup> See below, p. 211 (= Moss. 172.3–4).

<sup>5</sup> Text: Ἀσσυρίων δὲ ἔτι καὶ Σικωνίων. The bracketed material is supplied from dates that Synk. provides later. According to Synk., AM 3812 = the 32nd year of the reign of Echyreus, and the last year of Spartheos; see below, pp. 157, 178 (= Moss. 125.20–30; 142.23–4).



be shown, the sequence will be arranged from Amosis as the second king of this 18th dynasty.

### ACCORDING TO AFRICANUS

#### Eighteenth dynasty of sixteen kings of Diospolis

The first of them was Amos, during whose reign Moses went forth from Egypt, as we can prove. (But as our reckoning requires, it follows that in his reign Moses was still a young man.<sup>1</sup>)

[77

I am of the opinion that Africanus was unaware that his 'Amos' was also known as 'Amosis', identical as well with Tethmosis the son of Aseth, as will be shown.<sup>2</sup> And we find that Misphragmouthosis, the sixth king in succession after him, is likewise called Amosis. But during the reign of this first Amosis (that is, Amos according to Africanus), or four years before his rule, Moses was born, as has been shown, in AM 3732. During the reign of this second Amosis, also known as Misphragmouthosis, Moses went forth from Egypt with his people in AM 3812, his eightieth year.

### ACCORDING TO EUSEBIOS

#### Eighteenth dynasty of fourteen kings of Diospolis<sup>3</sup>

The first of them was Amosis 25 years

Before this Amosis, Eusebios erroneously made Aphophis the fourth and last ruler of the 17th dynasty, during whose reign there is universal agreement that Joseph was ruler of Egypt. According to him, he was king for fourteen years, even though all Eusebios' predecessors affirm that he reigned for sixty-one years. For by his illogical thinking—I dare not call it 'logic'—Amosis preceded Moses and the Exodus by as many years. And Africanus also attests that Aphophis the sixth king in the 15th dynasty reigned over Egypt for sixty-one years.

Now if there is an apparent excess of years from Aphophis up to Amosis, this is the fault of disagreement among the Egyptians, since this is the way I found them in Manetho: for eighty years are more than the years from Joseph to Moses.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The parenthetical material is a gloss by Synk.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 89 (= Moss. 70.15-17).

<sup>3</sup> The actual list of the 18th dynasty contains 16 kings. Cf. Eus. 1.68.3-14, which has 14 kings, lacking the names Athoris and Chencheres.

<sup>4</sup> According to Synk.'s version of Manetho, Egyptian Pharaohs from the

**The remaining kings of the eighteenth dynasty of Egypt  
who succeeded Amos the first king, in Africanus**

According to Africanus, the second king of the 18th dynasty  
was Chebros 13 years

The third was Amenophthis 21 years<sup>1</sup>

78] The fourth was Amensis 22 years

The fifth was Misaphris 13 years

The sixth was Misphragmouthosis 26 years

During his reign, the flood at the time of Deukalion occurred.

Total from Amos to<sup>2</sup> the rule of Misphragmouthosis according  
to Africanus 69 years

(Of the length of Amos' rule, he said nothing at all.<sup>3</sup>)

Let us, then, following Eusebios' calculation, ascribe twenty-five years to Amos' reign and twenty-six years to Misphragmouthosis'. Following both Africanus and Eusebios, there will thus be 120 years from the beginning of Amos' rule up to the end of Misphragmouthosis'; this we are assured was the length of Moses' life. Now how can it be that from the beginning of Moses' rule—that is, from the Exodus out of Egypt, if we grant Africanus' opinion that he left during the reign of Amos, or from his youth (this is also a dilemma for Africanus<sup>4</sup>)—up to the death of this same Moses, there occurred two famous floods among the Greeks? I mean, of course, the first flood at the time of Ogygos in Attica and that during the time of Deukalion in Thessaly, 248 years later—this latter flood unquestionably occurring during the reign of the indigenous Kranaos, the second king of Athens. Let us grant that Moses was born at the time of Amos, which is roughly contemporary with the time of Inachos, and died at the time of Misphragmouthosis; then the period of time elapsed turns out to be more than double [his age

death of Joseph to the birth of Moses reigned a total of 80 years. Synk., however, calculates only 65 years for this same period (AM 3672 to AM 3737); see below, p. 168 (= Moss. 135.19–20). To reconcile the conflicting chronology, he replaces the 44 years of Sethos with 29 years, a number that he claims to have taken from Josephos; see below, p. 178 (= Moss. 142.27–8).

<sup>1</sup> Text: *κα'*; AB: *κδ'* ('24'). Mosshammer (following Go.<sup>m</sup>) emends the text in order to make a total of 69 years from the end of Amosis' reign to the beginning of the reign of Misphragmouthosis.

<sup>2</sup> Text: *ἀπ' Ἀμῶς ἕως* (Mosshammer). AB: *ἀπὸ Μωσέως*. Di.: *ἐπὶ Ἀμώσεως τοῦ καὶ*.

<sup>3</sup> The parenthetical remark is Synk.'s.

<sup>4</sup> See above, p. 88 (= Moss. 69.10–12).

at death]. This Africanus himself has attested in the beginning of his third book:

From the time of Ogygos, because of the great destruction wrought by the flood, what is now Attica remained without a king for 189 years. Then Kekrops the Double-Natured: fifty years. After Kekrops, indigenous Kranaos: nine years. Altogether from the flood at the time of Ogygos up to Kekrops the first king of Athens and Kranaos the second king after him, there are 248 years. This same interval is also from the Exodus of Moses and Israel from Egypt up to the flood in Thessaly at the time of Deukalion.

It is recorded by this same Africanus that the flood at the time of Ogygos occurred during the reign of Phoroneus and the Exodus of the people from Egypt. And Deukalion's flood, he says, occurred during the reign of Kranaos, the second king of Athenians, as has been shown from his own writings. Therefore, he is not correct in saying that Deukalion's flood occurred during the reign of Misphegmouthosis. For after Amosis, who according to both Africanus and Eusebios was the first king of the 18th dynasty, Misphegmouthosis ended his rule scarcely eighty-five years later. The logical remaining conclusion, then, that we reach from this is that it was rather Ogygos' flood that occurred during the reign of Misphegmouthosis; and in our opinion and that of other more accurate historians, it was during his reign that Moses left Egypt with his people. Thus, Africanus—may he excuse me for saying this—found himself in a dilemma and in a self-contradiction asserted that it was Deukalion's flood instead of Ogygos'. And in this particular matter, he thereby committed an error; for he did not draw the proper conclusion from the fact that Kekrops the Double-Natured and Kranaos, the first kings, after Ogygos, of the Athenians, in whose time Deukalion's flood did in fact occur in Thessaly, were, as he himself has attested, at least 150 years after Misphegmouthosis.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> As Synk. argues, only 120 years separated the beginning of the reign of Amosis from the end of the reign of Misphegmouthosis. If, as Africanus claimed, the Exodus and Ogygos' flood occurred during the reign of Amosis, then Deukalion's flood could not have occurred during the reign of Misphegmouthosis. According to Africanus' own statement, the period of time from Ogygos to Deukalion was more than twice that number (248 years). Note, however, Synk.'s subsequent assertion (p. 222 = Moss. 180.20-1) that Africanus dated Deukalion's flood to the period of the judges during the 70th year of Aod (Ehud). This latter date would coincide much better with the 248-year interval. For analysis of the problem, see Gelzer i. 120, 127-8.

So this is clear: (i) compared with his superiors, Eusebios' reasoning was defective, and in contradicting them he recorded opinions without evidence; (ii) what Africanus said is accurate, in that he has evidence in support of his statement that Moses was contemporary with Inachos and Phoroneus. But he found himself in a dilemma, in that he was forced by the truth to say that during the reign of Amosis, Moses was either still a youth, or that he left from Egypt. From these two points, we have demonstrated that Moses was leader of his people during the reign of Mispfragmouthisis, also known as Amosis, and that it was during his reign that Ogygos' flood occurred.

**The remaining kings of the eighteenth dynasty of Egypt,  
who succeeded the first king Amosis, in Eusebios**

2. The second was Chebron	13 years
3. Ammenophis	21 years
4. Miphres	12 years
5. Mispfragmouthisis	26 years

Altogether from Amosis, the first king of this 18th dynasty, down to the rule of Mispfragmouthisis, there are, according to Eusebios, 71 years.<sup>1</sup> And there are five kings instead of six. For by omitting the fourth king Amenses, mentioned by Africanus, as well as everyone else, he thereby cut out the twenty-two years of his reign.

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**Those remaining of the eighteenth dynasty after  
Mispfragmouthisis, according to Africanus, as follows**

7. Touthmosis	9 years
8. Amenophis	31 years
This is the one who is believed to be Memnon, a sounding stone. <sup>2</sup>	
9. Oros	37 years
10. Acherres	32 years

<sup>1</sup> The sum of the individual items comes to 72 years.

<sup>2</sup> Lit. 'Memnon, and a sounding stone'. Routh ii. 396 (n. ad loc.) believes that Africanus, not Manetho, was the source of the comment about Memnon. The notice is apparently in reference to a statue in Egyptian Thebes. According to Paus. 1.42.3, many believed this statue was a likeness of 'Memnon', the Ethiopian warrior of the Trojan War. Others stated that it was a statue of either Phamenoph or Sesostris. Pausanias likens the sound emitted by this statue to that of a harp or a lyre with a broken string. See further below, p. 218 (= Moss. 177.8-11).

11. Rhathos	6 years
12. Chebres	12 years
13. Acherres	12 years
14. Armesis	5 years
15. Rhamesses	1 year
16. Amenophath	19 years
Total	263 years <sup>1</sup>

**Nineteenth dynasty of six kings of Diospolis**

1. Ethos	51 years
2. Rhapsakes	61 years
3. Amenephthes	20 years
4. Rhamesses	60 years
5. Ammenemnes	5 years
6. Thouoris, who in Homer is called Polybos, husband of Alkandra, <sup>2</sup> and during whose reign Ilion was taken	7 years
Total	209 years <sup>3</sup>

In the above second book of Manetho, there is a total of 96 kings, ruling for 2121 years<sup>4</sup>

**Those remaining of the eighteenth dynasty after Misphegmothosis, according to Eusebios as follows**

6. Touthmosis	9 years
7. Amenophis	31 years
This is the king believed to be Memnon, a sounding stone. <sup>5</sup>	
8. Oros	36 years, in another copy 38 years. <sup>6</sup>
9. Achencherses	12 years <sup>7</sup>
10. Athoris	39 years

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<sup>1</sup> The sum of the individual items comes to 236 years, excluding the years of Amosis' reign, which Synk. says (p. 100 = Moss. 78.4-5) Africanus omitted from his list.

<sup>2</sup> *Od.* 4.126.

<sup>3</sup> The sum of the individual items comes to 204 years.

<sup>4</sup> The sum of the years of the individual dynasties comes to 2221. The total number of kings comes to 246.

<sup>5</sup> Lit. 'Memnon and a sounding stone'.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Eus. I.68.7 (28 years).

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Eus. I.68.7 (16 years).

11. Chencheres	16 years <sup>1</sup>
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About this time, Moses led the departure of the Jews from Egypt.<sup>2</sup>

Only Eusebios states that the Exodus of Israel under Moses occurred during his reign. For no argument supports him; rather all his predecessors oppose it, as he attests.

12. Acherres	8 years
13. Cherres	15 years
14. Armaïs, also known as Danaos	5 years

After this, he was banished from Egypt and fleeing from his brother Aigyptos arrived in Greece. After seizing control of Argos, he ruled over the Argives.

15. Rhamesses, also known as Aigyptos	68 years
16. Menophis	40 years
Total	348 years <sup>3</sup>

At the 18th dynasty, Eusebios adds 85 years more than Africanus.

#### Nineteenth dynasty of five kings of Diospolis

1. Sethos	55 years
2. Rhampses	66 years
3. Ammenephthis	40 years <sup>4</sup>
4. Ammenemes	26 years
5. Thouoris, who in Homer is called Polybos, husband of Alkandra, and in whose reign Ilion was taken	7 years
Total	194 years

In the above second book of Manetho, there is a total of 92 kings

	1121 years <sup>5</sup>
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<sup>1</sup> Cf. Eus. 1.68.9–10, which lacks the names Athoris and Chencheres. These names are also omitted in MS B.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Eus. 1.68.8–9, which puts this notice under the reign of Achencheres; see also Eus. 2.43<sup>b</sup>, which dates the event to the 16th year of Chenchres.

<sup>3</sup> The sum of the individual items comes to 351 or 353 years, excluding those of Amosis.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Eus. 1.68.16 (8 years).

<sup>5</sup> The sum of the individual dynasties comes to 171 kings, and 1967 or 2272 years. Cf. Eus. 1.68.20, which has 2121 years.

**ACCORDING TO AFRICANUS**  
**From the third book of Manetho**  
**Twentieth dynasty of twelve kings of Diospolis**

These reigned for 135 years

**Twenty-first dynasty of seven kings of Tanis**

1. Smendes	26 years
2. Psousennes	46 years
3. Nephelcheres	4 years
4. Amenophthis	9 years
5. Osochor	6 years
6. Psinaches	9 years
7. Psousennes	14 years
Total	130 years <sup>1</sup>

**Twenty-second dynasty of nine kings of Boubastis**

1. Sesonchis	21 years
2. Osorthon	15 years
3, 4, 5. Three others	25 years
6. Takelothis	13 years
7, 8, 9. Three others	42 years
Total	120 years <sup>2</sup>

**Thirty-third dynasty of four kings of Tanis**

1. Petoubates	40 years
During his reign, the Olympic games were held.	
2. Osorcho	8 years
The Egyptians call him Herakles.	
3. Psammous	10 years
†4. Zet	31 years <sup>†3</sup>
Total	89 years

<sup>1</sup> The sum of the individual items comes to 114 years.

<sup>2</sup> The sum of the individual items comes to 116 years.

<sup>3</sup> Doubt exists about the authenticity of the name 'Zet', which is lacking in Eusebios' version of Manetho. It may be a contraction of ζητείται ('there is a question', sc. about the 31 years).

**Twenty-fourth dynasty**

Bochchoris of Saïs	6 years
During his reign a lamb spoke, 990 years. <sup>1</sup>	

83]

**Twenty-fifth dynasty of three Ethiopian kings**

1. Sabakon, who, after taking Bochchoris captive, burned him alive. He reigned for	8 years
2. Sebichos, his son	14 years
3. Tarkos	18 years
Total	40 years

**ACCORDING TO EUSEBIOS****From the third book of Manetho****Twentieth dynasty of twelve kings of Diospolis**

These reigned for	178 years
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**Twenty-first dynasty of kings**

1. Smendis	26 years
2. Psousennes	41 years
3. Nephercheres	4 years
4. Ammenophthis	9 years
5. Osochor	6 years
6. Psinaches	9 years
7. Psousennes	35 years
Total	130 years

**Twenty-second dynasty of three kings of Boubastis**

1. Sesonchosis	21 years
2. Osorthon	15 years
3. Takelothis	13 years
Total	49 years

<sup>1</sup> Text: ἔτη λρ'. Waddell assumes a lacuna in the text. Mosshammer suggests a possible emendation to ἔτη ὁμοῦ ρε' ('altogether 95 years'). For the lamb who spoke during the reign of Bochchoris, see Aelian, *Nat. animal.* 12.3.



**Twenty-third dynasty of kings of Tanis**

1. Petoubastis	25 years	
2. Osorthon	9 years	
The Egyptians called him Herakles.		
3. Psammous	10 years	
Total	44 years	[84]

**Twenty-fourth dynasty**

Bochchoris of Saïs	44 years
During his reign a lamb spoke.	
Total	44 years

**Twenty-fifth dynasty of Ethiopian kings**

1. Sabakon, who, after taking Bochchoris captive, burned him alive; he reigned for	12 years
2. Sebichos, his son	12 years
3. Tarakos	20 years
Total	44 years

**ACCORDING TO AFRICANUS****Twenty-sixth dynasty of nine kings of Saïs**

1. Stephinates	7 years
2. Nechepsos	6 years
3. Nechao	8 years
4. Psammetichos	54 years
5. Nechao II	6 years
He captured Jerusalem and led king Joachaz captive into Egypt.	
6. Another Psammouthis	6 years
7. Ouaphris	19 years
The remnant of the Jews fled to him when Jerusalem was captured by the Assyrians.	
8. Amosis	44 years
9. Psammecherites	6 months
Total	150 years 6 months

**Twenty-seventh dynasty of eight Persian kings**

85]	1. In the fifth year of his reign over the Persians, Kambyses became king of Egypt, ruling for	6 years
	2. Dareios, son of Hystaspes	36 years
	3. Xerxes the Great	21 years
	4. Artabanos	7 months
	5. Artaxerxes	41 years
	6. Xerxes	2 months
	7. Sogdianos	7 months
	8. Dareios, son of Xerxes	19 years
	Total	124 years 4 months

**Twenty-eighth dynasty**

Amyrteos of Saïs	6 years
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**Twenty-ninth dynasty of four kings of Mendes**

1. Nepherites	6 years
2. Achoris	13 years
3. Psammouthis	1 year
4. Nephorites	4 months
Total	20 years 4 months

**ACCORDING TO EUSEBIOS****Twenty-sixth dynasty of nine kings of Saïs**

1. Ammeris the Ethiopian	12 years
2. Stephinathis	7 years
3. Nechepsos	6 years
4. Nechao	8 years
5. Psammetichos	45 years <sup>1</sup>
6. Nechao II	6 years
He seized Jerusalem and led king Joachaz captive into Egypt.	
7. Another Psammouthis, also known as Psammetichos	17 years
8. Ouaphris	25 years

The remnant of the Jews fled to him when Jerusalem was captured by the Assyrians.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Eus. I.69.7 (44 years).

9. Amosis	42 years	
Total	163 years <sup>1</sup>	[86

**Twenty-seventh dynasty of eight Persian kings**

1. In the fifth year of his reign, Kambyses became king of Egypt, ruling for	3 years
2. Magians	7 months
3. Dareios	36 years
4. Xerxes, son of Dareios	21 years
5. Artaxerxes Longarm	40 years
6. Xerxes II	2 months
7. Sogdianos	7 months
8. Dareios, son of Xerxes	19 years
Total	120 years 4 months

**Twenty-eighth dynasty**

Amyrtaios of Saïs	6 years
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**Twenty-ninth dynasty of four kings of Mendes**

1. Nepherites	6 years
2. Achoris	13 years
3. Psammouthis	1 year
4. Nepherites	4 months
5. Mouthis	1 year <sup>2</sup>
Total	21 years 4 months

**ACCORDING TO AFRICANUS**

**Thirtieth dynasty of three kings of Sebennytos**

1. Nektanebes	18 years
2. Teos	2 years
3. Nektanebos	18 years
Total	38 years

<sup>1</sup> The sum of the individual items comes to 168 years. Cf. Eus. 1.69.12, which gives 167 years, including the one year less for Psammetichos.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Eus. 1.69.21-2, according to which Mouthis preceded Nepherites. Waddell (n. 1 ad loc.) suggests that since Mouthis was a usurper, he was not included as one of the rulers of the 29th dynasty.

87]

**Thirty-first dynasty of three Persian kings<sup>1</sup>**

1. Ochos, in the twentieth year of his reign over the Persians, became king of Egypt, ruling for	2 years
2. Arses	3 years
3. Dareios	4 years
Total	1050 years in Book Three <sup>2</sup>

Here ends the work of Manetho. Subsequent Egyptian chronology is based on Greek historians.  
Fifteen Macedonian kings.

**ACCORDING TO EUSEBIOS****Thirtieth dynasty of three kings of Sebennytos**

1. Nektanebes	10 years
2. Teos	2 years
3. Nektanebos	8 years
Total	20 years

**Thirty-first dynasty of three Persian kings**

1. Ochos, in the twentieth year of his reign over the Persians, gained control of Egypt and ruled for	6 years
2. After him, Arses son of Ochos	4 years
3. After him, Dareios	6 years
Alexander of Macedon put him to death. This is from the third book of Manetho.	

Here ends the work of Manetho. Subsequent Egyptian chronology is presented from Greek historians.

<sup>1</sup> The kings of this last dynasty may be a later editorial insertion. Neither Africanus' nor Eusebios' list assigns years to this dynasty. Later (p. 372 = Moss. 307.21-3), Synk. states that the 1050 years of Manetho's 31 dynasties of Egyptian kings extended up to Ochos and Nektanebo; after that, he says, his record of events comes not from Manetho, but from Greek historians.

<sup>2</sup> In fact 855 years, based on the sum of the individual items.

**The chronology after the Flood, as follows, 2243 years after  
the creation of the universe**

2243: In this year, the ark was opened and Noah disembarked together with those in his company.<sup>1</sup>

In the same year 2243, Shem, in his 101st year, begot Arphaxad.<sup>2</sup> After Arphaxad was born, Shem lived another 500 years up until AM 2742.

When he was 135, Arphaxad begot Kaïnan in AM 2377.<sup>3</sup> And after Kaïnan was born, Arphaxad lived 430 years up to AM 2808.

2251: In this year, so it is said, Noah planted a vineyard in Mount Loubar of Armenia.<sup>4</sup>

2372: In this year, Arphaxad, in his 130th year, took a wife.<sup>5</sup>

2377: In this year, Arphaxad, in his 135th year, begot Kaïnan.<sup>6</sup>

When he was 130, Kaïnan begot Sala in AM 2507. After the birth of this Sala, Kaïnan lived another 330 years up to AM 2837.<sup>7</sup>

From this year, AM 2405, Alexander Polyhistor would resume his account of the post-diluvian Chaldaean kingdom.<sup>8</sup> In sars, ners and sosses, his fictional account records the reigns of eighty-six Chaldaean and Median kings for 34,090 years, that is, for nine sars, two ners, and eight sosses.<sup>9</sup> Some of our church historians have without justification considered these years as 94 solar years and 8

<sup>1</sup> Gen. 8.13–19.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Gen. 11.10, where it is stated that Shem, at age 100, begot Arphaxad two years after the Flood.

<sup>3</sup> Gen. 11.12–13 (LXX). If Arphaxad was born in AM 2243, Kaïnan's birth would have occurred in AM 2378, but Synk. appears to assume that Arphaxad's birth occurred in the same year as the Flood (AM 2242). The contradiction reflects a difficulty in biblical chronology. According to Gen. 5.32, Shem was born when Noah was 500 years of age. A statement in Gen. 11.10 that Shem begot Arphaxad at the age of 100 would put this event in the 600th year of Noah, the same year as the Flood (Gen. 7.6, 11). As noted, however, Gen. 11.10 states that the birth of Arphaxad occurred two years after the Flood.

<sup>4</sup> Gen. 9.20; *Jub.* 7.1.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *Jub.* 8.1.

<sup>6</sup> Gen. 11.12 (LXX).

<sup>7</sup> Gen. 11.13 (LXX).

<sup>8</sup> AM 2405 is not Polyhistor's date, but that of Panodoros. See Gelzer ii. 200–4.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Eus. 1.12.20–4: 'Polyhistor counts in all 86 kings from Xisouthros and from the flood until the Medes took Babylon . . . He sums up the whole period as containing 33,091 years.'

months, which, as they say, add up to a number equivalent to AM 2499.<sup>1</sup> After this era of the eighty-six kings (that is, two Chaldaean kings, Euechios and Chomasbelos, and eighty-four kings of the Medes), this same Polyhistor then introduces Zoroaster and his successors, seven Chaldaean kings who reigned for 190 solar years. No longer reckoned in sars, ners, and sosses, or any other mythological nonsense, their reigns are recorded instead in solar years. This was because they venerated their forefathers as gods or demigods, and in introducing this error to those<sup>a</sup> after them reported that their reigns lasted in fact for an immense period of time; and in contradiction to divinely inspired scriptures, they imagined that the universe was eternal. But the reigns of their descendants they recorded in solar years, since it was clear to everyone that these were mortal men. And this did not come about in the way that Panodoros and certain others suppose: namely that regnal years were at that time finally measured by Zoroaster in solar years, when knowledge of such cycles had first been made known by the descendants of Enoch.<sup>2</sup>

Therefore, we have been persuaded by divine scriptures that this<sup>3</sup> too is false and no kingdom whatsoever existed on the earth up to

<sup>a</sup> Text: τοὺς. Emended to τοῖς.

<sup>1</sup> That is, the sum of 2405 and 94 years.

<sup>2</sup> Panodoros harmonized biblical and Babylonian sources by theorizing that the 432,000 'years' of Babylonian ante-diluvian chronology arose from a confusion between the daily course of the sun and its yearly revolution. Not until Uriel's revelation to Enoch was true knowledge of the solar year acquired; see above, pp. 45, 46 (= Moss. 34.14-22; 42.2-4). Panodoros evidently recognized that this explanation failed to account for the 34,090-year rule of the 86 Babylonian and Median kings after the Flood. To resolve this difficulty, he proposed that it was not until the time of Zoroaster that the Babylonians learnt to calculate regnal years correctly. Thus, the 34,090 'years' (that is, days) of the 86 post-diluvian Babylonian kings should be reduced to a mere 94 years (from AM 2405 to 2499). 34,090 (actually 34,080) reduces to 94 $\frac{2}{3}$  years only if a year of 360 days is assumed. Hence Panodoros must have assumed years of 360 days, not 365 days as he did for chronology before the Flood. Synk., who vigorously disputes this theory, offers the alternative theory that because subsequent generations divinized their ancestral rulers as gods, they ascribed mythical longevity to them in their histories. By Synk.'s own reckoning, the post-diluvian kingdoms of the Babylonians and Egyptians began in AM 2776. For discussion, see Gelzer ii. 200-1; Cumont-Bidez, *Les Mages hellénisés*, ii. 45-6.

<sup>3</sup> Namely, Berossos-Polyhistor's account of primordial Babylonian chronology.

the tyrannical rule of Nimrod, who in imitation of the giants revolted from God during the building of the tower (as has also been demonstrated previously). And from the flood up to the time of the dispersion, there were only three men who, in devotion to God, exercised leadership over the masses—I mean, of course, the righteous Noah for the remaining 350 years of his life, his son Shem for the remaining 150 years of his life, and again after him Shem's son Arphaxad for the remaining 34 years of his life. This means that these years, numbering 534, added to the 2242 years before the flood, total 2776 years.

This, then, is what we have learnt. And having confidence that it is true we are also supported by other like-minded historians, as will be demonstrated. For we assert that in the year 2776 (which was the thirty-fourth year of the leadership of Arphaxad and the fifth year after the birth of Phalek) the kingdom of the Chaldaeans at that time began, whose first leader was Euechios, also known as Nimrod; and in this year, the kingdom of the Egyptians also began, whose first king was Mestraim, the founder of Egypt. Therefore, we have considered it unnecessary to present a chronological table from this 2405th year based on the version of those historians who have pressed hard to show that the post-diluvian kingdom of the Chaldaeans began in this year. For this is not the way of true reasoning, nor do Alexander and those associated with him number the days as years; rather, they introduce endless aeons in order to subvert divine scripture, as has been stated many times before. It necessarily follows, then, that our account of these two kingdoms will be reckoned from this 2776th year, when we reach that point in the narrative.<sup>1</sup>

In the 2500th year, Kaïnan took a wife and begot Sala in the year 2505.<sup>2</sup>

This Kaïnan is omitted in the computation of Eusebios, who, by erroneously following the Hebrew version, was consequently 130 years off in his reckoning. Likewise, Africanus was also in error by failing to include this second Kaïnan in his computation. For this reason, in the period of years from Joshua son of Nun and the elders up to Eli and Samuel, he was forced to add on almost 140 years. For these additional years, this man Eusebios of Caesarea severely criticizes him, although, as we have previously demonstrated, on this very point and on the other matters, the magnitude of his error

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<sup>1</sup> See below, pp. 126, 127 (= Moss. 101.22-4; 102.14-15).

<sup>2</sup> Gen. 11.13 (LXX); cf. *Jub.* 8.5. For a conflicting chronology, see above, p. 111 (= Moss. 88.10), where Synk. dates Sala's birth in AM 2507.

was even greater, extending to 290 years.<sup>1</sup> The divine evangelist Luke, on the other hand, in his genealogy of Christ counted Kainan thirteenth from Adam.<sup>2</sup>

### **Kainan, the thirteenth generation**

2570: In this year, Noah made a covenant and divided the inhabited world among his three sons.<sup>3</sup>

In the 2585th year, Kainan was walking in the field and discovered the writing of the Giants and hid it for himself.<sup>4</sup>

In AM 2592, Noah the righteous went to his rest. He was 950 years of age, in the tenth generation.<sup>5</sup>

In the 2626th year, Sala took a wife for himself.<sup>6</sup>

### **Sala, the fourteenth generation**

In AM 2630, Sala begot Heber in his 130th year. And Sala lived another 330 years after the birth of his son Heber, up to AM 2960.<sup>7</sup>

In AM 2736, they began to build the tower, which lasted for 40 years.<sup>8</sup>

In the 2702nd year, Shem went to his rest, at age 600 years.<sup>9</sup>

In the 2714th year, Heber took a wife for himself.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>1</sup> On Eusebios' critique of Africanus for his handling of the period from Joshua to the judges, see below, p. 252 (= Moss. 204.1-9). On Eusebios' 290-year error, see above, pp. 48-9 (= Moss. 36.17-37.9).

<sup>2</sup> Luke 3.36.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Jub.* 8.10.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *Jub.* 8.3, which attributes the book to the Watchers. Variants of this legend about ante-diluvian writings are numerous in Byzantine and Syriac chronicles. According to *Joh. Ant. fr.* 2.16 (*FHG* iv. 540), Kainan discovered a stele containing astronomical teachings left by the descendants of Seth before the universal flood. This is evidently a conflation of the Sethite legend in *Jos. Ant.* 1.68-71 with *Enoch's* story of the fallen Watchers. In other chronicles, the discovery of ante-diluvian writings is attributed either to Arphaxad or Sala; see e.g. *Ἐκλ. χρ.* 233.16-29 (Arphaxad); *Ἐκλογαὶ ἱστοριῶν*, ed. Cramer, *Anec. Gr. Par.* ii. 243-381 at 249.2-6 (Sala).

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *Gen.* 9.29.

<sup>6</sup> *Jub.* 8.6.

<sup>7</sup> *Gen.* 11.14 (LXX). But see pp. 121, 165 (= Moss. 96.19 and 132.26), which give 2637 as the date of Heber's birth and 2967 as the date of Sala's death.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. *Jub.* 10.21, which states that the building of the tower lasted 43 years.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. *Gen.* 11.10-11. Elsewhere, Synk. gives the date of Shem's death as 2742; see pp. 111, 164 (= Moss. 88.1; 132.10).

<sup>10</sup> Cf. *Jub.* 8.7.



### Heber, the fifteenth generation

When he was 134, Heber begot Phalek in AM 2771. Heber lived another 270 years after the birth of Phalek, up to AM 3041.<sup>1</sup>

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Now that I have thus demonstrated the date at which Heber begot Phalek, the tenth<sup>2</sup> descendant from Adam, I think it fitting to juxtapose our calculations with Africanus' numbering of years up to this point, and from there up to Abraham (Africanus' version is in a second table, because after all he predates Eusebios by some years<sup>3</sup>). And then in the same way I shall furnish as well Eusebios' numbering of years, set out in three tables and based, so he says, on the sages who translated the Septuagint, the textual version used by the Hebrews, in addition to the one used by the Samaritans. Once the years have been arranged accordingly in five tables from Adam up to Phalek and from Phalek up to Abraham, the genealogy of the patriarchs and the chronology that coincides with the writing of Moses and the gospels will be readily evident.<sup>4</sup>

### According to the present chronography

(1) Adam, in the 230th year of his life, begot Seth, who was like him in all respects.

	<u>[Total years]</u>
(2) Seth, being 205, begot Enos	435
(3) Enos, at age 190, begot Kaïnan	625
(4) Kaïnan, at age 170, begot Maleleël	795
(5) Maleleël, at age 165, begot Jared	960
(6) Jared, at age 162, begot Enoch	1122
(7) Enoch, at age 165, begot Methuselah	1287
(8) Methuselah, [at age] 167, begot Lamech	1454
(9) Lamech, at age 188, begot Noah	1642

<sup>1</sup> Gen. 11.16–17 (LXX).

<sup>2</sup> Text: δέκατον. G.O.: δέκατον καὶ πέμπτον ('15th'). According to Synkellos' count, Phalek is the 16th generation from Adam.

<sup>3</sup> Text: ἑτεσὶ που. G.O.: ἑτεσὶ που ἑκατόν ('by about 100 years').

<sup>4</sup> The tables that follow have been structured for the reader's convenience. The patriarchs have been numbered sequentially, even though this numbering does not appear in the Greek text. Total years, where given, are presented in a separate column.

**From Africanus<sup>1</sup>**

(1) Adam, when he was 230, begot Seth. And after living another 700 years, he died (that is a second death).

(2) Seth, when he was 205, begot Enos: from Adam, then, up to the birth of Enos, there is a total of 435 years.

(3) Enos, being 195, begot Kaïnan.<sup>2</sup>

(4) Kaïnan, at age 170, begot Maleleël.

(5) Maleleël, at age 165, begot Jared.

(6) Jared, at age 162, begot Enoch.

92] (7) Enoch, being 165, begot Methuselah. As one pleasing to God, he lived another 200 years and was not found.<sup>3</sup>

(8) Methuselah, when he was 187, begot Lamech.

(9) Lamech, being 188, begot Noah.

**From Eusebios<sup>4</sup>****According to the text of the Septuagint**

Let us, then, consider first how the Septuagint translation has reported the chronographic tradition from Adam up to the birth of Abraham.

(1) The first human, Adam, when he was 230, begot Seth; he lived another 700 years up to the 135th (year of Maleleël).

(2) Seth, when he was 205, begot Enos; he lived another 707 years up to the 20th year of Enoch.

(3) Enos, when he was 190, begot Kaïnan; he lived another 715 years up to the 53rd year of Methuselah.

(4) Kaïnan, when he was 170, begot Maleleël; he lived another 740 years up to the 81st year of Lamech.

(5) Maleleël, when he was 165, begot Jared; he lived another 730 years up to the 48th year of Noah.

(6) Jared, when he was 162, begot Enoch; he lived another 800 years up to the 280th year of Noah.

(7) Enoch, when he was 165, begot Methuselah; he lived another 200 years and was translated in the 33rd year of Lamech.

(8) Methuselah, when he was 167, begot Lamech; he lived another 802 years.

<sup>1</sup> Routh, fr. 6.

<sup>2</sup> In order to make a total of 2262 years up to the Flood, the correct number should be 190, not 195. See Gelzer i. 52.

<sup>3</sup> Gen. 5.24.

<sup>4</sup> Eus. 1.38.4-28.

(9) Lamech, when he was 188, begot Noah; he lived another 535 years.

Lamech was the first to die before his own father, who was Methuselah. His life continued to the 535th year of Noah.

**From Eusebios<sup>1</sup>**

**According to the text of the Hebrew version**

The preceding was based on the Septuagint translation. But according to the Hebrew version used by the Jews:

(1) Adam, when he was 130, begot Seth; he lived another 800 years up to the 56th year of Lamech.

(2) Seth, when he was 105, begot Enos; he lived another 807 years up to the 168th year of Lamech.

(3) Enos, when he was 90, begot Kainan; he lived another 815 years up to the 84th year of Noah.

(4) Kainan, when he was 70, begot Maleleel; he lived another 840 years up to the 179th year of Noah.

(5) Maleleel, when he was 65, begot Jared; he lived another 830 years up to the 234th year of Noah.

(6) Jared, when he was 162, begot Enoch; he lived another 800 years up to the 366th year of Noah.

(7) Enoch, when he was 65, begot Methuselah; he lived another 300 years and was translated in the 113th year of Lamech.

(8) Methuselah, when he was 187, begot Lamech; he lived another 782 years right up to the Flood.

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**From Eusebios<sup>2</sup>**

**According to the text of the Samaritan version**

According to the Hebrew text used by the Samaritans:

(1) Adam, when he was 130, begot Seth; he lived another 800 years up to the 223rd year of Noah.

(2) Seth, when he was 105, begot Enos; he lived another 807 years up to the 335th year of Noah.

(3) Enos, when he was 90, begot Kainan; he lived another 815 years up to the 433rd year of Noah.

(4) Kainan, when he was 70, begot Maleleel; he lived another 840 years up to the 528th year of Noah.

(5) Maleleel, when he was 65, begot Jared; he lived another 830 years up to the 533rd year of Noah.

<sup>1</sup> Eus. 1.39.1-19.

<sup>2</sup> Eus. 1.40.21-41.4.

(6) Jared, when he was 62, begot Enoch; he lived another 785 years right up to the Flood.

(7) Enoch, when he was 60, begot Methuselah;<sup>1</sup> he lived another 300 years and was translated in the 180th year of Noah.

(8) Methuselah, when he was 67, begot Lamech; he lived another 653 years up to the Flood.

(9) Lamech, when he was 53, begot Noah; he lived another 600 years right up to the Flood.

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### According to the present chronography

(10) Noah, at age 500, begot Shem 2142  
100 years later, in Noah's 600th year, the Flood occurred.

From Adam to the Flood, there are 2242 years. This is what Eusebios and the true tradition and the large majority of the copies of Mosaic writings report, in accordance with the Septuagint version.

Notwithstanding, Africanus reckoned 2262 years, on the basis of a few copies that report this tradition.<sup>2</sup> But no credence should be put in these copies.

Up to the Flood, therefore, as the preceding has shown, the copies of Hebrew scriptures disagree by 349 years with the most ancient Samaritan text, which is composed in a different Hebrew script, and which the Hebrews acknowledge is both true and original. Compared with the Septuagint version, the Hebrew version differs by 586 years; the Samaritan version differs from it by 935 years.<sup>3</sup> From Adam to the Flood, Africanus differs from Eusebios by 20 years.

### From Africanus<sup>4</sup>

Noah was 600 years when the Flood occurred. From Adam to Noah and the Flood, there are, therefore, 2262 years.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Eus. 1.40.35, which reads 65 years.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 27 (= Moss. 20.7-10).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Eus. 1.39.28; 41.10-11.

<sup>4</sup> Routh, fr. 8.

**From Eusebios<sup>1</sup>  
According to the Septuagint**

(10) Noah, when he was 500, begot Shem, Ham, and Japhet and lived another 100 years up to the Flood. The Flood occurred in the 600th year of Noah; Noah lived after the Flood another 350 years up to the 83rd year of Heber.<sup>2</sup>

Total 2242 years

The above is based on the Septuagint translation.

**From Eusebios<sup>3</sup>**

However, according to the Hebrew version used by the Jews:

(10) Noah, when he was 500, begot Shem, Ham and Japhet, and lived another 100 years up to the Flood. [95

In Noah's 600th year, the Flood took place; Noah lived another 350 years after the Flood up to the 58th year of Abraham.

Total 1656 years

This disagrees with the Septuagint translation by 586 years.

In the above, the dates from Adam to Noah in the other versions of scripture differ from the Septuagint in the length of time before each of the patriarchs begot a child. However, for the dates of Jared, Methuselah, and Lamech, there is agreement with the Septuagint. On the basis of the areas where they agree, one can conclude that, for the dates of their predecessors, the reading in our version also offers a preferable chronology. From the greater period of time assigned to Jared and his successors,<sup>4</sup> it is clear that the chronology for their predecessors should also harmonize with the version of the Septuagint. For if, by the addition of a hundred years in the Hebrew text, the later generations born after them are found to be in chronological agreement with the Septuagint translation, would it not be that much more probable that their forefathers, from an earlier time, had much greater longevity than their descendants?

Now I observe that, for the total years of the life of each man, the sum of the years before and after procreation yield the same

<sup>1</sup> Eus. I.38.30-39.2.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Eus. I.38.33, which has the 80th year of Heber. Based on Eusebios' own version of post-diluvian Septuagint chronology, Synk.'s figure produces a more consistent chronology.

<sup>3</sup> Eus. I.39.22-40.20.

<sup>4</sup> Eusebios has in mind Methuselah and Lamech.

total according to the reading preserved in both the Hebrew and Septuagint version. And I notice that it is only the years before the begetting of a child that are compressed in the Jewish manuscripts. Therefore, I am inclined to suggest that this was perhaps the work of Jews who, in support of early marriage, ventured to compress and hasten the years before procreation. For if the men of most ancient times had lived long lives of many years, thereby arriving at marriage and procreation comparatively earlier, as the reading in their text shows, who would not take after them and imitate the practice of early marriage?

### From Eusebios<sup>1</sup>

#### According to the Hebrew text used by the Samaritans

(10) Noah, when he was 500, begot Shem, and lived another 100 years until the Flood. In Noah's 600th year, the Flood took place. Noah lived after the Flood another 350 years until the 83rd year of Heber.

Total 1307 years

This disagrees with the Jewish text by 349 years, whereas it deviates from the Septuagint by 935 years.

96] So much for the chronology before the Flood.<sup>2</sup> But let us move on to the subsequent dates, first of all taking note of what we mentioned earlier: namely that the writing of the Chaldaeans also concurs in making mention of the Flood recorded by the Hebrews, as well as the ark constructed by Noah. And as to the Floodwaters' cresting above the highest of the mountains, we who are writing after the fact also have confirmation for its veracity from some people<sup>3</sup> in our time who have personally examined fish discovered high up on the tallest peaks of Mount Libanos. For as some were cutting away stones there out of the mountains for their homes, they discovered various species of sea fish, which, it turned out, were congealed in mud in cavities in the mountains and remained up to this day in a kind of embalmed state. Therefore, the witness of the ancient tradition is confirmed by us, and with our own eyes at that.

<sup>1</sup> Eus. I.4I.5-29.

<sup>2</sup> For another Greek witness to this portion of Eusebios' chronicle, see *Ἐκλ. ἰστ.* 170.9-16.

<sup>3</sup> Text: *αὐτοψία τισὶν ἰχθύων*. G.O.: *αὐτοψία τινῶν ἰχθύων* ('from personal examination of some fish').

**According to the present chronography**

- (1) In the second year after the Flood, Shem begot Arphaxad.  
 (2) Arphaxad, when he was 135, begot Kainan 2377  
 (3) Kainan, when he was 130, begot Sala 2507  
 Eusebios and Africanus did not count this Kainan. Therefore they are in error by omitting his 130 years.  
 (4) Sala begot Heber at age 130 2637  
 (5) Heber begot Phalek at age 134 2771  
 (6) Phalek begot Rhagau at age 130 2901  
 He lived another 209 years.  
 There are 3110 years from Adam to the death of Phalek.  
 (7) Rhagau, at age 132, begot Serouch 3033<sup>1</sup>  
 (8) Serouch, when he was 130, begot Nachor 3163  
 (9) Nachor, at age 79, begot Terah 3242  
 (10) Terah, at age 70, begot Abraham 3312

From the Flood up to the first year of Abraham there are 1070 years. From Adam to the Flood are 2242 years, as has been demonstrated. Up to the first year of Abraham, there are 3312 years, as is clearly indicated in the table. And after 75 years, in the 3385th year from Adam,<sup>2</sup> he went out from Charan to settle in the land of Canaan, now called Palestine.

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**From Africanus<sup>3</sup>**

- (1) After the Flood, Shem begot Arphaxad.  
 (2) Arphaxad, when he was 135, begot Sala 2397  
 (3) Sala, when he was 130, begot Heber 2527  
 (4) Heber, when he was 134, begot Phalek 2661  
 He received this name because of the division of the earth during his life.  
 (5) Phalek, at age 130, begot Rhagau and after living another 209 years, he died.  
 From Adam up to the death of Phalek there are 3000 years<sup>4</sup> (according to Eusebios 2980 years).

<sup>1</sup> Text: ,γγλγ'. AB: ,γγγγ' ('3303').

<sup>2</sup> Cf. below, p. 165 (= Moss. 133.16), where Synk. dates this event in AM 3387, a more consistent total.

<sup>3</sup> Routh, fr. 9.

<sup>4</sup> The year 3000 is highly significant in Africanus' chronicle, insofar as it marks the mid-point in the 6000 years of millennial history. See Gelzer i. 24-6.

- (6) Rhagau, when he was 132, begot Serouch.
- (7) Serouch, at age 130, begot Nachor.
- (8) Nachor, at age 79, begot Terah.
- (9) Terah, being 70, begot Abraham, Nachor, and Arran.

Thus, the years from the Flood and Noah up to the entrance of Abraham into the promised land total 1015 years in ten generations; but from Adam, there are 20 generations and 3277 years.

### From Eusebios<sup>1</sup>

#### After the Flood according to the Septuagint translation

- 1. In the second year, Noah's son Shem begot Arphaxad, and lived another 500 years up to the 101st year of Phalek.
- 2. Arphaxad, when he was 135, begot Sala, and lived another 403 years up to the ninth year of Rhagau.
- 3. Sala, when he was 130, begot Heber, and lived another 406 years up to the seventh year of Serouch.
- 4. Heber, when he was 134, begot Phalek, and lived another 433 years up to the 38th year of Nachor.
- 5. Phalek, when he was 130, begot Rhagau, and lived another 209 years up to the year 2980, the 75th year of Serouch.

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In the days of Phalek, the earth was divided; for this reason, the name Phalek signifies 'division' in the Hebrew language. And he was the second to die before his father. Around his time, the building of a tower was undertaken. And from one ancient dialect, there arose a variety of tongues, and a differentiation of languages according to each nation.

- 6. After Phalek, Rhagau, when he was 135,<sup>2</sup> begot Serouch, and lived another 207 years up to the 77th year of Nachor.
- 7. Serouch, when he was 130, begot Nachor, and lived another 200 years up to the 51st year of Abraham.
- 8. Nachor, when he was 79, begot Terah, and lived another 119 years up to the 77th year of Abraham.
- 9. Terah, when he was 70, begot Abraham, and lived another 135 years up to the 35th year of Isaac.
- 10. Abraham's first year.

He was the forefather of the Jewish nation. Around his time, Ninos and Semiramis were sovereigns over Assyria and all of Asia.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Eus. 1.41.31-42.33.

<sup>2</sup> Note that both Africanus and Synk. give Rhagau's age as 132.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.20<sup>a</sup>, which dates Abraham's birth in the 43rd year of Ninos' reign.



Total from the Flood to the first year of Abraham	942 years <sup>1</sup>
From Adam to the Flood	2242 years
The sum of these years totals	3184

**FROM EUSEBIOS<sup>2</sup>**

**According to the Hebrew text used by the Jews**

(1) In the second year after the Flood, Noah's son Shem begot Arphaxad and lived another 500 years up to the 50th year of Jacob.

(2) Arphaxad, when he was 35, begot Sala and lived another 403 years up to the 48th year of Isaac.

(3) Sala, when he was 30, begot Heber and lived another 403 years up to the 18th year of Jacob.

(4) Heber, when he was 34, begot Phalek and lived another 430 years up to the 79th year of Jacob.

(5) Phalek, when he was 30, begot Rhagau and lived another 209 years up to the 48th year of Abraham.

(6) Rhagau, when he was 32, begot Serouch and lived another 77 years up to the 78th year of Abraham.

(7) Serouch, when he was 30, begot Nachor and lived another 200 years up to the first year of Isaac.

(8) Nachor, when he was 29, begot Terah and lived another 119 years up to the 49th year of Abraham.

(9) Terah, when he was 70, begot Abraham and lived another 135 years up to the 35th year of Isaac.

(10) Abraham's first year.

Years from the Flood up to the first year of Abraham 292

Total years from Adam 1948

This differs from the Septuagint translation by 1235 years.

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**FROM EUSEBIOS<sup>3</sup>**

**According to the Hebrew text of the Samaritans**

(1) In the second year after the Flood, Noah's son Shem begot Arphaxad, and lived another 500 years up to the 101st year of Phalek.

<sup>1</sup> From Arphaxad to Abraham, the total of the ages of the individual patriarchs when they begot a son actually comes to 943 years. But since Arphaxad was born in the second year after the Flood (2243), the period from the Flood to the first year of Abraham is 942 years.

<sup>2</sup> Eus. I.43.1-25.

<sup>3</sup> Eus. I.43.26-45.28.

(2) Arphaxad, when he was 135, begot Sala, and lived another 303 years up to the 39th year of Phalek.

(3) Sala, when he was 130, begot Heber, and lived another 303 years up to the 39th year of Rhagau.

(4) Heber, when he was 134, begot Phalek, and lived another 270 years up to the 140th year of Rhagau.

(5) Phalek, when he was 130, begot Rhagau, and lived another 109 years up to the 109th year of Rhagau.

(6) Rhagau, when he was 132, begot Serouch, and lived another 207 years up to the 77th year of Nachor.

(7) Serouch, when he was 130, begot Nachor, and lived another 100 years up to the 21st year of Abraham.

(8) Nachor, when he was 79, begot Terah, and he lived another 69 years up until the 69th year of Terah.

(9) Terah, when he was 70, begot Abraham, and lived another 75 years up until the 75th year of Abraham.

(10) Abraham's first year.

Total years from the Flood up to the first year of Abraham 942.

This equals the total according to the Septuagint translation.

100] The Hebrew text of scripture in circulation among the Samaritans agrees, therefore, with what our text assigns to the first set of years before each of them begot a child. But it disagrees with the Hebrew text of the Jews by 650 years. For according to the Jewish text of scripture, there are 292 years from the Flood up to the first year of Abraham.

According to the most ancient Hebrew text, which is to this day still in fact preserved by the Samaritans, there is, then, clear agreement with the Septuagint that the patriarchs from the Flood up to Abraham procreated after the passing of one hundred years plus some additional period of time. By what reasoning, therefore, would one say that their predecessors, even though they lived much longer than their posterity, proceeded with the utmost alacrity to procreate, and not rather according to the years marked down in the Septuagint? On this issue, then, careful reflection suggests this conclusion: there is no choice but to acknowledge that, with the exception of Jared and two generations after him,<sup>1</sup> the text of scripture used by the Jews has erred in its chronology from Adam to Abraham, whereas the Samaritan text is in error only for the years from Adam to the Flood. For the

<sup>1</sup> Text: ἐκτὸς τριῶν περὶ τὸν Ἰάρεδ (lit. 'with the exception of three associated with Jared'). Eusebios has in mind here Jared, Methuselah, and Lamech (excluding Enoch).

years from the Flood up to Abraham are found to be in agreement with the record of years reported in the Septuagint. But it is abundantly clear that the Hebrew text used by the Jews is wrong. For in its chronology, it brings together Noah and Abraham as contemporaries. And there is no historical record to support this.

Indeed, if according to the Jewish text of scripture, it is true that there are 292 years from the Flood to Abraham, and Noah lived another 350 years after the Flood according to them, then the duration of his life manifestly extended up to the 58th year of Abraham. But it is possible to see the absurdity of the Jewish copies in another way: they record that Abraham's predecessors began to beget children when they were 30 years of age, whereas Abraham's successors are consistently reported to have been older than 30 years when they proceeded to the begetting of a child.

There is thus complete confirmation that the Septuagint translation was translated from, so it would seem, an ancient and a strictly accurate Hebrew text of scripture. So for good reason it is this version that we too have used in our own chronography, especially insofar as the Church of Christ diffused over the whole earth is devoted to this version alone, the apostles and disciples of our Saviour having handed down a tradition from of old that it be used.

According to the Septuagint there are, then, 2242 years from Adam to the Flood, and 942 years from the Flood up to the first year of Abraham, making a total of 3184 years. But according to the Hebrew text used by the Jews, there are 1656 years from Adam to the Flood and 292 years from the Flood to the first year of Abraham, making a total of 1948 years. And according to the Hebrew text used by the Samaritans there are 1307 years from Adam to the Flood, and 942 years from the Flood up to the first year of Abraham, making a total of 2249 years.

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### UNIVERSAL YEARS<sup>1</sup>

In AM 2776, the dispersion of the 72 nations occurred. Phalek was five years of age.

In AM 2790, Canaan trespassed upon the borders of Shem, seizing by violence the land that was finally given to Abraham.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> No heading for the 16th generation is given, nor the form of introductory line that is adopted hereafter, which in this case would have read 'The 130 years of Phalek, beginning in 2771'.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Jub.* 10.28-9.

In AM 2807, Arphaxad died.

In AM 2838, in the 67th year of Phalek, Kainan died. The sons of Shem fought with the sons of Ham over the boundaries of Palestine.<sup>1</sup>

In AM 2849, those in dispersion began to build cities.<sup>2</sup>

In AM 2901, Phalek's 130th year, he begot Rhagau.<sup>3</sup>

### Seventeenth generation

The 132 years of Rhagau, beginning in AM 2902.

In AM 3033, Rhagau begot Serouch in his 132nd year.<sup>4</sup>

### Eighteenth generation

The 130 years of Serouch, beginning in AM 3034.

In AM 2776, the Chaldaeans first designated kings for themselves.<sup>5</sup>

The first of these kings, Euechios (we know him as Nimrod), was king of Babylon for

6 $\frac{2}{3}$  years

The second king of the Chaldaeans was Chosmasbelos, who ruled for

7 $\frac{1}{2}$  years<sup>6</sup>

AM 2782

The third king of the Chaldaeans was Poros

35 years

AM 2790

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Jub.* 10.30-3.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Jub.* 11.2.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Gen.* 11.18.

<sup>4</sup> *Gen.* 11.21 (LXX).

<sup>5</sup> For the same list of Chaldaean kings, with slightly variant spellings, see *Xpov. σουτ.* 83.17-29. But according to this latter work, their rule begins in AM 2822 and continues 216 years to AM 3037. To the individual rulers, the chronicle assigns the following years: Nebroth (Nimrod = Euechios): 70 years; Chomasbelos: 15 years; Poros: 20 years; Nechoubes: 25 years; Nablilos: 30 years; Onibalos: 35 years; Zinzeros: 21 years. For discussion, see Gelzer i. 208; ii. 337-8.

<sup>6</sup> Despite his earlier criticism of their method, Synk. is using here the reduced figures of the 'ecclesiastical historians' (namely, his Alexandrian predecessors Panodoros and Annianos). According to Polyhistor's text of Berossos, Euechios reigned for four ners (2400 years) and Chosmasbelos reigned for four ners, five sosses (2700 years); see *Eus.* 1.12.17-20. As Synk. states, Panodoros reduced these years by a factor of 360; see above, pp. 111-12 (= *Moss.* 88.17-24). The years of Euechios and Chomasbelos reflect the result: 2400/360 = 6 $\frac{2}{3}$  years; and 2700/360 = 7 $\frac{1}{2}$  years. For discussion, see Gelzer ii. 201-2.

The fourth king of the Chaldaeans was Nechoubes	43 years AM 2825
The fifth king of the Chaldaeans was Nabios	48 years AM 2868
The sixth king of the Chaldaeans was Oniballos	40 years AM 2916
The seventh king of the Chaldaeans was Zinzeros	45 years AM 2956

Up to him, the rule of the seven Chaldaean kings extended 225 years after the dispersion, from AM 2776 up to 3000. From AM 3001, Arabs succeeded to the Chaldaean throne, six kings ruling for 215 years up until AM 3215. Their chronology is given below.

In AM 2776, the first settler<sup>1</sup> inhabited the land of Mestraia (that is, Egypt), and reigned over it for 35 years.

### The years of the kings of Egypt, anciently known as Mestraia<sup>2</sup>

1. The first king was Mestraïm, also known as Menes	35 years
2. The second king of the Egyptians was Kourodes	63 years AM 2811
3. The third king of the Egyptians was Aristarchos	34 years AM 2874
4. The fourth king of the Egyptians was Spanios	36 years AM 2908
5, 6. For the fifth and sixth kings, both unrecorded	72 years AM 2944
7. The seventh king of the Egyptians was Serapis	23 years AM 3016
8. The eighth king of the Egyptians was Sesonchosis	49 years AM 3039
9. The ninth king of the Egyptians was Amenemes	29 years AM 3088

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<sup>1</sup> Referring to Mestraïm.

<sup>2</sup> Ps.-Manetho, *FGrH* 609 F 28. Most modern editors of Manetho assign this list of Egyptian kings to the pseudonymous *Book of Sothis*. But if they are right, the form in which the work survives in Synk. does not conform very well with his previous description of the *Book of Sothis*. The list contains only one reference to a Sothic cycle; see p. 146 (= Moss. 118.2–5). According to Synk., the *Book of Sothis* consisted of 30 dynasties of Egyptian rulers, divided into the reigns of 'gods, demigods, spirits of the dead, and mortals' (p. 55 = Moss. 41.20–2). But what appears in Synk. is mainly a running list of 86 kings scattered throughout the chronicle, containing only occasional references to dynastic divisions.

### KINGS OF THE THEBANS<sup>1</sup>

The chronicler Apollodoros recorded another dynasty of 38 Egyptian kings, the Thebans, as they are called, who ruled for 1076 years. This dynasty commenced in AM 2900, and came to an end in AM 3045.<sup>2</sup> The knowledge of these kings, he says, Eratosthenes received from Egyptian records and registers and at royal request he translated them into the Greek language, as follows:

#### The reigns of the 38 kings of the Thebans, 124<sup>3</sup> years after the dispersion

1. Menes, the Theban of This, whose name means 'eternal', was king; he was king for 62 years  
AM 2900
2. The second king of the Thebans was Athothes, the son of Menes 59 years  
His name means 'born from Hermes'. AM 2962
3. The third king of the Thebans in Egypt had the same name Athothes 32 years  
AM 3021

### KINGS OF THE ARABS<sup>4</sup>

A series of Arab kings after the six Chaldaean kings.

1. Their first king, Mardokentes, reigned for 45 years  
AM 3001

<sup>1</sup> Ps.-Apollodoros, *FGrH* 244 F 85 = Ps.-Eratosthenes, *FGrH* 241 F 48. Apollodoros was a Greek chronographer of the second century BC, who used Eratosthenes extensively as an authority. For discussion of this list of Theban kings, see Jacoby, *Apollodors Chronik*, 399-401; E. Schwartz, 'Apollodoros', 245, 2859-60. Neither Apollodoros' nor Eratosthenes' chronicle was known to extend before the Trojan War. For that reason, the list of Theban kings found here is considered pseudonymous. The same observation applies to much of the other archaic chronological material in Synk. attributed by him to these two chroniclers.

<sup>2</sup> Later Synk. gives the date AM 3975; see p. 212 (= Moss. 172.18).

<sup>3</sup> Text:  $\rho\kappa\delta'$ . AB:  $\alpha\rho\kappa\delta'$  ('1124'). Mosshammer emends to 124, based on the number given below (p. 212 = Moss. 172.17). AM 2900 (according to this list the beginning of Menes' rule) is 124 years after the dispersion in AM 2776.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *Xpov. συγγ.* 83.30-40: (1) Mardokeparos, 45 years; (2) Unnamed, 23 years; (3) Unnamed, 40 years; (4) Parenos, 37 years; (5) Osirmordakos, 30 years; (6) Nabonabos, 25 years. According to this chronicle, their rule extended from AM 3038 to AM 3238.

- |   |                                  |      |
|---|----------------------------------|------|
| 2. The second king of the Arabs was Mardakos    | 40 years<br>AM 3041 <sup>1</sup> |      |
| 3. The third king of the Arabs was Sisimordakos | 28 years<br>AM 3086              |      |
| 4. The fourth king of the Arabs was Nabios      | 37 years<br>AM 3114              | [104 |
| 5. The fifth king of the Arabs was Parannos     | 40 years<br>AM 3151              |      |
| 6. The sixth king of the Arabs was Nabounnabos  | 25 years<br>AM 3191              |      |

Succeeding the kingdom of the Chaldaeans, the kingdom of the Arabs lasted for 215 years, beginning in AM 3001 and extending up to this point in our chronicle, AM 3215. Succeeding this kingdom were 41 Assyrian kings, who began their rule in AM 3216 and continued up to AM 4675, spanning altogether 1460 years from their first king Belos up to the 41st king Konkoleros, also known as Sardanapalos. This is attested by many illustrious historians: Polybios, Diodoros, Kephalion, Kastor, Thallos, and others.

**UNIVERSAL YEARS**  
**Nineteenth generation**

79 years of Nachor, beginning in AM 3164.

Eusebios states that Abraham was born in AM 3184.<sup>2</sup> But Eusebios errs in his dating from Adam to Abraham, since he did not count the 130 years of the second Kainan, the son of Arphaxad, whom the Septuagint and the Gospel according to Luke number as the thirteenth from Adam.

Africanus reckoned 3202 years from Adam up to the first year of Abraham. But he too is mistaken by omitting the same 130 years of the second Kainan son of Arphaxad. For if one subtracts 20 additional years that he assigns to Methuselah, he also dates it, much like Eusebios, in AM 3184.<sup>3</sup>

In his 79th year, Nachor begot Terah.

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**Twentieth generation**

The 70 years of Terah, beginning in AM 3243.

<sup>1</sup> Since Mardokentes reigned for 45 years, the date should be 3046.

<sup>2</sup> Eus. 1.42.32-3.

<sup>3</sup> Text: τῷ γρηδ' ἔτει τοῦ κόσμου (deleted by Go. and Di.). Subtracting 20 years from 3202 yields 3182, not 3184, years. Synk. himself states that Africanus' date after the subtraction of 20 years is very similar to, but not identical with, Eusebios' date of 3184.

### According to Africanus<sup>1</sup>

In AM 3277, Abraham went up to the promised land of Canaan (this dating cannot possibly be correct).<sup>2</sup>

In AM 3312, the 70th year in the life of Abraham's father Terah, Terah begot Abraham, as scripture states. 75 years later, that is 145 years after the birth of Terah, in AM 3387, Abraham departed from Charran, in his 75th year, as scripture again states: 'Abraham was 75 years of age when he departed from Charran.'<sup>3</sup> So if Abraham was born in the 70th year of Terah, which as has been stated above, was in AM 3312, and in the 75th year after his birth he went forth from Charran by a divine call, it is clear that he departed from Charran in the 145th year of Terah, which adds up to the 3387th year from Adam.<sup>4</sup> Now the text of scripture is most certainly not asserting here that after the death of Terah the patriarch Abraham went out from Charran, even if it puts the account of Terah's death first, and then appends the verse about Abraham's departure. For to the extent that both this passage and Moses the beholder of God are clumsy in treating the sequence of events (as He who had divinely communicated with Moses knew), to the same extent it expresses a wisdom that is superior to that conveyed in human speech.<sup>5</sup>

For if we start prying into this matter, scripture will be found in many places to be in error by transposing narrative, putting the first things last and the last things first. For example, in the blessings of Noah's three sons, the text begins with his middle son Japhet; then after inserting Ham, who was the last son, it proceeds to the first

<sup>1</sup> Routh, fr. 9.

<sup>2</sup> The parenthetical remark comes from Synk. himself.

<sup>3</sup> Gen. 12.4.

<sup>4</sup> This is a famous *aporia* in Jewish and Christian chronography. According to Gen. 11.26, Terah was 70 years old at the time of Abraham's birth. Since Abraham was 75 years of age when he left Haran (Gen. 12.4), Terah could not have been older than 145 years at the time of Abraham's departure. But this would contradict Gen. 11.32, which, before Abraham's migration, records Terah's death in Haran at age 205 (cf. the Samaritan Pentateuch at this verse, which solves the problem by giving Terah's age as 145 instead of 205). For a detailed discussion of the problem, with certain similarities to Synk.'s, see Aug. *Civ. dei* 16.14-15.

<sup>5</sup> Synk. argues here that although the death of Terah preceded Abraham's migration from Haran in the narrative sequence of Genesis, it was not chronologically earlier. The discussion that follows is largely devoted to proving this thesis.



son Shem.<sup>1</sup> And again, before discussing the confusion of languages and the building of the tower (at which time, properly speaking, Babylon, as a result of the confusion, received its name) it says about Nimrod: 'the beginning of his reign was Babylon'.<sup>2</sup> And in other passages you will find scripture using many more transpositions and at no point being wrong in doing so.

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Now there are some who pose this as a problem for us, namely that the divine Luke, quoting from the first martyr Stephen in his speech to the Jews, says:

The God of glory appeared to our father Abraham when he was in Mesopotamia before he settled in Charran, and he said to him: 'Go forth from your land and from your kin and hither to the land that I will show to you.' And then going out from the land of the Chaldaeans he settled in Charran. And from there, after his father died, God settled him in this land, in which you now reside.<sup>3</sup>

They say that, according to this passage, one of two conclusions is necessary. Either (1) Abraham was, according to divine Moses, born in the 70th year of Terah, so that at his death he was 135 before the journey to Canaan; or (2) when, in his 75th year (according to scripture) and after the death of Terah, he ventured forth from Charran to the land of Canaan (this, according to the inerrant book of Acts and the speech of Stephen, the great first martyr and apostle), he was not 75 years old; rather he was 135 years of age, if

<sup>1</sup> In some verses of Genesis (Gen. 5.29; 9.18), Shem is named first, implying that he was the first-born. Gen. 9.24 also states that Ham was Noah's youngest son; but cf. the Septuagint text ad loc., which calls Ham the younger (*νεώτερος*) son. On the other hand, the fact that Gen. 10.1-31 names Japhet's and Ham's offspring before giving the names of Shem's descendants was understood by some interpreters to mean that Shem was the youngest son; see Philo, *Quest. and Answers on Gen.* 2.79, which contests this interpretation. Adding to the confusion is the statement in the Septuagint version of Gen. 10.21 (against the Hebrew text) that Japhet was the elder brother of Shem. The symbolic meaning of the ordering of the three sons of Noah in Genesis was a subject of some interest to Christian commentators; see Aug. *Civ dei* 16.11; Joh. Chrysost. *Homilies on Genesis* 29.5 (PG 53.268-9); Theodoret, *Quaest. Gen.* 111 (ed. Marcos and Sáenz-Badillos, 91.14-17). For the opinions of other sources about the relative ages of Noah's sons, see Ginzberg, *Legends*, v. 179-80 n. 30.

<sup>2</sup> Gen. 10.10.

<sup>3</sup> Acts 7.2-4. For Synk. the statement in Acts that 'after his father died, God settled him in this land' is a problem, because it weakens his claim that Terah's death at age 205 could not have preceded Abraham's departure from Haran.

Terah did in fact die when he was 205 years of age.<sup>1</sup> And in either way, either Genesis or Acts is wrong, as they claim. Now they also propose a solution to the problem, one that is neither truthful nor persuasive: namely, that for the sake of conciseness and not accuracy, it is said by scripture that Abraham and Nachor and Arran were born in the 70th year of Terah, meaning that at that time Terah **began** to have children (since we know that these three were not triplets).<sup>2</sup>

And they have, so they think, good grounds in identifying this as a problem. But their solution is itself problematic and at variance with what is 'necessary' and 'possible' in logical demonstration.<sup>3</sup> What is 'necessary' is: (1) both passages in divine scriptures must be truthful, since they are divinely inspired; and (2) they both must agree that the patriarch Abraham was born in the 70th year of Terah and he was 75 when he journeyed from Charran to the land of Canaan—this is both necessary and assured. Now what is 'necessary' also embraces what is 'possible'. Therefore, for the period after Terah's death, it is clearly 'possible' that this condition holds<sup>4</sup> if one is willing to seek out scripture's intent in this passage and considers that, before his natural death, Terah experienced the death of his soul. This was because, as a maker of idols, he was fixated on idolatry and greed and instead of journeying forth as Abraham's companion, he went out for that reason, as it is written: 'and Terah took

<sup>1</sup> Gelzer (ii. 187 n. 1) correctly saw the difficulties in the preserved text, and suggested the following two-fold rearrangement: 'Either (1) Abraham was, according to divine Moses, born in the 70th year of Terah, so that at his death he was 135 before the journey to Canaan, **if Terah did in fact die when he was 205 years of age**; or (2) when, in his 75th year (according to scripture) and after the death of Terah, he ventured forth from Charran to the land of Canaan (this, according to the inerrant book of Acts and the speech of Stephen, the great first martyr and apostle), **he was not 135 years old; rather he was 75 years of age.**'

<sup>2</sup> If Terah was 70 at the time of Abraham's birth and 205 when he died, Abraham was 135 years at the time of Terah's death. If, therefore, Terah died before Abraham left Haran, Genesis was incorrect in stating that Abraham was 75 at the time of his migration. If, on the other hand, Terah was still alive, then Acts was wrong in stating that Abraham migrated from Haran after his father died. The only way to avoid either of these unacceptable alternatives is to assume that Terah was older than 70 when he begot Abraham. For a defence of this explanation (rejected by Synk.), see Aug. *Quaest. Hept.* 25.2.

<sup>3</sup> See Intro., p. xlix.

<sup>4</sup> Text: οὕτως ἔχει ἐνδέχεται. Synk. seems to be referring here to the two provisions stipulated in the preceding section of this paragraph.

Abraham and Nachor and Lot and Sarah and led them out from the region of the Chaldaeans to go forth to the land of the Canaanites. And he came as far as Charran and settled there.<sup>1</sup> But after changing his mind he stayed in Charran, a city given over to idols, up until the 205th year of his life, in which year he also died. [107]

Notice at this point there is a rather abrupt break in scripture, which joins together the narrative about Terah before Abraham's journey to the land of Canaan with its narrative after the journey (the latter narrative encompassed, as we are showing, the period from the 140th<sup>2</sup> year up until Terah's 205th year, the year of his death). Indeed, it says that 'all the days of Terah in Charran were 205 years and Terah died in Charran',<sup>3</sup> instead of saying, 'they remained there until death'. Now it is certainly **not** the case that the entire 205 years of his life were spent in Charran. Then scripture adds 'and the Lord said to Abraham: "Go out from your land"' and so forth, specifying further that he was 75 years of age when Abraham went out from Charran;<sup>4</sup> and he was born in the 70th year of Terah. The sum of these years means that Terah was in the 145th year of his life when he arrived in Charran in the land of the Chaldaeans.<sup>5</sup>

But it is not only this passage that demonstrates for us that before the death of Terah God told Abraham to go out from his land; this is also seen from what was said by the first martyr, namely that **before** he settled in Charran, God appeared to him in Mesopotamia, that is in the land of the Chaldaeans.<sup>6</sup> Therefore, the correct inference will be that it was not after the death of Terah that God divinely spoke with Abraham; rather this occurred while he was still in his native land, dedicating himself to God and turning away from the idols of his father, as has been reported in many places. He

<sup>1</sup> Gen. 11.31. Here Synk. suggests that it was in the pursuit of his livelihood and not because of a divine call that Terah left Ur.

<sup>2</sup> Text: ρμ'. Go.: ρμε' ('145'), since Terah was 145 years of age when Abraham departed from Charran to Canaan.

<sup>3</sup> Gen. 11.32.

<sup>4</sup> Gen. 11.12.

<sup>5</sup> Synk. argues here that, for the purposes of narrative structure, Gen. 11 combines details about Terah's life in Haran that chronologically both preceded and followed the account of Abraham's migration in Gen. 12.

<sup>6</sup> In order to confirm his claim that the events recounted in Gen. 12.1-4 chronologically preceded the narration of Terah's death in Gen. 11.32, Synk. now argues that the divine call recorded in Gen. 12.1-3 actually occurred before Abraham settled in Haran. As proof, he cites the previously mentioned passage from Acts (7.2-4), as well as a well-known Jewish legend about Abraham's destruction of the idols in Ur.

set fire to these idols at night, so it is said, and Arran his brother was consumed with them, in his desire to extinguish the fire in the presence of Terah, as it is said;<sup>1</sup> and scripture also hints at this saying: 'and Arran died in the presence of his father Terah in the land in which he was born, in the land of the Chaldaeans', in the city of Sour.<sup>2</sup> Therefore, from all these things it is demonstrated that as Terah went forth, the rest of his family, recipients with Abraham of the promise, also journeyed together with him to the land of Canaan, just as scripture states, especially if we suppose that the patriarch Abraham was encouraging them. But when they arrived in Charran, which is idolatrous even to this day, they settled there because of greed and a depraved obsession with idols. Thus  
 108] Abraham saw that they had died in their soul and, instead of wanting to share with him in the divine promises, were faithless to God. So after the death of the father, namely a death of his soul, he was resettled by God in the land of the promise. In this way also our Lord knows that those who do not believe in him are dead, even if they live a temporary life, as he says in one place, 'Let the dead bury their own dead.'<sup>3</sup>

And to the best of our ability, we have conceived this solution to the problem at hand, in order that the book of Genesis and the book of Acts might be in agreement, since both have been dictated by the same Holy Spirit and one is in no way different from the other regarding the truth. But if someone is inclined to discover some

<sup>1</sup> See *Jub.* 12.12-14. Synk. himself attributes the tradition to Josephos; see below, p. 138 (= Moss. 111.113-17).

<sup>2</sup> See *Gen.* 11.28.

<sup>3</sup> *Matt.* 8.22. For a strikingly similar rabbinic interpretation of *Gen.* 11.32 ascribed to R. Isaac, see *Gen. Rab.* 39.7, where the same explanation serves both to solve the chronological problem and relieve Abraham of the charge of abandoning his father in Haran when Terah was still alive: 'As to the chronology involved, another 65 years are needed. But to begin with you must interpret the passage to indicate that wicked people are called dead while they are yet alive. For Abraham was concerned, reckoning, "If I leave, through me people will execrate the Name of heaven, saying, 'He abandoned his father in his old age and went away.'" The Holy One, blessed be He, said to him, "You in particular I shall free from the responsibility of paying honor to your father and mother, but I shall never free anyone else from the responsibility of paying honor to his father and his mother. And not only so, but [in order to do so] I shall move up his death to before your departure." Accordingly first comes: "And Terah died in Haran." Then: "And the Lord said to Abram, 'Go [from your father's house to the land that I will show you]'"' (tr. J. Neusner).

other more consistent interpretation to solve the present problem, we too accept it, prepared to concur for the sake of its value.

### KINGS OF THE EGYPTIANS<sup>1</sup>

- |   |          |         |
|---|----------|---------|
| 10. The tenth king of the Egyptians was Amasis        | 2 years  |         |
|   |          | AM 3117 |
| 11. The eleventh king of the Egyptians was Akeseptres | 13 years |         |
|   |          | AM 3119 |
| 12. The twelfth king of the Egyptians was Anchoreus   | 9 years  |         |
|   |          | AM 3132 |
| 13. The thirteenth king of the Egyptians was Armiyses | 4 years  |         |
|   |          | AM 3141 |
| 14. The fourteenth king of the Egyptians was Chamoïs  | 12 years |         |
|   |          | AM 3145 |
| 15. The fifteenth king of the Egyptians was Miamous   | 14 years |         |
|   |          | AM 3157 |
| 16. The sixteenth king of the Egyptians was Amesesis  | 65 years |         |
|   |          | AM 3171 |
| 17. The seventeenth king of the Egyptians was Ouses   | 50 years |         |
|   |          | AM 3236 |
| 18. The eighteenth king of the Egyptians was Rhameses | 29 years |         |
|   |          | AM 3286 |

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### KINGS OF THE THEBANS<sup>2</sup>

- |  |          |         |
|--|----------|---------|
| 4. The fourth king of the Thebans was Diabiës, <sup>3</sup> son of Athothes                          | 19 years |         |
| His name means 'friend of comrades'. <sup>4</sup>  |          | AM 3053 |
| 5. The fifth king of the Thebans was Pemphos, son of Athothes; his name is 'descendant of Herakles'. | 18 years |         |
|  |          | AM 3072 |
| 6. The sixth king of the Thebans in Egypt was Momcheiri the Memphite                                 | 79 years |         |

<sup>1</sup> Ps.-Manetho, continued from p. 127 (= Moss. 103.4).

<sup>2</sup> Ps.-Apollodoros, continued from p. 128 (= Moss. 103.6-18).

<sup>3</sup> Text: *Διαβιής*. Waddell: *Μιαβιής*.

<sup>4</sup> Text: *φιλέταιρος*. Waddell (following Bunsen): *φιλόταυρος* ('bull-lover').

His name means 'exceedingly large limbs of the man';<sup>1</sup> he was therefore irresistible.<sup>2</sup>

AM 3090

7. The seventh king of the Thebans in Egypt was his son Stoichos; his name is 'Ares the unfeeling'.

6 years

AM 3169

8. The eighth king of the Thebans in Egypt was Gosormiës; his name is †'all-demanding'.†

30 years

AM 3175

9. The ninth king of Thebes in Egypt was his son Mares; his name is 'gift of the sun'.

26 years

AM 3205

### KINGS OF THE ASSYRIANS<sup>3</sup>

(1) The first king of the Assyrians was Belos

55 years

AM 3216

(2) The second king of the Assyrians was Ninus

52 years

AM 3271

(3) The third ruler of the Assyrians was Semiramis

42 years

AM 3323

(4) The fourth king of the Assyrians was Ninyas, also known as Zames, the son of Ninus and Semiramis

38 years

AM 3365

### Kings of the Sikyonians: how and whence they began

The ancient histories of the Greeks all circulate in conflicting forms among those historians who have compiled them. But this is especially true for the records before the 1st Olympiad. Of them, the first and oldest on record is the kingdom of the Sikyonians. Aigialeus was its first leader, and it was after him that the region, now called the Peloponnese, was formerly called Aigialeia.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Text: τῆς ἀνδρὸς περισσομελής, the meaning of which is obscure. Waddell (following Bunsen): ἡγήσανδρος· περισσομελής ('His name means "leader of men". He had exceedingly large limbs.').

<sup>2</sup> Text: τοιγαράμαχος (= B); A: τοιγὰρ ἄμαχος. The words, probably a textual gloss referring to his large limbs, are found in the manuscript witnesses before 'Momcheiri'.

<sup>3</sup> For the same list of early Assyrian kings, see Elias Nis. 1.15.9–12 (citing Annius = Annianos). Cf. also Eus. 1.30.29–35 (based on Kephalion, Kastor, and Diodoros), whose chronology varies slightly from that of Synk. and Elias.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Dexipp. *FGrH* 100 F 1; Paus. 2.5.6; Eus. 1.80.20–5; 80.25–6.

### **The kings of the Sikyonians (967 years) and the six priests**

In AM 3239, the 76th year of Nachor, the kingdom of the Sikyonians began, extending for 967 years from the first king Aigialeus up to the twenty-sixth king Zeuxippos. The next to rule were six priests for thirty-three years.<sup>1</sup> The total number of years of the kingdom of the Sikyonians was 1000, according to what Apollodoros and others, including Eusebios, have written.<sup>2</sup> Its duration, then, is from AM 3239 up to 4238, as is indicated below.

### **From Kastor concerning the kingdom of the Sikyonians<sup>3</sup>**

We also set out the kings of Sikyon, commencing with Aigialeus, their first king, and ending with Zeuxippos. These kings held power for a period of 959 years. After the kings, the six priests of Karnios were appointed. These carried out their priestly office for thirty-three years. After them, Charidemos was installed as priest; when he could not meet the expense, he fled.

Of all the Greeks, the Sikyonians and the kings who governed Sikyon are chronologically the oldest on record. Aigialeus, their first ruler, was a contemporary of Belos and Ninos, who are remembered as the first kings of Asia. It was from him that what is now the Peloponnese was formerly called Aigialeia. (Our precise reasoning shows that he was contemporary with Nachor and Terah, the father of Abraham.)<sup>4</sup>

The first king of the Sikyonians was Aigialeus      52 years  
AM 3239

The Sikyonians are named after Sikyon, the first city in the Peloponnese.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See below, p. 219 (= Moss. 177.20–178.3).

<sup>2</sup> Ps.-Apollodoros, *FGrH* 244 F 86. Cf. Eus. 1.82.32–4; 83.9, which assigns 998 years to the rule of the Sikyonian kings and priests (959 years for the Sikyonian kings, leaving 39 years for the seven priests who succeeded them). See Gelzer ii. 63–4.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Eus. 1.81.15–23; 80.20–5.

<sup>4</sup> The parenthetical statement is probably an observation by Synk.

<sup>5</sup> Synk. continues his list of Sikyonian kings at intervals below; see below, pp. 144, 148, 157, 179, 212, 219 (= Moss. 116.7–16; 119.13–24; 125.24–30; 143.21–144.3; 172.23–173.10; 177.20–178.3).

**UNIVERSAL YEARS**  
**Twenty-first generation**

The 100 years of Abraham, starting from AM 3313.

111] Abraham, a Chaldaean by race, spent his very early years among the Chaldaeans, and was versed in their astronomical learning and the rest of their wisdom.<sup>1</sup> But as one beloved of God, he did not allow his mind to dwell on the created order. Rather, he ascended in his mind from the beauty of the created order to the Creator and was deemed worthy of divine illumination while he was still residing in his native land. This is what the first martyr states in Acts, just as we have indicated above.<sup>2</sup>

Notice that the Chaldaeans are descended from Shem, and it is from them that Abraham is descended.

The *Little Genesis* states that the maternal grandfather of Abraham was named Abraham, and Sarah his sister had the same father as Abraham.<sup>3</sup>

Abraham was the first to proclaim as creator the God of the universe.<sup>4</sup>

Abraham was the first to surround the altar with olive and palm branches.<sup>5</sup>

In the time of Abraham, an angel is first named in the divine scripture.<sup>6</sup>

From him, Egyptians learned the placement and movement of the stars and the knowledge of arithmetic.<sup>7</sup>

In his 14th year, Abraham came to know and worship the God of the universe. After destroying the idols of his father, he burned them along with their house. And Arran, Abraham's brother, was consumed in the fire along with them, when he was hastening to extinguish the fire. Abraham also began strongly to urge his father to abandon idolatry and the manufacture of idols, as Josephos says.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Jub.* 11.16–18.

<sup>2</sup> Acts 7.2. See above, p. 131 (= Moss. 106.2–8).

<sup>3</sup> *Jub.* 11.14; 12.9.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *Jos. Ant.* 1.155.

<sup>5</sup> *Jub.* 16.31.

<sup>6</sup> Gen. 16.7.

<sup>7</sup> *Jos. Ant.* 1.167; see also Eus. *PE* 9.17.8 (quoting Ps.-Eupolemos) and 9.18.1 (quoting Artapanos); Ps.-Eustath. *Comm. Hexaem.* (PG 18.761 B); Georg. Mon. i. 40.11–13; 95.14.

<sup>8</sup> *Jub.* 11.16–18; 12.12–14; 12.1–5. For *Jubilees* material attributed by Synk. to Josephos, see Intro. p. liv. For similar traditions about Abraham and the burning of the idols, see Joh. Mal. 57.1–9 (falsely attributed to Eusebios); Georg. Mon. i. 93.16–94.16; Leo Gramm. 19.11–22.



In these times, Melchisedek was flourishing, who divine scripture declares was the first high priest and the first king of Salem. It is reported in the scriptural verses that he is unmarried and without genealogy, and with bread and wine prefigures the bloodless offering of Christ the true God and our Saviour, who is without a heavenly mother and an earthly father.<sup>1</sup> By blessing Abraham through this offering, he made known our worship through spirit and truth, which is more valid than the worship of God through Law. And he alone among men was revealed as superior to Abraham, since it is indeed beyond question that, according to the divine apostle and the truth, the lesser receives a blessing from and pays a tithe to the greater.<sup>2</sup>

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### The beginning of the forty-first Jubilee among the Hebrews

Among them, a Jubilee is a fifty-year period. Therefore, from Adam up to the 45th year of Abraham, there are according to them 2050 years.

The angel speaking to Moses said to him, 'I have taught Abraham the Hebrew tongue as it was customarily spoken by all the forefathers from the beginning of creation', according to *Little Genesis*.<sup>3</sup>

In AM 3373, Abraham, at the age of 61, burnt the idols of his father. In his desire to extinguish the fire, Arran was consumed with them at night, and Terah went out with Abraham in order to go to the land of Canaan.<sup>4</sup> After changing his mind, he settled in Charran, sunk in idolatry until his death.

<sup>1</sup> Gen. 14.18–20.

<sup>2</sup> Heb. 7.1–10.

<sup>3</sup> *Jub.* 12.25–6.

<sup>4</sup> *Jub.* 12.12–15. According to *Jubilees*, Abraham was 60, not 61, years of age when he set fire to the idols in Ur. Certain Christian interpreters used *Jubilees'* information about Abraham's age to solve the chronological problem of Abraham's migration discussed previously by Synk. See e.g. an anonymous author cited in a catena on Gen. 11.28: 'Abraham was 60 years of age at the time when he set fire to the idols. These years are not numbered in the years of his life, because up to that time he was lacking in faith, just as it is written in *Jubilees'* (in Petit, *La Chaîne*, ii. 218 [no. 867]). This exclusion of 60 years is intended to explain the discrepancy between Gen. 11.32 and 12.4. The subtraction of 60 years would mean that Abraham was 75 (not 135) years of age at the time of the death of his father Terah and his subsequent migration. It is notable that, although Synk. also knows the *Jubilees* story of Abraham's burning of the idols, he offers a different solution to the chronological problems associated with Abraham's migration; see above, pp. 130–5 (= Moss. 105.6–108.11).

In AM 3387, the 75th year of Abraham, he went out from Charran in accordance with a divine oracle, and he came to Shechem, and established an altar between Bethel and Aggai<sup>1</sup> in his 76th year.

In AM 3393, the 81st year of Abraham, he went down to Egypt with Sarah in the seventh year of his sojourn, according to some.<sup>2</sup>

### From Africanus concerning Abraham<sup>3</sup>

From this originates the appellation of the Hebrews. For 'Hebrews' interpreted means 'crossers', when Abraham crossed the Euphrates, and not, as some believe, from the previously mentioned Heber.<sup>4</sup> Therefore, from the Flood and Noah up to Abraham's entrance into the promised land, there is a total of 1015 years in 10 generations, but from Adam there are 3277 years in 20 generations.

113] Compared with the accurate chronology presented here, Africanus' chronology is lacking 110 of the 130 years of the second Kainan. The remaining 20 of these 130 years were previously offset by the lengthened period of time represented by the 2262 years from Adam up to the Flood; these 20 years were added on to the years of Methuselah.<sup>5</sup>

Eusebios numbers 430 years from the 75th year of Abraham (that is from the first year of his sojourn in the land of Canaan) up to the 81st year of Moses and the Exodus of Israel from Egypt.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Gen. 12.4-9.

<sup>2</sup> Gen. 12.10; *Jub.* 13.10-11.

<sup>3</sup> Routh, fr. 9.

<sup>4</sup> For the derivation of the name 'Hebrew' from Abraham, the 'crosser' of the Euphrates, see Gen. 14.13. At this verse, the Septuagint renders העברי אברם ('Abram the Hebrew') as *Ἀβραμ τῷ περάτῃ* ('Abram the crosser'); contrast Symmachos' rendering *Ἑβραῖος*. This interpretation is already found in Philo, *Migr. Abr.* 20: Abraham was 'a member of the Hebrew race, . . . for the "Hebrew" means "crosser" (*περάτης*)'; see also *Gen. Rab.* 42.8. For other Christian sources who report the same interpretation, see Origen, *Selecta in Genesim* (PG 12.113 A); Theodoret. *Quaest. Gen.* 62. For the opposing view tracing the name Hebrew to Heber, see *Jos. Ant.* 1.146; *Theoph. Ant.* 3.24; *Aug. Civ. dei* 16.3, 11. *Eus. PE* 7.6.2; 7.8.20; 10.14.2; 11.6.39 conflates both interpretations. Byzantine and Syriac chronographers also know both traditions; see *Georg. Mon.* i. 52.13-54.2; *Leo Gramm.* 13.4-16; *Mich. Syr.* 2.3; *Bar Hebr.* 8.

<sup>5</sup> See above, p. 27 (= *Moss.* 20.7-13).

<sup>6</sup> *Eus.* 1.46.1-3; 2.43<sup>b</sup>.

The book of Genesis appends the divine oracle concerning this after the return from Egypt and the war with the kings and the blessings of Melchisedek,<sup>1</sup> as anyone who is interested can discern by a close reading. Abraham was 86 years old when Hagar gave birth to his child Ishmael, as it is written in the book of Genesis.<sup>2</sup> This was AM 3398.

From him is descended the race of the Ishmaelites, that is the Hagarenes. They are also known as Saracens, adopting this name for themselves from Sarah, as some say, because they consider it discreditable to bear the servile name of Hagarenes.<sup>3</sup> But others say that the Ishmaelites are called Saracens because Sarah sent out Hagar deprived of an inheritance.<sup>4</sup>

On behalf of his nephew Lot, Abraham entreated that the righteous should not perish with the wicked.<sup>5</sup>

Lot escaped death when he and his wife and daughters were sent away to Segor. Only his wife turned around and as a result was frozen into an indissoluble pillar of salt;<sup>6</sup> in the pursuit of knowledge, many even to this day come to look at it.<sup>7</sup> The city of Segor survived because of Lot, although its citizens perished, so it is said, and the marsh, along with the land, was overturned.<sup>8</sup>

Abraham settled in Gerara, which some, including Africanus, say is Askalon. After the death of Sarah, Abraham, now an old man, took Chettoura as a wife. From her he had five sons: Zembriam, Jexan, Madam, Madiam, and Jesbok.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Gen. 15.1.

<sup>2</sup> Gen. 16.16.

<sup>3</sup> See Jerome, *Comm. Hiezech.* 8.25.1-7: the Ishmaelites and Hagarenes are 'now called Saracens, falsely taking for themselves the name of Sarah, whence, that is, they might appear to have been descended from a freeborn mistress'.

<sup>4</sup> According to this etymology, the Greek word for 'deprived' (*κενός*) combined with 'Sarah', produces 'Saracen'. See Joh. Dam. *De haeres.* 101 (PG 94.764 A): 'They call them Saracens, since they were left deprived by Sarah, because it was said by Hagar to the angel, "Sarah has sent me away deprived (*Σάρρα κενήν με απέλυσεν*)."'

<sup>5</sup> Gen. 18.16-33.

<sup>6</sup> Gen. 19.24-6.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Jos. *Ant.* 1.203: 'I have seen this pillar, which remains to this day.'

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Gen. 19.22-3.

<sup>9</sup> Gen. 25.2. See also Kedr. i. 51.1-4.

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**From Africanus<sup>1</sup>**

When a famine gripped the land of Canaan, Abraham went down to Egypt. Fearing that he might be killed on account of the beauty of his wife, he made a plan to pretend to be her brother. And Pharaoh (for this is the name that Egyptians use to mean 'kings') took her to himself when she was commended to him. And whereas he was punished by God, Abraham, now enriched, departed with his household.<sup>2</sup>

In Canaan, the shepherds of Abraham and Lot were in dispute, and by mutual consent they separated. Lot chose to live in Sodom because of the fertility and beauty of the land; it had five cities, Sodom, Gomorrah, Adama, Seboeim, and Segor, and as many kings. The four neighbouring kings of the Syrians made war with them, led by Chodollagomor king of Ailam. They met by the Salt Sea, which is now called the Dead Sea.<sup>3</sup> In this sea, I have witnessed a great many marvellous things. For that body of water sustains no living thing. Corpses are carried beneath its depths, but the living would not easily even dip under it. Lighted torches are borne upon it, but when they are extinguished they sink.

In that place are the springs of bitumen; and it produces alum and salt, somewhat different from other kinds in that they are bitter and translucent. And wherever you can find fruit, it turns out rather to consist of the most foul smoke. But the water is medicinal for those who use it. And it drains in a way different from all other water. For if it did not have the Jordan River as nourishment flowing through it like purple dye and holding out for a long time, it would have drained more quickly than it fills. And there is by it a very large crop of balsam. And it is believed that the sea was made sterile by God because of the impiety of the neighbouring peoples.<sup>4</sup>

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In the 100th year of his life, Abraham begot Isaac.<sup>5</sup> AM 3412

Abraham lived a total of 175 years. And 'he breathed his last and died', as scripture says, 'at a good old age, when he was an old man and full of days. His sons Isaac and Ishmael buried him in the

<sup>1</sup> Routh, fr. 13. See also Kedr. i. 51.5-23.

<sup>2</sup> Gen. 12.10-20.

<sup>3</sup> Gen. 14.1-3.

<sup>4</sup> For similar descriptions of the properties of the Dead Sea, see Ps.-Eustath. *Comm. Hexaem.* (PG 18.761 CD); Diod. Sic. 2.48.6-9; Tac. *Hist.* 5.6.2-4.

<sup>5</sup> Gen. 21.5.

double cave in the field of Ephron of Saar the Hittite, which is located opposite Mambre, the field and the cave that Abraham bought from the sons of Chet. There they buried Abraham and Sarah his wife.<sup>1</sup>

### KINGS OF THE EGYPTIANS<sup>2</sup>

- (19) The nineteenth king of Egypt was Rhamessomenes  
15 years  
AM 3315
- (20) The twentieth king of Egypt was Ousimares  
31 years  
AM 3330
- (21) The twenty-first king of Egypt was Rhamesseseos  
23 years  
AM 3361
- (22) The twenty-second king of Egypt was Rhamessameno  
19 years  
He is the first Pharaoh mentioned in divine scripture. During his reign, the patriarch Abraham went down to Egypt. AM 3384
- (23) The twenty-third king of Egypt was Rhamesse Ioubasse  
38 years  
AM 3403

### KINGS OF THE THEBANS<sup>3</sup>

- (10) The tenth king of the Thebans in Egypt was Anoyphis; his name is 'revelling'.  
20 years  
AM 3231
- (11) The eleventh king of the Thebans in Egypt was Sirios; his name is 'son of the pupil of the eye' (but according to others, 'secure from enchantments').  
18 years  
AM 3251
- (12) The twelfth king of the Thebans in Egypt was Chnoubos Gneuros; his name is 'Chryses, son of Chryses'.<sup>4</sup>  
12 years  
AM 3269 [116]
- (13) The thirteenth king of the Thebans in Egypt was Rhauosis; his name is 'arch-ruler'.  
13 years  
AM 3291

<sup>1</sup> Gen. 25.7-10.

<sup>2</sup> Ps.-Manetho, continued from p. 135 (= Moss. 108.30).

<sup>3</sup> Ps.-Apollodoros, continued from p. 136 (= Moss. 109.1-14).

<sup>4</sup> Text: *Χρύσης Χρύσου υἱός*. Waddell (following Bunsen): *Χρυσός ἢ Χρυσούυς υἱός* ('gold, or golden son').

(14) The fourteenth king of the Thebans in Egypt was Biyres  
10 years

AM 3304

(15) The fifteenth king of the Thebans in Egypt was Saophis, 'reveller', or according to others, 'money-getter'.<sup>1</sup>

28 years

AM 3314

### KINGS OF THE SIKYONIANS<sup>2</sup>

(2) The second king of the Sikyonians was Europs 45 years  
AM 3291

In the 20th year of this Europs, the second king of the Sikyonians (that is, the Peloponnesians), Abraham of the Hebrews was born. Some say that it was from Europs that the entire continent of Europe received a single name, and is so named even up to this day; this is the region situated opposite Greater Asia.

(3) The third king of the Sikyonians was Telchin 29 years<sup>3</sup>  
AM 3336

(4) The fourth king of the Sikyonians was Apis 25 years  
AM 3365

(5) The fifth king of the Sikyonians was Thelxion 52 years  
AM 3390

### UNIVERSAL YEARS

#### Twenty-second generation

The 60 years of Isaac, beginning in AM 3413.

Isaac means 'laughter with pleasure'. Because Sarah smiled when God promised that she would give birth in old age, he received this name in the Hebrew language.<sup>4</sup>

Mastipham, the leader of the demons, as *Little Genesis* says, approached God and said, 'If Abraham loves you, let him offer to you his own son.'<sup>5</sup>

117] In AM 3437, the 25th year of Isaac, Abraham offered Isaac, as Josephos says, on the mountain of Zion.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Text: *χρηματιστής*. Or possibly 'circuit-judge'; see LSJ, s. v. *χρηματιστής* (II), where it is noted that this is the word's meaning in Egyptian sources.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Eus. 1.81.30-82.1; *Χρον. συντ.* 86.9-12.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Eus. 1.81.32; *Χρον. συντ.* 86.10. Both assign 20 years to the reign of Telchin.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Gen. 17.17; 18.12-15; 21.6-7. On this interpretation of Isaac's name, see Jos. Ant. 1.213.

<sup>5</sup> *Jub.* 17.16.

<sup>6</sup> Jos. Ant. 1.227. Isaac's age is not mentioned in the Bible.

Sarah died at age 127, and was buried in Hebron, now known as Eleutheropolis, in the cave that Abraham purchased from Ephron for 40 didrachms, with the sons of Chet acting as witnesses.<sup>1</sup> From this it is apparent, therefore, that contracts in writing were not yet in use. There are those who more recently claim that writing was a discovery of the Babylonians, and from Chaldaeia was transmitted by Abraham to the earliest Phoenicians; and it was from the Phoenicians that the Greeks acknowledge having acquired it.<sup>2</sup> Some say that Sarah died in the 32nd year of Isaac.

When Isaac was 40 years of age, he took to wife Rebecca the daughter of Bathouel.<sup>3</sup> Bathouel was Nachor's son. He was the eighth and final child; for Nachor had eight children from Melcha.<sup>4</sup> Nachor the father of Bathouel was a brother of Abraham. He had eight children from Melcha, as has been said, of whom the last, Bathouel, was the father of Rebecca and Laban the father-in-law of Jacob.

AM 3452

After twenty years, Rebecca, even though infertile, gave birth to the twins Jacob and Esau. In his 60th year, Isaac begot Jacob.<sup>5</sup>

AM 3472

#### KINGS OF THE ASSYRIANS<sup>6</sup>

(5) The fifth king of the Assyrians was Areios	30 years AM 3403
(6) The sixth king of the Assyrians was Aralios	40 years AM 3433
(7) The seventh king of the Assyrians was Xerxes	30 years AM 3473
(8) The eighth king of the Assyrians was Armamithres	38 years AM 3477

<sup>1</sup> Gen. 23.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Ps.-Eupolemos, in Eus. *PE* 9.17.3-4, where the origin and development of astrology is described in the same way. For the claim that writing was not yet known in Abraham's time, see Joh. Chrysost. *In epistulam ad Romanos* 26.3 (*PG* 60.642); see also the anonymous author cited in a catena on Gen. 11.27 (in Petit, *La Chaîne*, ii. 218 [no. 866]).

<sup>3</sup> Gen. 24.15, 67; 25.20.

<sup>4</sup> Gen. 22.20-4; 25.20.

<sup>5</sup> Gen. 25.21-6.

<sup>6</sup> Continued from p. 136 (= Moss. 109.22). See Eus. 1.30.36-31.3; Annianos in Elias Nis. 1.15.13-16.

KINGS OF THE EGYPTIANS<sup>1</sup>

(24) The twenty-fourth king of the Egyptians was Rhamesse, son of Ouaphres

29 years

AM 3442

118] (25) The twenty-fifth king of the Egyptians was Koncharis

5 years

AM 3471

In this fifth year of Koncharis, the twenty-fifth king of Egypt, during the sixteenth dynasty of the Sothic cycle, as it is known in Manetho, there is a total of 700 years of twenty-five kings from Mestraïm the first king and founder of Egypt—that is, from AM 2776, at which time the dispersion occurred, in the 34th year of the leadership of Arphaxad, and the fifth year of Phalek.<sup>2</sup> Succeeding them were four kings of Tanis, who were kings of Egypt during the 17th dynasty for 254 years, according to the computation that follows.

But Josephos in the second book of *Against Apion*<sup>3</sup> documents the Exodus of the people from Egypt during the reign of the twelfth king, after the twenty-five kings named above—that is, during the reign of Misphragmouthosis, otherwise known as Pharaoh, the sixth Egyptian king of the eighteenth dynasty according to Manetho, the thirty-seventh from Mestraïm. And he has established for us a chronology of twenty-three kings and 594 years, beginning from AM 3477 and ending in the year 4070, which does not entirely coincide with Manetho as to the particular dates of the kings. Nor does it completely agree with Manetho in the overall computation of their dates; this will be pointed out in the exposition of them in the list following.<sup>4</sup> Because of the confusion that would arise, we have disregarded this discrepancy in the preceding tables.

It should be recognized that these twenty-three kings in Josephos are the same as those that, according to Manetho's report, ruled over a period of 592 years during the 17th, 18th, and 19th dynasties.

<sup>1</sup> Ps.-Manetho, continued from p. 143 (= Moss. 115.20).

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 113 (= Moss. 89.16-19).

<sup>3</sup> Text: ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ πρὸς ἔλεγχον Ἀπίωνος λόγῳ. Since Josephos' discussion of the Egyptian dynasties around the time of the Exodus actually comes from the first book (*Ag. Ap.* 1.74-92), Gelzer (ii. 211 n. 2) suggests that the original text had wording similiar to that which Synk. previously used (p. 90 = Moss. 70.18-20): ἐν τοῖς πρὸς ἔλεγχον Ἀπίωνος Ἰωσήππου δυοῖ λόγῳις ('in Josephos' two-volume work *Against Apion*').

<sup>4</sup> See below, p. 178 (= Moss. 142.27-8).



For Manetho began his account of them from the year 3475,<sup>1</sup> and continued up to AM 4067. But because in this particular matter Josephos harmonizes with scripture, we follow him instead, arranging the sequence of kings from AM 3477 to 4070, as is set out below.<sup>2</sup>

(26) The twenty-sixth king of the Egyptians was Silites<sup>3</sup>

19 years

He was the first of the six kings of the 17th dynasty in Manetho.

AM 3477

#### KINGS OF THE THEBANS<sup>4</sup>

(16) The sixteenth king of the Thebans was Saophis II

27 years

AM 3343

(17) The seventeenth king of the Thebans was Moscheres  
Heliodotos<sup>5</sup>

31 years

AM 3370

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(18) The eighteenth king of the Thebans was Mosthes

33 years

AM 3401

(19) The nineteenth king of the Thebans was Pammes Archondes

35 years

AM 3434

(20) The twentieth king of the Thebans was Apappous the Most  
Great; it is said that he ruled

100 years

less 1 hour

AM 3469

(21) The twenty-first king of the Thebans was Echeskosokaras

1 year

AM 3569

(22) The twenty-second ruler of the Thebans was Nitokris, a wife  
in place of her husband; her name is 'Athena the Victorious'.

6 years

AM 3570

<sup>1</sup> Text: ,γυοε' (following Go.<sup>m</sup>). AB: ,γυσε' ('3425').

<sup>2</sup> As will be seen below, Synk.'s claim that he follows Josephos from this point is not entirely confirmed by the surviving Greek text of *Against Apion*.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Jos. Ag. Ap. 1.77 (citing Manetho's *Aigyptiaka*): Σάλιτις (the first of the Hyksos rulers).

<sup>4</sup> Ps.-Apollodoros, continued from p. 144 (= Moss. 116.6).

<sup>5</sup> Lit. 'Gift of Helios'.

(23) The twenty-third king of the Thebans was Myrtaios  
Ammonodotos<sup>1</sup> 22 years  
AM 3576

### KINGS OF THE SIKYONIANS<sup>2</sup>

(6) The sixth king of the Sikyonians was Aigydos 34 years  
AM 3442  
(7) The seventh king of the Sikyonians was Thourimachos  
45 years  
AM 3476  
(8) The eighth king of the Sikyonians was Leukippos  
53 years  
AM 3521  
(9) The ninth king of the Sikyonians was Mesappos 47 years  
AM 3574  
(10) The tenth king of the Sikyonians was Erastos 46 years  
AM 3621

Some say that the indigenous Kres was the first ruler of Crete around the date we have recorded above. (According to others, he was at the time of Ninyas.) They note that he is one of the so-called 'Kouretes'; that Zeus was clandestinely raised by him; and that the island of Crete first received its name from him.<sup>3</sup>

### UNIVERSAL YEARS Twenty-third generation

The 82 years of Jacob, beginning in AM 3473.

After making little bread cakes, as Josephos says, Rebecca gave them to Jacob. And he brought them, along with other gifts sent through Isaac, to Abraham.<sup>4</sup> And Abraham blessed him and as he was bestowing upon him various blessings and holding him in his bosom, he died; Abraham fell asleep in the 15th year of the life of Jacob.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Lit. 'Gift of Ammon'.

<sup>2</sup> Continued from p. 144 (= Moss. 116.16). See Eus. 1.82.2-8, from Kastor of Rhodes.

<sup>3</sup> Eus. 2.22<sup>cd</sup>, which dates Kres in the reign of the Assyrian king Ninyas; but cf. 2.26<sup>f</sup>, where Eusebios allows that some would date Kres later, in the ninth year of the Sikyonian king Aigydos. See also below, p. 183 (= Moss. 145.19-23). On the figure of Kres, see Diod. Sic. 5.64.1.

<sup>4</sup> Text: *διὰ Ἰσαὰκ πρὸς Ἀβραάμ*. A: *παρὰ Ἰσαάκ*. B: *πρὸς Ἰσαάκ*. Mosshammer emends the text following Ps.-Sym. and Kedr. i. 59.10; cf. also *Jub.* 22.4-5.

<sup>5</sup> Ps.-Josephos (= *Jub.* 22.4-23.5). On *Jubilees* material attributed to Josephos, see Intro. pp. liv, lxi.

When Jacob was 45, Esau, himself also 45 years of age (this was AM 3512),<sup>1</sup> took two wives: Joudein, the daughter of Beër the Hittite, and Basemath, daughter of Ailon the son of Euaios, as scripture states. And they were in dispute with Isaac and Rebecca. Now Isaac was 100 years of age; so it was after Isaac's 100th year that Jacob stole the blessings of Esau in accordance with his mother's advice.<sup>2</sup> But he had received them previously from the patriarch Abraham, as Josephos has confirmed, and his statement is trustworthy.<sup>3</sup>

Josephos says that when Jacob was 63, he had never had relations with a woman, as he himself declared to his mother Rebecca.<sup>4</sup>

Africanus says that at age 77 Jacob came to Mesopotamia, as if he were quoting from scripture.<sup>5</sup> But it is clear that scripture nowhere says this; besides, if we grant this, Joseph will have been born in the 96th year of Jacob, which is impossible.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> According to Synk., Jacob was born in AM 3472 (p. 145 = Moss. 117.17–18); AM 3512 would thus be the 40th, not the 45th, year of Jacob. Note also that according to Gen. 26.34, Esau was 40 years at the time of his marriage.

<sup>2</sup> Gen. 27.1–40. Isaac, born in AM 3412, would have been 100 years of age in AM 3512.

<sup>3</sup> Ps.-Josephos (= *Jub.* 22).

<sup>4</sup> Ps.-Josephos (= *Jub.* 25.4), according to which Jacob was 'nine weeks of years' when he made this statement to Rebecca.

<sup>5</sup> Routh, fr. 15. Africanus probably arrived at this figure in the following way: Joseph was 30 when he entered the service of Pharaoh (Gen. 41.46). A statement by Joseph in Gen. 45.6 implies that another nine years elapsed before his brothers' appearance in Egypt (seven years of plenty and two years of famine). Jacob and his family then spent 17 years in Egypt before Jacob's death (Gen. 47.28). This would account for 56 years from the birth of Joseph to the death of Jacob (30 + 9 + 17). If one assumes that Joseph's birth occurred in the last year of Jacob's 14-year service to Laban (Gen. 30.22–4; 31.41), then 70 years elapsed between Jacob's departure to Haran and his death (14 + 30 + 9 + 17 = 70). Since Jacob died at age 147 (Gen. 47.28), he was 77 years when he arrived in Haran (147 – 70 = 77). The Jewish chronographer Demetrios (3rd c. BC) offers the same chronology; see the quotation from him in Eus. *PE* 9.21.3. On Demetrios' method of reckoning, see Freudenthal, *Alexander Polyhistor*, 39; also Gelzer i. 87–9. For Synk.'s own chronology, see below, pp. 166–7 (= Moss. 133.23–134.30).

<sup>6</sup> Synk. commences here an extended inquiry into the relative chronology of Jacob, Joseph, and Levi. Since Levi was an ancestor of Moses, the date of Levi's birth is vital to the broader aims of Synk.'s chronography. But Genesis does not record the relevant chronological information about Levi's date of birth; Synk. thus deduces the date of his birth from chronological notices in Genesis about Jacob and Joseph. He knows from Gen. 41.46 that Joseph came to power in Egypt when he was 30 years of age. Based on a

In the 73rd year of Jacob, AM 3545, according to an accurate reckoning of his life, Jacob departed. And after being a servant for seven years, he took Leah as wife and begot Reuben in his 80th year;<sup>1</sup> Simeon in the 81st year; Levi in the 82nd year;<sup>2</sup> Judah in the 83rd year; Dan in the 85th year; Naphtali in the 86th year; Gad in the 87th year; Asher in the 88th year; Issachar in the 89th year; Zebulun and Dinah by Leah in the 90th year; and Joseph by Rachel in his 91st year.<sup>3</sup> And he remained with Laban for another two years, and departed from the house of Laban in his 93rd year.<sup>4</sup>

121] Some have affirmed, allegedly on the basis of the sequence of events in scripture, that after Jacob took Rachel as wife, Leah first began to have children.<sup>5</sup> Otherwise how is it possible that Dan was the fifth child, born of Balla, the maidservant of Rachel, and Naphtali the sixth, if they were born in Leah's first year of marriage? And how after Naphtali could Gad, born of Zelpha, be the seventh, and so on?

Josephos says that for seven days Jacob was a servant to Laban after his marriage to Leah; after the seven days, he took Rachel, and after this was with Laban up to the time of his departure.<sup>6</sup>

report in Gen. 45.6, Synk. further concludes that Jacob arrived in Egypt ten years after Joseph's assumption of power. Joseph was thus 40 years old at the time of Jacob's arrival. Since Jacob was 130 years at that time (Gen. 47.9), Joseph was 90 years younger than his father. Synk. infers from this that Joseph's birth occurred in the 91st year of Jacob (p. 151 = Moss. 121.9-13). The birth of Levi, the third son of Jacob, would then have occurred nine years earlier, in the 82nd year of Jacob. For discussion, see also Laqueur, 'Synkellos', 1396-7.

<sup>1</sup> Gen. 29.18, 32.

<sup>2</sup> That is, AM 3554, 82 years after Jacob's birth in AM 3472; see above, p. 145 (= Moss. 117.16-17).

<sup>3</sup> That is, AM 3563.

<sup>4</sup> Jacob served Laban for a total of 20 years (Gen. 31.41), representing for Synk. his 73rd to 93rd year.

<sup>5</sup> After serving Laban for seven years and taking Leah as a wife, Jacob then married Rachel, in return for which he agreed to serve Laban for another seven years (Gen. 29.30). Since the following verses (vv. 31-4) describe the birth of Simeon, certain chronographers must have assumed that Leah did not begin having children until Jacob married Rachel.

<sup>6</sup> This is an apparent reference to Laban's instruction to Jacob to complete the 'week of this one' before receiving Rachel in marriage (Gen. 29.27). Later commentators commonly mistook this reference to Leah's seven-day marriage-feast for Jacob's seven-year service to Laban; see Jerome, *Heb. quaest.* (on Gen. 29.27). Synk.'s attribution of the seven days of service to Josephos is questionable. In *Ant.* 1.302, Josephos states that Jacob served

In my opinion, Africanus cannot possibly be right that Levi was born in the 87th year of Jacob; nor can Eusebios be right, who dates it in the same year.<sup>1</sup> For if Joseph was age 40 in the 130th year of Jacob, at which time he came down to him in Egypt, it is absolutely necessary that when Jacob was 91 he begot Joseph on Rachel. Accordingly, Levi was born nine years before Joseph, or at the very least eight, in the following order:

1. First year of Levi, the third son of Leah.
2. After Levi, Judah, the fourth son of Leah.
3. Dan, from Balla the maidservant of Rachel.
4. Naphtali, from the same Balla.
5. Gad, from Zelpha the maidservant of Leah.
6. Asher, from the same Zelpha.
7. Issachar, the fifth son of Leah.
8. Zebulun, the sixth son of Leah.
9. Dinah, the daughter of Leah.
10. Joseph, the first son of Rachel.

Observe, then, how clear it is: when nine years are subtracted from the 91 years of Jacob, and when we work back from Joseph to Levi, 82 years will be left over. We have, therefore, correctly calculated that Levi was born in the 82nd year of Jacob.

### Twenty-fourth generation

The 47 years of Levi, beginning in AM 3555.<sup>2</sup>

[122]

Laban an additional seven years (not seven days) before he was able to marry Rachel. Nor is this tradition found in *Jubilees*, a work that Synk. sometimes confuses with Josephos. *Jub.* 28.8–9 correctly represents the seven days as a marriage-feast.

<sup>1</sup> Routh, fr. 16. Cf. Eus. 1.46.29, which dates Levi's birth in the 86th year of Jacob. According to Africanus, Jacob arrived in Haran at age 77. He would have been 84 years of age after serving Laban for seven years. Levi, his third son from Leah, was born three years later, when Jacob was 87. This is also the date provided by Demetrios the Jewish chronographer (in Eus. *PE* 9.21.3). See also Hippolyt. fr. 3 (= *Philosophum.* 10.30); Georg. Mon. i. 115.17; *Suda*, s.v. *Μωυσῆς*; Nikeph. *Chron. synt.* 85.10.

<sup>2</sup> The 47 years refer to Levi's age when he begot Kaath; see below, p. 155 (= Moss. 124.15). Following Synk.'s usual pattern, AM 3555 (the era of Levi) is a year later than the date of Levi's birth. Subsequent statements by Synk. reveal that the date of Levi's birth was AM 3554; see below, pp. 152, 153, 158 (= Moss. 122.12–13; 122.19–20; 126.5–6). For discussion, see Gelzer ii. 234.

From Africanus<sup>1</sup>

From Adam, then, up to the death of Joseph and the end of this book,<sup>2</sup> there are 23 generations and 3563 years.

He is manifestly in error by 110 years. For Joseph was **born** in this year AM 3563, as is shown below. In the ninth year of the life of Levi, Rachel gave birth to Jacob's child Joseph. This was the 91st year of the life of Jacob.

The first year of the life of Joseph AM 3563

In Jacob's 93rd year, the 11th year of Levi and the third year of Joseph, Jacob departed from Mesopotamia, and meeting his brother, he exchanged gifts with him.

Jacob received the name Israel when he crossed the Jordan, and received a blessing in the 12th year of Levi.<sup>4</sup>

After offering a tithe of his own possessions, Jacob proclaimed Levi as high priest when he was 18 years of age, since he was the tenth from the last, reckoning backwards.<sup>5</sup> For, because of his father's concubine, Reuben was deprived of kingship and priesthood, even though he was the first-born.<sup>6</sup>

Rachel died in giving birth to Benjamin, and she was buried between Bethlehem and Jerusalem in the hippodrome.<sup>7</sup> This was the

<sup>1</sup> Routh, fr. 21.

<sup>2</sup> Namely Genesis.

<sup>3</sup> Gen. 33.4-11; *Jub.* 29.13. Jacob arrived in Haran in AM 3545 at the age of 73. According to Gen. 31.41, Jacob then served Laban for 20 years, which would mean that he departed from Laban in AM 3565 at age 93.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Gen. 32.28.

<sup>5</sup> Text: . . . ἴ' ὄντα ἀπὸ ἐσχάτου κατὰ τὸν τῆς ἀναστροφῆς λόγον. Cf. Kedr. i. 60.9-10: . . . δέκατον ὄντα ἀπὸ ἐσχάτου κατὰ τὸν τῆς ἀστρολογίας (*sic*).

<sup>6</sup> *Jub.* 32.2-3 (Vanderkam's translation): 'Jacob got up early in the morning on the fourteenth day of this month and gave a tithe of everything which had come with him . . . (3) At that time Rachel became pregnant with her son Benjamin. Jacob counted his sons from him. He went up (the list), and it came down on Levi in the Lord's share. His father put priestly clothes on him and ordained him.'

<sup>7</sup> Gen. 35.16-19; 48.7; *Jub.* 32.33-4. Synk.'s reference to the hippodrome reflects the Septuagint rendering of Jacob's words to Joseph in Gen. 48.7: 'When I came out of Mesopotamia of Syria, Rachel your mother died in the land of Canaan, as I approached the hippodrome of Chabratha of the land (of Canaan), so as to come to Ephratha; and I buried her in the road of the hippodrome (ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ τοῦ ἵπποδρόμου); this is Bethlehem.' The Hebrew text says nothing about a hippodrome, and as Jerome rightly observed, it is not completely clear what the Septuagint translators had in mind; see Jerome, *Heb. quaest.* on Gen. 35.16.

21st year of Levi, AM 3575. In my journeys to Bethlehem and what is known as the Old Lavra of blessed Chariton, I personally have passed by there frequently and seen her coffin lying on the ground.<sup>1</sup>

Because of their envy, Joseph was sold by his brothers when he had reached age 17, five years after the death of Rachel; for he was given a most remarkable dream from God and was cherished by his father because of his great wisdom.<sup>2</sup>

AM 3579

In AM 3589, the 35th year of Levi, Joseph was confined in prison.<sup>3</sup>

[123]

In the 38th year of Levi's life, the 120th of Jacob, AM 3592, Joseph was elevated to the rule of Egypt. This was the 30th year of the life of Joseph, as scripture states, and the 17th year of the reign of Aphophis, also known as Pharaoh.<sup>4</sup> Thus the seven years of plenty begin with Joseph's 31st year, the 39th year of Levi, the 121st year of Jacob. In the 38th year of Joseph, the famine began and two years later Jacob came down to Egypt, in his 130th year, the 40th year of Joseph.

In the 120th year of Jacob, Isaac his father died, having lived 180 years. He was buried by his sons Jacob and Esau.<sup>5</sup>

The shepherd's tent of Jacob preserved in Edessa was destroyed by a thunderbolt around the time of Antoninus the emperor of the Romans, as Africanus states, who has written his history up to the time of this Antoninus.<sup>6</sup>

Jacob was displeased by what Simeon and Levi had done in Shechem against the inhabitants there in retaliation for their sister's defilement.<sup>7</sup> And he buried in Shechem the gods that he brought with him by the rock underneath the wonderful terebinth tree, which is even to this day venerated by the neighbouring peoples in honour of the patriarchs. He removed thence to Bethel. By the trunk of this terebinth tree there was an altar, as Africanus says, to which the residents of that region would offer prayers in

<sup>1</sup> See also Kedr. i. 60.16-18. On the Old Lavra of Chariton, see Gelzer ii. 181; Vaill , 'Monast res', 524-5.

<sup>2</sup> Gen. 37.2-19; *Jub.* 34.10.

<sup>3</sup> Gen. 39.20.

<sup>4</sup> See below, p. 156 (= Moss. 125.1-6).

<sup>5</sup> Gen. 35.28-9.

<sup>6</sup> Routh, fr. 17. On the *terminus ad quem* of Africanus' chronicle, see also below, p. 309 (= Moss. 251.27-9), where Synk. asserts that Africanus' chronicle continued to the consulate of Gratus and Seleucus in the third year of the reign of Antoninus Elagabalus (AM 5723). But cf. Phot. *Bibl.* 34.7<sup>a</sup>9-12, which states that Africanus' chronicle extended only as far as the emperor Macrinus (AM 5720). For discussion, see Gelzer i. 29, 34-5, 277-80.

<sup>7</sup> Gen. 34.30.

their festal assemblies.<sup>1</sup> Even though it appeared to be in flames, it was not consumed. Near it is the tomb of Abraham and Isaac. Some say that a staff of one of the angels entertained by Abraham is planted on that spot.<sup>2</sup>

### From Genesis<sup>3</sup>

124]

Isaac said to Esau in his blessings, 'There will be a time when you shall break and loosen his yoke from your neck, and you shall commit a sin to death.'

<sup>1</sup> Routh, fr. 18. According to Gen. 12.7, Abraham erected an altar to God at the site of an oak or terebinth tree near Shechem. Subsequently, Jacob hid the images of foreign gods in his household under this tree (Gen. 35.2). A description of the veneration of the terebinth at Shechem very similar to Synk.'s appears in Ps.-Eustath. *Comm. Hexaem.* (PG 18.780 A). But the differences in the two accounts are notable. In his description of the terebinth, Synk. states that the tree was even to this day 'venerated (τιμᾶται) by the neighbouring peoples in honour of the patriarchs (εἰς τιμὴν τῶν πατριάρχων)'; cf. Ps.-Eustathios: '. . . which is even now an object of devotion (θρησκειέται) by the neighbouring peoples in honour of the ancestors (εἰς τιμὴν τῶν προγόνων).' Instead of describing 'prayers (τὰς ἐκτενάς)' offered at the altar by the residents, Ps.-Eustathios speaks of 'burnt offerings and hecatombs (τὰ τε ὀλοκαυτώματα καὶ τὰς ἐκατόμβας)'. Because a terebinth cult (but located in Hebron, not Shechem) included pagan ceremonies before they were prohibited by Constantine, Routh (ii. 419–20) suggests that Ps.-Eustathios' words better reflect the original text of Africanus. For further discussion of the pagan rites in honour of the terebinth, see the note following.

<sup>2</sup> Gen. 13.18 states that Abraham settled by the oaks or terebinths of Mamre near Hebron, where he built an altar to God. This was the site where Abraham later entertained the angels who appeared to him (Gen. 18.1–8). Hebron was also the place where Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob were buried (Gen. 23.17–20; 35.27–9; 50.13). A later tradition, reported by Jos. *JW* 4.533, held that this terebinth tree existed from the Creation up to his own day. The tree at Hebron was an object of veneration not only for Jews and Christians, but for pagan visitors as well. According to Sozom. *HE* 2.4 (c.440), pagans considered the ground hallowed because of the angels who had appeared there; on the altar located near the tree, they sacrificed goats, sheep, and oxen, and offered libations of wine and small cakes (see also Eus. *Onomast.* 6.12–13; 76.1–3; *DE* 5.9.7). Africanus, at least as characterized by Synk. and Ps.-Eustathios, describes similar traditions about the terebinth and the burial site of the patriarchs; but here they are connected with Shechem, not Hebron. Since the Samaritans believed that the patriarchs were buried in Shechem, Gelzer (i. 10) makes the plausible suggestion that Africanus describes here a festival of Samaritan origin.

<sup>3</sup> Gen. 27.40. The last part of this quotation ('and you shall commit a



From Josephos<sup>1</sup>

In Isaac's 153rd year, Jacob returned to him from Mesopotamia. When Isaac recovered his sight and saw the sons of Jacob, he blessed Levi as high priest and Judah as king and ruler.

Rebecca petitioned Isaac in his old age to counsel Esau and Jacob to love one another. And after exhorting them, he foretold that if Esau would rise up against Jacob, he would fall at his hands. So after Isaac died, Esau, stirred to action by his sons, amassed his Gentile cohorts and came out for combat against Jacob and his sons. But Jacob closed the gates of the tower and admonished Esau to recall his father's injunctions. Now when he was not restrained, but was instead hurling insults and making reproaches, Jacob was incited by Judah and drew his bow and shot, striking Esau on the right side of his chest. When he died, the sons of Jacob opened the gates and slew most of them. This is reported in *Little Genesis*.

Levi begot Kaath when he was 47 years of age.<sup>2</sup> AM 3602

KINGS OF THE ASSYRIANS<sup>3</sup>

(9) The ninth king of the Assyrians was Belochos 35 years  
AM 3541

(10) The tenth king of the Assyrians was Balaios 52 years<sup>4</sup>  
AM 3576

sin to death [πλημμελήσης εἰς θάνατον]') is not found in the Genesis text; cf. Mich. Glyk. 264.2-6, which correctly notes this point and calls it an addition of Josephos. The quotation appears in fact to be taken from *Jub.* 26.34.

<sup>1</sup> Although Synk. ascribes the passage to Josephos, the final sentence reveals its true origins; see *Jub.* 31.13-20; 35.9-17; 37.1-38.4. According to Josephos' *Ant.* 1.345, Rebecca was already dead when Jacob returned to Isaac from Mesopotamia. For reports similar to Synk., see Leo Gramm. 23.3-23.19; Kedr. i. 60.21-61.13; Georg. Mon. i. 113.20-114.16; Mich. Glyk. 263.14-264.4.

<sup>2</sup> Exod 6.16 (without mentioning Levi's age). Cf. Eus. 1.46.30, which dates the birth of Kaath to Levi's 46th year. Synk.'s dating of Kaath's birth and Levi's 47th year to AM 3602 conflicts with his subsequent statement that Levi's 47th year occurred in AM 3601 (p. 158 = Moss. 126.5-6). See Gelzer ii. 234.

<sup>3</sup> Continued from p. 145 (= Moss. 117.24). See Annianos in Elias Nis. 1.15.17-20; cf. Eus. 1.31.4-7.

<sup>4</sup> According to Elias of Nisibis, Eusebios also assigned 52 years to Balaios' reign; but cf. Eus. 1.31.5 (12 years).

- (11) The eleventh king of the Assyrians was (Sethos 50 years  
AM 3637)  
(Altadas 32 years  
AM 3628<sup>1</sup>)
- (12) The twelfth king of the Assyrians was Mamynthos  
30 years  
AM 3660

### KINGS OF THE EGYPTIANS<sup>2</sup>

- (27) The twenty-seventh king of the Egyptians was Baion  
44 years  
AM 3496
- (28) The twenty-eighth king of the Egyptians was Apachnas  
36 years  
AM 3540
- 125] (29) The twenty-ninth king of the Egyptians was Aphophis  
61 years  
AM 3576

Some say that he was the first to be called 'Pharaoh' and that in the fourth year of his reign Joseph came to Egypt as a slave.<sup>3</sup> He appointed Joseph lord of Egypt and all his kingdom in the 17th year of his rule, when he learnt from him the explanation of the dreams and experienced his divine wisdom.<sup>4</sup> However, divine scripture also refers to the king of Egypt during the time of Abraham as 'Pharaoh'.<sup>5</sup>

### KINGS OF THE THEBANS<sup>6</sup>

- (24) The twenty-fourth king of the Thebans was Ouosimares 'the mighty'; his name is 'sun'.  
12 years  
AM 3598
- (25) The twenty-fifth king of the Thebans was Sethinilos; his name is 'having increased his inherited power'.  
8 years  
AM 3610

<sup>1</sup> The 50-year rule of Sethos was probably misplaced from Synk.'s list of Egyptian kings; see below, p. 178 (= Moss. 142.26). Mosshammer restores the text from parallel lists in Eusebios and Annianos.

<sup>2</sup> Ps.-Manetho, continued from p. 147 (= Moss. 118.27).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Eus. 1.68.1-2; on Apophis' 61-year reign, see Jos. Ag. Ap. 1.80. See also above, pp. 87-8 (= Moss. 68.27-69.7).

<sup>4</sup> Gen. 41.1-45.

<sup>5</sup> Gen. 12.15-20.

<sup>6</sup> Ps.-Apollodoros, continued from p. 148 (= Moss. 119.12).

- (26) The twenty-sixth king of the Thebans was Semphroukrates;  
his name is 'Herakles Harpokrates'.  
18 years  
AM 3618
- (27) The twenty-seventh king of the Thebans was Chouther  
Tauros,<sup>1</sup> 'the tyrant'  
7 years  
AM 3636
- (28) The twenty-eighth king of the Thebans was Meures  
Philoskoros<sup>2</sup>  
12 years  
AM 3643
- (29) The twenty-ninth king of the Thebans was Chomaëphtha,  
'the world', Philephaistos<sup>3</sup>  
11 years  
AM 3655
- (30) The thirtieth king of the Thebans was Soikounios Hocho-  
tyrranos<sup>4</sup>  
60 years  
AM 3666

KINGS OF THE SIKYONIANS<sup>5</sup>

- (11) The eleventh king of the Sikyonians was Plemnaios  
50 years,  
according  
to others  
48 years<sup>6</sup>  
AM 3667
- (12) The twelfth king of the Sikyonians was Orthopolis  
63 years  
AM 3717
- (13) The thirteenth king of the Sikyonians was Echyreus<sup>7</sup>  
55 years  
AM 3780

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<sup>1</sup> Lit. 'bull'.

<sup>2</sup> Text: *Φιλόσκορος*. Waddell, following Gutschmid, emends to *φίλος κόρης* ('loving the iris of the eye').

<sup>3</sup> Lit.: 'loving Hephaistos'.

<sup>4</sup> Text: *Όχοτύραννος*, the meaning of which is unclear. Bunsen emends to *ὡς Όχος τύραννος* ('a tyrant like Ochos').

<sup>5</sup> Continued from p. 148 (= Moss. 119.28). Cf. Eus. 1.82.9–11.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Eus. 1.82.9 (48 years).

<sup>7</sup> Omitted in Eusebios. Cf. Eus. 1.82.16, which numbers 'Chyreus' as the 15th king of Sikyon.

**UNIVERSAL YEARS****Twenty-fifth generation**

The 60 years of Kaath, beginning in AM 3602.

In the second year of the famine, the brothers of Joseph went down to Egypt; this was Joseph's 39th year, the 129th year of Jacob, the 47th year of Levi, AM 3601. And when they came forth to buy food, they were unaware that they were recognized by him. Accused of spying, they left Simeon behind as a hostage, after defending themselves at length. Among the incidents of that time were the story of Benjamin and the 'Kondu' (which is a kind of drinking-vessel), as well as Joseph's self-disclosure to his brothers.<sup>1</sup>

In the first year of the life of Kaath, which was the 130th of Jacob and the 48th of Levi, Jacob went down to Joseph in Egypt, as scripture says, 'The days of the years of my life in which I sojourn are 130 years.'<sup>2</sup> Now Joseph was 40 years old in this same 130th year of Jacob, since, as the followers of Africanus say, Joseph lived another 70 years after Jacob came to dwell in Egypt.<sup>3</sup>

The seventh and final year of the famine, the fifth year of Kaath, AM 3606.

At the moment of his death, Jacob, prefiguring the life-giving sign of the cross, blessed the sons of Joseph in the form of a cross, placing his hands upon them crosswise, the right hand on Ephraim and the left on Manasse. Now Joseph had stationed Manasse at the right hand of Jacob, since he was the first-born, and Ephraim at the left.<sup>4</sup>

In AM 3620, the 18th year of Kaath, that is the 57th year of the life of Joseph, Jacob died and was buried by Joseph and the rest of his children in the double cave in Hebron.<sup>5</sup>

Jacob went down to Joseph in Egypt with 75 persons and settled in the land of Gesem, which is Arabia facing Egypt.<sup>6</sup>

127] Because he had intercourse with the concubine of his father,

<sup>a</sup> Mosshammer's text has been repunctuated to produce this translation.

<sup>1</sup> Gen. 42.1-24; 44.

<sup>2</sup> Gen. 47.9.

<sup>3</sup> Routh, fr. 20.

<sup>4</sup> Gen. 48.14.

<sup>5</sup> Gen. 47.28; 50.13. Cf. below, p. 167 (= Moss. 134.26), which states that Jacob died in AM 3619. The latter date would be more consistent with Synk.'s chronology.

<sup>6</sup> Gen. 46.8-28 (LXX). According to the Hebrew version, 70 persons went down to Egypt.

Reuben, the first-born son of Jacob, was stripped both of the rights of the first-born son and the priesthood and kingship, and the sons of Joseph received the rights of the first-born because of their father's chastity.<sup>1</sup> The kingship was given to Judah, because he did right by the woman Tamar in condemning himself and not putting her to death as an adulteress; and also because his tribe was shown to be more prepared to act zealously for God and exact retribution.<sup>2</sup> And the high priesthood was given to Levi, because, as the tenth from the last of the sons of Jacob, he, along with all his father's property, was tithed to God, just as Jacob prayed, 'All that you give to me, I will offer a tenth of it.'<sup>3</sup> And because Isaac recovered his sight when Jacob arrived from Mesopotamia and saw Levi and Judah, he blessed the one as priest and the other as king, as Josephos states.<sup>4</sup>

The tribe of Reuben grew immeasurably in number because he saved Joseph from being killed by his brothers.<sup>5</sup>

'Israelites' is the joint name given to all of the descendants of the twelve tribes as offspring, properly speaking, of their father Israel. But they are called 'Jews' because the descendants of Judah were preserved as a tribe when the rest perished.

In AM 3661, Kaath, at age 60, begot Amram. Others say that this was in AM 3606.

### Twenty-sixth generation

The seventy-six years of Amram, beginning in AM 3662.

Seventy years after Jacob's descent into Egypt, Joseph died.

AM 3672

In AM 3672, that is in the twelfth year of the life of Amram the father of Moses, Joseph died, after living 110 years, as the book of Genesis says, 'And Joseph died when he was 110 years of age.'<sup>6</sup> The historical record of the same divinely inspired first book of scripture extends up to this year, AM 3672.

Africanus, however, errs by omitting 109 years, and writes as follows:

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<sup>1</sup> Gen. 48.5-6; 49.3-4.

<sup>2</sup> Gen. 38.15-26; 49.8-10.

<sup>3</sup> Gen. 28.22; *Jub.* 32.2-3. See above, p. 152 (= Moss. 122.14-17).

<sup>4</sup> Ps.-Josephos (= *Jub.* 31.13-20)

<sup>5</sup> Gen. 37.21-2.

<sup>6</sup> Gen. 50.26.

**From Africanus<sup>1</sup>**

From Adam, then, up to the death of Joseph and the end of this book, there are 23 generations and 3563 years.

Eusebios, however, reckoned 3184 years from Adam up to the first year of Abraham, and 361 years from the first year of Abraham up to the death of Joseph;<sup>2</sup> at that point the narrative of the book of Genesis ceases, that is in the 110th year of the life of Joseph. There is, then, according to Eusebios a total of 3545 years from Adam up to the death of Joseph. So for a period of 3672 years Eusebios' miscalculation is 127 years.

In Genesis, the first divinely inspired book, Moses, the beholder of God, narrates events from Adam, the first-formed man, up to this year 3672.

After we have summarized these 3672 universal years from Adam up to the death of Joseph based on the seventy sages' version of this same book of sacred scripture, it would be worthwhile to move on in this way to a precise chronology of what follows, to the extent that we are able. Now this year 3672 from Adam corresponds with the 110th year of the life of the chaste Joseph; in that year he died, after governing Egypt for eighty years. For he was 30 when his rule over Egypt began, and lived another seventy years after his father came down to him in Egypt along with his entire household and settled there with his whole clan. This latter event occurred ten years after the beginning of Joseph's reign, according to the same divinely inspired scripture. It was after the seven years of plenty had passed, and in the third year of the famine when Israel arrived in Egypt. At that time, Jacob was himself 130 years of age, as he said to Pharaoh when he was asked by him. So Joseph was 40 years, seeing that he was entrusted with the rule of Egypt when he was 30 years of age; and in the tenth year after that he was reunited with his father and brothers.<sup>3</sup> From this fact, therefore, we can at the same time settle another problem of crucial importance, namely (1) that in the 91st year of Jacob, Joseph was the first<sup>a</sup> child born to him by Rachel, after the birth of one daughter Dinah and ten male children; (2) if you count backwards, these children were born

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<sup>a</sup> Text: *τεχθῆναι αὐτῷ ἐκ τῆς Ραχὴλ, πρῶτον ἐπὶ θυγατρὶ*. The translation includes *πρῶτον* with the previous clause.

<sup>1</sup> Routh, fr. 21.

<sup>2</sup> Eus. 1.45.22; 2.36<sup>c</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> Gen. 41.46–8; 45.6; 47.9.

before Joseph over a period of at least 11 years (allocating one year for each child, as is suggested by the words of scripture); hence Levi was born when Jacob was 82. Altogether, then, these make a total in Mesopotamia of ten sons and one daughter, Dinah. After them all came Joseph, chronologically the last, the 12th from Reuben; but as Rachel's first child, he was born in Jacob's 91st year, as we demonstrated above. And if we compute the date of the birth of each child in reverse order, beginning from Joseph and continuing back to Reuben, it works out something as follows:

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Joseph, the twelfth and last of Jacob's children in Mesopotamia, was the first-born child of Rachel in Jacob's 91st year. Dinah, the seventh child of Leah, and the eleventh of Jacob, was born one year before Joseph in Jacob's 90th year. Zebulun, the sixth son of Leah and the tenth from Reuben, was born two years before Joseph. Issachar the fifth son of Leah was born three years before Joseph. Asher was the fourth before him, the second born from Zelpha, the maidservant of Leah, the fifth working backwards from Joseph and the eighth from Reuben. Gad was the first from Zelpha the maidservant of Leah, the sixth from Joseph, working backwards, and the seventh from Reuben. Naphtali was the second son of Balla the maidservant of Rachel, the eighth from Joseph working backwards, and the fifth from Reuben. Judah was the fourth son of Leah, the ninth from Joseph working backwards and the fourth from Reuben. Levi, the third son of Leah, the tenth from Joseph working backwards, and the third from Reuben, was born to the patriarch Jacob in Mesopotamia in his eighty-second year, as is clear from the preceding discussion. Counting from Benjamin, who was still in Rachel's womb, Jacob determined that Levi was the tenth of his male offspring, sanctified him to God and appointed him as high priest, as Josephos states (this was based on reverse calculation).<sup>1</sup> And he at the same time made a tithe of all of his property and offered it to God, just as he says in his prayer when he was journeying to Mesopotamia: 'And everything which you might give to me, I will give a tithe of it.'<sup>2</sup> Leah's second son Simeon was born in the 81st year of Jacob. Reuben, the first-born son of Jacob and Leah, was born in the 80th year of Jacob. We have thus clearly demonstrated from this that seven years before, Jacob came to Laban in the 73rd year of his life.

Now that the dates of the birth of each of the patriarchs have thus laid a foundation for an accurate exposition, let us also take up the chronology from Adam up the death of Joseph.

<sup>1</sup> Ps.-Josephos (= *Jub.* 31.13-20).<sup>2</sup> Gen. 28.22.

**From Adam, once again**

(1) Adam, when he was 230, begot Seth; he lived another 700 years and died.

130] (2) Seth, when he was 205, begot Enos; he lived another 707 years and died. In Seth's 700th year, that is AM 930, (Adam) died.

(3) Enos, when he was 190, begot Kaïnan in AM 625, the 395th year of Seth; he lived another 715 years up until AM 1340. In his 495th year, Adam died; Seth died in his 707th year.

(4) Kaïnan, when he was 170, begot Maleleël in AM 795, the 565th year of Seth, the 360th year of Enos. He lived another 740 years up until AM 1535. Adam died in his 305th year, Seth in his 517th year, and Enos in his 715th year.

(5) Maleleël, when he was 165, begot Jared in AM 960, the 730th of Seth, the 525th year of Enos, the 335th year of Kaïnan; he lived another 730 years up until AM 1690. Adam died in his 135th year, Seth in his 347th year, and Enos in the 545th year of this Maleleël; in his 740th year, his father Kaïnan died.

(6) Jared, when he was 162, begot Enoch, in AM 1122, which was the 892nd of Seth, the 687th of Enos, the 497th of Kaïnan, the 327th of Maleleël. This same Jared lived another 800 years up until AM 1922. Seth died in the 182nd year of this same Jared, Enos in the 380th, Kaïnan in the 575th year of this Jared; Maleleël his father died in the 730th year of Jared.

(7) Enoch, when he was 165, begot Methuselah in AM 1287. In his, I mean Enoch's, 20th year, Seth died. This was the 852nd year of Enos at which time Enoch begot Methuselah, the 662nd year of Kaïnan, the 492nd year of Maleleël, the 327th year of Jared. After he begot Methuselah, this Enoch continued alive and visible to men for another 200 years.<sup>1</sup> And since he pleased God, he was translated and not found. He was translated in AM 1487. Seth, then, left this life in his twentieth year, as was stated above. And in the 218th year of this Enoch, Enos died.

(8) Methuselah, when he was 167, begot Lamech, in AM 1454, which was the 829th year of Kaïnan, the 659th year of Maleleël, the 494th of Jared, the 332nd year of Enoch. After begetting Lamech, this same Methuselah lived another 802 years up until AM 2256. He had greater longevity than everyone whose deaths preceded him.

131] According to the copies of Genesis that circulate everywhere, he

<sup>1</sup> Gen. 5.22 (LXX): 'And Enoch was well pleasing to God after his begetting Methuselah, two hundred years.'



lived fifteen years after the Flood; it is thus hard to explain where he managed to survive during the Flood.

There are those, one of whom is Eusebios, who say that according to some manuscripts Methuselah lived an additional 782 years after begetting Lamech, so that the whole duration of his life comes to 949 years.<sup>1</sup> But in my opinion this makes no sense. For by this reasoning the sacred books of Genesis in circulation throughout all the churches of God will be found in error, since they record that Methuselah was 969 years old. And Jared, who lived to age 962, will have outlived him by thirteen years—an opinion with which no one agrees. Therefore, to say that he was swept away with the others in the Flood does not necessarily mean that as a result he lived only 949 years.

But neither are we convinced by Africanus, who adds on these twenty years, and assigns 989 instead of 969 years to Methuselah.<sup>2</sup> In my opinion, then, it is better for us to follow the sacred books used throughout the whole world and assign 969 years to his life, even if it means that he survived the Flood by 15 years; for perhaps God kept him alive miraculously, as he did Enoch, through means and locations that only He knows.<sup>3</sup>

(9) Lamech, when he was 188, begot Noah in AM 1642, which was the 847th year of Maleleël, the 682nd year of Jared, the 520th of Enoch (which is the 155th year after his translation). This was the same year as the 355th year of Methuselah. After begetting Methuselah<sup>4</sup> Lamech lived another 535 years, up until AM 2175, and died 68 years before the Flood. Lamech was the first of the patriarchs to die before his own father, preceding the death of Methuselah by 81 years, that is in the 888th year of Methuselah, the

<sup>1</sup> Eus. 1.38.22-4.

<sup>2</sup> This is a misunderstanding of Africanus' chronology. Africanus added 20 years to the date at which Methuselah begot Lamech (187 instead of 167), not the total years of his life; in this way, he dated the Flood to AM 2262, instead of 2242. Synk.'s previous characterization of Africanus' chronology is more accurate; see above, pp. 27, 28 (= Moss. 20.7-13; 21.1-4).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Aug. *Civ. dei* 15.11: 'Some people suppose that he (Methuselah) was indeed alive then but not on earth, where, as we know, all flesh that nature does not allow to live in water was destroyed. They think that he was for some time in the company of his father, who had been translated, and that he lived there until the Flood was over' (tr. P. Levine, LCL). See above, p. 27 (= Moss. 20.7-25), where Synk. offers another explanation of the problem.

<sup>4</sup> Lamech was actually the father of Noah.

eighth from Adam. In the 236th year of Lamech, Maleleël died, and Jared died in the 468th year of Lamech. But the divine Enoch was translated into heaven in Lamech's 33rd year.

132] (10) Noah, at age 500, begot Shem, Ham, and Japhet in AM 2141. Maleleël died in Noah's 49th year, and Jared in Noah's 280th year. In AM 2141, I mean Noah's 500th year, the year in which his first son Shem was born, it was Methuselah's 855th year and the 687th year of Noah's father Lamech. But the Flood took place on the earth in the 600th year of Noah, the 100th year in Shem's life, and the 955th year of Methuselah, the longest-lived of all men. From the year of the Flood up to AM 2256, Methuselah lived another fifteen years—that is, if we believe that it is true what the divinely inspired and inerrant records preserved on sacred tablets narrate about him, his predecessors, as well as the succeeding generations,<sup>a</sup> as will be explained in what follows:

(11) Shem, the first son of Noah, when he was 103, begot Arphaxad in the second year after the Flood, in AM 2243, which was the 601st year of Noah's life. Shem lived another 500 years up until AM 2742. Noah lived 350 years after the Flood, and died in AM 2592, in the 450th year of Shem's life.

(12) Arphaxad, when he was 135, begot Kaïnan in AM 2377. He lived another 355 years up until AM 2732. He died ten years before his own father Shem. According to some of the manuscripts, as well as Eusebios, Arphaxad lived another 403 years after begetting Sala.<sup>1</sup> But these manuscripts we utterly disregard, since they have gone quite astray from a truthful account of the chronology and the generations. Both Africanus and Eusebios say that Sala was born to Arphaxad instead of Kaïnan, and they put Sala in the thirteenth, not the fourteenth generation. And they entirely neglect to mention the second Kaïnan, whom the sacred books at every point in Genesis, as well as the Gospel according to Luke, have declared to have been Arphaxad's son, the thirteenth descendant from Adam, and the father of Sala, the fourteenth from Adam.<sup>2</sup>

(13) Kaïnan, when he was 130, begot Sala in AM 2507, and lived another 430 years. Some of the manuscripts read 330 years.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Text: τῶν μετ' αὐτῶν ('those along with them'). αὐτῶν emended to αὐτόν to give a more logical sense (lit. 'those after him').

<sup>1</sup> Eus. 1.42.1–2. See above, p. 122 (= Moss. 97.23–4). Cf. also p. 111 (= Moss. 88.3–5), where Synk., contrary to the claim made here, states that Arphaxad lived 430 (not 355) years after begetting Kaïnan.

<sup>2</sup> Luke 3.36.

<sup>3</sup> This statement appears to be a correction of an earlier statement

(14) Sala, when he was 130, begot Heber in AM 2637. Sala lived another 330 years until AM 2967. In the 225th year of Sala, Arphaxad died.

(15) Heber, when he was 134, begot Phalek in AM 2771. After begetting Phalek, Heber lived another 270 years up until AM 3040. So in the 100th year of Heber, which was AM 2736, they began to erect the tower. In his 140th year, that is AM 2776, languages were multiplied into confusion, in the fifth year of the life of Phalek. In the sixth year they were dispersed, as some have calculated accurately and not unreasonably, in my opinion.

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(16) Phalek, when he was 130, begot Rhagau, and lived another 209 years. †He died before his own father, and this Heber was the second after Lamech, for 230 years.†<sup>1</sup>

(17) Rhagau, when he was 132, begot Serouch in AM 3033, in the 262nd year of Phalek.

(18) Serouch, when he was 130, begot Nachor in AM 3163.

(19) Nachor, when he was 79, begot Terah in AM 3242.

(20) Terah, when he was 70 years, begot Abraham. He lived another 135 years up to the 35th year of Isaac. In his 145th year, Abraham left him behind in Charran, and settled in the land of Canaan, following a divine oracle;<sup>2</sup> he was born in AM 3313, and he went up to the promised land in the 3387th year from Adam, which was the 75th year of his life.

(21) Abraham, when he was 100, begot Isaac in accordance with the divine promise.<sup>3</sup>

(22) Isaac, when he was 60, begot Jacob in AM 3473. That same year was the 161st year of Abraham, so that it is clear that Jacob was at least 14 years old in Abraham's 175th year, the year in which he passed on.

(p. 111 = Moss. 88.10–12). There Synkellos states that 'when he was 130, Kaïnan begot Sala in AM 2507. After the birth of this Sala, **Kaïnan lived another 330 years up to AM 2837**'.

<sup>1</sup> The Greek text of the passage enclosed in daggers reads: *καὶ ἀπέθανε πρὸ τοῦ ἰδίου πατρὸς καὶ οὗτος (A: οὕτως) Ἔβερ δεύτερος μετὰ τὸν Λάμεχ ἔτη σλ'*. The statement that Phalek predeceased his father contradicts Synk.'s own figures, according to which Phalek died in AM 3110, 70 years after the death of Heber AM 3040. The additional remark about Heber has little meaning in its present context. Cf. Kedr. i. 28.4–6: *ὅτι ὁ Φάλεκ πρὸ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ Ἔβερ τελευτᾷ, συνάγεται δὲ τὰ πάντα ἔτη ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀδάμ ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ Φάλεκ τελευτήν ἔτη τρισχίλια* ('Phalek died before his father Heber, and the years from Adam up to the death of Phalek are 3000 in all').

<sup>2</sup> Gen. 25.26.

<sup>3</sup> Gen. 21.5.

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Jacob, in the 82nd year of his life, begot Levi, as we have clearly demonstrated in the preceding synopsis.<sup>1</sup> For there definitely must have been nine years intervening between the births of Joseph and Levi, inasmuch as Joseph was the ninth to be born after him. Now it can be shown from scripture that Joseph was born in the 91st year of Jacob, seeing that it was in his father's 120th year that he, in his 30th year, was elevated to the rule of Egypt. And so we have also proved at the same time that Levi's birth, preceding Joseph's by nine years, must have occurred in Jacob's 82nd year. In addition to this, it can be inferred that ten years before Levi's birth Israel arrived in Mesopotamia. For on account of Rachel he served for the first seven years; and having had unintended relations with Leah, he had a third son Levi by her, obviously after a period of three years. Therefore one should trust neither Africanus' assertion that Levi was born in Jacob's 87th year, nor Eusebios' that he was born in his 86th.<sup>2</sup> For if we follow one or the other of them, we shall find that Joseph was born when Jacob was either 96 or 95 years old. And this contradicts what is set forth in divine scripture: namely (1) that Joseph was 30 years of age when he began to rule Egypt, and (2) that after ten years elapsed (I am referring to the seven years of plenty and the three years of famine), he was reunited with Israel and his whole household, Israel being 130 years of age and Joseph obviously 40.<sup>3</sup>

From this, we have thus precisely established the date of birth of each of these two patriarchs. And in doing the calculations in this way, we shall also have the agreement of other church historians who succeeded them,<sup>4</sup> but who do not provide the explanation and careful argumentation given above.

Jacob, at age 91, begot Joseph, the last of all his children to be born in Mesopotamia, and the first child born of Rachel. After his father returned to the land of Canaan, Joseph, sold into slavery because of his brothers' envy, was brought down to Egypt; this was in Jacob's 107th year, when Joseph was 17 years of age. 13 years later, at age 30, Joseph was entrusted with the government of Egypt; this occurred during the time of Pharaoh Aphophis, when he was in power,<sup>5</sup> and in the 120th year of Joseph's father. Ten years later,

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 150 (= Moss. 120.23-4).

<sup>2</sup> Routh, fr. 16; Eus. 1.46.29.

<sup>3</sup> Gen. 41.46-9; 46.6; 47.8-9.

<sup>4</sup> Referring to the successors of Africanus and Eusebios.

<sup>5</sup> Text: *κατὰ τὴν δυναστείαν*. Go.<sup>m</sup>: *κατὰ τὴν ἑξ' δυναστείαν* ('in the 17th dynasty'). But cf. above, pp. 87-8 (= Moss. 69.4-6), where Synk. ascribes the numbering of Aphophis in the 17th dynasty to a deliberate distortion of

after the seven years of plenty and the three years of famine, Jacob, in his 130th year, went down to Egypt, in Joseph's 40th year. He lived for another 17 years in Egypt, as the divine scripture of Genesis attests.<sup>1</sup>

In line with this, we can calculate that Joseph was therefore 57 years at the time of Jacob's death. When his father passed away at age 147 (that is, AM 3619), Joseph lived himself another 53 years. For Joseph's life, then, there is a total of 110 years, AM 3672.<sup>2</sup> Now although holy Genesis records events up until Joseph's death, it nowhere provides us with a synopsis of Levi's dates, during which time he begot Kaath, nor the dates of Kaath, during which he begot Amram, nor when Amram begot Moses.<sup>3</sup>

Four hundred and thirty is the number of years during which, according to God's oracle to Abraham, Israel would sojourn in the land of Canaan and Egypt. Interpreters and historians are unanimous in reckoning this from Abraham's 75th year.<sup>4</sup> Now from Abraham's 75th year up to the death of Joseph and the

Africanus by Eusebios. According to Africanus' version of Manetho, Aphophis belonged to the 15th Egyptian dynasty.

<sup>1</sup> Gen. 47.28.

<sup>2</sup> Gen. 50.26.

<sup>3</sup> See Exod. 6.16–20.

<sup>4</sup> The duration of Israel's sojourn in Egypt was a subject of considerable interest to Jewish and Christian historians. According to the oracle of Gen. 15.13, Abraham's seed would 'be a sojourner in a land not their own' for a period of 400 (not 430) years. In the Hebrew text of Exod. 12.40, however, the Israelites were said to have lived in Egypt for 430 years. According to the Septuagint version of the same Exodus verse, the sojourn of the Israelites 'in the land of Egypt and the land of Canaan' was 430 years. This latter reading is the text upon which Synk. bases his chronology, although he is aware of the conflict with the chronology of Gen. 15.13; see below, pp. 170–1 (= Moss. 136.13–30). Like other historians, he calculates the 430 years from Abraham's 75th year, that is the date of his departure from Haran for Canaan (Gen. 12.4). For other historians using this date to calculate the 430 years, see Eus. 1.45.32–46.22; Demetrios, the Jewish chronographer of Alexandria (in Eus. *PE* 9.21.18), who reckons 215 years from Abraham's call to Jacob's arrival in Egypt; and Jos. *Ant.* 2.318 (but cf. 2.204). Africanus also accepted Abraham's 75th year as the *terminus a quo*, which event he dated in AM 3277 (see above, p. 130 = Moss. 105.4–5); 430 years later would be AM 3707, a number consistent with his dating of the Exodus. See above, p. 92 (= Moss. 72.1–2) and n. 1. For discussion of the varying chronological schemes in Jewish and Christian chronography, see O. Andrei, 'The 430 Years of Ex. 12:40 from Demetrius to Julius Africanus. A Study in Jewish and Christian Chronography', *Henoch*, 18 (1996), 9–67.

conclusion of the book of Genesis, there are 200 years of Israel's sojourn, as follows:<sup>1</sup>

From Abraham's 75th year up to the birth of Isaac, there are 25 years.

Isaac begot Jacob in his 60th year.

Jacob was 130 when he went out to Joseph in Egypt, who was in the tenth year of his rule, and the 40th year of his life.

Joseph lived another 70 years after Israel's 130th year, that is the 40th year of Joseph's life.

Hence the 130th year of Jacob was 215 years after the divine oracle and the sojourn in the land of Canaan, as everyone acknowledges in agreement with scripture. AM 3600.<sup>2</sup>

Now Joseph lived another 70 years after his sojourn in Egypt. For the fulfilment of the 430 years, that leaves another 145 years from Joseph's 110th year up to the Exodus and the liberation of the Israelites, which occurred when Moses was 80. Now if we accept these 145 years as a given, we are certain about Moses' 80 years. However, the remaining 65 years, extending from Joseph's death and the conclusion of the book of Genesis (up to) the first year of Moses, are passed over in silence by scripture and are nowhere reported. It is only by first making the above subtraction from the 430 years of the sojourn that these years come to light: for there are 65 years from Joseph's death up to Moses' birth. But it is impossible to trace these years genealogically from the death of Joseph down to Moses, because it is another tribe from which Moses is descended, the tribe of Levi. It is absolutely necessary, then, that after offering here what is stated plainly in scripture and unanimously accepted, we reason backwards, as it were, to another starting-point.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> According to Synk.'s own chronology, the duration of time from Abraham's 75th year to the death of Joseph actually adds up to 285 years.

<sup>2</sup> For Africanus' chronology of Abraham's 215-year sojourn in Canaan, see Gelzer i. 86; see also Hippolyt. fr. 3 (= *Philosophum.* 10.30). Synk. seeks to demonstrate here that the 430-year period described in Exod. 12.40 consisted of two equal parts: 215 years in Canaan, and 215 years in Egypt. Since Abraham's 75th year occurred in AM 3387, 215 years after Abraham's 75th year would actually be AM 3602. This agrees with an earlier statement by Synk. (p. 158 = Moss. 126.10), in which he dates Jacob's migration to Egypt in the 'first year of the life of Kaath'. Elsewhere, he assigns Kaath's birth to the year AM 3602 (p. 155 = Moss. 124.15).

<sup>3</sup> In accordance with the received tradition, Synk. reckons the 430 years of captivity from Abraham's 75th year (= AM 3387) up to the Exodus of Moses and the Israelites (3816). The first 215 years, accounting for the

The first year of Levi: this occurred, as was shown a little before, in the 82nd year of Jacob, again the same year as the 167th year of the sojourn in the land of Canaan, as follows:

Abraham: from the 75th year, for a period of 125 years.<sup>1</sup>

Isaac: 60 years up to the first year of Jacob.

Jacob: 82 years up to the first year of Levi.

Total: 167 years.

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263 years of their sojourn of 430 years remain. But there is no testimony to be found in scripture for these years, except for the 80 years of Moses. However, for the remaining 183 years from the first

period in Canaan, extend from Abraham's 75th year to Jacob's arrival in Egypt (AM 3602). The second 215-year period comprehends the period up to the time of the Exodus. Like Jewish and Christian chronographers before him, Synk. understands the difficulties in establishing a chronology for this period, especially from the death of Joseph up to the birth of Moses. There is no genealogical connection between Joseph and Moses, the latter a descendant of Levi. Moreover, neither Genesis nor Exodus provides the relevant chronological information for Moses' forebears Amram, Kaath, and Levi. To fill in the gaps, Synk. appeals both to deduction and tradition. He knows that Moses was 80 years old at the time of the Exodus. That would leave 135 years (reckoning inclusively) from the time of Jacob's arrival in Egypt (AM 3602) up to Moses' birth (AM 3736). From his previous analysis, he can also determine the period of time from the death of Joseph to Moses' birth. Since Joseph was 90 years younger than Jacob, he would have been 40 years of age at the time of his father's arrival in Egypt. Thus the date of Joseph's death at 110 would have occurred 70 years after this. That would leave 65 years inclusive from Joseph's death to the birth of Moses. From his previous analysis, Synk. also knows that Levi was born in the 82nd year of Jacob (AM 3554), nine years before the birth of Joseph (AM 3563). If Jacob was 130 years at the time of his arrival in Egypt (AM 3602), then Levi would have been 47 (or 48) years of age at the time. To account for the 135 years, Synk. appeals to tradition. From this tradition, he has learnt that Levi was 48 years when he begot Kaath, which would mean Kaath's birth occurred in the same year as the arrival in Egypt; that would mean that Kaath was born in AM 3602. Since Kaath was 60 when he begot Amram and Amram was 75 when he begot Moses, this would account for the 135 years from Jacob's arrival in Egypt up to the time of Moses' birth. The Exodus, at which time Moses was 80 years of age, would then have occurred 215 years after the arrival of Jacob in Egypt.

<sup>1</sup> Text: ρκε' ('125'). This should be emended to κε' ('25'), which is the period of time extending from the oracle to Abraham at age 75 to the birth of Isaac, when Abraham was 100; 25 years would also produce the desired total of 167 years.

year of Levi up to the first year of Moses, there is universal agreement that the following chronology is accurate:<sup>1</sup>

- Levi, at age 47, begot Kaath.
- Kaath, at age 60, begot Amram.
- Amram, at age 75, begot Moses.
- Moses' first year.

Total years from the first year of Levi up to the first year of Moses:  
183.

Up to the 81st year of Moses, at which time he was in command of Israel's passage out of Egypt, there are 263 years. From Abraham's 75th year up to Levi's first year, there are 167 years. Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and the patriarchs sojourned in the land of Canaan and Egypt for a total of 430 years up to the 81st year of Moses.

Let no one suppose that there is an inconsistency in the formulation of the chronology as God proclaimed it to Abraham. In Genesis, it says, 'You shall surely know that your seed shall be a sojourner in a land not your own, and they shall enslave them, and afflict them and humble them for 400 years.'<sup>2</sup> By contrast, the book of Exodus states, 'And the sojourning of the sons of Israel, which they and their fathers sojourned in the land of Egypt and Canaan, was 430 years. And it came to pass after the 430 years, all the forces of the Lord came out of the land of Egypt by night.'<sup>3</sup> Both statements are in fact accurate: (1) the enumeration of 400 years begins after Abraham's 100th year, starting in the time of Isaac, who was, properly speaking, Abraham's seed from the divine promise and faith; (2) the 430 years commence with Abraham's 75th year and the original migration to the land of Canaan.

Now the verse 'They shall enslave and afflict and humble' should be understood as separate from and undefined by the 400 years. It would be as if someone were to say: 'Your seed shall be a sojourner in a land not your own for 400 years, and they shall enslave and afflict it.' Indeed, we find that the actual period of slavery

<sup>1</sup> Jewish and Christian chroniclers actually report widely divergent traditions about the ages of Moses' forebears when they begot sons:

	Demetrios (in Eus. <i>PE</i> 9.21.19)	Eusebios (1.46.30-2)	Epiphanius ( <i>Ancoratus</i> 110.5)	Georg. Mon. (i. 115.17-19)
Levi	60	46	40	45
Kaath	40	63	65	63
Amram	75	70	70	70

Cf. also Hippolyt. fr. 3 (= *Philosophum.* 10.30), which states that Levi was 40 years of age when he begot Kaath.

<sup>2</sup> Gen. 15.13.

<sup>3</sup> Exod. 12.40-1.



encompassed by all the years from the death of Joseph up to the 81st year of Moses totals 145 years, beginning with the milder misfortunes following the death of Joseph and gradually increasing in severity about the time of Moses, Aaron, and their contemporaries. [137]

There is a brief notice about this at the end of Genesis, which is of value for pre-Mosaic chronology, as well as the period of time during and after him. These matters are treated in detail in the book of Exodus, as well as the sacred books of Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy.

Now it remains for us to treat some minor matters concerning the twelve patriarchs and tribal chiefs before we set forth the chronological details in a table. These, then, are the children of Jacob, twelve in number and born from four women, the two free women Leah and Rachel, and the two maidservants Zelpha and Bala.<sup>1</sup> Of all the patriarchs, Reuben had primacy of birth, both chronologically and in the natural order of things. But when he had intercourse with his father's concubine, he was stripped of the high priesthood and kingship, along with the rights of primogeniture. He did, however, receive a blessing, and his offspring became numerous, because he did not allow Joseph to be killed by his brothers.<sup>2</sup> It is said that although he came up to his father's marriage-bed, he did not enter into sexual relations with his concubine. This, however, does not agree with scripture.<sup>3</sup> And the sons of the chaste Joseph were honoured by the rights of the first-born. For although Reuben had been dishonoured by a woman, Joseph received glory by not having relations with the Egyptian woman.<sup>4</sup> Moreover, he was Rachel's first-born. Upon Joseph's sons, Israel placed his hands crosswise, making the form of the cross. On Manasse, who, as Joseph's first-born, was standing towards the right, Israel laid his left hand. But on Ephraïm, even though as the younger son he was standing towards the left, he laid his right hand. With the eyes of a prophet, he blessed them and adopted them as his own sons, appointing the two to replace Joseph as tribal chiefs and patriarchs.<sup>5</sup>

Indeed, Joseph is not numbered by himself, but with Ephraïm in place of Levi. For the tribe of Levi, since of the twelve tribes it is the priestly one, is apart and by itself.<sup>6</sup> It was deemed worthy of

<sup>1</sup> Spelt Balla above, p. 161 (= Moss. 129.14).

<sup>2</sup> Gen. 37.21.

<sup>3</sup> Gen. 35.22; 49.4. For Rabbinic attempts to exonerate Reuben of entering into sexual relations with Bilhah, see *Gen. Rab.* 98.4; *b. Sabb.* 55b. For discussion, see Ginzberg, *Legends*, v. 319 n. 312.

<sup>4</sup> Gen. 39.7-18.

<sup>5</sup> Gen. 48.13-20.

<sup>6</sup> Deut. 18.1.

this honour for the following reason. While Levi was third from Reuben, at the time when a tithe was taken from all of his father's possessions, it was discovered that he was the tenth, counting backwards from Benjamin, the last of all the children; and so Levi was sanctified to God. For as he was fleeing Esau, Jacob prayed that whatever he came to own, he would offer a tenth of it to the Lord.<sup>1</sup> Otherwise, if Asher, the tenth from Reuben, had been sanctified as priest, the office of priest would belong to a disgraced line descended from a maidservant, which would not be pleasing to God.

138] After Jacob blessed the sons of Joseph, he convoked his sons, and blessed all of them beginning with Reuben. When he came to Judah, he bestowed upon him a blessing fit for royalty; this was because, it is said, in committing a sin born of ignorance and in condemning himself, he too did right by a woman, his own daughter-in-law Tamar.<sup>2</sup> Since Tamar belonged to the line of Abraham, according to some,<sup>3</sup> Er was the first of Judah's sons to avoid sexual relations with her, even though he was her husband; for he was born of a Canaanite woman.<sup>4</sup> It was also the reason why his brother Onan spoiled his own seed, since, as a child of Saua,<sup>5</sup> he was born of the same mother as Er. This was the woman who, overcome by the same hatred, prevented Selom as well from being wedded to Tamar.<sup>6</sup>

Levi, at age 137, died in Egypt in the 28th year of Ambram the father of Moses.<sup>7</sup>

AM 3690

In the 62nd year of Ambram, Mariam the sister of Moses was born.

AM 3724

In Ambram's 72nd year, Aaron was born.

AM 3734<sup>8</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Text *ἐκ τῆς γῆς Χανανίτιδος*. A: *ἐκ γῆς Χανανίτιδος*. B (= Di.): *ἐκ τῆς Χανανίτιδος*. The translation follows B. According to *Jub.* 41.2, Er refused sexual relations with Tamar because his mother was 'of the daughters of Canaan'.

<sup>1</sup> *Jub.* 32.2-3.

<sup>2</sup> Gen. 38; 49.8-12.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Jub.* 41.1, which makes Tamar a daughter of Aram, one of the descendants of Shem. Rabbinic sources describe Tamar as a daughter of Shem; see e.g. *Gen. Rab.* 85.10.

<sup>4</sup> Gen. 38.2-8. On Er's Canaanite background, see *Jub.* 41.1-2; *T. 12 Patr. Judah* 10.1-3.

<sup>5</sup> In the MT Shua is the father of Judah's wife. Synk., following the LXX text of Gen. 38.2, 12 (but cf. 1 Chr. 2.3) understands Shua as Judah's wife, not her father. According to *Jub.* 41.7, Judah's wife was named Bedsu'el.

<sup>6</sup> *Jub.* 41.4-7.

<sup>7</sup> Exod. 6.16.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Exod. 7.7.

Three months after Moses was born, his parents Amram and Jochabet his mother lowered him down in a chest smeared with bitumen and cast it near the banks of the river, out of fear of an order by Pharaoh decreeing that every male child born to the Hebrews was not to be kept alive.<sup>1</sup> Part of the reason they did this was that, owing to his exceedingly good looks, they shrank from extinguishing the life of something so beautiful. It was also because his father, a religious man, had previously received an oracle from God concerning his destiny (according to a report by some from the circumcision) that he would rule over Israel and that he would crush the dynasty of the Egyptians in a holy war.<sup>2</sup>

As she was walking around the meadows there with her maid-servants, the daughter of Pharaoh chanced upon him, in accordance with divine providence, and was struck by the infant's beauty. After presenting him to many foreign women, she found that he spurned them all.<sup>3</sup> She then employed his rightful mother Jochabet as a nurse, since she was a foreigner. And on the advice of his sister Mariam (who was accompanying her in order to ascertain the fate of the boy who had been cast into the river), this foreign woman was ordered to nurse the child as if it were her own, and promised the wages due a wet-nurse.<sup>4</sup> After he passed his early years and reached manhood, Pharaoh's daughter renamed him Moses. For she said, 'I took him from the water', whereas he had previously been named Melchias by his parents.<sup>5</sup>

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So the character of Moses' names was in a sense twofold, and worthy of the deeds associated with him. For Melchias means 'king'; and Moses means 'from the water' in the priestly tongue of the Egyptians.<sup>6</sup>

He was adopted as a son by Pharaoh's daughter Thermouthis,<sup>7</sup> also known as Pharia, because she was a princess, and as the son of a princess was thoroughly trained in Egyptian learning. It would

<sup>1</sup> Exod. 2.1-4.

<sup>2</sup> Jos. Ant. 2.215-16.

<sup>3</sup> Exod. 2.5-12; Jub. 47.5-8; Jos. Ant. 2.224-6.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Kedr. i. 75.14-16: 'And Mariam, his sister, who was with Mouthis, and was wondering about the fate of Moses, who had been thrown into the river, calls upon Jochabet, since she was a foreigner.'

<sup>5</sup> Exod. 2.5-10; Jub. 47.5-8; Jos. Ant. 2.226-8; Kedr. i. 75.12-19.

<sup>6</sup> For the same etymologies of the names Melchias and Moses, see Josip. Hypomnest. 63; for the derivation of the name Moses from the Egyptian word for 'water', see also Jos. Ant. 2.228; Ag. Ap. 1.286; Philo, Moses 1.17; Clem. Al. Strom. 1.23.152.

<sup>7</sup> For Thermouthis, a name not found in the Bible, see Jos. Ant. 2.224; Jub. 47.5.

thus be proper and fitting for him to be called 'king from the water'. For even putting aside his subsequent achievements in the Red Sea involving the Exodus of the people through it, you would gain knowledge [from this title] of his education in the palace, as well as the military reputation that he gained in his campaign against the Ethiopians. There, they say, the city of the Ethiopians known as Saba was besieged by him and was completely surrendered to him by Tharbe, the daughter of the Ethiopian king at that time; for the young girl was overpowered by love for Moses. Indeed, both the divine scriptures and other histories attest that even before his vision of God, his beauty was so great that everyone who beheld him became preoccupied and neglected the business at hand.<sup>1</sup>

It was in fact for this reason that Thermouthis, the daughter of Pharaoh, adopted him as her son, and the Ethiopian king's daughter Tharbe was overcome by his beauty and surrendered to him the above-mentioned capital city of Saba, as Josephos says.<sup>2</sup> Some time later, Kambyses, the son of Cyrus, captured this city and decreed that it be named Meroë after his sister. Now it is said that the adoptive mother Pharia once brought him to Pharaoh, who removed the royal crown on his head and placed it on the infant Moses.<sup>3</sup> But there is a tradition that he flung it down and trampled upon it.<sup>4</sup>

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As for the male children of the Hebrews, however, Josephos reports that Pharaoh ordered their deaths. For he heard a prediction from a sacred scribe of the Hebrews, a formidable man, that a birth of a child would put an end to the regime of the Egyptians.<sup>5</sup> Such was the nature of divine grace bestowed on Moses from infancy, and the kind of divine power and authority granted him in the palace of the Egyptians over the course of the life of Pharia and Pharaoh Amosis. According to some, Amosis was her father, but according to others her brother. For the latter would have it that both were raised as children of Amosis' predecessor, during whose reign they have determined that Moses was born.

<sup>1</sup> Jos. *Ant.* 2.231; see also Exod. 2.2; Acts 7.20; Philo, *Moses* 1.9.

<sup>2</sup> Jos. *Ant.* 2.231, 249–53.

<sup>3</sup> Text: *φασὶ δ' ὅτι ποτὲ τοῦτον ἢ θετὴ μητῆρ Φαρία προσαγαγούσα τῷ Φαραῶ τὸν ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτοῦ στέφανον βασιλικὸν ἀφελὼν περιέθηκε τῷ Μωυσῆ νηπιάζοντι.* The translation of this obscure passage has been reconstructed from the context and parallels in other sources. Cf. e.g. Kedr. i. 75.23–76.3: *φασὶ δ' ὅτι ποτὲ τοῦτον ἢ θετὴ μητῆρ Φαρία τῷ Φαραῶ προσαγαγούσα ἐκείνος τὸν ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς στέφανον αὐτοῦ τὸν βασιλικὸν ἀφελὼν περιέθηκε τῷ Μωϋσῆ νηπιάζοντι.*

<sup>4</sup> Jos. *Ant.* 2.232–3.

<sup>5</sup> Jos. *Ant.* 2.235. In Josephos' account, the scribe is said to have been Egyptian.

But we have ascertained that the second year of Amosis' rule was at the time of Inachos, the first king of Argos.<sup>1</sup> All the historians, both those of the circumcision and those living under grace—Josephos and Justus, the blessed Clement, author of the *Stromateis*, and Tatian and Africanus—are in agreement that Moses was born at the time of Inachos, that he was in his prime at the time of Phoroneus, the son of Inachos and Niobe, and that at the time of Apis he was in command of Israel's Exodus from Egypt; the proof for this they also furnish from those historians who are held in repute among the Greeks. Only Eusebios of Caesarea, in contradicting both them and himself, states that Moses came later, living around the time of Kekrops the Double-Natured, the first king of the Athenians, and after Ogygos and the flood in his time. He does, however, make mention of the names given above, men wiser than he is.<sup>2</sup> In our earlier response to him, we have, I think, adequately succeeded in making the case for the truth, and it is superfluous to reiterate it here.<sup>3</sup>

Now when Moses had reached maturity, he abandoned all human prosperity and threw in his lot with his oppressed countrymen.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> According to Synk.'s calculations, 2 Amosis was AM 3737, the year he gives for Moses' birth; see below, pp. 178, 184 (= Moss. 143.6–7; 147.2). However, Synk. also asserts that the birth of Moses occurred in 41 Inachos, which would be AM 3733; see pp. 88, 181 (= Moss. 69.23–4; 145.5). Synk. himself is uncertain whether the birth of Moses occurred during the reign of Aseth or his successor Amosis; see above, pp. 98, 99 (= Moss. 76.9–18; 77.4–5).

<sup>2</sup> Eus. 2.7.11–17, 12.1–7.

<sup>3</sup> See above, pp. 95–7 (= Moss. 74.21–76.6).

<sup>4</sup> Apart from some intermittent insertions of secular chronological notices, the ensuing narrative up to p. 210 (= Moss. 171.11) recounts Moses' deliverance of the Israelites from Egypt and Joshua's subsequent rise to power. In its close attention to the figure of Moses, particularly his spiritual and moral development, this segment of the chronicle reveals a markedly different literary character from the more strictly chronological content of the rest of the work. Beginning with Moses' voluntary retirement to an eremitic and philosophical existence in the land of Midian, the narrative culminates with his initiation into the divine mysteries on Mount Sinai; see pp. 176, 192 (= Moss. 140.27–141.3; 154.17–27). The section also includes personal reminiscences by Synk. himself; see below, pp. 188, 204, 207 (= Moss. 150.17–19; 165.17–19; 168.12–16). Although Gelzer (ii. 181–2) traced much of this section to Panodoros, it is one of the few places in the chronicle where he was prepared to acknowledge the originality of Synk. himself. Striking similarities with Gregory of Nyssa's *Life of Moses* suggest that Synk. probably used Gregory as a source as well.

Once when he noticed an Egyptian beating one of the Hebrews, he struck him and hid him in the sand.

141] Once again, when he attempted to settle a fight between two disputing Hebrews, he was publicly condemned by one of them as the murderer of the Egyptian slain the day before. And word of this reached the ruler of Egypt.<sup>1</sup> Thereupon, Moses withdrew to the land of Madiam, and embarked upon a greater pursuit of knowledge, the life of solitude separated from the masses. Purified in this way, by the time he reached age 80 (as he was tending sheep around Mount Sinai from age 40), he was deemed worthy of an awesome vision of God at high noon, his eyes illuminated with a light greater than that of the sun.<sup>2</sup>

Astounded at this, and gazing intently at a bramble-bush, he saw it blazing in fire, the bush, together with its branches, flourishing as if covered in dew. He was in even more consternation by hearing a voice calling him. Barefoot and stripped of animal skins to cover him, he was commanded to approach the mountain and touch the ground, as if he had been dazzled by such intense light. And so after approaching with great reverence, he averted his eyes at the divine words being uttered to him. And after begging off with extensive excuses, he was entrusted with authority over his own people.<sup>3</sup> Armed with signs and wonders, he went down to Egypt with his wife and two sons. It is said that an angel confronted him and threatened him with death, and his wife, even though a Gentile, appeased him with the blood from her child's circumcision.<sup>4</sup> Now after Aaron, who had been sent by God, met up with him, he conferred with him about convening the people into a single assembly; and about the speech, based on divine authority, that he would deliver to them; and what he should tell those who had been waiting for a long time about their liberation, which had not yet occurred;<sup>5</sup> and the miracles of the rod and of Moses' hand, which had turned white and which had again been restored, and the river water that turned to blood.<sup>6</sup> And now finally there was a contest between him and Pharaoh. For when they came to Misphegmouthosis, as he was called, they boldly presented their case with the words of God. At this, the tyrant grew enraged and

<sup>1</sup> Exod. 2.11-15.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Greg. Nys. *Moses* 1.20.

<sup>3</sup> Exod. 3.1-12.

<sup>4</sup> Exod. 4.24-6.

<sup>5</sup> Text: οὔτε (= A; B: οὐ) γεγονότος. Go.<sup>m</sup>: μήποτε γεγονότα. The meaning is unclear; our translation assumes a reading οὔπω γεγονυίας.

<sup>6</sup> Exod. 4.27-31.

increased the oppression of the Israelites. For he countered him with magical trickery, which, through illusion only and not real effect, makes a show equally impressive to those whose minds are easily deceived. But he became ashamed with these sorcerers when their rods were devoured by the rod of Moses.<sup>1</sup>

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When Moses saw that he and his attendants were defying God, he brought the first universal plague upon the Egyptian nation. At the command of God, he turned all the water into blood, so that the whole land of Egypt and the stones and the trees were filled with blood. But Moses and Aaron and the Hebrews drank the water, whereupon the countermeasure in turn taken by the sorcerers was to create the illusion that the water being procured by the Hebrews was, so it seemed, blood.<sup>2</sup>

We must suppose this same thing happened when the second plague, that of frogs, occurred: that while all the Egyptians were being scourged by the ordeal, only the lives of the Hebrews were immune from the pollution. The same was true for the lice and the dog-fly, the death of the cattle, the blisters caused by the black dust, the destructive hail and thunder, the locusts, and the darkness that could be felt; and finally, the death of the firstborn, extending to both human beings (including Pharaoh himself) and livestock, which the Hebrews avoided by pouring out blood on their doorposts and lintels. And after despoiling the Egyptians, they went out on that same night from Rhamesses to Sokchoth in the beginning of Moses' 81st year.<sup>3</sup>

The chronological sequence from Moses' first year on is given in the table below.<sup>4</sup>

### KINGS OF THE ASSYRIANS<sup>5</sup>

(13) The thirteenth king of the Assyrians was Aschalios	28 years <sup>6</sup>
	AM 3690
(14) The fourteenth king of the Assyrians was Sphairos	22 years
	AM 3718

<sup>1</sup> Exod. 5.1-9; 7.8-13.

<sup>2</sup> Exod. 7.14-25.

<sup>3</sup> Exod. 8.1-13.20.

<sup>4</sup> See below, p. 181 (= Moss. 147.1 ff.).

<sup>5</sup> Continued from p. 156 (= Moss. 124.22). Cf. Annianos in Elias Nis. 1.15.21-4; Eus. 1.31.8-11. Where the regnal years of Eusebios and Annianos diverge (given in parentheses in the notes), Synk. typically aligns with Elias' extract from Annianos.

<sup>6</sup> Annianos in Elias Nis. 1.15.21 (28 years). Cf. Eus. 1.31.8 (30 years).

- (15) The fifteenth king of the Assyrians was Mamylos  
30 years  
AM 3740
- (16) The sixteenth king of the Assyrians was Spartheos  
42 years<sup>1</sup>  
AM 3770

### KINGS OF THE EGYPTIANS<sup>2</sup>

- (30) The thirtieth king of the Egyptians was Sethos 50 years  
AM 3637
- (31) The thirty-first king of the Egyptians was Kertos  
29 years  
according  
to  
Josephos,  
44 years  
according  
to Manetho  
AM 3687
- 143] (32) The thirty-second king of the Egyptians was Aseth  
20 years  
AM 3716

This king added on the five epagomenal days of the year, and at his time, it is said, the Egyptian year of 365 days came into use, having been previously measured in periods of 360 days only. At his time, a young bull was deified and named Apis.<sup>3</sup>

- (33) The thirty-third king of the Egyptians was Amosis, also known as Tethmosis  
26 years  
AM 3736

### KINGS OF THE THEBANS<sup>4</sup>

- (31) The thirty-first king of the Thebans was Peteathyres  
16 years  
AM 3726
- (32) The thirty-second king of the Thebans was Ammenemes  
26 years  
AM 3742

<sup>1</sup> Annianos in Elias Nis. 1.15.24 (42 years). Cf. Eus. 1.31.11 (40 years).

<sup>2</sup> Ps.-Manetho, continued from p. 157 (= Moss. 125.8).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.28<sup>f</sup>; Herodot. 3.28; see also below, p. 214 (= Moss. 174.11).

<sup>4</sup> Ps.-Apollodoros, continued from p. 157 (= Moss. 125.24).



- (33) The thirty-third king of the Thebans) was Ammenemes II  
 23 years  
 AM 3768
- (34) The thirty-fourth king of the Thebans was Sistosichermes  
 Herakles 'the mighty'  
 55 years  
 AM 3791
- (35) The thirty-fifth king of the Thebans was Mares 43 years  
 AM 3846
- (36) The thirty-sixth king of the Thebans was Siphoas, also  
 known as Hermes, 'son of Hephaistos'  
 5 years  
 AM 3889

### KINGS OF THE SIKYONIANS<sup>1</sup>

- (14) The fourteenth king of the Sikyonians was Marathonios<sup>2</sup>  
 30 years  
 AM 3835
- (15) The fifteenth king of the Sikyonians was Marathios<sup>3</sup>  
 20 years  
 AM 3865
- (16) The sixteenth king of the Sikyonians was Korax 30 years  
 AM 3885
- (17) The seventeenth king of the Sikyonians was Epopeus  
 32 years<sup>4</sup>  
 AM 3915
- (18) The eighteenth king of the Sikyonians was Laomedon  
 43 years<sup>5</sup>  
 AM 3947

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### KINGS OF THE ARGIVES<sup>6</sup>

Reported to have succeeded the kingdom of the Sikyonians in Europe, this kingdom is also extremely ancient, [taking its name] from those who were later known as Argives after a king Argos. Its first king, Inachos, reigned for fifty years, after whom the region

<sup>1</sup> Continued from p. 157 (= Moss. 125.30). Cf. Eus. 1.82.11–20, from Kastor of Rhodes.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Eus. 1.82.11, which lists him as the 13th king.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Eus. 1.82.13, which lists him as the 14th king.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Eus. 1.82.19 (35 years).

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Eus. 1.82.20 (40 years).

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Dexipp. *FGrH* 100 F 1; Eus. 1.83.28–85.2, from Kastor of Rhodes.

was initially called Inachia up to the reign of Argos. Inachos began his reign about the time of Baschaleos, the thirteenth king of the Assyrians, in his third year, the 453rd year of the Assyrian kingdom;<sup>1</sup> about that time, Kertos was king of the Egyptians and Plemnaios was king of the Sikyonians.<sup>2</sup> But because of his antiquity, conflicting reports circulate among the Greeks about the date of his rule, as is true for the remaining kings. According to the majority of historians, there are 413 years from the first king Inachos to the ninth king Sthenelos.<sup>3</sup> After Sthenelos' expulsion, Danaos and his descendants, as all historians attest, then ruled over Argos for 162 years.<sup>4</sup> There are a total of 575 years from Inachos to Akrisios, the fifth king after Danaos, king of Argos.<sup>5</sup>

After Akrisios, the last king of the house of Danaos, the Argive kingdom was transferred to Mykenai about the time of the reign of Eurystheus, the son of Sthenelos, the son of Perseus. The house of Pelops succeeded to the throne. Pelops was their first king and it was from him that the region received the name Peloponnese. He was the patron of the Olympic games. He reigned for fifty-three

Gelzer traces the following excursus on Argive chronology (pp. 179–81 = Moss. 144.4–145.3) to the same source that Synk. previously cited in his treatment of Sikyonian chronology; see above, p. 136 (= Moss. 109.24–8). Markedly different from Synk.'s own record of Argive chronology, this source appears to draw upon the chronicles of Eusebios, Dexippos, and possibly Africanus. For analysis, see Gelzer ii. 218–21.

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 177 (= Moss. 142.20), where Synk. dates the beginning of the reign of 'Aschalios', the 13th Assyrian king, to AM 3690. The 3rd year of his reign would be AM 3692, the same year as the beginning of Inachos' reign; see below, p. 181 (= Moss. 145.5). If the 1st year of the Assyrian kingdom is AM 3216 (see above, p. 136 = Moss. 109.16), there would be 476, not 453, years up to 3 Aschalios. The '453rd year' is probably not a simple corruption, however. See e.g. *Χρον. συντ.* 84.3, which assigns the beginning of the Assyrian kingdom to AM 3239, that is, 453 years before the 3rd year of 'Bachchaleos', the 13th Assyrian king. For discussion, see Gelzer ii. 218–19.

<sup>2</sup> For the dates of Kertos and Plemnaios, see above, pp. 157, 178 (= Moss. 125.25–6; 142.27–8).

<sup>3</sup> According to Synk.'s own list of Argive kings, the period from Inachos to the end of Sthenelos' 11-year rule extended from AM 3692 to AM 4064 (372 years); see below, pp. 181, 219 (= Moss. 145.5; 178.10).

<sup>4</sup> Synk.'s own list gives 178 years, from AM 4064 to 4242; see below, p. 225 (= Moss. 182.13–20).

<sup>5</sup> Gelzer (ii. 219) traces this chronology to Africanus. Synk.'s own list assigns 550 years to the period from Inachos to the end of Akrisios' 31-year rule (AM 3692–4242).

years.<sup>1</sup> As to the years before his reign, twenty-seven of them are in dispute. Possibly, these years can be considered in the time of Oinomaos, when the government had been transferred to Mykenai during the reign of Eurystheus, Akrisios' successor. Some say Eurystheus ruled for eighty-three years before Pelops, while others say he ruled after Pelops for forty-five years.<sup>2</sup>

Next came the house of Pelops. Pelops' successors, Atreus and Thyestes, ruled for sixty-five years. After them, Atreus' son Agamemnon ruled with his brother Menelaos: according to some, thirty-three years, according to others, thirty years, or even twenty-eight years. Aigisthos: either seven or seventeen years. Orestes, son of Agamemnon, and Penthilos and Kometes: fifty-eight years.<sup>3</sup>

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The return of the descendants of Herakles, who seized the Peloponnese and succeeding the line of Pelops, controlled it for fifty-eight years. From that event up to the colonization of Ionia, there are sixty years. From the colonization of Ionia up to the 1st Olympiad they record 267 years.

#### Beginning of the Kingdom of the Argives<sup>4</sup>

(1) The first king was Inachos	56 years <sup>5</sup>
	AM 3692

In my opinion, Africanus is not right when he states in the third

<sup>1</sup> Although Synk. later acknowledges this tradition about Pelops' reign, he assigns only 35 years to his reign; see below, p. 232 (= Moss. 188.9-15). Eusebios' *Canons* also mention the 53 years of Pelops' rule (2.49<sup>h</sup>), but do not include his reign in their chronology of the Argive kingdom.

<sup>2</sup> As Synk. states later, considerable uncertainty existed among chronographers about Argive history after the reign of Akrisios and the transfer of rule to Mykenai; see below, p. 226 (= Moss. 183.15-18). According to Kastor (in Eus. 1.84.21-6), Akrisios' successor was Sthenelos' son Eurystheus, during whose 45-year reign Argive rule was transferred to Mykenai. Synk.'s own list names Pelops as Akrisios' successor and says nothing about Eurystheus' reign (p. 232 = Moss. 188.9-10). Neither chronicler mentions the name of Oinomaos; Gelzer (ii. 220) proposed that Africanus' chronicle was the source of the reference to the disputed 27 years of his rule before the reign of Pelops.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Eus. 1.84.27-31, 2.56.9-11: Atreus and Thyestes (65 years); Agamemnon (30 years); Aigisthos (17 years); Orestes, Tisamenos, Penthilos, and Kumetes (58 years). Synk.'s own chronology of the rules of these kings is completely different; see below, pp. 232, 245, 247 (= Moss. 188.16-17; 198.26-7; 199.27-200.2).

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Eus. 1.83.28-32, from Kastor of Rhodes.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Eus. 1.83.28 (50 years).

book of his *Histories* that the kingdom of the Argives began in the 200th year of the Assyrian kingdom, during the reign of Areios, the fifth Assyrian king.<sup>1</sup> For by this reasoning, Moses will have been born near the end of the life of Abraham, since there is universal agreement that Abraham's first year coincides with the forty-third year of Ninus, who succeeded Belos as the second king of the Assyrians. Belos ruled for fifty-five years, and Ninus for forty-four years, and Abraham was 101 years old [in the 200th year of the Assyrian kingdom]. Then Moses will have been born in the 101st year of Abraham, which is impossible. For Africanus admits that Moses was born at the time of Inachos.<sup>2</sup>

(2) The second king of the Argives was Phoroneus      60 years  
AM 3748

Phoroneus, son of Inachos and Niobe, is said to have been the first to establish laws and courts among the Greeks. Some say that Niobe was Phoroneus' daughter, which is not true.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Routh, fr. 23.

<sup>2</sup> Routh, fr. 22. Synk. argues that if Abraham was born in 43, then 98 complete years would have elapsed from the beginning of the Assyrian kingdom (55 + 43). By this reasoning, Abraham was 101 years of age in the 200th year of the Assyrian kingdom. Since, according to Africanus, the Argive king Inachos began his rule in the same year, Synk. concludes that Africanus must have erroneously assumed that Abraham was still alive when Moses was born. By Africanus' own calculations, however, Moses' birth (AM 3707) was 505 years later than the birth of Abraham (AM 3202). Synk.'s argument rests on the questionable assumption that Africanus accepted the dating of the birth of Abraham in 43 Ninus. Although this is the date that Eusebios provides for Abraham's birth in his *Canons* (2.20.5-6), Africanus probably did not accept the same dating. Since Eusebios dated Moses' birth in the reign of Kekrops (much later than Africanus' dating of Moses' birth in the reign of Inachos), it is not likely that Africanus accepted the synchronism of Abraham with the reign of Ninus. Additional evidence that Africanus dated Abraham's birth much earlier than this is found in his own chronology of the kingdom of Sikyon. Eusebios' *Canons* date Abraham's birth to the 22nd year of Europos, the second king of Sikyon (i.e. the 75th year of the kingdom of Sikyon). But by Africanus' own reckoning, Abraham was born 190 years before the beginning of the kingdom of Sikyon. Synk.'s own words (εἴ γε πάντες ὁμολογοῦσι) seem to acknowledge that the dating of Abraham in the reign of Ninus might not have been accepted by Africanus. For further discussion, see Routh ii. 438.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.29<sup>e</sup>.

## MISCELLANY

Around this time, the indigenous Kres was king of Crete;<sup>1</sup> they say he was one of the Kouretes. (Zeus, who was falsely called a god by the Greeks, was clandestinely raised by them.) Kres became the absolute ruler of Crete. It was from this Kres that the island received the name of Crete. It is said that these Kouretes established the city of Knossos in Crete and the temple of the mother-goddess Kybele.<sup>2</sup>

Argos and Sikyon are cities of the Peloponnese.<sup>a</sup>

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When Io, the daughter of Inachos, arrived in Egypt, she received the name Isis. The Egyptians venerate her by the name Isis 'Pharia' because she arrived first at the island of Pharos. Some say that after marrying Telegonos she gave birth to Epaphos.<sup>3</sup>

The river Inachos in Argos is named after Inachos and the Bosphoros is named after Io.<sup>4</sup>

Kasos and Belos, children of Inachos, established at the river Orontes the Syrian city now known as Antioch.<sup>5</sup>

Niobe, Inachos' wife and the mother of Phoroneus, was the first woman with whom Zeus had intercourse. From her, Zeus had a son Apis, also known as Sarapis.<sup>6</sup>

The Greeks tell a story that around this same time the utterly depraved Zeus had intercourse with Inachos' daughter, whom he transformed into a cow. It is from her that the Bosphoros received its name.<sup>7</sup>

There is a tradition that every deed considered remarkable by the Greeks happened in the time of Inachos and Phoroneus and the period of time that followed. Hence Plato in the dialogue called the *Timaios* mentions, as if it were extremely ancient, the epoch of Phoroneus and Niobe, as well as the flood of remote antiquity that occurred at the time of Ogygos, who is said to have been contemporary with Phoroneus and Apis.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Text: *Πελοπόννησος*. Emended to *Πελοποννήσου*.

<sup>1</sup> Eus. 2.22<sup>c</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> Eus. 2.22<sup>d</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.27<sup>f</sup>, 43<sup>h</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> Eus. 2.27<sup>f</sup>.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Joh. Mal. 28.1-30.3.

<sup>6</sup> Eus. 2.30<sup>h</sup>.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.42<sup>m</sup>. According to the legend, Io (daughter of Inachos or Iasos), after being transformed into a cow, swam across this strait. From this, the Bosphoros ('Cowford') received its name. For various versions of the legend, see e.g. Ps.-Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.1.3; Paus. 2.16.1; 3.18.13.

<sup>8</sup> Plato, *Tim.* 22 A, where Phoroneus is described as the 'first man'; see also Eus. 2.29<sup>f</sup> (quoting from the same *Timaeus* passage).

## Thessaly

Around this time, the first king of Thessaly was Graikos' son Thessalos. Even to this day, the region is named after him.<sup>1</sup>

Ogygos, the first king of Akte, now known as Attica, was becoming known in this time. Ogygos in Akte \* \* \*, in Lake Triton, she was named Athena by the Greeks.<sup>2</sup>

The Telchines and Karoiatai made war with Phoroneus and the Parrhasioi.<sup>3</sup>

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## UNIVERSAL YEARS

The 120 years of Moses, beginning in AM 3737.<sup>4</sup>

In AM 3816, at the completion of Moses' 80th year and the beginning of his 81st, on the first day of the feast of unleavened bread, on Luna 14, in the middle of the night, the Lord smote every first-born offspring in the land of Egypt, from the first-born son of Pharaoh who sat on the throne, to the first-born of the captive maid in the dungeon, and the first-born of all cattle. And Pharaoh rose up, and all his attendants and all the Egyptians, and there was great lamentation in all the land of Egypt. And there was not a household in which there was not one who had died.<sup>5</sup> And Pharaoh summoned

<sup>1</sup> Eus. 2.30<sup>g</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> Text: Ὀγυγος ἐν Ἀκτῇ \* \* \* Τριτώνιδι λίμνη Ἀθηνᾶ παρ' Ἑλλήσιν ὀνομάσθη. Mosshammer (n. ad loc.) completes the lacuna from *Ἐκλ. ἰστ. 176.2-4: ἐν δὲ τῇ Ἀττικῇ τῇ πάλαι Ἀκτῇ καλουμένη Ὀγυγος ἔκτισεν Ἐλευσίνα καὶ ἄλλας πόλεις, καθ' ὃν πρὸς τῇ Τριτώνιδι λίμνη παρθένος ἐφάνη, ἣν Ἕλληνες Ἀθηνᾶν ὀνόμασαν* ('In Attica, which was anciently called Akte, Ogygos established Eleusis and other cities; in whose time, there appeared near Lake Triton a maiden, whom the Greeks called Athena.'). See also Eus. 2.30<sup>k</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> Eus. 2.30<sup>i</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> Deut 34.7. Synk.'s dating of the birth of Moses is not consistent. He first dates it to AM 3732, in 16 or 17 Aseth, 55 Inachos, and 4 years before the accession of Amosis to the throne (pp. 98, 99 = Moss. 76.14-16; 77.2-9). He later states, however, that Moses was born in 2 Amosis, the latter coming to power in AM 3736 (p. 178 = Moss. 143.6-7). Since Moses was born 3 years after Aaron, the year AM 3737 would also agree with Synk.'s dating of the birth of Aaron in AM 3734 (p. 172 = Moss. 138.14). But Synk.'s subsequent dating of 'the completion of Moses' 80th year' in AM 3816 implies that Moses was born in AM 3736. Since Synk.'s notices of universal years typically give the 'era' of each patriarch (1 year later than the date of his birth), Gelzer suggests (ii. 235) that AM 3736 is the preferred year of Moses' birth.

<sup>5</sup> Text: τεθνηκός. Cf. Exod. 12.30, at which verse most MSS of the LXX read τεθνηκώς.

Moses and Aaron by night, and said to them, 'Rise up and go forth from the people, you and the sons of Israel. Proceed and serve the Lord your God, just as you say. And take your sheep and your oxen, and go, just as you have said. Bless me also, I pray.'<sup>1</sup>

And the Egyptians constrained the people, to cast them from the land in haste. For they said, 'All of us are dying.' And the people took their dough before it was leavened, the kneaded dough bound up in their garments on their shoulders. And they asked of the Egyptians silver and gold vessels, as well as clothing. And the Lord gave favour to his people before the Egyptians. And they gave them what they needed and they despoiled the Egyptians.

And the sons of Israel departed from Rhamesses to Sokchoth, about 600,000 men on foot, besides the baggage. And a great mixed company went up with them, sheep and oxen and very many cattle. And they baked the dough that they brought out of Egypt, unleavened loaves baked in the ashes. For it was not leavened, because the Egyptians expelled them, and they were not able to tarry, nor did they make provision for themselves for the journey.

And the sojourning of the sons of Israel, which they and their fathers sojourned in the land of Egypt and in the land of Canaan, was 430 years. And it came to pass after 430 years that the whole force of the Lord came out from the land of Egypt. It is a watch by the Lord at night, so that he should bring them out from the land of Egypt. That very night is a watch kept for the Lord, so that it should be to all the sons of Israel for their generations.<sup>2</sup>

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When God led them out from Egypt, he did not lead them via the short route to the land of the Philistines, or the even shorter route that goes between Lake Serbonis and the sea in Egypt. It was rather in a circle through the more southern region and the Red Sea, to prevent those who lacked faith from changing their mind and turning back to Egypt.<sup>3</sup>

And when their departure from Egypt had lasted three days, taking them from Rhamesses to Sokchoth and from Sokchoth to Nonthom by the wilderness and from Nonthom between Magdol and the Red Sea, in front of the village<sup>4</sup> and opposite Beëlsephon, the Egyptians concluded that the Israelites were lost. By night, however, they were guided by a pillar of fire, and by day by a pillar of cloud. This cloud was not the ordinary type composed of a

<sup>1</sup> Exod. 7.7; 12.1-4; 12.29-32.

<sup>2</sup> Exod. 12.30-42.

<sup>3</sup> Exod. 13.17-18.

<sup>4</sup> Text: ἀπέναντι τῆς ἐπαύλεως, following the LXX of Exod. 14.2. Cf. MT: 'in front of Pihahiroth'.

mixture of steam and vapour, when air is compressed out of a misty substance by the winds. Rather, it was composed of something else, loftier than the human mind can conceive. And this marvellously protected them by day from the burning heat of the sun's radiation which extends widely over the inhabited area of that region, and cast a dewlike shade over the people. But from evening to dawn it provided illumination, and guided by it they arrived at the Red Sea.<sup>1</sup>

Pharaoh, along with his chariots and horses and the élite viziers of Egypt, hemmed them in between himself and the waters of the sea, without any means of escape other than to call upon the Lord, as the words of scripture say; and they murmured against Moses, that in liberating them from a comfortable servitude, he had arranged for them graves in the wilderness. But exhorting them with his lips to take courage, even though suffering greatly in his heart, he struck the sea with his rod. This was as he was commanded by God [to do] early in the morning, and to lead the people across it as if they were on dry land, when the day already began to dawn—which in fact took place. For when Moses squarely struck the beach of the water, the whole sea even as far as the opposite bank broke open, and the waves and waters solidified. It is the sort of thing that is wont to happen with hot glass: if it is cracked in one part, the crack cuts through in a straight line to the other end.<sup>2</sup> In this way, he and the multitudes with him, their feet not even wet, crossed the bottom of the sea, shielded on all sides by walls of the sea's waters and waves.<sup>3</sup>

But the Egyptians, when God arrayed their camp for battle<sup>4</sup> with

<sup>1</sup> Exod. 13.20–14.3. For a very similar explanation of the physical properties of the cloud, see Greg. Nys. *Moses* 1.30, tr. A. J. Malherbe and E. Ferguson (New York, 1978): 'This was no ordinary cloud, for it was not composed of the vapors or exhalations as normal clouds are. The winds did not press the vapors of the air into a misty composition; it was something beyond human comprehension. . . . When the rays of the noon-day sun shone with great heat, the cloud was a shelter for the people, shadowing those below it and moistening with a light dew the fiery heat of the atmosphere.' See also Orig. *Excerpta in Psalmos* (PG 17.141 B).

<sup>2</sup> Greg. Nys. *Moses* 1.31: 'The sea split at the blow (of the rod), just as a crack in glass runs straight through across to the edge when a break occurs at any point.'

<sup>3</sup> Exod. 14.9–14, 21–2.

<sup>4</sup> Text: τοῦ θεοῦ συντάξαντος αὐτοῖς τὴν παρεμβολήν. Cf. Exod. 14.24 (LXX), where most MSS read: συνετάραξεν τὴν παρεμβολὴν τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ('[the Lord] threw the camp of the Egyptians into disorder'); but Brooke–McLean report συνέταξεν in a cursive MS, and it seems to be presupposed by the Ethiopic version.



a pillar of fire and cloud, that is with thunder, lightning, storms, and hail, fled beneath the water of the Red Sea. And the Lord God dislodged all the Egyptians in it, including Pharaoh, when Moses turned around and with the rod held obliquely in the figure of a cross, struck the waters at the command of God. And some say that Egyptian corpses were hurled forward on to the shore and discovered in full battle-gear, whom the Jews despoiled when they got to the other side of the Red Sea.<sup>1</sup>

They departed from the Red Sea, and after a three days' journey they arrived, parched by thirst, at the arid desert of Sour. And there again they stirred up opposition to Moses, when they set up camp at a certain lake whose bitter water was undrinkable. For this reason, it was named Merrā. As a remedy for its bitterness, Moses cast into it a tree, which had been revealed by God as a type of the life-giving tree of the cross.<sup>2</sup> From there they came to Eleim. On each occasion, the cloud moved before them in accordance with divine will and stopped at resting places; by being stationary it indicated places to stop at, and by moving it signified points of departures, doing this continually over the entire course of time that they spent in the wilderness.

And they found in Eleim twelve springs of potable water and seventy palms, prefigurements of our Saviour's disciples, who gave water to the noetic Israel with the divine streams of the gospel teaching—they and their seventy fellow disciples whom the twelve dispersed throughout the whole world.<sup>3</sup> From Eleim, they arrived at the wilderness of Sinai,<sup>4</sup> the region situated between Eleim and Mount Sinai. And there they began to cry out against Moses and Aaron, 'Would that we had died by the plagues of the Lord in Egypt, when we enjoyed her meat and bread.'<sup>5</sup> But bread was not given to them from the earth; rather it streamed down like dew from heaven and at dawn became solid like crystal, resembling the white seed of coriander. But the taste was like a wafer with honey. The unbelievers, in their ignorance, asked each other, 'What is it?' It was therefore called 'manna'.<sup>6</sup> And the measure that God had established for each person to collect, whether strong or weak, was a

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<sup>1</sup> Exod. 14.24–8. On the despoiling of the Egyptian corpses, see Jos. *Ant.* 2.349; Demetrios, in Eus. *PE* 9.29.16 (= *FGrH* 722 F 5).

<sup>2</sup> Exod. 15.22–5. For this typological interpretation of Moses and the tree, cf. Tert. *Adv. Iud.* 13.12.

<sup>3</sup> Exod. 15.27; Luke 10.1.

<sup>4</sup> Text: ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ Σινᾶ. Cf. Exod. 16.1 (LXX): εἰς τὴν ἐρημον Σίν.

<sup>5</sup> Exod. 16.3.

<sup>6</sup> Exod. 16.14, 31.

gomor;<sup>1</sup> and the one who collected more was found to have the same amount as the one who collected only a little. Incredibly, the one who had too much had his amount reduced, while the one with too little received an additional amount. A portion of this preserved until the next day would change into the form of worms. Only the Sabbath was an exception, which was most incredible. For although the amount collected was equal to the other days, it became twice the size on the day before the Sabbath, of sufficient quantity for two days: the day of preparation and the Sabbath. Nor was any of it spoilt.<sup>2</sup> This also prefigured the imperishable state of the Lord's body, at that moment of his burial on our behalf. For in undergoing the same suffering that we do, his body physically endured the mortal wounds of the nails of a cross and the spear (an act due to his compassion, and entirely sin-free). Yet by no means did his body undergo death and dissolution.<sup>3</sup> The above-mentioned manna, however, also has other meanings, mysteriously symbolizing the all-hallowed mother of God and the life of virtue, matters that it is not my purpose to discuss at this time.<sup>4</sup> Now when manna was brought back from Parthia, I myself saw it and partook of it, and it had the same taste; however, it was not seen in the same kind of abundance that it had once been seen, nor did it appear in the wilderness of Sinai.<sup>5</sup> And in the evenings a species of birds known as quail<sup>6</sup> came up to them and covered the camp, to serve as food. So they ate manna for forty years, and undeserving of what God had provided, they reviled it frequently as worthless bread.<sup>7</sup> And Aaron, in the presence of God, stored a gomor of manna in a golden urn for their generations to come, just as the Lord had commanded to Moses.<sup>8</sup>

And they departed from the wilderness of Sinai by the word of the Lord and arrived in Rhapsidein, an arid place. Harshly reviled there

<sup>1</sup> Hebrew: 'omer (about 2.3 litres).

<sup>2</sup> Exod. 16.17-24.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. John 6.48-51.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Kedr. i. 137.19-138.2.

<sup>5</sup> The reference to Parthia led Gelzer (i. 10) initially to suggest that this was not Synk.'s own personal reminiscence, but rather a notice taken from the chronicle of Africanus. In his second volume (ii. 181-2), he retracted this opinion, preferring to identify the author as Synk. himself.

<sup>6</sup> Text: *ὀρτυγομήτρα* as in Exod. 16.13 [LXX], which is properly not the quail (*ὀρτυξ*) as in the Hebrew text, but another bird associated with it, probably the corncrake. Other Byzantine authors consider this bird to be a large variety of quail; see e.g. Phot. *Lex.* s.v. *ὀρτυγομήτρα*.

<sup>7</sup> Text: *διάκενον ἄρτον*; for this expression, see Num. 21.5.

<sup>8</sup> Exod. 16.13, 33-5.

by the people, Moses prayed to God and was told in a divine oracle to smite the rock with his rod and give water to those who were bitter against him. He named the place 'testing' and 'rebuke'.<sup>1</sup> Thereupon, Amalek arrived and made war against Israel. Against him Moses sent as his general Joshua, previously called Auses, the son of Nun, with an élite force of men, while Moses himself, making a sign of the cross by stretching out his hands, put his faith in God.<sup>2</sup> And as long as Moses shaped his hands in this way and raised them aloft, Israel prevailed over its enemies. But whenever he put them down because they grew heavy, they suffered a setback. Then, sitting down on a rock, and supported by Aaron and Or, he kept his hands outstretched until sundown. And Joshua routed all of Amalek by the slaughter of the sword. Since they were responsible for their victory, Joshua used outstretched hands shaped in the form of a cross as a victory monument for the lawgiver.<sup>3</sup>

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Then Jothor, the son of Rhagouel and father-in-law of Moses, came to him, accompanied by Moses' wife Sepphora and the two children that she bore for him in the region of the wilderness of Madiam in Arabia Felix near Mount Sinai. Concerning this, the divine apostle said, 'Hagar is Mount Sinai in Arabia, which is a covenant born in slavery.'<sup>4</sup> And the names of these children were Gersam and Eliezer. They performed no deed worth mentioning.<sup>5</sup>

Now when Jothor heard about the wonders in Egypt and the Red Sea, he was amazed and praised God, offering to him burnt offerings. And he banqueted with Moses and Aaron and all the elders of Israel. And after providing excellent advice about conducting trials, he returned to Madiam, where Moses had sent him.<sup>6</sup>

And on the third new moon of the Exodus of the sons of Israel from the land of Egypt, on this very day they came into the wilderness of Sinai. Israel approached<sup>7</sup> there before the mountain, and Moses went up to the mountain of God. It was then that Moses was initiated into the sacred doctrines involving the affairs of his people.<sup>8</sup> And he descended and reported these things to the elders.

<sup>1</sup> Exod. 17.1-7.

<sup>2</sup> On the extended hands of Moses as a sign of the cross, see e.g. Greg. Nys. *Moses* 2.151; Ps.-Barn. *Ep.* 12.2; Just. Mart. *Dial.* 91, 112, 131.

<sup>3</sup> Exod. 17.8-13.

<sup>4</sup> Gal. 4.24-5.

<sup>5</sup> Exod. 18.1-6.

<sup>6</sup> Exod. 18.8-27.

<sup>7</sup> Text: *παρέβαλλον*. Cf. Exod. 19.2 (LXX), which reads *παρενέβαλεν* ('encamped').

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Greg. Nys. *Moses* 1.42; Philo, *Moses* 2.71.

Now when they promised to be obedient to God in everything, he brought their words back to God. After descending again, he adjured the people to be cleansed of all defilement, be purified by the sprinkling of water, and abstain from marital relations for three days. And towards dawn on the third day there were voices and flashes of lightning and a dark cloud on the mountain, so that the mountain<sup>a</sup> was invisible because it was surrounded by the cover of the darkness<sup>1</sup>; and blackened with smoke by an encircling fire and with the awesome sound of a trumpet reverberating all around, it produced a terrifying spectacle to those who witnessed it. All the people were dumbfounded at these things, when the sound of the trumpet grew very loud at the descent of God on the mountain, and when Moses spoke and God responded.<sup>2</sup> Then the Lord proclaimed to Moses the laws of the Decalogue:

1. I am the Lord your God, who led you out of the land of Egypt.
2. You shall not have gods other than me. You shall not make for yourself an idol or a likeness of anything.
3. You shall not take the name of the Lord your God in vain. For the Lord will not acquit anyone who takes his name in vain.
4. Remember the sabbath day to keep it holy.
5. Honour your father and your mother, so that it may be well with you and that you may live long on the earth.
6. You shall not commit adultery.
7. You shall not commit murder.
8. You shall not steal.
9. You shall not bear false witness against your neighbour.
10. You shall not covet your neighbour's wife. You shall not covet your neighbour's house or his field or his servant or his maidservant or his ox, or his ass, or any of his cattle, or whatever belongs to your neighbour.<sup>3</sup>

This decalogue is an arrangement of general precepts.

These divine instructions were ordained in a terrifying spoken voice, as the people watched and heard.<sup>4</sup> But since they could not bear to hear something so astounding and unbearable to the ears, they asked that Moses should mediate to them the rest of the laws,

<sup>a</sup> Text: τοῦ ὄρους εἶναι, yielding the sense 'all round the mountain'. MS A has τὸ ὄρος εἶναι, the reading followed here.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Greg. Nys. *Moses* 1.43, in which a cloud blotted out the light and plunged the mountain into darkness.

<sup>2</sup> Exod. 19.1-3, 7-8, 14-19, 25.

<sup>3</sup> Exod. 20.1-17.

<sup>4</sup> Exod. 20.18-19.

consisting of a succession of fifty topics and pertaining specifically to them.<sup>1</sup>

They concerned servants, and voluntary and involuntary bloodshed; disrespect and abusive language towards one's parents; theft; lethal and non-lethal blows in conflict; relations between free men, and those of a master with a slave and men with a pregnant woman; the blinding of a male and female slave; a bull who gores someone to death, and its owner; the digging of a pit, and the cattle who fall into it; a bull that gores another bull; theft of a bull-calf and death of the thief digging through to steal cattle; burning of a threshing-floor; deposit of silver and gold in trust; lending of asses and all kinds of cattle for use by a neighbour; defilement of a virgin; the putting to death of a sorcerer; bestiality; sacrifices to idols; oppression of a sojourner, orphans, and widows; lending money; abusive language to God and rulers of the people; the firstfruits of the threshing-floor and the press; the first born, including sons, and bull-calves, and sheep and asses.

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These men are to be holy to God; they are not to eat flesh taken from beasts, but throw it to the dogs instead; not to receive an empty report; not to testify in support of an unrighteous person; not to associate with masses of people for evil; not to turn aside judgement with the masses; not to spare a poor man in judgement; to turn back and restore the cow or the ass of an enemy when one finds it wandering lost and lift it up when it has fallen under the burden; not to pervert the justice due to the poor; to abstain from every unjust thing; not to kill the innocent and the just; not to justify the ungodly; not to receive gifts, since they blind the seeing and corrupt that which is just; to treat the sojourner kindly; to sow the land for six years and give it a rest in the seventh, for the benefit of the poor and the wild beasts; likewise, to work the vineyard and the oliveyard for six days and rest on the seventh day.<sup>2</sup>

Not to swear by the name of a foreign god; nor to address it in speech; to keep three feasts in the year: first, the feast of the unleavened bread for seven days, in the month of the new crop, that is, on the first full moon of the spring; second, the feast of the harvest of the firstfruits; and third, the feast of the completion of the gathering of the works of the field at the end of the year. Not to appear empty-handed before the Lord; and for every male child to

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Greg. Nys. *Moses* 1.45: 'The people as a whole were incapable of enduring what was heard. Therefore, a general request from all was brought before Moses that the Law be mediated through him . . .'

<sup>2</sup> Exod. 21.1-23.11.

154] appear before the Lord during these three festivals. Not to offer the blood of the Lord's sacrifice with leaven, but rather with unleavened bread; that the fat of the feast should not remain until morning; to bring the first-offerings of the firstfruits of the land into the house of God; and finally, not to boil a lamb in its mother's milk.<sup>1</sup>

When he came to them, Moses announced these ordinances to the people, along with some other divine exhortations as well. All the people answered in one voice, saying, 'We shall carry out all the words of the Lord and we will heed them.' And he wrote down all of them. Then he arose at dawn and built an altar under the mountain, and set twelve stones there for the twelve tribes. And he made an offering of bull-calves to God and poured out half of the blood on the altar. Again he read the book of the covenant in the ears of the people, and they said, 'Whatever the Lord proclaimed, we shall do and heed.' And taking the other half of the blood of the offerings in a bowl, he sprinkled it on the people and said, 'Behold the blood of the covenant which the Lord has made with you concerning all these words.'<sup>2</sup>

Taking with him Aaron and Nadab and Abioud along with 70 other elders of the council, Moses went up to that place where the God of Israel stood. They saw the place and what was under his feet as if it were a work of the sapphire stone and like the form of the firmament of heaven in its purity; and not even one of the chosen of Israel was missing. And they appeared in the place and ate and drank.<sup>3</sup>

So then, once Moses was mentally prepared with instruction in the general and the particular laws, he was commanded by God to go up to the mountain ridge. And ascending there accompanied only by Joshua son of Nun, he was elevated to a more complete initiation into the divine mysteries, when an ornately designed temple was exhibited to him, difficult to describe, adorned with gateways, pillars, curtains, a table, lamps, a censer, and sacred sanctuaries, entrance into which was prohibited. The record of their construction Moses was not merely commanded to commit to writing; rather, to the extent that it is humanly possible to reproduce that immaterial and marvellous creation with a material structure, he was ordered to construct with the same labour a replica of it made out of the most precious materials that could be found on earth. This took the form of a tent carried around by the wandering people as they moved from place to place.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Exod. 23.13-19.

<sup>2</sup> Exod. 24.3-8.

<sup>3</sup> Exod. 24.9-12.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Exod. 24.12-25.8. See also Greg. Nys. *Moses* 1.49.

In its construction, gold was employed mainly as an overlay encircling the pillars; but on the capitals and pedestals there was also silver, and even in some places brass on the capitals and pedestals of the silver pillars. And the wall enclosing the temple and the roof over the pillars and the curtains and the veils were made entirely of blue and purple and scarlet fabric dyed and expertly woven from radiant and natural flax of the whitest colour. In places, both linen and wool and red skins were also employed, each according to its proper use.<sup>1</sup>

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In addition to this there was a priestly garment, made out of shoulder-pieces dyed in the various colours from which the curtain too was embroidered. They consisted mainly of golden thread, with brooches on either side. These held together the shoulder-pieces, binding them tightly with emeralds interwoven in a circle of gold, the stones shining a brilliant shade of natural green. Engraved on these stones were the names of the patriarchs, six names on each stone. And there were small disks elegantly suspended from them on the front part. Suspended on both sides from the clasp above and attached to the small disks were chains interwoven and separated from each other according to fixed measure, wreathed from gold in the form of a net and coloured in dyes.<sup>2</sup>

In addition to this, the oracle of judgement, placed on the chest of the high priest, was fashioned out of linen woven according to the measure of the shoulder-piece from gold, blue, purple, and scarlet. It was square, double, of equal length on the sides, a span in length and width, with twelve stones<sup>a</sup> lying in four rows and interwoven in the following manner:

The first row consisted of three stones: sardius,<sup>3</sup> topaz, and emerald. The second row: anthrax, sapphire, and jasper. The third row: ligure, agate, and amethyst. The fourth row: chrysolite, beryl, and onyx. These are the twelve stones. Bearing the names of the twelve tribes of Israel engraved on them, one name for each stone, they were placed on the oracle, gilded all over and set in pure gold. The oracle was hung on the high priest's shoulders on interwoven fringes, a chainwork of pure gold, and two golden hooks, devices tightly bound on to the two shoulder-pieces. It thus lay in the

<sup>a</sup> The translation repunctuates Mosshammer's Greek text.

<sup>1</sup> Exod. 26.31–27.21. See also Greg. Nys. *Moses* 1.50.

<sup>2</sup> Exod. 28.4–14.

<sup>3</sup> For attempts to identify these stones see P. K. Garber and R. W. Funk, 'Jewels and Precious Stones', *Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible* (New York, 1962), ii. 898–905.

middle of the chest of the high priest when he made his way into the sanctuary. 'On the oracle of judgement', it says, 'you shall put the "Manifestation" and the "Truth",<sup>1</sup> and it will be on the chest of Aaron, whenever he comes into the sanctuary before the Lord. And Aaron will bear before the Lord the judgements of the sons of Israel on his chest for ever.'<sup>2</sup>

156] Concerning this oracle, Josephos states in the third book that the two sardonyx stones which are on the shoulders of the high priests and the twelve stones on his chest were called an 'oracle', because when they shine brightly they signify success and when they are dark they signify for Israel a terrible outcome in wars and all its other various affairs. Such signification was called 'Manifestation' and 'Truth', since it was being made known in the oracle from God; because of the sins of the people, Josephos says, this sign ceased to function 200 years before his time.<sup>3</sup>

After the oracle, he ordered that a full-length tunic should be procured, entirely of blue, inside the shoulder-pieces, reaching down from the neck to the feet. It was to be beautifully adorned at intervals by fringes,<sup>4</sup> with a hem of intricate weaving and golden attachments, adorned in parallel with bells and pomegranates. And he ordered that a golden leaf of metal sealed by a holy and ineffable mark be placed on the forehead of the high priest, along with a turban and belt. And hints on the outer surface of the form revealed the arrangement of the secret things, and whatever else concerned the priestly dignity.<sup>5</sup>

In forty days, Moses received instruction in all these mysteries, as well as detailed teaching in other mysteries concerning the construction of the tabernacle, the priesthood, and the offerings and propitiations. He also received from God two sacred tablets fashioned by Him as a kind of gift not made with hands, but engraved by the finger of God.<sup>6</sup> And he came down the mountain carrying them. For God had said to him, 'Go down from here in haste, for your people have acted lawlessly, whom you led out from the land of Egypt. And they have quickly strayed from the path on which you have commanded them. They have built a calf for them-

<sup>1</sup> i.e. Urim and Thummim (Exod. 28.30, Lev. 8.8).

<sup>2</sup> Exod. 28.15-30.

<sup>3</sup> Jos. *Ant.* 3.216-18.

<sup>4</sup> Synk.: *τοῖς τῶν κοσύμβων διαστήμασιν εὐπρεπῶς κεκοσμημένον*. Cf. Greg. Nys. *Moses* 1.54: *τοῖς τῶν κοσύμβων ἀπάρτήμασιν εὐπρεπῶς κεκοσμημένος* ('suitably adorned with attachments of fringes').

<sup>5</sup> Exod. 28.27-36; cf. Greg. Nys. *Moses* 1.55.

<sup>6</sup> Exod. 31.18.



selves and they have worshipped it and have made offering to it, and said, "These are your gods, Israel, who brought you out of the land of Egypt." And now let me alone, as I am very angry with them, and I will eradicate them, and I will make you into a great nation and more powerful than this one.<sup>1</sup> And when he said these things to him, with Moses making supplication for them and when he had thereby been propitiated, Moses went down.<sup>2</sup>

When he heard the voice of the people shouting out, Joshua said to Moses, 'There is a sound of battle in the camp.' And Moses said, 'It is not a voice of those at the start of battle, nor of those at the start of defeat, but rather the voice of those who begin the banquet of wine do I hear.' When he drew near to the camp, near to the calf and the dances, Moses grew exceedingly angry, and he cast down the two tablets from his hands and broke them to pieces under the mountain. And he took the calf and burned it in fire and ground it very small and scattered it on the water, and made the Israelites drink it.<sup>3</sup>

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Thereupon, incited by anger and zeal of God against the impious, he propitiated the divinity by purging the leaders of the madness in internecine battle. He fasted for another forty days, just as he had done previously. Instead of craving the normal foods that it is natural to consume, he completely altered the manner of his life. And he received tablets which, while fashioned by the hands of Moses himself, were written by the power of God. Then sitting near the opening of a cave, he beheld the glory of the Lord.<sup>4</sup>

The glory that shone in his face was such that both Aaron and the sons of Israel were unable to fix their gaze upon his face when he came down from the mountain. But Moses himself was unaware that his face was glorified until he spoke to them and saw that they were afraid to approach him. And after telling them what the Lord had commanded him, he put a veil on his face. But whenever he entered before the Lord, he removed the veil.<sup>5</sup>

Then, after imparting the laws and the priestly rites in accordance with divine guidance, he set up the tabernacle. At that time Beseleël, the son of Oure, the son of Or, of the tribe of Judah, was filled by God with a divine spirit of wisdom, understanding, and skill in designing the whole structure, forming the gold and the

<sup>1</sup> Exod. 32.7-10.

<sup>2</sup> Exod. 32.11-15.

<sup>3</sup> Exod. 32.17-20.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Exod. 32.25-35; 33.22; 34.1, 28. See also Greg. Nys. *Moses* 1.60.

<sup>5</sup> Exod. 34.29-35.

silver and the brass, and working with stone and all the wood; with him was Eliab the son of Achisamech of the tribe of Dan.<sup>1</sup>

Josephos confirms that this Beseleël was the son of Mariam (the sister of Moses) and Or, who, along with Aaron, held up Moses' hands in the conflict with Amalek.<sup>2</sup> His report is reliable.<sup>3</sup> But there are others who say that Oziel was the husband of Mariam, although they are unable to show on what authority.<sup>4</sup> Now Josephos says that in seven months the construction of the tabernacle was entirely completed, and that it was set up on the first day of the first month of the second year from the Exodus.<sup>5</sup> This is also what is attested in the book of Exodus, which concludes with this notice.<sup>6</sup>

158] What is described in the third book of Moses, known as the book of Leviticus, concerns the bringing and offering of sacrifices by the people and the priests; propitiation of sins; the priests' entering and leaving the sanctuary; the anointing of Aaron, in addition to his sons Nabad and Abioud and their ordination, who were destroyed on the spot, when after many days, they offered ordinary domestic fire on the altars (this was prohibited, since the offerings were always to be consumed by celestial fire, with which incense too had to be burnt); and the consecration of the tabernacle, and its sacred objects; and the remaining moral laws and the punishments for transgressors; which of the four-footed animals and birds and swimming creatures were suitable for consumption; concerning the son of an Israelite woman and an Egyptian man who fought with a Hebrew and was stoned to death for blasphemy; and concerning the absolute prohibition against uttering the name of God recklessly.<sup>7</sup> This is what was done and the regulations established in the second year from the Exodus out of Egypt.

<sup>1</sup> Exod. 35.30-4.

<sup>2</sup> Exod. 17.11-12.

<sup>3</sup> Immediately above Synk. names Baseleel as the son of Oure, not Or, on whom see Exod. 31.2. Jos. *Ant.* 3.105 also names Basael (= Beseleël) as the son of Ouri (= Oure), not Ouros (= Or). Synk.'s claim to the contrary may have arisen from some confusion in the text of Josephos. In the same passage in the *Antiquities*, Basael is called the son of Mariam. Since, as Synk. correctly states, Josephos (*Ant.* 3.54) describes Ouros as the husband of Mariam, it would follow from this that Ouros was Basael's father, not his grandfather. Josephos' claim that Mariam was the wife of Ouros is not found in the Bible. Rabbinic sources in fact name Caleb as Miriam's husband and Hur (= Or) as her son.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Num. 3.19, which identifies Uzziel as a brother of Amram.

<sup>5</sup> Jos. *Ant.* 3.201.

<sup>6</sup> Exod. 40.2, 17.

<sup>7</sup> Lev. 24.10-23.

In the same second year, on the first of the second month, the Lord told Moses in the wilderness of Sinai to number the people from age 20 and above, as is stated in Numbers, the fourth book of Moses; 603,550 people were recorded, excluding the Levites.<sup>1</sup> For these Levites, at the behest of God, were appointed to perform services for Aaron, and to keep watch for him and for the sons of Israel,<sup>2</sup> and to carry out the works of the tabernacle of witness; and they were reckoned to God in place of the firstborn of the twelve tribes. A survey of them revealed their number as 22,000.<sup>3</sup> After this, the offerings brought for the dedication of the altar by the leaders of the twelve tribes over a period of twelve days were numbered, and the Levites received purification. And there were two silver trumpets, of beaten work, and their signals were arranged for the purpose of breaking camp and for battles.<sup>4</sup>

On the twentieth day of this second month, the second year from the Exodus, the sons of Israel left the wilderness of Sinai and reached the wilderness of Pharan, when the cloud arose from the tabernacle of witness.<sup>5</sup> But the ark of the covenant of the Lord advanced ahead of them by three days. And the people thus began murmuring against God and some perished from lightning, whence the place was called 'Burning'. And those that remained cried out because of their longing for the meat and fish in Egypt, and the cucumbers and melons and leeks and onions and garlic, as they reviled the manna.<sup>6</sup>

Seventy men were then given by God to assist Moses, sharing with him in the spirit sent by God. Two of them, Eldad and Modad, although they belonged to those who were enrolled by Moses among the seventy, were not found in the tent along with the other sixty-eight, but were out prophesying in the camp. Quail were then given to them<sup>7</sup> to eat, although Moses expressed enormous uncertainty; as a result, when they had filled themselves,<sup>a</sup> they were smitten by God because of their insatiable appetite, and very many of them died. The name of that place was known as 'Graves of Lust',<sup>8</sup> because they buried there the people that lusted.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>a</sup> Text: ἐμφορηθέντες. Emended to ἐμφορηθέντας.

<sup>1</sup> Num. 1.1-4, 44-6.

<sup>2</sup> Num. 3.32, where the watch is kept over the sacred objects.

<sup>3</sup> Num. 3.39-40.

<sup>4</sup> Num. 7.10-8.22; 10.1-10.

<sup>5</sup> Num. 10.11-12.

<sup>6</sup> Num. 11.1-6.

<sup>7</sup> Probably referring to the Israelites.

<sup>8</sup> Kibroth-hattaavah.

<sup>9</sup> Num. 11.24-34.

From the 'Graves of Lust', they came to Aseroth. Moses' sister Mariam and Aaron spoke against him and chastised him because he had taken an Ethiopian woman and because 'God has spoken to us as well as to him.'<sup>1</sup> The Lord heard and rebuked them. And Mariam became leprous, until Moses, the gentlest of all the men of that time, made supplication to the Lord, and she was healed. Nevertheless she was segregated from the camp for seven days.<sup>2</sup>

From Aseroth, they came near the wilderness of Pharan; at God's command, Moses sent out twelve men as chiefs, one for each tribe. Included among them were Chaleb, of the tribe of Judah, one of the twelve tribes, and Auses (that is, Joshua son of Nun), of the tribe of Ephraim. These were sent to reconnoitre the land of Canaan. After a journey of forty days they returned, bringing from the fruit of the land a cluster of grapes and its bough on a bearing-pole, and pomegranates and figs on other bearing-poles, showing the people the fertility of the land. But the other ten terrified the people, saying that the land was worthless and devoured its inhabitants, and that terrifying men lived in it; compared with them, they said, they themselves appeared like grasshoppers.<sup>3</sup>

And the whole assembly raised up a lament all night long. They cried out and murmured against Moses and Aaron. 'Would that we had died in Egypt,' they shouted, 'or even in this wilderness.'<sup>4</sup> And they deliberated about how to return to Egypt, and who should be the one to command them. But Moses and Aaron fell on their face before the people. Only Joshua the son of Nun and Chaleb rent their garments over their senseless cowardice, and they said that the land was wondrous and those dwelling in it would be food for them, because the Lord<sup>5</sup> had departed from them. But they were about to be stoned even though they spoke the truth. And the Lord was exceedingly angry with the people; he intended to wipe them out, had not Moses propitiated him, but nevertheless swore that none of those who tested the Lord in this way—even though they had seen his glory and the signs in Egypt and in the wilderness—should see the Promised Land (with the exception of Chaleb and Joshua and the children of the people who had not known evil). Rather they would all be destroyed in the same wilderness, over the next thirty-eight more years, just as they asked. But as for the ten

<sup>1</sup> Num. 12.1-2.

<sup>2</sup> Num. 11.35-12.15.

<sup>3</sup> Num. 13.

<sup>4</sup> Num. 14.2.

<sup>5</sup> Text: *κύριος*. At Num. 14.9, most MSS of the LXX read here *καιρός*.

other men, Joshua's and Chaleb's fellow spies, they perished from a stroke from God, because they had lied against God and his promise.<sup>1</sup>

And the people grieved greatly over this; and against the judgment of Moses, they rose up to make war with Amalek. Thereupon, many of Israel were destroyed. At God's command, a man found gathering sticks on the Sabbath was then put to death. Also at that time Kore, Dathan, and Abeiron rose up against Moses, inciting 250 chief men to rebellion with them. Of these men, Dathan and Abeiron along with their wives, children, and all their household property were swallowed up when the ground ruptured beneath them. But Kore and his 250 confederates were consumed by fire, and 14,700 of the people fell. Now Moses received from each tribe a rod at God's command. And he stored the twelve rods in the tabernacle, inscribed with the names of the tribes, with the staff of Aaron placed between them, inscribed for the house of Levi. This was discovered the next day putting forth shoots and blossoms and almonds in the middle of the other rods, in order to instil belief in the disobedient.<sup>2</sup>

They reached the wilderness of Sinai on the first month of the fortieth year from the Exodus, and Israel remained in Kades. There Mariam died and was buried. The place was without water. Whereupon, in their vilification of Moses, they so provoked this gentlest of men that he spoke out rashly,<sup>3</sup> when God ordered him to strike the rock with the rod of Aaron. And before striking it he said, 'Hear me, disobedient ones; shall we bring for you water out of this rock?' At these words, he struck the rock and brought forth water in abundance for them and their cattle. Then God said to him and Aaron, 'You shall not lead the people into the land of inheritance, because you have not trusted me.' And it was called the 'Water of Reproach'.<sup>4</sup>

Moses then sent ambassadors to the king of Edom, to obtain passage through his country. And Edom did not comply with his request. So after turning away from Edom, he and all Israel reached the mountain of Or. Thereupon, he took up Aaron his brother before the people, took his clothes off him, and at God's behest

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<sup>1</sup> Num. 14.1-38.

<sup>2</sup> Num. 14.44-5; 15.32-6; 16.1-3, 31-5; 17.6-13.

<sup>3</sup> Text: *τοσοῦτον παρεπίκραναν τὸν ἡπιώτατον, ὥστε διαστεῖλαι ἐν τοῖς χείλεσιν αὐτοῦ*, evidently an allusion to Ps 105.32-3 (LXX): *ὅτι παρεπίκραναν τὸ πνεῦμα αὐτοῦ, καὶ διέστειλεν ἐν τοῖς χείλεσιν αὐτοῦ*.

<sup>4</sup> Num. 20.1-2, 9-13; these are the waters of Meribah.

placed them on Aaron's son Eleazar. And Aaron died there on the top of the mountain.<sup>1</sup>

In the fortieth year from the Exodus, Aaron died, and his son Eleazar became high priest. Then the Canaanite was delivered to Israel and along with his cities was damned to destruction, whence the place was called 'Anathema'.<sup>2</sup> Departing from the mountain of Or, they arrived at the Red Sea, around the land of Edom. And they railed against God and Moses about bread and water, reviling the manna as worthless bread. And the Lord sent against them deadly snakes. After praying on their behalf, Moses was commanded to make a brass snake; it was placed on a signal staff, and victims of snakebite who gazed upon it survived.<sup>3</sup>

They departed from there and came to Oboth, and from Oboth they arrived at Achelaië opposite Moab. From there, they arrived at the valley of Zareth. From the valley of Zareth, they came to the other side of the Arnon at the well, concerning which the Lord said to Moses, 'Gather the people and I will give them water to drink.'<sup>4</sup> From the well, they came to Mathnai, from Mathnai to Nachaiel, and from Nachaiel to Bamoth, and from Bamoth to Nape<sup>5</sup> in the plain of Moab. And Moses sent ahead to Seon the king of the Amorites, requesting passage through his land. But Seon did not permit it, and came out to do battle with Israel instead. And Israel smote him with the sword, and was lord over their land and cities, of which Esebon was the capital city, and Israel dwelt in them.<sup>6</sup>

When they returned and came to Basan (that is, Scythopolis), Og, the king of Basan, came out to do battle with Israel. And Israel smote him, his sons and his people and they acquired his land.<sup>7</sup>

They departed from there and reached Araboth of Moab by the Jordan at Jericho. At that time, Balak, son of Sepphor, king of Moab, when he heard what had happened to Seon and Og and how they were delivered over to Israel, became exceedingly fearful. He sent  
162] for Balaam, a celebrated diviner and augur, who used the power of

<sup>1</sup> Num. 20.14–29.

<sup>2</sup> Hormah.

<sup>3</sup> Num. 21.1–9.

<sup>4</sup> Num. 21.16.

<sup>5</sup> Text: *εἰς Νάπην*. Or, reading *νάπην* lower case: 'to a valley in the plain of Moab'. Cf. Num. 21.20 (LXX).

<sup>6</sup> Num. 21.10–26.

<sup>7</sup> Num. 21.33–5. Synk. has confused LXX Basan (MT Bashan, the kingdom of Og) with Beth-shean (LXX Baithsan), rightly identified by a gloss in LXX Judg. 1.27 with Scythopolis; see also below, p. 313 (= Moss. 255.6–7).

demons to put many to flight. This was with God's consent, which in dreams first prevented his departure, and then told him what to do, using the voice of an ass to warn him that the plan he was hatching against Israel would not turn out well. For he was contriving that destruction should come to Israel from no other source than through defilement with other peoples; it was by this means that he was also scheming to seduce them into idolatry. And Balak entreated him to use his experience in that baneful art to thwart Israel with some spells and curses.<sup>1</sup>

So after he went amongst all the Gentile nations making offerings on seven altars located in different places, a third time he was constrained to bless Israel before Balak and the leaders of Moab, so that this blessing was a prophecy and opposed to his customary demonic invocation and curse.<sup>2</sup>

He next took counsel with him about leading the people into unchastity, and the people were polluted among the Moabite women and the offerings of Beëlphegor. The Lord became angry and ordered Moses to make an example of the leaders of the madness in the face of the sun, and that those who were mad with fornication and idolatry should be killed by their fellow kinsmen. Twenty-four thousand people perished. Then too Phineës, son of Eleazar, son of Aaron, incited by divine zeal, pierced through those who, in their disgraceful conduct, were disobedient to the law. These were an Israelite man Zambri, son of Salmon, commander of the sons of Symeon, and a Madianite woman, Chasbi, daughter of Sour, one of the commanders of Madian. And he appeased divine anger against the people, and it was accounted to him and his seed<sup>3</sup> for a perpetual covenant of priesthood, because he was zealous for his God.<sup>4</sup>

After the plague, Moses and Eleazar numbered the people at the command of God. And he found that there were 601,730<sup>a</sup> people from the ages of 20 and up, excluding the Levites. The latter were counted separately and were found to be 23,000, including every male from a month old and upwards. This census took place in Araboth of Moab on the other side of the Jordan at Jericho. Among all these there was not a person of those numbered by Moses and Aaron in the wilderness of Sinai, except for Chaleb son of Jephonne

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<sup>a</sup> Text: *χιλιάδας ἑξακοσίουσ καὶ χιλίουσ ψλ'*. Emended to *χιλιάδας ἑξακοσίας καὶ χιλίουσ ψλ'*.

<sup>1</sup> Num. 22.1-35.

<sup>2</sup> Num. 23.1-24.25.

<sup>3</sup> Text: *τὸ σπέρμα αὐτοῦ*. GO.: *τῷ σπέρματι αὐτοῦ*; cf. Num. 25.13 (LXX).

<sup>4</sup> Num. 25.1-15.

163] and Joshua son of Nun. For the Lord said that all of them would die in the wilderness, and from the third year of the Exodus up to the fortieth, he led them here and there for thirty-eight years, until they were entirely annihilated.<sup>1</sup>

There then came forth the daughters of Salpaad, son of Opher, son of Galaad, of the family of Manasse, five in number. They asked to possess the inheritance of their father, who had died in the wilderness without leaving a male heir. At God's command, their father's inheritance was awarded them in the midst of their brethren.<sup>2</sup> And the Lord enacted a law that if a man dies without a son, the inheritance shall go to the daughter; and if he has no daughter, his brother will receive the inheritance from him. And if it happens there are no brothers, his father's brother will. And if his father had no brothers, his inheritance is to be given to whoever is the next of kin from amongst his relatives.<sup>3</sup> But these things are not pleasing to those who are rulers of the world, for which reason they have become liable to divine punishment.

Moses next dispatched 12,000 men against the sons of Madiam by a decree from the Lord, and slew every male in the land of Madiam, their five kings, and Balaam the oracle as well, thereby exacting Israel's vengeance from them by the sword. For it was this Balaam who advised Balak to lead Israel into fornication with the daughters of Madiam. And only the virgins did Moses allow to live. The spoil from the land of Madiam, excluding gold and silver and the rest of the plundered goods, was this: 675,000 sheep, 72,000 oxen, 61,000 asses, as well as virgins, 32,000 in number, who had not experienced intercourse with a man.<sup>4</sup>

Then the sons of Reuben and the sons of Gad and the half-tribe of Manasse, owners of many cattle, saw that the countries of Jazer and Galaad were suitable for pasturing cattle. They therefore approached Moses and Eleazar, asking that these lands should be allotted them. After giving Eleazar and Joshua son of Nun and the chiefs of Israel charge over them, Moses said: 'If the sons of Reuben and the sons of Gad cross the Jordan with you, every man fully armed for war before the Lord, and you subdue the land before you, then you shall give them the land of Galaad as a possession.'<sup>5</sup> And the sons of Reuben

<sup>1</sup> Num. 26.1, 51, 62-5.

<sup>2</sup> Text: μέσον τῶν ἀδελφῶν αὐτῶν. Cf. Num. 27.6 (LXX): ἐν μέσῳ ἀδελφῶν πατρὸς αὐτῶν ('in the midst of their father's brethren').

<sup>3</sup> Num. 27.1-11; 36.1-13.

<sup>4</sup> Num. 31.3-8, 16-18; 31.32-35.52.

<sup>5</sup> Num. 32.29.



and the sons of Gad said, 'This is what we shall do.'<sup>1</sup> Moses gave to the sons of Reuben and the sons of Gad and the half-tribe of Manasse, one of the sons of Joseph, the kingdom of Seon, king of the Amorites, and the kingdom of Og, king of Basan, together with the land and the cities, twelve in number, subject to Basan across the Jordan.<sup>2</sup>

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These then are the more memorable deeds described in the fourth book of Moses. We have provided an account of these events in addition to the other events that we have already summarized, including as well the noteworthy sites of departures and encampments. In all this, we adhere to divine scripture and have compiled our account entirely from it, both for our benefit and as a summary of the main points for readers. Now as for the particulars of the sites of their departures (that is, the 'stations') as they left from the land of Egypt, the divinely taught lawgiver has made a record of this towards the conclusion of the sacred book of Numbers; he has also recorded Aaron's death at age 123 on Mount Or in the fortieth year from the Exodus of the sons of Israel, at the beginning of the fifth month.<sup>3</sup> There is also his remaining narrative covering events up to Mount Abareim across the Jordan opposite Jericho. At that point Moses instructed the sons of Israel how they were to treat and make enemies of those nations who would be delivered over to them; what the boundaries of their possession would be and how far to the west and the north and the east and the south the allotment of land to the nine and one-half tribes would extend; concerning the leaders who divided the land among them according to each tribe, of whom Eleazar the priest and Joshua the son of Nun were pre-eminent; and also concerning the allotment of land to the Levites and the allotment of the six cities of refuge; and concerning acts of bloodshed and the allotment of land to the daughters of Salpaad. With this, Moses completed this fourth book, the book of Numbers.<sup>4</sup>

In this sacred book of Numbers, following the survey of the people that Moses and Eleazar undertook in Araboth of Moab in this fortieth year from the Exodus (when Aaron had already died shortly before, and when the whole generation of disobedient people had already been destroyed), the Lord said to Moses: 'Go up to the mountain that is in the country across the Jordan, this is Mount

<sup>1</sup> Num. 32.31.

<sup>2</sup> Num. 32.1-5, 28-38.

<sup>3</sup> Num. 33.38-9.

<sup>4</sup> Num. 33.48-36.13.

165] Nabau, and gaze upon the land of Canaan and you will be added to your people, you too just as your brother Aaron was; for you transgressed my commandment in the wilderness of Sinai, when the assembly refused to sanctify me. You did not sanctify me in the water before them. This is the water of strife of Kades in the wilderness of Sinai.<sup>1</sup> Now Moses requested that someone should be appointed by God to shepherd Israel after him; he received Joshua, the son of Nun, by divine election. Setting him before Eleazar and all Israel, he placed his hands upon him and appointed him just as the Lord had ordered him.<sup>2</sup>

Then, in his summary of all these events recorded in the fifth book, Deuteronomy, Moses recalled what happened on their journey and what transgressions they committed during it, and the disobedience of their fathers (it was this that was to blame for the divine wrath and the judgement against both Moses and his brother Aaron barring them from entrance into the land they had been promised), how they wandered about for thirty-eight years after turning back into Kades Barne towards the wilderness of the Red Sea, and spent many days circling Mount Seïr, and from there turned back again to the North, until they perished, every disobedient one of them in the wilderness;<sup>3</sup> but although the whole trip from Kades Barne up to the valley of Zareth is not even five days, as we know from our own experience, it took them thirty-eight years to accomplish the journey, since God was making them roam hither and thither.<sup>4</sup>

Thus, after reminding them of these events and advising them extensively about idolatry and the rest of the forbidden heathen customs, the divine lawgiver taught them the divine code of laws, repeatedly reviewing it, and reminding them a second time of the trials God exposed them to in the wilderness. On occasion he spoke in his own defence: 'It is because of this that the Lord oppressed you and deprived you of food to test to see whether you would keep his commandments. When you did not keep them, he did not utterly destroy you, since I often pleaded on your behalf. Instead, he gave you manna to eat, so that you might know that man will not live on bread alone, but on everything that comes forth through the

<sup>1</sup> Num. 27.12-14.

<sup>2</sup> Num. 27.12-23; Deut. 32.48-52.

<sup>3</sup> Deut. 2.1, 14-15.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Kedr. i. 138.3-6. This is one of several passages in which Synk. draws on personal experiences from his travels in the region of Palestine. See also pp. 153, 188, 207 (= Moss. 122.18-22; 150.17-19; 168.12-16). See Intro., p. xxx.

mouth of God. And he disciplined you as a man might discipline his son. And he sustained you by favouring you with the gift of life without toil. You did not eat bread and did not drink wine and strong drink for 40 years. Your garments did not grow old and your sandals did not wear out under your feet.<sup>1</sup>

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After this and a great many other speeches worthy of God and full of divine grace, he wrote them down in a book and handed it over to the priests to be stored by the side of the covenant of witness, appointed Joshua son of Nun to replace him as ruler over Israel by divine election, and sang the second song, which the Lord ordered all the people to learn, committing it to those to come<sup>a</sup> as a great and divine possession, to serve as a memorial for them.<sup>2</sup>

In the eleventh month of the fortieth year of the journey from Egypt, in the 120th year of his life, Moses issued a general blessing, and ascended Mount Nabau (that is, Mount Abareim), situated in the land of Moab on the other side of the Jordan opposite Jericho. He gazed down on the land promised to Israel and died there at the command of God. He was buried in Gai<sup>3</sup> near the house of Phogor.<sup>4</sup> And no one knows where he was buried. When this great man who beheld God, a prophet, teacher, and lawgiver of Israel, died at age 120, his eyes had not grown dim—fittingly so. For it was with them that he beheld the glory of God. Nor did his face become wrinkled with old age. There did not arise a prophet like him, as scripture states, to whom the Lord appeared face to face, until John the Baptist.<sup>5</sup>

This same divinely instructed man was the first person to commit to writing a chronological record, extending from Adam up to his 120th year, which is AM 3856, according to our precisely drawn chronology.<sup>6</sup>

After the death of Moses, the Lord said to Joshua the son of Nun, 'Rise up and cross the Jordan, you and all this people, into the land which I am giving to them. Every place where you should tread with the sole of your feet, I will give to you, in just the way I have spoken to Moses: the wilderness and Antilibanos up to the

<sup>a</sup> Text: *ἐσόμενον*. Emended to *ἐσομένοις*, following MS A.

<sup>1</sup> Deut. 8.1–6; 29.4–5.

<sup>2</sup> See Deut. 31.19–22; 32.1–44. Synk. probably understands Exod 15.1–19 as Moses' 'first song'.

<sup>3</sup> Probably Ai, although its location is not near Beth-peor.

<sup>4</sup> Text: *οἶκον Φογώρ*. See Deut. 34.6 (LXX) (= Hebrew Beth-peor).

<sup>5</sup> Deut. 32.48–52; 34.5–10; cf. Matt. 11.11–15.

<sup>6</sup> See above, p. 184 n. 4.

167] great river Euphrates, and your boundaries will be to the great sea extending from the setting of the sun.<sup>1</sup> And Joshua ordered the scribes to tell the people to make ready and to prepare provisions, so that after three days they might cross the Jordan.<sup>2</sup> He sent out from Satteim two men to reconnoitre the land of Jericho and Gai, two cities. After entering into Jericho, they lodged with Rhaab the prostitute. During a search for them by the king of Jericho, they were kept hidden in her house, having sworn to her that they would ensure her safety.<sup>3</sup> When they returned to Joshua in Satteim, they brought back a report to him about their surveillance. After arising early in the morning, Joshua came from Satteim to the Jordan with his people. There, after first sanctifying Israel, he led them across the Jordan three days later, with the ark of the covenant of the Lord and the priests carrying it leading the way. When only their feet were dipped in the edge of the water, the waters that were coming down from above solidified into a single mass, removed to a great distance away, high in the hills, in the region of Kariathiareim. The lower parts went down to the sea of Araba, the salt sea, until they were completely drained; the people stood opposite Jericho. The priests bearing the ark stood on dry land in the midst of the Jordan, until the whole people crossed the Jordan on dry land. Joshua appointed twelve illustrious men from the sons of Israel through a commandment of the Lord, and taking up twelve stones from the middle of the Jordan they carried them to the camp as a memorial.<sup>4</sup>

Joshua set another twelve stones in the Jordan, where the feet of the priests carrying the ark had stood, and they are there until this day. And Joshua charged the priests, and it came to pass that when they stepped out and set their feet on the land, the water came down in a torrent as it had previously. Now when they went up, they camped in Galgala towards the east opposite Jericho.<sup>5</sup> And when the kings of the Amorites heard this, as well as the kings by the sea of Phoenicia, their minds dissolved in panic. At the command of God, Joshua circumcised the people with stone knives, all those who had crossed the Jordan; this was because, as scripture says, Israel had dwelt in the wilderness for forty-two years, and as a result most of the fighting men were uncircumcised.<sup>6</sup> The reason for this was that since they were among themselves and were completely separated from foreigners, they had no need for circumcision. Thus it is well  
168] said by the divine apostle that neither is circumcision some great

<sup>1</sup> Josh. 1.1-4.

<sup>3</sup> Josh. 2.1-14.

<sup>5</sup> Josh. 4.9, 17-19.

<sup>2</sup> Josh. 1.10-11.

<sup>4</sup> Josh. 2.23-3.1; 3.14-4.8.

<sup>6</sup> Josh. 5.1-7.

thing nor uncircumcision, but rather the observance of divine precepts.<sup>1</sup>

For him to have done this in the forty-second year appears to raise something of a problem. For according to what is said everywhere else in the divine scriptures, it is clear that Israel dwelt a total of forty years in the wilderness.<sup>2</sup> However, one perhaps might conclude from this that Moses' eightieth year and the first year of Joshua the son of Nun should be counted in with the forty years in the wilderness, and thus there are forty-two years.

After their circumcision, they rested until they were healed, and the name of the place came to be known as Galgala. The sons of Israel kept the Passover on the 14th of the first month at evening, on the westward side in the plain, facing Jericho. And from the grain of the earth, they ate fresh unleavened cakes, that is from fresh grain.<sup>3</sup> Hence, even to this day one can see in Jericho at the vernal equinox new grain being harvested early in the warmer locations. From this grain, the most holy church in Jerusalem customarily offers the bloodless offering during the anniversary of the life-bringing Resurrection of Christ our God.

On the same day, it says, the manna ceased after they had eaten from the grain of the earth, and no longer was manna available to the sons of Israel. And they took the fruit of the land of the Phoenicians in that year. When they were in Jericho, Joshua looked up and saw a man standing before him and there was a drawn sword in his hand. Joshua approached and said to him, 'Are you one of ours or one of our enemies?' And he said, 'As chief commander of the host of the Lord, I have now come.' And Joshua fell on his face on the ground and said, 'Lord, what do you command your servant?' And the chief commander of the Lord said to Joshua, 'Loosen the sandal of your feet. For the place where you are standing is a holy place.'<sup>4</sup> Jericho was hemmed in and besieged and no one went out from it or entered into it. And the Lord said to Joshua, 'Behold I give you Jericho into your hand and its king within it, though they are mighty men of power. And you shall set all the men of war around it in a circle. And it shall be that when they sound a trumpet blast, let all the people raise up a shout. And when they have shouted out, the entire wall of the city will fall of its own accord and all the people will enter into it, everyone sallying forth directly into the

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<sup>1</sup> Rom 2.25-9.

<sup>2</sup> Note that the Hebrew version of Josh. 5.6 gives 40, not 42 years.

<sup>3</sup> Josh. 5.8-11.

<sup>4</sup> Josh. 5.12-16.

city.<sup>1</sup> Joshua carried out the command of the angel for seven days, compassing the city with the ark in the vanguard. On the seventh day, the people cried out and the walls collapsed. And when they entered the city, they devoted it and everything in it to destruction by the edge of the sword: man and woman, young man and old, even including calf and ass, with the exception of Rhaab the prostitute and her household. Jericho was set afire, along with everything in it except for the silver and gold and bronze and iron. For these latter items were consecrated to God.<sup>2</sup> When Achar, son of Charmei (son of Zambrei<sup>3</sup>), son of Zara of the tribe of Judah, purloined from these items an embroidered mantle and 200 didrachms of silver and a golden wedge, he, along with his sons and wife and all his property, was stoned by Israel in the gully of Achor.<sup>4</sup> On that day, Joshua cursed Jericho before the Lord with these words, 'Cursed be any man who shall build that city: he shall lay the foundation of it at the cost of his firstborn,<sup>5</sup> and he shall set up its gates at the cost of his youngest son.'<sup>6</sup> And thus did Aza, from Bethel; at the cost of Abeiron his firstborn,<sup>7</sup> he laid the foundation, and set up its gates at the cost of Segoub<sup>8</sup> the youngest surviving son.<sup>9</sup>

At that time, the Lord delivered Gai and its king to Joshua. And he burned it to an uninhabited heap for ever, and hanged the king on a double tree until evening. When the inhabitants of the renowned city of Gabaon and the Hivite cities<sup>10</sup> heard about this, they cunningly made a treaty with Joshua, pretending that they had come from far away. When Joshua discovered who they were, he ordered them to act as servants and wood-carriers for the people.<sup>11</sup>

The Amorites—the five kings of the Jebusites with their armies—made war against them for having deserted. Their leader was Adonibezek, the king of Jerusalem. When Joshua rose up against them with Israel, he delivered the Gabaonites, while utterly

<sup>1</sup> Josh. 6.1–5.

<sup>2</sup> Josh. 6.12–21.

<sup>3</sup> Mosshammer supplies the bracketed material (*υἱοῦ Ζαμβρεῖ*) from Josh. 7.1.

<sup>4</sup> Josh. 7.1.

<sup>5</sup> Text: ἐν τῷ πρωτοτόκῳ αὐτοῦ (lit. 'in his first-born').

<sup>6</sup> Text: ἐν τῷ ἐλαχίστῳ (lit. 'in his youngest son').

<sup>7</sup> Text: ἐν τῷ Ἀβειρῶν τῷ πρωτοτόκῳ (lit. 'in Abeiron his first-born').

<sup>8</sup> Text: ἐν τῷ Σεγοῦβ (lit. 'in Segoub').

<sup>9</sup> Josh. 6.26 (LXX); see also 3 Kgdms. 16.34, and below, pp. 275–6 (= Moss. 223.4–8).

<sup>10</sup> Lit. the 'cities of Evaios'.

<sup>11</sup> Josh. 8.1, 28–9; 9.1, 3, 9–27.

destroying the Amorites as they were fleeing with their kings. Concealing themselves in a cave, these kings were seized and confined there until the battle ceased. Thereupon, many were wiped out by Israel, but even more perished from hailstones hurled down upon them from heaven. At that time, aided by the power of God, Joshua prayed and caused the sun to stand still at Gabaon and the moon at the valley of Ailon, for the duration of his war with his enemies. And as he led out the five kings from the cave, he ordered the chiefs of war from the sons of Israel to trample upon their necks. And he killed them and seized the five cities in their possession, Makeda and Lomna, Lacheis, and Jaram king of Gazer, who came to help the inhabitants of Lacheis, along with both Odollam and Hebron. He then captured Dabeir and its king and its villages and all the hill country.<sup>1</sup>

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Then Jabein, the king of Asor, assembled the kings in his vicinity and the vicinity of Sidon the great, and the kings from the north and from the plains, as well as the Canaanites eastward to the coast, and the Chorraioi and the Amorites, and the Hivites and the Jebusites and the Perizzites and the Hittites, who lived near the wilderness.<sup>2</sup> They were as numerous as the sand of the sea and mighty in chariots and horses. And he came to make war with Joshua. All of them Joshua overcame and destroyed, despoiling both them and their cities. All the kings whom the Lord delivered over to Joshua numbered twenty-nine, whose names are recorded in the Bible.<sup>3</sup>

When Joshua had advanced in years, the Lord gave him a command, and he distributed all the land among the nine and a half tribes, both him and Eleazar the high priest, before the Lord in Silom. To Joshua was given Thamnatha on Mount Ephraïm. Hebron was given to Chaleb the son of Jephonne, upon his request; it was Chaleb who also despatched the three sons of Enak, the so-called giants. And when Gothonoël, his brother by the same mother, the younger son of Kenez, captured the 'City of Letters', Kariathsepharei<sup>4</sup> in Dabeir, Chaleb rewarded him by giving him Oxa his own daughter as a wife.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Josh. 10.1-5, 10-16, 22-39.

<sup>2</sup> Text: *τοὺς ὑπὸ τὴν ἔρημον*. Instead of this reading, some Greek MSS of Josh. 11.3 read: *τοὺς ὑπὸ τὴν Ἀερμων* ('those living beneath Hermon'). This is also the reading of the Hebrew text of this verse.

<sup>3</sup> Josh. 11.1-4, 9.

<sup>4</sup> This name is lacking in the Greek text of Josh. 15.15; but cf. Judg. 1.11 (LXX).

<sup>5</sup> Josh. 13.1; 15.14-17; 19.50-1.

171] And the two and a half tribes consisting of Reuben and Gad and the half-tribe of Manasse went up to the land given to them by Moses to possess as their own. And when they arrived there they erected an altar. Those of the other nine and a half tribes wished to make war against them, considering them transgressors against God for making an offering outside the ark. But they desisted when the two and a half tribes defended themselves as acting reverently. And they called their altar 'Testimony'. Now forty-eight cities were also given to the Levites. Joshua then assembled the entirety of Israel, including their chiefs, and after giving them very extensive religious counsel dismissed them. He died after living 110 years. And they buried him in Thamnasarach in the mount of Ephraim within his borders, interring with him the stone knives.<sup>1</sup>

### KINGS OF THE ASSYRIANS<sup>2</sup>

- (17) The seventeenth king of the Assyrians was Askatades  
38 years<sup>3</sup>  
AM 3812
- (18) The eighteenth king of the Assyrians was Amyntes  
45 years  
AM 3850
- (19) The nineteenth king of the Assyrians was Belochos  
25 years  
AM 3895
- (20) The twentieth king of the Assyrians was Balatores  
30 years  
AM 3920
- (21) The twenty-first king of the Assyrians was Lamprides  
30 years<sup>4</sup>  
AM 3950
- (22) The twenty-second king of the Assyrians was Sosares  
20 years<sup>5</sup>  
AM 3980

<sup>1</sup> Josh. 21.41; 22.9-12, 34; 24.1, 28-30.

<sup>2</sup> Continued from p. 178 (= Moss. 142.24). Cf. Annianos in Elias Nis. 1.15.25-30; Eus. 1.31.12-21 (from Kephalion).

<sup>3</sup> Annianos in Elias Nis. 1.15.25 (38 years); cf. Eus. 1.31.12 (40 years).

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Eus. 1.31.20; Annianos in Elias Nis. 1.15.29 (32 years).

<sup>5</sup> Annianos in Elias Nis. 1.15.30 (20 years); cf. Eus. 1.31.21 (8 years).



KINGS OF THE EGYPTIANS<sup>1</sup>

- (34) The thirty-fourth king of the Egyptians was Chebron  
13 years  
AM 3762
- (35) The thirty-fifth king of the Egyptians was Amemphis  
15 years  
AM 3775 [172
- (36) The thirty-sixth king of the Egyptians was Amenses  
11 years  
AM 3790
- (37) The thirty-seventh king of the Egyptians was Mispthag-  
mouthosis  
16 years  
AM 3801
- (38) The thirty-eighth king of the Egyptians was Misphtres  
23 years  
AM 3817
- (39) The thirty-ninth king of the Egyptians was Touthmosis  
39 years  
AM 3840

KINGS OF THE THEBANS<sup>2</sup>

- (37) The thirty-seventh king of the Thebans was Phrouoro (or, the  
Nile)  
5 years  
AM 3889  
19 years  
AM 3894)<sup>3</sup>
- (38) The thirty-eighth king of the Thebans was Amouthartaïos  
63 years  
AM 3913

The reign of the thirty-eight so-called Theban kings in Egypt, whose names Eratosthenes took from the sacred scribes in Diospolis and deciphered from Egyptian into the Greek language,

<sup>1</sup> Ps.-Manetho, continued from p. 178 (= Moss. 143.7).

<sup>2</sup> Ps.-Apollodoros, continued from p. 179 (= Moss. 143.20).

<sup>3</sup> Siphos (the 36th Theban king) began his five-year reign in AM 3889; see above, p. 179 (= Moss. 143.19-20); the reign of Amouthartaïos, the 38th Theban king, began in AM 3913. Based on this, Mosshammer restores 19 years for Phrouoro, whose reign began in AM 3894. The dates in braces repeat the years of Siphos' rule.

has ceased at this point.<sup>1</sup> Commencing in AM 2900, 124 years after the confusion of tongues, it ceased to exist in this year AM 3975.

As to the tradition preserved by Apollodoros about the other fifty-three Theban kings who succeeded them, we deem it unnecessary to set forth their names here, since we have nothing to gain in citing them. For the names of their predecessors are also of no value.

### ⟨KINGS OF THE SIKYONIANS⟩<sup>2</sup>

- (19) The nineteenth king of the Sikyonians was Sikyon  
42 years<sup>3</sup>  
AM 3990
- (20) The twentieth king of the Sikyonians was Polybos  
43 years<sup>4</sup>  
AM 4032
- 173] (21) The twenty-first king of the Sikyonians was Inachos  
45 years<sup>5</sup>  
AM 4075
- (22) The twenty-second king of the Sikyonians was Hephaistos  
10 years<sup>6</sup>  
AM 4120
- (23) The twenty-third king of the Sikyonians was Adrastos  
7 years<sup>7</sup>  
AM 4130
- (24) The twenty-fourth king of the Sikyonians was Polypheides  
31 years  
AM 4137
- (25) The twenty-fifth king of the Sikyonians was Pelasgos  
20 years  
AM 4168

<sup>1</sup> Ps.-Eratosthenes, *FGI<sup>H</sup>* 241 F 48.

<sup>2</sup> Continued from p. 179 (= Moss. 144.3). Cf. Eus. 1.82.21–9 (quoting from Kastor of Rhodes).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Eus. 1.82.21 (45 years).

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Eus. 1.82.23 (40 years).

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Eus. 1.82.24 (40 years).

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Eus. 1.82.25 (8 years).

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Eus. 1.82.26 (4 years).

⟨KINGS OF THE ARGIVES⟩<sup>1</sup>

- (3) The third king of the Argives was Apis 35 years  
AM 3808

The flood at the time of Ogygos, reported by the Greeks as an event of the most remote antiquity, occurred in Akte (now Attica) at this time. There are varying accounts of it, some saying that it occurred during the reign of Phoroneus, others during the reign of Apis.<sup>2</sup> Likewise, there are thus also differing accounts of the journey from Egypt, which occurred at the same time as Ogygos' flood. And in agreement with them on this dating are Josephos and Justus, Jewish historians, and those of our doctrine: Clement the author of the *Stromateis*,<sup>3</sup> as well as Tatian<sup>4</sup> and Africanus, from the latter of whom let us set out the follow excerpt:

FROM AFRICANUS<sup>5</sup>

(In the third book, he says:) We say therefore on the authority of our own narrative that Ogygos, the namesake of the first flood, after having survived when many others perished, was contemporary with the people's Exodus from Egypt with Moses.<sup>6</sup> (And a little later he says:) But after Ogygos, because of the great destruction wrought by the flood, what is now Attica remained without a king for 189 years up to the time of Kekrops.<sup>7</sup> Now Philochoros says that Ogygos Aktaios,<sup>8</sup> or any other fictitiously named persons did not even exist.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Continued from p. 182 (= Moss. 145.17). See Eus. 1.83.33.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Eus. 1.85.6–9; 2.31<sup>8</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> Clem. Al. *Strom.* 1.21.102.

<sup>4</sup> Tat. *Orat.* 38.

<sup>5</sup> Routh, fr. 22. Cf. Eus. *PE* 10.10.9–17. In this excerpt, Africanus employs the widely accepted synchronism of Moses' Exodus with Ogygos' flood to calculate the duration of time from the Exodus up to the time of Cyrus; see above, pp. 90–3 (= Moss. 71.8–73.4).

<sup>6</sup> See above, p. 90 (= Moss. 71.8–10).

<sup>7</sup> See above, p. 97 (= Moss. 76.1–5).

<sup>8</sup> Text: τὸν μὲν γὰρ Ὀγγυγον Ἀκταῖον. Cf. Eus. *PE* 10.10.14: Τὸν γὰρ μετὰ Ὀγγυγον Ἀκταῖον ('Aktaios, who came after Ogygos'). Eusebios' reading is preferable. Greek historians know Aktaios as a separate ruler and as the namesake of Attica. See Clem. Al. *Strom.* 1.21.103; Tat. *Orat.* 36.

<sup>9</sup> Eus. *PE* 10.10.14. In quoting from Philochoros about the non-existence of Aktaios, Africanus apparently wanted to demonstrate that after Ogygos, Attica remained kingless until the time of Kekrops.

(And after some other intervening matter:) From Ogygos then, up to Cyrus, there are 1235 years,<sup>1</sup> as many years as there are from Moses up to his time. Moreover, some of the Greek historians also say that Moses lived at this same time. Polemon, for example, states in the first book of his *Greek Histories*: 'During the reign of Apis, the son of Phoroneus, a portion of the Egyptian army was expelled from Egypt, and settled in the part of Syria known as Palestine, not far from Arabia'—these are evidently those who went with Moses. And Apion son of Poseidonios, the most painstakingly pedantic of grammarians, states in his book *Against the Jews* and in the fourth book of his *Histories* that about the time of Inachos king of Argos, when Amosis was king of Egypt, the Jews revolted, from whom Moses arose.<sup>2</sup> In his second book, Herodotos also had made mention of this revolt and of Amosis, and in a certain fashion also of the Jews themselves, when he numbers them among those who practise circumcision.<sup>3</sup>

He says that this Apis was first venerated as a god by the Egyptians and was called Sarapis. This Apis, so it is said, appointed his brother Aigialeus as king of Achaïa. He himself set forth to Egypt with a band of followers.<sup>4</sup>

When the Telchines were expelled from the Peloponnese, they inhabited Rhodes, which was called 'Serpent-island'.<sup>5</sup>

At this time, the city of Memphis was founded in Egypt.<sup>6</sup>

Sparta was founded by Spartos, son of Phoroneus.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Eusebios' citation from the same passage (*PE* 10.10.15), which reads 1237 instead of 1235 years. See Gelzer i. 39–44.

<sup>2</sup> Text: *ὡν γίνεσθαι Μωυσέα*. Cf. Eus. *PE* 10.10.16: *ὡν ἡγείσθαι Μωυσέα* ('whose leader was Moses'). On Africanus' dating of the Exodus during the reign of Pharaoh Amosis (or Amos), see above, pp. 88, 99 (= Moss. 69.18–19; 76.29–30).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Herodot. 2.104, 162.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.32<sup>g</sup>; *PE* 10.9.20 (from Porphyry); Clem. Al. *Strom.* 1.21.106.4–5.

<sup>5</sup> Eus. 2.32<sup>h</sup>; Diod. Sic. 5.55.1.

<sup>6</sup> Eus. 2.32<sup>i</sup>; Clem. Al. *Strom.* 1.21.106.4–5 (citing Aristippos); Epiph. *Pan.* 4.2.6.

<sup>7</sup> Eus. 2.33<sup>f</sup>; Paus. 2.16.4 (Sparton), who notes that the Lakedaimonians themselves reject this tradition.

⟨KINGS OF THE ARGIVES⟩<sup>1</sup>

- |   |                                  |
|---|----------------------------------|
| (4) The fourth king of the Argives was Argos  | 70 years<br>AM 3843              |
| (5) The fifth king of the Argives was Kriasos | 55 years <sup>2</sup><br>AM 3913 |

⟨MISCELLANY⟩

At this time, so they say, there was Prometheus, who was said in myth to fashion human beings by transforming them from ignorance and unreason to a cultured state, as Plato, a comic poet of the Old Comedy, states in his *Sophistai*: 'Now for human beings, forethought is the mind.'<sup>3</sup> And the followers of Anaxagoras allegorically interpret the gods of myth in the following way: Zeus is mind, and Athena is craft—whence comes the expression: 'With the loss of your hands bid farewell to resourceful Athena.'<sup>4</sup>

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From Africanus: 'Peiras' daughter Kallithuia began the priesthood of Hera in Argos.'<sup>5</sup>

At this time, Atlas the brother of Prometheus achieved wide notice as an outstanding astrologer, so that on account of his knowledge it was reported that he carried the heaven itself. But Euripides states that Mount Atlas rises above the clouds.<sup>6</sup>

This man was flourishing at the time of Gothoniel, as all the historians who belong to our doctrine attest, including Africanus, who says: 'The Kouretes from Koureteia (now known as Akarnania)

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Eus. 1.84.1–3, from Kastor of Rhodes.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Eus. 1.84.3 (54 years).

<sup>3</sup> Eus. 2.35<sup>c</sup>; *PE* 10.10.23 (quoting from Africanus). The Greek name Prometheus (*Προμηθεύς*) is related to *προμήθεια* ('forethought').

<sup>4</sup> See Metrod. 61.6, ed. Diels and Kranz ii. 50; also Joh. Ant. fr. 1.2 (*FHG* iv. 538). Since John's quotation follows a passage from Africanus on the dating of Moses, Gelzer (i. 124–5) proposed that Africanus was the ultimate source of this fragment for both Synk. and John of Antioch.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.37<sup>c</sup>; *PE* 3.8.1, quoting from Plutarch. According to Eusebios' excerpt from Plutarch, Peiras established the temple of Hera and appointed his daughter Kallithuia as priestess.

<sup>6</sup> Eus. 2.37<sup>d</sup>; Joh. Mal. 70.2–4. See also Diod. Sic. 3.60.2: 'They also say that he perfected the science of astrology . . . and it was for this reason that the idea was held that the entire heavens were supported upon the shoulders of Atlas.'

and the Korybantēs inhabited Knossos, and they discovered the art of co-ordinating the movement of men under arms.<sup>1</sup>

At this time, Syros is reported to have been indigenously born, after whom Syria is named.<sup>2</sup> Others say that it was 100 years earlier. There are similarly divergent reports about both Prometheus and Epimetheus, in addition to Atlas, as well as both Argos and Io, the daughter of Prometheus, and Panoptes.<sup>3</sup> Some say that they were contemporary with Kekrops the Double-Natured; others that they were sixty years earlier, others ninety years earlier.

Eusebios is in conflict with all the most learned historians who preceded him, Christians, as well as Jews and Greeks, in what he says about Kekrops the Double-Natured. Kekrops was the first after Ogygos to rule over what was then called Akte (now Attica). The latter was a contemporary of Phoroneus and the exalted Moses, years before the highly reliable date that we have calculated for Kekrops. But Eusebios makes the groundless and unsupported assertion that this Kekrops was contemporary with Moses.<sup>4</sup>

### UNIVERSAL YEARS

The twenty-seven years of Joshua, son of Nun, beginning in AM 3857.

The elders who succeeded Joshua ruled Israel for eighteen years, beginning in AM 3884.<sup>5</sup>

176] It should be noted that 400 years later, according to the book of Judges, Phineēs, son of Eleazar, stood before the ark during the war that the eleven tribes waged against the tribe of Benjamin over the woman who was dismembered.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Routh, fr. 24, who assigns to Africanus the following paragraph as well. Cf. Eus. 2.42<sup>b</sup> (but not attributed here to Africanus); Diod. Sic. 5.65.2-4.

<sup>2</sup> Eus. 2.38<sup>c</sup>; Έκλ. ίστ. 187.28.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.40<sup>e</sup>. Notice that after Argos, Jerome's Latin translation has 'cuncta cernentem'. See also Cyr. Al. Jul. 1.10 (Άργου τον πανόπτην). Synk. probably misunderstood πανόπτου, an epithet for Argos, as the name of a separate person.

<sup>4</sup> For Eusebios' dating of Moses as a contemporary of Kekrops, see Eus. 2.10.1-18.13. For Synk.'s critique of this dating, see above, pp. 90, 222 (= Moss. 70.23-71.7; 180.1-5).

<sup>5</sup> Josh. 24.32. On the 27 years of Joshua's rule, see also Eus. 1.52.12; 2.46.3. Synk. states later that the 27 years of his reign, and the 18 years of the elders, originate in an 'unwritten tradition', with which 'almost everyone' is in agreement. See below, p. 252 (= Moss. 204.1-3).

<sup>6</sup> Judg. 20.28. See further below, pp. 252, 255 (= Moss. 203.30-3; 205.8-16).

The sons of Israel brought up the bones of Joseph out of Egypt. And they buried him in Shechem in the part of the field that Jacob had purchased from the sons of Emmor for 100 ewe-lambs. It is also said to be the burial grounds of the other patriarchs as well.<sup>1</sup> When Eleazar the son of Aaron also died, his son Phineës succeeded to the priesthood. Eleazar was buried on Mount Ephraïm, in Gabaath, the portion belonging to his son Phineës; and when Phineës died, he was also buried there, after serving as priest of Israel up until the time of his death.<sup>2</sup>

After the death of Joshua and the elders, the sons of Israel inquired of the Lord: 'Who shall go up as our leader to fight against the Canaanite?' And the answer given to them was 'Judah'. So Judah and Symeon went up, and the Lord gave the Canaanite and the Pherezite into his hand. He captured Adonibezek, king of Jerusalem, and set fire to the city.<sup>3</sup> And the Lord was with them, until they did evil in his sight. And he handed them over to serve Chousarsathom, king of Syria of Mesopotamia, for eight years.<sup>4</sup>

#### KINGS OF THE ASSYRIANS<sup>5</sup>

- (23) The twenty-third king of the Assyrians was Lampraës  
30 years  
AM 4000
- (24) The twenty-fourth king of the Assyrians was Panyas  
45 years<sup>6</sup>  
AM 4030
- (25) The twenty-fifth king of the Assyrians was Sosarmos  
22 years<sup>7</sup>  
AM 4075
- (26) The twenty-sixth king of the Assyrians was Mithraios  
27 years  
AM 4097

<sup>1</sup> Synk.'s report about the burial of the patriarchs in Shechem is probably based on the tradition found in Acts 7.15–16. But cf. Gen. 25.9; 49.30–3; 50.13, according to which the patriarchs Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob were buried in Hebron.

<sup>2</sup> Josh. 24.32–3.

<sup>3</sup> Judg. 1.1–8.

<sup>4</sup> Judg. 3.7–8.

<sup>5</sup> Continued from p. 210 (= Moss. 171.24). See Annianos in Elias Nis. 1.15.29–16.1; cf. Eus. 1.31.22–30.

<sup>6</sup> Annianos in Elias Nis. 1.15.32 (45 years); cf. Eus. 1.31.23 (42 years).

<sup>7</sup> Annianos in Elias Nis. 1.15.33 (22 years); cf. Eus. 1.31.26 (19 years).

(27) The twenty-seventh king of the Assyrians was Teutamios  
(some know him by the name Tautanes) 32 years  
Eusebios states that Ilion was taken during his reign.

AM 4124<sup>1</sup>

177] (28) The twenty-eighth king of the Assyrians was Teutaios  
44 years<sup>2</sup>

AM 4156

(29) The twenty-ninth king of the Assyrians was Arabelos  
42 years<sup>3</sup>

AM 4200

#### KINGS OF THE EGYPTIANS<sup>4</sup>

(40) The fortieth king of the Egyptians was Amenophthis  
34 years

AM 3879

This Amenophthis is the king reputed to be Memnon, a sounding stone.<sup>5</sup> Years later, Kambyses, king of the Persians, hacked up the stone, believing it was possessed of sorcery, as Polyainos the Athenian records.<sup>6</sup> The Ethiopians migrated from the river Indus and settled near Egypt.<sup>7</sup>

(41) The forty-first king of the Egyptians was Horos 48 years

AM 3913

(42) The forty-second king of the Egyptians was Achencheres

25 years

AM 3961

(43) The forty-third king of the Egyptians was Athoris

29 years

AM 3986

(44) The forty-fourth king of the Egyptians was Chencheres

26 years

AM 4015

<sup>1</sup> Eus. 1.31.29.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Annianos in Elias Nis. 1.16.1; Eus. 1.31.30 (40 years).

<sup>3</sup> On the reign of Arabelos, whose name is not attested in Eusebios, see Elias Nis. 1.16.2: 'Hunc Annios solus commemorat' (tr. Brooks). Elias makes the same observation for the three Assyrian kings who succeeded him; see below, pp. 223-4 (= Moss. 181.12-17).

<sup>4</sup> Ps.-Manetho, continued from p. 211 (= Moss. 172.8).

<sup>5</sup> Cf. above, pp. 102, 103 (= Moss. 80.4-5, 28-9).

<sup>6</sup> Polyainos, *FGI<sup>H</sup>* 639 F 1; he was a Macedonian rhetor of the 2nd c. AD. See *Suda*, s.v. Πολύαινος; Phot. *Bibl.* 167.115<sup>a</sup>33. On the legend of Memnon and the speaking statue, see also Paus. 1.42.3; Pliny, *NH* 36.58; *Chron. pasch.* 270.10-12.

<sup>7</sup> Eus. 2.38<sup>e</sup>.



KINGS OF THE SIKYONIANS<sup>1</sup>

- (26) The twenty-sixth king of the Sikyonians was Zeuxippos  
 30 years<sup>2</sup>  
 AM 4188

Up until this year AM 4205, the kingdom of the Sikyonians, or Peloponnesians as they are called, extended for 26 generations (that is, kings), for 967 years.<sup>3</sup> Originating in AM 3239, it came to an end in this 4205th year. After these 26 kings, it is said, the priests of Karnios were their leaders for 33 years.

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The years of the Sikyonian rule total 1000.<sup>4</sup>

KINGS OF THE ARGIVES<sup>5</sup>

- (6) The sixth king of the Argives was Phorbas 25 years<sup>6</sup>  
 He held sway over Rhodes. AM 3968  
 (7) The seventh king of the Argives was Triopas 36 years<sup>7</sup>  
 AM 3993  
 (8) The eighth king of the Argives was Krotopos 24 years<sup>8</sup>  
 AM 4029  
 (9) The ninth king of the Argives was Sthenelos 11 years  
 AM 4053

There are some who say that after Sthenelos Gelanor was king of Argos. When the Argives put an end to his reign, they appointed Danaos as king of Argos.<sup>9</sup> After his expulsion from Egypt, he ruled Argos and made it a region abundant in water.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Continued from p. 212 (= Moss. 173.10). Cf. Eus. 1.81.17-18; 82.31, from Kastor of Rhodes.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Eus. 1.82.31 (31 years). A comment in the margin of MS A rightly notes that if Zeuxippos' reign lasted 30 years, his rule would have ended in AM 4217 (reckoning inclusively), and thus 12 years later than the year given below as the end of the Sikyonian kingdom (AM 4205). The author of this marginal comment attributes the inconsistency to an error of the copyists.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Eus. 1.81.18 (959 years); 2.173<sup>Arm</sup> (967 years).

<sup>4</sup> See above, p. 137 (= Moss. 110.1-7), where Synk. names 'Apollodoros and others, including Eusebios', as authorities for this tradition.

<sup>5</sup> Continued from p. 215 (= Moss. 174.20). Cf. Eus. 1.84.4-9, from Kastor of Rhodes.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Eus. 1.84.4 (35 years).

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Eus. 1.84.6 (21 years).

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Eus. 1.84.8 (21 years).

<sup>9</sup> Eus. 2.45<sup>h</sup>; Paus. 2.16.1; Ps.-Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.13.

<sup>10</sup> Eus. 2.45<sup>i</sup>; Strabo 8.6.7; Ps.-Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.13; Tat. *Orat.* 39 (= Clem. Al. *Strom.* 1.21.103.3).

This Danaos used the so-called Danaïdes (these were his fifty daughters) to kill the 50 sons of his brother Aigyptos, with the one exception of Lynkeus, who succeeded him as king. Now having numerous children is not something incredible among the barbarians, owing to the abundance of concubines.<sup>1</sup>

### MISCELLANY

According to some, when the second Io (who was also known by the title Isis Pharia) came to Egypt, she married Telegonos and gave birth to Epaphos.<sup>2</sup> Epaphos, the son of the second Io, was king of Egypt and founded Memphis.<sup>3</sup>

Corinth, anciently called Ephyra, was founded.<sup>4</sup>

Phoenix and Kadmos went forth from Thebes in Egypt to Syria and ruled over Tyre and Sidon.<sup>5</sup>

Bousiris, child of Poseidon and Libya, daughter of Epaphos, was the despot of the regions near the Nile and used to sacrifice the foreigners who were passing through.<sup>6</sup>

The temple in Delphi was burned by Phlegyas.<sup>7</sup>

179] Asterios was king of the Cretans.<sup>8</sup>

There is a legend about Zeus' sexual relations with Europa, the daughter of Phoenix. Now he was mortal, as his grave in Crete attests. She was the consort of Asterios, the king of the Cretans, who had three sons by her: Minos, Rhadamanthys, and Sarpedon, who were also said in legend to be children of Zeus.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Eus. 2.46<sup>f</sup>; Ps.-Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.21; Hyg. *Fab.* 170.

<sup>2</sup> Eus. 2.43<sup>h</sup>; Clem. Al. *Strom.* 1.21.103.2; Ps.-Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.8.

<sup>3</sup> Eus. 2.44<sup>f</sup>; Ps.-Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.10.

<sup>4</sup> Eus. 2.43<sup>g</sup>; *Ἐκλ. ἱστ.* 189.14-15; 190.15-16; Ps.-Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.85; Paus. 2.1.1. According to Pausanias, Ephyra, the daughter of Okeanos, was the first to dwell in the region subsequently named Corinth.

<sup>5</sup> Eus. 2.46<sup>i</sup>.

<sup>6</sup> Eus. 2.46<sup>h</sup>; Ps.-Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.116.

<sup>7</sup> Eus. 2.47<sup>e</sup>.

<sup>8</sup> Eus. 2.47<sup>f</sup>.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.47<sup>g</sup>. For the legend that these were the children of Zeus, see Diod. Sic. 4.60.2-3; 5.78.1; Ps.-Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.2.5. According to these latter two writers, Asterios died childless.

### KINGS OF THE ATHENIANS<sup>1</sup>

(1) The first king of the Athenians was Kekrops the Double-Natured

50 years<sup>2</sup>

AM 3945

Kekrops the Double-Natured ruled what was then Akte, but is now known as Attica, for fifty years. He was called the Double-Natured either because of his bodily stature, as Philochoros states, or because, as an Egyptian, he knew two languages.<sup>3</sup> He named the city Athens after Athena. During his reign, the olive grew for the first time on the Acropolis. The region received the name Kekropia after him. He was the first to sacrifice a cow and invoke the name of Zeus, according to some. From his reign up to the 1st Olympiad there were sixteen kings, and eleven archons who ruled for life, over a period of 700 years. During their rules, what are reputed among the Greeks to be wondrous events are recorded in their myths.<sup>4</sup>

During the reign of Kekrops, the dispute between the gods Poseidon and Athena over the region is reported in Greek myth.<sup>5</sup> The temple of Apollo Delios was established in Delos by Erysichthon, son of Kekrops.<sup>6</sup>

The Chaldaeans waged war against the Phoenicians.

Mousikos, son of Euktaios and Nympe, was flourishing.

Deukalion began to rule the regions near Parnassos.

Kekrops founded Athens, also known as Diades, in Euboia. The Euboians renamed it Orchomenos.<sup>7</sup>

Hellen, son of Deukalion, was becoming known, after whom the Greeks came to be known as Hellenes. Viticulture was discovered by Dionysos (not the Dionysos born from Semele).

The Areopagos received its name, and was set up as a court of justice.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Eus. 1.86.14–15.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Eus. 1.86.15 (five years).

<sup>3</sup> Philochor. *FGrH* 328 F 93. Among earlier Greek writers, Kekrops' body is described as a compound of man and serpent; see, for example, Aristoph. *Wasps* 438. Later Greek authors allegorize this to mean that Kekrops was of Greek and barbarian background; see Diod. Sic. 1.28.7.

<sup>4</sup> Eus. 2.41<sup>ghi</sup>. Eusebios numbers 17 kings and 12 archons from Kekrops up to the first Olympiad. See also below, pp. 260, 284, 309 (= Moss. 208.23; 231.1–5; 251.17–20).

<sup>5</sup> Eus. 2.42<sup>l</sup>.

<sup>6</sup> Eus. 2.43<sup>i</sup>.

<sup>7</sup> Eus. 2.42<sup>hikn</sup>. On the founding of 'Athens Diades', see also Strabo 10.1.5.

<sup>8</sup> Eus. 2.43<sup>flm</sup>.

180] The deranged Eusebios Pamphilou says that in the forty-fifth year of Kekrops the Double-Natured, the first king of the Athenians, Moses led Israel out of Egypt. According to that man's defective reasoning, this occurred in the 3689th year from Adam. But according to the true and most exacting reckoning, this took place in the year 3989, the twenty-second year of Aod.<sup>1</sup>

Some say that Herakles surnamed Disandas was becoming known in Phoenicia, and thus even to this day he is known by this name by the Cappadocians and the Eleans.<sup>2</sup>

### UNIVERSAL YEARS

#### Years of the Book of Judges<sup>3</sup>

Chousarsathom, king of Syria in Mesopotamia, exercised dominion over Israel

8 years

AM 3902

Gothoniel, younger brother of Chaleb of the tribe of Judah, was appointed by God to serve as the first judge of Israel

40 years<sup>4</sup>

AM 3910

When Israel sinned, they were delivered over to the Moabite king Aiglom

18 years<sup>5</sup>

AM 3950

When they repented, Aod was appointed by God as the second judge over Israel. He slew the Moabite king Aiglom and was leader of Israel

80 years<sup>6</sup>

AM 3968

Africanus says that in the seventieth year of Aod the flood at the time of Deukalion occurred.<sup>7</sup> But this cannot be demonstrated

<sup>1</sup> Eus. 1.46.36; 2.9.19–12.7. For Synk.'s critique of Eusebios' dating of the Exodus during the reign of Kekrops, see also above, pp. 96–7 (= Moss. 75.10–76.6).

<sup>2</sup> The meaning of Herakles' surname 'Disandas' is uncertain. Cf. Eus. 2.43<sup>k</sup>: 'Desanaus'; Eus. 2.161<sup>Arm</sup>: 'Desandas'. It may be a corruption of 'Sandes', the name of the Cilician Herakles. On this, see Agath. 2.24.8, which mentions that the ancient Persians called Herakles 'Sandes'. For discussion, see Cameron, 'Sassanians', 96. Cf. Joh. Lyd. *De mag.* 3.64, which traces Herakles' epithet 'Sandon' to the robe placed on him by Omphale; also Hesychios, s.v. Δορσάνης, which refers to 'Dorsanes' as Herakles' name among the Indians.

<sup>3</sup> Judg. 3.7–14, 30.

<sup>4</sup> Judg. 3.11.

<sup>5</sup> Judg. 3.14.

<sup>6</sup> Judg. 3.30; Eus. 2.49.10–12. But cf. Eus. 1.49.1, which assigns the 80 years to Aod and Semegar together.

<sup>7</sup> Routh, fr. 25.

precisely, since Greek chronology, to the extent that there is even a record of it before the 1st Olympiad, is in complete confusion. Nevertheless, his conjecture approximates the truth, since our conjecture also is close to his, and we lack any further information to bring to light.<sup>1</sup>

After the death of Aod, Semegar son of Anath arose as judge, and he also saved Israel by smiting the Philistines.<sup>2</sup>

Now the sons of Israel persisted in their frenzy for idols. And the Lord gave them into the hand of Jabein the king of Canaan<sup>3</sup> [181

20 years<sup>4</sup>

AM 4048

Deborah, the prophetess and wife of Apheidoth of the tribe of Ephraïm, was judge of Israel during this period. Through her, Barak, son of Abinoëim of the tribe of Nephthali, led the battle against Sisara, Jabein's commander-in-chief. And Barak prevailed over all his army. As he was fleeing away on foot, Sisara was slain by Chaber the Kenite's wife Jaël, stabbed in the jaw by a tent-peg. At that time, Deborah and Barak sang a song of victory to God. The land was at peace for forty years.<sup>5</sup>

Deborah and Barak were leaders of Israel 40 years<sup>6</sup>

AM 4068

### KINGS OF THE ASSYRIANS<sup>7</sup>

(30) The thirtieth king of the Assyrians was Chalaos 45 years.

AM 4242

(31) The thirty-first king of the Assyrians was Anebos

38 years

AM 4287

<sup>1</sup> Gelzer (i. 120) suggests that Synk. confused Africanus' reference to the flood in Thessaly at the time of Ehud (Aod) with Deukalion's flood. In Gelzer's opinion, Africanus dated the latter to the reign of Gothoniël.

<sup>2</sup> Judg. 3.31. Notice that no dates are assigned to the rule of Semegar, the years of whom are lacking in Judges. See also below, p. 256 (= Moss. 205.21-3).

<sup>3</sup> Judg. 3.31-4.3.

<sup>4</sup> Judg. 4.3.

<sup>5</sup> Judg. 4.4, 15, 21; 5.1, 31.

<sup>6</sup> Judg. 5.31. See also Eus. 1.49.3; 2.53.6-8.

<sup>7</sup> Continued from p. 218 (= Moss. 177.4). Cf. Annianos in Elias Nis. 1.16.3-7; Eus. 1.31.31-2. According to Elias, only Annianos gives the names and years of the first three Assyrian kings listed below; their names are lacking in Eusebios' version.

(32) The thirty-second king of the Assyrians was Babios

37 years

AM 4325

This Babios, known among the Greeks as Tithonos, is the thirty-second king of the Assyrians. His son was Memnon, who fought on the side of Priam against the Greeks and was slain by Achilles. A copy of the epistle of Priam is in circulation. This same king is also known as Tautanes II.<sup>1</sup>

(33) The thirty-third king of the Assyrians was (Thinaios)

30 years

AM 4362

(34) The thirty-fourth king of the Assyrians was Derkylos

40 years

AM 4392

### KINGS OF THE EGYPTIANS<sup>2</sup>

(45) The forty-fifth king of the Egyptians was Acherres

Either 8 or

30 years

AM 4041

182] (46) The forty-sixth king of the Egyptians was Armaios, also known as Danaos

9 years

AM 4049

In fleeing from his brother Rhameses Aigyptos, Armaios, also known as Danaos, was expelled from his kingdom in Egypt and arrived in Greece.

His brother Rhameses, also known as Aigyptos, was king of Egypt for sixty-eight years, and he renamed the region Egypt after his own name. Its previous name was Mestraia, and among the Greeks Aeria.<sup>3</sup> Danaos, also known as Armaios, seized control over Argos and when he deposed Sthenelos the son of Krotopos, he became king of the Argives; his descendants thereafter were called Danaïdai down to the time of Erystheus, son of Sthenelos, the son of Perseus. After them, the Pelopidai, the first of whom was Atreus, obtained the kingdom from Pelops.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Eus. 1.30.18–21 (from Kephalion); Diod. Sic. 4.75.4.

<sup>2</sup> Ps.-Manetho, continued from p. 218 (= Moss. 177.19).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Eus. 1.68.10–14; 2.45<sup>f</sup>; *Ἐκκλ. ἱστ.* 189.26–7. See also above, p. 57 (= Moss. 42.26–43.3).

<sup>4</sup> See Eus. 2.45<sup>a</sup>, from Kastor of Rhodes; cf. also Eus. 1.84.11–13.

KINGS OF THE ARGIVES<sup>1</sup>

(10) The tenth king of the Argives was Danaos	58 years <sup>2</sup> AM 4064
(11) The eleventh king of the Argives was Lynkeus	35 years <sup>3</sup> AM <4122
(12) The twelfth king of the Argives was Abas	37 years <sup>4</sup> AM <sup>5</sup> 4157
(13) The thirteenth king of the Argives was Proitos, also known as Perseus	17 years AM 4194
(14) The fourteenth king of the Argives was Akrisios	31 years AM 4211 <sup>6</sup>

After Akrisios, it is said, when Argive rule was transferred to Mykenai, the following kings succeeded to rule:

Perseus (who unintentionally killed Akrisios), Sthenelos, Eurystheus, Pelops, Atreus, Thyestes, Agamemnon, Aigisthos, Orestes, Tisamenos, Pentheus, and Kometes, followed by the return of the Herakleidai.<sup>7</sup>

Up until this year AM 4243, there are 551 years extending over fourteen generations, that is, kings. Of them nine generations are properly called Argives, and five Danaïdai, whose rule began with Danaos and extended to Akrisios. Accordingly, the Argives were also known as Danaoi. Succeeding to the throne of Argos after them was Pelops, called by the poet Homer in the *Iliad* a 'smiter of horses', and said by him to have received the sceptre of rule from Zeus himself.<sup>8</sup> He bequeathed his kingdom to his son Atreus. After

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<sup>1</sup> Continued from p. 220 (= Moss. 178.16). Cf. Eus. 1.84.14-18.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Eus. 1.84.14 (50 years).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Eus. 1.84.15 (41 years).

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Eus. 1.84.16 (23 years).

<sup>5</sup> The bracketed material, lacking in the manuscripts, is supplied from the text of Eusebios. To correspond with Synk.'s calculation of the universal years, Mosshammer emends the duration of Abas' reign from 23 to 37 years.

<sup>6</sup> This would suggest that Akrisios' rule ended in AM 4241. But cf. below (p. 232 = Moss. 188.10), where Synk. states that the reign of Pelops, the 15th Argive king, began in AM 4244, meaning that Akrisios' reign ended in AM 4243. See also below (= Moss. 182.26), which states that the first 14 Argive kings ruled up to AM 4243. See Gelzer ii. 221.

<sup>7</sup> Eus. 2.53<sup>h</sup>, 54<sup>b</sup>. Cf. also Eus. 1.84.21-32, from Kastor of Rhodes.

<sup>8</sup> *Il.* 2.104.

them, Thyestes ruled, and then Agamemnon and Menelaos, sons of Atreus. In retribution for the abduction of Helen, they made war against Troy, together with Achilles, Odysseus, Aias, as well as the remaining kings of Europe and the islands, and their ships and armaments. Succeeding them were Aigisthos, and then Orestes and the remaining Pelopidai, who are themselves also referred to as kings of the Argives in the poetry of Homer. But according to some of the historians, they are called kings of Mykenai because they exercised power over both regions; with these latter historians Eusebios is also aligned.<sup>1</sup> But we order them in the succession of the Argive kings, recognizing that they were kings of Argos in the line of the Danaïdai, while receiving the name Pelopidai from Pelops, to whom they trace their origin, and that they further expanded Argive rule. Now there are some who disagree with this; they say that after Akrisios, when Argive rule was transferred to Mykenai, Perseus, Sthenelos, and Eurystheus were kings before Atreus, and they make no mention whatsoever of Pelops.<sup>2</sup> Since we have Homer as witness, we do not follow them at all.

#### MISCELLANY

Amphion was king of the Thebans, according to others. By playing the kithara, he reputedly charmed stones, which it is reasonable to assume must be taken to mean certain foolish men.<sup>3</sup>

The brothers Zethos and Amphion were shepherds, called lyric poets because they played the kithara in the bucolic style.<sup>4</sup>

Orpheus the Thracian was becoming known. His disciple was Mousaios, son of Eumolpos.<sup>5</sup>

The events concerning Hypsipyle in Lemnos and Sphinx: Palaiphatos says that after becoming Kadmos' wife, Sphinx departed because of Harmonia's jealousy and went to war against the Kadmeians.<sup>6</sup> The events concerning Oidipous: his victory over her,

<sup>1</sup> Eus. 2.53.23–54.6.

<sup>2</sup> Eus. 2.53<sup>h</sup>; *Xρον. συντ.* 87.9–16. See also above, p. 180 (= Moss. 144.11–145.3). For discussion, see Gelzer ii. 219–22.

<sup>3</sup> Eus. 2.53<sup>c</sup>; Joh. Ant. fr. 1.10 (*FHG* iv. 538); *Ἐκλ. ἱστ.* 190.19–20. Notice the word-play on λίθους ('stones') and ἡλίθιους ('foolish').

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.48<sup>d</sup>; Clem. Al. *Strom.* 1.21.107.3.

<sup>5</sup> Eus. 2.56<sup>b</sup>.

<sup>6</sup> Palaiph. *Incredib.* 4. The purpose of this five-volume work by Palaiphatos (late 4th c. BC) was to rationalize Greek myths by recovering the core of historical truth purportedly lying behind their later mythical embellishments. In the case of Kadmos and Sphinx, Palaiphatos claimed



and the events concerning the Argo and the Argonauts, among whom were Herakles, the Dioskoroi, and Asklepios. Now if the Dioskoroi were flourishing at the same time as they were, how can Helen possibly be their sister, unless forsooth it was many years later that, still a virgin, she was abducted by Theseus?<sup>1</sup>

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In Argos, Hypermnestra, the daughter of Danaos, served as priestess.<sup>2</sup>

Zethos and Amphion exiled Kadmos and reigned over Thebes.<sup>3</sup>

Lapis was king of Crete.

Apteras was king of Crete; he was also the founder of the city.<sup>4</sup>

### KINGS OF THE ATHENIANS<sup>5</sup>

(2) The second king of the Athenians was the indigenous Kranaos  
9 years

AM 3995

The daughter of this Kranaos, the second king of Attica, was Atthis. It was from her that the country of Attica, which was previously known as Akte, received its name.<sup>6</sup>

During the time of this Kranaos, Deukalion's flood occurred in Thessaly and the conflagration at the time of Phaëthon took place in Ethiopia. And many other regional disasters befell the Greeks, as Plato states in the *Timaios*.<sup>7</sup>

The Greeks are called Hellenes after Hellen, son of Deukalion.<sup>8</sup>

(3) The third king of the Athenians was Amphiktyon

10 years<sup>9</sup>

He was Deukalion's son and Kranaos' brother-in-law.

AM 4004

that the Sphinx was an Amazon, whose riddles were actually ambushes that she set for her enemies. Hired by Kadmos, Oidipous killed her by setting his own ambush against her.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.56<sup>f</sup>; Joh. Ant. fr. 1.12 (*FHG* iv. 539); Diod. Sic. 4.64; 6.6.1. See Gelzer i. 133.

<sup>2</sup> Eus. 2.47<sup>i</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> Eus. 2.48<sup>f</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> Eus. 2.44<sup>c</sup>. Synk. must be referring to the city of Aptera, on the west coast of Crete. Cf. Paus. 10.5.10, which states that the city was named after a Delphian builder named Pteras.

<sup>5</sup> Continued from p. 221 (= Moss. 179.8). Cf. Eus. 1.86.23–9, from Kastor of Rhodes.

<sup>6</sup> Eus. 2.44<sup>b</sup>; Joh. Ant. fr. 1.4 (*FHG* iv. 538); Paus. 1.2.6.

<sup>7</sup> Eus. 2.42<sup>op</sup> (during the reign of Kekrops, Kranaos' predecessor); Plato, *Tim.* 22 A.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.43<sup>f</sup>.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Eus. 1.86.24–5 (nine years).

Some say that about the time of Deukalion's son Amphiktyon, Dionysos, after arriving in Attica, was entertained as a guest by Semachos and gave a fawnskin to his daughter. This was not the same person as the Dionysos born from Semele.<sup>1</sup>

(4) The fourth king of the Athenians was Erichthonios

50 years

AM 4014

This Erichthonios, son of Hephaistos, is known as Erechtheus in Homer. Erichthonios was the first among the Greeks to discover the chariot; for it came from the barbarians.<sup>2</sup>

(5) The fifth king of the Athenians was Pandion

40 years

AM 4064

The daughters of Pandion were Prokne and Philomela.<sup>3</sup>

### MISCELLANY

Lakedaimonia was founded by Lakedaimon from Messene.<sup>4</sup>

Epaphos, son of the second Io and Zeus, founded Memphis in Egypt.<sup>5</sup>

185] Arkas, son of Kallisto and Zeus, seized control of the Pelasgians, and renamed the country Arkadia.<sup>6</sup>

Dardanos founded Dardania.<sup>7</sup> Kadmos reigned over Thebes. The son of his daughter Semele was Dionysos, born from adultery. In their myths, the Greeks say that he was a son of Zeus.<sup>8</sup>

Around this time, Linos and Amphion and Zethos, lyric poets of Thebes and musicians, were becoming known, according to some. But others say it was after this.

Phoenix was king among the Tyrians. Minos son of Europa was king of Crete. Rhadamanthys and Sarpedon were ruling the Lycians.

Amphion and Zethos were reigning over Thebes of the seven gates. Erichthonios, son of Dardanos, was king of Dardania.

The abduction of Europa. Harmonia was abducted by Kadmos.

The so-called Idaian Daktyloi, the discoverers of iron, were around this time.

Melos, Thasos, and Alkisthe<sup>9</sup> were founded, as well as Paphos.

<sup>1</sup> Eus. 2.44<sup>d</sup>; Paus. 1.2.5.

<sup>3</sup> Eus. 2.47<sup>h</sup>.

<sup>5</sup> Eus. 2.44<sup>f</sup>.

<sup>7</sup> Eus. 2.45<sup>g</sup>.

<sup>9</sup> A corruption of 'Kalliste'; cf. Eus. 2.48<sup>b</sup>: 'Callista'; *Ἐκλ, ἰστ.* 190.12: *Καλλίστη* (cod. *Καλλι*). According to Strabo 8.3.19 it was the original name of Thera.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.46<sup>e</sup>; Pliny, *NH* 7.202.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.45<sup>c</sup>.

<sup>6</sup> Eus. 2.45<sup>e</sup>; Paus. 8.4.1.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.48<sup>a</sup>.

Bithynia, which was previously called Mariandene, was established by Phoenix.

Ephyra, which is now Corinth, was settled by Sisyphos.<sup>1</sup>

The abduction of Kore Persephone by Aïdoneus, king of the Molossoi. He owned a huge dog, known as Kerberos, which he later used to kill Peirithous when he and Theseus arrived to abduct his wife. But Herakles chanced upon Theseus, and rescued him when he was on the verge of being killed with Peirithous. Because of the obvious danger facing him, Theseus is believed to have come back from Hades, as Philochoros records in the second book of the *Atthis*.<sup>2</sup>

Keleos reigned over the city of Eleusis, during whose reign Triptolemos lived. Triptolemos, says Philochoros, after putting in with a warship, gave grain to the cities; his ship, he says, is imagined to be a winged snake, for it has something like this shape.<sup>3</sup>

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Achaïa was founded by Achaios.

Kadmeia was founded, as well as Side in Cilicia.

The birth of Dionysos from Semele.<sup>4</sup>

### UNIVERSAL YEARS

When Israel went astray, they were delivered to the Madianites

7 years<sup>5</sup>

AM 4108

Gideon was judge of Israel

40 years<sup>6</sup>

AM 4115

Gideon, son of Joas, son of Abiezrei, of the tribe of Manasse, rose up against the Philistines under the guidance of an angel, and destroyed his father's altar. In its place, he built an altar to God and offered the fatted calf to God as a burnt offering with the wood of the grove of Baal which he had cut down. Gideon received the spirit of God; and by putting his trust in the signs on the fleece, which at one time became wet, at another time dry, he miraculously routed 120,000 men with 300 men equipped with torches. He captured Oreb and Zeb and the two great leaders of Amalek, and Zebeë and Salmana, two kings of Madiam, and slew

<sup>1</sup> Eus. 2.48<sup>d</sup>, 46<sup>i</sup>, 49<sup>e</sup>, 47<sup>k</sup>, 48<sup>fg</sup>, 47<sup>l</sup>, 49<sup>d</sup>, 48<sup>ebc</sup>, 49<sup>c</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> Philochor. *FGrH* 328 F 18. See also Eus. 2.49<sup>l</sup>; Plut. *Thes.* 35.

<sup>3</sup> Philochor. *FGrH* 328 F 104; Eus. 2.49<sup>e</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> Eus. 2.49<sup>if</sup>, 50<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>5</sup> Judg. 6.1.

<sup>6</sup> Judg. 8.28.

them with the sword. This Gideon had seventy sons from his wives, as well as Abimelech, who was born from his concubine.<sup>1</sup>

Abimelech

3 years<sup>2</sup>

AM 4155

As for this Abimelech and his 70 brothers, the book of Judges initially states plainly that they were sons of Gideon;<sup>3</sup> but it then says they were sons of his brother Hierobaal, who came to live with Gideon around the end of his life, as it is written there.<sup>4</sup> This appears to be somewhat problematic. Now Africanus says that they were all sons of Hierobaal.<sup>5</sup>

187] Abimelech, the son of Gideon by his concubine, slew all his brothers except Jonathes the youngest son and led the people into fornication. And when Jonathes went up to Mount Garizein in Samaria, which translated means 'holy mountain', he recited the story about the trees, forecasting the destruction that would come upon those obedient to Abimelech from him. Later, when he was setting siege to Bethel, Abimelech perished when he was struck in the skull by a millstone thrown by a woman. He ruled for three years.<sup>6</sup>

Thola, the son of Phoua from the tribe of Issachar, was judge of Israel

23 years<sup>7</sup>

AM 4158

### KINGS OF THE ASSYRIANS<sup>8</sup>

(35) The thirty-fifth king of the Assyrians was Eupakmes

38 years

AM 4432

(36) The thirty-sixth king of the Assyrians was Laosthenes

45 years

AM 4470

<sup>1</sup> Judg. 6.11-13, 25-7, 36-40; 7.16-25; 8.21, 30-1.

<sup>2</sup> Judg. 9.22.

<sup>3</sup> Judg. 8.30-1.

<sup>4</sup> Judg. 8.35-9.2 (LXX). Synk. evidently failed to take note of the fact that Hierobaal and Gideon were the same person (Judg. 7.1). A statement in the Greek version of Judg. 8.29 (*καὶ ἐπορεύθη Τεροβαάλ υἱὸς Ἰωὰς καὶ ἐκάθισεν ἐν οἴκῳ αὐτοῦ*) must have led Synk. to believe that Hierobaal and Gideon were distinct persons.

<sup>5</sup> Routh, fr. 26.

<sup>6</sup> Judg. 9.5-15, 50-4.

<sup>7</sup> Judg. 10.1-2.

<sup>8</sup> Continued from p. 224 (= Moss. 181.24). See Annianos in Elias Nis. 1.16.8-13; cf. Eus. 1.31.33-32.5, from Kastor of Rhodes. The spelling of these rulers' names varies widely.

- (37) The thirty-seventh king of the Assyrians was Pertiades  
30 years  
AM 4515
- (38) The thirty-eighth king of the Assyrians was Ophrataios  
21 years  
AM 4545
- (39) The thirty-ninth king of the Assyrians was <Ophratanes  
52 years<sup>1</sup>>  
AM 4566
- (40) The fortieth king of the Assyrians was Akraganes  
42 years  
AM 4618

KINGS OF THE EGYPTIANS<sup>2</sup>

- (47) The forty-seventh king of the Egyptians was Rhamesses, also  
known as Aigyptos  
68 years  
AM 4058
- (48) The forty-eighth king of the Egyptians was Amenophis  
8 years  
AM 4126
- (49) The forty-ninth king of the Egyptians was Thouoris  
17 years  
AM 4134
- (50) The fiftieth king of the Egyptians was Nechepsos  
19 years  
AM 4151
- (51) The fifty-first king of the Egyptians was Psammouthis  
13 years  
AM 4170 [188]
- (52) The fifty-second king of the Egyptians was <\*\*\*>  
4 years  
AM 4183

<sup>1</sup> The MSS here give *Ἐφεχερης ἕτη σ'* ('Ephecheres. Six years.'). Mosshammer brackets this as a corrupt form of the name 'Nephecheres' found in Synk.'s list of Egyptian rulers; see below, p. 257 (= Moss. 206.22). He supplies the name 'Ophratanes' from Annianos' list of Assyrian kings. Instead of 50 years (according to Eusebios and Annianos), Mosshammer reads 52, to conform with Synk.'s computation of the universal years.

<sup>2</sup> Ps.-Manetho, continued from p. 224 (= Moss. 182.11).

(53) The fifty-third king of the Egyptians was Kertos  
16 years<sup>1</sup>  
AM 4187

(54) The fifty-fourth king of the Egyptians was Rhampsis  
45 years  
AM 4207

(55) The fifty-fifth king of the Egyptians was Amenses, also  
known as Ammenemes  
26 years  
AM 4252

### KINGS OF THE ARGIVES<sup>2</sup>

(15) The fifteenth king of Mykenai and the Argives was Pelops  
35 years  
AM 4244

Some historians state that Pelops was king not only of the Argives and Mykenai, but of the whole Peloponnese as well. He presided over the Olympic games, and in his military campaign against Ilion was defeated by Dardanos.<sup>3</sup> From him, the Peloponnese derived its name. He married Hippodameia.<sup>4</sup> Some say that he was king for 53 years, others for 63 years, still others for 35 years.<sup>5</sup>

(16) The sixteenth to rule Mykenai and the Argives were Atreus and Thyestes  
33 years,  
according  
to others  
65 years  
AM 4279<sup>6</sup>

After the death of Pelops, Atreus and Thyestes divided the kingdom of Mykenai and ruled at the same time. Upon their deaths, Agamemnon succeeded to the rule of Mykenai and the Argives. Agamemnon's brother Menelaos reigned over the Lakedaimonians after the death of Atreus, as is shown below.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Text: ις'. Since the reign of the succeeding ruler begins in AM 4207, Goar and Jacoby emend to κ' ('20').

<sup>2</sup> Continued from p. 255 (= Moss. 182.20). Cf. Eus. 1.84.23-9, from Kastor of Rhodes.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.53<sup>f</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.52<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.49<sup>h</sup> (53 years); Joh. Mal. 84.19-20 (32 years).

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Eus. 1.84.27, from Kastor of Rhodes (65 years).

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.55<sup>l</sup>, 59<sup>hlm</sup>.

KINGS OF THE ATHENIANS<sup>1</sup>

(6) The sixth king of the Athenians was Erechtheus 50 years  
AM 4104

Boreas the Thracian, son of Astraios, abducted Orithuia, the daughter of this Erechtheus. In myth, he is presented as the wind, as Philochoros states in the second book.<sup>2</sup> During his reign, the so-called mysteries also came into being.<sup>3</sup>

(7) The seventh king of the Athenians was Kekrops, the second brother of Erechtheus 40 years  
AM 4154

(8) The eighth king of the Athenians was Pandion, son of Erechtheus 25 years  
AM 4194

(9) The ninth king of the Athenians was Aigeus, son of Pandion 48 years  
AM 4219

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## MISCELLANY

There were some who believed that during this time, Phrixos and his sister Helle escaped his stepmother's plot against them by fleeing on a ram with a golden fleece. In fact, he had the good fortune of finding a boat on which there was the emblem of a ram. But Palaiphatos states that the steward who rescued them was named Krios.<sup>4</sup>

There was a war during the time of Eumolpos, from whom the Eumolpidai at Athens derived their name.<sup>5</sup>

The events concerning Prokne and Philomela, daughters of Pandion.<sup>6</sup>

Phemonoë, the first versifying oracle at Pythia, is reported to have made predictions in hexameters.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Continued from p. 228 (= Moss. 184.24). Cf. Eus. 1.86.30–87.8 (Kastor of Rhodes).

<sup>2</sup> Referring to Philochoros' *Atthis* (= *FGrH* 328 F 11).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.50<sup>b</sup> (without the reference to Philochoros); see also Joh. Ant. fr. 1.6 (*FHG* iv. 539): 'Boreas the Thracian, son of Astreos, abducted Oreithuia (it was not the wind).'

<sup>4</sup> Palaiph. *Incredib.* 30. See also Eus. 2.50<sup>d</sup>; Joh. Ant. fr. 1.7 (*FHG* iv. 539). The proper name 'Krios' means 'ram'.<sup>5</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.51<sup>b</sup>.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.50<sup>f</sup>.

<sup>7</sup> Eus. 2.51<sup>e</sup>.

Tros and Ilos were kings of Dardania, from whom the Trojans and the city of Troas, also known as Ilion, derived their names. During their time Tantalos was king of Phrygia, that is Maionia, after whom the Maiones are named. Tityos was a contemporary of Tantalos. During the time of Tityos, Leto lived, from whom Apollo was born. Together with Herakles, he was a servant to Admetos.<sup>1</sup>

### MISCELLANY

Because of Tantalos' abduction of Tros' son Ganymede, Tros launched a war against him, as Didymos records in his *Strange History*, as well as Phanokles. Thus the myth about how Zeus took the form of an eagle to abduct him is a worthless lie.<sup>2</sup>

Ilion was founded by Ilos.<sup>3</sup>

Melampous the oracle was becoming known. The events concerning Phrixos and Melikertes, during whose time the Isthmian games were established. The events concerning Demeter, who some say was Isis. And the events involving Danaë, from whom Perseus was born. Perseus was completing his military campaigns and launched an invasion against the Persians. He beheaded the Gorgon, a finely-formed courtesan whose beauty so utterly transfixed those who set eyes on her that they appeared to turn to stone. Didymos says this in his *Strange History*, and cites its author. Pegasos, perhaps some kind of swift horse, belonged to the woman. But according to Palaiphatos, Pegasos was a ship of Bellerephon.<sup>4</sup>

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The events involving Meleager and Oineus in Aitolia.<sup>5</sup>

Cyrene was founded in Libya.

After Ion became military commander, he named the Athenians Ionians after himself.<sup>6</sup>

Dionysos launched a military campaign against the Indians and founded the city of Nysa near the Indos River. Midas became king

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.51<sup>dth</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> Didym. Chalk. *Xen. hist.*, fr. 2 (p. 359, ed. Schmidt). Didymos was an Alexandrian grammarian of the first century BC. Phanokles was a Greek elegiac poet of unknown date and place. For Phanokles' interpretation of the myth of Ganymede, see fr. 4 in J. U. Powell, *Collectanea Alexandrina* (Oxford, 1925), 108 = Oros. *Adv. pagan.* 1.12.4-5. Versions of Didymos' interpretation of the myth are well attested in other Christian sources. See Eus. 2.51<sup>g</sup>; Aug. *Civ. dei* 18.13; Joh. Mal. 80.

<sup>3</sup> Eus. 2.54<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.48<sup>h</sup>, 51<sup>i</sup>, 52<sup>cd</sup>; Joh. Ant. fr. 1.8 (*FHG* iv. 539). On the ship 'Pegasos', see Palaiph. *Incredib.* 28.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.59<sup>f</sup>.

<sup>6</sup> Eus. 2.52<sup>ef</sup>.



of the Phrygians. Laios abducted Chrysippos. The city of Miletos was founded. The temple in Eleusis was established.<sup>1</sup> Europa, daughter of Agenor, was abducted by Cretan merchants, as Herodotos states.<sup>2</sup> The ship's emblem was a bull. When Kadmos went out in search of her, he founded Kadmeia and became king of the Thebans. Since the inhabitants of the bordering regions suddenly rose up against him, he called them 'Spartoi',<sup>3</sup> because they surged into a single stream from all sides as if they were coming out of the ground—this is what Palaiphatos says in his first book.<sup>4</sup>

The deeds of Dionysos and his exploits connected with the Indians, Lykourgos, Aktaion, and Pentheus, and how he perished after engaging Perseus in battle, as Deinarchos (the poet, not the rhetor) says. If interested, one can see his burial-place in Delphi near the golden statue of Apollo, where the shield of Augustus Caesar is deposited, as well as Nero's kithara. And a kind of pedestal is venerated by the uninformed as the tomb of Dionysos. Now he appears to have been a general; thus, among other disgraceful reasons, he is described as feminine in shape because he equipped an army that consisted partly of women. Indeed, he used to supply arms to the women along with the men, as Philochoros states in his second book.<sup>5</sup>

Herakles' teacher Linos was becoming known. Androgeos was treacherously slain in Athens. Philammon of Delphi was flourishing, who was the first to establish a chorus of dancers at Pythia.<sup>6</sup>

The events concerning Daidalos, who created what appeared to be moving statues. This was because he was the first to separate the feet of his statues, as Palaiphatos states, whereas all his predecessors sculpted the feet together. Because his pursuer was unable to locate him after he obtained a ship and escaped from Minos, a legend arose that he flew away with his son Ikaros.<sup>7</sup>

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Thamyris, the son of Philammon, was flourishing.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.52<sup>h</sup>, 53<sup>i</sup>, 54<sup>cd</sup>, 55<sup>d</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Herodot. 1.2.

<sup>3</sup> That is, 'sown men', in reference to the legend stating that the Spartoi sprang forth from the dragon's teeth sown by Kadmos.

<sup>4</sup> Palaiph. *Incredib.* 3. Cf. Eus. 2.53<sup>deg</sup>; Joh. Ant. fr. 1.9 (*FHG* iv. 539).

<sup>5</sup> Philochor. *FGrH* 328 F 7. See also Eus. 2.54<sup>e</sup>; Joh. Mal. 45.1-11 (on the authority of Deinarchos, Philochoros, and Kephalion).

<sup>6</sup> Eus. 2.56<sup>c</sup>, 57<sup>h</sup>, 55<sup>f</sup>.

<sup>7</sup> Eus. 2.55<sup>h</sup>; Joh. Ant. fr. 1.11 (*FHG* iv. 539); cf. Palaiph. *Incredib.* 12, 21. On Daidalos' 'moving statues' and his escape from Minos by ship, see also Diod. Sic. 4.76.2-3, 77.5-6.

<sup>8</sup> Eus. 2.57<sup>b</sup>.

Minos was exercising dominion over the sea. By purveying laws from a cave in Ida over a period of nine years, he provided the Cretans with laws, claiming that they came from Zeus—this claim Plato refutes in his *Laws*.<sup>1</sup>

Herakles was accomplishing his feats. In his struggle with Antaios in Libya, he killed the Earthborn One (so called because he was skilled in what wrestlers call the 'on the ground' method and as a result created the impression that he was drawing strength from his 'mother' earth<sup>2</sup>). Because of his strength, Herakles was up to the task<sup>3</sup> and by seizing Antaios in his clinches, lifted him up and slew him.<sup>4</sup>

Plato calls the legendary beast known as the Hydra a female sophist; it was through her that the above-mentioned Herakles destroyed Iliion.<sup>5</sup>

Medeia of Kolchis departed from Aigeus.

The war between the Centaurs and Lapiths. The Centaurs were the most accomplished riders of the Thessalians, as Palaiphatos says in the first book of his *Incredibilia*.<sup>6</sup>

The Seven marched against Thebes.<sup>7</sup>

The events involving the Minotaur: according to the legend, he actually was half-beast, born from an animal—a bull—and Pasiphaë, and used to feast on the children that he received as tribute from the Athenians. However, the Knossians themselves say that he was Minos' military governor, who was known as 'Tauros' because he was savage and wild by nature; for when Minos established a contest in honour of Androgeos (whom the Athenians killed), he gave the Attic children as a prize. Because of his strength, Tauros overcame everyone. But when Theseus got to participate in the contest and defeated Tauros in wrestling, the result was the rescue of the children and the release of the city from

<sup>1</sup> See Plato, *Laws*, bk. 1; on Minos' claim that his laws originated from Zeus, see Diod. Sic. 5.78.3. Cf. also Eus. 2.57<sup>a</sup>: 'Minos mare optinuit et Cretensibus leges dedit, ut Paradius (*sic*) memorat, quod Plato falsum esse conuincit.' Jerome's translation 'ut Paradius memorat' misconstrues the Greek *ὡς παρὰ Διὸς* ('claiming that they came from Zeus').

<sup>2</sup> According to the myth, Antaios was son of Gaia and Poseidon.

<sup>3</sup> Text: *μη̄ προσδεηθεῖς*. Cf. Goar's translation: 'vinculis liber'.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.57<sup>c</sup>; Joh. Ant. fr. 1.14 (*FHG* iv. 539).

<sup>5</sup> Plato, *Euthyd.* 297 BC. Cf. Eus. 2.57<sup>c</sup>.

<sup>6</sup> Palaiph. *Incredib.* 1. According to Palaiphatos, the name Centaur referred to the skill of these horsemen in slaying bulls with javelins.

<sup>7</sup> Eus. 2.57<sup>fdg</sup>.

tribute, as Philochoros has recorded in the second book of the *Atthis*.<sup>1</sup>

The Epigonoï of the Seven marched against Thebes.<sup>2</sup>

Phaidra fell in love with Hippolytos.

Because of Daidalos, Minos launched a campaign against Sicily and was killed by the daughters of Kokalos.<sup>3</sup>

During this time Samson lived, who was celebrated among the Greeks as Herakles. After his feats and the slaying of Antaios the Earthborn in Libya and the contest in Olympia and the first capture of Troy by him during the time of Laomedon the father of Priam, king of Troy, Herakles fell victim to the plague and hurled himself on to a pyre; this was the way in which he departed this life. He lived a total of fifty-two years. Some historians say that Herakles lived a little before Samson, others that he lived for several more years.<sup>4</sup> [192

### UNIVERSAL YEARS

God appointed Jaëir the Galaadite to succeed Thola as judge over Israel. He had thirty-two sons and thirty-two cities over which they ruled. He judged the people.

20 years<sup>5</sup>

AM 4181

Ammanites exercised dominion over Israel

18 years<sup>6</sup>

AM 4201

After Jaëir the Galaadite, Israel went astray and was handed over to serve Ammanites for eighteen years. When they confessed their sins to God, there was given to them Jephthaë, of the tribe of Manasse, a son of Galaad and a prostitute. He prayed to God that after his victory over the Moabites he would sacrifice whatever living being came out from his house to meet him when he returned from the war, provided that he was victorious. And when his only-begotten daughter, the object of his deepest affection, came out to meet him, he offered her to God; she did not resist, after first grieving for her virginity for two months.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Philochor. *FGrH* 328 F 17. See also Eus. 2.58<sup>a</sup>; Joh. Ant. fr. 1.16 (*FHG* iv. 539).

<sup>2</sup> Eus. 2.59<sup>n</sup>; Diod. Sic. 4.66.

<sup>3</sup> Eus. 2.59<sup>ig</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.59<sup>ck</sup>, 60<sup>d</sup>; Joh. Ant. fr. 1.17 (*FHG* iv. 539).

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Judg. 10.3-4, which assigns 22 years to Jair.

<sup>6</sup> Judg. 10.8.

<sup>7</sup> Judg. 11.29-40.

Jephthaë was judge of Israel

6 years<sup>1</sup>

AM 4219

He made war against the sons of Ephraïm because they rebuked him for not taking them along as allies in the battle, and he killed 32,000 of them.<sup>2</sup>

193] In the book of Judges, Jephthaë says that 300 years elapsed from Moses up to his own time, obviously excluding the domination of the foreigners.<sup>3</sup> This is the way we should understand the matter, and not as Eusebios does; for he reckons the years of the foreign rulers together with the years of the judges, and does not consider each of them separately, as scripture does.<sup>4</sup>

Esebon and Esbal<sup>5</sup> judged Israel after Jephthaë

7 years

AM 4225

Esebon of Bethlehem, of the tribe of Judah, and father of thirty sons and thirty daughters, was judge of Israel.<sup>6</sup>

Aeilon, of the tribe of Zebulun, acted as judge of Israel

10 years

after

Esebon<sup>7</sup>

AM 4232

Abdon acted as judge of Israel

8 years

Africanus incorrectly says that it was 20 years.<sup>8</sup>

AM 4242

Abdon, son of Selem, father of thirty children and thirty grandchildren, was judge of Israel for eight years. After his death, Israel transgressed and was again given over to foreign rulers for forty years.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Judg. 12.7.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Judg. 12.1-6, which gives the number as 42,000.

<sup>3</sup> Judg. 11.26.

<sup>4</sup> Eus. 1.51.23-52.7. Based on Synk.'s list, there would be 329 years from the death of Moses to the time of Jephthah, excluding the domination of foreign rulers. The years of foreign domination would add an additional 33 years (362 years in all). On Eusebios' handling of this period, see further above, p. 49, (Moss. 37.1-11) and below pp. 253-5 (Moss. 204.15-205.16).

<sup>5</sup> Unknown.

<sup>6</sup> Judg. 12.8-9.

<sup>7</sup> Judg. 12.11.

<sup>8</sup> Routh, fr. 26. On the eight years of the rule of Abdon, see Judg. 12.14. Based on other witnesses to Africanus, Gelzer (i. 90-1) concluded that Africanus correctly assigned 8 years, not 20, to the rule of Abdon. Routh (442, note on fr. 26), following a suggestion by Ussher, suggested that Synk. might have mistaken the Greek symbol for 20 (κ') with that for 8 (η').

<sup>9</sup> Judg. 12.13-13.1.

Philistines, people of foreign stock, exercise dominion over Israel  
 40 years  
 AM 4250<sup>1</sup>

Eusebios Pamphilou absurdly reckons these forty years of the foreigners together with the years of Samson and the judges who succeeded him, thus excluding these forty years and the years of the remaining foreign rulers in his *Canon*. He bases this on what he says is some sort of Hebrew tradition. But as in other things, he is manifestly in contradiction with scripture.<sup>2</sup>

### KINGS OF THE ASSYRIANS<sup>3</sup>

(41) The forty-first king of the Assyrians was Thonos, the one known as Konkoleros (Sardanapalos in the Greek language)

20 years  
 AM 4660

Sardanapalos settled the cities of Tarsos and Anchiale in a single day.<sup>4</sup> The empire of the Assyrians ceased in AM 4675, having lasted 1460 years from AM 3216.<sup>5</sup>

Continuing up to this year AM 4675, the empire of the Assyrians extended for 1460 years and was dissolved in the twentieth year of Sardanapalos, the forty-first king of the Assyrians.<sup>6</sup> He was known [194

<sup>1</sup> Judg. 13.1.

<sup>2</sup> Eus. 1.50.8-15, 52.22; 2.62<sup>a</sup>: 'After Labdon (*sic*), foreign nations brought the Hebrews under their authority for 40 years, which according to the traditions of the Jews (*secundum Iudaeorum traditiones*) are reckoned jointly with the chronology of the succeeding judges.' For a Jewish source attesting this method of interpretation, see the treatment of the period of the judges in *Seder 'Olam* (120-8, tr. Guggenheimer). See also Gelzer ii. 44-5.

<sup>3</sup> Continued from p. 231 (= Moss. 187.18). Cf. Eus. 1.32.6-19, from Kastor of Rhodes; Annianos in Elias Nis. 1.16.14-20. The detailed discussion of the conflicting sources for Assyrian chronology that follows arises from a disagreement with Eusebios. Synk. accuses Eusebios of underestimating the duration of the Assyrian kingdom, and therefore erring in his dating of the Trojan War.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.82<sup>b</sup>.

<sup>5</sup> If Sardanapalos reigned 20 years, the end of the Assyrian kingdom should occur in AM 4680.

<sup>6</sup> This is also the calculation of Annianos. See Elias Nis. 1.16.15-20: 'According to the calculation of Eusebios, there are 1300 years for the reigns of these kings (of Assyria); according to the calculation of Annianus [= Annianos], there are 1460 years; according to the calculation of Andronikos, there are 1362 years.'

by some as Thonos Konkoleros. Concerning him Diodoros writes as follows:

Sardanapalos, the thirty-fifth king from Ninus, the founder of the empire, was the last king of the Assyrians. He surpassed all his predecessors in wantonness and laziness.

(And a little later:) Because he was a man of such character, he not only ended his life shamefully, but he also caused the utter destruction of the Assyrian empire, which had been the longest-lived of those empires of which there is a historical record. For a certain Arbakes, a Mede by race, distinguished in courage and magnanimity, was general of the Medes who were sent out yearly to Nineveh. During this service, he made the acquaintance of the general of the Babylonians, and was urged by him to overthrow the empire of the Assyrians.<sup>1</sup>

This is what Diodoros says about the death of Sardanapalos, noting as well that he was the thirty-fifth king of the Assyrians from Ninus. That this Ninus was the first king of the Assyrians, he has stated earlier as follows:

Anciently, then, kings in Asia were native-born, of whom there is record neither of distinguished deeds nor of their names. But the first of the kings handed down to history and memory as having accomplished great deeds is Ninus, king of the Assyrians.<sup>2</sup>

(And further on:) And after this, he begot a son Ninias from Semiramis and died, leaving his wife as queen. Semiramis buried Ninus in the precinct of the palace.<sup>3</sup>

(And he adds:) She was queen of all of Asia except for India, and died in the previously mentioned manner. She lived sixty-two years, and was queen for forty-two years.<sup>4</sup>

(And further on:) The remaining kings acted similarly, son succeeding father to the throne, and reigned for forty-five generations up to Sardanapalos. For during his rule, the empire of the Assyrians fell into the hands of the Medes, having lasted more than 1300 years, as Ktesias of Knidos states in his second book. There is no need to record the names of the kings and the duration of their rule in years, because they did nothing worth remembering. The only thing that happens to be recorded is the cohort sent to the Trojans by the Assyrians, which was under the command of Memnon, the son of Tithonos. For when Tautanes was

<sup>1</sup> Diod. Sic. 2.23-4.<sup>2</sup> Diod. Sic. 2.1.4.<sup>3</sup> Diod. Sic. 2.7.1.<sup>4</sup> Diod. Sic. 2.20.2.

king of Asia, who was the twenty-sixth from Ninos<sup>1</sup> the son of Semiramis, it is said that the Greeks launched an invasion with Agamemnon against Troy, at a time when the Assyrians had control of Asia for more than 1000 years.<sup>2</sup>

Such is the tradition that Diodoros relates to us, without venturing to disclose the number of the kings, or the precise duration of their rule, or their names, or during whose rule the Achaian onslaught against Troy took place. Instead, he eschews all this because of the disagreement among the historians who preceded him, and asserts only that the chronology of the thirty-five kings from Ninos is greater than 1300 years, and that the conquest of Troy is said to have occurred when Tautanes, the twenty-sixth king from Ninos, was ruler of the Assyrians, after more than 1000 years. He appends these remarks to other matter, as if not entirely concurring. For the date of Tautanes occurs in the 942nd year of the Assyrian empire, since Tautanes is reckoned as the twenty-seventh king from Belos.<sup>3</sup> Now if we subtract the fifty-five years of Belos from the 942 years, by an accurate calculation it would be many years less than Diodoros' 'more than 1000 years' or 'after more than 1000 years', and the true date for the destruction of Troy. Therefore, we and the sources that we have followed have correctly calculated the conquest of Troy approximately around the 1100th year of the Assyrian rule in AM 4329. This was at the time of Babios, the thirty-second king of the Assyrians, when Demophon the son of Theseus was the twelfth king of the Athenians.<sup>4</sup>

That the historians of the Greeks have conflicting accounts about

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Diod. Sic. 2.22.2, which records that Tautanes (Tithonos) was the '20th from Ninyas', the son of and successor to Semiramis, wife of Ninos. Previously, Synk. had recorded that Tautanes was the 27th Assyrian king; see above, p. 218 (= Moss. 176.26-8).

<sup>2</sup> Diod. Sic. 2.21.8-22.2.

<sup>3</sup> Above, Synk. dates the beginning of the reign of Belos and the Assyrian kingdom to AM 3216; see pp. 129, 136 (= Moss. 104.8; 109.16-17). He dates the beginning of the reign of the 27th Assyrian king Tautanes (or Teutamos) to AM 4124; see above, p. 218 (= Moss. 176.26-8). Counting inclusively, this is 909, not 942 years, from the beginning of the Assyrian kingdom. Note Goar's emendation of  $\lambda\mu\beta'$  ('942') to  $\lambda\theta'$  ('909'). The end of Tautanes' rule is AM 4156, or 940 years after the establishment of the Assyrian kingdom.

<sup>4</sup> On Babios (also known as Tautanes II according to Synk.) as a contemporary of the Trojan War, see above, p. 224 (= Moss. 181.17-21). The name Babios is lacking in Eusebios' list of Assyrian kings.

the dates and these kings, let Kephalion attest. No ordinary writer, but one of great renown, he says the following:

I commence my record from events which others have mentioned, first of all Hellanikos of Lesbos and Ktesias of Knidos, then Herodotos of Halikarnassos. Anciently, the Assyrians reigned over Asia, and Ninios, son of Belos, was their king.<sup>1</sup>

Then he attaches a description of the birth of both Semiramis and the magus Zoroaster and the fifty-two years of the reign of Ninios. After him, he says, Semiramis fortified Babylon in a manner that is described by many—Ktesias, Zenon, Herodotos, and their successors. And he reports her campaign against the Indians and her defeat and that she slew her own sons and was killed by Ninios, one of her children and the successor to the throne.<sup>2</sup>

196] (And after some other remarks:) . . . as for the remaining kings, they ruled for a period of 1000 years, son succeeding father to the throne, and not one of them died after having the rule for less than twenty years. For their unwarlike, unadventurous, and effeminate character kept them secure. Indeed, they stayed indoors; neither was there anything that they accomplished, nor did anyone even see them, except for the concubines and effeminate men. . . . if anyone wants to know the identity of these kings, Ktesias is the one who identifies them by name, twenty-three in number, I think. . . . as for me, what satisfaction or value would my writing provide, by my giving the pronunciation of the barbarous-sounding names of each of these good-for-nothing cowardly tyrants and effete barbarians?

(Besides this, he adds the following about their dates:) After about 640 years had elapsed from Ninios, Belimos became king of the Assyrians. Perseus the son of Danaë arrived in his country, leading 100 ships; now Perseus was fleeing Dionysos, the son of Semele.

(And thereafter:) In a later generation, during the rule of Panyas, the fleet of the Argonauts sailed to the river Phasis and Medeia of Kolchis; and Herakles is said to have wandered from the ship because of his love for Hylas, and roamed around Cappadocia.

(And again:) A term of 1000 years might be counted from Semiramis up to King Metraios. Medeia of Kolchis departed from Aigeus; her son was Medos, after whom the Medes received their name and their country derived the name Medeia.

<sup>1</sup> Kephalion, *FGrH* 93 F 1b (= Eus. 1.28.30–3). Kephalion's history, composed in nine books, each named after one of the nine Muses, is said by Photios (*Bibl.* 68. 34<sup>a</sup>4–11) to have encompassed the period from the reign of Ninios and Semiramis up to the time of Alexander. <sup>2</sup> Cf. Eus. 1.29.1–10.



(Then he says:) Succeeding to the throne of Metraios was Tautanos, who also lived according to Assyrian customs and laws. Nothing additional happened nor was there any novel achievement during his reign. However, the Mykenaians Agamemnon and Menelaos, together with the Argives and the other Achaians, launched a campaign against Ilion, a city under the military command of Priam of Phrygia.<sup>1</sup>

We have considered it sufficient to expose the disagreement between the writings of Kephalion and Diodoros up to this point, for the benefit of those wanting accurate information. For the latter sets forth these thirty-five kings from Ninus and states that the destruction of Troy occurred after more than 1000 years, which according to some was during the reign of Tautanos, the twenty-sixth king of the Assyrians. But Kephalion posits a total of twenty-three kings from Belos and says that the conquest of Troy was also after these 1000 years—which is impossible. For if someone were to assume that Tautanos, who predated the last king Sardanapalos, was the twenty-second king from Belos, Kephalion's chronology would be many years less than Diodoros'. Simply put, on the basis of all of this, one of these two historians has compiled nonsense—I dare not say both of them, because Diodoros comes closer to the truth in asserting that the entire chronological duration of the Assyrian empire was more than 1300 years, and that it extended from Ninus to Sardanapalos.

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Now it is true that Eusebios has diligently compiled a treatise of excerpts of no trifling value (he exalts his own chronicle for this), and has cited the aforementioned excerpts from Diodoros and Kephalion. In spite of this, he assigns to the Assyrian empire a total of thirty-seven kings and 1300 years, and follows Kastor instead, introducing his testimony that the kings of the Assyrians ruled for 1280 years.<sup>2</sup> He did this because he was trying to reconcile it with the faulty chronological reasoning to which he fell prey in his chronology from the Flood up to Abraham. For in his post-diluvian chronology, he did not include Kainan, son of Arphaxad, whom the genealogy of the divine evangelist Luke in his gospel numbers as the thirteenth from Adam. And Genesis, the first book of Moses, says that this same Kainan begot Sala—this is according to the more

<sup>1</sup> Kephalion, *FGtH* 93 F 1b (= Eus. 1.29.12–30.13).

<sup>2</sup> See Eus. 1.26.12–27.5. Synk. himself assigns 1460 years to the duration of the Assyrian empire; see above, p. 129 (= Moss. 104.7–11). He thus criticizes Eusebios' 1300-year chronology as in his view 160 years too short.

accurate copies of the Bible—and our computation is in accordance with it. In some of these copies, Sala's birth is reported in Kainan's 139th year.<sup>1</sup>

It never ceases to astound me that this same Eusebios is called 'astute' by some. This is obviously stated by way of antiphrasis.<sup>2</sup> For he has in this way clearly dared to oppose divine scriptures, even as he has promised total accuracy and investigation into truth, so he says, on the basis of the version of scripture preserved by the Hebrews and Samaritans and Septuagint translators, all of which disagree as a result of textual variation. Three times he set forth the chronology, and in not one of these three cases did he make mention of the post-diluvian Kainan, son of Arphaxad. Now if Kainan did not appear in these copies of scripture, how is it that he appears so clearly in the sacred scriptures of Genesis acknowledged in all the churches of Christ? How is it that the most divine Luke, a man thoroughly trained in divine and human wisdom and incomparably superior to 10,000 Eusebioi, cites him in his sacred gospel as the thirteenth descendant of Adam? Others who have gone before us have also demonstrated that Eusebios was 290 years short in the numbering of years from Adam up to the twentieth year of Constantine the Great and most holy first emperor of the Christians. For instead of 5816 years, he numbered 5527.<sup>3</sup> Surely then it is clearly evident that, owing to his own defective thinking, he shortened Assyrian chronology and did not accurately date the conquest of Troy. We have called attention here to this matter for no trifling reason; rather it is because of the pressing importance of precisely dating the conquest of Jerusalem, the burning of the temple, and the captivity that befell both the tribes in Samaria and the tribes at the time of Nebuchadnezzar, the king of the Chaldaeans whose kingdom began with Nabonasar.

<sup>1</sup> Luke 3.36; Gen 11.12–13. Synk. makes this criticism of Eusebios repeatedly; see above, pp. 75–6, 113, 129, 164 (= Moss. 59.19–22; 89.29–90.1; 104.16–19; 132.13–22) and below p. 473 (Moss. 395.26–396.2). But why Synk. believes Eusebios' omission of the post-diluvian Kainan is relevant to the chronology of the Assyrian kingdom is not clear.

<sup>2</sup> 'Antiphrasis' refers to the use of positive or laudatory language to convey an opposite meaning.

<sup>3</sup> Eus. 1.61.37–62.8. Earlier, Synk. attributes these criticisms to his Alexandrian authorities, Panodoros and Annianos. See above, pp. 48–9 (= Moss. 36.16–37.11).

KINGS OF THE EGYPTIANS<sup>1</sup>

- (56) The fifty-sixth king of the Egyptians was Ochyras  
 14 years  
 AM 4278
- (57) The fifty-seventh king of the Egyptians was Amendes  
 27 years  
 AM 4292
- (58) The fifty-eighth king of the Egyptians was Thouoris  
 50 years  
 AM 4319

This is Homer's Polybos, reported in the *Odyssey* as husband of Alkandra. He says that Menelaos stayed with him, in his wanderings with Helen after the conquest of Troy.<sup>2</sup>

(59) The fifty-ninth king of the Egyptians was Athothis, also known as Phousanos. During his reign, there were earthquakes in Egypt, which had before this time never occurred in this region.

- 28 years  
 AM 4369
- (60) The sixtieth king of the Egyptians was Kenkenes  
 39 years  
 AM 4397
- (61) The sixty-first king of the Egyptians was Ouennephis  
 42 years  
 AM 4436

KINGS OF THE ARGIVES<sup>3</sup>

- (17) The seventeenth king of the Argives was Agamemnon  
 18 years,  
 according  
 to others,  
 35 years<sup>4</sup>  
 AM 4312

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In the eighth year of Agamemnon, the war against Troy commenced, as a result of the abduction of Helen by Alexander Paris, the son of Priam, king of Ilion. It lasted ten years up to the capture

<sup>1</sup> Ps.-Manetho, continued from p. 232 (= Moss. 188.7).

<sup>2</sup> *Od.* 4.126; *Eus.* 1.68.17-18; 2.61<sup>c</sup>. See also above, pp. 103, 104 (= Moss. 80.21-2; 81.24-6).

<sup>3</sup> Continued from p. 232 (= Moss. 188.22). Cf. *Eus.* 1.84.28-32.

<sup>4</sup> *Joh. Mal.* 85.14-15; *Xpov. σουτ.* 87.18 (18 years). For the alternative tradition of 35 years, see *Eus.* 2.59.25-6; but cf. *Eus.* 1.84.28 (30 years).

of Ilion, which occurred in the year in question, the seventeenth year of Agamemnon.<sup>1</sup>

When Agamemnon was king of the Argives and Mykenai, and when his brother Menelaos was king of the Lakedaimonians, Laomedon's son Priam was king of Troy and Ilion. When Priam's son Alexander, also known as Paris, came to the Peloponnese to make an offering to the local gods there, he enjoyed the hospitality of Menelaos in Lakedaimonia. Menelaos' wife was a certain Helen, an exceedingly beautiful woman. Alexander fell in love with her, committed adultery with her, and abducted her. After sailing away, he was forcibly driven by the winds to Sidon in Phoenicia. Now even though he was also entertained by the king of the Sidonians, he plotted against him, and carried off a great deal of treasure and raiment from Sidon, adding it to what he had already purloined with Helen; and from Lakedaimon he returned to Troy, as if he were a hero, to the side of his father Priam. Now through the embassies of Odysseus, Diomedes, and even Menelaos himself, Agamemnon and Menelaos made various representations to Priam and his sons to negotiate about Alexander's intrigue against them. But they accomplished nothing, even though the elders in Priam's circle in charge of the city, among whom Antenor took the lead, were advising that Helen be returned. Against Troy and Priam, they therefore undertook a terrible war, which raged on for ten years—in this tenth year, Ilion, Priam, and his sons were overcome by the Greeks. This was the 4330th year from Adam. From the birth of Abraham and the forty-third year of Ninus the second king of the Assyrian empire, there is a total of 1018 years.<sup>2</sup> From the birth of Moses, which occurred in the forty-sixth year of Inachos the first king of the Argives, AM 3738, there is a total of 592 years up to the conquest of Troy, notwithstanding the view of Eusebios, whose error consists of an omission of 216 years.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Eus. 1.84.28–9; 2.59<sup>m</sup>; Clem. Al. *Strom.* 1.21.104.1 (= Tat. *Orat.* 39), all of whom date the capture of Troy to 18 Agamemnon. The 'year in question' probably refers to AM 4330, the number of years that Synk. counts from Adam to the conquest of Ilion; see below (= Moss. 199.21–2). According to Synk., AM 4330 also marks the 1st year of the reign of Agamemnon's successor Aigisthos (p. 247 = Moss. 199.27–8). The 17th year of Agamemnon's 18-year rule (AM 4312–29) would thus actually correspond to AM 4328.

<sup>2</sup> Synk. apparently gives this date as a correction of Eusebios. From the birth of Abraham, which he synchronized with 43 Ninus (2.20<sup>a</sup>), Eusebios calculated 835 years to the conquest of Troy (2.61<sup>a</sup>).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.61<sup>a</sup>. From the birth of Moses to the conquest of Troy,

(18) The eighteenth king of Mykenai and the Argives was Aigisthos 5 years<sup>1</sup>

AM 4330

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(19) The nineteenth king of Mykenai and the Argives was Orestes 23 years<sup>2</sup>

AM 4335

Orestes murdered Pyrrhos the son of Achilles in Delphi in the temple of Apollo, when he was betrayed by the priest Machaireus. And the sons of Hektor gained control of Ilion, after using Helenos' guidance to depose the sons of Antenor.<sup>3</sup>

### After the conquest of Troy KINGS OF THE LATINS<sup>4</sup>

A great many widely disagree as to how after Romulus the Roman empire finally came to derive its name from him. Now before him they were known as Latins, named after Latinus, who preceded Aeneas as king around the time of the Trojan War. And before him, they were known as Albanians, named after Albanus, the son of Kronos, who is said to be the first of all the kings in Italy. Because of this disagreement, we have deemed it superfluous to set out the excerpts from these writers for systematic examination. We take note only of this point: that there is a report that before Aeneas, Kronos' son Picus was the first king of the country of Laurentum for thirty-seven years, and that this country extended as far as the site of what is now the city of Rome. After him, Faunus, the son of Picus, also known as Zeus, reigned for forty-four years. There are some who say that he was Hermes, during whose rule Herakles returned from Spain and erected an altar in the so-called Forum Boarium, because he had foully murdered<sup>5</sup> Hephaistos' son. Now it

Eusebios counts 410 years (or 411 years according to Eus. 2.171<sup>Arm</sup>), compared to Synk.'s 592 years (a difference of 182 years, not 216 years).

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Eus. 1.84.30 (17 years); *Xρον. συντ.* 87.19 (eight years).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.62<sup>f</sup> (15 years).

<sup>3</sup> Eus. 2.63<sup>df</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Eus. 1.136.7-19; 2.62<sup>c</sup>.

<sup>5</sup> Text: ἀνεῖλε Κάκος (= Go.<sup>m</sup>). AB: ἀνεῖλε κακῶς (the reading followed here). According to a Roman legend, Herakles slew Hephaistos' son Cacus for stealing some of his cattle. Synk.'s text probably reflects a confusion of the Latin name Cacus (= Gr. Κᾰκος) with a form of κακός. The confusion is attested elsewhere. Cf. Eus. 1.136.10-12: 'Unter welchem (Faunus) Herakles, aus dem Lande Spania hergezogen, einen Altar errichtete auf dem Boarischen Marktplatze, von wegen dass er den "Bösen", Sohn des Ephestos getötet hatte' (tr. Karst).

is the opinion of some that after Faunus, Herakles was also king for thirty-five years. Then Latinus reigned for thirty-six years. In his thirty-third year, Aeneas arrived from Ilion with armed men in his company, and laden with riches; after allying with this Latinus against the Rutulians, and after slaying Turnus, he wedded Lavinia, daughter of King Latinus. He succeeded Latinus as king of the region for three years, having first founded a city known as Lavinia after the name of his wife; in that city, he also became king. Some say that Aeneas was king of the Latins eight years, four years after the conquest of Troy; but others assert that he was king for only three years, beginning in the ninth year after this conquest, so that he died in the twelfth year after the conquest of Troy.<sup>1</sup> Now as to how he came to Italy and gained control of the Latins, and concerning the twelve kings who reigned after him over 400 years<sup>2</sup> up to the time of Romulus the founder of Rome, you will find this in the chronology at the time of Romulus.<sup>3</sup>

After the conquest of Troy, Aeneas was king of the Latins

3 years<sup>4</sup>

AM 4340

### MISCELLANY

Carthage,<sup>5</sup> says Philistos, was founded by Azoros and Karchedon, both Tyrians.<sup>6</sup>

Around this time, Herakles established the Olympic games, from which time there are 470 years up to the 1st Olympiad; according to others 430 years.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.62.1-8, where Eusebios asserts that Aeneas ruled the Latins three years after the conquest of Troy. But Eusebios allows for an opposing view, according to which Aeneas' rule over the Latins began eight years after the conquest and extended for three years.

<sup>2</sup> Text: ἐν ἑταίρῳ (lit. 'in the 400th year'). The context makes it clear that Synk. is referring to the 400-year period of the rule of Latin kings from Aeneas up to Romulus.

<sup>3</sup> But cf. below, p. 283 (= Moss. 230.4), according to which Romulus is listed as the 16th king from Aeneas. See also p. 346 (= Moss. 284.17), where Synk. numbers 16 kings after Aeneas up to the time of Romulus. The 400 years refer to the period of time from the beginning of the rule of Aeneas (AM 4340) up to the end of the reign of Amulius Silvius (AM 4739).

<sup>4</sup> Eus. 1.130.16-17 (quoting Dion. Hal.).

<sup>5</sup> In Greek, as usual, 'Karchedon'.

<sup>6</sup> Eus. 2.58<sup>e</sup>.

<sup>7</sup> See Eus. 2.59<sup>c</sup> (430 years); see also Clem. Al. *Strom.* 1.21.137.2 (460 years).

Admata, daughter of Eurystheus, served as priestess in Argos for thirty-eight years. The women who succeeded to the priesthood after her were called Phalides.

Laomedon's son Priam succeeded his father to kingship over Troy and Ilion. His son was Alexander, also known as Paris.

Amazons launched an invasion against the Athenians.

The hunt for the Kalydonian boar by Meleager.

Menelaos became king of Lakedaimon.

Amazons allied with Priam.<sup>1</sup>

Ilion was conquered in the autumn, 17 days before the winter solstice.<sup>2</sup>

The Lydians, also known as the Maiones, were the first to have dominion over the sea, for 92 years.<sup>3</sup>

#### KINGS OF THE ATHENIANS<sup>4</sup>

(10) The tenth king of the Athenians was Theseus, son of Aigeus  
31 years<sup>5</sup>  
AM 4267

Theseus abducted Helen. Her brothers Kastor and Polydeukes got her back again by taking Theseus' mother as hostage when he was away from home.<sup>6</sup>

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Theseus incorporated the Athenians, who had been scattered over the countryside, into a single unit, that is a single city-state. The first to suffer ostracism, he had also been the first to establish the law. Theseus fled from Athens.<sup>7</sup>

(11) The eleventh king of the Athenians was Menestheus, son of Peteos, son of Orneus, son of Erechtheus  
33 years<sup>8</sup>  
AM 4298

During his reign, the Trojan War commenced, as a result of a golden apple, which was the prize in a beauty competition contested by three women. For Helen was offered by one of them to the judge. This man was a herdsman from Ilion, according to the comedy.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.57<sup>e</sup>, 59<sup>efl</sup>, 60<sup>f</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Eus. 1.129.2-3 (= Dion. Hal. *Rom. Ant.* 1.63).

<sup>3</sup> Eus. 1.106.31 (= Diod. Sic.); cf. Eus. 2.62<sup>e</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> Continued from p. 233 (= Moss. 189.6). Cf. Eus. 1.87.9-18, from Kastor of Rhodes.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Eus. 1.87.9; 2.57.22 (30 years).

<sup>6</sup> Eus. 2.58<sup>b</sup>.

<sup>7</sup> Eus. 2.58<sup>c</sup>.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Eus. 1.87.11-12; 2.59.14 (23 years).

<sup>9</sup> The reference to ἡ κωμωδία is unclear.

This Menestheus allied with the Greeks against the Trojans.

In his thirty-third year, Ilion was conquered. When he returned from Troy, he died on the island of Melos.<sup>1</sup>

(12) The twelfth king of the Athenians was Demophon, the son of Theseus

23 years<sup>2</sup>

AM 4331

During his reign, the events involving Odysseus and Orestes occurred.

Aeneas became king of Lavinium.

The events concerning Odysseus and Skylla and Charybdis and the Sirens.

(13) The thirteenth king of the Athenians was Oxyntes, son of Demophon

10 years<sup>3</sup>

AM 4354

(14) The fourteenth king of the Athenians was Aphidas

1 year

AM 4364

### MISCELLANY

Hesiod was becoming known, who Ephoros says was a first cousin of and contemporary with Homer.

### UNIVERSAL YEARS

Samson was judge of Israel

20 years<sup>4</sup>

AM 4290

203] When Israel was suffering oppression and turned to God, they were given Samson, born to Manoë of the tribe of Dan, after an angel had announced his birth to his barren mother.<sup>5</sup> After his birth and upbringing, he fell in love with a Philistine woman in Thamnatha. As he was going down to court her with his parents, he dismembered a lion with his bare hands.<sup>6</sup> Tricked by his wife, he was obligated by oath to give thirty garments to the Philistines at his banquet for solving his riddle. After handing them over and killing thirty Philistines, he returned to Askalon in a rage. And the Philistines offered his wife to a rival.<sup>7</sup> By capturing foxes and tying

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.60<sup>h</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Eus. 1.87.13; 2.62.2-3 (33 years).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Eus. 1.87.16; 2.63.24 (12 years).

<sup>4</sup> Judg. 16.31.

<sup>5</sup> Judg. 13.1-3.

<sup>6</sup> Judg. 14.1-7.

<sup>7</sup> Judg. 14.12-20.



them together by the tail, he burnt their fields and vineyards.<sup>1</sup> When the Philistines went up against Israel and used ropes to take him captive, he ripped off these ropes and slew a thousand of them with the jaw of an ass. Parched by thirst, through his prayer to God, he used the hollow of the jaw as a spring of water.<sup>2</sup> In the company of another woman in Gaza, he thought it best to keep watch indoors, since the Philistines had blocked the doors of the city around him. And around midnight he lifted these doors up on his shoulders with the bars and posts, and laid them up at the top of the mountain.<sup>3</sup> Now when he was captivated by the third woman Dalida and declared to her that the source of his divine strength was his hair, she sheared it off. Betrayed by her to the Philistines, he was blinded, shackled, and confined in a mill-house prison. Some time later they were celebrating his capture, at a time when his hair had already grown back a little. And they led him forth with the command that he should entertain them. Supported on the pillars with the help of the person leading him, and after praying for vengeance against them from God, he entombed those in the temple and those who had gone up on the roof, about 3000 people, by pulling down the columns and perishing along with them. His brothers and parents buried him, after he had served as judge of Israel for twenty years.<sup>4</sup>

You will discover the first Olympic contest under Herakles by counting 430 years from the first year of Samson up until the 1st Olympiad.<sup>5</sup>

Forty years of an interregnum and peace<sup>6</sup> AM 4310

The events concerning Michas occurred at this time. He was the one who fashioned a carved image, an ephod, and a house for God,

<sup>a</sup> Text: *δάψει περικαεῖς εὐχῆ τῇ πρὸς θεὸν πηγῆν ὕδατος τὸν τῆς σιαγόνας ὄλμον*. Following Go.<sup>m</sup>, add *ἔσχευ*.

<sup>1</sup> Judg. 15.4–5.

<sup>2</sup> Judg. 15.9–19.

<sup>3</sup> Judg. 16.1–3.

<sup>4</sup> Judg. 16.4–31.

<sup>5</sup> See above, p. 248 (= Moss. 201.9–10), and below, p. 284 (= Moss. 231.3), where Synk. dates the first Olympiad to AM 4721. Reckoning inclusively, 430 years from 1 Samson (AM 4290) would actually fix the first Olympiad in AM 4719. Eus. 2.59<sup>c</sup> also calculates 430 years from Herakles to the first Olympiad, but he makes Herakles a contemporary of Jephthah, not Samson.

<sup>6</sup> After the death of Samson, Judges describes a period of political disintegration and anarchy (Judg. 18.1; 19.1; 21.25). Since Judges is silent about the duration of this interregnum, chronographers vary widely in their calculation. Africanus, for example, assigned 70 years to this period (40 years of an interregnum and 30 years of peace); see below, p. 252 (= Moss. 204.7–8) and Gelzer i. 90.

and appointed a priest, whom the 600 men took upon their arrival. There were also incidents concerning the woman who was dismembered, and the war against the tribe of Benjamin, at which time scripture says that Phineës, the son of Eleazar, lived.<sup>1</sup> And Josephos states that the affairs involving the dismembered woman in Gabaon and the war of the eleven tribes against the tribe of Benjamin occurred immediately after the death of Joshua. Even so,<sup>a</sup> these events are at the end of the judges, there being great disagreement concerning the chronology from Moses (up to) the priest Eli.<sup>2</sup>

204] As to the chronology of Joshua son of Nun and the elders who succeeded him, scripture has omitted any mention.<sup>3</sup> But the unwritten tradition has handed down twenty-seven years for Joshua and eighteen years for the elders. And on this there is almost universal agreement.<sup>4</sup> But only Eusebios of Caesarea has not accepted the chronology for the elders, whereas Africanus assigned them thirty years.<sup>5</sup> Eusebios censures him in the strongest terms for having been greatly in error, he says, and for having pursued an extremely reckless line of inquiry.<sup>6</sup> Besides these thirty years, he criticizes him for inserting an additional seventy years—forty years for the interregal period and thirty years of domestic peace—

<sup>a</sup> Text: *καὶ ὁ*. Emended to *καίπερ*. Gelzer (ii. 237) thinks that Synk. is referring to an authority whose name has dropped out of the text.

<sup>1</sup> Judg. 17.4–18.31; 19.22–30; 20.14–28.

<sup>2</sup> Jos. *Ant.* 5.136–74. Phineës' declaration of war against the tribe of Benjamin occurs at the end of the book of Judges (20.28). Since, however, Phineës is the grandson of Aaron, this could not have occurred at the end of the rule of the judges. Synk. seems to be aware of the problem; see above, p. 216 (= Moss. 176.1–3).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Judg. 2.7.

<sup>4</sup> See above, p. 216 (= Moss. 175.23–5). The Jewish chronicle *Seder 'Olam* reckons the rule of Joshua and the elders differently. It assigns twenty-eight years to the rule of Joshua. Based on a reference in Josh. 24.31 to 'all the days of the elders who survived Joshua', the same work states that the elders survived Joshua for less than a year.

<sup>5</sup> Routh, fr. 27. See also Eus. *PE* 10.10.12, according to which Africanus assigned 25 years to Joshua and 30 years to the elders.

<sup>6</sup> What follows in Synk. is a detailed discussion of a famous crux in biblical chronology. From a statement made by Paul in Acts 13.19–20, chronographers assumed a duration of 450 years for the period of the judges. The Hebrew text of 1 Kgs. 6.1, however, seemed to contradict this by assigning only 480 years to the entire period from the Exodus up to the building of Solomon's Temple. The Greek translation of this same verse (= 3 Kgdms. 6.1) added to the problem by recording this period as a mere 440 years.

making a total of 100 years. But Africanus in fact allows at the end of his fifth book that these matters are a subject of disagreement.<sup>1</sup>

Now Eusebios, in his desire to confirm the 450 years of the judges reported by the divine apostle in Acts, made use of some of these dates.<sup>2</sup> But then he finds himself in difficulty when he admits that there is a different sequence of events in Third Kingdoms for the period from the death of Moses up to Solomon and the building of the temple. For he states: "And it came to pass in the 440th year of the Exodus from Egypt that Solomon began to build the temple."<sup>3</sup> But the Hebrew text says: "And it came to pass in the 480th year." The teachers of the Jews used to say that this total was accurately computed, since it counted only the rule of the judges who were from Israel; and it did not reckon the reigns of the foreign rulers separately, but rather included them with the rule of the judges.<sup>4</sup> Now this does not agree with the holy book of Judges. Indeed, he states that the divine apostle was not being strictly accurate when he spoke of 450 years of the judges, and was using instead a more popular tradition of interpretation.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Routh, fr. 27. On Eusebios' analysis of Africanus' chronology, see Eus. I.47.6–48.8. For the Greek text, see *Ἐκλ. ἰστ.* 177.12–178.19. In addition to criticizing Africanus for his insertion of 70 years, Eusebios points to the number of generations from the Judahite phylarch Naasson (Nahshon) up to the kingship of David. For Africanus' chronology to be correct, approximately 700 years would have elapsed over a mere five generations. That would mean that each of these patriarchs was, on average, 140 years of age when he begot a son; their longevity would thus far exceed that of previous generations. Because Eusebios was persuaded by this consideration to favour the chronology of First Kings (= Third Kingdoms) over Judges and Acts, he assigned to the period of the judges a much shorter duration than Africanus, Clement of Alexandria, or Synk. himself. For discussion, see Gelzer ii. 42–3, who highly praises the acumen of Eusebios' method.

<sup>2</sup> Acts 13.19–20: 'After he had destroyed seven nations in the land of Canaan, he gave them their land as an inheritance for about 450 years. After that he gave them judges until the time of the prophet Samuel. Then they asked for a king, and God gave them Saul son of Kish, a man of the tribe of Benjamin, who reigned for forty years.' See Eus. I.50.26–34.

<sup>3</sup> 3 Kgdms. 6.1.

<sup>4</sup> Eus. I.50.7–15. For a Jewish work exemplifying this method of counting the years of the judges, see *Seder 'Olam* 120–8 (tr. Guggenheimer).

<sup>5</sup> Eus. I.50.17–23 (= *Ἐκλ. ἰστ.* 180.25–9): 'But regarding the holy apostle, I believe that he has not provided as it were a treatise on chronology, nor has he even handed down a calculation with precise accuracy, when he adduces the aforementioned years, rather as a side-issue in his teaching of the Word of salvation, he makes mention of chronology, using a more popular tradition of interpretation than the reading in Judges.'

Suppose, then, we add up the 450 years of the judges according to the apostle and the forty years of Moses in the wilderness, and the twenty-seven years of Joshua and the eighteen years of the elders after Joshua, in addition to the twenty years of the priest Eli, the twenty years of Samuel, and the forty years of Saul, the forty years of David, and the four years of Solomon. The entire period from the Exodus up to the building of the temple will then come to 659 years, according to Eusebios 600 years, and according to Africanus over 740 years.<sup>1</sup> And based on any one of these three calculations, if the generations both from the tribe of Judah and from the tribe of Levi are considered in their entirety or divided, the age at which they begot children will be implausibly high. For from Abraham up to David there are fourteen generations. And the ninth generation was when Moses was in the wilderness, during which time Naasson the son of Aminadam, the chief of the tribe of Judah, was becoming known. His sister Elizabeth was married to the high priest Aaron, who died in the wilderness. Now from Naasson up to David there are five generations as follows: Naasson's son Salmon, who married the harlot Raab during the time of Joshua, begot Boaz; and Boaz begot Obed from Ruth; and Obed begot Jesse and Jesse begot David. How then is it possible that the nine generations from Abraham up

<sup>1</sup> For Africanus' chronology of the Exodus up to Solomon's building of the Temple, see Eus. 1.47.11, according to which Africanus assigned 744 years to this period. According to a citation from Africanus in a Greek excerpt from Eusebios' chronicle, Africanus' dating of this period exceeded 740 years; see *Ἐκλ. ἱστ.* 177.29-30. A passage from Africanus' chronicle preserved in *PE* 10.10.12 provides a detailed chronology for the period from the Exodus up to Samuel. In this passage, Africanus assigned 40 years to the Exodus; 25 years to the rule of Joshua; 30 years to the elders; 490 years for the period of the judges; and 90 years to the priests Eli and Samuel. This would yield a total of 675 years. Although the excerpt does not furnish a detailed chronology for the reigns of Saul, David, and Solomon, the 675 total years would leave a little less than 70 years for the interval of time from the accession of Saul up to the building of the temple in 4 Solomon. For Eusebios' calculation of the same period, see Eus. 1.26-30. Eusebios assigned 40 years to the Exodus; 27 years to the rule of Joshua; 450 years to the entire period from the judges up to Samuel (following Acts 13.20); 40 years to Samuel and Saul; 40 years to David; and 4 years of Solomon. This would produce a total of 600 years. But after making this calculation (based, as he says, on Acts and Judges), Eusebios rejects it as inconsistent with the number of generations of Judahites that extended over the same period of time. The number that he ultimately endorses is 480, following the Hebrew text of 1 Kgs. (= 3 Kgdms.).

to Moses were completed in 470 years, whereas only five generations from Nun's son Joshua to David were completed in 600 years? At the time each of them begot a child, he would be 120 years of age, supposing we were perchance to divide the 600 years equally among them. But it is not only the five generations of the tribe of Judah from Naasson to David that require shortening the 450-year period; the dates of the six high priests who served during the same period from the time of Eleazar the priest and Joshua up to Samuel also require less time. For after Aaron and Eleazar his son, Phineës was high priest, and after him Abioud, then Mochthei and Ozei and Eli and Achitob.<sup>1</sup> From all this, he says, it can be demonstrated that the period of Israel's servitude, that is the 120 years of foreign rulers, must be subtracted in order to fit suitably with the number of generations and the 450 years from the Exodus up to Solomon and the building of the temple according to the third book of Kingdoms.<sup>2</sup> But as for me, I follow the divine Paul and the book of Judges.

According to Africanus, there are 4292 years from Adam up to the end of the judges and the rule of Eli the priest; according to Eusebios Pamphilou, there are 4044 years.<sup>3</sup> But according to the reliable evangelical tradition and the present chronography, there are 4352 years. The 450 years of the judges according to the divine apostle encompass the period from AM 3902 up to the first year of Eli (minus one

<sup>1</sup> Although this argument about the succession of Jewish high priests from Aaron to Achitob parallels Eusebios' observation about the generations from Naasson to David, it almost certainly did not originate in Eusebios' chronicle. It is lacking in the Armenian version of Eusebios' chronicle, and contradicts Eusebios' own record of the succession of Jewish high priests after Aaron. As Synk. later states, Eusebios (wrongly in Synk.'s opinion) numbered Sadok, not Achitob, as the eighth high priest from Aaron. See below, p. 265 (= Moss. 213.8-11); see also Eus. 2.70<sup>b</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Eus. 1.47.22-47.38; 50.38-52.29; *Ἐκλ. ἰστ.* 180.12-181.20. Following the Hebrew text of First Kings, Eusebios actually assigned 480 years to this period (600 - 120 = 480 years).

<sup>3</sup> Routh, fr. 28. Cf. Eus. 1.53.25-31, according to which 4150 years elapsed from Adam up to the building of the temple. Subtracting the 124 years from the rule of the priest Eli (see Eus. 1.52.24-7) would yield a total of 4026 years, not 4044 years. But cf. Eus. 2.70<sup>a</sup>, where Eusebios reckons 4169 years from Adam up to the establishment of the temple; see also below, p. 265 (= Moss. 213.5), according to which Eusebios counted 4170 years from Adam to the building of the temple. Subtracting 124 years from this total would produce a chronology much closer to the desired 4044 years.

year, during which time Africanus says Semeigar ruled over Israel, even though scripture does not discuss the date of his rule<sup>1</sup>).

Eli the priest was leader of Israel  
20 years,  
according  
to the  
Septuagint<sup>2</sup>

According to the Hebrew version (which Eusebios also followed, even though he promised to do otherwise)

40 years<sup>3</sup>  
AM 4350

When Eli the priest died, the ark fell under Philistine control. After this it was taken to the house of Aminadam, for twenty years.<sup>4</sup>

Samuel, who was also a prophet, was judge of Israel

20 years  
AM 4370

206] Saul, of the tribe of Benjamin, was the first king of Israel

40 years<sup>5</sup>  
AM 4390

Jesse's son David, great amongst prophets and kings, a Bethlehemite from the tribe of Judah, was king of Israel

40 years  
AM 4428<sup>6</sup>

It was he who built Zion in the mountain ridge of Jerusalem, after pitching on it a tabernacle to God, in which he stored the ark.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Judg. 3.31. See Routh, fr. 28. Cf. Sulp. Sev. 28: 'For I do not find that even the time when his (Semeigar's) rule came to an end is mentioned, and I see that the people were for some time without a leader. . . . But most of those who have written about these times note that his rule was only for a single year. On this account, many pass him by altogether, and place Eli the priest immediately after Samson. We shall leave that point doubtful, as one not positively ascertained.' For Semeigar's one-year rule, see Leo Gramm. 29.11-12; Kedr. i. 149.1-2.

<sup>2</sup> 1 Kgdms. 4.18.

<sup>3</sup> 1 Sam. 4.18. See Eus. 1.49.16, 52.24; 2.63<sup>b</sup> (where Eusebios notes the difference in the two versions). For Eusebios' stated preference for the Septuagint, see 1.37.28-36.

<sup>4</sup> 1 Kgdms. 7.1-2; Eus. 2.65<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>5</sup> Acts 13.21. Cf. Eus. 1.52.25; 2.65.16-17, according to which the total years of the rule of Samuel and Saul amount to 40 years. Other chronicles state that for his first 20 years, Saul ruled jointly with Samuel. See Kedr. i. 149.18; Theod. Mel. 28; Leo Gramm. 30.15-16. For discussion, see Gelzer i. 94-5.

<sup>6</sup> 2 Kgdms. 5.4. Saul's 40-year rule, beginning AM 4390, would have ended AM 4429, suggesting that David's reign began in 4430, not 4428. Since these discrepancies in the years of the kings of Judah persist throughout, Gelzer (ii. 239) believes that Synk. may have interwoven chronological material from two different sources.

<sup>7</sup> 2 Kgdms. 5.7.

During his reign, Gad and Nathan and Asaph were prophets.<sup>1</sup>

During his reign, the great poet Homer was among the Greeks, and Hesiod as well.<sup>2</sup>

By the right of war, David acquired all of Syria up to the Euphrates river.<sup>3</sup>

As to the narrative concerning the valour of David, ancestor of God, touching upon his personal history, it is possible to read this in the book of Kingdoms.

#### KINGS OF THE EGYPTIANS<sup>4</sup>

(62) The sixty-second king of the Egyptians was Sousakeim

34 years

AM 4478

Sousakeim brought with him Libyans, Ethiopians, and Troglodytes before Jerusalem.<sup>5</sup>

(63) The sixty-third king of the Egyptians was Psouenos

25 years

AM 4512

(64) The sixty-fourth king of the Egyptians was Ammenophis

9 years

AM 4537

(65) The sixty-fifth king of the Egyptians was Nephecheres

6 years

AM 4546

(66) The sixty-sixth king of the Egyptians was Saïtes

15 years

AM 4552

(67) The sixty-seventh king of the Egyptians was Psinaches

9 years

AM 4567

(68) The sixty-eighth king of the Egyptians was Petoubastes

44 years

AM 4576

(69) The sixty-ninth king of the Egyptians was Osorthon

9 years

AM 4620

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<sup>1</sup> Eus. 2.68.5–8.

<sup>2</sup> For a fuller discussion of the date of Homer, see below, p. 263 (= 211.10–19). Cf. also Eus. 2.66<sup>a</sup>, dating Homer to the times of Samuel and Saul.

<sup>3</sup> 2 Kgdms. 8.1–6.

<sup>4</sup> Ps.-Manetho, continued from p. 245 (= Moss. 198.25).

<sup>5</sup> Cf. 2 Paralip. 12.2–3.

- (70) The seventieth king of the Egyptians was Psammos  
10 years  
AM 4629
- (71) The seventy-first king of the Egyptians was Koncharis  
21 years  
AM 4639

### KINGS OF THE LATINIS<sup>1</sup>

- (2) The second king of the Latins was Ascanius 37 years<sup>2</sup>  
He was Aeneas' son and the founder of the city of Alba. During his reign, the events occurred concerning Orestes and his murder of Aigisthos and his mother Klytaimnestra. AM 4343<sup>3</sup>
- (3) The third king of the Latins was Aeneas' son Silvius  
29 years<sup>4</sup>  
AM 4480
- (4) The fourth king of the Latins was Silvius<sup>5</sup>  
31 years  
AM 4509
- (5) The fifth king of the Latins was Silvius' son Aeneas<sup>6</sup>  
50 years  
AM 4540
- (6) The sixth king of the Latins was Silvius  
30 years<sup>7</sup>  
AM 4590

### MISCELLANY

The first Lycian games were held.<sup>8</sup>

The return of the Herakleidai, with Hyllos, the elder child of Herakles, leading the war against the Peloponnesians.<sup>9</sup> This war between the Peloponnesians and the Herakleidai lasted a considerable number of years. At that time, the island of Rhodes was settled

<sup>1</sup> Continued from p. 248 (= Moss. 201.5). Cf. Eus. 1.137.29-138.22, 139.24-8 (= Diod. 7.5.3).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Eus. 1.139.24 (38 years).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.62<sup>fg</sup> (during the reign of Samson).

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Eus. 1.139.25 (28 years).

<sup>5</sup> Text: *Σιλούιος Ίού*. Moss.: *Σιλούιος Σιλουίου* or *Σιλούιος Λατίνος*. Go. and Di: *Σιλούιος Ίούλιος*. Cf. Eus. 1.139.26, which gives here 'Aeneas Silvius'.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Eus. 1.139.27 ('Latinus Silvius').

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Eus. 1.139.28 ('Alba Silvius, 39 years').

<sup>8</sup> Eus. 2.64<sup>c</sup>.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.63<sup>g</sup>, 66<sup>c</sup>.



by Lakedaimonians, as Dexippos recounts, when they migrated from the Peloponnesos because of the incursion of the Herakleidai.<sup>1</sup> [208]

At that time, the kingdom of Mykenai was also dissolved, after lasting 200 years according to some, but less than that according to others.

Amazons attacked Asia, together with the Kimmerioi. They also set the previous fire to the temple in Ephesos.<sup>2</sup>

### KINGS OF THE ATHENIANS<sup>3</sup>

(15) The fifteenth king of the Athenians was Apheidas' brother Thymoites  
 9 years<sup>4</sup>  
 AM 4365

During his reign, the kingdom of the Erechtheidai, which was known as the Attic kingdom among the Athenians, was dissolved and transferred to another line. For when Xanthos the Boiotian challenged Thymoites, and the latter refused to fight, Andropompos' son Melanthos the Pylian accepted the challenge and fought him alone; after prevailing over him, he became king. Whereupon the festival of the Apatouria was celebrated at Athens, because his victory was achieved by means of a ruse.<sup>5</sup>

(16) The sixteenth king of the Athenians was Andropompos' son Melanthos the Pylian  
 37 years  
 AM 4374

(17) The seventeenth king of the Athenians was Melanthos' son Kodros  
 21 years  
 AM 4411

During his reign, the return of the Herakleidai to the Peloponnesos took place, and the Ionians fled to Athens after being expelled from Achaïa.

Peloponnesians launched an invasion against Athens, to whom Melanthos' son Kodros surrendered because of an oracle. And no

<sup>1</sup> Dexipp. *FGrH* 100 F 9.

<sup>2</sup> Eus. 2.64<sup>b</sup>, 67<sup>c</sup>. See below, p. 376 (= Moss. 311.1), describing the second fire in Ephesos.

<sup>3</sup> Continued from p. 250 (= Moss. 202.20). Cf. Eus. 1.87.19–31, from Kastor of Rhodes.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Eus. 1.87.19 (8 years).

<sup>5</sup> Eus. 2.65<sup>d</sup>; Strabo 9.1.7; *Suda*, s.v. Ἀπατούρια. The Greek word for 'ruse' that Synk. uses here is ἀπάτη, hence the etymological explanation of the origins of the festival.

longer were there kings, but archons were appointed to rule the Athenians for life.

(18) The eighteenth king of the Athenians was Medon, son of Kodros  
20 years

He is the first of the so-called 'archons for life' among the Athenians.  
AM 4432

(19) The nineteenth ruler of the Athenians and the second archon was Medon's son Akastos  
35 years<sup>1</sup>

AM 4452

During the rule of Akastos, a colony of Ionians was established and according to some, Homer is reported to have lived among the Greeks; but others says it was a little earlier, and others later.

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### KINGS OF THE LAKEDAIMONIANS<sup>2</sup>

(1) The first king of the Lakedaimonians was Eurystheus  
42 years  
AM 4423

Eurystheus and Prokles held control over Sparta.

(2) The second king of the Lakedaimonians was Agis  
1 year  
AM 4465

(3) The third king of the Lakedaimonians was Echestratos  
35 years  
AM 4466

(4) The fourth king of the Lakedaimonians was Labotes  
37 years  
AM 4601

(5) The fifth king of the Lakedaimonians was Dorysthos  
29 years  
AM 4638

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Eus. 1.87.28 (36 years). In noting that the form of Athenian government changed to rule by archons, Synk. alters his terminology for Medon's successor, whom he describes here as ἀρχων. But in his subsequent lists of Athenian rulers, he reverts to his customary terminology for indicating the reigns of kings (ἐβασίλευσε). In addition, Synk.'s numbering of the archons follows consecutively from the sequence of Athenian kings. This differs from the practice of Eusebios (2.68.1-4), who treats Medon, son of Kodon, as the first Athenian archon.

<sup>2</sup> Eus. 1.106.7-12 (= Diod. Sic. 7.8).

**KINGS OF THE CORINTHIANS****From Diodoros concerning the rule of the Corinthians<sup>1</sup>**

Now that we have examined these matters in full, it remains to discuss Corinth and Sikyon, and the way in which they were settled by the Dorians. For it happened that, with the exception of the Arkadians, almost all the peoples throughout the Peloponnese were driven out at the time of the return of the Herakleidai.

Now when the Herakleidai divided the land, they made an exception of the Corinthian territory and the region surrounding it; and after sending word to Aletes, they handed over to him this region. After becoming a man of fame and increasing Corinth's power, he reigned for thirty-eight years. After his death, the eldest of his descendants in each generation always became king, up until the tyranny of Kypselos, which was 447 years after the return of the Herakleidai. And the first of the Herakleidai to succeed to the kingship was Ixion, who reigned for thirty-eight years. After him, Agelas ruled for thirty-seven years, after them Prymnes for thirty-five years, and likewise Bakchis for the same period of time, who became much better known than his predecessors. It was for this reason that those who succeeded him to the kingship were no longer known as Herakleidai, but rather Bakchidai. After him, Agelas reigned for thirty years, Eudemos twenty-five years, and Aristomedes thirty-five years.

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When he died, he left behind a son Telestes, who was still a child. Agemon, his uncle and guardian, deprived him of the hereditary kingship and ruled for sixteen years. After him Alexander held power for twenty-five years. Denied of his paternal rule, Telestes murdered Alexander and ruled for twelve years. After Telestes was murdered by his kinsmen, Automenes ruled for a year. Numbering more than 200, the Bakchidai, who were descended from Herakles, seized power, and they all governed the city as a body. From their ranks, they annually chose one as prytanis, who held the office of king. This continued for ninety years up until the tyranny of Kypselos, under which they were dissolved.

<sup>1</sup> Eus. I.104.1-32 (= Diod. Sic. 7.9).

The following, then, are the kings of the Corinthians:<sup>1</sup>

	[Years of rule]	[Total years]
Aletes	38 <sup>2</sup>	
Ixion	38 <sup>3</sup>	76
Agelas	37	113
Prymnes	35	148
Bakchis	35	183
Agelas	30	213
Eudemos	25	238
Aristomedes	35	273
Agemon	16	289
Alexander	25	314
Telestes	12	326
Automenes	1	327
After them were the annual prytaneis		90 years <sup>4</sup>
Total		417 years
(1) The first king of the Corinthians was Aletes	38 years	
		AM 4423
(2) The second king of the Corinthians was Ixion	38 years	
		AM 4461
(3) The third king of the Corinthians was Agelas	35 years <sup>5</sup>	
		AM 4499
(4) The fourth king of the Corinthians was Prymnes	35 years	
		AM 4534
(5) The fifth king of the Corinthians was Bakchis	35 years	
The kings who succeeded him were called 'Bakchidai' after him.		AM 4569
(6) The sixth king of the Corinthians was Agelas	30 years	
		AM 4604 <sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Eus. I.104.33-105.11.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Eus. I.104.34 (37 years).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Eus. I.104.35 (37 years).

<sup>4</sup> The number of years of the prytaneis is lacking in Eusebios.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. above (= Moss. 210.13) (37 years).

<sup>6</sup> Text: ,δχδ' (following Gelzer ii. 223). AB: ,δχα' ('4601').

## MISCELLANY

The Pelasgians were the second to have dominion over the sea, for eighty-five years.<sup>1</sup>

When Neileus was ruler of the Peloponnesians and the Athenians, he came to Asia and settled the cities of Ionia, after expelling the Carians.

Some say that Homer, the great poet among the Greeks, was in his prime before the return of the Herakleidai; while the school of Eratosthenes says that it was 100 years after the Trojan War;<sup>2</sup> that of Aristarchos says that it was 100 years later, during the colonization of Ionia; that of Philochoros says that it was at the time of the colonization of Ionia, in the days of Archippos, one of the archons for life in Athens, 180 years after the Trojan War.<sup>3</sup> The school of Apollodoros the Athenian says that it was 250 years later than the Iliadic wars.<sup>4</sup> Others say that it was a little before the Olympiads, nearly 400 years after the conquest of Ilion. And others say that it was during the time of Archilochos around the 23rd Olympiad, about 500 years after the conquest of Troy. To put it simply, there is complete disagreement among the ancients as to his dates.<sup>5</sup>

## MISCELLANY

Myrina, known by some as Smyrna, was founded in Asia. Ephesos was founded in Asia by Andronikos. Kyme was founded in Italy.<sup>6</sup>

Carthage was founded anew by Karchedon the Tyrian, but according to others by his daughter Dido, 133 years after the Trojan War.<sup>7</sup> It was previously known as Origo.

The third to gain dominion over the sea were the Thracians, for seventy-nine years.<sup>8</sup>

After crossing the Strymon, the Thracians occupied what is now Bithynia, but which was at that time known as Bebrykia.

The Thracians were in control of the sea.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Eus. 1.106.32, from Diod. Sic.; Eus. 2.68<sup>c</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> Eratosthenes, *FGrH* 241 F 9.

<sup>3</sup> Philochor. *FGrH* 328 F 211. See also Clem. Al. *Strom.* 1.21.117.1.

<sup>4</sup> Apollod. *FGrH* 244 F 63.

<sup>5</sup> For similar discussions of the date of Homer, cf. Eus. 2.66<sup>a</sup>; *PE* 10.11.4 (= Tat. *Orat.* 31).

<sup>6</sup> Eus. 2.69<sup>bcd</sup>.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.69<sup>c</sup> (143 years); see also Strabo 17.3.

<sup>8</sup> Eus. 1.106.33, from Diod. Sic. Cf. Eus. 2.71<sup>d</sup> (19 years).

<sup>9</sup> Eus. 2.73<sup>c</sup>, 74<sup>a</sup>.

The fourth to control the sea were the Rhodians, but according to some they were the fifth, for twenty-three years.<sup>1</sup>

According to some, Homer was flourishing.

The Phrygians were the fifth to control the sea for twenty-five years, but according to some they were the sixth.<sup>2</sup>

### UNIVERSAL YEARS

David's son Solomon was king of Israel 40 years  
AM 4470<sup>3</sup>

He laid the foundation<sup>4</sup> for the first temple in Jerusalem in the second year of his reign, in the place where his father David had established Zion, constructing in addition lavishly built palaces.<sup>5</sup> He mastered all the neighbouring kings and they brought tribute to him.<sup>6</sup>

He surpassed all of his predecessors in wisdom, both divine and human, and in wealth and glory. In his youth he exhibited greatness and devotion to God, until he became distracted by his mad obsession for women. A queen of the South came from far away to hear his wisdom, and after testing him with many problems and riddles, found that he surpassed everyone. For which reason, after learning about civil law from him, she thoroughly and judiciously tutored the people subject to her.

During his reign, Nathan and Achias the Silonite, as well as Sammaias, Addo, and Sadok were prophets.<sup>7</sup>

213] Solomon commenced his building of the temple in Jerusalem from the second year of his reign, which was the fourteenth year of

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Eus. 1.106.34, from Diod. Sic.; 2.77<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> Eus. 1.107.1, from Diod. Sic.; 2.79<sup>b</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> 3 Kgdms. 11.42. Previously, Synk. stated that David's 40-year rule began in AM 4428, thus ending in 4467; see above, p. 256 (= Moss. 206.3-5). That would mean that Solomon's rule began AM 4468.

<sup>4</sup> Text: ἀκοδόμησε (lit. 'built'). But see below (= Moss. 213.1-3), where Synk. states that Solomon only began work on the temple in the 2nd year of his reign.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. 3 Kgdms. 6.1; 2 Paralip. 3.2, which state that Solomon laid the foundation of the temple in the 4th year of his reign. See also Eus. 1.50.34; 2.70.2-4; Έκλ. ιστ. 229.5. Mosshammer suggests that Synk.'s chronology might have been influenced by the Jewish historian Eupolemos, who states that Solomon's reign commenced in his 12th year and that he began work on the Temple in his 13th (in Eus. PE 9.30.8, 34.4).

<sup>6</sup> 3 Kgdms. 4.34-6.18; 7.13-46.

<sup>7</sup> Sadok was not a prophet but a priest; the same error appears in *Chron. pasch.* 169.4-5.

his life. He completed it in seven years, in the eighth year of his reign and the twentieth year of his life. From Adam up to the eighth year of his reign, there are 4478 years, but according to Africanus 4457 years, and according to Eusebios 4170.<sup>1</sup>

Anyone who so wishes can scrutinize the accuracy of our reasoning from divine scriptures.

The eighth Hebrew high priest from Aaron was known as Sadok, according to Eusebios.<sup>2</sup> But according to an accurate analysis, Sadok is the eleventh high priest from Aaron, as follows: 1. Aaron; 2. Eleazar; 3. Phineës; 4. Abioud; 5. Bochei; 6. Ozei; 7. Eli; 8. Achitob; 9. Samuel; 10. Abiathar; 11. Sadok.

The king of the Tyrians dispatched 80,000 men to Solomon to assist in the building of the temple.<sup>3</sup>

Solomon married the daughter of the Tyrian king Siramos, as Tatian recounts.<sup>4</sup>

#### **From Josephos, from the evidence of the Phoenicians about the kingdom of the Tyrians and the temple in Jerusalem<sup>5</sup>**

There are then among the Tyrians documents covering a period of many years, compiled by the state and very carefully preserved. There, it is recorded that the temple in Jerusalem was erected by King Solomon 143 years and eight months before the founding of Carthage by the Tyrians. The building of our temple was recorded by them for a good reason. For the Tyrian king Siromos was a friend of our king Solomon, his friendship having been inherited from his father; he therefore shared with Solomon a zeal for the splendour of the building project and donated 120 talents of gold. And he cut down the most exquisite timber from the mountain known as Libanos, and sent it to him for the roof. Solomon gave him in return double the gifts, including, among many other things, a region of Galilee in the area called Chabolon. It was especially their love of wisdom that sealed their friendship. They used to send problems to one another, with a call to solve them, and Solomon was better at these puzzles and generally more astute.

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<sup>1</sup> Routh, fr. 31; Eus. 2.70<sup>a</sup> (4169 years). Gelzer (ii. 239) points out that since AM 4470 represents 1 Solomon, 8 Solomon should actually be AM 4477.

<sup>2</sup> Eus. 2.70<sup>b</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> 3 Kgdms. 5.15.

<sup>4</sup> Tat. *Orat.* 37.

<sup>5</sup> Jos. *Ag. Ap.* 1.107-26.

Many of the letters that they wrote to each other are preserved by the Tyrians up to this day. To prove that I have not fabricated this statement about the documents kept by the Tyrians, I shall cite as a witness Dion, a clever man reputed to be an accurate historian of Phoenicia.

In his Phoenician history, then, he writes as follows: 'When Abibalos died his son Siromos ascended to the throne. He heaped up the embankments on the eastern part of the city and enlarged the size of the city; and by building a connecting causeway, he joined the city and the temple of Olympian Zeus, which stood by itself at the same height, and decorated it with golden offerings. And he went up to Libanos and cut timber for the building of temples. And it is said that Solomon, the absolute ruler of Jerusalem, sent riddles to Siromos and asked to receive others from him; and the one who was unable to solve them was to pay a sum of money to the one who succeeded. Siromos agreed and was unable to solve the riddles, and spent a great sum of his treasury on the forfeit. And then with the aid of a certain Abdamonos, a Tyrian man, he both solved the puzzles sent to him, and propounded others. Solomon, unable to solve them, paid back to Siromos a great deal of money.'

Dion has thus attested to what we have previously said. But in addition to this, we shall also cite Menander of Ephesos. He has recorded the deeds of each of the kings both among the Greeks and the barbarians. This is what he says about Siromos:

'When Abibalos died, his son Siromos succeeded him to the throne, and he lived fifty-three years and was king for thirty-four years. He built up the embankment for the "Broad Place", dedicated the golden pillar in the temple of Zeus, and having left in search of timber, cut down cedar wood from Mount Libanos for the roofs of temples. During his reign, there lived Abdemounos, quite a young boy, who was always solving the riddles posed by Solomon the king of Jerusalem.'

The period from this king up to the founding of Carthage is reckoned as follows:

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Siromos: thirty-four years. His son Baalbazeros: seventeen years. His son Abdastartos reigned for nine years. The three children of his nurse murdered him, and the eldest of them became king. After him Eleastartos' son Astartos: twelve years. After him, his brother Astharymos: nine years. His brother Phelles killed him and reigned for eight months. Eithobalos, the king of Astarte, murdered him and reigned for thirty-two years.



After him his son Balezeros, for eight years. His son Meten reigned for twenty-five years. Succeeding him was Mygdalion Physmanoun, who reigned for forty-seven years. In his seventh year, his sister Karthagena fled and established the city of Carthage in Libya, also known as Karchedon. In the twelfth year of the reign of Siromos, the temple in Jerusalem was built. There are 143 years and eight months from this event up to the establishment of Carthage.

Solomon became a devotee of Astarte, after deserting God for both the Moabite abomination Chamos and the Ammonite Moloch, having been led astray by Gentile women. For he had 700 wives, both Israelite and Gentile women, and 300 concubines. All the Gentile women he married in violation of the divine injunction. He had only one son, and since this son was born from Naama, a foreign woman of Ammonite origin, he was not fit for rule.

Achias the Silonite predicted to Jeroboam that he would reign over ten tribes. Upon hearing this Solomon endeavoured to murder Jeroboam. But he fled to the Egyptian king Sousakeim and became his son-in-law by marrying his daughter. After Solomon's death, he became ruler of these same ten tribes.<sup>1</sup>

In AM 4507, Solomon died and the kingdom of the Israelites was divided into two in accordance with the divine judgement enacted against Solomon and his son, and proclaimed to Jeroboam through Achias the Silonite.<sup>2</sup> Solomon's son Rhoboam became king in Jerusalem over the two tribes, those of Judah and Benjamin. The other ten tribes of Israel appointed Solomon's servant Jeroboam as their own king in Samaria, and the two kingdoms remained divided in this way until the Chaldaean captivity.

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### KINGS OF THE EGYPTIANS<sup>3</sup>

(72) The seventy-second king of the Egyptians was Osorthon

15 years

AM 4660

(73) The seventy-third king of the Egyptians was Takalophis

13 years

AM 4675

<sup>1</sup> 3 Kgdms. 11.29-40.

<sup>2</sup> If the 1st year of Solomon's 40-year reign was AM 4470, then his reign would have ended in AM 4509.

<sup>3</sup> Ps.-Manetho, continued from p. 258  
(= Moss. 207.7).

(74) The seventy-fourth king of the Egyptians was Bokchoris

44 years

AM 4688

Bokchoris framed laws for the Egyptians; there is a report that during his reign a lamb spoke.

(75) The seventy-fifth king of the Egyptians was Sabakon the Ethiopian

12 years

AM 4732

He took Bokchoris captive and burnt him alive.

(76) The seventy-sixth king of the Egyptians was Sebechon

12 years

AM 4744

### KINGS OF THE LATINS<sup>1</sup>

(7) The seventh king of the Latins was Silvius' son Anchises

10 years<sup>2</sup>

AM 4520

(8) The eighth king of the Latins was Aegyptius Silvius

20 years<sup>3</sup>

AM 4530

(9) The ninth king of the Latins was Cappys Silvius 34 years<sup>4</sup>

AM 4550

(10) The tenth king of the Latins was Tiberius 48 years<sup>5</sup>

217] The river Tiber, previously called the Alba, was also named after him.

AM 4584

(11) The eleventh king of the Latins was Aremulus Silvius

19 years<sup>6</sup>

He was struck by a thunderbolt because of his great impiety.

AM 4632

<sup>1</sup> Continued from p. 258 (= Moss. 207.18). Cf. Eus. 1.139.29–33 (based on Diod. Sic.), whose catalogue of Latin kings differs markedly from the list given here.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Eus. 1.139.29; 2.72.18–19 (Aegyptus Silvius, 26 or 24 years).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Eus. 1.139.30; 2.74.7–8 (Cappys Silvius, 28 years).

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Eus. 1.139.31; 2.75.21–3 (Carpentus Silvius, 13 years).

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Eus. 1.139.32; 2.76.21–3 (Tiberinus Silvius, 8 years).

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Eus. 1.139.33; 2.77.9–11 (Agrippa Silvius, 35 or 40 years).

**KINGS OF THE ATHENIANS<sup>1</sup>**

- (20) The twentieth ruler of the Athenians was Akastos' son  
Archippos 19 years  
AM 4487
- (21) The twenty-first ruler of the Athenians was Archippos' son  
Thersippos 40 years<sup>2</sup>  
AM 4506
- (22) The twenty-second ruler of the Athenians was Thersippos'  
son Phorbas 30 years  
AM 4546
- (23) The twenty-third ruler of the Athenians was Phorbas' son  
Megakles 28 years<sup>3</sup>  
AM 4576
- (24) The twenty-fourth ruler of the Athenians was Megakles' son  
Diognetos 28 years  
AM 4604
- (25) The twenty-fifth ruler of the Athenians was Diognetos' son  
Pherekles 19 years  
AM 4632
- (26) The twenty-sixth ruler of the Athenians was Pherekles' son  
Ariphron 20 years,  
according  
to  
Africanus  
31 years
- During the reign of this Ariphron, the Assyrian empire was  
dissolved, as everyone agrees. AM 4651

**KINGS OF THE LAKEDAEMONIANS<sup>4</sup>**

- (6) The sixth king of the Lakedaimonians was Agesilaos  
44 years  
AM 4567

<sup>1</sup> Continued from p. 260 (= Moss. 208.29). Cf. Eus. 1.87.32–88.8, from Kastor of Rhodes.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Eus. 1.88.1 (41 years).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.88.3 (30 years).

<sup>4</sup> Continued from p. 260 (= Moss. 209.12). Eus. 1.106.13–25, from Diod. Sic. The list of Lakedaimonian and Corinthian kings that follows contains numerous discrepancies. Synk. states below that the reigns of the Lakedaimonian and Corinthian kings extended 350 years and ended in the

(7) The seventh king of the Lakedaimonians was Archelaos

60 years

AM 4611<sup>1</sup>

218] (8) The eighth king of the Lakedaimonians was Teleklos

40 years

AM 4671<sup>2</sup>

(9) The ninth king of the Lakedaimonians was Alkamenes

37 years

He was the last king of the first house. During this same time, a succession of six kings from the second house reigned.

AM 4711<sup>3</sup>

Apollodoros [says that] Lykourgos' legislation was instituted in the eighth year of Alkamenes.<sup>4</sup> The first ephor was appointed in Lakedaimonia.<sup>5</sup>

#### KINGS OF THE CORINTHIANS<sup>6</sup>

(7) The seventh king of the Corinthians was Eudemos

25 years

AM 4634<sup>7</sup>

(8) The eighth king of the Corinthians was Aristomedes

35 years

AM 4659<sup>8</sup>

same year; see p. 271 (= Moss. 218.19–20). But according to MSS AB, these kingdoms ended in AM 4746 (pp. 270, 271 = Moss. 218.3–5, 17–18). Since Synk. states that both kingdoms began in AM 4423 (pp. 260, 262 = Moss. 209.2–3; 210.25–6), their duration would come to only 323 years. The entries for the individual kings only add to the confusion. The total of these years adds up to 325, not 323; and for most of these kings, the years of their rule do not correspond to the accompanying universal years. Although the translation follows Mosshammer's emendations of the universal years (aimed at harmonizing with the regnal years), the textual notes also supply the universal years recorded in the manuscript witnesses.

<sup>1</sup> Text: ,δχια'. AB: ,δχη' ('4608').

<sup>2</sup> Text: ,δχοα'. AB: ,δχο' ('4670').

<sup>3</sup> Text: ,δψια'. AB: ,δψθ' ('4709').

<sup>4</sup> Apollod. *FGrH* 244 F 65. Cf. Eus. 2.84<sup>f</sup> (in 18 'Thalkamanes').

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.87<sup>k</sup>, which adds here that kings ruled the Lakedaimonians for 350 years.

<sup>6</sup> Continued from p. 262 (= Moss. 211.5). See Eus. 1.105.5–10, from Diod. Sic.

<sup>7</sup> Text: ,δχλδ'. AB: ,δχλα' ('4631').

<sup>8</sup> Text: ,δχνθ'. AB: ,δχνζ' ('4657').

- (9) The ninth king of the Corinthians was Agemon 16 years  
AM 4694<sup>1</sup>
- (10) The tenth king of the Corinthians was Alexander  
25 years  
AM 4710<sup>2</sup>
- (11) The eleventh king of the Corinthians was Telestes  
12 years  
AM 4735<sup>3</sup>
- (12) The twelfth king of the Corinthians was Automenes  
1 year  
AM 4747<sup>4</sup>

The reigns of the Lakedaimonian and Corinthian kings extended 350 years, up to this year.<sup>5</sup> Their successors were annual chief magistrates, as some claim, during the time of the archon Aischylos and the 1st Olympiad. But according to others, they came later than this, as has been mentioned above.<sup>6</sup>

### UNIVERSAL YEARS

#### The years of the kings of Judah and Benjamin

- (1) The first of them to become king was Solomon's son Rehoboam  
17 years  
AM 4510<sup>7</sup>

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Rehoboam, the son of Naama the Ammonite woman, was the only male child born to Solomon from a thousand women. He was unfit for the throne, because he was a child of a mother of foreign stock. Jeroboam made war with him continuously, and he, along with Judah, devoted himself to the idols. He died after reigning for seventeen years.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Text: ,δχρδ'. AB: ,δχρβ' ('4692').

<sup>2</sup> Text: ,δψι'. AB: ,δψη' ('4708').

<sup>3</sup> Text: ,δψλε'. AB: ,δψλγ' ('4733').

<sup>4</sup> Text: ,δψμζ'. AB: ,δψμε' ('4745').

<sup>5</sup> Synk. states above that the reigns of Lakedaimonian and Corinthian kings began in AM 4423. But up to the year 4748, there are only 325 elapsed years. The number 350 was apparently taken from a notice in Eus. 2.87<sup>k</sup>.

<sup>6</sup> See above, p. 261 (= Moss. 210.4-9); also Eus. 1.105.30 (quoting Diod. Sic.) and 2.87<sup>k</sup> (21 Aischylos).

<sup>7</sup> 3 Kgdms. 14.21. See above, p. 267 (= Moss. 215.21) where Synk. states that Solomon died in AM 4507, which would mean that Rehoboam's rule began in AM 4508. Here again, Synk. appears to be interweaving two different sources (see Gelzer ii. 239-41).

<sup>8</sup> 3 Kgdms. 12.24a; 14.21-4, 30.

In the fifth year of the reign of Solomon's son Rhoboam, AM 4517, the Egyptian king Sousakeim went up to Jerusalem, and seized all the treasures of the house of the Lord, the palace treasures, and all the golden weapons.<sup>1</sup>

In his war with Jeroboam, Abia killed 500,000 Israelite men.<sup>2</sup>

(2) The second king of Judah was Rhoboam's son Abia

3 years<sup>3</sup>

AM 4527

(3) The third king of Judah was Abia's son Asa

41 years<sup>4</sup>

AM 4530

He repudiated his father's impiety and destroyed the idols, cut down the sacred groves, and put an end to his own mother's mad obsession with idols.<sup>5</sup>

He routed Zare the Ethiopian who, in his campaign against Judaea with a host of Libyans, attacked with 1,000,000 men.<sup>6</sup>

The Hebrew high priest Abimelech was becoming known. Those who were prophets were Achia, Samaias, and Jeou, who presided over the altar in Samaria, Joel, Azarias, also known as Addo, and his son Zacharias, also known as Jode, and Anani and Jopas.<sup>7</sup>

(4) The fourth king of Judah was Asa's son Josaphat 25 years<sup>8</sup>

AM 4571

A religious man also, like his father Asa, he eliminated idolatry, except in the high places. He educated Israel in the Mosaic law. But being at peace with Achaab, he was judged unfavourably.<sup>9</sup>

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Jeou was a prophet; Anani was a prophet; among the Hebrews, Helias,<sup>10</sup> Jeou, Abdiou, Oziel, and Michaias were prophets. But Sedekias, Eliezer, and others were false prophets.<sup>11</sup> Josaphat was allied with Achaab in war. And when the foreign tribes assembled

<sup>1</sup> 3 Kgdms. 14.25-6. The year 4517 is an apparent error. If 1 Rhoboam was 4510 (see above, p. 271 = 218.25-6), his 5th year is AM 4514. Based on Synk.'s alternative chronology (on which see note 6, p. 256, 5 Rhoboam would be AM 4512. Since the division of the kingdoms of Judah and Israel occurred in AM 4513, it may be that Synk. actually intended to refer to the fifth year from that event. See below, p. 274 (= Moss. 221.15). For discussion, see Gelzer ii. 239, and Mosshammer's note on 219.6.

<sup>2</sup> 2 Paralip. 13.17.

<sup>3</sup> 3 Kgdms. 15.1-2.

<sup>4</sup> 3 Kgdms. 15.10.

<sup>5</sup> 3 Kgdms. 15.13.

<sup>6</sup> 2 Paralip. 14.9-15.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.73<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>8</sup> 3 Kgdms. 22.41-2.

<sup>9</sup> 3 Kgdms. 22.43-5.

<sup>10</sup> Text: *Ἡλίας*; in subsequent references spelt with smooth breathing *Ἡλίας*. A similar variation is to be found in many authors, perhaps under the influence of *Ἡλιος*, 'Sun' (in the genitive both are *Ἡλίου*); by Synk.'s day the aspirate had long ceased to be pronounced.

<sup>11</sup> Eus. 2.76<sup>a</sup>.

against Josaphat and the Jews, they slaughtered one another by divine decision.<sup>1</sup>

(5) The fifth king of Judah was Josaphat's impious son Joram  
8 years<sup>2</sup>  
AM 4596

He slew his own brothers, and some of the princes of the people. After suffering a dread disease, he discharged his intestines and bowels.<sup>3</sup>

In his seventh year, Helias the Thesbite was assumed into heaven.<sup>4</sup> AM 4602

Amos and Elissaios were prophets.

Joram was Achaab's and Jezabel's stepson through their daughter Gotholia.<sup>5</sup>

(6) The sixth king of Judah was Joram's son Ochozias  
1 year<sup>6</sup>  
AM 4604

(7) The seventh to reign over Judah was Gotholia, mother of Ochozias and daughter of Achaab; at the command of the high priest Jodaë, the people stoned her to death  
7 years<sup>7</sup>  
AM 4606

She tore down the house of God.<sup>8</sup>

(8) (The eighth king of Judah was Joas  
40 years<sup>9</sup>  
AM 4613<sup>10</sup>)

Joas rebuilt the house of God, which Gotholia had torn down.<sup>11</sup>

Thereupon, he committed idolatry and killed the prophet Zacharias, the son of Jodaë the high priest, because he was exhorting him to mend his ways. His servants killed him in the fortieth year of his reign.<sup>12</sup>

Beloved by God, Jodaë the high priest was becoming known; he was the only one since the time of Moses to have lived for 130 years. His son Zacharias was a prophet and Elissaios as well. Because of Joas' obsession with idols, Jodaë's son Zacharias the

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<sup>1</sup> 3 Kgdms. 22.29-38.

<sup>3</sup> 2 Paralip. 21.4, 18-19.

<sup>5</sup> 4 Kgdms. 8.18, 26.

<sup>7</sup> 4 Kgdms. 11.1-16.

<sup>9</sup> 4 Kgdms. 12.1-2.

<sup>10</sup> This line, missing in the manuscripts, was supplied by Scaliger and followed by later editors. The date 4613 for the beginning of Joas' reign is derived from the seven-year reign of Gotholia (AM 4606-12).

<sup>11</sup> 2 Paralip. 24.7-14.

<sup>2</sup> 4 Kgdms. 8.16-17.

<sup>4</sup> 4 Kgdms. 2.11; Eus. 2.78<sup>b</sup>.

<sup>6</sup> 4 Kgdms. 8.25-6.

<sup>8</sup> 2 Paralip. 24.7.

<sup>12</sup> 2 Paralip. 24.22-5.

prophet admonished him and the people to turn away from them; as a result of this, Joas slew him in the temple.<sup>1</sup>

According to the Hebrews, Zacharias the prophet was slain by Joas the king; but in another version, it was Azarias who was slain.<sup>2</sup>

Elissaios the prophet died in the thirty-seventh year of Joas.<sup>3</sup>

AM 4648

An army from Syria killed Judah and its chieftains.<sup>4</sup>

### UNIVERSAL YEARS

#### Years of the kings of the ten sceptres of Israel

(1) The first of them to become king in Samaria was Jeroboam

22 years<sup>5</sup>

AM 4513<sup>6</sup>

Jeroboam was a servant of Solomon, and a harlot's son. He had twenty-eight sons and sixty daughters.<sup>7</sup>

There was a man dwelling in Bethel who was a prophet. There was also the prophet who had come from Judah and found Jeroboam at the altar making an offering with golden heifers. He prophesied to him about the birth of Josiah, a king from the house of David, who would destroy the priests of the idols at the altar; whereupon the altar, upon which Jeroboam was making sacrifice, was rent. Now when he ordered his arrest, his hand withered; and after appealing to the prophet, he was healed. As the prophet was returning, he was slaughtered by a lion; for he had partaken of food from the other prophet in Bethel, who had misled him. The beast guarded over him until the one who tricked him into transgressing the divine commandment arrived and buried him.<sup>8</sup> Jeroboam made two golden calves because, it is said, he wanted to prevent the people subject to him from making the journey up to Jerusalem.<sup>9</sup>

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(2) The second king of Israel was Nadab

2 years<sup>10</sup>

AM 4535

<sup>1</sup> 2 Paralip. 24.16-22.

<sup>2</sup> 2 Chr 24.20; cf. 2 Paralip. ad loc. (Azarias).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. 4 Kgdms. 13.20, which does not give the year of Joas' reign; Eus. 2.80<sup>a</sup> (32 Joas). As Gelzer notes (ii. 239), '37 Joas' assumes that his 1st year is AM 4612, not 4613 as given above (p. 273 = Moss. 220.20).

<sup>4</sup> 2 Paralip. 24.23.

<sup>5</sup> 3 Kgdms. 14.20.

<sup>6</sup> Above, Synk. dates 1 Rhoboam to AM 4510. It is not clear why he dates 1 Jeroboam three years later.

<sup>7</sup> 3 Kgdms. 11.26.

<sup>8</sup> 3 Kgdms. 13.1-30.

<sup>9</sup> 3 Kgdms. 12.26-8.

<sup>10</sup> 3 Kgdms. 15.25.



- (3) The third king of Israel was Achia's son Baasa 24 years<sup>1</sup>  
AM 4537

He killed Jeroboam's son Nadab and became king of Israel. Upon his arrival in Rhama, this same man made war with Asa the king of Judah. Asa used bribes to make an alliance of friendship with Ader's son, the king of Syria. In return he persuaded him to ravage the cities of Israel. In this way, Baasa withdrew from Rhama.<sup>2</sup>

Asa was reproached by the prophet for putting his trust in the Syrians and not in God.<sup>3</sup>

Ananias' son Jeou prophesied to Baasa that his house would be destroyed, just like the house of Jeroboam, because he committed idolatry. And it happened in accordance with his prophecy. For when Baasa died, Zambri, who was in command of his son's chariots, killed him and became king.<sup>4</sup>

- (4) The fourth king of Israel was Ela 2 years  
His son Zambri reigned for seven days.<sup>5</sup> AM 4561

After killing Ela, Zambri became king for seven days. Upon hearing that the people had proclaimed Ambri as king, he immolated himself. So Israel was divided into two, half of it behind Abenne, and half behind Ambri. But when Abenne died, everyone became subject to Ambri.<sup>6</sup>

- (5) The fifth king of Israel was Ambri 12 years<sup>7</sup>  
AM 4563

Ambri, the fifth king of Israel, founded the city of the Samaritans, which is now called Sebaste, and he gave it the name Semmer, after the name of Somor the owner of the mountain.<sup>8</sup>

- (6) The sixth king of Israel was Ambri's son Achaab 22 years<sup>9</sup>  
AM 4575

He married Jezabel, the daughter of Aithaal, king of the Sidonians. It was because of her that he became a servant to Baal and swore an oath of devotion to the god. At that time also, Azan<sup>10</sup> of Bethel rebuilt Jericho. As he was laying its foundation, his first-born son Abeiron died, and his younger son Segoub died as he was setting up

<sup>1</sup> 3 Kgdms. 15.33.

<sup>2</sup> 3 Kgdms. 15.16-22.

<sup>3</sup> 2 Paralip. 16.7.

<sup>4</sup> 3 Kgdms. 16.1-4, 8-11.

<sup>5</sup> 3 Kgdms. 16.8-9, 15. In v. 9, Zambri is identified only as 'captain of half of the cavalry'. Synk.'s description of him as Ela's son may have been influenced by some LXX MSS that, reflecting the Hebrew text, refer to Zambri as 'his (Ela's) servant (*παῖς αὐτοῦ*)'.

<sup>6</sup> 3 Kgdms. 16.18-22.

<sup>7</sup> 3 Kgdms. 16.23.

<sup>8</sup> 3 Kgdms. 16.24.

<sup>9</sup> 3 Kgdms. 16.29.

<sup>10</sup> Correctly Achiel (LXX)/Hiel (MT).

the doors for the completion of the building project. This happened in accordance with the divine curse that had been decreed through Joshua.<sup>1</sup>

Also at that time, Elias the Thesbite, after predicting a three-year drought to Achaab, came and secretly settled in the east by the brook of Charestha, where he was tended by flesh-eating ravens who brought him bread. When the water in the brook he was drinking from dried up, he went away to Seraphtha in the land of Sidon, at the command of God. A guest of a widow, he ate the food she had left for a single day. And he blessed the cruse and the pitcher of oil and raised up a dead child. When he returned to Achaab after three years, he confronted face to face the man who was threatening death. And he dealt with the false prophets and the priests of the idols, 850 of them, who were supported by Jezabel, the woman who killed the divine prophets, some of whom Abdiou saved. And for this reason he came forth to prophecy while still a servant, even though he alone among the prophets has not an ancestry traceable from the prophets of preceding generations. And when Elias in his zeal killed the priests of shame, through his prayer he brought abundant rain to the land. Again he fled to Bersabeë and from there into the wilderness, in fear of Jezabel, who was threatening to kill him. There, as he was asking to die, an angel stood by him in his sleep and directed him to partake of God-given food and drink. And after recovering his strength through this alone, he made a journey of forty days and forty nights to Mount Choreb, that is Sinai, and rested in the cave of Moses.<sup>2</sup>

224] Now when he was asked by the Lord why he had come there, he boasted of his acts of devotion to God, and said that as the only man of piety left he was being pursued and sought out to be murdered. When he was directed to appear the next day before the Lord as he passed by, he first saw a great and mighty wind breaking the mountains asunder and crushing stones as it came forth from the Lord. The next thing he saw was an earthquake, and the third thing was fire. In these things, it says, their Lord was not. After that he heard a voice of a gentle breeze, and he concealed his face and stood before the cave. Again he was asked for what reason he had come there. And again he offered the same answer. And he heard a divine voice bidding him to go away to the desert of Damascus and to anoint Azaël as king of Syria and Elissaië as prophet to replace him; and the voice ordered him not to overlook the fact that there were

<sup>1</sup> 3 Kgdms. 16.30-4; cf. Josh. 6.26. See above, p. 208 (= Moss. 169.16-20).

<sup>2</sup> 3 Kgdms. 17.1-19.8.

also 7000 other men from Israel devoted to God who had received divine protection.<sup>1, 2</sup>

Taught by these events to be humble before God, he again condemned the death of Nabouthai, which Achaab in his iniquity had arranged because of the vineyard.<sup>3</sup> Deceived by the false prophets, Achaab engaged the Syrians in battle and was killed, the prophet Michaias having foretold the outcome.<sup>4</sup>

(7) The seventh king of Israel was Achaab's son Ochozias

2 years<sup>5</sup>

AM 4597

Achaab's son Ochozias was more lawless than all of his predecessors. For making an alliance with him, Josaphat was condemned by God.<sup>6</sup> And when Ochozias fell ill and sent away to receive an oracle in the idol temple of the fly of Akkaron,<sup>7</sup> Elias the Thesbite happened to meet him and reproached his idolatry. And when he was summoned, Elias destroyed the two commanders of fifty, along with their soldiers. After being entreated by the third, he came to Ochozias and told him that he would die.<sup>8</sup>

(8) The eighth king of Israel was Ochozias' brother Joram

12 years

He also was the son of Achaab.<sup>9</sup>

AM 4598

When Moab was in rebellion after the death of Achaab, Achaab's son Joram, the king of Israel, went up against them to make war with the Moabites. And he took with him Ochozias, king of Judah, and the king of Edom. In seven days, they were on the verge of perishing from thirst, and they hastened to the prophet Elissaios. He prophesied to them to take water in abundance from the brook and to take the cities of Moab on that same day, and to stop up all their springs and destroy every Moabite dwelling.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Lit. 'who had been protected by me, God'.

<sup>2</sup> 3 Kgdms. 19.9-18.

<sup>3</sup> 3 Kgdms. 21.17-24.

<sup>4</sup> 3 Kgdms. 22.13-38.

<sup>5</sup> 3 Kgdms. 22.52.

<sup>6</sup> 3 Kgdms. 22.53; 2 Paralip. 20.35-7.

<sup>7</sup> Perhaps understood as 'the Akkarians' fly'; this is Baal-zebub the god of Ekron, whose name ('Baal [= Lord] of the fly') is a possibly deliberate distortion of Baal-zebul ('Baal of the height').

<sup>8</sup> 4 Kgdms. 1.1-16.

<sup>9</sup> 4 Kgdms. 3.1. With the date AM 4598, Synk. seems to assume one, not two years, for the reign of Joram's predecessor, Ochozias.

<sup>10</sup> 4 Kgdms. 3.4-19. According to 4 Kgdms. 3.7, the king of Judah at the time was Josaphat, not Ochozias.

When the king of Syria, the son of Ader, fell ill, the prophet Elissaios foretold to Azaël about his reign and the evils about to befall Israel because of him.<sup>1</sup>

In Joram's fifth year, Azaël, the son of the Syrian king Ader, became king of Syria. He sent out an army to capture Elissaios in Bethel. When they became blind and were turning in the opposite direction to the enemy in Samaria, Elissaios stood near and saved them when they were about to be destroyed.<sup>2</sup>

Ader's son set siege to Samaria and Israel, so that the inhabitants of the city wasted away because of a severe famine and certain women consumed their own offspring. Joram, the king of Israel, after issuing an order to decapitate Elissaios, received deliverance from the famine, when the enemy fled in a panic sent from God, and when they abandoned all necessities of life to Israel.<sup>3</sup>

After Elias, Elissaië was becoming known as a wonderworker and prophet.

Elissaië sent out and anointed Jeou as king of Israel.<sup>4</sup>

(9) The ninth king of Israel was Jeou 28 years<sup>5</sup>  
AM 4610

During his reign, a famine and great earthquake occurred in Judaea.<sup>6</sup>

He killed Ochozias, Achaab's sons, and Jezabel the Sidonian.<sup>7</sup>

Jeou, the king of Israel, did obeisance to the golden calves, which Jeroboam had made in Bethel and Dan, which is now called Paneas.<sup>8</sup>

Against him, Azaël, the king of Syria, launched a military campaign and killed massive numbers in accordance with the word of the prophet Elissaios.<sup>9</sup>

After plundering Israel, Azaël, the king of Syria, prepared to march against Joas and Jerusalem. But by dispatching to him all the sacred items and the gold, Joas persuaded him to turn back.<sup>10</sup>

### KINGS OF THE EGYPTIANS<sup>11</sup>

(77) The seventy-seventh king of the Egyptians was Tarakes  
20 years  
AM 4756

<sup>1</sup> 4 Kgdms. 8.7-13.

<sup>2</sup> 4 Kgdms. 6.11-20; 8.15-16.

<sup>3</sup> 4 Kgdms. 6.24-7.20.

<sup>4</sup> 4 Kgdms. 9.1-6.

<sup>5</sup> 4 Kgdms. 10.36.

<sup>6</sup> 4 Kgdms. 6.25.

<sup>7</sup> 4 Kgdms. 9.27-10.11.

<sup>8</sup> 4 Kgdms. 10.29.

<sup>9</sup> 4 Kgdms. 8.12; 10.32.

<sup>10</sup> 4 Kgdms. 12.18-19.

<sup>11</sup> Ps.-Manetho, continued from p. 268 (= Moss. 216.13).

- (78) The seventy-eighth king of the Egyptians was Amaëus  
38 years  
AM 4776 [226]
- (79) The seventy-ninth king of the Egyptians was Stephinathes  
27 years  
AM 4814
- (80) The eightieth king of the Egyptians was Nechepsos  
13 years  
AM 4841

KINGS OF THE LATINS<sup>1</sup>

- (12) The twelfth king of the Latins was Carmentus 16 years<sup>2</sup>  
AM 4651
- (13) The thirteenth king of the Latins was Silvius 18 years<sup>3</sup>  
AM 4667
- (14) The fourteenth king of the Latins was Procas Silvius  
32 years<sup>4</sup>  
The 1st Olympiad falls during his reign. AM 4685
- (15) The fifteenth king of the Latins was Amulius Silvius  
23 years<sup>5</sup>

Numitor was also king, who, as some suppose, reigned alone for two years after Amulius.<sup>6</sup> But some claim he was co-regent with him. AM 4717

Remus and Romulus were born to Mars and Numitor's daughter Ilia, but according to some it was ten years earlier.

It is said that around the end of the 7th Olympiad Romulus became king of the Latins after Aeneas. He founded and renamed the city of Rome; and the people, who had previously been known as Latins, he renamed Romans after his own name. But others put this in the 6th Olympiad and still others in the 8th Olympiad. To put it simply, there has been great disagreement concerning both the date of Rome's founding and her settlers.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Continued from p. 268 (= Moss. 217.4). Cf. Eus. 1.139.34–140.3, from Diod. Sic.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Eus. 1.139.34; 2.79.22–3 (Amulius Silvius, 19 years).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Eus. 1.140.1; 2.81.2–3 (Aventinus Silvius, 37 years.)

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Eus. 1.140.2; 2.83.10–12 (23 years).

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Eus. 1.140.3 (42 years); 2.84.20–1 (44 years).

<sup>6</sup> See Eus. 1.131.20–2, from Dion. Hal.

<sup>7</sup> For discussion of the various dates of the founding of Rome, see also Eus. 1.135.11–28, from Dion. Hal. *Rom Ant.* 1.72–4; 136.26–137.1, from Diod. Sic. 7.5.1.

Indeed, Kephalion of Gergis, a writer of great antiquity, says that in the second generation after the conquest of Troy, the city was founded by Remus, one of the four children of Aeneas.<sup>1</sup> He was also a brother of Ascanius, Euryleon, and Romulus, who, it is said, were born to Aeneas. In agreement with Kephalion are Demagoras, Agathymos, and many others, both with respect to Rome's date and Remus as her founder and settler. He was in fact, according to Kephalion, one of those who escaped from Ilion and was in charge of Rome's colonization.

But the author who compiled the history of the priestesses in Argos says that Aeneas became the founder of Rome after arriving from the Molossoi in<sup>2</sup> Italy with Odysseus. He named it after Rhome, one of the Trojan woman with him who set fire to the ships with the other Trojan women, because she was wearied by their wandering.<sup>3</sup> Also in agreement with the others about this is Damastes of Sigeion.<sup>4</sup>

But Aristotle the scholar says that as they were sailing around Cape Malea some of the Achaians who set sail from Troy were caught in a great winter storm. Made to wander all over the sea by the winds, they came to a place in Opike called Latium lying in the Tyrrhenian sea. There they hauled up the ships for the winter season and made ready for departure at the beginning of spring. But certain women who were accompanying them as captives from Ilion set fire to their ships, to avoid becoming slaves in their homes when they were brought back. So even though they were unwilling they settled the region, since they were unable to make the sea journey to their own home.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Kephalon of Gergis (= Hegesianax), *FGrH* 45 F 9 (= Dion. Hal. *Rom. Ant.* 1.72.1); see also Eus. 1.132.1–8, quoting from Dion. Hal. 'Kephalon' (or 'Kephalion'), to be distinguished from the previously cited Kephalion, was a fictitious name used by Hegesianax of Alexandria in the Troad to publish some of his own writings.

<sup>2</sup> Text: ἐκ Μολοσσῶν εἰς (following Di.). A: ἐκμωλωτὸν τὸν εἰς; B: ἐκμολοτὸν τὸν εἰς.

<sup>3</sup> Hellanikos of Lesbos, *FGrH* 4 F 84 (= Dion. Hal. *Rom. Ant.* 1.72.2); see also Eus. 1.132.13–19. The reference is to the lists of the Argive priestesses of Hera compiled by Hellanikos.

<sup>4</sup> Damastes of Sigeion, *FGrH* 5 F 3 (= Dion. Hal. *Rom. Ant.* 1.72.2); see also Eus. 1.132.19–20 (quoting Dion. Hal.). Damastes was a contemporary of Herodotos and pupil of Hellanikos of Lesbos. One of the works attributed to him was known as the 'Ancestors of those who fought at Troy'.

<sup>5</sup> Aristotle, fr. 609 (= Dion. Hal. *Rom. Ant.* 1.72.3); see also Plut. *Quaest. Rom.* 6.

In addition to these, Kallias also, who wrote of the deeds of Agathokles, says that a certain woman named Rhome, a Trojan by nationality, came with the Trojans and married Latinus, who was king of Italy at the time. She bore him three children, Remus, Romulus, and Telegonus, the last of whom he said settled in other regions. But Remus and Romulus, sons of Latinus and the Trojan woman Rhome, founded the city and called it Rome after the name of their mother. And those from Latinus they called Latins, and those who were previously called Aborigines, they named Romans.<sup>1</sup>

On the other hand, the historian Xenagoras says that Remus, Antias, and Ardias were three sons of Odysseus and Kirke, who also founded and settled three cities named after them.<sup>2</sup>

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But Dionysios of Chalkis states that the founder of the city was Remus, who was according to some Ascanius' son, but according to others Emathion's son.

And there are other Greek historians who state that the city was founded by Remus the son of Italus and his mother Leuke, whereas others have different explanations.

Among the Roman annalists, who came later (for not one of them belongs to the distant past), there are some who say that Romulus and Remus were sons of Aeneas. Others, however, disclaiming knowledge of any father, say they were sons of Aeneas' daughter and were given by Aeneas to Latinus as a security for peace. Dying without sons, Aeneas apportioned a share of the kingdom to them.

On the other hand, some give this account: following the death of his father, Aeneas' son Ascanius shared power with his brothers Remus and Romulus. He founded Alba and other cities, whereas Remus founded Capua, named after his great-grandfather Capys, and Anchisa named after his grandfather Anchises, and Aeneia, which was subsequently named Janiculum, after the name of his father. And Rome he founded in his own name, which became uninhabited after some time and was resettled by the brothers Romulus and Remus. Thereafter they became leaders of the colony of the Albans, in the (7th) Olympiad, fifteen generations later.

Antiochos of Syracuse says that Rome was founded even before the Trojan War, when Morges was king of Italy from Taras as far as

<sup>1</sup> *FGrH* 564 F 5. Kallias was a historian from Syracuse, who composed a historical account of the reign of Agathokles, tyrant of Syracuse (316–289 BC).

<sup>2</sup> *FGrH* 240 F 29. Xenagoras was a Greek author of the 1st c. BC, who apparently composed a chronicle of Greek and Italian cities.

Poseidonia, after the first king, known as Italus, had become an old man.<sup>1</sup>

The above reports speak of the ancient settlements of Rome. However, as to her subsequent founding there are also conflicting reports: Timaios says that Rome was founded thirty-eight years before the 1st Olympiad;<sup>2</sup> Lucius Cincius, a member of the Roman senate, in the fourth year of the 12th Olympiad;<sup>3</sup> Fabius Quintus, at the beginning of the 8th Olympiad;<sup>4</sup> Porcius Cato, a man who was industrious in collecting information from ancient histories, 432 years after the Trojan War.<sup>5</sup> Calculated on the basis of the chronology of Eratosthenes, this date corresponds to the first year of the 7th Olympiad.<sup>6</sup>

229] Enough for our discussion of the date of Rome's founding and its founder and the naming of the Romans after him. Even before him, they were called Latins after Latinus, said to be the son of Herakles. Before Latinus they were called Aborigines, after the first born ancestors of the Romans before Latinus. For among the Romans, this is the meaning of the term 'Aborigines', who they say were the native-born peoples of Italy. And even before them, certain Sikeloi, a native-born and barbarian race, inhabited the region. Their history, which is even more remote, cannot be uncovered, as Dionysios of Halikarnassos states in his *Roman Antiquities*.<sup>7</sup>

### Concerning the origin of the Romans, from the seventh book of Diodoros of Sicily<sup>8</sup>

Some of the historians, then, have erroneously supposed that Romulus, born of Aeneas' daughter, founded Rome. But this is not true, since there were many kings in the period of time that elapsed between Aeneas and Romulus, the city having been founded in the second year of the 7th Olympiad. For the date of the founding of Rome was 433 years later than the Trojan War.

<sup>1</sup> *FGtH* 555 F 6. Antiochos was a Greek historian of the 5th c. BC, who composed a history of Sicily and Italy; Taras and Poseidonia are Tarentum and Paestum respectively.

<sup>2</sup> *FGtH* 566 F 60.

<sup>3</sup> *FGtH* 810 F 1 = *HRRel.*, L. Cincius Alimentus, fr. 4.

<sup>4</sup> *FGtH* 809 F 3 = *HRRel.*, Q. Fabius Pictor, fr. 6.

<sup>5</sup> *HRRel.*, M. Porcius Cato, fr. 17.

<sup>6</sup> *FGtH* 241 F 1<sup>b</sup>.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Dion. Hal. *Rom. Ant.* 1.43; Eus. 1.128.9-16; 135.29-136.6, quoting Dionysios.

<sup>8</sup> Diod. Sic. 7.5.1-5, also quoted in Eus. 1.136.25-137.21.



For Aeneas, when three years had elapsed after the conquest of Troy, received the kingship over the Latins. And after holding it for a period of three years, he disappeared from men and received immortal honours. His son Ascanius succeeded him to the throne and founded what is now called Alba Longa, which he named after the river which was then called the Alba, but is now called the Tiber.

Concerning this name, Fabius, who was the author of Roman annals, has a different legend. He states that an oracle came to Aeneas that a four-footed animal would guide him to the place for the founding of the city. When he was about to make an offering of a pregnant sow that was white in colour, it escaped from his hands and was pursued to a certain ridge. After being chased there, it gave birth to thirty piglets. Aeneas marvelled at this extraordinary event and in recollecting the oracle set about settling the area. But when he saw in his sleep a vision that distinctly forbade this and advised him to establish the city in another thirty years, which corresponded to the number of the newborn piglets, he abandoned his plan.

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### KINGS OF THE ROMANS<sup>1</sup>

(1) The first king of the Romans was Romulus, the sixteenth from Aeneas

38 years  
AM 4742<sup>2</sup>

Previously called Latins, the Romans received their name from Romulus.

This Romulus murdered his brother Remus and reigned alone. He founded and fortified the city of Rome in the 7th Olympiad, or, according to some in the 8th Olympiad, which would correspond to the dates of Achaz, in AM 4752.<sup>3</sup>

This first king is said to have made cities tributaries to Rome.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Continued from Synk.'s list of Latin kings, p. 279 (= Moss. 226.13). See Eus. 1.140.9, from Diod. Sic.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 279 (= Moss. 226.11-13), where Synk. states that the reign of Amulius Silvius, the last king of the Latins, began in AM 4717 and lasted for 23 years. By Synk.'s reckoning, the reign of the succeeding king would thus commence in 4740. Apparently, Synk. tacitly accepts here the tradition that Numitor reigned two additional years after Silvius (4740-1).

<sup>3</sup> On the dates of Achaz, see p. 290 (= Moss. 236.1-2): AM 4750 to 4755. For the founding of Rome in the 7th Olympiad, see Eus. 1.131.25, from Dion. Hal.; 140.4, from Diod. Sic.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.89<sup>a</sup>.

From the conquest of Ilion, which occurred in AM 4331, up to the founding of Rome and AM 4755, there are 424 years.<sup>1</sup>

Romulus was the first to conscript men from the citizenry. He created a senate of 100 elders and named patricians from them, and built temples and walls in Rome.<sup>2</sup>

Romulus died, assassinated in the Roman council.

In the thirteenth year of Romulus' reign, Rome was founded.

### KINGS OF THE ATHENIANS<sup>3</sup>

(27) The twenty-seventh king of the Athenians was Ariphron's son Thespieus

27 years,  
according  
to others  
40 years<sup>4</sup>  
AM 4671

(28) The twenty-eighth king of the Athenians was Thespieus' son Agamistor

17 years,  
according  
to others  
27 years<sup>5</sup>  
AM 4698

(29) The twenty-ninth king of the Athenians was Aischylos

14 years<sup>6</sup>  
AM 4715

231] At the end of the second year of Aischylos' rule and the beginning of his third year (he was the twenty-ninth king of the Athenians from Kekrops the Double-Natured their first king, and the twelfth of the archons for life), the 1st Olympiad was established, in the 4721st year from Adam and the thirty-ninth year of Azarias, king of Judah, as has been stated.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Apparently, Synk. knows two different dates for the founding of Rome, AM 4755 and 4752; cf. above, p. 283 (= Moss. 230.10). <sup>2</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.90<sup>d</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> Continued from p. 269 (= Moss. 217.20). Cf. Eus. 1.88.9-12, from Kastor of Rhodes.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Eus. 1.88.9-10, which does not supply the years of Thespieus' rule. But see Eus. 2.82.25-6 (27 years).

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Eus. 1.88.11 (17 years); 2.84.16 (20 years).

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Eus. 1.88.12 (23 years).

<sup>7</sup> See Eus. 2.86<sup>b</sup>, which dates the 1st Olympiad in 2 Aischylos. But cf. Eus. 1.88.13, which puts the 1st Olympiad in 12 Aischylos. Synk. himself gives conflicting dates for the 1st Olympiad. See below, p. 287 (= Moss. 233.7-8), where Synk. dates the 1st Olympiad to AM 4725, in 45 Ozias; but cf. p. 288 (= Moss. 234.12-14), where Synk. dates it to AM 4719.

An Olympiad is a term of four years among the Greeks. At the completion of this term and the beginning of the next year, the Olympic games used to be held. The Greeks have conflicting accounts as to how the games were introduced. Some of them say that the Olympic contest took its original form with the institution of the games by Alkmene's son Herakles, 600 years before our 1st Olympiad.<sup>1</sup> Others say that the contest was instituted by Aëthlios, hence the contestants are called 'athletes'.<sup>2</sup> After him came his son Epeios, then Endymion, then Alexinos, and after him Oinomaos. And after him, it is said, Pelops presided over the games and the offering as an honour to his native land. From Alkmene's son Herakles up to this time, they number ten generations. Others say that there were three complete Olympiads up to Iphitos, who revived the games.<sup>3</sup> For, they say, he was an Elean responsible for the affairs of Hellas, who in his zeal to halt warfare among the cities of the whole Peloponnese, sent envoys to inquire about putting an end to the warfare. He received the following oracle from the Pythia: 'Inhabitants of the Peloponnese, when you go to the altar, make an offering and follow whatever instructions the oracles give you, with the Eleans as devoted ministers overseeing ancestral law.' And to the Eleans the oracle proclaimed the following: 'Rescue this country of yours, refrain from conflict as leaders of a mutual alliance (among the Greeks), until there comes a year of friendship at the festivals.'<sup>4</sup>

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For this reason, Iphitos announced that an armistice had been decreed in an oracle by Herakles to promote civilized conduct, and they did not lay hands on one another. Now Iphitos, a descendant of Herakles, and his kinsman Lykourgos instituted the games; both of them were Herakleidai. There was at that time only a single-course race, and no one was registered as a prizewinner, since back then they were negligent in these matters. But at the twenty-eighth Olympiad, Koroibos an Elean was recorded as the victor of a single-course race, and the Olympiad in his time was fixed as the first, on the basis of which the Greeks believe that their reckoning

<sup>1</sup> Cf. above, pp. 248, 251 (= Moss. 201.9-10; 203.23-4), where Synk. states that 470 or 430 years elapsed from Herakles' institution of the games up to the 1st Olympiad. See also Eus. 2.59<sup>c</sup> (430 years before the 1st Olympiad); Clem. Al. *Strom.* 1.21.137.2-4 (462 years).

<sup>2</sup> Eus. 1.89.21-3. According to Paus. 5.1-8, Aëthlios was the first to rule Elis.

<sup>3</sup> Eus. 1.89.23-9.

<sup>4</sup> Eus. 1.89.30-90.8.

of chronology has some degree of accuracy. This is what Aristodemos reports and Polybios is in agreement with him.<sup>1</sup> But Kallimachos says that thirteen Olympiads passed by unrecorded, and that Koroibos an Elean was a victor in the fourteenth.<sup>2</sup> From all this, we can demonstrate therefore that the tradition about the Olympiads is not entirely uniform. Hence there has also been disagreement among the church historians, as those who wish can learn by reading their works. Now we have endeavoured to achieve only this goal: to set forth a clear overview of the main points for the uninformed. This is not because something is said in divine scriptures about Olympiads. Rather it is because the tradition concerning the Olympiads came to be used by many church fathers, insofar as they were a unit of measurement among the Macedonians, the Romans, the Persians, the Egyptians, and even the Jews, as Philo and Josephos attest, who explicitly refer to them.<sup>3</sup>

It would not be inappropriate to explain briefly for the uninformed the Egyptian concept of the four-year Olympiads as well, since it is rather different from the Athenian concept. For the moon is properly speaking called 'Olympiad' by the Egyptians, because monthly it completes a revolution of the zodiac, which the ancient Egyptians used to call 'Olympos'.

Proceeding from Cancer, its own house, as from a cardinal point in the ecliptic, it encompasses the twelve signs of the Zodiac in 29½ days and 33⅓ minutes. In the entire yearly cycle, it traverses these signs twelve times, completing 354 days, eight hours, and 40 minutes. But the sun traverses the same Olympos in 365¼ days. The result is that the lunar year is 10 days, 21 hours, and 5 minutes shorter than the solar year. Thus, in a single four-year Olympiad, the sun completes 1461 days, whereas the moon completes 1417 days, 11 hours, and 29 minutes, so that it is 1½ lunar cycles (less).<sup>4</sup> In two Olympiads, there are 99 lunar cycles and 2922 days, the number of days completed by the sun in eight years.

So much for the Egyptian view of Olympiads. But of the Olympiads among the Athenians, there have been recorded the victors of only 248 single-course races, for 989 years, beginning from

<sup>1</sup> Aristodemos, *FGrH* 414 F 1; Polybios, *FGrH* 254 F 2.

<sup>2</sup> Eus. 1.90.8–26.

<sup>3</sup> See e.g. *Jos. Ant.* 12.248, 321; 13.236; 14.4, 66, 389. For Philo's reference to the Olympic contests (but not Olympiad dating), see *Immut.* 147.1; *Agr.* 119.1; *Cont.* 42; *Virt.* 36.193.

<sup>4</sup> The difference between the 'lunar' and 'solar' Olympiad is 43 d. 12 h. 29 m., which is slightly less than 1½ lunar cycles (= 44 d. 6 h. 50 m.).

AM 4725, that is from the forty-fifth year of Ozias, and extending up to AM 5714.<sup>1</sup>

Eusebios computes the 1st Olympiad at the time of Joatham, who became king of Judah eight years later, and he cites Africanus as agreeing with him on this.<sup>2</sup> But Africanus contradicts him, and states clearly in both the third and fourth books of his histories that the 1st Olympiad was begun in the first year of Achaz. There he states the following: 'The fourteenth Olympiad was the first one that was registered, when Koroibos won the single-course race. At that time Achas was in the first year of his reign in Jerusalem.' Then in the fourth book he says: 'This then was the first year of the reign of Achas, with which we have shown the 1st Olympiad coincides.'<sup>3</sup>

#### KINGS OF THE MEDES<sup>4</sup>

(1) The first king of the Medes was Arbakes. He dissolved the Assyrian empire and reigned	28 years <sup>5</sup> AM 4676
(2) The second king of the Medes was Mandaukes	20 years AM 4704
(3) The third king of the Medes was Sosarmos	30 years AM 4724
(4) The fourth king of the Medes was Artykas	30 years AM 4754
(5) The fifth king of the Medes was Dioikes	54 years
The Median king Dioikes founded the great and celebrated city of Ekbatana. <sup>6</sup>	AM 4784

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<sup>1</sup> Synk. states below (p. 289 = Moss. 235.13-14) that 1 Ozias was AM 4682. His 45th year would then be AM 4726.

<sup>2</sup> Eus. 2.86<sup>b</sup>: 'Africanus writes that the 1st Olympiad occurred in the time of Joatham, king of the Hebrews.' In Jerome's version of the *Canons*, Eusebios dates Ol. 1.1 to 50 Azarias, three years before the reign of Joatham. The Armenian version equates Ol. 1.1 with 49 Azarias. Cf. also Eus. *PE* 10.14.5, where Eusebios puts the 1st Olympiad in the reign of Achaz.

<sup>3</sup> Routh, fr. 37.

<sup>4</sup> Eus. 1.32.20-5. The names of the Median kings that appear in the Latin version of the *Canons*, however, are quite different: (1) Arbaces, 28 years; (2) Sosarmus, 30 years; (3) Madydus, 40 years; (4) Cardyceas, 13 years; (5) Deioces (Dioikes), 53 years.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.83<sup>b</sup>; Diod. Sic. 2.24-8, 32.5-6.

<sup>6</sup> Eus. 2.91<sup>d</sup>.

### KINGS OF THE MACEDONIANS<sup>1</sup>

Karanos, the Argive brother of Pheidon,<sup>2</sup> who was Argive king at that time, aspired to acquire territory for himself. He received an army from his brother Pheidon, and from Argos and the rest of the Peloponnese attacked the area of Macedonia. He also made an alliance with the king of the Orestai<sup>3</sup> against his neighbours, known as the Eordanoi; once their land was taken, he received half of it through his alliance. And he obtained Macedonia as well and built a city there in accordance with an oracle. Starting from there, he established the Macedonian kingdom, which his descendants received in succession. Karanos was the eleventh king descended from Herakles, and the seventh from Temenos, who came down to the Peloponnese with the other Herakleidai.

(1) The first king of the Macedonians was Karanos 30 years  
AM 4701

This was eighteen years before the 1st Olympiad.<sup>4</sup> From Karanos, the first king of the Macedonians, until Alexander the founder, there were 24 Macedonian kings, who reigned for (480) years.<sup>5</sup>

When he was ruler of Argos, Pheidon, the brother of Karanos the first king of the Macedonians, was the first to discover measures and weights, according to some;<sup>6</sup> but these things were in existence before him.

(2) The second king of the Macedonians was Koinos 28 years<sup>7</sup>  
AM 4731

### UNIVERSAL YEARS

(9) The ninth king of Judah was Joas' son<sup>8</sup> Amesias 29 years<sup>9</sup>  
AM 4653

Amesias launched an invasion against the Idumaeans and the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Eus. I.107.20-8 (= Diod. Sic. 7.15.1).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the excerpt from Diod. Sic. below, p. 382 (= Moss. 316.11), according to which Karanos was the son of Pheidon.

<sup>3</sup> A people of northern Epeiros, on the borders of Macedonia.

<sup>4</sup> This dating of the 1st Olympiad in AM 4719 conflicts with the dating that Synk. gives previously; see above, pp. 284, 286-7 (= Moss. 231.3; 233.7-8). Gelzer (ii. 224) attributes this dating of the Olympiad era to Panodoros.

<sup>5</sup> Eus. I.108.13-17 (from Diod. Sic.). Mosshammer supplies the number 480 from Eusebios.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.84<sup>e</sup>; Herodot. 6.127; Strabo 8.3.33; Pliny, *NH* 7.198.

<sup>7</sup> Eus. I.107.29-30.

<sup>8</sup> Lit. 'his son'.

<sup>9</sup> 4 Kgdms. 14.1-2.

sons of Seïr. After defeating them, he seized their gods. Upon bringing them back to Jerusalem, he performed devotion to them. [235

In the war, 3000 men from Judah were killed by the ten tribes.<sup>1</sup>

The events involving Naieman the commander-in-chief of the king of Syria, and how he was delivered from leprosy. Owing to his greed for money, Elissaios' servant Giezei also contracted this disease, because he lied to the prophet.<sup>2</sup>

The iron head of the axe slipped away from a prophet as he was cutting wood by the Jordan. The prophet recovered it when, at the command of Elissaios, it floated to the surface like a piece of wood.<sup>3</sup>

When an insurrection arose, Amesias was killed after fleeing to Lacheis.<sup>4</sup> He reigned for 29 years

(10) The tenth king of Judah was Azarias, also known as Ozias, son of Amesias 52 years<sup>5</sup>

AM 4682

A godly man, he made war against the Gentiles who dwelt in neighbouring lands and seized a great number of their cities. Extremely industrious, he guarded the cities with towers and walls and supplied the desert with cisterns of water.<sup>6</sup>

This Ozias tried to enter into the sanctuary, but when Azarias the high priest intercepted him, he contracted leprosy. He was isolated from contact with others because of the disgrace; his son Joatham judged Judah in his stead.<sup>7</sup>

Amos, Oseë, and Esaïas were prophesying.<sup>8</sup>

The 1st Olympiad began in the forty-fifth year of Ozias.<sup>9</sup>

(11) The eleventh king of Judah was Ozias' son Joatham

16 years<sup>10</sup>

AM 4734

The beginning of the 3rd Olympiad was in the first year<sup>a</sup> of Joatham's reign.

Joatham, a godly man, built the gate to the house of the Lord, and imposed taxes on the Ammonites.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Text: *Ἀρχὴ ὀλυμπιάδος γ' πρώτη Ἰωάθαμ.* Mosshammer suggests emending *πρώτη* to *α' ἔτει*, the reading followed here.

<sup>1</sup> 2 Paralip. 25.11-14.

<sup>2</sup> 4 Kgdms. 5.14-27.

<sup>3</sup> 4 Kgdms. 6.1-7.

<sup>4</sup> See 4 Kgdms. 14.19.

<sup>5</sup> 4 Kgdms. 15.1-2.

<sup>6</sup> 2 Paralip. 26.6-10.

<sup>7</sup> 2 Paralip. 26.16-21.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.84<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. above, p. 284 (= Moss. 231.4); Eus. 2.86.1-8 (49 Ozias).

<sup>10</sup> 4 Kgdms. 15.32-3.

<sup>11</sup> 2 Paralip. 27.2-3, 5; 4 Kgdms. 15.34-5.

Oseë, Joel, Esaïas, Oded, and Michaias were continuing to prophesy.<sup>1</sup>

Joatham built most extensively in Jerusalem.<sup>2</sup>

236] (12) The twelfth king of Judah was Achaz 16 years<sup>3</sup>

AM 4750

When Achaz met with Theglaphalasar in Damascus, he saw a certain idol altar. After taking its measurements, he sent to Ourias the high priest in Jerusalem, with orders to make one similar to it. Upon his return there, he made an offering on the altar to the gods of the Syrians. And he closed the temple of God.<sup>4</sup>

Esaïas, Oseë, and Michaias were continuing to prophesy.<sup>5</sup>

(13) The thirteenth king of Judah was Ezekias 29 years<sup>6</sup>

AM 4766

Ezekias, son of Achaz and Rhabouna,<sup>7</sup> the daughter of Zacharias, was more godly than all the previous kings in Jerusalem who succeeded David. He utterly destroyed the idol temples and tore down their columns. He did away with the perfumes that had been burnt by the Jews in the high places from Solomon up to his time. And he cut down the sacred groves. He removed, along with the other remaining abominations, the bronze serpent that Moses lifted up in the wilderness, to which the people up to his time had burnt incense and paid devotion.<sup>8</sup>

And so Ezekias, the king of Judah, after tearing down the idol temples and cutting down the sacred groves and destroying the bronze serpent, began to put to death those of the Jews who were found to be idolaters. For they were so devoted to idolatry that they painted the abominations of the Gentiles behind their doorways and worshipped them. They did this so that when the doors were opened, the paintings might be concealed from those whom Ezekias sent to search for them. Now there was also a certain writing of Solomon inscribed on the gate of the temple containing a remedy for every disease. In their devotion to this writing and their belief that they possessed cures, the people were scorning God. For this reason, Ezekias also carved out this writing, so that when they fell

<sup>1</sup> Eus. 2.87<sup>b</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> 2 Paralip. 27.3-4.

<sup>3</sup> 4 Kgdms. 16.1-2.

<sup>4</sup> 4 Kgdms. 16.10-18.

<sup>5</sup> 2 Paralip. 28.24.

<sup>6</sup> 4 Kgdms. 18.1.

<sup>7</sup> Correctly Abi (MT)/Abou (LXX).

<sup>8</sup> 4 Kgdms. 18.2-4.



ill, they might turn to God.<sup>1</sup> He waged war on the Philistines as far as Gaza.<sup>2</sup>

Before this he revolted from the Assyrians, to whom he was subject. He restored the walls of Jerusalem, which had been destroyed, and then he encircled the city with a second fortification. And because of the enemy's need for water, he did away with the sources of water around the city, and diverted only the spring of Siloam inside the city.<sup>3</sup>

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When Senachereim attacked him and plundered the cities around him, he petitioned him to be forgiven for his rebellion, and gave him 300 talents of silver and 30 of gold. Senachereim took them, but did not depart. Instead, he sent his general Rhapsakes along with a heavily armed force of soldiers against Jerusalem, and put into writing threats against Ezekias and blasphemies against God. After spreading out the text of this writing before the Lord, Ezekias was encouraged by the prophet Esaias not to fear the impious, because they would be afflicted by God.

Then an angel of the Lord miraculously destroyed at night 185,000 men from the Assyrian camp. And Senachereim, together with the remnants of his army, retreated to Assyria in disgrace, upon hearing that Barathach,<sup>4</sup> the king of the Ethiopians, was also coming to do battle with him. After his arrival in Nineveh, he began abusing the captives from Israel, and he himself was killed by his own sons.<sup>5</sup>

Now when Ezekias the king fell sick unto death in the fifteenth year of his reign, an injunction against his life was decreed by Esaias. And after repenting and weeping to God, he received an additional fifteen years of life. This was confirmed by a miraculous sign, when throughout the entire inhabited world the ascent of the sun regressed ten degrees from its natural motion, so that that day alone was without the night due to it for twenty-two hours. This

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Chron. pasch.* 214.2-7; *Kedr.* i. 166.10-12; *Suda*, s.v. *Ἐζεκίας*; Leo Gramm. 36.6-7; *Georg. Mon.* i. 199.15-18; 222.5-8. This tradition, which the *Chronicon paschale* attributes to the Hebrews, is well known in rabbinic sources, which do not, however, attribute the book of remedies to Solomon; see *b. Ber.* 10b; *b. Ned.* 6.40a; *b. Sanh.* 1.18d; *b. Pesah.* 56a. For discussion, see L. Ginzberg, *Legends*, vi. 369 n. 90; D. Halperin, 'The Book of Remedies, the Canonization of the Solomonic Writings, and the Riddle of Pseudo-Eusebius', *JQR* 72 (1982), 269-92.

<sup>2</sup> 4 Kgdms. 18.8.

<sup>3</sup> 2 Paralip. 32.1-5.

<sup>4</sup> Correctly Tirhakah (MT)/Tharaka (LXX).

<sup>5</sup> 4 Kgdms. 18.13-19.37.

Ezekias, it is said, used to exercise continence before his illness, in the hope that he would earn immortality thereby, and thinking in this respect of the verse, 'a leader shall not depart from Judah.'<sup>1</sup> But when he grew weak by disease, he arose and prayed that he would have children.<sup>2</sup>

238] Now Marodach Baladan was awe-struck by the sign of the sun's regression, and upon hearing what had happened in relation to Ezekias' affliction, he sent out envoys and gifts, rejoicing with him over his life. But Ezekias, having ceased to recount the mighty acts of God, began to put on display the wealth in the palace. Now Esaias chastised him for his boastfulness and foretold that as a penalty the things he had put on display for the enemy would be captured.<sup>3</sup>

Ezekias irrigated Jerusalem with water.<sup>4</sup>

During his reign, Michaias prophesied against Jerusalem that Zion would be ploughed as a field and Jerusalem would be desolate, and he was not killed by Ezekias.<sup>5</sup>

In Ezekias' fourteenth year, AM 4778, Senachereim, king of the Assyrians, went up to the strong cities of Judah and seized them. And Ezekias gave him all the silver of the house of the Lord and the house of the king.<sup>6</sup>

(10) The tenth king of Israel was Joachaz, the son of Jeou

17 years

He was bound by a truce with the Syrians, but subsequently made war against them and delivered Israel.<sup>7</sup>

AM 4638

(11) The eleventh king of Israel was Joas

16 years<sup>8</sup>

AM 4655

After Joas the king of Israel had put Judah to flight in battle, he seized Amesias the king of Judah and destroyed the walls of Jerusalem, 400 cubits in length. After despoiling the city, he returned to Samaria.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Gen. 49.10.

<sup>2</sup> For the extra-biblical Jewish tradition about Ezekias' childlessness before his affliction, see *Jos. Ant.* 10.23-7. According to Josephos, he fell into despair when he saw that he was about to die without leaving a successor. In order to ensure the continuation of the royal line, God prolonged his life an additional 15 years. According to a rabbinic tradition, Ezekias preferred a celibate life because he foresaw the impiety of his children; see *b. Ber.* 10a.

<sup>4</sup> 4 Kgdms. 20.20.

<sup>6</sup> 4 Kgdms. 18.13-16.

<sup>8</sup> 4 Kgdms. 13.10.

<sup>3</sup> 4 Kgdms. 20; Isa. 38-9.

<sup>5</sup> Mic. 3.12.

<sup>7</sup> 4 Kgdms. 13.1-5.

<sup>9</sup> 4 Kgdms. 14.11-14.

At this time, Oseë, Amos, Jonas, and Naoum began to prophesy,<sup>1</sup> at which time Jonas, upon being sent out to Nineveh, fled to Tharseis. Swallowed by a huge fish, he was disgorged on the third day.<sup>2</sup> Africanus states that Tharseis is Rhodes or Cyprus.<sup>3</sup>

(12) The twelfth king of Israel was Joas' son Jeroboam

41 years

He restored the territories of Israel, in accordance with the prophecy of Jonas, the son of the prophet Amathi the Getthaian.<sup>4</sup>

AM 4671

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(13) The thirteenth king of Israel was Zacharias 6 months

(14) Succeeding him was Seloum, the fourteenth king

30 days

After slaying him, Gadi's son Manaëm reigns over Israel

10 years<sup>5</sup>

AM 4712

(15) The fifteenth king of Israel was Manaëm

12 years

Most of the manuscripts have '10 years'.<sup>6</sup>

AM 4712<sup>7</sup>

Those who refused to accept him he killed in graves, and impiously cut open pregnant women.<sup>8</sup>

(16) The sixteenth king of Israel was Manaëm's son Phakesias

10 years

Africanus says it was two years.<sup>9</sup>

AM 4724

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.84<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> Jonah 1.1-3; 2.1.

<sup>3</sup> Lit. 'Rhodes and Cyprus'. See Routh, fr. 32; cf. Jos. *Ant.* 9.209, which identifies Tharseis with Tarsos in Cilicia.

<sup>4</sup> 4 Kgdms. 14.23-5.

<sup>5</sup> 4 Kgdms. 15.8, 10, 13, 17. The 10 years of Manaëm's reign contradict the 12 years that Synk. assigns to his reign in the next sentence. This would suggest that Synk. originally wrote 10 years, and then corrected it to 12 years.

<sup>6</sup> Synk. rejects the majority of manuscripts because 12 years for the reign of Manaëm is better suited to his chronology of the divided kingdoms of Judah and Israel; see below, pp. 295-6 (= Moss. 240.3-31) and Gelzer ii. 243.

<sup>7</sup> Text: ,δψιβ'. AB: ,δψκβ' ('4722'). The number found in the manuscripts probably represents a confusion created by Synk.'s double listing of years for Manaëm's reign (first 10 and then 12). The copyist saw 10 years for Manaëm and added this to 4712, without recognizing that Synk. rejected it in favour of 12 years.

<sup>8</sup> 4 Kgdms. 15.16.

<sup>9</sup> Routh, fr. 33; see also Gelzer i. 99-100. For the reign of Phakesias, MSS at LXX 4 Kgdms. 15.23 are divided between two and ten years.

After slaying Phakesias, Rhomelias' son Phakeë reigned over Israel.<sup>1</sup>

(17) The seventeenth king of Israel was Rhomelias' son Phakeë  
28 years,  
based on an  
accurate  
calculation<sup>2</sup>  
AM 4734

In this way we shall find that the ninth year of Oseë, the eighteenth and final king of the ten tribes of Israel, corresponds with the sixth year of Ezekias, king of Judah. This is both reasonable<sup>a</sup> and in accordance with scripture. In that year Israel's first captivity occurred. There are, however, some manuscripts that assign twenty years for Phakeë, as do Africanus and Eusebios, and others assign eighteen years.<sup>3</sup> But there is no need to heed them, based on the compelling reason already cited.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Text: οὐ καλῶς. Following Di., emended to καλῶς.

<sup>1</sup> 4 Kgdms. 15.25.

<sup>2</sup> 4 Kgdms. 15.27. For the reign of Phakeë, most LXX MSS give 20 years, the reading also found in the MT and Vulgate. For Synk.'s calculation of 28 years, see below, n. 4.

<sup>3</sup> Routh, fr. 34; Eus. 2.86.22.

<sup>4</sup> In what follows, Synk. assumes the task of synchronizing the reigns of the kings of Judah and Israel, a problem on which he claims to have expended much effort; see below, p. 295 (= Moss. 240.2). Three verses in 4 Kgdms. anchor his analysis: (a) 4 Kgdms. 17.1, which states that in the 12th year of the Judahite king Achaz, Oseë began his 9-year rule in Samaria; (b) 4 Kgdms. 18.9, which states that 4 Ezekias corresponded to 7 Oseë; (c) 4 Kgdms. 18.10, according to which Oseë's 9-year rule ended with the capture of Samaria by the Assyrian king Shalmaneser, corresponding to 6 Ezekias (AM 4771, according to Synk.'s reckoning). To validate these synchronisms, Synk. has to resolve a discrepancy created by the chronology of the reign of Phakeë, Oseë's immediate predecessor. Synk. knows that most biblical manuscripts assigned to Phakeë's reign either 18 or 20 years, the latter chronology endorsed by Africanus and Eusebios (2.86.22) as well; see Gelzer i. 100. Accepting either date, however, would mean that Oseë ascended the throne several years before the required 12 Achaz. A chance discovery of a biblical manuscript made from a copy corrected by Basil of Caesarea helped to settle the matter. According to this copy, Phakeë reigned 28 years, a reading that, in Synk.'s own words, would bring the beginning of the reign of Oseë 'close' to 12 Achaz; see below, p. 295 (= Moss. 240.12-18). The reading of 28 years is found in LXX MSS hivznu (ed. Brooke-McLean).

Phakeë, the king of Israel, and Rhasson, the king of Syria, made war against Achaz, and destroyed 120,000 men of Judah in a single day. And they took captive 200,000 women and children, whom they released at the advice of Jobel<sup>1</sup> the prophet.<sup>2</sup>

After sending the silver in the treasuries to the king of the Assyrians Theglaphasar, Achaz brought him in to help him. This was in defiance of the prophet Esaias' interdiction, when he gave as a sign the young maiden that would conceive. Upon his arrival, Theglaphasar ravaged Syria and Israel and resettled most of the people among the Assyrians.<sup>3</sup>

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Oseë killed Phakeë and became king.<sup>4</sup>

I have expended much labour on the question of chronological agreement between the two kingdoms of the Hebrews that after Solomon were divided up to the time of Ezekias the king of Judah and Oseë, the eighteenth king of Israel and the last king of Samaria. This is because the sacred records of the kings do not reveal exactly in which year of the kings of Judah each of the rulers in Samaria began to reign, nor again in which year of the kings of Israel each of the kings in Jerusalem began to rule. It was only with difficulty that I was able to discover that the first year of Oseë corresponds to the twelfth year of Achaz, because nearly all the copies of scripture say that Rhomelias' son Phakeë ruled the ten tribes in Samaria for either eighteen or twenty years.

But in one manuscript, I found twenty-eight years for Phakeë's reign. This manuscript, very precisely marked for both punctuation and pronunciation, came to me from the library of Caesarea in Cappadocia. It bears an inscription that the great and divine Basil collated and corrected the biblical exemplar from which that copy was made. And by making a comparison, I determined that, on the basis of Kingdoms, the first year of Oseë comes close rather to the aforementioned twelfth year of Achaz.<sup>5</sup> This is how I made the calculation:

Fourth Kingdoms says verbatim, 'In the twelfth year of Achaz, king of Judah, Ela's son Oseë became king in Samaria over Israel, for nine years.'<sup>6</sup> Now if we grant, in accordance with most copies

<sup>1</sup> Correctly Oded.

<sup>2</sup> See 4 Kgdms. 16.5; 2 Paralip. 28.5-15.

<sup>3</sup> 4 Kgdms. 16.7-9; 2 Paralip. 28.20-3; Isa. 7.10-16.

<sup>4</sup> 4 Kgdms. 15.30.

<sup>5</sup> Based on Synk.'s count of the years, Phakeë's rule of 28 years ended in 4761. Oseë ascended to the throne in AM 4762; 12 Achaz occurred in AM 4761. That is why Synk. states that 12 Achaz is close to 1 Oseë.

<sup>6</sup> 4 Kgdms. 17.1.

(which Eusebios too followed), that Phakeë ruled for either eighteen or even twenty years, the reign of Oseë will be found to begin at the completion of the second year of Achaz and the beginning of his third.<sup>1</sup> But the end of his reign, which is the ninth year of this same Oseë, would be in the eleventh year of Achaz. And the same text of divine scripture will be found to be in error, not only in this, but when it then states: 'And it came to pass in the fourth year of King Ezekias, which is the seventh year of Ela's son Oseë, king of Israel, that the Assyrian king Salmanasar went up against Samaria' and so forth.<sup>2</sup> Now Ezekias' fourth year is not seven, but fourteen years from the eighteenth year of Phakeë, and the second year of Achaz—this is double the amount, and agrees with the accurate calculation.<sup>3</sup> In his *Canon*, Eusebios arranged the ninth year of Oseë in the eleventh year of Achaz king of Judah, which is entirely contradictory.<sup>4</sup>

241] (18) The eighteenth and final king of Israel was Oseë

9 years<sup>5</sup>  
AM 4762

### KINGS OF THE CHALDAEANS

The first year of Nabonasar, the king of the Chaldaeans, is to be numbered from AM 4746; from him up to the death of Alexander of Macedon, 424 years must be counted. Thus, from Adam up to the death of Alexander, there are 5170 years.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> If one accepts 18 years for the rule of Phakeë, then Oseë ascended to the throne in AM 4752. Since Achaz began his rule in AM 4750, 1 Oseë corresponds with the beginning of 3 Achaz, in contradiction to the statement in 4 Kgdms. that Oseë assumed rule in 12 Achaz.

<sup>2</sup> 4 Kgdms. 18.9. Synk.'s argument is as follows: If one accepts 18 years for Phakeë's reign, this results in a contradiction with 4 Kgdms. 17.1 (as just noted). Assuming 18 years for Phakeë would also mean that 7 Oseë (AM 4758) occurred in 9 Achaz, in contradiction to the chronology of 4 Kgdms. 18.9. Finally, the end of Oseë's reign (AM 4760) would correspond to 11 Achaz—a historical impossibility, given the express statement in 4 Kgdms. 18.10 that Ezekias was king of Judah when Oseë's reign ended.

<sup>3</sup> Assuming that Phakeë ruled for 18 years (ending in AM 4751) would mean that 4 Ezekias occurred 7 years later in 4758. According to Synk.'s calculation, 18 Phakeë is AM 4751, which corresponds to 2 Achaz, while 4 Ezekias occurred in AM 4769—a difference of 18 years rather than 14 years.

<sup>4</sup> Eus. 2.88.19.

<sup>5</sup> 4 Kgdms. 17.1.

<sup>6</sup> For further discussion, see below, p. 381 (= Moss. 315.1-11).

Salmanasar, who was also known as Nabonasar, was the first king of the Chaldaeans

26 years<sup>1</sup>

AM 4746

The Assyrian king Salmanasar went against Oseë and made Samaria and Israel subjects. Then, upon finding out that Oseë had sent an envoy to Adramelech, king of Ethiopia (the one near Egypt),<sup>2</sup> and to the Egyptian king Segor to come to his aid, he confined Oseë under guard and took as prisoners the ten tribes of Israel.<sup>3</sup>

In this seventh year of Oseë, their last king, the siege of the kingdom of the Hebrew kings who ruled the so-called ten tribes of Israel in Samaria commenced. This was the beginning of Ezekias' fourth year, as Fourth Kingdoms states, 'It came to pass in the fourth year of Ezekias (this was the seventh year of Oseë son of Ela king of Israel) that Salmanasar king of the Assyrians came up against Samaria and set siege to it. And he overthrew it at the end of three years in the sixth year of Ezekias (this is the ninth year of Oseë king of Israel). And Samaria was taken and the king of the Assyrians carried away Samaria to the Assyrians and set them in Chalchal and on the Abor the river of Gozan and Orë of the Medes,<sup>4</sup> because they did not heed the voice of the Lord their God.'<sup>5</sup>

Israel's first captivity was to the Assyrians, which occurred in the beginning of Ezekias' sixth year, at the end of AM 4770. This kingdom of the ten tribes in Samaria extended from their first king Jeroboam servant of Solomon, over a period of 18 kings and 260 years. It began in AM 4513 and ended in the year demonstrated, AM 4771.<sup>6</sup> According to Africanus, this was the year 4750,<sup>7</sup> and according to Eusebios the year 4455. Now Eusebios of Caesarea reckoned the chronology as 250 years and others as 256 years.<sup>8</sup> But the more

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<sup>1</sup> This list of Chaldaean kings continues below on p. 305 (= Moss. 248.2).

<sup>2</sup> As opposed to that supposed to lie near India.

<sup>3</sup> 4 Kgdms. 17.3-6. In v. 4 some MSS substitute 'Adramelech the Ethiopian, dwelling in Egypt' for 'Segor king of Egypt'; cf. too *Chron. pasch.* 200.10-12.

<sup>4</sup> Text: ὄρη Μήδων. Cf. below, p. 299 (= Moss. 243.1): ὄρεσι Μήδων ('mountains of the Medes'). Both readings are attested in LXX MSS.

<sup>5</sup> 4 Kgdms. 18.9-12.

<sup>6</sup> On the year 4513 as the beginning of the reign of the kings of Israel, see above, p. 274 (= Moss. 221.14-15).

<sup>7</sup> Routh, fr. 38.

<sup>8</sup> Eus. 2.88<sup>c</sup>. According to Eus. 2.72<sup>a</sup>, the kingdom of the tribes in Samaria began a.Abr. 1021, and extended 250 years up to a.Abr. 1271. Since Eusebios counted 2242 years from Adam to the Flood, and 942 years from the Flood to Abraham (see Eus. 2.250.21-3), the total number of years from Adam to

accurate calculation, and the one more consistent with the book of Kingdoms, is that the completion of the ninth year of Oseë intersects with the beginning of the sixth year of Ezekias. And thus we should conclude that the end of the ninth year of Oseë is the beginning of the sixth year of Ezekias. This is the right way to conceive the matter.

From the captivity of the ten tribes of Israel in Samaria which took place under Salmanasar came Tobias; he was a man of the highest virtue from the tribe of Naphtali in the city of Nineveh. When he was discovered burying those who had been killed by Salmanasar<sup>1</sup> and the rest of the Chaldaeans, he abandoned his possessions and fled. But when Senachereim was killed by his children and Salmanasar died, Senachereim's son Archedon, king of the Assyrians, appointed Tobias' nephew Archikaros as the overseer of his accounts. He requested Tobias and received him from the hand of the king.<sup>2</sup> Now after burying one of the Hebrews in the heat of the day, he fell asleep in the court by the wall under a nest of sparrows. And his eyes were blinded by a discharge of excrement from the sparrows.<sup>3</sup>

Now when he was very old and blind, he sent his son Tobias to Gabaël, one of his kinsmen in Rhagai of Media,<sup>4</sup> to bring back a deposit of ten talents that he had left in trust.<sup>5</sup> After leaving and seeking out a guide for hire, he unknowingly found Raphael the archangel.<sup>6</sup> From him, he learnt about the gall of the fish, and its liver and heart. He performed deeds involving a kinswoman possessed by a demon, and upon his return opened his father's eyes.<sup>7</sup>

For the captivity now under consideration, I deem it necessary to investigate how this can be: if the Assyrian kingdom had been destroyed ninety-six years earlier by Arbakes the Mede and transferred by him to the Medes, how is it that scripture refers to Salmanasar as an Assyrian king? And how does it say that the ten

the first captivity comes to 4455 years (2242 + 942 + 1271). According to Synk., Africanus dated 8 Solomon to AM 4457; see p. 265 (= Moss. 213.4-5). Thus the last year of his 40-year reign would be 4489. If we assume that Africanus dated the beginning of the reign of the kings of Israel from the following year (AM 4490), Africanus counted 260 years from 1 Jeroboam to AM 4750. For a differing analysis of Africanus' system, see Gelzer i. 100.

<sup>1</sup> Senachereim according to Tobit 1.18.

<sup>2</sup> Tob. 1.1, 10-22.

<sup>4</sup> Modern Rai.

<sup>6</sup> Tobit 5.4-9.

<sup>3</sup> Tob. 2.7-10.

<sup>5</sup> Tobit 4.20-1.

<sup>7</sup> Tobit 6.1-9; 11.1-14.



tribes were removed to the Assyrians,<sup>1</sup> and then go on to say that the region where they were resettled was in Chalchal and in Abor, rivers of Gozan and the mountains of the Medes?<sup>2</sup> Now it is clear that although there was a succession of kings from the Median nation after Arbakes, it was known both as the kingdom of the Assyrians because of the nobility and antiquity of their sovereignty and the name of the region, and as the kingdom of the Medes, because of their recent rise to power and because the region came to be known as Media. In my opinion, Salmanasar might fairly be considered the one who succeeded Arbakes as king of the Assyrians and Medes. For while he was prince of the Assyrians, he was now subject to Median hegemony. Thus the authors of Babylonian histories say that Arbakes transferred the royal name and wealth to the Medes, but appointed Belesys as Assyrian king, obviously subordinate to him.<sup>3</sup> And the kings who then succeeded him were appointed by the Medes, as some believed, up until the eighth king Dareios, also known as Astyages, who was king of the Assyrians and Medes. Upon slaying him, Cyrus transferred rule to the Persians, as some believe. But others claim that after Sardanapalos, Ninos also held sway over the Assyrian domain. For example, Kastor says the following at some point in his *Canon*: 'First in our sequence are the Assyrian kings, who ruled from the time of Belos. But because the tradition about the years of Belos' reign are vague, we mention his name, but we have commenced our chronography from Ninos. And we have concluded with the Ninos who succeeded Sardanapalos to the throne.'<sup>4</sup>

On the basis of the names mentioned in divine scripture, it is clear that before Cyrus' kingdom, three empires succeeded Sardanapalos. A tradition prevails that up to Sardanapalos the Assyrians ruled over the other two peoples, namely the Medes and the Chaldaeans. But after Sardanapalos, the Medes at one time ruled the Assyrians, and at another time the Chaldaeans did. In a separate list, we have already arranged the chronology of the Median empire beginning with Arbakes. However, we still have to establish the sequence for the Chaldaean kingdom. Beginning with Salmanasar,

<sup>1</sup> According to Synk., the kingdom of the ten tribes of Israel was dissolved in AM 4771. However, above, p. 287 (= Moss. 233.19–20), Synk. states that Arbakes, the first king of the Medes, dissolved the Assyrian kingdom, and began his rule in AM 4676.

<sup>2</sup> 4 Kgdms. 17.6.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.83<sup>b</sup>; Diod. Sic. 2.28.

<sup>4</sup> Eus. 1.26.31–27.2.

244] who is also known as Nabonasar, this kingdom is registered both by the Chaldaeans in their calculations of the stars, and by the Greek astronomers, as the most learned Claudius Ptolemy attests in his great treatise on astronomy.<sup>1</sup> There he uses years from Nabonasar, both in determining the positions of the two luminaries, the conjunctions and full moons, and the occurrences of lunar and solar eclipses, and in calculating the longitude and latitude of the five planets and the remaining fixed stars. Acknowledged to be more reliable than any other, this treatise totals 419 years from the above Nabonasar up to year 1,<sup>2</sup> that is the seventh year of Alexander, ruler of the Macedonians and the Persians and nearly the entire inhabited world; but up to his death, it totals 424 years.

Now since we have considered it necessary to demonstrate that our dating in universal years corresponds with the motion of the heavens; and since we have furnished proof that the chronology from Nabonasar is agreed upon by both the Chaldaean and Greek sages: for these reasons, let us accept the year 4747 as a conventional starting point, since this year corresponds with the first year of Nabonasar. So if one wished to make a calculation of celestial revolutions according to either the charts or tables set out in the great treatise of the eminent Ptolemy, one would base it on the year AM 4747. Then, from the first year of Nabonasar one would discover one and the same celestial position at the death of Alexander the founder, which turns out to be AM 5170. And from the first year of Nabonasar there are 424 years, as was previously stated.<sup>3</sup> But as to the calculations of the stars from the death of Alexander, the same philosopher in his *Handy Tables* arranged them in cycles of 1476 years, that is, a revolution of one Egyptian Great Year.<sup>4</sup> But from this time—that is, from the death of Alexander and AM 5170, at which time the dating from Philip, the successor to Alexander the founder, commences—he also marked the starting-point of the *Handy Tables*. Suppose one wanted to figure a conjunction, a full

<sup>1</sup> This is a reference to Ptolemy's *Almagest*, known in Greek sources as *μεγάλη σύνταξις*.

<sup>2</sup> Sc. of Alexander's rule over the Persians.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. above, p. 296 (= Moss. 241.4-9), according to which Nabonasar's (= Salmanasar's) reign began in AM 4746, not 4747. On Synk.'s use of Claudius Ptolemy's *Handy Tables*, see further below, p. 381 (= Moss. 315.1-7).

<sup>4</sup> For Synk.'s explanation of the Egyptian Sothic cycle (1461 years) and its relationship to the 'Great Year' of Ptolemy's *Handy Tables*, see above, p. 73 (= Moss. 57.17-22), and n. 3 ad loc.

moon, or some other astral calculation, or even the number of Paschal cycles, on the basis of the precise total of universal years set forth here; one would find that in its conception, it is both dependable and equally accurate for the years from Nabonasar according to the great treatise of Ptolemy, and the years from the death of Alexander, that is, from the beginning of the reign of Philip, the successor to Alexander the founder, up to Augustus Caesar, and even up to Diocletian, and again up to the current 6302nd year.

From Nabonasar, the Chaldaeans have accurately reckoned dates on the basis of astronomical motion. From them, the Greek astronomers derived this knowledge. The reason for this, as Alexander and Berossos, the compilers of Chaldaean antiquities, say, was that Nabonasar, after compiling the acts of his royal predecessors, did away with these records, so that the numbering of the Chaldaean kings commences from him.<sup>1</sup>

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Thus, as is clear in the following table, the years from Nabonasar are the same 424 according to both the 'Astronomical' and the 'Ecclesiastical' exposition.<sup>2</sup> While altogether these years add up to the same total of 424 years, the dates are not absolutely identical in particulars. In the case of Cyrus, for example, divine scripture

<sup>1</sup> Ps.-Berossos, *FGtH* 680 F 16<sup>a</sup>. In the citations from Berossos and Alexander Polyhistor preserved by Eusebios, there is no mention of Nabonasar's destruction or removal of the *gesta* of his predecessors. Polyhistor does say, however, that in the second book of the *Babyloniaca*, Berossos claimed that he was unable to provide an exact record of the deeds of the Babylonian kings before the reign of Nabonasar (I.4.13-17). This, along with the fact that Ptolemy's *κανὼν βασιλειῶν* commenced with 1 Nabonasar, may have inspired Synk. (or one of his authorities) to claim that Berossos himself described Nabonasar's elimination of the records of his forerunners. Schnabel (*Berossos*, 163-4) suggests that Panodoros was the source of this notice. For a recent defence of its authenticity, see Burstein, *Babyloniaca*, 22 n. 66.

<sup>2</sup> The records of Chaldaean and Persian kings that follow are based on two tables: (a) the Astronomical Canon (*κατὰ τὸν ἀστρονομικὸν κανόνα*); (b) the Ecclesiastical Computation (*κατὰ τὴν ἐκκλησιαστικὴν στοιχείωσιν*). Although, as Synk. notes, there is overall agreement in these lists, in chronological particulars the lists are frequently at odds. Gelzer (ii. 226-9) theorized that the Astronomical Canon, a list largely based on the *Handy Tables* of Claudius Ptolemy, originated in the chronicle of Panodoros, and that the Ecclesiastical Computation was a redacted form of this list, reworked by Annianos to improve its conformity with biblical chronology. For an opposing view, see Serruys, 'Les Canons', 25-6. See Intro., pp. xvi-vvii.

shows thirty-one years for his reign and this is the way our computation in universal years fixes his dates. On the other hand, the Astronomical Canon assigns only nine years to Cyrus.<sup>1</sup> And in certain other areas, you will find, even for Nabonasar himself, disagreement in specifics. However, you will also find that there is overall symmetry.

**The years from Nabonasar, also known as Salmanasar,  
the king of the Chaldaeans, up to the death of Alexander the  
Founder, according to the Astronomical Canon<sup>2</sup>**

	[Years of Rule]	[Total Years]
1. Nabonasar	14	
2. Nabios	2	16
3. Chinzeros and Poros	5	21
4. Iloulaios	5	26
5. Mardokempados	12	38
6. Arkeanos	5	43
7. 'Abasileutos'	2 <sup>3</sup>	45
8. Belibos	3	48
9. Aparanadisos	6	54
10. Erigebalos	1	55
11. Mesesimordakos	4	59
12. Another 'Abasileutos'	8	67
13. Isarindinos	13	80
246] 14. Saosdouchinos	9 <sup>4</sup>	89

<sup>1</sup> The 9 years of the Astronomical Canon do not represent the entire years of Cyrus' reign, but rather the period of time from his conquest of Babylon; see Gelzer ii. 229. Although the Bible does not explicitly assign 31 years to Cyrus' reign, Synk. assumes this number as scriptural in order to explain how the 70 years of captivity described in Zech. 1.1, 12 ended in 2 Dareios. See below, p. 325-6 (= Moss. 265.9-28).

<sup>2</sup> For a collation of the various versions of the Astronomical Canon, including Synk.'s, see Wachsmuth, *Einleitung*, 304-6.

<sup>3</sup> Text: *Ἀβασιλεύτου* (lit. 'absent a king') *ἔτη β'*. Although Synk.'s list treats this as a proper name, the word obviously refers to an interregnum of two years. The original reading for this entry was probably *ἄβασίλευτα ἔτη β'* ('two years without a king'); see Wachsmuth, *Einleitung*, 305.8, and n. ad loc. The same misreading appears several times later; see below pp. 303, 304 (= Moss. 245.26; 247.1, 6; 248.12, 21).

<sup>4</sup> In the other versions of the canon, the years of Saosdouchinos' reign are numbered as 20.

15. Kineladalos	14 <sup>1</sup>	103
16. Nabopalasaros, father of Nebuchadnezzar		
	21	124
17. Naboukolassaros, also known as Nebuchadnezzar		
	43	167
18. Illoaroudamos	3 <sup>2</sup>	170
19. Nerigasolasaros	5 <sup>3</sup>	175
20. Nabonadios, also known as Astyages		
	34 <sup>4</sup>	209
21. Cyrus	9	218
22. Kambyses	8	226
23. Dareios	36	262
24. Xerxes	21	283
25. Artaxerxes I	41	324
26. Dareios II, also known as Nothos <sup>5</sup>		
	19	343
27. Artaxerxes the Second	46	389
28. Ochos	21	410
29. Saros <sup>6</sup>	2	412
30. Dareios the Third, also known as Arsamos		
	6	418
31. Alexander the Great	6	424

**The years from Salmanasar (that is, Nabonasar) up to Cyrus  
and then to Alexander of Macedon, according to the  
Ecclesiastical Computation**

	[Years of Rule]
1. Nabonasar, also called Salmanasar in scripture	25
2. Nabios	8
3. Chinzeros and Poros	5
4. Iloulaios	5
5. Mardokempados	12
6. Arkeanos	5
7. 'Abasileutos'	2

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<sup>1</sup> In the other versions, the years of the reign of Kineladalos (or Kineladanos) are numbered at 22.

<sup>2</sup> In the other versions, this king is assigned a 2-year reign.

<sup>3</sup> Four years, according to the other versions.

<sup>4</sup> Seventeen years, according to the other versions.

<sup>5</sup> Lit. 'Bastard'.

<sup>6</sup> Arogos, according to the other versions.

8. Belilos	3
9. Aparanadisos	6
10. Erigebalos	1
11. Mesesimordakos	4
12. Another 'Abasileutos'	8
13. Isarindinos	13
14. Saosdouchinos	9
15. Kineladanos	14
16. Nabopalasaros	21
17. Nebuchadnezzar, his son	43
18. Eueilad Marodach	5
19. Neriglesaros, also known as Baltasar	3
20. Nabonadios, also known as Astyages Dareios, son of Asoueros, and as Artaxerxes	17
21. Cyrus, first king of the Persians	31
22. Kambyses, son of Cyrus	8
23. Two brothers and Magians, Smerdios and Pauzoutes	7 months
24. Dareios, son of Hysta(s)pes	36
25. Xerxes, son of Dareios	20 months
26. Artaxerxes Longarm, son of Xerxes	43
27. Xerxes, son of Artaxerxes	2 months
28. Sogdianos	7 months
29. Dareios Nothos	19
30. Artaxerxes Mnemon <sup>1</sup>	40
31. Ochos, son of Artaxerxes	5 <sup>2</sup>
32. Arsos, brother of Ochos	4
33. Dareios III, son of Arsamos	6
34. Alexander of Macedon	6

<sup>1</sup> Lit. 'Unforgetting'.

<sup>2</sup> Note that according to the *Astronomical Canon*, Ochos reigned 21 years. Below, p. 381 (= Moss. 315.7-11), Synk. acknowledges that the reduction of the years of Ochos' reign from 21 to 5 years partially compensated for the addition of years to the reign of Cyrus (from 9 to 31). Gelzer (ii. 227) suggests that, in order to account for the remaining deficit of 6 years, the Ecclesiastical Computation reduced the years of Artaxerxes' reign from 46 to 40 years.

KINGS OF THE CHALDAEANS<sup>1</sup>

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- (2) The second king of the Chaldaeans was Nabios 8 years,  
according  
to others  
2 years  
AM 4772
- (3) The third to reign over the Chaldaeans were Chinzeros and  
Poros 5 years  
AM 4780
- (4) The fourth king of the Chaldaeans was Iloulaios 5 years  
AM 4785
- (5) The fifth king of the Chaldaeans was Mardokempados  
12 years  
AM 4790
- (6) The sixth king of the Chaldaeans was Arkeanos 5 years  
AM 4802
- (7) The seventh king of the Chaldaeans was 'Abasileutos'  
2 years  
AM 4807
- (8) The eighth king of the Chaldaeans was Belibos 3 years  
AM 4809
- (9) The ninth king of the Chaldaeans was Aparanadisos  
6 years  
AM 4812
- (10) The tenth king of the Chaldaeans was Erigebalos  
1 year  
AM 4816
- (11) The eleventh king of the Chaldaeans was Mesesimordakos  
4 years  
AM 4817
- (12) The twelfth king of the Chaldaeans was another 'Abasileutos'  
8 years  
AM 4823
- (13) The thirteenth king of the Chaldaeans was Isarindinos  
13 years  
AM 4831
- (14) The fourteenth king of the Chaldaeans was Saosdouchinos  
9 years  
AM 4844

<sup>1</sup> This list of Chaldaean kings appears to be almost entirely based on the chronology provided by the Ecclesiastical Computation.

(15) The fifteenth king of the Chaldaeans was Kineladan

14 years

AM 4853

(16) The sixteenth king of the Chaldaeans was Nabopalaros,  
father of Nebuchadnezzar

21 years,  
according  
to others

25

AM 4867

249] This is the one whom Alexander Polyhistor calls Sardanapalos. He sent to Astyages, satrap of Media, and received his daughter Amyite as a bride for his son Nebuchadnezzar.<sup>1</sup> After being sent as his commander-in-chief on a mission by Sarakos, king of the Chaldaeans, he launched an attack against Nineveh and Sarakos himself. Sarakos, terrified by his assault, set himself and his palace ablaze. And this Nabopalaros, the father of Nebuchadnezzar, acquired rule over the Chaldaeans and Babylon.<sup>2</sup>

### KINGS OF THE EGYPTIANS<sup>3</sup>

(81) The eighty-first king of the Egyptians was Nechao

8 years

AM 4854

(82) The eighty-second king of the Egyptians was Psammetichos

14 years

AM 4862

(83) The eighty-third king of the Egyptians was Nechao II Pharaoh

9 years

AM 4876

(84) The eighty-fourth king of the Egyptians was another  
Psammouthis, also known as Psammetichos

17 years

AM 4785

(85) The eighty-fifth king of the Egyptians was Ouaphris

34 years

AM 4902

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Eus. 1.14.32-6. According to Polyhistor, Sardanapalos ruled the Chaldaeans for 21 years. After sending to Astyages, he received his daughter for his son Nebuchadnezzar. From this notice, Synk. concluded that Nabopalaros, father of Nebuchadnezzar, was the king whom Polyhistor knew as Sardanapalos.

<sup>2</sup> Eus. 1.18.16-26, from Abydenos.

<sup>3</sup> Ps.-Manetho, continued from p. 279 (= Moss. 226.4).



(86) The eighty-sixth king of the Egyptians was Amosis

50 years

AM 4936

The kingdom of the Egyptians extended from AM 2776 up to the year 4986, over 10 dynasties, 86 kings, and 2211 years. It was destroyed by Kambyzes during the reign of Amosis, the eighty-sixth king to rule over Mestraia (that is, Egypt), beginning with Mestraïm, their first king, who was also known as Menes. During Amosis' reign, when Egypt revolted against his rule, Kambyzes used hoplites to subjugate her in fierce battles. Upon discovering there Pythagoras, who, in the interests of philosophy, was dwelling abroad in Egypt, he initiated him, with the other captives, into the mysteries of the Persians. At that time, it is said that Pythagoras came among the Chaldaeans and partook of their wisdom. After he had in turn moved on from there, he settled in Italy, a fugitive from his native Samos because of Polykrates the tyrant. And by his establishment of the Italian school of philosophy, he earned his living.<sup>1</sup>

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Egypt continued under Persian domination right down to Dareios, the son of Xerxes. This is, then, the 27th dynasty, at which time the Persians began their domination of Egypt, starting with Kambyzes' fifth year.<sup>2</sup>

### KINGS OF THE ROMANS<sup>3</sup>

(17) The seventeenth king of the Romans was Numa Pompilius

41 years<sup>4</sup>

AM 4780

Numa, who reigned over Rome after Romulus, was the first to establish laws for the Romans. He built the Capitol from its foundations. He also added two months to the year, January and February, the ten-month calendar being in use before him. He was also the one who gave as a *congiarium*<sup>5</sup> asses<sup>6</sup> made of wood, leather, and clay.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Eus. *PE* 10.4.13–17; Porph. *Pythagoras* 9.

<sup>2</sup> On the chronology of Kambyzes' domination of Egypt, see the two recensions of Manetho in Africanus and Eusebios, above, pp. 108, 109 (= Moss. 84.25–6; 86.2–3).

<sup>3</sup> Continued from p. 284 (= Moss. 230.18). Cf. Eus. 1.141.2–4 (from Dion. Hal.).

<sup>4</sup> Eus. 1.140.10; but cf. 1.141.3 (43 years).

<sup>5</sup> γογγυάριον = Lat. *congiarium*, a public gift.

<sup>6</sup> Text: ἀσοάρια = Lat. *asses*, coins of low denomination.

<sup>7</sup> Eus. 2.91<sup>e</sup>.

- (18) The eighteenth king of the Romans was Tullus Hostilius  
 32 years<sup>1</sup>  
 AM 4821

He is also known by some as Silvius. It is said that he was the first of the kings of the Romans to don the purple and hold a royal sceptre. When his house was set ablaze by a thunderbolt, he also perished in the fire.<sup>2</sup>

Some other historians, however, number him as the fourth or fifth king from Romulus. They rank among his predecessors Ancus Marcius, who succeeded Numa, Priscus Tarquinius, and Silvius Tullus, with Tullus Hostilius ruling after them.

### KINGS OF THE ATHENIANS<sup>3</sup>

- (30) The thirtieth ruler of the Athenians was Alkmaion  
 2 years  
 AM 4729

251] During his time, lifetime rule was abolished in Athens. After Alkmaion, the thirtieth king of the Athenians, seven archons were appointed, each of whom held the office for ten years.

- (31) Of these, the first ten-year archon of the Athenians was their thirty-first ruler, Aischylos' son Charops  
 10 years  
 He was the first archon to rule for ten years. AM 4731

- (32) The thirty-second ruler of the Athenians was Aisimides  
 10 years  
 AM 4741

- (33) The thirty-third ruler of the Athenians was Kleodikos  
 10 years  
 AM 4751

- (34) The thirty-fourth ruler of the Athenians was Hippomenes  
 10 years  
 AM 4761

- (35) The thirty-fifth ruler of the Athenians was Leokrates  
 10 years  
 AM 4771

- (36) The thirty-sixth ruler of the Athenians was Apsandros  
 10 years  
 AM 4781

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Eus. 1.140.11 (33 years).

<sup>2</sup> Eus. 2.93<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> Continued from p. 284 (= Moss. 230.24). Cf. Eus. 1.88.20-4, from Kastor of Rhodes.

(37) The thirty-seventh ruler of the Athenians was Eryxias

10 years

AM 4791

Up to this year 4801 from Adam, the first kings of the Athenians numbered 17. After them came the thirteen so-called archons for life, and then seven ten-year archons. Altogether there were thirty-seven rulers, who ceased their rule after controlling the government of the Athenians from AM 3945, and lasting a total of 856 years. After them, archons of one-year term were appointed from the aristocracy, and a government of nine archons was established at Athens.<sup>1</sup> The government of annual archons was initiated in AM 4804, when Kreon began his rule as the first archon in the 19th Olympiad. But some say it was in the 25th Olympiad.<sup>2</sup> From him up to the 250th Olympiad, there were ninety-three archons extending to Philinos. Around his time, Gratus Sabinianus and Seleucus were serving as consuls of the Romans. Beginning from those who around the time of Brutus served as consuls after the kings, 725 of them are counted up to AM 5723, according to Africanus. This was the third year of Antoninus, also known as Augentus,<sup>3</sup> emperor of the Romans.<sup>4</sup>

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### MISCELLANY

Arktinos, the Milesian epic poet, was flourishing.<sup>5</sup>

In Italy, the cities of Pandosia and Metapontios were founded.<sup>6</sup>

In Athens the first trireme was built by Menokles.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.93.12-21.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Eus. 1.88.25-6, which places the beginning of Kreon's rule in the 24th Olympiad.

<sup>3</sup> Text: *Αὐγέντου*. Go.: *Αὐγούστου*. Gelzer i. 50 (following Scaliger): *Αὐείτου* (= Lat. Avitus, the original *nomen* of Antoninus).

<sup>4</sup> Following Scaliger. Routh (fr. 39) attributed the entire paragraph to Africanus' chronicle. But cf. Joh. Mal. 72.13-15, according to which Africanus' chronicle assigned 907 (not 856) years to the Athenian empire. AM 5723 = 3 Antoninus appears to be the end-point of Africanus' chronicle. But cf. Phot. *Bibl.* 34.7<sup>a</sup>9-12, which states, *contra* Synk., that Africanus' chronicle extended only as far as the Roman emperor Macrinus, Antoninus' predecessor. For discussion, see Gelzer i. 279-80. <sup>5</sup> Eus. 2.86<sup>l</sup>.

<sup>6</sup> Eus. 2.181<sup>Arm</sup>. Of the two Italian cities called Pandosia, the better-known city was in Bruttii, on the frontiers of Lucania. Metapontios, more commonly known either as Metapontum or Metapontium, was an Achaian colony in Italy on the gulf of Tarentum. <sup>7</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.87<sup>e</sup>.

In accordance with an oracle, the Thebans settled Cyrene. Its founder was Battos, also known as Aristotle.<sup>1</sup>

In Pontos, Trapezous was founded.<sup>2</sup>

In Sicily, Naxos was founded.

In Sicily, Cherronesos was founded.<sup>3</sup>

#### KINGS OF THE MEDES<sup>4</sup>

- |  |                                  |
|--|----------------------------------|
| (6) The sixth king of the Medes was Aphraartes | 51 years <sup>5</sup><br>AM 4838 |
| (7) The seventh king of the Medes was Kyaxares | 32 years<br>AM 4889              |

#### KINGS OF THE MACEDONIANS<sup>6</sup>

- |  |                                  |
|--|----------------------------------|
| (3) The third king of the Macedonians was Tyrmas     | 45 years <sup>7</sup><br>AM 4759 |
| (4) The fourth king of the Macedonians was Perdikkas | 48 years<br>AM 4804              |
| (5) The fifth king of the Macedonians was Argaios    | 34 years <sup>8</sup><br>AM 4852 |

This Argaios was the first to erect walls in Macedonia.

<sup>1</sup> Synk.'s statement that Cyrene was settled by Thebans (*Θηβαῖοι*) is probably a corruption of the word *Θηραῖοι*; cf. Eus. 2.87<sup>h</sup>: 'Theraei'; Eus. 2.181<sup>Arm</sup>: 'Thebäer'. The tradition that Battos brought inhabitants from the island of Thera to settle Cyrene is well attested; see e. g. Herodot. 4.155-6; Paus. 10.15.6. For the tradition that Battos was also known as Aristotle, see Diod. Sic. 8.29.1 (fr.).

<sup>2</sup> Eus. 2.182<sup>Arm</sup>. Trapezous is a city on the south-east coast of the Euxine (now Trabzon).

<sup>3</sup> Eus. 2.89<sup>f</sup>, 90<sup>h</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> Continued from p. 287 (= Moss. 233.27). Cf. Eus. 1.32.26-7.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Eus. 1.32.26; 2.95.8-9 (24 years).

<sup>6</sup> Continued from p. 288 (= Moss. 234.18). Cf. Eus. 1.107.30-108.2, 21-3 (= Diod. Sic. 17.15.1-2).

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Eus. 1.108.21 (43 years).

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Eus. 1.108.3, 23 (31 and 38 years respectively).

## MISCELLANY

The musicians Archilochos, Simonides, and Aristoxenos were becoming known.<sup>1</sup>

The festival of the gymnopaideia was first introduced to Lakedaimonia.<sup>2</sup>

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The Sibyl, the oracle of Samos, also known as Herophila, was still becoming known.<sup>3</sup> For the Sibyl of Kymaia was flourishing during the Trojan period.

Kyzikos was established.<sup>4</sup>

Zaleukos the lawgiver of the Lokrians was flourishing.

Kypsellos became tyrant of Corinth for 28 years.

Lesches of Lesbos, who composed the *Little Iliad*, and Alkmaion were flourishing.

In Pontos, the city of Istor was founded.

Akanthos and Stagera were founded in Greece.

Lampsakos and Abdera were founded.

Terpandros the musician was becoming known.

In Sicily, Selinous was founded.

Around this time, the Greeks consulted the oracle of Dodone.

Phalaris became tyrant of the Akragantines.<sup>5</sup>

Examoios' son Thales, the Milesian philosopher, was becoming known as one of the seven sages. It is said that he lived over 100 years.<sup>6</sup>

In Pontos, Bourysthenes was founded.

Sinope was founded.

Myrtaios, the Athenian poet, was becoming known.<sup>7</sup>

Terpandros, the lyric poet, who is said to have discovered the seven-toned harmony, was still flourishing.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Eus. 2.94<sup>e</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> Text: *γυμνή παιδεία* (lit. 'unclad training'), in reference to the Spartan midsummer festival in which naked boys danced and performed exercises. Among classical Greek authors, the festival was known as *gymnopaideiai*. See Herodot. 6.67; Thuc. 5.82.3; Paus. 3.11.9; cf. Eus. 2.94<sup>e</sup> (Lat.: 'nudipedalia').

<sup>3</sup> Eus. 2.94<sup>d</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.93<sup>e</sup>.

<sup>5</sup> Eus. 2.94<sup>fgi</sup>, 95<sup>bcd</sup>, 96<sup>e</sup>, 95<sup>f</sup>, 96<sup>f</sup>, 95<sup>e</sup>.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.96<sup>b</sup>.

<sup>7</sup> Eus. 2.95<sup>g</sup>, 96<sup>li</sup>, which also has the misspelling Myrtaios for Tyrtaios.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.96<sup>e</sup>. On Terpandros' discovery (lacking in Eusebios), see e.g. Kleonides, *Intr. harm.* 12.4.

Battos refounded Cyrene.

Periandros, son of Kypsellos, became tyrant of the Corinthians.

Lipara was founded.

Epidamnos, which is now known as Dyrrachion, was founded.

Prousia was founded.

Phalaris the tyrant was overthrown.

According to some, Drakon was enacting laws.

254] Arion the Methymian was becoming known. He was safely brought to Tainaros on a dolphin.

According to some, Alkman was becoming known.<sup>1</sup>

### UNIVERSAL YEARS

(14) The fourteenth king of Judah was Manasses 55 years<sup>2</sup>  
AM 4792

Ezekias' and Epsibaal's son Manasses became the king of Judah at 12 years of age. He was a most vile and impious king, devoting his life to idolatry, crimes of bloodshed, auguries, sorceries, and acts of adultery. In the house of the Lord, he erected a four-faced statue of Zeus. Upon his capture by the king of the Assyrians, who had launched an invasion against him, and his imprisonment in a bronze statue, he prayed to God his song of praise. Surviving even to this day, it is quite remarkable and full of contrition.<sup>3</sup> In it God was entreated, and when the statue was destroyed, Manasses was rescued and restored to his reign. Upon experiencing the ineffable beneficence of God to those who repent, he ceased his idolatry and the rest of his foolishness. And he removed the idol of Zeus from the house of the Lord, which he himself had introduced, and cast it outside the city, along with the rest of the abominations. The same Manasses built the southern wall of Jerusalem and rebuilt the temple, and lived out the remainder of his life in piety.<sup>4</sup>

Joel, Abdiou, Jonas, Naoum, and Ambakoum were prophesying. Olda, a woman among the Hebrews, was prophesying.<sup>5</sup>

(15) The fifteenth king of Judah was Amos, son of Manasses  
2 years  
AM 4847

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<sup>1</sup> Eus. 2.96<sup>knnm</sup>, 97<sup>edfgk</sup>, 98<sup>e</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> 4 Kgdms. 21.1. If the first year of Ezekias' 29-year reign was AM 4766 (see above, p. 290 = Moss. 236.8-9), Manasses' reign should begin in 4795.

<sup>3</sup> A reference to the *Prayer of Manasseh*, a work accepted in some Eastern Orthodox communities.

<sup>4</sup> 4 Kgdms. 21.1-2; 2 Paralip. 33.1-20.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.96<sup>d</sup>.

He was extremely wicked. In his second year, his attendants assassinated him. And the people avenged the murder of Manasses' son Amos.<sup>1</sup> Eusebios states that according to the Septuagint he was king for twelve years.<sup>2</sup> But he is not telling the truth.

(16) The sixteenth king of Judah was Amos' son Josiah, for thirty-one years.<sup>3</sup> This was AM 4849. He was the son of Gedida, daughter of Ozias.<sup>4</sup>

The Scythians raided Palestine, and seized Basan,<sup>5</sup> which was named Scythopolis after them.<sup>6</sup>

Chelkias, the high priest and father of Jeremiah and Susanna, began his priestly service.<sup>7</sup>

Sophonias was prophesying.<sup>8</sup>

In the thirteenth year of Josiah, AM 4863, Jeremiah began to prophesy.<sup>9</sup> Some reckon the seventy years of captivity from the fifth year of his prophecy, that is, from the eighteenth year of Josiah up to the first year of Cyrus.<sup>10</sup>

Olda, a Hebrew woman, was prophesying.<sup>11</sup>

Josiah, the son of Amos and Geddida the daughter of Ozias, became king of Judah. He began his reign when he was 8 years of age, and ruled for thirty-four years.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 4 Kgdms. 21.19–24.

<sup>2</sup> Eus. 2.95<sup>a</sup>, which also notes two years according to the Hebrew text. Note also that at 4 Kgdms. 21.19, there is a scribal correction of Cod. Alex. from two years to 12 years.

<sup>3</sup> 4 Kgdms. 22.1.

<sup>4</sup> Correctly Edeia (LXX)/Adaiah (MT).

<sup>5</sup> Referring to Beth-shean (LXX Baithsan).

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.96<sup>b</sup>; Herodot. 1.105. For the identification of Beth-shean as Scythopolis, see Judg. 1.27 (LXX); Jos. Ant. 5.83; 13.188.

<sup>7</sup> Eus. 2.96<sup>a</sup>; 4 Kgdms. 22.4; Jer. 1.1; Sus. 1.2.

<sup>8</sup> Eus. 2.97<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>9</sup> Jer. 1.2; Eus. 2.96<sup>c</sup>; Chron. pasch. 268.17–19. Given Synk.'s previous statement that 1 Josiah was AM 4849, his 13th year should be AM 4861. See Gelzer ii. 240.

<sup>10</sup> See Eus. 2.188<sup>Arm</sup>, reporting the opinion of others that '... from the 5th year of the prophesying of Jeremiah up to 1 Cyrus, 70 years result'. Jerome's version (2.103<sup>b</sup>) reports this calculation somewhat differently, giving the starting-point of the 70 years as 13 Josiah. The significance of 18 Josiah may be found in 4 Kgdms. 23.23–7. In that year, Josiah instituted several religious reforms; despite these reforms, however, God's wrath against Jerusalem was not appeased. See below, p. 315 (= Moss. 256.18–26).

<sup>11</sup> 4 Kgdms. 22.14; Eus. 2.96<sup>d</sup>.

<sup>12</sup> This chronology of 34 years contradicts the 31-year reign of Josiah that Synk. gives above (= Moss. 255.4).

He proved to be more devoted to God than all those kings who ruled both before and after him. During his reign, Chelkias the high priest discovered in the temple a book of the law. After communicating the find to Saphatei the scribe,<sup>1</sup> he exhibited it to Josiah. Upon hearing the divine words being read out, being a man highly devoted to God, he rent his garments. And the temple of God he purified of the abominations that his father Amos established there. And after purging Jerusalem and all of Judah of idolatry, he burned the idols and the bones of the impious upon the altars. And he destroyed in every way the pollutions over all Judaea and Samaria. This was in accordance with what the prophet foretold about him when he came from Judah to Jeroboam. He was the one whom, upon his return, the lion killed, because he ate in the house of his fellow prophet. During Josiah's reign, the wonderful Passover was celebrated.<sup>2</sup>

256] He engaged Pharaoh Nechao in battle, even though the latter had not attacked him, and had begged off from fighting against him. Struck by an arrow, Josiah died after being carried back to Jerusalem.<sup>3</sup>

Josiah, the son of Amos, the son of Manasses, reigned thirty-one years in Jerusalem. He surpassed both the kings who preceded him and those who succeeded him in his zeal for God. He destroyed everywhere the idols and the objects of veneration and removed the idolaters, both those who were living and those who had died in their graves.<sup>4</sup>

In the eighteenth year of his reign, a Passover celebration took place in Jerusalem. The second book of the Paralipomena says that it was unlike any Passover that had occurred in Israel from the days of Samuel the prophet or any king of Israel. For these did not perform the kind of Passover that Josiah, the priests and the Levites, and all Judah and Israel who were present in Jerusalem celebrated.<sup>5</sup>

This Josiah burnt those who had in them divining spirits, and soothsayers, and teraphim and idols, and the sodomites, who were in the land of Israel, so that he might establish the words of the Law that were written in the book that Chelkias the priest discovered in the house of the Lord.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Correctly Saphphan (LXX)/Shapan (MT), but Sapphat is a variant in LXX; Synk.'s spelling, unattested elsewhere, may be due to interference from the following *γραμματεῖ*. <sup>2</sup> 4 Kgdms. 22.8-13; 23.4-23.

<sup>3</sup> 2 Paralip. 35.20-4.

<sup>4</sup> 2 Paralip. 34.1-7.

<sup>5</sup> 2 Paralip. 35.18-19; 4 Kgdms. 23.21-3.

<sup>6</sup> 2 Paralip. 35.19 (om. Hebrew); 4 Kgdms. 23.24.



Josiah was unlike any of his predecessors. He turned to the Lord with all his heart and all his soul and in all his strength according to all the law of Moses, and after him there arose no one like him. Nevertheless, the Lord did not turn away from the wrath of his great fury, wherewith the Lord grew angry in his spirit against Judah because of all the provocations with which Manasses had incited him. And the Lord said, 'I shall remove Judah from my face, just as I removed Israel. And I have rejected the city which I chose, Jerusalem, and the house of which I had said, "Let my name be there."<sup>1</sup>

And Pharaoh Nechao, king of Egypt, went up to the king of the Assyrians at the river Euphrates, and King Josiah marched forth to oppose him. Nechao sent out messengers to Josiah, saying, 'What do I have to do with you, king of Judah? I have not come today to make war against you. And God has told me to hasten. Take heed of the God that is with me, lest he destroy you.'<sup>2</sup> But instead of turning his face from him, Josiah was determined to fight him, and did not heed the speech of Nechao by the mouth of God, but came out to fight him in the field of Magedon. The archers shot their arrows at King Josiah; and the king said to his servants: 'Take me away, because I am in extreme pain.'<sup>3</sup> The servants led him away from his chariot and put him in the second chariot that he had, and led him to Jerusalem. And he died and was buried with his fathers, and all Judah and Jerusalem lamented over Josiah. And Jeremiah mourned for Josiah and all the male and female leaders bewailed Josiah up to this day. And he made it an ordinance for Israel, and, behold, it is written in the lamentations.<sup>4</sup>

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Then the people of the land received Josiah's son Joachaz and anointed him and made him king in place of his father. Joachaz was twenty-three years old when he began to reign, and ruled for three months in Jerusalem. Pharaoh Nechao bound him in Deblatha in the land of Aimath that he might not reign in Jerusalem, led him to Egypt, and imposed a tribute on the land of 100 talents of silver and 1 talent of gold.<sup>5</sup> Pharaoh Nechao made Josiah's son Eliakeim king, changed his name to Joakeim, and took his brother Joachaz to Egypt, where he died. Joakeim was 25 years of age<sup>6</sup> when he began

<sup>1</sup> 4 Kgdms. 23.25-7.

<sup>2</sup> 2 Paralip. 35.21.

<sup>3</sup> 2 Paralip. 35.23.

<sup>4</sup> 2 Paralip. 35.24-5.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. below, p. 316 (= Moss. 258.6): 10 talents (quoting from 1 Esdr. 1.36); and p. 319 (= Moss. 259.27-8), where Synk. reports both figures. At 4 Kgdms. 23.33, most MSS of LXX have 100 talents of gold (= MT).

<sup>6</sup> Lit. 'Joakeim was a son of 25 years . . . '.

to reign, and he reigned eleven years in Jerusalem. What Fourth Kingdoms records is in agreement with this.<sup>1</sup>

I discovered in a certain copy of scripture that after Josiah's death, the prophet Jeremiah, in accordance with a divine oracle, gave an order to the priests to take up the ark of God and the tabernacle and follow him. After departing from the city, he ascended the mountain where Moses had also ascended and seen the land of promise. Upon finding a cave, he brought into it the tabernacle, the ark, the altar, the table, the lampstand, and the other holy vessels, and sealed up the entrance. Now some of the priests with him returned to mark the spot, but it was hidden from them. Upon learning of this through the spirit, Jeremiah castigated these priests, saying that the place would be unknown until the Lord should gather in his people and mercy should come to Israel.<sup>2</sup>

258] (17) The seventeenth king of Israel was Josiah's son Joachaz

3 months<sup>3</sup>

This Joachaz Esdras calls Jechonias. These are his exact words: 'And the people took Jechonias son of Josiah and made him king.'<sup>4</sup> And then, 'And he reigned in Judah and Jerusalem for three months. And the king of Egypt removed him from his reign in Jerusalem, and set a tax upon the people of 100 talents of silver and 10 talents of gold. And he made Joakeim his brother king.'<sup>5</sup>

(18) The eighteenth king of Judah was Eliakeim, also known as Joakeim

11 years<sup>6</sup>

AM 4883<sup>7</sup>

The great Jeremiah speaks of the fourth year of Josiah's son Joakeim, the king of Judah (this was AM 4883, and the first year of Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon).<sup>8</sup> This same year he numbers

<sup>1</sup> 4 Kgdms. 23.30-6.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. 2 Macc. 2.1-7; *Prophets*, s.v. 'Jeremiah', 12. On Synk.'s views about the books of the Maccabees, see below p. 398 (= Moss. 329.14-16) where he attributes their authorship to Josephos and excludes them from the list of divinely inspired books of scripture.

<sup>3</sup> 4 Kgdms. 23.31.

<sup>4</sup> 1 Esdr. 1.32.

<sup>5</sup> 1 Esdr. 1.33-6. At v. 34, most MSS of LXX have 1 talent of gold.

<sup>6</sup> 4 Kgdms. 23.34-6.

<sup>7</sup> If the first year of Josiah's 31-year reign was AM 4849 (see above p. 313 = Moss. 255.4-5) and his successor Joachaz reigned only three months, then 1 Joakeim would be AM 4880 or 4881.

<sup>8</sup> In the previous sentence, Synk. states that 1 Eliakeim was AM 4883. Based on this chronology, 4 Joakeim would be AM 4886. This latter date is closer to Synk.'s subsequent dating of 1 Nebuchadnezzar in AM 4888; see below, p. 322 (= Moss. 262.9-10). The determination of the year 4883 as 4

as the twenty-third year of his own prophecy to the people of Judah, beginning with the thirteenth year of King Josiah.<sup>1</sup> From this latter year, certain interpreters, including Eusebios, wish to measure the seventy-year period of captivity, which up to the first year of Cyrus makes seventy years.<sup>2</sup> But according to a second method, this seventy-year period is computed from the current fourth year of Joakeim. Beginning in this year, God brought his accusation through the prophet against the people of Judah for their disobedience, continuing up to the first year of the same Cyrus. And according to a third and final method, it is calculated from the eleventh year of Sedekias up to the second year of Dareios.<sup>3</sup> Some are of the opinion, as Eusebios states, that the years are more accurately calculated from the fifth year of the prophecy of Jeremiah, up to the first year of Cyrus.<sup>4</sup> But through this method no accuracy is assured.<sup>5</sup>

Joakeim is probably based on the alternative chronology that puts the 1st year of his reign in AM 4880.

<sup>1</sup> Jer. 25.1–3.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.103<sup>b</sup>: 'The Jews were in captivity for a period totalling 70 years in all. According to some, these years are computed from the third year of Ioacim up to the 20th year of Cyrus, king of the Persians. **But according to others they are from the 13th year of Josiah king of the Jews, under whose rule Jeremiah began to prophesy.** In fact, the 70 years of the temple's desolation were completed during the reign of Dareios.' See also Eus. *PE* 10.14.8; *Chron. pasch.* 268.19–269.1.

<sup>3</sup> Eus. 2.100<sup>a</sup>, 105<sup>bd</sup> (= Clem. Al. *Strom.* 1.21.127.1–2); *PE* 10.14.7; *Chron. pasch.* 255.7–20, citing Clement of Alexandria.

<sup>4</sup> Eus. 2.188<sup>Am</sup>. For further discussion, see below, pp. 331–5, 341–2 (= Moss. 270.3–274.7; 280.15–281.8).

<sup>5</sup> In the ensuing discussion, Synk. takes up what he acknowledges is the complex matter of the 70 years of Babylonian captivity, a problem, he says, about which there is little agreement; see below, p. 333 (= Moss. 272.5–7). The central issue concerned the determination of the *termini a quo* and *ad quem* of Jeremiah's prophecy condemning the Jews to serve the Gentiles for 70 years (Jer. 25.11–12). On the assumption that the Jews were restored from exile in 1 Cyrus, Africanus determined that the 70 years commenced in 1 Sedekias; see below, p. 333 (= Moss. 261.16–18). After examining a wide range of possible dates, Eusebios ultimately concluded that the 70 years could not have terminated in the reign of Cyrus. Otherwise, how could Zacharias, in 2 Dareios, still be asking God when the 70 years would be fulfilled (Zech. 1.1, 12)? Eusebios thus suggests that the 70 years began with the destruction of Solomon's temple in 11 Sedekias and ended with Dareios' order to begin work on the restoration of the temple (2.103<sup>b</sup>, 105<sup>d</sup>). Here Synk. attempts to reinstate 1 Cyrus as the *terminus ad quem* of the

259] Amos' son Ourias began to prophesy against Jerusalem. Ourias prophesied against Jerusalem and fled to Egypt. But Joakeim, after sending for him and bringing him back from Egypt, slew him.<sup>1</sup>

In Joakeim's fourth year, Jeremiah says that Nebuchadnezzar smote Pharaoh Nechao.<sup>2</sup> The end of his fourth year is the beginning of the fifth and there is no difference.

In the same year, the word of the Lord came to Jeremiah about the papyrus roll that Barouch read in the ninth month of the fifth year of Joakeim in the presence of the Lord and the whole assembly of Judah in Jerusalem in the house of Gamarias the scribe.<sup>3</sup> This also marks the onset of the 70-year period.

Scholium.<sup>4</sup> An accurate computation from the first year of the seventy years of captivity up to Christ's incarnate birth, according to the author's organization of this book:

From the fourth year of Joakeim, AM 4883, up to the time of the release from captivity, that is the first year of Cyrus 70 years

From the second year of Cyrus, when the foundation of the temple was laid, when Zorobabel was leader and Jesus was serving as high priest, up to the completion of the years of Onias the final high priest 363 years  
AM 5315

From the beginning of the corrupt rule of Jason, Menelaos, and Lysimachos, who used bribery to acquire power with the support of the perfidy of Antiochos, up to Judas, son of Matthias 19 years  
AM 5334

From the beginning of the rule of the high priest Judas, son of Matthias, up to the thirty-third year of Herod, the forty-third year of Augustus Caesar, when the Lord was born in the flesh from the Blessed Virgin 167 years  
AM 5501,  
in the  
month of  
December,  
Indiction 1.<sup>5</sup>

prophecy; at the same time, however, he grants that, since the restoration of the Jews occurred in stages, the 70 years of captivity can be 'calculated in different ways'; see below, p. 333 (= Moss. 271.32-272.2). For discussion of the various solutions, see also *Chron. pasch.* 268.14-269.4.

<sup>1</sup> Jer. 33.20-3 (LXX)/26.20-3 (MT).

<sup>2</sup> Jer. 26.2 (LXX)/46.2 (MT).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Jer. 43.1-10 (LXX)/36.1-10 (MT), which dates this event to 4 Joakeim.

<sup>4</sup> Mosshammer conjectures that this scholium was originally a marginal comment mistakenly inserted into the text.

<sup>5</sup> In Synk.'s system, AM 5501 is Indiction 12; see Intro., p. xxiv.

The blessed Josiah had five sons: Joachaz, Eliakeim, also known as Joakeim, Jonan, Sedekias, also known as Jechonias, and a fifth son Saloum.<sup>1</sup>

And when Joachaz was anointed as king by the people after the death of his father Josiah, Pharaoh Nechao removed him to Egypt, where he died. Nechao imposed on Judaea a tribute of 100 talents of silver and one talent of gold, or according to some 10 talents of gold. And he made his brother Eliakeim king and renamed him Joakeim.<sup>2</sup>

When this above-named Pharaoh Nechao was slain by Nebuchadnezzar in the second year of his reign, in the fourth year of Joakeim, as Jeremiah says, Nebuchadnezzar returned and subjugated Joakeim for three years, that is up to Joakeim's eighth year. When Joakeim rebelled, he again conquered him and took him captive, replacing him with his son Joacheim, a child of eight years.<sup>3</sup> [260]

Bound by Nebuchadnezzar in bronze shackles and taken captive to Babylon, Joakeim was resettled in the eighth year of Nebuchadnezzar's reign, along with the priests, the rest of the Jewish dignitaries, and part of the sacred vessels. After reporting this, the sacred book of the Paralipomena says that Nebuchadnezzar replaced him with his son Joacheim, also known as Jechonias, a boy of eight years, who was subject to him. Three months and ten days later, he captured him after a siege, and along with his mother and the rest of the leaders of Judah and the eunuchs and the powerful men of the land and all the treasures, took him captive to Babylon. And in his place he made Matthanias his son king; since he was 23 years of age, he was obviously Josiah's son. This is also in agreement with Fourth Kingdoms.<sup>4</sup>

In his treatise on Susanna and Daniel, the holy Hippolytos says that for three years Joakeim's son Joacheim, also known as Jechonias,<sup>5</sup> held power after his father and then was removed to

<sup>1</sup> But cf. 1 Paralip. 3.15, which excludes Joachaz.

<sup>2</sup> 4 Kgdms. 23.30-4.

<sup>3</sup> 4 Kgdms. 24.1-8.

<sup>4</sup> 4 Kgdms. 24.8-17; 2 Paralip. 36.5-10. Whereas in MT 2 Kgs. 24.17, Mattaniah is described as Jehoiachin's uncle, and hence the son of Josiah—the same relationship presented in 2 Paralip. 36.10, where Sedekias (= Matthanias) is called the brother of Joacheim's father—in LXX 4 Kgdms. 24.17 Matthanias is called 'his son (*υἶόν αὐτοῦ*)'. Since Matthanias was 15 years older than Joacheim when he took the throne, Synk. infers that the words *υἶόν αὐτοῦ* must obviously (*δηλον*) mean 'son of Josiah' and not 'son of Joacheim'. Note that some MSS of 4 Kgdms. eliminate the confusion by correcting *υἶόν αὐτοῦ* to *ἀδελφὸν τοῦ πατρὸς* (brother of his [Joacheim's] father).

<sup>5</sup> See 1 Paralip. 3.16, which refers to Joacheim by the name Jechonias.

Babylon with the rest, as has been stated. Daniel and the three young men were part of this captivity, he says. This Joakeim, he states, was also the husband of Susanna. And his reasoning is convincing.<sup>2</sup> (That Susanna was a daughter of Chelkias the high priest—the man who discovered the book during the reign of Josiah—is confirmed by others, and that her brother was Jeremiah, as he says, is reasonable too.) From them,<sup>2</sup> he says, Jechonias was born, whom the divine evangelist Matthew mentions.<sup>3</sup> The son of Jechonias, he says, was Salathiel, and the son of Salathiel was Zorobabel, and in this way the genealogy of the Saviour is traced from the priestly and royal line up to Joseph the just and the Blessed Virgin, mother of God.<sup>4</sup> But he denies that Salathiel was born from Sedekias, whom he also calls Jechonias, because he became an abomination to God—and this is reasonable.<sup>5</sup> But since the chronology of the four generations is divided into sixty-eight years from the first year of Nebuchadnezzar up to the first year of Cyrus, at which time Zorobabel presided over the release from captivity, there are those who prefer to assume that his son Salathiel was the son of Jechonias and Susanna, so as to demonstrate that Zorobabel was about 20 years of age at the time of the restoration.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Hippolyt. *Comm. Dan.* 1.6, 12.

<sup>2</sup> Susanna and Joakeim.

<sup>3</sup> Matt 1.11–13.

<sup>4</sup> Hippolyt. *Comm. Dan.* 1.12. The problem addressed here arises from an omission in the pre-exilic royal genealogy of Jesus in the Gospel according to Matthew. In stating that the son of Josiah was Jechonias (= Joacheim), Matt. 1.10 ignored Jechonias' father Joakeim. Hippolytos suggests that Matthew deliberately excluded Joakeim in order to avoid having Jesus' genealogy polluted with an ancestor of such poor moral character. Hippolytos then identifies this Joakeim, taken in captivity to Babylon, with the Joakeim described in the story of Susanna as Susanna's husband (Sus. 1.1); since Susanna, the daughter of the high priest Chelkias, was of priestly stock (Sus. 1.2), the tainted line of Judahite kings was purified by the infusion of blood from the high-priestly line. In this way, the royal genealogy of Jesus was kept pure, at the same time demonstrating that Jesus was of both priestly and royal ancestry.

<sup>5</sup> Hippolyt. *Comm. Dan.* 1.2.1; 1.3.2, 7–9. According to an oracle in LXX Jer. 22.28–30, Coniah was condemned by God as a 'man childless' who would leave no offspring to succeed him to the throne. In the Greek version of this oracle, the name Coniah was rendered as Jechonias, and most interpreters understood the oracle as a condemnation of Joacheim (Jehoiachin), who was also known as Jechonias. Hippolytos rejects this identification, maintaining that the oracle referred to his successor Sedekias, who, he says, was also known as Jechonias.

<sup>6</sup> Hag. 1.1. See below, p. 342 (= Moss. 281.2–6).

(19) The nineteenth king of Judah was Joakeim's son Jechonias  
(also known as Joacheim) 3 months<sup>1</sup>  
But others, such as the holy Hippolytos, say it was three years.<sup>2</sup>

AM 4895

In his third year, he says, the first captivity occurred under Nebuchadnezzar, who transferred him to Babylon, as well as 10,000 men. Among those to be removed at the same time were, he says, Daniel and the three young men. And this man, he says, was Joakeim, the husband of Susanna.<sup>3</sup>

(20) The twentieth king of Judah was Sedekias 11 years<sup>4</sup>

AM 4896

Africanus numbers the seventy years of the captivity from the first year of Sedekias.<sup>5</sup> In the fifth year of Sedekias, AM 4900, the great prophet Ezekiel began to prophesy. In the same year of the captivity of Joakeim, Sedekias<sup>6</sup> informed the captives in Babylon that (after) 70 years they would return from Babylon in accordance with Jeremiah's prophecy.<sup>7</sup>

The false prophet Ananias opposed Jeremiah and died,<sup>8</sup> at which time Ezekiel was prophesying in Babylon.

In Jerusalem, the freeing of the slaves took place.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 4 Kgdms. 24.8.

<sup>2</sup> Hippolyt. *Comm. Dan.* 1.3.1.

<sup>3</sup> Hippolyt. *Comm. Dan.* 1.6. Cf. 4 Kgdms. 24.13-15; Sus. 1.1.

<sup>4</sup> 4 Kgdms. 24.18.

<sup>5</sup> Routh, fr. 41. Based on 1 Esdr. 2.1, Africanus assumed that the end of the 70 years of captivity occurred in 1 Cyrus; see the excerpt from his chronicle in Eus. *PE* 10.10.5 and above, p. 91 (= Moss. 71.12-14). According to Africanus' system, this year coincided with AM 4942 and Olympiad 55.1. Counting backwards, Africanus determined that the beginning of the 70 years coincided with 1 Sedekias (= AM 4873, counting inclusively). For an example of this method of calculating the 70 years, see Leo Gramm. 43.16-46.18; he computes the 70 years as follows: Sedekias, 11 years; Nebuchadnezzar, 25 years; Marodach, 12 years; Baltasar, four years; Dareios, 17 years; Cyrus, one year. See also Gelzer i. 100-1.

<sup>6</sup> Text: *Σεδεκίας τοῖς ἐν Βαβυλῶνι αἰχμαλώτοις ἐδήλωσεν*. The omission of the name *Σεδεκίας* by MS A makes better sense in the context since 'he' (Ezekiel) would then be the subject of 'informed'.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Ezek. 1.1-3; 4.4-8. Ezek. 1.2 dates the beginning of Ezekiel's prophesying in the 5th year of the exile of Joakeim. On Synk.'s interpretation of Ezek. 4.4-8 in connection with the 70 years of captivity, see below, pp. 333-4 (= Moss. 272.22-273.24).

<sup>8</sup> Jer. 35 (LXX)/28 (MT).

<sup>9</sup> Jer. 41.8-11 (LXX)/34.8-11 (MT).

When the sons of Jonadab, the son of Rhechab, came to Jerusalem during the siege of Sedekias, Jeremiah saw that, because of their father's order, they were neither drinking wine nor residing in a roofed house. So Jeremiah reproached the Jews for being disobedient to God, and unlike them, not even obeying the Father and Creator.<sup>1</sup>

262] Upon coming out to the city of Benjamin to buy a field, Jeremiah the prophet was seized by a certain Hierouas, and was handed over to Sedekias and confined in prison. As he was foretelling there what would happen to the city and the people, he was cast into a cistern. The Ethiopian Abdemelech, a member of Sedekias' household, lifted him out of the cistern, after importuning the king. When Sedekias came forward to him and learned from him what things would lead to deliverance, he did not listen. But Jeremiah was put under guard in the courtyard up until the time when the city was captured.<sup>2</sup>

### KINGS OF THE CHALDAEANS<sup>3</sup>

(17) The seventeenth king of the Chaldaeans was Nebuchadnezzar  
 23 years<sup>4</sup>  
 AM 4888

It is fitting to cite a few things about Nebuchadnezzar and his father from the words of Berossos, who says the following:<sup>5</sup>

When his father Nabopalaros heard that a satrap stationed in Egypt, the regions around Koile Syria, and Phoenicia, was in revolt, being no longer able to stand the physical hardship of war, he committed a part of his army to his son Nebuchadnezzar and sent him against him. Nebuchadnezzar engaged the rebel, and prevailing over him in battle, restored the region to Babylonian rule. It happened at this time that his father Nabopalaros fell ill and passed away after reigning for twenty-one years. When Nebuchadnezzar learnt a little while later about the death of his father, he settled affairs in Egypt and the rest of the region, and consigned the prisoners—Jews, Phoenicians, Syrians, [and] people of Egypt—to some of his allies, to take them back to Babylonia,

<sup>1</sup> Jer. 42.6–16 (LXX)/35.6–16 (MT).

<sup>2</sup> Jer. 44.11–45.28 (LXX)/37.11–38.28 (MT).

<sup>3</sup> Continued from p. 306 (= Moss. 249.6).

<sup>4</sup> Elsewhere Synk. assigns 43 years to the reign of Nebuchadnezzar; see above p. 304 (= p. 247.11, from the Ecclesiastical Computation) and below, p. 329 (= Moss. 269.2).

<sup>5</sup> Berossos, *FGrH* 680 F 8<sup>a</sup> (= Jos. Ag. Ap. 1.135–41).



along with the most heavily armed forces and the rest of his booty. With a few companions, he marched ahead through the desert to Babylon. Upon finding that affairs were being administered by the Chaldeans and the kingdom closely maintained by the best man among them, being now master of his father's entire realm, he assigned settlements to the captives.

Nebuchadnezzar himself used the booty to adorn the temple of Bel and the other shrines lavishly. He refurbished the old city and added on an outer city<sup>1</sup> in order to deprive the besiegers of the option of diverting the river and thus arraying<sup>2</sup> it against the city. He then enclosed both the inner and the outer city with three embankments, some of them made from burnt brick and bitumen, others of them from rough brick. And after this remarkable fortification of the city and his adornment of the gateways in a way fitting their sanctity, he built on to his father's palace another palace adjoining it. It would perhaps require too much time for someone to describe its height and the rest of its splendour. It need only be said that, despite being so immense and imposing a structure, it was completed in fifteen days. In this palace, he erected high stone terraces and gave it an appearance extremely close to mountains, and he achieved this effect by planting on them all kinds of trees; he built the so-called hanging garden because his wife, who was brought up in the regions of Media, yearned for mountainous scenery. [263]

This is Berossos' report about Nebuchadnezzar, in addition to much more, in the third book of the *Chaldaïka*, in which he castigates the Greek historians for having erroneously written that Babylon and its marvels were erected by the Assyrian Semiramis.<sup>3</sup>

In the second year of his reign, Nebuchadnezzar slew Pharaoh Nechao in a mighty battle by the river Euphrates, in the beginning of Joakeim's fifth year. After moving against Joakeim and Judaea, he subjugated Joakeim for three years, as Fourth Kingdoms and Second Paralipomena state. And three years later, Joakeim revolted against

<sup>1</sup> Text: τήν τε ὑπάρχουσαν ἐξ ἀρχῆς πόλιν καὶ ἑτέραν ἔξωθεν προσκαταχαρισάμενος (cf. *Ag. Ap.* 1.139: προσχαρισάμενος; van Herwerden: προσοχυρισάμενος) καὶ ἀναγκάσας. Thackeray considers the text of *Against Apion* corrupt and restores the passage as follows: τήν τε ὑπάρχουσαν ἐξ ἀρχῆς πόλιν προσοχυρισάμενος καὶ ἑτέραν ἔξωθεν ἀνακαινίσας ('fortified the old city and restored an outer city'). The reading ἀνακαινίσας is found in some MSS of Josephos.

<sup>2</sup> Text: κατασκευάζειν. The Latin version of the parallel citation from *Ag. Ap.* has 'accedere' ('to approach').

<sup>3</sup> *Jos. Ag. Ap.* 1.142.

him. And the Lord sent against him the light-armed troops of the Chaldaeans, and of Syria, Moab, and the Ammonites, and they prevailed in the land of Judah according to the word of the Lord that he proclaimed by his servants the prophets.<sup>1</sup> And one of those to make this prophecy at this time (was) Ourias, son of Amaios, whom Joakeim brought back and killed after he fled to Egypt.<sup>2</sup> And Jeremiah, as was stated above, began prophesying in the thirteenth year of Josiah.<sup>3</sup>

264] In the fourth book of his *Indika*, Megasthenes asserts that Nebuchadnezzar was braver than Herakles, and with great courage subdued most of Libya and Iberia. Philostratos also concurs with him in his histories; hence certain histories, in reporting the siege of Tyre and the ancient Phoenicians, say about Nebuchadnezzar that he conquered Syria and Egypt and all Phoenicia in his war.<sup>4</sup>

Nebuchadnezzar conquered Joakeim in the beginning of the eleventh year of his reign and, binding him in bronze fetters, brought him back to Babylon in captivity along with many of the Jews and the sacred vessels, as it is written in the second book of the Paralipomena. After establishing his son Joacheim, also known as Jechonias, an 8-year-old boy, as a client king, he returned again to Judaea three months and ten days later, and in the same year laid siege to Jerusalem.<sup>5</sup> And Joacheim came out to him, as well as his servants, his mother with him, and the princes, and his eunuchs. And the king of Babylon captured them in the eighth year of his reign.<sup>6</sup> He entered the city, took out all the treasures of the house of the Lord and the treasures of the house of the king, and smashed all the golden vessels that Solomon the king of Israel had made in the temple of the Lord according to the Lord's command. And he removed all Jerusalem and all the princes and grandees in a forced captivity, taking captive 10,000 men and all the children, and every

<sup>1</sup> 4 Kgdms. 24.1-7; 2 Paralip. 36.5-7.

<sup>2</sup> Jer. 33.20-3 (LXX)/26.20-3 (MT).

<sup>3</sup> Jer. 1.2; 25.3.

<sup>4</sup> Megasthenes, *FGrH* 715 F 1; Philostratos, *FGrH* 789 F 1. The Ionian historian Megasthenes (c.350-290 BC) wrote an influential work, based on personal experience, about the geography, history, and customs of India. The figure of Philostratos is more obscure. For the same description of Nebuchadnezzar's valour by Philostratos and Megasthenes, see *Jos. Ag. Ap.* 1.144; *Ant.* 10.227-8; *Eus.* 1.19.32-20.7, quoting Abydenos; 23.19-24, quoting *Jos. Ag. Ap.*; *PE* 9.41.1, quoting Abydenos.

<sup>5</sup> 2 Paralip. 36.6-10; but cf. 4 Kgdms. 24.8, which states that Joacheim was 18 years of age when he assumed the throne.

<sup>6</sup> That is, AM 4895 = 8 Nebuchadnezzar, beginning AM 4888.

turnkey;<sup>1</sup> and no one was left except the destitute of the land. He removed Joachaim to Babylon and his mother and the wives of the king and the eunuchs, and the mighty men of the land he carried away from Jerusalem to Babylon into captive exile. And he removed as well all the men of power, and men of strength, 7000 in all fit for combat, and 1000 artificers and turnkeys (all mighty men of war). These the king of Babylon led into captivity to Babylon. And in his place, the king of Babylon made his son Matthias king, and conferred upon him the name of Sedekias. Sedekias was 20 years of age<sup>2</sup> when he assumed the throne and reigned for eleven years in Jerusalem.<sup>3</sup>

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I have quoted verbatim what is written in Fourth Kingdoms, so that readers may recognize that the Hebrew nation experienced differing captivities, and thus understand that the predictions of the prophets who have said 'Seventy years will the nation endure in captivity in Babylonia' are not uniform, either in their character or in chronology. But the beginning-point of these seventy years varies, as does their end-point.

Hence, according to the book of Esdras, the seventy-year period was completed in the first year of Cyrus, beginning with the fourth year of Joakeim, at the time when the decree of God went forth through the mouth of Jeremiah.<sup>4</sup> But the prophecy of Zacharias, who proclaimed forty-two years afterwards, states: 'Lord, how long will you have no mercy on Jerusalem and the cities of Judah, which you have disregarded for these seventy years?'<sup>5</sup> According to it, this seventy-year period will commence from some other point. Beginning from the death of Nebuchadnezzar, it is found to extend to the completion of the building of the temple. Its building commenced in the first instance from the first year of Cyrus and was brought to a halt under this same Cyrus, when only the foundations of the temple were laid, and it continued this way until the second year of Dareios, the son of Hystaspes. After the final release of the nation was authorized in the second year of this Dareios, as well as the re-establishment of the temple, the work was

<sup>1</sup> Text: *καὶ τὸν συγκλείοντα* (lit. 'and the man who locks the doors'); this represents Hebrew *מסגר*, from a root meaning 'lock' or 'enclose', but traditionally understood as 'smith'.

<sup>2</sup> Lit. 'Sedekias was a son of 20 years . . .'.

<sup>3</sup> 4 Kgdms. 24.12-18.

<sup>4</sup> 2 Esdr. 1.1; Jer. 25.1.

<sup>5</sup> Zech. 1.1, 12. Zech. 1.1 states that Zacharias began to prophesy in 2 Dareios. Synk. assigns 31 years to the reign of Cyrus and 8 years to his successor Kambyzes, so that 2 Dareios would be 41 years after 1 Cyrus.

completed in the sixth year of Dareios, as will be demonstrated next from the divine book of Esdras.<sup>1</sup> These then are the seventy years of the captivity of Judah, from the fourth year of Joakeim up to the first year of Cyrus:

- 8 years for Joakeim, from his fourth year up to the eleventh year.
- 11 years for Sedekias.
- 25 years for Nebuchadnezzar.
- 5 years for Eueilad Marodach.
- 3 years for Niriglesaros, also known as Baltasar.
- 17 years for Dareios Astyages.
- 1 year for Cyrus.
- 70 years altogether.

By contrast, the seventy years from the death of Nebuchadnezzar up to the completion of the building of the temple and the divine oracle of Zacharias the prophet are numbered as follows:

- 5 years of Eueilad Marodach.
- 3 years of Niriglesaros.
- 17 years of Dareios Astyages.
- 31 years of Cyrus.
- 8 years of Kambyeses.
- 6 years of Dareios son of Hystaspes.
- 70 years are completed altogether.

Daniel, together with his companions Ananias, Azarias, and Mizaël, was part of this captivity. Well educated, this Daniel proved pleasing to King Nebuchadnezzar.<sup>2</sup> This is what Africanus also attests, namely that Daniel and the three young men were from the second captivity of Judah.<sup>3</sup> But Panodoros and other historians say that they belonged to the captivity of Samaria<sup>4</sup> under Salmanasar.

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(20) The twentieth king of Judah was Sedekias 11 years<sup>5</sup>  
AM 4896

Africanus numbers the seventy years of the captivity from the first year of Sedekias.

In the fifth year of Sedekias, AM 4900, the great prophet Ezekiel began to prophesy. In the same year of the captivity of Joakeim, Sedekias informed the captives in Babylon that after seventy years they would return from Babylon in accordance with Jeremiah's prophecy.

<sup>1</sup> 2 Esdr. 1.1; 3.8; 4.24; 6.15.

<sup>2</sup> Dan. 4.1-5.

<sup>3</sup> Routh, fr. 42; cf. Leo Gramm. 45.5-8. See Gelzer i. 101.

<sup>4</sup> Lit. 'captivity in Samaria'.

<sup>5</sup> 4 Kgdms. 24.18. This passage, continuing up to the excerpt from 4 Kgdms. (p. 327 = Moss. 266.26), repeats p. 321 (261.14-262.7).

The false prophet Ananias opposed Jeremiah and died, at which time Ezekiel was prophesying in Babylon.

In Jerusalem, the freeing of the slaves took place.

When the sons of Jonadab, the son of Rhechab, came to Jerusalem during the siege of Sedekias, Jeremiah saw that, because of their father's order, they were neither drinking wine nor residing in a roofed house. So Jeremiah reproached the Jews for being disobedient to God, and unlike them, not even obeying the Father and Creator.

Upon coming out to the city of Benjamin to buy a field, Jeremiah the prophet was seized by a certain Hierouas, and was handed over to Sedekias and confined in prison. When he foretold there what would happen to the city and the people, he was cast into a cistern. The Ethiopian Abdemelech, a member of Sedekias' household, lifted him out of the cistern, after importuning the king. When Sedekias came forward to him and learnt from him what things would lead to deliverance, he did not listen. But Jeremiah was put under guard in the courtyard up until the time when the city was captured.

**From Fourth Kingdoms concerning the final captivity of Sedekias and the surviving remnant of the Jews at the time of Joakeim and the sacred vessels of the house of the Lord and the desolation of Jerusalem<sup>1</sup>**

And it came to pass in the ninth year of the reign of Sedekias in the tenth month, on the 11th of the month, that Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, came to Jerusalem, he and all his army. And he encamped against it and built a wall surrounding it. And the city was under siege up until the eleventh year of the reign of Sedekias, and the 9th of the month. And the famine prevailed in the city, and there was no bread for the people of the land. And the city was torn apart and there went out the king and all the men of war by night by the road of the gate between the two walls—this is the gate of the king's garden. And the Chaldaeans encircled the city in the lowlands towards Jericho. And they advanced along the road to Araba. And the army of the Chaldaeans followed behind the king and seized him in the wilderness of Jericho. And his entire army was scattered from about him. And they seized the king and led him to the king of Babylon in Oblatha. And he pronounced judgement against him, and slaughtered the sons of Sedekias before his eyes, and put out

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<sup>1</sup> 4 Kgdms. 25.1-16.

the eyes of Sedekias, and bound him in shackles, and led him to Babylon. And in the fifth week of the month (this was the nineteenth year of Nebuchadnezzar), Nabouzardan, captain of the guard, who stood before the king of Babylon in Jerusalem, came to Jerusalem and burnt the house of the Lord and the house of the king and all the houses of Jerusalem; he set fire to every house. And the forces of the Chaldaeans dismantled the wall encircling Jerusalem. The captain of the guard removed the remnant of the people remaining in the city and the deserters who had gone over to the king of Babylon, and the rest of the multitude; but from the poor of the land, he left some behind to be vinedressers and farmers. And the Chaldaeans tore to pieces the bronze monuments in the house of the Lord and the stands and the bronze sea in the house of the Lord, and carried out their bronze, and they took the cauldrons and lamps, robes, and bowls, and the censers and all the bronze vessels, with which they minister. And the captain of the guard took the fire-pans and the gold and silver bowls, two pillars, the one sea, and the stands, which Solomon had made for the house of the Lord. The bronze of the vessels was beyond weight. And so on.

268] This is what is stated in Fourth Kingdoms. But at the end of the second book of the Paralipomena, it says the following about the seventy years of captivity:

And they acted as servants to him and his sons, up until the reign of the Persians and the Medes, so that the word of the Lord through the mouth of Jeremiah might be fulfilled until the land might enjoy its Sabbaths for resting till the completion of the seventy years.<sup>1</sup>

Nebouzardan, the captain of the guard and servant of Nebuchadnezzar, set fire to the temple in Jerusalem and the palace, as well as the tents of the chief men and others, and led the dignitaries away to Nebuchadnezzar, who killed them. He left behind a few poor people in Judaea for the purpose of farming, and made Godolias their leader.<sup>2</sup> Jeremiah, even though he was invited by Nebuchadnezzar, if he liked,<sup>a</sup> to depart with him and receive honour, remained with the poor instead.<sup>3</sup> But after two months a certain

<sup>a</sup> Comma added after *βούλοιτο*.

<sup>1</sup> 2 Paralip. 36.20-1.

<sup>2</sup> 4 Kgdms. 25.20-2.

<sup>3</sup> Jer. 47.4-6 (LXX)/40.4-6 (MT).

Ismaël, persuaded by the king of the Ammonites, came with some others into Massiphatos and slew Godolias and the Chaldaeans and Jews with him.<sup>1</sup> Included among those he slew were eighty men from Samaria and the rest of Judaea, who were mourning the conquest of the temple and bringing offerings.<sup>2</sup> But a certain Jonas<sup>3</sup> took with him the remnant of the Jews, and Jeremiah as well, even though he was unwilling and opposed him, and fled with them to Ouaphrei, king of the Egyptians. There again Jeremiah prophesied to them about the final conquest and destruction by the Chaldaeans that were going to befall both them and the Egyptians.<sup>4</sup> This took place in the twenty-eighth year of Nebuchadnezzar. From this year up to the first year of Cyrus, the forty years according to the prophecy of Ezekiel were completed.<sup>5</sup> These men, upon becoming idolaters in Egypt and being censured by the great Jeremiah, stoned him to death.<sup>6</sup>

The years of this final captivity and destruction by fire are numbered from that point, that is, from the eleventh year of Sedekias, AM 4903.<sup>7</sup> And according to precise calculation, the years from the twentieth year of Nebuchadnezzar up to the first year of the reign of Cyrus are as follows: [269]

The remaining years of Nebuchadnezzar were twenty-four; for he was king of the Chaldaeans a total of forty-three years, and starting in his nineteenth year, he became king of the Jews as well, leaving a remainder of twenty-four years.

After him, his son, named Eueilad Marodach, reigned two years after the death of his father Nebuchadnezzar, as Alexander and Abydenos, authors of works on Chaldaean affairs, attest. Josephos and everyone follow them in this, and divine scripture is also in agreement.<sup>8</sup>

Because of his great lawlessness in the conduct of affairs and his wanton violence, Eueilad Marodach was slain by his brother-in-law

<sup>1</sup> 4 Kgdms. 25.23-5; Jer. 48.1-3 (LXX)/41.1-3 (MT).

<sup>2</sup> Jer. 48.4-7 (LXX)/41.4-7 (MT).

<sup>3</sup> Correctly Joanan (LXX)/Johanán (MT).

<sup>4</sup> Jer. 50.4-7 (LXX)/43.4-7 (MT); 51.29-30 (LXX)/44.29-30 (MT).

<sup>5</sup> Ezek 29.9-20.

<sup>6</sup> On Jeremiah's death by stoning, see Hippolyt. *Comm. Dan.* 1.12.4; *Prophets*, s.v. 'Jeremiah', 1-2.

<sup>7</sup> If 1 Sedekias was AM 4896 (see above, p. 326 = Moss. 266.4), the 11th year of his reign would be AM 4906, not 4903.

<sup>8</sup> Jos. *Ag. Ap.* 1.145-7 (quoting Berossos); cf. the excerpt from Alexander Polyhistor in Eus. 1.15.5-6, according to which Eueilad Marodach reigned for 12 years.

Niriglesaros, who became his successor. He was king of the Chaldaeans and the Jews and the other nations for four years. After him, it is said that his son Labosarochos was in control of the kingdom for nine months. But because of the depravity of his character, a conspiracy was formed against him by his friends. Divine scriptures make no mention of this, and most historians do not list him in chronological tables. Others join the period of his rule to his father Niriglesaros, computing five instead of four years. After him, those who conspired against him conferred the kingdom by common consent on one of the members of their band, Nabonnedos Assoueros, also known as Dareios or Astyages. In the seventeenth year of his reign, Cyrus advanced from Persia with a large force and seized outright the rest of his kingdom in war. When, after a fierce battle, Astyages himself fled to Babylon, which he had fortified with baked brick and bitumen, Cyrus captured him after a siege and razed the walls. But he treated Nabonnedos humanely and gave him Karmania as a place of residence.<sup>1</sup>

Josephos states that 'this is both correct and in agreement with our books. For it is recorded there that in the eighteenth year of his reign, Nebuchadnezzar laid waste to our temple; and it ceased to exist for fifty years. But when the foundations were laid in the second year of the reign of Cyrus, it was completely restored in the sixth year of Dareios.'<sup>2</sup>

From the nineteenth year of Nebuchadnezzar, there are then

	25 years
For his son Eueilad Marodach	2 years <sup>3</sup>
For his brother-in-law Niriglesaros	5 years, including the nine months for his son <sup>4</sup>
270] For Nabonnedos, also known as Assoueros, Dareios, also called Astyages	17 years
For Cyrus	1 year
At this point the first release from captivity took place.	
Total	50 years

<sup>1</sup> See Jos. *Ag. Ap.* 1.145-53; cf. Eus. 1.15.5-10 (from Alexander Polyhistor).

<sup>2</sup> See Jos. *Ag. Ap.* 1.154.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. above, pp. 304, 326 (= Moss. 247.12-23; 265.22-3), which assign five years to Eueilad Marodach.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. above, p. 326 (= Moss. 265.22-3), which assigns 3 years to the reign of Niriglesaros.



Eusebios, on the other hand, calculated that, starting from the above-mentioned Sedekias, Astyages reigned over the Medes for thirty-eight years, that is, from the twelfth year of Nebuchadnezzar up to the fifth year of Niriglesaros.<sup>1</sup> He reckons his fifth year as the first year of Cyrus' reign in his chronological table, and the thirty-first year of the captivity during the reign of Sedekias.<sup>2</sup> And he did not count at all the seventeen years of Dareios Astyages (which other church historians have included). Then he counted thirty years for Cyrus, and after them eight years for Kambyses, then seven months for the two Magians, who were brothers, and one year for Dareios son of Hystaspes.<sup>3</sup> This makes a total of seventy years from the fourth year of Sedekias.<sup>4</sup>

He did not, however, indicate that he was calculating the seventy years of captivity from the fourth year of Sedekias. Instead, he states that it was from the eleventh year of the same Sedekias, I mean from the nineteenth year of Nebuchadnezzar, and he also quotes a passage of Clement, in which he writes:

The first year of the captivity of the Jewish nation, when Nebuchadnezzar, king of the Chaldaeans, after a siege of Jerusalem set fire to the temple. The temple lasted 442 years from its first construction. Clement also agrees with us in the first book of his *Stromateis*. There he states that during the 48th Olympiad, the Jewish people were taken captive to Babylon, when Ouaphrei was king of the Egyptians, and Philip was archon in Athens. And the seventy years of the region's desolation are completed in the second year of Dareios. For the captivity of the Hebrews and the desolation of the temple in Jerusalem, there are seventy years. After Jerusalem was captured by the Assyrians, the remnant of the Jews fled to Ouaphrei, the king of the Egyptians. Jeremiah the prophet also makes mention of Ouaphrei.<sup>5</sup>

By assigning this to the eleventh year of Sedekias, Eusebios performed the calculation of the seventy years of captivity from the ninth year of Astyages up to his thirty-eighth year, and calculates

<sup>1</sup> Eus. 2.99.9-10.

<sup>2</sup> Eus. 2.102.14-20.

<sup>3</sup> Eus. 2.104.10-11, 22-6; but cf. also Eus. 1.33.11-18, which assigns 31 years to Cyrus' reign.

<sup>4</sup> The combined years in Eusebios' *Canons* come to a little less than 70: 30 years (Astyages) + 30 (Cyrus) + 8 (Kambyses) + 7 months (the two Magians) + 1 year (Dareios).

<sup>5</sup> Eus. 2.100<sup>ac</sup>; Clem. Al. *Strom.* 1.21.127.

thirty years for him. After him, he sets forth the first year of Cyrus and writes verbatim the following:

271] Cyrus released the Jewish people from captivity, during whose reign around 50,000 Jews, upon their return from Babylonia, erected the altar and laid foundations for the temple. Since the neighbouring nations were in control, the work remained incomplete up to Dareios, the son of Hystaspes; only the altar was erected. The entire period of the captivity of the Jewish nation encompasses seventy years. According to some, these years are calculated from the third year of Joakeim up to the twentieth year of Cyrus, king of the Persians; but according to others, they extend from the beginning of Jeremiah's prophecy, which occurred in the thirteenth year of the reign of Josiah, king of the Jews. Now from the fifth year of Jeremiah's prophecy up to the first year of Cyrus, there are seventy years. But the end-point of the seventy years of the temple's desolation occurs in the second year of Dareios, king of the Persians.<sup>1</sup>

Eusebios has deceived himself and the truth by calculating the seventy years for the period from the eleventh year of Sedekias up to the second year of Dareios, the son of Hystaspes—this is clear. For instead of these years, he should have computed the other twenty years of Nebuchadnezzar, who was the cause of the conquest of the nation, and the years of those who succeeded him (I mean the years of his son Eueilad Marodach, and Niriglesaros his brother-in-law, as was stated above); and he should then have proceeded next to Nabonnedos, who was Dareios Astyages, the son of Assoueros (he was the last king of the Medes from Arbakes, who, with Belesu, destroyed the kingdom of the Assyrians and its last king Sardanapalos).<sup>2</sup> But rather than do this, he abandoned the sequence appropriate to the chronological issue under consideration and took refuge in the Olympiads, as if he had forgotten himself and those who had subjugated the nation, and who held the Jewish nation in captivity for about thirty years after their conquest. This was entirely at odds with an accurate chronological demonstration.

The holy Clement, in his comparative treatment of the Greeks in his holy *Stromateis*, did in fact make judicious use of the Olympiads. But there, when he set about the task of describing events from the creation of the universe, he was not able to present the chronology or resolve the scriptural problems on the basis of the

<sup>1</sup> Eus. 2.102<sup>a</sup>, 103<sup>b</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Eus. 1.32.12-19.

Olympiads alone—particularly because the Olympiads do not begin at a single and uniformly determined point, as we have stated in our discourse about them.<sup>1</sup>

The truth is that the seventy years of captivity are to be calculated in different ways, since the same captivity of the Jewish nation occurred over different times. And it is entirely unnecessary to assume one and the same beginning for things which were done at different times. But the return from captivity also occurred at different times. And those who attend to these matters ought to make accurate inferences about this, and not distort for their own purposes statements in scripture or the specific periods during which the various nations had dominance. It is for this reason that great disagreement arises and has arisen among the majority of the historians, with the result that it is barely possible for us to find even two historians in complete agreement.

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Therefore, to the best of our ability, we have first taken pains to adhere to divine scriptures, and then to take note of those historians who have written an opinion about them which has some degree of accuracy, even if they have been quite mistaken in other cases.

Now the presentation will be clearer if we consider the subject in its entirety before we look at the particular details. Moreover, the restoration of Judah from the seventy years of captivity is in a way a particular detail in relation to the restoration of the twelve tribes, and is said to have occurred at one time in the first year of Cyrus, and then at another time in the second year of Dareios, the son of Hystaspes. Therefore, we shall show in sequence what the divine pronouncements revealed by the prophet Jeremiah<sup>2</sup> attest, and at which time they begin so as to bring the seventy-year total up to the first year of Cyrus; and we shall offer a general discussion about the so-called ten tribes of Israel in Samaria, and of the two tribes of Judah in Jerusalem, and those selected for captivity, and of the duration of their oppression. In order to do this, we have taken into consideration a single comprehensive pronouncement from God (found) written in only one of the prophets, and no one else.

Let us see what the great prophet Ezekiel, who discusses this matter and was afflicted because of this, says as from the spirit that communicated with him in the fifth year of the captivity of Joakeim, one and the same year as the fifth year of Sedekias' reign. His words are as follows: 'And you shall lie upon your left side and lay the iniquities of the house of Israel upon it according to the

<sup>1</sup> Clem. Al. *Strom.* 1.21.127.

<sup>2</sup> *Τερεμίου*. Corrected by Go.<sup>m</sup> to *Τεζεκιήλ*.

number of 150 days, which you shall lie upon it. And you will take up his iniquities. And I have given you their two iniquities for a number of 190 days. And you shall take up the iniquities of the house of Israel and accomplish this. And you shall lie on your right side, and you shall take up the iniquities of the house of Judah for forty days. I have appointed for you a day as a year. And you will prepare your face for the siege of Jerusalem and you shall strengthen your arm and prophesy against it. And behold I have put chains on you. And you may not turn from one side to the other, until the days of your siege are accomplished.<sup>1</sup>

From this it can be demonstrated for those who want a proper understanding that the period of the captivity of the entire nation of the Hebrews was completely encompassed in 190 years. Beginning from the first captivity under Theglaphalasar and Phakeë, which occurred in AM 4762 in the twelfth year of Achaz, it terminated in the first year of Cyrus the first king of the Persians, Medes, Assyrians, and Babylonians, which itself corresponds with AM 4952. If, then, we subtract the same 190 years from 4952 universal years, we have left 4762 years, as was previously stated. And if we add to these 4762 universal years the 120 years from the first year of Oseë up to the fourth year of Sedekias, we shall have left seventy years of Judah's captivity up to the second year of Cyrus. But the 150 years of the nine tribes of Israel, reckoned from the same 4762nd year of the universe, terminate in the twenty-sixth year of Nebuchadnezzar, which was eight years from the eleventh year of Sedekias and the final desolation of Jerusalem. The remaining forty years according to Ezekiel are from the twenty-seventh year of Nebuchadnezzar, that is, the ninth year of the conquest up to the reign of Cyrus.

But someone perhaps might reasonably wonder why the prophets Jeremiah and Zacharias, as well as the book of Esdras, speak of Judah's seventy-year captivity, whereas Ezekiel refers only to forty years. In response to this, we say that it is possible they are also in agreement with Ezekiel when these same forty years are numbered from Judah's final captivity, which took place in Egypt.<sup>2</sup>

(And after some other words, according to the divine oracle through Jeremiah:<sup>3</sup>) When he hid the stones in the entrance of the

<sup>1</sup> Ezek. 4.4-8.

<sup>2</sup> Jer. 25.11; Zech. 1.12; 1 Esdr. 1.55-2.1; 2 Esdr. 1.1; Ezek. 4.6.

<sup>3</sup> Although the parenthetical comment is Synk.'s usual way of introducing a direct quotation, what follows is only a paraphrase of Jer. 50.8-10 (LXX)/43.8-10 (MT).

house of Pharaoh, also known as Ouaphrei, in Taphnai, the prophet Jeremiah warned of Nebuchadnezzar's coming to Egypt and its inhabitants, as well as the remnant of Judah who fled into Egypt to Ouaphrei. These he warned according to a divine command, in which he says, 'And he will enter and smite the land of Egypt, some for death to death, some for captivity to captivity, some for the sword to the sword.'<sup>1</sup>

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(And after a few other words:) 'And all Judah residing in the land of Egypt will die by the sword and the famine.'<sup>2</sup> And this happened after about ten or nine years of captivity during the reign of Sedekias, from which time there are forty years up to the reign of Cyrus, as follows:

15 remaining years for Nebuchadnezzar.

5 years for Marodach.

3 years for Baltasar.

17 years for Dareios Astyages.

Total: 40 years.

31 years for Cyrus.<sup>3</sup>

In Babylon, Daniel and Ezekiel were prophesying. The three young men were becoming known.

In Egypt, Jeremiah was stoned to death.

In Judaea, Ambakoum was prophesying.

In Babylon there were the false prophets Achias, Sedekias, and Samaias.<sup>4</sup>

The holy Hippolytos says that the prophet Daniel and the three young men were part of the captivity at the time of Joakeim.<sup>5</sup> Others says they were part of the captivity of Samaria.<sup>6</sup>

Daniel interpreted dreams for Nebuchadnezzar in his twentieth year, AM 4904. And Nebuchadnezzar worshipped and honoured him

<sup>1</sup> Jer. 50.11 (LXX)/43.11 (MT).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Jer. 51.27 (LXX)/44.27 (MT).

<sup>3</sup> The appended notice about the 31 years of Cyrus' reign may be an interpolation. In the preceding table, Synk. attempts to harmonize the 40 years of Ezekiel and the 70 years of Jeremiah. His argument is that, although the counting of these years began at differing times, both ended in 1 Cyrus. Since the total years in this table comes to only 40 years, the interpolator might have incorrectly assumed that it was necessary to append the additional 31 years of Cyrus' reign, thereby completing what he believed was the 70 (actually 71) years of Judah's captivity.

<sup>4</sup> Jer. 36.21-32 (LXX)/29.21-32 (MT).

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Hippolyt. frs. 8, 9; see above, pp. 319-20 (= Moss. 260.17-22).

<sup>6</sup> See above, p. 326 (= Moss. 266.1-2), where Synk. identifies one of the other historians as Panodoros.

with incense as if he were a god. And he was made the foremost governor of Babylon. Daniel says that the twentieth year of his entire reign was the second year from the final desolation of the temple, and the thirty-sixth year of his reign was the eighteenth year from the desolation of the temple, when the events involving the furnace and the three young men took place.<sup>1</sup>

(18) The eighteenth king of the Chaldaeans was Eueilad Marodach  
5 years  
AM 4931

Some say that he reigned for twelve years, perhaps adding to his five years the seven years when Nebuchadnezzar lived among the beasts. He delivered Joakeim from prison and made him his co-regent, with whom he shared meals.<sup>2</sup>

275] (19) The nineteenth king of the Chaldaeans was Niriglesaros, also known in Daniel as Baltasar  
3 years  
AM 4936

Some claim that this Niriglesaros, known also as Baltasar in the prophet Daniel, was Nebuchadnezzar's son and the brother of Eueilad Marodach, who reigned before him and who was slain by him. But others say that he was a brother-in-law through the sister. Perhaps both are true.<sup>3</sup>

During his reign, Daniel and Ezekiel, great men, were prophesying.<sup>4</sup>

After he sinned against the sacred objects of the Lord, he was killed by Astyages according to the prediction of Daniel. During his reign, the writing appeared on the wall, which the prophet Daniel interpreted as referring to the transfer of power from the Chaldaeans to the Medes and Persians.<sup>5</sup>

He released Joakeim's son Jechonias from prison in the thirty-seventh year of his confinement in Babylon and honoured him and made him his table-companion.<sup>6</sup>

When Baltasar, also known as Niriglesaros, was drinking from the holy vessels of the house of the Lord at a meal with his nobility and

<sup>1</sup> Dan. 1.1; 2.1; 3.1. According to Dan. 2.1, Nebuchadnezzar's dream occurred in the 2nd, not the 20th, year of his reign. Synk. apparently assumed that this was a reference to the second year from the destruction of the temple, which occurred in 18 Nebuchadnezzar.

<sup>2</sup> 4 Kgdms. 25.27-30.

<sup>3</sup> Jos. Ag. Ap. 1.147, quoting Berossos (brothers-in-law); Eus. 2.101<sup>b</sup>; Chron. pasch. 257.13-17 (brothers).

<sup>4</sup> Eus. 2.100<sup>b</sup>.

<sup>5</sup> Dan. 5.24-31.

<sup>6</sup> 4 Kgdms. 25.27-30.

concubines, he saw something like the fingers of a man shining on the wall. Only Daniel interpreted their writing, in the following way: 'Mane, which is, "God has measured your kingdom and finished it." Thekel, "it has been weighed in the balance and found wanting." Phares, "Your kingdom is divided and given to the Medes and Persians."' In that very night Baltasar was indeed slain.<sup>1</sup>

### KINGS OF THE MEDES<sup>2</sup>

(8) The eighth king of the Medes was Astyages Dareios

38 years<sup>3</sup>

AM 4921

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From Nabonasar up to the first year of Dareios also known as Astyages, there are 176 years according to the Astronomical Canon, but according to the Ecclesiastical Canon presented here there are 177 years. And this makes no difference. For it is necessary to recognize that the Chaldaean Canon and Astronomical Canon calculate that Astyages was king of the Chaldaeans for thirty-four years, but the Ecclesiastical Canon reckons seventeen years (generally speaking, since there are some who say that it was only eleven years). And the same Astronomical Canon assigns only nine years to Cyrus, whereas the Ecclesiastical Canon assigns thirty-one years. Therefore, we have introduced these two canons up to the reign of Astyages, since they are in agreement, but for one year.<sup>4</sup>

In the twenty-first year of his reign, Nabonnedos, the last king of the Medes, called Astyages by them, who is also Dareios the son of Asoueros, unseated Niriglesaros, along with the other princes of the

<sup>1</sup> Dan. 5.

<sup>2</sup> Continued from p. 310 (= Moss. 252.12).

<sup>3</sup> Eus. 1.32.28.

<sup>4</sup> According to the Ecclesiastical Canon, the number of years up to 1 Astyages is 193, not 177. Hence, there is a difference of 17 years, not 1 year, between these two lists; see above, pp. 303-4 (= 245.15-246.7; 246.21-247.15). To the reign of Astyages the Astronomical Canon assigns 34 years; in contrast to the 17 years of his reign in the Ecclesiastical Canon. Agreement between the two lists is thus restored at the end of Astyages' reign. Synk. accounts for the differing chronologies of Astyages' reign by suggesting that that while the total years of his rule were 38 years, Astyages was king of both the Medes and Chaldaeans for either 11 or 17 years. Synk. prefers the latter number, because it better supports his computation of the 70 years of captivity; see below, pp. 339, 340 (= Moss. 277.20-2; 279.10-13). Mosshammer suggests that the chronology of 11 years may have been introduced from a notice in Eus. 2.101<sup>b</sup>, referring to transfer of Chaldaean rule to the Medes and Persians in 27 Astyages.

Chaldaeans. Niriglesaros, also known as Baltasar, was the brother-in-law of Eueilad Marodach, Nebuchadnezzar's son. Dareios slew him and held control of the kingdom of the Chaldaeans and Medes another seventeen years, but according to some, eleven years, beginning with the twenty-seventh year of his reign, as it is written. Dareios the Mede succeeded to the kingship when he was 60 years of age.<sup>1</sup>

After making Daniel first among the nobility, he again cast him into the lions' den, when jealousy caused his fellow noblemen to conspire against him.<sup>2</sup>

Chosen for him because of her beauty, Esther was wed to this king.<sup>3</sup>

The events at the time of Mardochaios and Aman and the deliverance of the Hebrews by Esther.<sup>4</sup>

The same individual was named Artaxerxes, Astyages, Dareios son of Asoueros, and Nabonnedos.<sup>5</sup>

In his reign, Daniel saw the visions through Gabriel and learnt the time of the coming of the Lord.<sup>6</sup>

277] Dareios and Asoueros, also known as Astyages, were the same person, the grandfather of Cyrus.<sup>7</sup>

When he was celebrating his victory festivities against India and other nations, he requested that his own wife Ouasthe, who was of surpassing beauty, should appear before the nobility who were connected with him. But when she did not wish to do so, he deprived her of her privileges and ordained that young virgins be selected from all the land under his control. Of all of these, Edesa, also known as Esther, was found to be the most comely. She was a Hebrew woman, the cousin of Mardochaios, and one of the captives at the time of Sedekias. And Dareios, also known as Artaxerxes, married her. Mardochaios was appointed one of the king's bodyguards; agitated by visions, and overhearing two of the eunuchs in the king's bodyguard planning to kill him, he warned the king. And after the eunuchs were executed, Aman, who was in charge of the king's affairs, promised to bring 10,000 talents to the king, if he

<sup>1</sup> Dan. 5.31 (Theod.). Both MT and Theodotion have 62 years of age. According to the LXX text of Daniel, Artaxerxes, not Dareios, succeeded Baltasar.

<sup>2</sup> Dan. 6.6-17.

<sup>3</sup> Esth. 2.17.

<sup>4</sup> Esth. 8-10.

<sup>5</sup> Dan. 5.31; 9.1; Bel. 1.1 (Theod.).

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Dan. 9.21-7.

<sup>7</sup> That is to say, Dareios was identical with Assoueros, who was his father just above.



would destroy the Hebrew people. But through Esther, Mardochaios persuaded the king to kill Aman.<sup>1</sup>

There are those, then, who would reckon the seventy weeks from this date, whereas others, such as Africanus, reckon them from Nehemiah and the final building of the temple and the city, which occurred in the twentieth year of Artaxerxes, also known as 'Longarm'.<sup>2</sup> This was AM 5068. And still others count the seventy weeks from the building of the temple under Zorobabel and Jesus the son of Josedek, in the second year of Dareios.<sup>3</sup>

All the years of King Dareios, also known as Astyages, are thirty-eight; for twenty-one years he was king of the Medes (according to others twenty-seven years), and for seventeen years he was king of the Medes and Chaldaeans (according to some eleven years). But one way or the other, there is no contradiction at all with the truth. Now there are some who are keen to demonstrate that the seventy years of the captivity begin with the nineteenth year of Nebuchadnezzar, the final desolation of the house of the Lord and the captivity of the nation, and extend up to the second year of Dareios, the son of Hystaspes; so they subtract the excess years from Astyages in order to fix a period of seventy years. But because it is impossible to subtract from the progressive increase of universal years, the combined total of these years contradicts those who proceed in this way. Moreover, as was noted above, Josephos enumerated a total of fifty years when he asserted that the temple remained desolate from the nineteenth year of Nebuchadnezzar to the second year of Cyrus, who was the first to exercise control over the kingdom of the Persians and Medes and Assyrians and Chaldaeans, and of both Syria and the Lydians.<sup>4</sup>

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### KINGS OF THE PERSIANS

Cyrus was king of the Persians and Medes, of both the Assyrians and Chaldaeans, of Syria and the Lydians.

For Cyrus, the first king of the Persians

31 years<sup>5</sup>

AM 4952

<sup>1</sup> Esth. 1.1-3.9; 7.1-10.

<sup>2</sup> Routh, fr. 50.

<sup>3</sup> Hippolyt. fr. 23. On the reckoning of the 70 weeks of years of Daniel from the reign of Artaxerxes, see the excerpt from Africanus below, p. 467 (= Moss. 392.1-6); Eus. 2.114<sup>f</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> Jos. Ag. Ap. 1.154; see above, p. 330 (= Moss. 269.24-7).

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Eus. 1.33.11 (31 years); 2.102.20 (30 years). Synk.'s 31 years for the reign of Cyrus originate in the Ecclesiastical Computation; see above, pp. 302, 304 (= Moss. 245.8-10; 247.16).

This Cyrus subjugated all Asia Minor to the kingdom of the Persians. Up until Alexander of Macedon, that was how it remained for the entire period of time.

In the first year of his reign, Cyrus announced to the Jews their restoration from captivity. For the seventieth year had now been completed, just as it is recorded in the second book of the Paralipomena.

### First year of Cyrus king of the Persians<sup>1</sup>

279] After the fulfilment of the word of the Lord through the mouth of Jeremiah, the Lord stirred up the spirit of Cyrus king of the Persians, and told him to proclaim in writing over all his kingdom, 'Thus says Cyrus, the king of the Persians. The Lord God of heaven has given all the kingdoms of earth to me, and he has ordered me to build for him a house in Jerusalem in Judaea. Who is there from you, from all of his people? His god shall be with you, and let him go up.'

After issuing this in writing for everyone to read, that is to say, when it was made public, he decreed the restoration to all the Jews who were interested in returning. It is then abundantly clear that since the word of the Lord spoken through the mouth of Jeremiah was fulfilled, the seventieth year of the captivity has been completed in the first year of Cyrus according to divine scripture. If we trace the years from the first year of Cyrus back to the fourth year of Joakeim, beginning from the seventieth year we find the following:

1 year for Cyrus.

17 years for Dareios Astyages.

3 years for Niriglesaros, also known as Baltasar.

5 years for Eueilad.

24 years for Nebuchadnezzar.

11 years for Sedekias.

1 year for the two Jechoniases.<sup>2</sup>

8 years for Joakeim.

This makes a total of 70 years from the third year of Joakeim up to the first year of Cyrus.

<sup>1</sup> 2 Paralip. 36.22-3.

<sup>2</sup> Text: τῶν δύο Ἰεχονιῶν ἔτος α'. Jechonias was another name for Joacheim, of whom the Bible knows only one. Since, according to Synk., Sedekias was also known as Jechonias (see above, p. 320 = Moss. 260.30), the passage perhaps originally stated 'one year for the second Jechonias'. But cf. above, p. 321 (= Moss. 261.7-8), where Synk. assigns only three months to the reign of Joacheim.

At the end of Joakeim's third year and the beginning of his fourth, Nebuchadnezzar's reign began. And the warning came to Jeremiah directed at all the people of Judah and the inhabitants of Jerusalem, reminding them how from the thirteenth year of Josiah even up to that twenty-third year<sup>1</sup> they had ignored God, who in his forbearance sent forth the prophets as a corrective for their obsession with idols; but they did not heed them.<sup>2</sup> At that time, the sentence of desolation was also decreed, and the seventy-year period was ordained through the mouth of Jeremiah. And the destruction of the Chaldeans occurred in the same year as the restoration of the Jews, at the beginning of the reign of Cyrus, the first king of the Persians.

The wording of the prophecy is as follows: "The word that came to Jeremiah in the fourth year of the reign of Joakeim. Therefore, thus says the Lord: "Since you did not believe my words, behold I will send and take the family from the north, and I will bring them against this land, and against those who inhabit it, and against all the nations around it. And I will utterly destroy them, and I will give them over to annihilation, and into eternal hissing. And I will destroy the voice of joy from them and the voice of gladness, and the voice of the bridegroom and the voice of the bride, and the scent of ointment and the light of a lamp. And all the land will be in desolation and they will serve among the Gentiles for seventy years. And when the seventy years are completed, I will take vengeance on that nation, says the Lord, and I will annihilate them for ever."<sup>3</sup>

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It is abundantly clear to those seeking correct understanding that the divine decree of seventy years against the house of Judah and Jerusalem was enacted in the fourth year of Joakeim and from this time they began to serve the Gentiles.

In the same year, Nebuchadnezzar slew Pharaoh Nechao, who had appointed Joakeim as king of Jerusalem after removing Joachaz son of Josiah and transferring him to Egypt; and Nebuchadnezzar went up against Joakeim and Joakeim became his servant for three years. When he revolted, Nebuchadnezzar captured him along with the chief men of the people and the stoutest warriors, as well as the carpenters and all the remaining choice holy objects, just as it is written there.<sup>4</sup> This, the captivity proper, is therefore separate from the burning of the Lord's house and the city. Thus, from the time

<sup>1</sup> Of Jeremiah's prophecy.

<sup>2</sup> Jer. 25.1-4.

<sup>3</sup> Jer. 25.8-12.

<sup>4</sup> 4 Kgdms. 23.33-24.7; 2 Paralip. 36.1-8.

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when they began to serve the Gentiles, that is, the Chaldaeans, and the divine decree against them was enacted in the fourth year of Joakeim, up until the first year of Cyrus, the total number of years comes to seventy years precisely. And this calculation is completely free of numerical distortion, without subtraction of any kind or addition of years. But all the other methods of calculating these seventy years are in fact forced. And let no one suppose that we have departed from the truth by reckoning this first year of captivity twenty years before the final captivity. For this is also what the divine oracle shows in the promises to Abraham: before Isaac, Jacob, and the patriarchs were born, the oracle said that his seed would serve 400 years in an alien land. Everyone, however, reckons the 400 years from the divine decree.<sup>1</sup> Therefore, it would not be unusual to number the seventy-year period of the sojourn in Babylon and the servitude in Judaea also from the point at which the divine decree was uttered through the prophet Jeremiah, which, as has been often stated, was enacted in the fourth year of Joakeim. This fourth year of Joakeim is the first year of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar. From this year up to the completion of Cyrus' first year and the beginning of his second, there is a total of seventy years. In Cyrus' second year, when the foundations of the temple were laid, Zorobabel son<sup>a</sup> of Salathiel, the son of Jechonias, was ruler, so to speak, from the royal sceptre of Judah, and Jesus, the son of Josedek, was high priest. Forty-six years later the work was completed, during the reign of Dareios, the son of Hystaspes, as we shall again explain when we reach that point. For although Cyrus actively supported the building project and issued an order for it, they were prevented from undertaking its construction because the neighbouring nations, especially those in Samaria, squarely opposed them.<sup>2</sup>

Upon killing his own grandfather Astyages, king of the Medes (whom we have mentioned above), Cyrus ushered in the Persian kingdom. Medes were kings for some years after Sardanapalos, beginning with Arbakes the Mede who put an end both to him and the Assyrian kingdom.

This Cyrus captured in battle Kroisos and the Lydian kingdom when he arrived in Sardis, and made him an adviser to his son Kambyses.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Text: *Ζοροβάβελ υἱὸς Σαλαθιήλ . . . ἡγουμένου*. Since the construction is a genitive absolute, *υἱὸς* has been emended to *υἱοῦ*.

<sup>1</sup> Gen. 15.13. Cf. above, pp. 170–1 (= Moss. 136.13–30).

<sup>2</sup> 2 Esdr. 3.8; 4.1–5, 24.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Herodot. 3.36.

The same king again exalted Daniel the prophet with greater distinction than anyone else until he smashed the image of Bel, so that it should not be worshipped, and destroyed the dragon; then he cast him into the den of lions a second time.<sup>1</sup>

Following the divine book of the Paralipomena (a passage from which we have quoted above along with the letter of Cyrus), we are of the opinion, then, that the seventieth year was thus completed in this first year of Cyrus, dating from the fourth year of Joakeim.<sup>2</sup> This was the first year of Nebuchadnezzar, twenty-three years after the inception of Jeremiah's prophecy and the thirteenth year of Josiah's reign.<sup>3</sup> There are those who think to number this seventy-year period from this latter point until the first year of Cyrus. But this also contradicts the divine decree, which was enacted through the mouth of Jeremiah twenty-three years later in the fourth year of Joakeim. (Those who wish can be readily convinced by the book of Jeremiah, a passage of which we have cited for ready access.) And it disagrees as well with the chronological calculation which, from the thirteenth year of Josiah, works out at ninety-three, not seventy years.<sup>4</sup>

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It is fitting to adduce also the holy-minded Esdras, whose instruction about these same matters is clearer than the second book of Paralipomena, namely that in the first year of Cyrus the seventy-year period was fulfilled. On this, he writes the following:

Cyrus was his name in Greek, but it was Artaxerxes in Persian. In his third year, Balsamos, Mithridates, and Rhomelios wrote to him about the building of the temple, and this Cyrus stopped them after the laying of the foundations.<sup>5</sup>

Esdras calls him both Artaxerxes and Artasasthas in his writing.<sup>6</sup> But the one who released Esdras with honour to Jerusalem is

<sup>1</sup> Dan. 14 (Bel and the Dragon, one of the Greek additions to the book of Daniel).

<sup>2</sup> 2 Paralip. 36.22-3.

<sup>3</sup> Jer. 25.1-3.

<sup>4</sup> On the calculation of the 70 years from 13 Josiah, see Eus. 2.103<sup>b</sup>; *Chron. pasch.* 268.17-19.

<sup>5</sup> 1 Esdr. 2.12-30; 2 Esdr. 4.7-24. Synk. does not quote the passages from 1 and 2 Esdras verbatim. For Synk.'s identification of Artaxerxes with Cyrus, see also below, p. 354 (= Moss. 291.25-292.9); modern scholars are still not agreed on the true chronology of the events described in 2 Esdras = Ezra-Nehemiah.

<sup>6</sup> For the use of *Ἀρτασασθάς* (or *Ἀρθασασθάς*; see below, p. 356 = Moss. 293.18,20), see e.g. 2 Esdr. 4.7, 8, 11, 23; 6.14; 7.1, 7, 11, 21.

another Artaxerxes, the so-called 'Longarm', grandson of Dareios, the son of Hystaspes.<sup>1</sup>

When Cyrus launched a campaign against the Massagetai, he was killed by a woman named Tomyris, their queen.<sup>2</sup> After him, his son Kambyzes ruled the Persians for eight years. Some, such as Africanus, think that he was Nebuchadnezzar II, who was at the time of Holofernes and Judith.<sup>3</sup> But this is impossible, first because it is written in Judith that in his eighteenth year Holofernes was sent out against Syria, Palestine, and Egypt.<sup>4</sup> But this Kambyzes was king for only eight years, so how did he dispatch Holofernes in his eighteenth year?<sup>5</sup> Secondly, it is written that it was during the time of Joakeim the great high priest, who was son of Jesous, the son of Josedek, that the events involving Judith and Holofernes occurred. Now Joakeim began his service as high priest twenty years after the death of Kambyzes.<sup>6</sup>

It thus remains that the events involving Judith took place in the period of time between Artaxerxes Longarm and Kambyzes. But it cannot possibly be said that this happened during the time of Dareios, Kambyzes' successor. For during almost all his time, Zorobabel was leader of the Jews, and a very close friend of this same Dareios son of Hystaspes, along with Jesous, the son of Josedek.<sup>7</sup> But neither did this happen during the reign of Artaxerxes Longarm from his twentieth year until his thirty-second year, at which time Nehemiah erected the walls of Jerusalem. For Eliasibos, who as his son succeeded Joakeim, was serving as high priest during the time of Nehemiah, as it is written.<sup>8</sup>

It remains then that the deeds of Judith's time occurred at the time of Xerxes, the son of Dareios, the son of Hystaspes. This was

<sup>1</sup> 2 Esdr. 7.

<sup>2</sup> Herodot. I.214.

<sup>3</sup> Routh, fr. 43. For the identification of Kambyzes as the Nebuchadnezzar named in the book of Judith, see Eus. 2.104<sup>c</sup>; *Suda*, s.v. *Ἰουδήθ*; Joh. Ant. fr. 1.28 (*FHG* iv. 540); *Chron. pasch.* 270.2-4; see also Ps.-Jul. Pol. 142: 'Kambyzes, also known as Nebuchadnezzar, son of Cyrus, reigned for eight years; during his reign, the woman of Judaea from Betoulia slew Holofernes his commander-in-chief who had marched against Judaea . . .'

<sup>4</sup> Jdt. 2.1.

<sup>5</sup> See above, p. 304 (= Moss. 247.17).

<sup>6</sup> Jdt. 4.8. According to Synk.'s chronology, 1 Kambyzes was AM 4983. Joakeim's service as high priest began in AM 5012. See below, pp. 351, 361 (= Moss. 288.24-5; 298.9-10).

<sup>7</sup> 2 Esdr. 5.2.

<sup>8</sup> 2 Esdr. 11.1; 13.1; 23.4-6.

around the twentieth year of Joakeim, the son of Jesus, the son of Josedek, this Joakeim immediately succeeding his father Jesus to the high priesthood. Hence a somewhat different question concerning Jesus, the son of Josedek, is also resolved: namely that he served as high priest for roughly sixty years.<sup>1</sup> For from the first year of Cyrus up to the sixth year of Dareios, in which year the temple was built, forty-six years are numbered. Therefore, Judith's deeds are more properly ascribed to the reign of this Xerxes, because it was during this time that Joakeim was serving in that place as high priest, as it is recorded.

Now this Xerxes also subjugated Egypt when it revolted at the time of Dareios his father.<sup>2</sup> So he is the Nebuchadnezzar reported in the book of Judith, during whose reign Holofernes was killed by her with the assistance of God.

### KINGS OF THE ROMANS<sup>3</sup>

(19) The nineteenth king of the Romans was Ancus Marcius

23 years<sup>4</sup>

AM 4853

(20) The twentieth king of the Romans was Tarquinius

37 years

AM 4876

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(21) The twenty-first king of the Romans was Servius, also known as Silvius Tullus, the son of a slave woman

44 years<sup>5</sup>

AM 4913

(22) The twenty-second king of the Romans was Tarquinius Superbus

24 years<sup>6</sup>

AM 4957

Upon eliminating the king who preceded him, his own father-in-law Silvius Tullus, he replaced him as king.<sup>7</sup> But he too was killed because his own son Tarquinius violated Lucretia the wife

<sup>1</sup> Jesus (Jeshua) began to serve as high priest in 2 Cyrus, who reigned for 31 years. Since Kambyses' reign lasted 8 years and Joakeim's high priesthood began 20 years after Kambyses' death, Jesus held the office for 60 years. See Gelzer ii. 172.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Herodot. 7.7.

<sup>3</sup> Continued from p. 308 (= Moss. 250.19). Cf. Eus. 1.140.12-15; 141.4-7 (= Dion. Hal. *Rom. Ant.* 1.75.2.).

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Eus. 1.140.12 (33 years); 141.5 (24 years).

<sup>5</sup> Eus. 1.140.14; 141.7. But cf. Eus. 2.101.8 (34 years).

<sup>6</sup> Eus. 1.140.15. But cf. Eus. 2.103.14 (35 years).

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Livy 1.46-8.

of Collatinus, a distinguished man. After the assassination of Tarquinius, he, together with Brutus, was the first to proclaim the government of consuls, and the Romans did not tolerate monarchical rule until the reign of Julius Caesar.<sup>1</sup>

Some would have it that Cronus Albanus was the first to hold sway in the regions to the west. It is said that after him his son Picus, also known as Zeus, became king, then Faunus, the son of Zeus, also known as Hermes. Succeeding them upon his return from Spain was Herakles,<sup>2</sup> and after him Latinus. During his reign, Aeneas, following the conquest of Troy, arrived, supplied with arms and royal wealth, and was married to his daughter Lavinia. He and his successors born from him were kings of the Latins. Altogether there were sixteen kings up to Romulus, the founder of Rome. From him, those who were previously called Albanians, then Italians, then Latins, came to be known as Romans.<sup>3</sup>

From Romulus up to this twenty-fourth year of Tarquinius Superbus, there are 225 years, that is, from his thirteenth year, in which he founded Rome.<sup>4</sup> And there were seven Roman kings, after whom there were then consuls, beginning with Collatinus and Brutus.<sup>5</sup> Then came tribunes and dicators,<sup>6</sup> and after them there was

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.106<sup>d</sup>; Joh. Mal. 188.1–4; Eutrop. 1.7–8.

<sup>2</sup> Text: ἐφ' οἷς Ἡρακλῆς ἐπανελθὼν ἀπὸ Ἰσπανίας. The poet and scholar Leopardi, however, was probably right to read ἐφ' οὐ, posit a lacuna after Ἰσπανίας ('in whose day Herakles, having returned to Spain, [came to Italy?]', and read Λατίνων in the next clause; see *Scr. fil.* 269, cf. Eus. 1.140.16.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. above, pp. 247–8 (= Moss. 200.14–201.3); Eus. 1.136.7–19.

<sup>4</sup> The duration of Tarquinius Superbus' 24-year rule is from AM 4957 to AM 4980. The end of his rule is thus 225 years from Rome's founding in AM 4755; see above, p. 284 (= Moss. 230.12–13).

<sup>5</sup> Above (p. 345 = Moss. 284.4), Synk. lists Tarquinius Superbus as the 22nd Roman king. This number represents the sequence of both Latin and Roman kings, beginning with Aeneas. The seven Roman kings mentioned here refer only to the sequence of kings beginning with Romulus. Although 16th in succession from Aeneas, Romulus is, properly speaking, the first king of the Romans; see above, p. 283 (= Moss. 230.4).

<sup>6</sup> Text: δικάτωρες (A). B: δεικτάτορες. Di.: δικτάτωρες. For Synk.'s use of the form 'dicators', see also below, pp. 361, 366, 376 (= Moss. 298.4; 301.22; 310.21). See Eus. 1.142.5; 2.190<sup>Attm</sup>: 'Dikatores' (tr. Karst); but Jerome at Eus. 2.106<sup>d</sup> renders 'tribuni plebi ac dictatores et rursum consules' who held power for almost 464 years up to the time of Julius Caesar. Byzantine sources use both 'dicator' and the correct 'dictator' to describe a ruler having διπλασίαν ἀρχήν; see e.g. Hesych. s.v. δικάτωρ; *Suda*, s.v. Δικτάτωρ; Phot. *Lex.* s.v. Δικτάτωρ.



a continuation entirely of consuls, for 473 years, that is from AM 4981 up to 5454, in which year Gaius Julius Caesar became the first monarch.<sup>1</sup>

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## MISCELLANY

The first Roman consuls were Collatinus and Brutus.<sup>2</sup>

The brothers Polykrates, Syloson,<sup>3</sup> and Pantognostos were tyrants of Samos.<sup>4</sup>

Thales died.

Cyrus captured Sardes.

Harpagos, who had high standing with Cyrus, launched an invasion against Ionia.

Theognios the poet was becoming known.

Peisistratos became king of the Athenians for the second time.

Pherekydes the historian was becoming known, Pythagoras' teacher.<sup>5</sup>

Simonides the lyric poet was becoming known.

Phokylides and Xenophanes, the natural philosopher and tragedian, were becoming known.<sup>6</sup>

Polykrates the tyrant of the Samians was crucified.<sup>7</sup>

Harmodios and Aristogeiton did away with the tyrant Hipparchos. At that time, Leaina their courtesan,<sup>8</sup> under coercion to reveal the conspirators, cut out her own tongue.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Eus. 1.140.16–18; 142.8–17; 2.106<sup>cd</sup>. In the first book, Eusebios counts 244 years from the founding of Rome to the death of Tarquinius, and 704 years from Rome's founding to the accession of Julius Caesar. In Jerome's version of *Canons*, he assigns either 240 or 243 years for the first period, and 464 years (cf. Eus. 2.190<sup>Arm</sup>: 460 years) for the period from the death of Tarquinius to Caesar, making a total of either 704 or 707 years. For Synk.'s chronology of Roman history, see further below, pp. 447–8 (= Moss. 375.4–11).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Eus. 1.142.30.

<sup>3</sup> Text: *Συλοσών* (Scal.). A: *συλλος ὦν*. B: *σύλλος ὦν*. The reading of MS B is also reflected in Eus. 2.189<sup>Arm</sup>: 'Silos, zu denen auch Pandokostos (gehörte)' (tr. Karst). Cf. Eus. 2.104<sup>B</sup>: 'Polycrates, Sylus et Pantagnostus'.

<sup>4</sup> Eus. 2.104<sup>B</sup>; cf. Strabo 14.1.16.

<sup>5</sup> There is no comma in the Greek text after *ἐγνωρίζετο*. This atactic addition of information not present at Eus. 2.103<sup>n</sup> suggests that it may be a gloss.

<sup>6</sup> Eus. 2.103<sup>hiklmnp</sup>.

<sup>7</sup> Lacking in Eusebios, but see Herodot. 3.125.

<sup>8</sup> Eus. 2.106<sup>a</sup> ('amica eorum').

The Athenians honoured only the courtesan Leaina with a statue on the Acropolis, but instead of an inscription, they depicted this Leaina without a tongue, to illustrate her affliction.<sup>1</sup>

When the census was taken in Rome, the population was found to be 120,000 in number.<sup>2</sup>

The Lakedaimonians were the fourteenth to have dominion over the sea, for (two) years.<sup>3</sup>

Demokritos of Abdera, the natural philosopher, as well as Herakleitos, called the Obscure, and Anaxagoras, both natural philosophers, were flourishing. Hellanikos the historian was becoming known.<sup>4</sup>

#### KINGS OF THE MACEDONIANS<sup>5</sup>

- 286] (6) The sixth king of the Macedonians was Philip 35 years<sup>6</sup>  
AM 4886
- (7) The seventh king of the Macedonians was Aeropas 23 years<sup>7</sup>  
AM 4921
- (8) The eighth king of the Macedonians was Alketas 28 years<sup>8</sup>  
AM 4944

#### MISCELLANY

When Egypt was shaken by an extraordinary earthquake, the Chaldaeans broke off their siege against her and departed in fear.

The city of Kamarina was founded.

Perinthos was founded.

The monarchy of the Corinthians was dissolved in this period.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Paus. 1.23.1–2; Polyæn. *Strat.* 8.45, according to which Leaina was Aristogeiton's mistress and the statue was in the form of a bronze lioness (*λέαινα*) without a tongue.

<sup>2</sup> Eus. 2.107<sup>c</sup>. Cf. Dion. Hal. *Rom. Ant.* 5.20.1 (130,000).

<sup>3</sup> Text: ἔτη ἑβ' τοῦ πλήθους. Mosshammer brackets ἑβ' τοῦ πλήθους (an obvious repetition from the previous line) and emends to β'. Dindorf emends to ἑβ' ('12'). Cf. Eus. 1.107.10 (from Diod. Sic.), which assigns two years to Lakedaimonian rule of the sea.

<sup>4</sup> Eus. 2.107<sup>e</sup>.

<sup>5</sup> Continued from p. 310 (= Moss. 252.20). Cf. Eus. 1.108.4–6 (from Diod. Sic. 7.15.2 [fr.]); 2.95.20, 98.14, 101.5.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Eus. 1.108.4 (33 years); 2.95.20–1 (38 years).

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Eus. 1.108.5 (20 years); 2.98.14 (26 years).

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Eus. 1.108.6 (18 years).

A he-goat was awarded by the Greeks to contestants on the stage, whence they received the name 'tragikoi'.<sup>1</sup>

Thales of Miletos predicted a total eclipse of the sun.<sup>2</sup>

The Isthmian and Pythian games were celebrated for the first time after Melikertes.

The seven sages were designated.

Astyages made war against the Lydians.

Anaximander, the Milesian natural philosopher, was becoming known.

Abaris came to Greece from Scythia.<sup>3</sup>

There is a tradition that around this time the 'seven philosophers' were flourishing among the Greeks. Their names are Solon of Athens, Thales of Miletos, Pittakos of Lesbos, Cheilon of Lakedaimonia, Bias of Priene, Anacharsis the unlettered Scythian, and Kleoboulos of Lindos.

The twelfth to have dominion over the sea were the Phokians, for forty-four years.<sup>4</sup>

The Nemean games were first celebrated by the Argives after the games for Archemoros.<sup>5</sup>

Aesop the fabulist was becoming known, who was killed by the Delphians.

The athletic contest of the Panathenaia was celebrated.

Eugamon of Cyrene, the author of the *Telegonia*, was becoming known.<sup>6</sup>

After being rejected as too weak to compete in boys' boxing in the Olympic games, Pythagoras of Samos entered men's boxing and won.<sup>7</sup> In the 52nd Olympiad, Arrichion of Phigaleia, the victor in the third pankration, died as sole competitor; his dead body was crowned, since his opponent had already conceded having had his foot broken by him.<sup>8</sup>

Peisistratos was tyrant of Athens and then arrived in Italy.

Anaximenides the natural philosopher was becoming known.

Stesichoros died.

Simonides was flourishing.

Cheilon, one of the 'seven philosophers', became an ephor of the Lakedaimonians.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Eus. 2.99<sup>c</sup>, 98<sup>h</sup>, 100<sup>ed</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.100<sup>f</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> Eus. 2.101<sup>defgk</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Eus. 1.107.8 (from Diod. Sic.); 2.187<sup>Arm</sup>.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.101<sup>h</sup>.

<sup>6</sup> Eus. 2.102<sup>dch</sup>.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Eus. 1.93.10-17 (48th Olympiad).

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Eus. 1.93.31-94.4 (54th Olympiad).

<sup>9</sup> Eus. 2.102<sup>efghi</sup>.

**KINGS OF THE LYDIANS<sup>1</sup>**

1. Ardysos, son of Alyates	36 years
2. Alyates	14 years
3. Miles	12 years
4. Kandaules	17 years
5. Gyges	36 years <sup>2</sup>
6. Ardysos	38 years <sup>3</sup>
7. Sadyates	15 years <sup>4</sup>
8. Alyates	49 years
9. Kroisos	15 years

After launching an invasion against Cyrus, Kroisos was taken prisoner, and the kingdom of the Lydians conquered, having lasted for 232 years. As the ninth to become king of the Lydians, he reigned for fifteen years, up until Cyrus' fourteenth year.

The kingdom of the Lydians began in AM 4735 and was dissolved in AM 4966, that is, in the fourteenth year of Cyrus king of the Persians. Nine kings ruled it for a period extending 232 years.<sup>5</sup>

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**UNIVERSAL YEARS****The high priests beginning from the time of Cyrus<sup>6</sup>**

The first high priest was Jesous, son of Josedek 60 years<sup>7</sup>  
AM 4952

In Babylon, Daniel and Ezekiel began to prophesy, and in Judaea, Ambakoum. During the restoration from captivity, Aggaios and Zacharias were prophesying.

Zorobabel, son of Salathiel, son of king Jechonias, and Jesous, son of Josedek, were leaders. Jesous, the son of Josedek, served as priest.

<sup>1</sup> Eus. 2.85.24-5, 89.8-9, 90.7, 92.11-12, 94.16-17, 97.2-3, 98.8-9, 102.9-10, 103.13-18; cf. Eus. 1.32.35-33.7.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Eus. 1.33.3 (35 years).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Eus. 1.33.4; 2.94.16-17 (37 years).

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Eus. 1.33.5 (five years).

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.103.13-18.

<sup>6</sup> Byzantine chroniclers vary widely in the chronology and placement of the post-exilic high priests. The annotations that follow indicate where Synk. departs from the other main witnesses to the high-priestly succession (*Chron. pasch.* and *Xρον. συντ.*). For discussion and comparative tables, see Gelzer ii. 170-6.

<sup>7</sup> For Synk.'s determination of 60 years for Jesous, see pp. 345, 351 (= Moss. 283.15-16; 288.16-21). Cf. *Chron. pasch.* 356.19, 390.3-4 (32 years); *Xρον. συντ.* 95.17 (30 years).

The last of the prophets, Aggaios, Addo's son Zacharias, and Malachaios, were prophesying. The leader of the Hebrews was Zorobabel, son of Salathiel.<sup>1</sup>

When Zacharias, Aggaios, and Malachaios were prophets, and Zorobabel and Jesous were in charge of the people and the building of the temple, construction of the temple was completed in the sixth year of the reign of Dareios, the son of Hystaspes.<sup>2</sup>

AM 5000

The high priest Jesous, son of Josedek, served in that office for thirty-one years, beginning with the thirty-first year of Cyrus—this is the generally held calculation. But the book of Esdras affirms that he was high priest from the first year of Cyrus; in that year, he, along with Zorobabel, led the people back from captivity to Jerusalem.<sup>3</sup> Thus there is good reason for us to calculate his priesthood as sixty years. For from the first year of Cyrus up to the twentieth year of Dareios, there is a total of sixty years.<sup>4</sup>

Joakeim, son of Jesous, served as priest 36 years<sup>5</sup>

#### KINGS OF THE PERSIANS<sup>6</sup>

(2) The second king of the Persians was Kambyses, son of Cyrus  
8 years

AM 4983

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In his campaign against the two Magians who were brothers, Kambyses was wounded on horseback and died.<sup>7</sup>

According to Josephos, Kambyses, after reigning for six years, returned from Egypt and died in Damascus.<sup>8</sup>

Some believe that Kambyses was the Nebuchadnezzar mentioned in Judith. But this is not the case, as we have previously shown and shall demonstrate in what follows.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.100<sup>b</sup>, 103<sup>a</sup>, 104<sup>de</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> Eus. 2.106<sup>b</sup>; 2 Esdr. 5.1–2, 14–15.

<sup>3</sup> 2 Esdr. 3.2; but cf. Hag. 2.1–2.

<sup>4</sup> See also above, pp. 344–5 (= Moss. 283.12–20).

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *Chron. pasch.* 356.20 (Jakimos), 390.5; *Xpov. συντ.* 95.18 (30 years). The latter work names Jakob as the second high priest.

<sup>6</sup> Continued from above, p. 340 (= Moss. 278.18). The years given here are based on Synk.'s Ecclesiastical Computation.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Herodot. 3.64–6.

<sup>8</sup> *Jos. Ant.* 11.30; cf. Herodot. 3.64, which places Kambyses' death in the Syrian city of Agbatana, by some identified with Bataneia.

<sup>9</sup> See above, p. 344 (= Moss. 282.19–21), where Synk. also names Africanus as one of the advocates of this view.

(3) The third to rule the Persians were the two brothers, the Magians

7 months<sup>1</sup>

AM 4991

(4) The fourth king of the Persians was Dareios, son of Hystaspes

36 years<sup>2</sup>

AM 4992

When Dareios, son of Hystaspes and Parysatis, was still a private citizen, he vowed to God that if he were to become king of the Persians, he would raise the temple in Jerusalem and restore all the holy vessels of the Jews, along with the captives and the paternal customs. Zorobabel, the son of Salathiel, who had heard these prayers and been his adviser, reminded him of this; for he was his close associate even before he assumed the kingship.<sup>3</sup>

In the first year of his reign, Cyrus proclaimed the first restoration of the Jews to their own land from their captivity under Nebuchadnezzar. At the same time, he was extremely eager for the building project, and allowed Zorobabel, son of Salathiel, son of Jechonias, son of Joakeim, king of Judah, to be in charge of the return, since he was from the royal family of Judah; Jesus, son of Josedek, was high priest and his co-leader. At that time, when the foundations of the temple and the altar were laid, the building of the temple in Jerusalem was blocked, up until the second year of the reign of Dareios, as it is recorded in Esdras.<sup>4</sup>

290] For in the time of Artaxerxes, king of the Persians, the scribes Balsamos, Mithridates, Tabellios, Rhathymos, Beëltethmos, Rhamelios, and the others in commission with them, who were living in Samaria and other regions, wrote the following letter against the inhabitants of Judaea and Jerusalem: 'To King Artaxerxes our Lord, your servants Rhathymos the recorder, and Rhamelios the scribe and the rest of their council, and the judges that are in Koile Syria and Phoenicia. Let it now be known to our lord king that the Jews who have come up from you to us in Jerusalem are building that rebellious and wicked city, and are repairing its market-places and its walls and are laying the foundation for a temple. Now if this city is built and its walls finished, they will not only refuse to pay tribute, but will even revolt against the kings. And since the building of the temple is now under way, we consider it wise not to ignore this matter,' and so forth.<sup>5</sup>

As Esdras says, statements equivalent to this were written to Artaxerxes after the return from Babylon and before the reign of

<sup>1</sup> Eus. 2.104.22-4.

<sup>2</sup> Eus. 2.104.25-6.

<sup>3</sup> 1 Esdr. 4.42-6.

<sup>4</sup> 2 Esdr. 2.1-4.24.

<sup>5</sup> 1 Esdr. 2.16-20.

Dareios, the son of Hystaspes. This is shown by what follows in the book after the rescript from Artaxerxes. When this rescript was read, Rhathymos, Rhamelios the scribe, and those in commission with them removed in haste to Jerusalem with a contingent of cavalry and a multitude of men, and began to obstruct the builders. And the building of the temple was blocked until the second year of the reign of Dareios, the king of the Persians.<sup>1</sup> At that time Zorobabel, the son of Salathiel, a long-time and extremely dear friend of Dareios, the son of Hystaspes, and esteemed by him because of their extensive ties, was the one of his three bodyguards to attain higher honour than the other two when the question about women and truth was posed. And he was thus encouraged by him to request whatever he wanted. He reminded him of his vows, which he made in prayer to restore Jerusalem on the day on which Dareios received the seat of royalty, and all the vessels that Cyrus set apart when this Cyrus vowed to destroy Babylon. And Zorobabel asked that Dareios, king of the Persians, should fulfil the vows that he made in prayer to the king of heaven with his own lips.<sup>2</sup>

‘And then Dareios arose and kissed him and wrote on his behalf letters to all the treasurers and governors and generals and satraps, that they should escort him and the Jews who were going with him to build Jerusalem. And to all the governors in Koile Syria and Phoenicia and those in Lebanon, he wrote letters instructing them to transport cedar wood from Lebanon to Jerusalem, and that they should build the city with him. And he wrote to all the Jews who were coming up from his kingdom to Judaea on behalf of their freedom, that no authority, no satrap, no governor, no treasurer would forcibly enter through their doors, and the entire region they were to occupy would be theirs free of tribute; and that the Idumaeans would surrender the villages of the Jews that they held; and that for the building of the temple 20 talents would be contributed yearly until it was completed; and another 10 talents yearly would be for the whole burnt-offerings to be offered on the altar daily, as they had a commandment to make seventeen offerings; and that all those who came from Babylonia to build the city should have their freedom, both they and their descendants and all the priests who came. And he also wrote that they should be given their expenses and the priestly vestments in which they were to serve, and that the Levites should be given their expenses, until the day when the house should be completed and Jerusalem built. And he also wrote that plots of land and wages should be given to all those

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<sup>1</sup> 1 Esdr. 2.25–30; 2 Esdr. 4.23–4.<sup>2</sup> 1 Esdr. 4.42–6.

who guarded the city. And he sent back from Babylon all the vessels that Cyrus had set apart. And everything that Cyrus ordered to be done, he also commanded them to do so and to send them to Jerusalem.<sup>1</sup>

This is recorded in the first book of Esdras, which we have deemed necessary to cite here along with material to be cited next from the second book of this same Esdras. For it is evident that he alone has written correctly about the restoration from captivity; and since the translation by the seventy priest-sages at the time of Ptolemy Philadelphos includes him with the rest of the divinely inspired scriptures, he is approved reading.<sup>2</sup>

Now on the basis of what has been stated, one can in the meantime correctly conclude that Esdras is indicating that it is Cyrus whom he calls 'Artaxerxes', and to whom Balsamos, Mithridates, and their associates wrote a letter opposing those who were building Jerusalem, for the building project to be halted. This is because, first of all, they say in their epistle to him: 'Let it be known to our lord king that the Jews who have come up from you to us to Jerusalem . . .'<sup>3</sup> Whom else did they come up from, if it were not from Cyrus? Secondly, there was no Artaxerxes who was king in the period from Cyrus to Dareios, the son of Hystaspes, as is evident from the table of kings.<sup>4</sup> Moreover, he states that Mithridates, together with Balsamos and the others, wrote against those doing the building, who, according to his previous statement had taken all the holy vessels of the house of the Lord in accordance with Cyrus' order, in his capacity as treasurer.<sup>5</sup> Furthermore, even if this had not taken place at the time of Cyrus, the building project was in any event already under way. So how is it that what was subsequently accomplished in four years from the second year of Dareios son of Hystaspes up to the sixth year of the same king would not have been previously accomplished in thirty years? For it was in the second year of Cyrus that they arrived with Zorobabel, Jesus the high priest, Nehemiah, Sareta,<sup>6</sup> and Mardochoaios in the company of 42,360 men, besides their servants and maids and their 7337 male and female singers.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 1 Esdr. 4.47–57 (quoted verbatim).

<sup>2</sup> Synk. issues this defence of 1 Esdras because the book is lacking in the Hebrew Bible.

<sup>3</sup> 1 Esdr. 2.18.

<sup>4</sup> See above, p. 304 (= Moss. 247.16–19). The problem of Artaxerxes' identity was already noted by Jos. *Ant.* 11.21, who identifies this figure as Kambyzes (not Cyrus, as Synk. does here).

<sup>5</sup> 1 Esdr. 2.10.

<sup>6</sup> Probably Saraias (LXX)/Seraiah (MT).

<sup>7</sup> 2 Esdr. 2.2, 64–5.



In the seventh month, he says, the people were assembled as one in Jerusalem. Jesus, the son of Josedek, stood up, as well as his brethren the priests, and Zorobabel the son of Salathiel, and his brethren. And they built the altar of the God of Israel, so that whole burnt offerings could be offered on it according to the prescriptions written in the law by Moses, the man of God. They set the altar upon its base, for fear was upon them because of the people of the countries. And there rose up upon it a whole burnt offering to the Lord<sup>1</sup> morning and evening. And they kept the Feast of Tabernacles according to the written prescription, and offered daily burnt offerings by number, according to the ordinance, as the duty of every day required. And after this came the continual burnt offerings, and the offerings on the new moons, and on all the feasts of the Lord that were consecrated, as well as offerings for everyone who offered a free-will offering to the Lord. On the first day of the seventh month, they began to offer burnt offerings to the Lord. But the foundations of the house of the Lord were not yet laid. And they gave money to the masons and the carpenters and meat and drink and oil to the Sidonians and Tyrians, to bring cedar trees from Lebanon to the sea at Joppa according to the grant of the lord king of the Persians to them. And in the second year of their coming to the house of God at Jerusalem, in the second month, Zorobabel the son of Salathiel started work, along with Jesus the son of Josedek, and the rest of their brethren the priests and the Levites, and all those who were coming out of captivity to Jerusalem. And they appointed the Levites from 20 years and older to supervise those doing the work on the house of the Lord. And Jesus stood up and his sons and brethren, Kadmiel and his sons, and the sons of Judah together, to oversee those doing the work on the house of God, as well as the sons of Jonadad<sup>2</sup> and their sons and brethren, the Levites. They laid the foundation for the building of the house of the Lord—obviously it was in the third year of Cyrus that they laid the foundation of the house of the Lord, in the second year of their return. At this time, as the second book of Esdras says about the events that followed this, the priests stood up, clad in their apparel, with trumpets and the sons of Asaph with cymbals. And many with them from the priests and the Levites, and the heads of families, elders, who, it says, had seen the first house with its foundation and this house

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<sup>1</sup> Text: ἐπ' αὐτὸ ὀλοκαύτωσις τῷ κυρίῳ {ὀλοκαυτώσεις}. AB: ἐπ' αὐτῷ ὀλοκαυτώσεις τῷ κυρίῳ ὀλοκαυτώσεις. Mosshammer's emendation reflects the Greek text of 2 Esdr. 3.3.

<sup>2</sup> Correctly Enadad (LXX)/Henadad (MT).

with their eyes, began to weep with a loud voice, whereas a crowd marked its happiness by shouting aloud with joy. And the people were not able to distinguish the noise of the sound of joy from the noise of the weeping of the people, because the people shouted with a loud voice and the sound was heard far away.<sup>1</sup>

And the adversaries of Judah and Benjamin heard. Now the remaining narrative concerns what was written in the Syrian language to Arthasasthas by Mithridates and his associates, obviously in this same third year of Cyrus, in order to stop those who were building the temple.<sup>2</sup> It must be supposed that in Persian Arthasasthas and Artaxerxes refer to one and the same person, but that in Greek he is known as Cyrus. As it is written, he is also the one who announced their deliverance in his first year, and ordered the rebuilding of the temple and the city and the release of the 5400 gold and silver holy vessels (after their return from exile, these were numbered for the sake of Salmanasar by Mithridates Gasbarenos,<sup>3</sup> the treasurer of Cyrus).<sup>4</sup> But then, as a result of a false accusation from those who wrote to him, Cyrus imposed a prohibition to keep the Jews from carrying on this building, which lasted until the second year of Dareios, the son of Hystaspes. It can thus be clearly demonstrated from this that for forty-one years, the foundations remained laid.<sup>5</sup> But from Dareios' second year up to his sixth, it was completed by the hands of this same Zorobabel and Jesus the son of Josedek, making a total of forty-six complete years beginning with the first year of Cyrus.<sup>6</sup> Therefore, it is said by the Jews to the Lord in the gospel according to John: 'In forty-six years this temple was built, and will you raise it in three days?'<sup>7</sup>

294] In this second year of Dareios, on the 24th of the eleventh month Sabat, the word of the Lord came to the prophet Zacharias, the son of Barachias, the son of Addo,<sup>8</sup> saying, 'I saw by night, and behold a

<sup>1</sup> 2 Esdr. 3.1-4.1.

<sup>2</sup> 2 Esdr. 4.7.

<sup>3</sup> From the Old Persian word for 'treasurer'.

<sup>4</sup> 2 Esdr. 1.7-11.

<sup>5</sup> 2 Esdr. 4.5, 24.

<sup>6</sup> 2 Esdr. 6.15. The computation of the 46 years is as follows: 31 years for Cyrus + 8 years for Kambyzes + 7 months for the two Magians + 6 years for 1-6 Dareios.

<sup>7</sup> John 2.20.

<sup>8</sup> The Greek text reads: *Ζαχαρίαν τὸν τοῦ Βαραχίου υἱὸν Ἰδδώ* (quoting the Greek version of Zech. 1.1). To convey the sense of the English translation, read *υἱοῦ* instead of *υἱὸν*. For a conflicting genealogy of Zacharias see 2 Esdr. 5.1, 6.14, 22.16, according to which Zacharias was the son of Iddo.

man riding on a red horse. And he stood between two shady mountains, and behind him were horses, red, dapple-grey, spotted, and white. And I said, "What are these, Lord?" And the angel speaking with me said to me, "I will show you what these things are." And the man standing between the two mountains answered and said to me, "These are those whom the Lord sent out to encircle the land." And they answered the angel of the Lord that stood between the mountains and said, "We have encircled all the earth, and behold all the earth is inhabited and is at peace." And the angel of the Lord answered and said, "Lord almighty, how long will you have no mercy on Jerusalem and the cities of Judah, which you have neglected for these seventy years?"<sup>1</sup>

This is reported in the prophet Zacharias in the second year of Dareios, as if it were being uttered to the Lord by the angel who was speaking to him. It was either in the form of a prayer, or it was to serve as some other personification of God, who, in the direction of human affairs, is inscrutable in his judgements. But to the extent that we can understand, his words make clear that the seventy-year period had already been completed according to the word of the Lord spoken through Jeremiah in the first year of Cyrus, as has been demonstrated up to that point according to the text of Paralipomena and Esdras. But for the remainder of the time from that point up to the second year of Dareios, his words leave doubt and there is no accounting given either of the temple's final destruction or its final rebuilding. Thus, he says, 'how long will you have no mercy on Jerusalem for these seventy years?' instead of saying, 'until when will this seventieth year, already past, be extended?' And the angel did not say this, as some have supposed, based on a fixed determination of the completion of seventy years from the destruction of Jerusalem and the temple up to the second year of Dareios.

For without any contrived technique of subtraction or addition, there are eighty-three years from the nineteenth year of Nebuchadnezzar, when Sedekias was taken captive with the people and the city of Jerusalem and its people were destroyed by fire. From the divine decree enacted in the fourth year of Joakeim against the inhabitants of Jerusalem, from which point the seventy-year period must necessarily be numbered, there are 103 years until this second year of Dareios.<sup>2</sup> So what was said by the angel was not based on a

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<sup>1</sup> Zech. 1.7-12.

<sup>2</sup> AM 4993; see above, p. 352 (= Moss. 289.9-10). Previously Synk. dated 4 Joakeim to AM 4883; see p. 316 (= Moss. 258.10-11). He later puts the

precise calculation of the chronology, but rather on an extension of the time—this is also obvious from what was said by God to Zacharias three years later in the fourth year of the reign of this same Dareios, on the 4th day of the ninth month Chuseu, just as follows:

The word of the Lord of hosts came to me, saying: 'Say to all the people of the earth and to the priests, "Whenever you fasted or lamented in the fifth or the seventh,<sup>1</sup> lo these seventy years, did you fast for me?"'<sup>2</sup>

As you see, a report of a precisely determined numbering of the seventy years is found neither here nor in the second year of Dareios. Rather, it makes clear that the period was completed in the first year of Cyrus according to the prediction of Jeremiah. For how, as some have held, can one reliably reckon the same seventy years in both the second year and the fourth year of Dareios?

(4) Dareios, son of Hystaspes, was the fourth king of the Persians  
36 years<sup>3</sup>

He dispatched against Greece the legendary myriads with the generals Datis son of Darios, and Saphernes;<sup>4</sup> he was persuaded to do this by the tyrants Hippias the Athenian and Demaratos the Lakedaimonian after they had been expelled from their homeland, and then also because of the capture of Sardes by the Athenians, who could not tolerate the violence of the Persians in Asia. At that time, the Persians fared badly in Marathon, when Miltiades, Aristides, and Kallimachos had performed well as commanders. During this time, the tyrant Hippias fell fighting the Athenians on the side of the barbarians. Unable to bear the anguish, Dareios died of despair.

destruction of Jerusalem and the captivity of Sedekias in AM 4903; see p. 329 (= Moss. 268.26–7). Neither of these dates agrees with Synk.'s calculation of the length of time up to 2 Dareios. Better to fit the chronology, Go.<sup>m</sup> emends the 83 and 103 years to 91 and 110 years respectively. The chronology does work out, however, if we assume that Synk., contrary to his stated practice, bases his calculation of the years on the Astronomical Canon, not the Ecclesiastical Computation. For the chronology of kings from Nebuchadnezzar up to 2 Dareios, see above, p. 303 (= Moss. 246.3–10).

<sup>1</sup> Synk., like LXX, has the feminine, as if the reference were to days; MT, however, is understood as referring to months, Ab for the fall of the temple and Tishri for the murder of Gedaliah (not Yom Kippur, which was not yet as important as it would become). <sup>2</sup> Zech. 7.1–5.

<sup>3</sup> See above, pp. 303, 304 (= Moss. 246.10; 247.19); Herodot. 7.4.

<sup>4</sup> Text: *Σαφέρνης*. Cf. Herodot. 6.94 (Artaphernes).

Some believe that during his reign the events foretold by the great prophet Ezekiel concerning Gog and Magog were fulfilled.<sup>1</sup> For when he and diverse nations launched a military campaign, so it is said, he despoiled Syria and Phoenicia and the regions by the sea. But when he came against Jerusalem, he was defeated by an act of God, when God smote him and his host with thunderbolts and plagues, and granted victory without arms to the inhabitants of Jerusalem and an enormous wealth of booty. This occurred when Zorobabel was general in Judaea. After him, there was not another ruler from Judah, the high priests governing instead.

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### KINGS OF THE MACEDONIANS<sup>2</sup>

(9) The ninth king of the Macedonians was Amyntas

42 years

AM 4972

Those who state that Cyrus, the first king of the Persians, reigned for only nine years assert that his reign began during the reign of this Amyntas.<sup>3</sup> But we say that this was during the reign of Alketas, the eighth king of the Macedonians, based on the sequence that conforms with the divine scripture.

(10) The tenth king of the Macedonians was Alexander

44 years

AM 5014

It was in his time that Xerxes made his crossing; he gave the Persians water and earth.<sup>4</sup>

(11) The eleventh king of the Macedonians was Perdikkas

23 years

AM 5058

### MISCELLANY

The Naxians were the fifteenth to have dominion over the sea, for ten years. After them, the Eretrians were the sixteenth to have dominion over the sea, for seven years.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ezek. 38.1-39.29.

<sup>2</sup> Continued from p. 348 (= Moss. 286.4). See Eus. 1.108.28-30.

<sup>3</sup> The nine years of Cyrus' rule originate in the Astronomical Canon; see above, p. 302 (= Moss. 245.8-10).

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Herodot. 8.136.

<sup>5</sup> Eus. 1.107.11-12 (15 years for the Eretrians).

Gelon of Syracuse ruled {for seventeen years<sup>1</sup>}.<sup>2</sup>

The Aiginetans were the (seventeenth) to have dominion over the sea, for ten years.<sup>3</sup>

Pythagoras the philosopher died when he was 95 years of age; others say he was 75.<sup>4</sup>

Aischylos the tragedian was becoming known.<sup>5</sup>

The Peiraieus was fortified with walls by Themistokles.<sup>6</sup>

The Latins rebelled against the Romans. In Rome, the people rebelled against the senate.

Aristeides was ostracized.

The Athenians fortified the Peiraieus with walls.

Zeuxis the painter was becoming known.<sup>7</sup>

297] Kimon defeated the Persians at Eurymedon in a battle by sea and land. And the Median war came to an end as a result, which had broken out between the Persians and the Athenians and all the Greeks because of dried figs.<sup>8</sup> The inhabitants of a district of Attica are called Phibaleis.<sup>9</sup>

Kratinos and Plato, writers of comedy, were flourishing.

In Rome, the first 100-year games of the Klaria<sup>10</sup> were celebrated.

Krates the comic, as well as Telesilla, Praxilla, and Kleoboulina, were becoming known.

Bakchylides the lyric poet was flourishing.

The temple of Hera was set afire.

The Athenians and Lakedaimonians made a thirty-year truce with each other.

After reciting his books to them, Herodotos the historian was honoured by the Athenian council.

Euripides the tragedian was becoming known.

Protagoras the sophist was flourishing. The Athenians passed a vote to burn<sup>a</sup> his books.

<sup>a</sup> Text: ἐψηλάφησαν τοῦ καῦσαι. Following Scaliger, emended to ἐψηφίσαντο καῦσαι. Cf. Eus. 2.113<sup>e</sup>: 'cuius libros decreto publico Athenienses combusserunt'.

<sup>1</sup> The MSS have here 'for 17 years'; Mosshammer brackets this and reassigns the numeral (reinterpreted as an ordinal) to the following notice.

<sup>2</sup> Eus. 2.108<sup>g</sup>. <sup>3</sup> Cf. Eus. 1.107.13 (10 years).

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.107<sup>f</sup>.

<sup>5</sup> Eus. 2.107<sup>h</sup>.

<sup>6</sup> Eus. 2.191<sup>Arm</sup>.

<sup>7</sup> Eus. 2.107<sup>il</sup>, 108<sup>l</sup>, 109<sup>e</sup>, 110<sup>c</sup>.

<sup>8</sup> A reference to the story recorded by the historian Dinon (*FGrH* 690 F 12) that Xerxes on tasting grapes from Attica asked where they came from. On learning that they were from Athens he forbade any further purchase of the grapes until the time came when he might seize them whenever he desired.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.111<sup>b</sup>; *φιβάλεως* is the Greek word for a kind of fig.

<sup>10</sup> Perhaps in reference to the festival of Apollo Klarios.

There were consuls again in Rome.

Abaris the Hyperborean, expounder of oracles, was becoming known.

Melissos, the natural philosopher, was becoming known.<sup>1</sup>

Pheidias, the modeller and sculptor, was becoming known; he created the ivory Athena.<sup>2</sup>

Theaitetos the mathematician was in his prime.

In Italy, the nation of the Campani was formed.<sup>3</sup>

Demokritos of Abdera, the natural philosopher, was flourishing. In Egypt, Demokritos was initiated into the mysteries by Ostanes the Mede,<sup>4</sup> who had been dispatched to Egypt by the Persian kings of that time to take charge of the temples in Egypt. He was initiated in the temple of Memphis along with other priests and philosophers, among them a Hebrew woman of learning named Mariam and Pammenes. Demokritos wrote about gold and silver, and stones and purple, but in an oblique way; and Mariam did likewise. But whereas Demokritos and Mariam were praised by Ostanes for having concealed the art with many clever secrets, they con- [298] demned Pammenes for having been forthright in writing about it.<sup>5</sup>

Hippokrates of Kos, the most outstanding of the physicians, of the line of Asklepios, was becoming known.<sup>6</sup>

Rufus Larcius was made the first dicator in Rome.<sup>7</sup>

Panyasis the poet was becoming known.<sup>8</sup>

Aristeides, called the Just, was ostracized by the Athenians after many tribulations.<sup>9</sup>

### UNIVERSAL YEARS

- |   |                                   |
|---|-----------------------------------|
| (2) Joakeim, the son of Jesous, was the second priest | 36 years <sup>10</sup><br>AM 5012 |
| (3) Eliasibos was the third priest                    | 34 years <sup>11</sup><br>AM 5048 |

<sup>1</sup> Eus. 2.III<sup>1</sup>, II2<sup>befg</sup>, II3<sup>bcef</sup>, II2<sup>g</sup>, II3<sup>d</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.II3<sup>g</sup>. <sup>3</sup> Eus. 2.II4<sup>bc</sup>. <sup>4</sup> Referring to alchemy.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Zosimos, *On Completion*, in Berthelot, *Alchimistes grecs*, ii. 231-7; iii. 239-436.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.II4<sup>d</sup>.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.I07<sup>d</sup>: 'Dictator (*sic*) primus Larcius . . .' The correct name is Titus Larcius.

<sup>8</sup> Eus. 2.I08<sup>c</sup>. <sup>9</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.I08<sup>1</sup>. <sup>10</sup> 2 Esdr. 22.I0.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. *Chron. pasch.* 356.2I, 390.6 (40 years); *Xpov. συγγ.* 96.I9 (Elias, for 40 years).

**From Africanus, concerning Esdras, the seventeenth  
priest from Aaron, the first priest<sup>1</sup>**

With the permission of Artaxerxes, Esdras collected the remnant of the Jewish captivity and with what was left of the temple vessels came to Jerusalem and taught the law. When he learnt that they had mixed with the Gentiles through inter-marriage, he forced each of the men married to foreign women to get rid of his wife. They complied, and the matter was completed with the approach of winter.<sup>2</sup>

**From Eusebios concerning Esdras<sup>3</sup>**

Esdras the priest was becoming known among the Jews. About this time, Eliasib, son of Joakeim, the son of Jesus, the son of Josedek, was high priest. Esdras was an outstanding scribe of the holy laws and brilliant teacher of the returnees from Babylon to Judaea. Some say that the events involving Esther and Mardochoaios occurred at this time.<sup>4</sup> But for my part, I am not convinced. For the book of Esdras would not have overlooked deeds concerning her.

299] In the second book of Maccabees, it is written that Nehemiah collected the books of the prophets and the kings and other divine writings, and established a library.<sup>5</sup>

**Events concerning Nehemiah<sup>6</sup>**

Nehemiah, a legal scholar from the tribe of Judah, and cupbearer of Artaxerxes, in the twentieth year of this Artaxerxes appealed to the king to return to Jerusalem from Babylon (when Esdras was still alive).<sup>7</sup> In raising up the city and its walls he made use of builders

<sup>1</sup> Routh, fr. 44. Note the contrast between Africanus' numbering, which begins from Aaron, and Synk.'s own count, which begins from the first post-exilic priest Jeshua and is based on 2 Esdr. 7.1-5, on which see also pp. 367-8 (= Moss. 303.3-22).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. 2 Esdr. 7-10.

<sup>3</sup> Eus. 2.110<sup>b</sup>, 111<sup>b</sup> (= *Chron. pasch.* 305.2-6).

<sup>4</sup> For the synchronism of Esdras and Esther, see Leo Gramm. 47.20-2.

<sup>5</sup> 2 Macc. 2.13.

<sup>6</sup> On the basis of parallels with other sources, Gelzer (i. 111-12) attributes this passage (up to the prediction of Daniel) to Africanus.

<sup>7</sup> 2 Esdr. 12.1.



under arms; for owing to their envy the Gentile nations in the neighbouring regions were attempting a plot against him. He abrogated the debts of the Jews to each other, and banished Gentiles from the assemblies, and together with Esdras, carefully educated his fellow countrymen in the Mosaic law and all the ancestral customs. He refounded the city according to tribes.<sup>1</sup>

And the broad street and surrounding wall were established, according to the prediction of the prophet Daniel.<sup>2</sup> The work commenced in the twentieth year of Artaxerxes Longarm and was finished in his thirty-second year, as the book of Esdras attests, when Jodaë the son of Jasib<sup>3</sup> was high priest.<sup>4</sup> After Jodaë, his son Joannes became high priest for <\*\*\*><sup>5</sup> years; after Joannes, Jasdous was high priest later around the time of Alexander of Macedon.

The canonical Hebrew books up to Esdras and Nehemiah were handed down for use in the churches by the blessed apostles and disciples of the Lord God, our Saviour Jesus Christ, and the holy fathers and our teachers; but as to what subsequently happened to or was done by the Jews up until the divine Incarnation, Josephos recounts this in his Maccabaeian histories, and after him Africanus in summary form.<sup>6</sup>

According to Africanus, the seventy weeks in Daniel must be numbered as 490 years from this point up to Christ the ruler.<sup>7</sup> But Eusebios of Caesarea states that if you reckon the seventy weeks in Daniel, <which> make 490 years, from this point, you will find that they terminate at the time of the emperor Nero. About this time, the siege of the city began, and after Nero it suffered the final conquest in Vespasian's second year.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> 2 Esdr. 14.15-17; 15.1-13; 18.1-6; 19.2.

<sup>2</sup> Dan. 9.25. On the basis of parallels with other witnesses to Africanus' chronicle (cf. Leo Gramm. 48.1-8), Gelzer (i. 111-12) believed this description of Nehemiah's rebuilding of Jerusalem originated in Africanus; on Africanus' interpretation of Dan. 9.25 in connection with Nehemiah's rebuilding of Jerusalem, see also below, p. 467 (= Moss. 392.1-10).

<sup>3</sup> Text: *Ἰασίβ*. Go.<sup>m</sup>: *Ἐλιάσιβ* (following 2 Esdr. 22.10).

<sup>4</sup> Cf. 2 Esdr. 12.1; 15.14; 23.6.

<sup>5</sup> Text: *ε̅τη* <\*\*\*>. Go.<sup>m</sup> supplies the number 32, based on Synk.'s subsequent statement about the duration of Joannes' high-priesthood; see below, p. 370 (= Moss. 306.3). Mosshammer suggests deleting *ε̅τη*.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.113<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>7</sup> Dan 9.24-7. See the excerpt from Africanus below, p. 467 (= Moss. 392.1-6), where he numbers the 70 weeks of Daniel's prophecy from 20 Artaxerxes.

<sup>8</sup> Eus. 2.114<sup>f</sup>. See further below, pp. 446-7 (= Moss. 373.17-374.28).

In the second letter of the Maccabaeen literature, addressed to the Jews in Egypt, it is written concerning Nehemiah that after rebuilding both the temple and the altar, and as he was about to offer the sacrifice, he sent the descendants of the priests to the cistern. Their ancestors, as Jeremiah states, took some of the altar-fire, and concealed it in this cistern at the time of the captivity so as to fetch fire from it. But after they left they found not fire, but thick water instead. And Nehemiah ordered them to draw out from this water and sprinkle it both on the wood and the sacrifices lying upon it. And when the sun, which had been hidden in clouds, shone forth, a great blaze was kindled on the offerings and consumed them, so that everyone marvelled and glorified God in prayer.<sup>1</sup>

The book of Esdras, the last of the canonical books of the divinely inspired Old Testament,<sup>2</sup> began its narrative from the eighteenth year of the reign of Josiah, king of Judah, and the wonderful Passover that took place under him at that time. It also describes the subsequent kings of Judah, the captivity of Judah that took place under Nebuchadnezzar, and the burning of Jerusalem;<sup>3</sup> it further describes the release of the Jewish nation that occurred during the reign of Cyrus, in the seventieth year from the fourth year of Joakeim, according to the prophecy of Jeremiah. And it reports the number of those who had returned to Jerusalem from captivity, and the number of holy vessels; and it tells how they became the objects of envy from the inhabitants of Samaria and were prevented from rebuilding the temple and the city when the Samaritans wrote to Cyrus against them;<sup>4</sup> and in addition to this, it describes the second release of the people in the time of Dareios, the son of Hystaspes, over a period of forty-two years,<sup>5</sup> and the renewal of the city<sup>6</sup> and the house of the Lord through Zorobabel and Jesus the high priest and son of

<sup>1</sup> 2 Macc. 1.19–2.1. Synk.'s description of the acts of Jeremiah and Nehemiah is based on Second Maccabees, not the books attributed to these two biblical figures.

<sup>2</sup> Last not in traditional sequence whether Greek or Hebrew, but in period described; Synk. did not regard the Maccabaeen books as canonical. See p. 398 (= Moss. 329.14–16).

<sup>3</sup> 1 Esdr. 1.

<sup>4</sup> 1 Esdr. 2; 2 Esdr. 1–4.

<sup>5</sup> The 42 years refer to the duration of time that Synk. calculates from 1 Cyrus (when the initial decree was issued) up to 2 Dareios (when Dareios issued a second decree authorizing the completion of the Jerusalem temple); for this chronology, see also above, p. 293 (= Moss. 293.28–33).

<sup>6</sup> Text: *αὐτῆς*, presumably in reference to the city of Jerusalem.

Josedek;<sup>1</sup> and once again, it recounts the third renovation of the city and the walls of Jerusalem carried out by Nehemiah and Esdras during the reign of Artaxerxes.<sup>2</sup>

### KINGS OF THE PERSIANS<sup>3</sup>

(5) The fifth king of the Persians was Xerxes, son of Dareios

20 years

AM 5028

Xerxes seized control of Egypt. Upon coming to Athens, Xerxes set fire to it, when Kallias was archon of the Athenians.<sup>4</sup> [301

Some say that Esdras was a friend of this Xerxes, the son of Dareios; consequently it was during his reign that he came up to Jerusalem to teach the divine law, since he was a priest and the most experienced scribe of all the people of that time. But in our opinion, this does not agree with the book of Esdras.<sup>5</sup>

One might more properly suppose instead that the affairs involving Judith and Holofernes were accomplished during his reign; for Joakeim, the great priest, as it is written in Judith, was serving as high priest around her time, and he was also high priest during the reign of this Xerxes. Therefore, it is reasonable to suppose that Nebuchadnezzar is the same person as Xerxes, in the eighteenth year of whose reign Holofernes was sent out against all Syria and Egypt, as it is recorded there.<sup>6</sup>

Xerxes subjugated Egypt, which had revolted during the reign of his father Dareios. He set fire to Athens after arriving in Greece with many tens of thousands of men and a massive fleet. After passing through Thermopylai and coming down to the Peiraieus, he

<sup>1</sup> 1 Esdr. 6.1-2; 2 Esdr. 6. Although the Greek text is somewhat confused, Synk. appears to be describing here a second restoration of the city and the temple, after the first attempt was thwarted.

<sup>2</sup> 2 Esdr. 7-8.

<sup>3</sup> Continued from p. 352 (= Moss. 289.10). Cf. Eus. 1.33.18-21.

<sup>4</sup> Eus. 2.108<sup>k</sup>, 109<sup>c</sup>.

<sup>5</sup> See Jos. *Ant.* 11.120-2, which 'corrects' the chronological problem of 1 and 2 Esdras by replacing Artaxerxes with Xerxes and making Xerxes a contemporary of Esdras. As noted above, Synk., who is also aware of the problem, identifies Artaxerxes as another name for Cyrus.

<sup>6</sup> Synk. understands that in strictly chronological terms the post-exilic Nebuchadnezzar named in the book of Judith (see e.g. Jdt. 4.1-3) cannot be the Babylonian king Nebuchadnezzar who destroyed Jerusalem. In line with his earlier interpretation (p. 345 = Moss. 283.21-4), Synk. suggests that Xerxes was also known as a second Nebuchadnezzar.

fared miserably when Themistokles' military leadership prevailed at Artemision and Salamis. And he barely made it back to his homeland, leaving behind the commanders Mardonios and Masistios, who were defeated in battle along with 300,000 men at Plateiai<sup>1</sup> and Mykale. It was there that they perished after extensive but unsuccessful attempts at negotiating a truce with the Athenians.<sup>2</sup>

At that time Pheidias the sculptor and Herodotos the historian were flourishing.<sup>3</sup>

Around Xerxes' time, it is said, Tiberius Marcius became the first dicator to the Romans.<sup>4</sup>

It is also said that after that victory in Marathon against the Persians, Miltiades the general was unlawfully chained by the Athenians under the punishment of death and was not considered fit for burial, until Kimon gave himself over to imprisonment instead of his father; and Kimon's release afterwards was barely achieved thanks to his own sister Elpinike, whom a rich man had married on account of her beauty. Through him she secured the release of her brother Kimon.<sup>5</sup>

302] (6) The sixth king of the Persians was Xerxes' son Artabanos  
7 months<sup>6</sup>  
AM 5048

(7) The seventh king of the Persians was Xerxes' son Artaxerxes,  
called Longarm  
41 years  
AM 5049

In the seventh year and fifth month of the reign of Artaxerxes, Esdras the priest and teacher of the law went up from Babylon to Jerusalem, together with many captives and 100 talents of gold and 650 talents of silver, and other vessels of gold, silver, and choice bronze, as it is recorded in his first and second book. For God put it into the heart of the king to glorify his house in Jerusalem and bestowed his favour on Esdras before Artaxerxes and his seven counsellors and all his governors.<sup>7</sup> And Artaxerxes wrote to all his

<sup>1</sup> Correctly Plataiai.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.108<sup>k</sup>, 109<sup>cdh</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.110<sup>a</sup>, 113<sup>g</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. above, p. 361 (= Moss. 298.3), where Synk. names Rufus Larcius as the first dicator. See also Eus. 2.107<sup>d</sup>: 'Dictator primus Larcius'; 2.191<sup>Am</sup>: 'Den Römern ward zum Dikator eingesetzt Tiberius Darkos Ruphos' (tr. Karst). The correct name is Titus Larcius.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Justin. 2.15.18-20.

<sup>6</sup> See Eus. 2.110.14-16. But cf. Eus. 1.33.18-19, which names Artaxerxes, not Artabanos, as Xerxes' successor.

<sup>7</sup> 1 Esdr. 8.6, 25-6, 56; 2 Esdr. 7.7-8, 27-8.

governors and to the treasurer of Syria and Phoenicia that they were to contribute everything necessary for the temple; and Esdras would order up to 100 talents of silver and grain and wine and oil and salt from the royal treasury; this would be done, he says, for God the Most High, so that there might not be anger against his kingdom and his sons; and no one would rule the Jewish nation except Esdras the high priest; and he would lead them in the laws and have charge of whatever else is recorded there concerning the punishment of those who transgress the law of the Lord, by putting them to death, dishonouring them, and imposing fines on those deserving them; and he would teach the ignorant diligently. 'Blessed', Esdras says, 'is the Lord alone who put these things into the heart of my king.'<sup>1</sup>

These and other words very similar in content were what Artaxerxes wrote, empowering Esdras and those with him. Now Esdras, since he was exceedingly loved by God and versed in the divine law, arrived in Jerusalem and revealed such attentiveness in the observance of the divine precepts that all the people who had commingled with foreign women, and even the priests and the Levites who were in violation of the Mosaic law, dissolved their marriage. It is clear that this was something no one else before him had accomplished.<sup>2</sup>

Throughout his entire work, Esdras mentions no high priest other than himself. And he traces his own genealogy as a priest, the son of Azareas, the son of Ezerias, the son of Chelkias, the son of Salemos, the son of Saddou,<sup>3</sup> the son of Bokoka, the son of Abasai, the son of Phineës, the son of Eleazar, the son of Aaron, the first priest.<sup>4</sup>

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This is the line of descent that he traces back for ten generations in the first book. But in the second book, he traces his own genealogy through sixteen generations, as follows: Esdras, son of Sereias, son of Azarias, son of Elkias, son of Seloum, son of Saddouk, son of Achitob, son of Samareias, son of Esdrias, son of Mareoth, son of Zareas, son of Ozei, son of Bokkei, son of Abisouë, son of Phineës, son of Eleazar, son of Aaron, the first priest.<sup>5</sup>

And he is mentioned as high priest at the conclusion of his first book, in which it is written, 'And Atarates said to Esdras, the high priest and reader, and to the Levites who teach the multitude, to everyone, "This day is the most holy to the Lord."'<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 1 Esdr. 8.9-25; 2 Esdr. 7.13-26.

<sup>2</sup> 1 Esdr. 9; 2 Esdr. 9-10.

<sup>3</sup> Text: Σαδδοῦ. Possibly a corrupt form of the name 'Saddouk'.

<sup>4</sup> 1 Esdr. 8.1-2.

<sup>5</sup> 2 Esdr. 7.1-5.

<sup>6</sup> 1 Esdr. 9.49-50.

From this we can therefore prove (rather we can say with complete certainty) that this Esdras was priest after Joakeim, the son of Jesous, the son of Josedek, who was high priest at the time of Judith and Holofernes during the time of Xerxes, since the return of Nehemiah the cupbearer of Artaxerxes was in the twentieth year of Artaxerxes the king, thirteen years after Esdras' return. Prompted by God, this same Artaxerxes Longarm also sent out the high priest Esdras in the seventh year of his reign to teach the Jews in Jerusalem. He then sent out Nehemiah thirteen years later for the final rebuilding of the walls and the city, in the twentieth year of his reign. This was granted to him as a man beloved of God, because of his close friendship with Artaxerxes and after he made an appeal to restore the city of the fathers.<sup>1</sup>

304] During his reign, Eliasoub, son of Joakeim, was high priest, as it is recorded in the words of Nehemiah at the end of the second book of Esdras: 'And Eliasoub, the great priest, arose, as well as his brethren the priests and they built the Sheep Gate. They consecrated it and set up its doors.'<sup>2</sup> Therefore, just as the book of Esdras made mention of him in the part written by Nehemiah, likewise Esdras himself, in the part written by him, would not have been silent about Eliasoub, if in fact he were serving as priest. But since all our predecessors have numbered Eliasoub, whom they also call Eliasibos, after Joakeim his father, we too are compelled to do likewise.<sup>3</sup>

During the reign of this Artaxerxes Longarm, the Athenians and the Peloponnesians fought the so-called Sacred War against one another.<sup>4</sup>

Also at that time, Camillus was serving as consul among the Romans, an outstanding general who was unfairly persecuted as a result of chicanery. Since he could not bear the sight of Rome under siege from the Gauls, he amassed a force and freed the city from its siege, attacking the enemy from outside and destroying them.<sup>5</sup>

Also at that time, Thucydides the historian was flourishing among the Athenians.

Also at that time, the Peloponnesian War broke out, as the result of a decree enacted by Perikles prohibiting the Athenians from having dealings with the Megarians, on the grounds that they had

<sup>1</sup> 2 Esdr. 7.7; 12.1.

<sup>2</sup> 2 Esdr. 13.1.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.111<sup>g</sup>. Notice that other Byzantine chronicles also omit Esdras from their lists of the post-exilic high priests. See Gelzer ii. 175.

<sup>4</sup> For the 'sacred war', see Thuc. 1.112.5.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.120<sup>e</sup>.

offended his wife Aspasia. It was for this reason that the Megarians allied with the Lakedaimonians.

Also at that time, Kimon the general flourished; shortly afterwards, the victim of their ingratitude, he was banished by the Athenians. They also exiled Aristeides and were so disdainful of Themistokles' achievements that he took poison and ended his life.<sup>1</sup>

Also at that time, Demokritos of Abdera, the natural philosopher, was becoming known, as well as Empedokles of Akragas, the philosophers Zeno, Parmenides, and the physician Hippokrates of Kos. The rhetors Lysias and Isaios, and Antisthenes were achieving renown, as well as the comic author Aristophanes, the poet Euripides and the natural philosopher Herakleitos, in whose time it is said that the philosopher Sokrates was born.<sup>2</sup>

### KINGS OF THE MACEDONIANS<sup>3</sup>

- (12) The twelfth king of the Macedonians was Archelaos  
 14 years<sup>4</sup>  
 AM 5081
- (13) The thirteenth king of the Macedonians was Orestes  
 3 years  
 AM 5095

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### MISCELLANY

In Rome, the virgin Sunia was defiled and buried alive.<sup>5</sup>

A stone fell from heaven in Aigos-Potamoi.

Sokrates was born.

The lyric poets Pindar and Simonides were becoming known.

The battle at Thermopylai and the sea battle at Salamis.

In Rome a certain virgin Porpila was convicted of unchastity and was buried alive.

Choirilos and Prounikos were becoming known.

The natural philosophers of Diagoras' school were flourishing.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.108<sup>l</sup>, 110<sup>d</sup>. See also below, p. 370 (= Moss. 305.13-14).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.114<sup>d</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> Continued from p. 359 (= Moss. 296.13). Eus. 1.108.31-2.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Eus. 1.108.31; 2.114.22-4 (24 years).

<sup>5</sup> Eus. 2.109<sup>o</sup> dates her punishment to the 77th Olympiad; according to Dion. Hal. *Antiq. Rom.* 9.40.3 a Vestal called Orbinia was buried alive in Ol. 77.2.

Hieron was tyrant of the Syracusans and all Sicily.

Sophokles the tragedian gave a showing of his work for the first time.

Because of the folly of the Athenians, Themistokles fled to the Persians and died by drinking the blood of a bull.

There was democracy in Sicily.

An eclipse of the sun.

Anaxagoras died.

At the Eurymedon, Kimon defeated the Persians in a battle by sea and land.

Euenios the elegiac poet was becoming known.

Empedokles and Parmenides, natural philosophers, were becoming known.

Zeno and Herakleitos the Obscure were flourishing.

Tribunes of the plebs and aediles were chosen in Rome,<sup>1</sup> since there were no longer consuls.

The Romans sent for laws from Greece, from which they compiled the Twelve Tables.<sup>2</sup>

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### UNIVERSAL YEARS<sup>3</sup>

(4) The fourth high priest was Jodaë	36 years AM 5082
(5) The fifth high priest was Joannes	32 years AM 5118
(6) The sixth high priest was Jaddous	20 years <sup>4</sup> AM 5150

Manasses, brother of the high priest Jaddous, built the temple in Garizein of Samaria.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Text: *Δήμαρχοι ἐν Ρώμῃ καὶ ἀγορανόμοι ἤρέθησαν* (following Scal.). AB: *δήμαρχος ἐν ρώμῃ καὶ ἀγορᾶ ἦν ὀμηρέθησαν* (A: *ὠμηράθησαν*). Cf. Eus. 2.112<sup>b</sup>: 'Tribuni plebis et aediles Romae facti'; Eus. 2.193<sup>Am</sup>: 'Volkshäuptlinge zu Rom; und auf dem Markt wurden Gesetze genehmigt' (tr. Karst).

<sup>2</sup> For parallels to the preceding notices under 'Miscellany', see Eus. 2.108<sup>hi</sup>, 109<sup>abdfilop</sup>, 111<sup>abcdfhi</sup>, 112<sup>dh</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> Continued from p. 361 (= Moss. 298.11). For the succession of high priests, see 2 Esdr. 22.10.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *Χρον. συντ.* 96.22 (18 years).

<sup>5</sup> Eus. 2.123<sup>a</sup>; see also Jos. *Ant.* 11.302-12.



KINGS OF THE PERSIANS<sup>1</sup>

- (8) The eighth king of the Persians was Xerxes, son of Artaxerxes  
2 months
- (9) The ninth king of the Persians was Sogdianos 7 months  
AM 5090
- (10) The tenth king of the Persians was Dareios Nothos, who slew  
Sogdianos and reigned 19 years  
AM 5091

In the time of Dareios, surnamed Nothos, the Athenian débâcle in Sicily occurred, and Egypt rebelled from the Persians.<sup>2</sup>

Now also at that time, Polydamas of Skotousa won the pankration. Years later, when he was in the court of the Persian king Ochos, he killed lions and fought unarmed with armed men; he was huge in stature and extremely robust.<sup>3</sup>

- (11) The eleventh king of the Persians was Artaxerxes, also known as Mnemon, son of Dareios Nothos 40 years  
AM 5110

Eusebios states: 'It is my opinion that during his reign the events narrated in the book of Esther occurred, if in fact he is the one known as Asoueros by the Hebrews, and Artaxerxes by the Septuagint.'<sup>4</sup>

In the thirty-second year of Artaxerxes, son of Dareios Nothos, Alexander, the son of Philip and the king of the Macedonians, was born to Olympias.

During the reign of Artaxerxes Mnemon, his brother Cyrus, the son of Dareios Nothos and Parysatis, who was living in Asia, launched an invasion against his brother for the kingdom, with the assistance of a sizeable Greek military force. Included in this force was the historian Xenophon, the author of the *Anabasis*. When war broke out 360 stades beyond the Tigris river, according to Xenophon, Cyrus was wounded and fell. Even so the Greeks prevailed over the Persians. And since Artaxerxes lacked the might to prevail over the Greeks militarily and failed to convince them to return peaceably, he broke his treaty with them and with Tesaphernes' aid assassinated their generals. Xenophon assumed

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<sup>1</sup> Continued from p. 366 (= Moss. 302.4). Cf. Eus. 2.115.15-20, 116.22-117.2, 120.19-21, 122.16-18, 123.1-3. The list in Eus. 1.33.18-26 is substantially different.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.116<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> Eus. 1.95.11-19 (93rd Olympiad).

<sup>4</sup> Eus. 2.117<sup>a</sup>. The same identification is made in Jos. *Ant.* 11.184-206; the LXX text of Esth. 1.1 identifies King Ahasuerus as Artaxerxes.

leadership of the Greeks, and leading them back to Greece, he made his way safely through warlike nations to the Euxine Sea and returned to Byzantion. After coming from there to Thrace, he handed over the Lakedaimonians to aid Seuthes the Thracian king; and after leading them across to Pergamon, he sent them along to Thibron, the naval commander of the Lakedaimonians.<sup>1</sup>

(12) The twelfth king of the Persians was Ochos, also a son of Artaxerxes  
5 years, but  
according to some  
20 years  
AM 5150<sup>2</sup>

Ochos, son of Artaxerxes, launched an invasion against Egypt, and took part of the Jews captive, some of whom he settled in Hyrkania by the Caspian Sea, others in Babylon. These are there even to this day, as many of the Greeks relate.<sup>3</sup>

After ruling Egypt for two years, Ochos was slain by Bagoas, one of the Persians holding government office.<sup>4</sup>

This same Ochos also utterly destroyed Sidon.<sup>5</sup>

Extending up to the time of Ochos and Nektanebo, Manetho's outline of the thirty-one dynasties of Egypt encompassed a period of 1050 years for his third book. But the sequence of years after this is taken from Greek historians. There are fifteen Macedonian kings.<sup>6</sup>

This Ochos invaded Egypt when his father Artaxerxes was still alive. According to others, he subsequently seized control of Egypt after Nektanebo took flight. According to some, he fled to Ethiopia. But there are others who say it was to Macedonia, whereupon, by using sorcery to have sexual relations with Olympias, he begot a son Alexander, who was venerated as a son of the god Ammon.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Justin. 5.11.

<sup>2</sup> The Ecclesiastical Computation assigns five years to Ochos; the Astronomical Canon 21 years. See above, pp. 303, 304 (= Moss. 246.15; 247.26). See also Eus. 1.33.24; 2.120.19-21 (26 years). <sup>3</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.121<sup>b</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> Diod. Sic. 17.5.3. For the duration of Ochos' reign in Egypt, Africanus' version of Manetho's *Aigyptiaka* also gives two years; Eusebios' version has six years. See above, p. 110 (= Moss. 87.2-3, 16). <sup>5</sup> Eus. 2.121<sup>i</sup>.

<sup>6</sup> This notice is evidently taken from Africanus' epitome of Manetho's *Aigyptiaka*; see above, p. 110 (= Moss. 87.1-8). Synk. later gives a different chronology of Egyptian kings, ending with Teos and encompassing 32 dynasties of Egyptian kings before the Persian conquest; see below, p. 374 (= Moss. 309.6).

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.121<sup>h</sup>. On the tradition that Nektanebo fled to Ethiopia, see Diod. Sic. 16.51.1. On Nektanebo's flight to Macedonia and his relations with Olympias, see Joh. Mal. 189.17-20; Georg. Mon. i. 25.2-9.

(13) The thirteenth king of the Persians was Ochos' brother Arses [308  
4 years

AM 5155

(14) The fourteenth king of the Persians was Dareios, son of Amoursamos  
6 years

AM 5159

This Dareios, son of Amoursamos, engaged Alexander in battle at the Issos, a river of Cilicia, and was defeated.<sup>1</sup>

### From Josephos<sup>2</sup>

Arsamos' son Dareios, whom Alexander killed, sent one Sanaballetes, a Cushian satrap, to Judaea. His son-in-law through his daughter Nikas was the brother of Jaddous the high priest at that time, whose name was Manasses. Since Sanaballetes was unable to appoint him high priest in Jerusalem, he built a temple on Mount Garizein, having made the request first of Dareios, and then of Alexander the Great. And he appointed him high priest in the very temple that is now an object of veneration by the Samaritans.

### DYNASTIES OF THE EGYPTIANS<sup>3</sup>

Egypt rebelled from the Persians in the second year of Dareios Nothos.

#### The twenty-eighth Egyptian dynasty

Amyrtaios of Saïs

6 years

AM 5092

#### The twenty-ninth Egyptian dynasty: four kings of Mendes<sup>4</sup>

I. Nepherites

6 years

AM 5098

<sup>1</sup> Eus. I.33.26-7.

<sup>2</sup> The excerpt that follows is a summary of Jos. *Ant.* II.302-12.

<sup>3</sup> Synk.'s previous list of 86 Egyptian rulers was not divided into dynasties. Under the heading 'Kings of the Egyptians', it was simply a running catalogue, ending with Amosis and the Persian subjugation of Egypt in AM 4986; see above, p. 307 (= Moss. 249.19). The dynastic division of Egyptian rulers provided here is closer in structure to Africanus' and Eusebios' epitomes of Manetho's *Aigyptiaka*.

<sup>4</sup> The introductory designation 'The 29th Egyptian dynasty', repeated in the text for each of the following three kings, is omitted from the translation.

	2. Achoris	13 years AM 5104
	⟨3.⟩ Psammouthis	2 years AM 5117
	4. ⟨Nepherites⟩	4 months AM 5119
309]	The thirtieth Egyptian dynasty of the kings of Sebennytos	
	1. Nektanebes	8 years AM 5120
	The thirty-first Egyptian dynasty of the kings of Sebennytos	
	Nektanebos II	18 years AM 5128
	The thirty-second Egyptian dynasty	
	2. Teos	2 years AM 5146 <sup>1</sup>

### MISCELLANY

Plato studied with Sokrates.

Simias and Kebes and the remaining Sokratics. From Africanus.<sup>2</sup> The 87th Olympiad: The twenty-seven-year-long war between the Peloponnesians and the Athenians, which Thucydides wrote about, broke out because of two of Aspasia's prostitutes and columns erected against the Megarians, neighbours to the Athenians.

The 88th Olympiad: Bakchylides the lyric poet was becoming known.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In Eusebios' and Africanus' recensions of Manetho, Nektanebes, Nektanebos, and Teos belong to the 30th dynasty, and Teos precedes Nektanebos. See Eus. 1.69.23-4; and above, pp. 109, 110 (= Moss. 86.22-6; 87.10-14).

<sup>2</sup> See Mosshammer's note ad loc. In the manuscripts, the word *Ἀφρικανουῦ* appears at the end of the line after *Σωκρατικοί*. It is thus unclear whether Synk. attributes that passage or the succeeding one to Africanus. The translation follows Mosshammer's edition and preserves the ambiguity. Dindorf ascribes the succeeding passage to Africanus, although he does not clearly delimit the precise extent of the citation. Routh (ii. 289, fr. 45.) assigns to Africanus only the notice for the 87th Olympiad. Gelzer (ii. 180) considers Africanus as the source of the entire passage down to the notice about Mount Etna.

<sup>3</sup> Eus. 2.114<sup>h</sup> (87th Olympiad).

The plague oppressed<sup>a</sup> the Athenians.

Sokrates, the cathartic philosopher,<sup>1</sup> was flourishing.<sup>2</sup>

Eupolis and Aristophanes, comic poets, and Sophokles the tragedian, were becoming known.<sup>3</sup>

According to some, Gorgias, Hippias, and Prodikos, and according to some Zeno and Parmenides as well, were flourishing at this time.

Fire from Mount Etna gushed forth over the regions of Sicily. When the tremors occurred, Atalante, located near the Lokrians, split apart and became an island.<sup>4</sup>

The Lakedaimonians made a treaty with the Athenians.

Eudoxos of Knidos was becoming known.

The Lakedaimonians established the colony of Herakleis.<sup>5</sup>

The Athenian disaster in Sicily.<sup>6</sup>

The Athenians became subject to tyrants.

Pharnabazos killed Alkibiades.

The anabasis of Cyrus the Persian, which Xenophon, son of Gryllos, recounts.<sup>7</sup>

Sokrates the rhetor, Ktesias, and Diodoros were becoming known.<sup>8</sup>

At this time, the Athenians began to employ twenty-four Greek letters, there being only sixteen previously.<sup>9</sup>

The tyrants in Athens were overthrown.<sup>10</sup>

The Athenians, defeated by Lysander at Aigos-Potamoi, surrendered themselves to the Lakedaimonians for 157 years.

<sup>a</sup> Text: *ἔπεισεν ὁ λιμός* (= AB). Emended to *ἐπίεσεν ὁ λοιμός*, following Mosshammer's n. ad loc. This is clearly a reference to the plague that afflicted the Athenians, on which see Thuc. 2.47.3; Diod. Sic. 12.45.2 (87th Olympiad). Note Jerome's translation of the parallel notice (Eus. 2.115<sup>a</sup>: 'Athenienses pestilentia laborant'); but cf. Eus. 2.194<sup>Arm</sup>: 'Olomios (*sic*) überzeugte die Athener' (tr. Karst), which probably reflects the Greek *ἔπεισεν ὁ λοιμός*.

<sup>1</sup> Lit. 'purifying', presumably in reference to the purgative effect of Sokrates' discourses. For the application of this epithet to Sokrates, see Plut. *Quaest. plat.* 1.999 E, 1000 C.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.114<sup>e</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.115<sup>d</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> Eus. 2.115<sup>ef</sup>.

<sup>5</sup> Text: *Ἡρακλεΐδα*. Di.: *Ἡράκλειαν*. Cf. Eus. 2.115<sup>k</sup>: 'Lacedaemonii . . . Heracliam . . . condunt.' On the colonization of Herakleia, see also Thuc. 3.92; Diod. Sic. 12.59.3.

<sup>6</sup> Eus. 2.115<sup>hik</sup>, 116<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>7</sup> Eus. 2.117<sup>cgh</sup>.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.117<sup>d</sup> (Isokrates); Eus. 2.195<sup>Arm</sup> (Sokrates).

<sup>9</sup> Eus. 2.117<sup>k</sup>.

<sup>10</sup> Eus. 2.117<sup>i</sup>.

The Rhodians from the Tripolis assembled in one city.<sup>1</sup>

Upon his return from Greece to attack his brother Artaxerxes, Cyrus was killed, according to Xenophon, who recounts the anabasis and who commanded the host of men during their return.<sup>2</sup>

The Thirty Tyrants in Athens were overthrown.<sup>3</sup>

In Olympia, the contest of trumpeters (and) heralds was added.<sup>4</sup>

The cities of Helike and Boura in Achaïa, that is, in the Peloponnese, collapsed in a great earthquake; for those sailing from Patrai to Corinth traces of these cities are still visible at sea to starboard.<sup>5</sup>

Eudoxios<sup>6</sup> the astronomer was becoming known.

The holy war of the Carthaginians.<sup>7</sup>

The Roman dicator Scipio Africanus plundered Carthage and renamed the region Africa.

Because of the folly of the Athenians, Sokrates died after being sentenced to drink the hemlock.<sup>8</sup>

311] The temple in Ephesos was again set afire.

Diogenes the Cynic philosopher was becoming known.<sup>9</sup>

Dionysios was tyrant of Sicily.

Plato and other Sokratic philosophers were flourishing.

Gauls and Celts seized control of Rome, except for the Capitol.<sup>10</sup>

When he was king, Euagoras gave up possession of Cyprus.<sup>11</sup>

The Romans conquered the Presentini.<sup>12</sup>

Isokrates the sophist was flourishing.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Diod. Sic. 13.75.1.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.117<sup>h</sup>; Xen. *Anab.* 1.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.117<sup>i</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Eus. 1.95.28–96.4 (96th Olympiad).

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.119<sup>c</sup>; Paus. 7.25.4 (Ol. 101.4); Strabo 1.3.18.

<sup>6</sup> Correctly Eudoxos.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.118<sup>ih</sup>.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.118<sup>b</sup>.

<sup>9</sup> Eus. 2.118<sup>ce</sup>.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.118<sup>gdk</sup>.

<sup>11</sup> Text: *Εὐαγόρας βασιλεύων τῆς Κύπρου ἐξέστη*. Another possible translation is: 'When he was king of Cyprus, Euagoras lost his mental faculties'; see Eus. 2.119<sup>a</sup>: 'Euagoras in furorem uersus, cum regnaret Cypri'; 2.196<sup>Arm</sup>: 'Euagoras verfiel in Wahnsinn, beherrschend die Insel Kipros' (tr. Karst). But cf. Diod. Sic. 15.8.2–3, describing how, after a siege of Salamis by the Persians, Euagoras agreed to withdraw from all the cities of Cyprus.

<sup>12</sup> Text: *Πρεσεντίους*; cf. Eus. 2.196<sup>Arm</sup>: 'Presantäer'. Both readings are corruptions of *Πραινεστίνους*. Cf. Eus. 2.119<sup>d</sup>: 'Praenestini a Romanis uicti . . .'; Livy 6.27.9; Diod. Sic. 15.47.8.

<sup>13</sup> Eus. 2.119<sup>f</sup>.

Dionysios, the tyrant of Sicily, died after ruling for eighteen years. His second son, Dionysios the younger, succeeded him to the throne.<sup>1</sup> During his reign, Plato came to Sicily for the second time.

Starting in the seventeenth year of his life, Aristotle was a student of Plato.<sup>2</sup>

Also at that time, it is said, Sokrates, owing to the folly of the Athenians, ended his life after drinking the hemlock.<sup>3</sup>

In his time, Dionysios was tyrant of Sicily. During his rule Plato travelled abroad for the purpose of investigating Mount Etna's so-called craters of fire, as the philosophers associated with him claim.<sup>4</sup> But the rhetor Aristeides, who wrote against Plato, says that it was for the purpose of partaking at the Sicilian dining-table.<sup>5</sup> Now the tyrant was acquainted with him through a certain Dion, who was Dionysios' brother-in-law, and a devotee of philosophy. When Dionysios inquired of Plato who among men was truly happy, he was expecting to hear from the philosopher, 'You are.' But rather than flattering the tyrant, Plato said that it was Sokrates, to come upon the philosophers living in his time.<sup>6</sup> He was next asked, 'What is the function of a statesman?' And although he wanted to hear from Plato that it was to be an honest judge (for Dionysios boasted about this), Plato answered the tyrant, 'To make citizens good and moral'. Then Dionysios asked, 'In your opinion, whose job is it to judge fairly?' And Plato answered, 'Judging fairly is a rather paltry part of a statesman. They are similar to the menders who reweave torn garments.' And a third time he asked him, 'As it seems to you, how would you characterize being an autocrat?' And Plato answered, 'It's most dreadful, since he fears even his barber's scissors, in case he is killed by them!' [312]

In defending their teacher in their writings against Aristeides, the Platonists say that with these answers Dionysios, the tyrant of Sicily, became incensed at the philosopher for being so utterly

<sup>1</sup> Eus. 2.120<sup>b</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> Eus. 2.196<sup>Am</sup>; cf. Eus. 2.120<sup>c</sup>, which states that it was the 18th year of his life.

<sup>3</sup> Similar to above, p. 376 (= Moss. 310.23-4).

<sup>4</sup> For a similar account of Plato's voyages to Sicily, see Diog. Laert. *Lives* 3.18-23.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Arist. *Or.* 46 (*Πρὸς Πλάτωνα ὑπὲρ τῶν τεττάρων*) 229 ff.

<sup>6</sup> Text: *Σωκράτης, ἀπαντᾶν τοὺς κατ' ἐκείνον ζῶντας φιλοσόφους*; the syntax and the sense are obscure. Cf. Kedr. i. 256.9-10: 'Sokrates is the happiest of all, and the philosophers who live in this time (*Σωκράτης ἀπάντων, καὶ οἱ κατ' ἐκείνον ζῶντες φιλόσοφοι*)', and the anecdote that the dying Plato gave thanks for having lived in Sokrates' time (e.g. Plutarch, *Marius* 46.1).

uncomplimentary. So he declared that Plato should be removed from the Syracusans when the sun rose over the earth. And a certain Annikeris from Aigina purchased him, for which reason there is a popular saying circulating among the Platonists even to this day: 'And Annikeris would have been a nobody, were it not that he purchased Plato.' But others record that by handing him over to a certain Pollis who was sailing past Sicily on a trading expedition, the tyrant expelled him from the island. After receiving the philosopher, he dropped anchor near the Aiginetans, who were in a state of conflict with the Athenians, and handed Plato over to them (since Dionysios had secretly ordered him to do this). And Plato himself, after the merchant had transferred him, sailed on to Athens.

When Dionysios died in the eighteenth year of his rule as tyrant, his son Dionysios succeeded him to rule. (Now) he was tyrant of Sicily, and to gratify Dion, he summoned Plato back; upon his arrival, he honoured him lavishly at the urging of Dion, who was hopeful of transforming the tyranny into an aristocracy. And when Dion, through the chicanery of betrayal, was driven off the island by the tyrant and sailed to Athens, Plato was also expelled. But the tyrant felt regret over this and summoned Plato back, promising to bring back Dion as well on his behalf. And Plato did arrive, but since Dionysios deceived him, he departed shortly thereafter.

Now Dion rose up against him with a Greek army, and removed Dionysios from power; but Dion himself was soon killed by some members of his own household. And Dionysios again gained control. When he was taken to Corinth by the Corinthians and the general Timoleon, he died there an old man, in disgrace and poverty.

Plato died in the 107th Olympiad, after choosing his nephew Speusippos as his successor to head the Platonic academy.<sup>1</sup>

313] Nikomachos' son Aristotle the Stagirite, a pupil of Plato, was flourishing. His most illustrious student was Philip's son Alexander, who received from him every kind of mental and bodily discipline, both in wisdom and in principles of doctrine.<sup>2</sup>

Xenokrates, the successor to Speusippos, the successor to Plato, was flourishing, as well as the Cynics Krates and Diogenes, and the philosopher Hipparchia, wife of Krates.

Demosthenes the rhetor.

<sup>1</sup> Eus. 2.122<sup>c</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Dexipp. *FGrH* 100 F 10.



Erina the poetess.

Dionysios the tyrant was banished from Sicily.<sup>1</sup>

### KINGS OF THE MACEDONIANS<sup>2</sup>

- (14) The fourteenth king of the Macedonians was Archelaos  
4 years  
AM 5098
- (15) The fifteenth king of the Macedonians was Amyntas  
1 year  
AM 5102
- (16) The sixteenth king of the Macedonians was Pausanias  
1 year  
AM 5103
- (17) The seventeenth king of the Macedonians was Amyntas  
5 years<sup>3</sup>  
AM 5104
- (18) The eighteenth king of the Macedonians was Argaios  
2 years  
AM 5109
- (19) The nineteenth king of the Macedonians was Amyntas  
12 years<sup>4</sup>  
AM 5111
- (20) The twentieth king of the Macedonians was Alexander  
1 year  
AM 5123
- (21) The twenty-first king of the Macedonians was Ptolemy  
3 years  
AM 5124
- (22) The twenty-second king of the Macedonians was Perdikkas  
6 years  
AM 5127
- (23) The twenty-third king of the Macedonians was Philip  
23 years<sup>5</sup>  
AM 5133

When he was handed over to Thebes as a hostage to Epamynodotos, a skilled general in the prime of his career at Thebes, Philip

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.122<sup>h</sup>, 121<sup>agc</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> Continued from p. 369 (= Moss. 304.28). Cf. Eus. 1.108.33–109.7.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Eus. 1.108.36 (6 years).

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Eus. 1.109.2 (18 years).

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Eus. 1.109.6 (26 years).

314] become an ardent admirer of his virtue. Upon ascending to the throne, he was fully involved in the affairs of state, thereby greatly enlarging Macedonian power. When he was slain by Pausanias, his son Alexander assumed the throne, the one who defeated the Persians in warfare.<sup>1</sup>

(24) The twenty-fourth king of the Macedonians was the son of Philip and Olympias

12 years<sup>2</sup>

AM 5156

Alexander captured the Illyrians and the Thracians, and utterly destroyed Thebes. He vanquished Dareios' generals at the Lydian river Granikos. He seized Sardes, laid siege to Tyre, and appropriated Judaea. He showed honour to the high priest Jaddous by sacrificing to God, as if he were confessing that he had acquired the whole inhabited world from God. He appointed Andromachos to oversee the affairs of Judaea and the other areas. Because the inhabitants of Samaria killed him, they paid the penalty when Alexander returned from Egypt. He captured the city of Samaria and settled Macedonians there.<sup>3</sup>

Some number the first year of the kingdom of the Greeks from the seventh year of Alexander. For the Greeks and the Macedonians are considered the same.

From the seventh year of Alexander up to the twenty-second year of Cleopatra, there are 300 years.<sup>4</sup>

The Alexandria in Egypt was founded in the seventh year of Alexander.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Diod. Sic. 16.94; Jos. *Ant.* 19.95.

<sup>2</sup> By this reckoning, Alexander's death occurred in AM 5167, apparently in contradiction with Synk.'s repeated claim that Alexander died in AM 5170.

<sup>3</sup> See Eus. 2.197<sup>Arm</sup> (cf. Eus. 2.123<sup>bd</sup>). See also Jos. *Ant.* 11.332-6; Kedr. i. 265.11-266.1.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. below, p. 436 (= Moss. 365.10-11), according to which Cleopatra's 22-year rule began in AM 5446 and ended in 5467. This date tallies with a statement made elsewhere by Synk. (p. 436 = Moss. 365.15) that 298 years elapsed from the death of Alexander (AM 5170) up to 22 Cleopatra. It does not, however, conform with the 300 years that Synk. counts here from 7 Alexander to the end of Cleopatra's rule. If the 7th year of Alexander's 12-year rule is AM 5162, the end of Cleopatra's rule 300 years later would then be AM 5462. By this same calculation, there would be 295 years (not 300 years) from Alexander's death (5167) to the end of Cleopatra's reign. Synk. may have obtained this figure from Porphyry, who also calculates 295 years from Alexander's death to the end of Cleopatra's rule (in Eus. 1.80.4-6; see also 2.163<sup>a</sup>).

<sup>5</sup> Eus. 2.123<sup>e</sup>.

In the same year, Alexander returned from Egypt and exacted vengeance on the inhabitants of Samaria for the murder of Andromachos, settling Macedonians in their city.<sup>1</sup>

In the same year, the battle in Arbela of Media took place, in the course of which Dareios was killed by the Bactrian forces of Bessos. Alexander secured Sousa, and along with Babylon, the Persian kingdom, which had lasted 230 years from Cyrus until Dareios.<sup>2</sup> He also mastered the Hyrkanians and Mardoï, Bessos was seized, and Alexander subdued Sogdiana. He also conquered the rock stronghold of Aorne and made his way across the Bernaboäs river of India to Dandamis the Brahman.<sup>3</sup>

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I have taken pains to demonstrate that AM 5170 corresponds with the end of the reign of Alexander of Macedon, so that the years from Philip, Alexander's successor, based on the *Handy Tables* of Ptolemy's *Astronomy*,<sup>4</sup> might harmonize with the chronology that we give next. And I have discovered that in tracing the years from Nabonasar until Alexander, all the accurate astronomical tables assign only nine years to Cyrus the first Persian king. But I am unable to calculate Cyrus' reign on the basis of these tables, inasmuch as this number contradicts the divine scriptures (for it is universally held by all the historians of the church that he reigned thirty-one years). I am therefore required to subtract from the dates of Ochos' rule (a subject of doubt among some) the years that seem to be in excess. Instead of twenty-one years, I have assigned to him only five years, and the *Astronomical Canon* is thereby in agreement.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.123<sup>d</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> Previously, Synk. stated that 1 Cyrus was AM 4952, and that Dareios' 6-year rule began in 5159; see above, pp. 339, 373 (= Moss. 278.11-12; 308.3-4). Since the last year of Dareios' reign would then be AM 5164, the total number of years of the Persian kingdom comes to 214 years, not 230 years. The 230 years of the Persian kingdom also conflict with the 195 total years of Persian kings based on the *Ecclesiastical Computation*; see above, p. 304 (= Moss. 247.16-28). The figure 230 probably originates in Africanus' chronicle, on which see the excerpt from Africanus in Eus. *DE* 8.2.52. For the other witnesses to Africanus' chronology of Persian history, see Gelzer i. 103-4.

<sup>3</sup> Eus. 2.124<sup>cd</sup>; Arrian. *Anab.* 4.28-30; 7.2.2.

<sup>4</sup> Probably in reference to Ptolemy's *Almagest* (ἡ μεγάλη σύνταξις), on which see above, p. 300 (= Moss. 243.30).

<sup>5</sup> For Synk.'s discussion of the difference between the *Astronomical Canon* and *Ecclesiastical Computation* for the reign of Cyrus, see above, pp. 301-2 (= Moss. 245.5-11). On the 31-year reign of Cyrus, see also Eus. 1.33.11. The 5 years that Synk. assigns to the reign of Ochos are based on

Because of the stature of Alexander and his father Philip, an account of the kingdom of the Macedonians is essential for those with an urgent desire to learn about this. At least then, let me summarily describe it in a general survey, from Karanos the first king of the Macedonians until Alexander. Granted, the kings of the Macedonians trace the origin of the first royal line to Herakles, for Herakleidai took control of the Peloponnese eighty years after the conquest of Troy, and from them the first kingdoms of the Corinthians and Lakedaimonians arose.<sup>1</sup> Later in time, however, around the end of their reign, the kingdom of the Macedonians began in the following way:<sup>2</sup>

316] Karanos the Argive, brother of Pheidon, one of those belonging to the line of Herakles and king of Argos, was eager to acquire a country for his own. He assembled a force from his brother and from the whole Peloponnese, with which he launched an invasion against the regions beyond Macedonia. At the same time, he made an alliance with a chief of the so-called Orestai in the region against the neighbouring barbarians. He seized half of the country, built a city in accordance with an oracle and established a kingdom there, which the descendants of his line inherited after him.

This Karanos was the eleventh from Herakles, but he was the seventh from Temenos, who returned to the Peloponnese with the other Herakleidai. As Diodoros states, this is the way his genealogy is traced by the majority of the historians, one of whom is also Theopompos. Karanos was the son of Pheidon, the son of Aristodamidas, the son of Merops, the son of Theostios, the son of Kissios, the son of Temenos, the son of Aristomachos, the son of Kleadates, the son of Hyllos, the son of Herakles. Others, he says, trace the genealogy differently, asserting that Karanos was the son of Poias, the son of Kroisos, the son of Kleodaios, the son of Eurybiades, the son of Deballos, the son of Lachares, the son of Temenos, the man who returned to the Peloponnese.<sup>3</sup>

the Ecclesiastical Computation; see above, p. 304 (= Moss. 247.26). The reduction of Ochos' reign from 21 years to 5 does not fully compensate for the extension of Cyrus' reign from 9 years to 31. In order for the total years of the Ecclesiastical Computation to correlate with the Astronomical Canon, an additional adjustment of 6 years was required. For discussion, see Gelzer ii. 227-8.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Eus. 1.105.19-23.

<sup>2</sup> See above, pp. 288, 310, 348, 359, 369, 379-80 (= Moss. 234.1-18; 252.14-20; 285.26-286.4; 296.1-13; 304.25-8; 313.10-314.5). Cf. Eus. 1.107.20-109.7, from Diod. Sic. 7.15 (fr.).

<sup>3</sup> Diod. Sic. 7.17 (fr.), for which Synk. is the only witness.

Karanos reigned for thirty years. After him, his son Koinos reigned for twenty-eight years. After him, his son (Karanos for thirty years) Tyrimmas for forty-five years; he annexed the remaining region of Macedonia and enlarged the kingdom overall. Then Argeios the son of Tyrimmas reigned for thirty-four years,<sup>1</sup> after whom Philip the son of Argeios reigned for thirty-five years. In addition to these, Alketas, the son of Philip, for <\*\*\*> years, then Amyntas the son of Alketas, for <\*\*\*> years, and next Alexander, the son of Amyntas.<sup>2</sup>

During the crossing of Xerxes, this Alexander gave water and earth to the Persians. He had two sons, Perdikkas and Amyntas, the first of whom reigned for <\*\*\*> years.<sup>3</sup> But Amyntas, after spending his whole life as a private citizen, left behind a son Aridaios.<sup>4</sup> From him there was a child, who, like his grandfather, bore the name Amyntas, concerning whom we shall next discuss how he ascended the throne. Now after Perdikkas, his son Archelaos reigned for fourteen years.<sup>5</sup> When Euripides the tragedian went to stay with him, he spent the entire time as his honoured guest.<sup>6</sup> When Archelaos was killed, his son Orestes succeeded him and held the throne for four years.<sup>7</sup> Aëropas his steward killed him and reigned after him for four years.<sup>8</sup> After succeeding him to the throne for one year, Amyntas was deposed by the Macedonians. And this afore-

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. above, p. 310 (= Moss. 252.16–19), according to which Perdikkas succeeded Tyrmas (Tyrimmas), and ruled for 48 years. Argeios (Argeios) then succeeded Tyrimmas.

<sup>2</sup> See above, pp. 348, 350 (= Moss. 285.26–286.4; 296.1–9), which gives the following sequence of Macedonian kings: Philip (35 years); Aeropas (23 years); Alketas (28 years); Amyntas (42 years); Alexander (44 years). According to Diodoros (cited in Eus. 1.107.19–108.8, 20–9), the succession of Macedonian kings after Karanos is as follows: Koinos (28 years); Tyrimmas (43 years); Perdikkas (48 years); Argeios (31 or 38 years); Philip (33 years); Aeropas (20 years); Alketas (18 years); Amyntas (49 or 42 years); Alexander (44 years). MSS. AB supply 28 and 42 years for the lacunose entries for Alketas and Amyntas respectively.

<sup>3</sup> Above Synk. (p. 359 = Moss. 296.12) assigns 23 years to Perdikkas' rule. Eus. 1.108.9, 30, quoting Diod. Sic., assigns both 22 and 23 years to Perdikkas.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Diod. Sic. 15.60.3.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Eus. 1.108.9, 31 (17 and 24 years respectively).

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Diod. Sic. 13.103.5.

<sup>7</sup> Three years according to an earlier statement by Synk., p. 369 (= Moss. 304.27–8); see also Eus. 1.108.32 (3 years).

<sup>8</sup> But cf. p. 379 (= Moss. 313.10), and Eus. 1.108.33, according to which another Archelaos succeeded Orestes to rule.

mentioned Amyntas was imprisoned, that is, the son of Aridaios, the son of Amyntas, the son of Alexander, during whose time, as was previously stated, Xerxes made his crossing into Greece. Now when this Amyntas had reigned for twelve years, his first son Alexander assumed rule for one year.<sup>1</sup> After him Ptolemy, the so-called Alorite, of another line, ruled for {\*\*\*} years.<sup>2</sup> Perdikkas, also a son of Amyntas, killed him, and ruled the Macedonian kingdom for twenty-three years,<sup>3</sup> administering all his affairs properly and lawfully. He made the Macedonian regime the greatest of all the kingdoms of Europe and subjugated all the hostile peoples in the area, planning even to make the Greeks themselves his subject after acquiring a large army and subduing the Triballoi. During his reign, Plato died in old age, and Aristotle the Stagirite, son of Nikomachos, was flourishing.<sup>4</sup> One of Aristotle's pupils was Alexander, the son of Philip from his wife Olympias (who the Greeks claim was descended from Achilles, the son of Thetis).<sup>5</sup>

318] A little before his death, this Philip besieged Byzantion. But since the Athenians were aiding the Byzantines through the general Chares, Philip's siege was a failure and he withdrew to Cherronesos. Upon capturing it, he returned.<sup>6</sup> At that time, he made peace with the Athenians and reigned, as we said previously, for twenty-three years. He was murdered by Pausanias in the beginning of the 110th Olympiad, at which time his son Alexander became king of the Macedonians.<sup>7</sup> Succeeding his father Philip, he was proclaimed king

<sup>1</sup> Synk. apparently confused Amyntas, the 19th king of Macedonia, with the 15th Macedonian king bearing the same name. As a result, he skipped over the names of Pausanias, Amyntas, and Argaios, the 16th, 17th, and 18th kings of Macedonia; see above, p. 379 (= Moss. 313.14-23).

<sup>2</sup> Three years according to the list given above, p. 379 (= Moss. 313.24), and Eus. 1.108.11; 109.4.

<sup>3</sup> Previously, Synk. stated that Perdikkas and his successor Philip reigned for 6 years and 23 years respectively; see above, p. 379 (= Moss. 313.26-9). Mosshammer thus suggests that the words ἐτη 5' μεθ' ὃν Φίλιππος, or something similar, might have been excised from the text. Reconstructed in this way, the text would read: 'Perdikkas ruled for 6 years, after whom Philip ruled the Macedonian kingdom for 23 years.' Cf. Eus. 1.108.11; 109.5-6; 2.121.1-2. According to Eusebios, Perdikkas and Philip reigned 6 (or 5) and 26 (or 24) years respectively.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.122<sup>c</sup>.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Dexipp. *FGrH* 100 F 9 (see below, p. 385 [= Moss. 318.7-9]); Theopompos, *FGrH* 115 F 355; Justin. 17.3.14.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Justin. 9.1.1-9.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.122.21; Diod. Sic. 16.94-5. Eusebios puts the end of Philip's 26-year reign in the 4th year of the 110th Olympiad.

in the first year of Dareios son of Arsamos, who succeeded Cyrus as king of the Persians.<sup>1</sup>

Up to this time, when Alexander came to power, there is a period of 420 years from the 1st Olympiad and its beginning, around which time Romulus founded Rome. And from the conquest of Troy, there are 800 years.<sup>2</sup>

Now according to Dexippos, Alexander, upon reaching his twentieth year, arrived at his father's kingdom, after receiving thorough physical training and becoming a most illustrious pupil of the mad Aristotle himself.<sup>3</sup> He first gained control over Thrace and all Greece with the single exception of Lakedaimon. And to pursue the war with Persia, he crossed over into Greater Asia; having earlier prevailed against the Persian armies at the river Granikos, he then battled Dareios himself in Issos of Cilicia, and finally advanced inside Assyria. He took custody of Dareios, who had been slain by Bessas, one of his captains, and gave him a funeral befitting his greatness, already having in his possession Dareios' wife from the battle in Issos, along with his mother and children. And he reigned over the Persian kingdom in the barbarian style of life. Upon his arrival in the Caucasus, he overcame the barbarians who were stationed at Lake Maiotis. And from there he departed to India. Upon subduing the entire nation of India up to the Ganges river, he again moved camp through the Indos river up to the Indian sea. This was the way he returned to Babylon in Assyria, with all Europe and Asia under his control. He ended his life there, succumbing to

<sup>1</sup> Above, Synk. states (p. 373 = Moss. 308.3-4) that 1 Dareios (= 1 Alexander) was AM 5159. But according to another statement, 1 Alexander was AM 5156; see above, p. 380 (= Moss. 314.4-5).

<sup>2</sup> Alexander's accession to power occurred in AM 5156 (see above, p. 380 = Moss. 314.4-5). Synk.'s statement that this was 420 years after the 1st Olympiad contradicts other dates he provides for the latter: AM 4721, AM 4725, AM 4719; see pp. 284, 286, 288 (= Moss. 231.3-4; 233.7-8; 234.12-14). His statement that the fall of Troy occurred 800 years before Alexander's rise to power is at variance with his previous dating of the fall of Troy in AM 4329 (p. 241 = Moss. 195.17). Synk.'s dating of the founding of Rome at the time of the 1st Olympiad is also out of line with his earlier claim that Romulus founded Rome in the 7th Olympiad, AM 4752; see above, p. 283 (= Moss. 230.8-10).

<sup>3</sup> Dexipp. *FGrH* 100 F 9. Synk.'s text reads: αὐτοῦ τε γνησιώτατος Ἀριστοτέλους γεγωνῶς τοῦ δαιμονιῶντος φοιτητῆς. The meaning of δαιμονιῶντος ('mad') is unequivocal; however, Goar seems to translate as if it were δαιμονίου: 'ipsius Aristotelis naturae genii nuncupati necessitudine familiarissime usus'. The parallel passage in Kedr. i. 265.8-9 lacks the words τοῦ δαιμονιῶντος.

an illness. Shortly thereafter, his body was buried in Egyptian Alexandria. Following the battle in Issos, he himself had built this city, upon his arrival in Egypt from Palestine, and after having brought over to his side Tyre, Gaza, and the remaining cities (with the exception of Jerusalem, for a reason that will be set out later).<sup>1</sup> So his body was buried after it was sent to Alexandria by his paternal half-brother Aridaios. After Alexander, Aridaios, renamed Philip by them, ruled the Macedonians for nearly seven years, together with Alexander, the son of Alexander the Great and Dareios' wife Roxanne.<sup>2</sup> Now it is from his rule that the dates determined in Ptolemy's *Handy Tables* and the events based on the Egyptian yearly cycle are calculated.

Whatever, therefore, it was necessary to discuss about the Macedonian kingdom before the reign of Alexander has already been set forth in a general survey up to his time. As for the more illustrious of the kings who succeeded him to the throne, it is finally fitting to speak summarily about them as well.<sup>3</sup>

Following Alexander's death, the Macedonian empire, as already stated, was divided between two men: Aridaios, Alexander's paternal half-brother, born from Philinne the Thessalian, and surnamed Philip because of the love of the Macedonians for his father Philip; and Alexander, the son of Alexander and Roxanne the daughter of Oxyartes.<sup>4</sup> Then the others also each received their own portion, of whom the principal figures were Ptolemy the son of Lagos, who was apportioned the kingdom of Egypt; Seleukos Nikator, Syria and Cilicia up to Babylon; Perdikkas, who received the signet-ring from Alexander, was appointed over Phrygia Major; Lysimachos received the empire situated to starboard of those sailing the Pontos; Antigonos ruled Phrygia Minor, Pamphylia, and Lycia; Eumenes was allotted Paphlagonia and Cappadocia; Kasandros, the son of Antipatros, together with his father, administered the Macedonian kingdom of Aridaios and Alexander, and controlled Greece.<sup>5</sup>

All this occurred in the 115th Olympiad. At the beginning of that Olympiad, or before it, Alexander's mother Olympias slew Aridaios.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.123<sup>de</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> Eus. 1.113.36. But cf. Porphyry (in Eus. 1.109.19), who states that Aridaios ruled for 8 years.

<sup>3</sup> The summary of events that follows parallels the excerpts from Porphyry's chronicle preserved in Eus. 1.109.9–113.32. For the Greek text of these excerpts, see *Exc. Eus.* 120.3–133.28.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Porphyry, in Eus. 1.109.13–24 (= *Exc. Eus.* 129.26–130.2).

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Dexipp. *FGrH* 100 F 8.



She had arrived in Macedon after either being sent by Aiakes the king of Epeiros or fleeing from him; for there are two versions of events. She slew him and his wife in the seventh year of his reign after Alexander, and she shortly thereafter was killed by Kasandros the son of Antipatros. She was queen of the Macedonians, ruling with Alexander's two sons: the one known as Herakles, child of Pharsane the daughter of Pharnabazos, and the other Alexander, already referred to, child of Roxanne the daughter of Oxyartes king of the Bactrians. These men Kasandros killed, and cast out Olympias without a burial. He proclaimed himself king of the Macedonians and married Thessalonike wife of Philip the king. After a rule of nineteen years, he succumbed to a wasting disease, leaving behind three sons, Philip, Alexander, and Antipatros. Philip, the first of them to rule the Macedonians after Kasandros his father, died in Elateia. Antipatros slew his own mother Thessalonike, who was collaborating with his brother Alexander for the kingdom, and fled to Lysimachos in Pontos. He was killed by Lysimachos, even though he had married his daughter. Alexander married Lysandra the daughter of Ptolemy, and was killed by Demetrios Poliorketes, who had summoned him to make an alliance against his younger brother Antipatros. Demetrios assumed rule of the Macedonians.<sup>1</sup> [320

This Demetrios was the son of Antigonos, the one who was allocated Phrygia Minor, as was stated above. Antigonos was the most formidable of the kings of Asia at that time. After ruling the kingdom for eighteen years, he died in Phrygia when all the prominent men of power attacked him. Now Demetrios was surnamed Poliorketes for the following reason. After the death of his father Antigonos, he survived by taking flight to Ephesos. Whereupon, after being deprived of all Asia, he showed himself to be extremely formidable in mounting a siege, and became king of everyone of that time.<sup>2</sup>

He ruled Asia Minor for seventeen years, but the Macedonians he ruled only six years after killing Alexander the son of Kasandros. And he was deposed from rule by Pyrrhos king of Epeiros, the son of Aiakes the chief of Epeiros, and Aiakes' successor to the rule of Epeiros. He was the twenty-third in descent from Achilles, the son of Thetis and Peleus, a man who was both physically powerful and sound in military judgement. Pyrrhos deposed Demetrios, on the grounds that rule over Macedonia pertained to him after the line of Philip; this was because of Olympias, the mother of Alexander the founder, who traced her lineage from Pyrrhos, also known as [321

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Porphyry, in Eus. 1.109.25-110.15 (= Exc. Eus. 130.2-19).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Porphyry, in Eus. 1.117.1-11 (= Exc. Eus. 125.30-126.8).

Neoptolemos, the son of Achilles. Pyrrhos ruled over the Macedonians for seven months.<sup>1</sup>

Lysimachos the Thessalian, son of Agathokles, a member of Alexander's bodyguard, was king of Thrace and Cherronesos and the rest of the neighbouring region. After making an assault upon Pontos and Macedonia (since it was a bordering region), he succeeded Pyrrhos; Lysimachos himself ruled the Macedonians for five years and six months. Lysimachos was defeated in a battle with Seleukos Nikator, king of Syria and Asia. And when he and Demetrios Poliorketes were taken captive by him, Lysimachos was removed from power.<sup>2</sup>

So this is how things happened. Antigonos the ruler of Phrygia Minor, Pamphylia, and Lycia died immediately after Alexander. His son Demetrios, after having seized control over the Macedonians by a ruse, was expelled by Pyrrhos. After being taken captive by Seleukos in Cilicia, he was kept under guard and died with royal honours. In turn Lysimachos deposed Pyrrhos and became ruler of the Macedonians. And when Seleukos Nikator made war against him, he was removed from rule. It remains to demonstrate as well how Seleukos gained the kingdom.

Ptolemy, the son of Lagos, was the first ruler of Egypt after Alexander, for forty years. Upon arriving in Palaigaza, he engaged Demetrios the son of Antigonos in combat. After his victory, he proclaimed Seleukos king of Syria and of the interior regions. But Seleukos got as far as Babylonia and after prevailing over the barbarians reigned for thirty-two years. For this reason, he was nicknamed 'Nikanor'.<sup>3</sup> At any event, in the thirty-second year of his reign, and the seventy-fifth year of his whole life, he deposed Lysimachos from the throne of Macedon. And although he was exalted in victory, he was killed by Ptolemy the son of Lagos, the so-called 'Thunderbolt', as he was about to take control of the Macedonians; and Ptolemy became ruler of the Macedonians.<sup>4</sup>

322] This Ptolemy, son of Lagos and Eurydike the daughter of Antipatros, killed Seleukos, his own benefactor, who had taken him in as a fugitive for one year and five months. When he was waging war against the Gauls, he too was slain, cut down with his army and elephants.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Porphyry, in Eus. 1.110.16-27 (= *Exc. Eus.* 130.20-7).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Porphyry, in Eus. 1.110.28-111.6 (= *Exc. Eus.* 130.27-131.2).

<sup>3</sup> 'Nikator' ('victor'), the title used in the previous paragraph, was the actual cult-name of Seleukos I. But cf. Eus. 1.117.29-30, which also states that, because of his conquests, Seleukos received the title 'Nikanor'.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Porphyry, in Eus. 1.117.25-34.

Around this time the Gauls were pressuring Macedonia and plundering it. This was because many persons were ascending to the Macedonian throne for a brief time and were then being deposed. One of these was Meleager, brother of Ptolemy, son of Lagos, who held power for a few days and was deposed; in like wise Antipatros ruled for forty-five days. After them came Sosthenes, and then Ptolemy, and in addition to these Alexander and Pyrrhos of Epeiros.<sup>1</sup> Altogether, they reigned for three years, according to Diodoros.<sup>2</sup>

Nicknamed Gonatas because he was raised in Gonoï of Thessaly, Antigonos, son of Demetrios Poliorketes, was king of the Macedonians for 44 years.<sup>3</sup> He had previously ruled Greece for twelve years,<sup>4</sup> after which he laid claim to undivided rule over both the Macedonian and the Greek kingdoms. Succeeding him was his son Demetrios, who died after a reign of ten years, leaving behind Philip his infant son. Appointed as his guardian, Antigonos, son of Demetrios, ruled the Macedonians for twelve years (but according to Diodoros it was nine years<sup>5</sup>). After him, Philip, now a grown man, received the paternal rule that was due him and ruled for forty-two years. Upon his death, Perseus succeeded him to rule for ten or nine years.<sup>6</sup> Some say that he was the last Macedonian king, and taken captive by the Romans, he ended his life pitifully around the time of the Maccabees.<sup>7</sup>

Indeed, it was Philip, the father of Perseus, who began the ill-fated war with the Romans. But Perseus reaped its most disgraceful harvest, together with the Macedonians under his command, and in alliance with the Illyrians, the Epeirots, and the Molossoi.

For Aemilius Marcus,<sup>8</sup> the consul of the Romans, and a most distinguished general, took Perseus captive, and placed him in 'free custody', even though Perseus had made war upon the Romans

<sup>1</sup> For a contrasting chronology, see below, pp. 393-4 (= Moss. 326.1-20); Porphyry, in Eus. 1.111.6-27 (= *Exc. Eus.* 131.3-17). According to this chronology, Meleager ruled for 2 months, Antipatros 45 days, and Sosthenes 2 years. After that came a period of 2 years without a king.

<sup>2</sup> Diod. Sic. 22.4 (fr.).

<sup>3</sup> See Porphyry, in *Exc. Eus.* 131.30 (44 years). But cf. Eus. 1.112.5; 114.10 (43 and 33 years respectively).

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Porphyry, in Eus. 1.112.6 (= *Exc. Eus.* 131.32) (10 years).

<sup>5</sup> Diod. Sic. 25.18 (fr.).

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Porphyry, in Eus. 1.113.5-6; 114.14 (10 years, 8 months).

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Porphyry, in Eus. 1.112.1-113.16 (= *Exc. Eus.* 131.26-132.28).

<sup>8</sup> Lucius Aemilius Paullus.

without just cause and in violation of the treaties.<sup>1</sup> And to everyone's surprise, he set free all the cities of the Macedonians and the Illyrians taken by him. This was despite the fact that the Romans, a great people, had often endured great perils in the war with Perseus; even before him, they had defeated in battle Philip his father and Antiochos the Great, and had shown such humanity to them that not only did they retain their kingdom, but the Romans even allowed them to be friends of Rome. Besides this, the Macedonians, because they had acted insolently, believed that they would be undeserving of any mercy, when they, together with Perseus, fell into Roman hands. But the Senate dealt with them in a forgiving and generous manner, and bestowed upon them freedom instead of slavery. They acted in a similar way with the Illyrians, whose king Getion, along with Perseus, they had taken as captive.<sup>2</sup>

Generously, then, the Romans bestowed freedom on the nobility and decreed that they should pay them half the taxes they had previously paid to their own kings. And they sent out ten envoys from the Senate to Macedonia, and five to the Illyrians. They met with Aemilius Marcus and resolved to tear down the walls of Demetrias, the chief city of the Macedonians, to detach Amphilochia from Aitolia, and to convene the leading men of Macedon in a meeting. There the Romans released them, free and unguarded. They cut off the income from the silver and gold mines, both to keep the local inhabitants from being oppressed, and to keep anyone from later stirring up rebellion and using the wealth to regain control of Macedon.<sup>3</sup>

They divided the whole region into four parts, of which the first was the area between the Nestos river and the Strymon, the forts to the east of the Nestos (except those of the cities of Abdera, Maroneia, and Ainos),<sup>a</sup> and west of the Strymon, the whole of Bisaltia, together with Herakleia Siktike.<sup>4</sup>

The second part, which the river Strymon bounds on the east, and

<sup>a</sup> Text: τὰ πρὸς ἀνατολὴν τοῦ Νέστου ἐρύμην καὶ τὰ πρὸς Ἄβδηρα καὶ Μαρώνειαν καὶ Αἶνον πόλεις. Mosshammer notes Wesseling's emendation (based on Livy 45.29): τὰ πρὸς ἀνατολὴν ἐρύματα πλὴν τὰ πρὸς Ἄβδηρα καὶ Μαρώνειαν καὶ Αἶνον πόλεις. The translation reflects this emendation.

<sup>1</sup> The narration of Aemilius' conquest that is found here is apparently a section, otherwise lost, from book 31 of Diodoros Siculus.

<sup>2</sup> Diod. Sic. 31.8.4–5 (fr.).

<sup>3</sup> Diod. Sic. 31.8.5–7 (fr.).

<sup>4</sup> Diod. Sic. 31.8.8 (fr.).

the river known as the Axios bounds on the West, and the lands bordering on it.

The third part, encompassed by the Peneios river to the west; to the north by the mountain called Bernon, with certain regions of Paionia included, among which were the notable cities of Edessa and Beroia.

Fourth and finally, the region beyond Mount Bernon, bordering Epeiros and the districts of Illyria.

Four cities were the capitals of these four parts: Amphipolis of the first, Thessalonike of the second, Pella of the third, and Pelagonia of the fourth. Here four governors were appointed and taxes were collected, and in the outermost regions of Macedonia they stationed troops because of the military intentions of the neighbouring peoples.<sup>1</sup>

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After this, Aemilius organized contests and splendid revelries for the multitude and sent back to Rome the wealth that had been discovered. Upon his arrival, he was bidden by the Senate to celebrate a triumph, together with his fellow generals. And first Anicius, then Octavius, the commander of the fleet, each held a triumph for one day; but that of the very wise Aemilius lasted for three days.

And on the first day, 1200 wagons advanced, bearing white, embossed shields, and another 1200 filled with bronze shields, and another 300 filled to capacity with lances, pikes, bows, and javelins. And the trumpeters led the way, as if they were in combat. There were many other wagons as well, carrying different kinds of weapons, and 800 panoplies mounted on poles. On the second day, 1000 talents in coin were borne in procession, and 2200 talents of silver, an abundance of drinking cups, and 500 wagons laden with diverse statues of gods and men, and very numerous golden shields and dedicatory plaques. On the third day, 120 fine white oxen led the procession, and talents of gold carried on 220 carriers,<sup>2</sup> a 10-talent bowl of gold set with precious stones, gold work of all kinds valued at 10 talents, 2000 elephant-tusks three cubits in length, an ivory chariot adorned with gold and precious stones, a horse adorned for battle with precious stones for his cheek-pieces and outfitted for battle with the rest of his gear in gold, a golden couch strewn with flowered coverlets, and a golden litter with

<sup>1</sup> Diod. Sic. 31.8.8-9 (fr.).

<sup>2</sup> '220 carriers' (φορήμασι διακοσίους εἴκοσι) is very probably in error for '220 talents' (τάλαντα . . . διακόσια εἴκοσι) (Holford-Strevens); see Plut. *Paul.* 33.2, where it is recorded that the coined gold was carried in 77 bowls each containing 3 talents, which would come to 221 talents.

purple curtains. After this came Perseus, the pitiful king of the Macedonians, accompanied by his two sons and one daughter and 250 of his commanders, and 400 garlands contributed by the cities and the kings; and after all of this came Aemilius on a dazzling chariot of ivory.<sup>1</sup>

### UNIVERSAL YEARS<sup>2</sup>

(7) The seventh high priest of the Jews was Jaddous' son Oneias

21 years

AM 5170

325] Oneias, high priest of the Jews, and son of the high priest Jaddous, was becoming known.<sup>3</sup>

(8) The eighth high priest of the Jews was Oneias' son Simon

<19 years><sup>4</sup>

AM 5191

Simon, high priest of the Jews and son of Oneias, was becoming known. Because of his piety to God and his goodwill towards his fellow kinsmen, he was called the Just.<sup>5</sup>

(9) The ninth high priest of the Jews was Simon's brother Eleazar

32 years<sup>6</sup>

(He served in lieu of Simon's son Oneias, who was an infant when Simon died.<sup>7</sup>) In his time, the scriptures were translated.<sup>8</sup>

AM 5210

(10) After Eleazar, the tenth high priest of the Jews was Oneias' uncle Manasses

26 years<sup>9</sup>

AM 5242

(11) The eleventh high priest of the Jews was Oneias, the aforementioned infant son of Simon the Just

14 years<sup>10</sup>

AM 5268

<sup>1</sup> Diod. Sic. 31.8.9–12 (fr.).

<sup>2</sup> Continued from p. 370 (= Moss. 306.6).

<sup>3</sup> Eus. 2.125<sup>h</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *Xpov. σvvτ.* 95.24 (11 years); *Chron. pasch.* 357.6–7; 390.14 (Eleazar, for 15 years).

<sup>5</sup> Eus. 2.127<sup>e</sup>; *Jos. Ant.* 12.43.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. *Chron. pasch.* 357.8 (Oneias, Eleazar's brother, for 14 years), 390.15 (Simon, for 14 years).

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.128<sup>f</sup>.

<sup>8</sup> *Jos. Ant.* 12.40–56.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.131<sup>h</sup>; *Chron. pasch.* 357.9 (Simon, for 32 years), 390.16 (Oneias, for 32 years); *Xpov. σvvτ.* 95.26 (Manasses, for 26 years).

<sup>10</sup> Cf. *Xpov. σvvτ.* 95.27 (Simon, for 23 years); *Chron. pasch.* 357.10; 390.17 (Manasses, for 26 years).

He defrauded Ptolemy by not paying the customary tribute to him. A little-known<sup>1</sup> Jew named Josephos was sent to Ptolemy and supposedly after having appeased Ptolemy's wrath was appointed by him as governor of all Judaea.<sup>2</sup>

### ⟨KINGS OF THE MACEDONIANS⟩<sup>3</sup>

(1) The first king of the Macedonians to succeed Philip's son Alexander was Aridaios

7 years

AM 5171

Antipatros' son Polyperches slew Aridaios.

(2) The second king of the Macedonians was Kasandros

19 years

AM 5178

(3) The three sons of Kasandros—Philip, Alexander, and Antipatros—were kings of the Macedonians

3 years

AM 5197

(4) The fourth king of the Macedonians was Antigonos' son Demetrios Poliorketes, who was also king of Asia

6 years

AM 5200

(5) The fifth king of the Macedonians was Pyrrhos

7 months

(6) The sixth king of the Macedonians was Lysimachos

3 years

AM 5206<sup>4</sup>

(7) The seventh king of the Macedonians was Lagos' son Ptolemy

1 year

AM 5210

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(8) The eighth king of the Macedonians was Ptolemy Meleager, brother of Ptolemy son of Lagos

2 months

Meleager took over rule of Macedonia following the murder of his brother Ptolemy son of Lagos. The Macedonians immediately deposed him two months later, since he was clearly unworthy. Because of the absence of a hereditary successor, they appointed Antipatros as king to replace him; he was the nephew of Kasandros

<sup>1</sup> Text: ἀφανής, possibly corrupt for ἐπιφανής ('distinguished'). Cf. Eus. 2.132<sup>b</sup>: 'vir inter suos nobilis'; Jos. *Ant.* 12.160: Ἰώσηπος δέ τις . . . δόξαν ἔχων.

<sup>2</sup> Eus. 2.132<sup>b</sup>; Jos. *Ant.* 12.158 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Continued from p. 379 (= Moss. 313.29). Cf. Eus. 1.113.36–114.6.

<sup>4</sup> Go.<sup>m</sup>: 5207. If Lysimachos' rule began in 5206 and lasted three years, his successor Ptolemy would have assumed power in AM 5209, not 5210. Cf. above, p. 388 (= Moss. 321.11–12), according to which Lysimachos reigned five years and six months; see also Eus. 1.114.4 (five years, five months).

and son of Philip. Five days later, Sosthenes, one of the commoners, drove him out, on the grounds that he lacked the ability to command the army, with Bernos the Galatian bearing down upon them. After Sosthenes banished him, he himself ruled the Macedonians for two years. With his death came anarchy, and supporters<sup>1</sup> of Antipatros, Ptolemy, and Aridaios managed affairs. When Antipatros was alive and plotting to take control of affairs of state, Antigonos, the son of Demetrios Poliorketes and Kephilla the daughter of Antipatros, laid claim to the rule of the Macedonians for 44 years; raised in Gonoï<sup>2</sup> of Thessaly, Antigonos was surnamed Gonatas. Prior to ruling the Macedonians, he was king for twelve years. This man, who ruled all Greece with a firm hand, lived to the age of 83.<sup>3</sup>

- (9) The ninth king of the Macedonians was Antipatros  
45 days
- (10) The tenth king of the Macedonians was Sosthenes  
2 years  
AM 5211
- (11) The eleventh was an interregnum  
2 years  
AM 5213
- (12) The twelfth king of the Macedonians was Antigonos Gonatas  
44 years  
AM 5215<sup>4</sup>

Melon handed over Taras to the Romans.<sup>5</sup>

About this time, Pyrrhos of Epeiros, who was also king of the Macedonians, at the urging of the Tarantinoi, made war against the Romans. At the outset of the war, he had the upper hand, and he was virtually at the gates of Rome itself. But later, when Cornelius Lentulus was commander (who also held consular office), he was defeated and fled. After losing most of his army, as well as the elephants in his possession (animals the Romans had never seen before), he fled across the sea and returned to Epeiros.<sup>6</sup>

327] Following his battle against the Romans and his flight from there, Pyrrhos of Epeiros launched an invasion against the Peloponnesians. After entering the city through a small gate and taking

<sup>1</sup> Lit. 'those from'.

<sup>2</sup> Text: *ἐν Γόνασι*. But see above, p. 389 (= Moss. 322.10): *ἐν Γόνοις*.

<sup>3</sup> Eus. I.III.16–II2.II.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Eus. I.II2.5 (43 years); II4.10 (33 years).

<sup>5</sup> Eus. 2.130<sup>b</sup>.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Justin. 18.1.



Argos by force,<sup>a</sup> he was killed from a blow to the head from a piece of tile that an Argolian woman threw at him from her roof.<sup>1</sup>

(13) The thirteenth king of the Macedonians was Antigonos' son Demetrios. He was ruler of all Libya and Cyrene 10 years  
He also recovered his father's domain. AM 5259

### KINGS OF THE ALEXANDRIANS<sup>2</sup>

(1) The first king of Alexandria and Egypt after Alexander was Ptolemy, the son of Lagos 40 years  
AM 5171

Ptolemy, the son of Lagos, upon seizing Jerusalem by cunning and deceit resettled many from Judaea in Egypt. His successor Ptolemy Philadelphos set them free.<sup>3</sup>

(2) The second king of Alexandria and Egypt was Ptolemy Philadelphos 38 years  
AM 5211

When Ptolemy the son of Lagos died from a thunderbolt,<sup>4</sup> as was previously stated, in the war against the Gauls, his son Ptolemy Philadelphos was apportioned rule of Egypt after him.<sup>5</sup> A man of exhaustive learning and enormous industry, he collected the books of all the Greeks, Chaldaeans, Egyptians, and Romans, rendered those written in a foreign language into Greek, and deposited 100,000 books throughout Alexandria in the libraries he had established.<sup>6</sup>

He erected on a lavish scale the Pharos of Alexandria through the work of Sostratos of Knidos, son of Dexiphanes. Sostratos' name is inscribed on the highest point of the Pharos tower with the

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<sup>a</sup> Text: ἀπὸ στέγους διὰ πυλίδος, εἰσβαλὼν τῇ πόλει καὶ βία τὸ Ἄργος ἐλεῖν. Comma moved to follow στέγους and ἐλεῖν emended to ἐλών.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Justin. 25.5.1-2; for Pyrrhos' entry cf. Plut. *Pyrrh.* 32.1.

<sup>2</sup> See Eus. 1.74.30-75.7 (from Porphyry).

<sup>3</sup> Eus. 2.125<sup>b</sup>, 129<sup>f</sup>; Jos. *Ant.* 12.4, 7. According to Josephos, Ptolemy entered Jerusalem on the Sabbath, under the pretext of making sacrifice.

<sup>4</sup> Text: Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Λάγου κεραυνῶ τεθνεῶτος. Scal.: Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Λάγου τοῦ καὶ Κεραυνοῦ τεθνεῶτος ('When Ptolemy the son of Lagos, also known as "Thunderbolt", died . . .'). As Synk. previously notes, *Κεραυνός* was an epithet for Ptolemy; see above, p. 388 (= Moss. 321.30). There is no tradition about Ptolemy being killed by a thunderbolt.

<sup>5</sup> See above, p. 388 (= Moss. 321.32-322.2); Eus. 1.75.1-5.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.129<sup>f</sup>.

following words: 'Sostratos of Knidos, son of Dexiphanes, to the saviour gods, on behalf of sailors.'<sup>1</sup>

328] He also purchased 120,000 Jewish captives in Egypt from the army for 460 talents and granted them their freedom, out of his desire for a rendering of their sacred books into Greek. On account of this, he sent to God in Jerusalem costly offerings tastefully fashioned out of much gold and precious stones. And to Eleazar the high priest at that time, he sent an abundance of gifts, just as it is recorded in the *Ptolemaïka*. And he made representation to have the sacred writings sent to Alexandria, as well as holy men who had an exacting knowledge of them and were experienced in Greek learning, so that they might be reliably translated for him from the Hebrew language. In my opinion, this was a work of divine assistance, which far off in time is wont to anticipate the disposition of great events, and before the divine Incarnation prepares the way for the Gentiles with divinely inspired instruction. For this most sage king received seventy holy men from Jerusalem, learned in both tongues, along with the sacred books written in gold letters. Amazed by their competence in every natural and scientific question, with kind words and gifts befitting a king of his piety, he entreated that as an act of altruism these books should be translated with all alacrity. Since this was an extremely temperate location, he authorized Pharos for their work.<sup>2</sup>

Even though split up into pairs, these men, devoted to God and unified in their minds, translated in seventy-two days all told the entire scriptural voice of the Hebrews, working through divine inspiration in complete unison. When the translation was read to Ptolemy Philadelphos and the sages in his court—Demetrios of Phaleron, among the Greeks a serious scholar and polymath, the philosopher Menedemos, and other men of that time who were at the height of their careers—it was agreed that, unlike any other work that they had read, this work alone was divinely inspired. After this, the king held a festival and lavishly honouring them with an abundance of other gifts, he sent them forth to the high priest and the temple, giving thanks to the God of the universe.

With astonishing eloquence, Josephos provides a description of the table inlaid with precious stones that had been sent to

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.129<sup>c</sup>; Lucian, *Hist. Conscr.* 62; Strabo 17.1.6; *Suda*, s.v. *φάρος*; Pliny, *NH* 36.83.

<sup>2</sup> The earliest witness to this widely disseminated story about the origins of the Septuagint is the epistle of Ps.-Aristeas. Synk.'s chief source for his own account of the translation is *Jos. Ant.* 12.11–118.

Jerusalem, and Ptolemy's generosity and wisdom. He also tells how the philosopher Theopompos became insane when he dared to write about them,<sup>1</sup> and how Theodektos, one of the generals,<sup>2</sup> was blinded after having enacted them on stage. Both of them were cured after they repented. And when Aristaios, one of his friends, made an appeal to Ptolemy, 120,000 Jews were ransomed from the army with royal funds and sent back to Judaea; 120 drachmas were paid for each one of them, so that the ransom for them all came to 460 talents. Ptolemy Philadelphos sent Aristaios and Andreas, the two highest-ranking officials, to Jerusalem and Eleazar, along with many golden vessels, set with precious stones, 100 talents of silver and other gifts, requesting that the divine scriptures should be sent to him, as well as sages to translate them, as Josephos states.<sup>3</sup> [329]

Ptolemy Philadelphos collected every book from, so to speak, everywhere in the inhabited world, thanks to the diligence of Demetrios of Phaleron, the third lawgiver of the Athenians, a man of probity among the Greeks.<sup>4</sup> Included among them, as was noted above, was the scripture of the Hebrews, which he deposited in the library of Alexandria in the 132nd Olympiad. At the conclusion of this Olympiad, he died.<sup>5</sup> According to some, there were 100,000 books.<sup>6</sup>

(3) The third king of Alexandria and Egypt was Ptolemy Euergetes  
24 years<sup>7</sup>  
AM 5249

### KINGS OF ASIA<sup>8</sup>

(1) The first king of Asia after Alexander was Antigonos  
18 years  
AM 5171

The history of the Maccabees numbers the kings of the Greeks

<sup>1</sup> That is, divine scriptures.

<sup>2</sup> The Josephan passage that Synk. is paraphrasing describes Theodektes (the correct form) as a tragic poet, not a general (*Ant.* 12.113).

<sup>3</sup> *Jos. Ant.* 12.17-33, 50-3, 60-77, 99-104, 110-18.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *Ep. Ps.-Arist.* 9-10; *Jos. Ant.* 12.12-13.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *Eus.* 2.132.7.

<sup>6</sup> According to *Jos. Ant.* 12.13, Demetrios told Ptolemy there were 200,000 books in the library at the time the translation was commissioned; Demetrios planned to collect 500,000 books.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. *Eus.* 1.75.6-7 (25 years); *Eus.* 2.134.8 (26 years).

<sup>8</sup> *Eus.* 1.117.3-18, 124.7-8 (from Porphyry).

from Antigonos.<sup>1</sup> Written by Josephos, this book does not belong to divinely inspired scriptures; it is, however, extremely useful.<sup>2</sup>

Antigonos founded the city of Antigonía by the river Orontes. When Seleukos founded it anew, he named it Antioch.<sup>3</sup>

(2) The second king, of Asia only, was Demetrios Poliorketes, son of Antigonos

10 years<sup>4</sup>

AM 5189

After capturing Demetrios Poliorketes in Cilicia, Seleukos ordered that he be kept under royal guard until his death and brought Asia under his authority. After he also banished Lysimachos from rule over the Macedonians, he was immediately killed by Ptolemy son of Lagos, also known as the 'Thunderbolt'.<sup>5</sup> This Ptolemy ruled the Macedonians for one year, five months and was killed in the Gallic war.<sup>6</sup>

Demetrios Poliorketes despoiled the city of the Samaritans.<sup>7</sup>

The kingdom of Asia, which lasted twenty-eight years, came under the control of Seleukos.

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### KINGS OF SYRIA AND BABYLONIA<sup>8</sup>

(1) The first king of Syria and Babylonia and the interior regions was Seleukos Nikanor

33 years<sup>9</sup>

AM 5171

The Edessenes calculate their chronology from that point.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See 1 Macc. 1.10, which states that Antiochos Epiphanes, during whose reign the Maccabean uprising occurred, began his rule in the '137th year of the kingdom of the Greeks'. This date is based on the Seleucid era, that is 1 Seleukos Nikator (not, as Synk. states, from Antigonos' reign); see Eus. 2.126<sup>d</sup>; DE 8.2.70. Synk. dates the beginning of the reigns of both Seleukos and Antiochos in AM 5171; see below (= Moss. 330.2). He subsequently states (p. 414 = Moss. 345.5-6) that the reign of Antiochos Epiphanes began in AM 5310; this is 139 (not 137) years from the accession of Antigonos and Seleukos. Eusebios puts 1 Seleukos in Ol. 117.1 (= a. Abr. 1705), and the accession of Antiochos the Great in Ol. 151.4 (= a. Abr. 1841). See Eus. 2.126.15-21; 139.2-5.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.126<sup>d</sup>. Cf. Eus. HE 3.10.6, which attributes authorship of 4 Maccabees to Josephos.

<sup>3</sup> Eus. 2.198<sup>Arm</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Eus. 1.117.11, 124.8; 2.127.15-17 (17 years).

<sup>5</sup> Eus. 1.117.14-24.

<sup>6</sup> Eus. 1.111.7-12.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.127<sup>f</sup>. This notice is repeated below, p. 400 (= Moss. 331.26).

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Eus. 1.117.25-118.13, 124.10-12 (from Porphyry).

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Eus. 1.117.19-21, 124.10; 2.126.16-20 (32 years).

<sup>10</sup> Eus. 2.126<sup>h</sup>.

Seleukos refounded Antioch, formerly Antigonía, in the twelfth year of his reign. This same king also established Laodikeia, Seleukeia, Apameia, Edessa, Beroia, and Pella. Seleukos brought Babylon under his control, and in the new cities he settled Jews and Greeks together.<sup>1</sup>

After Roxanne and her son Alexander were sent to Amphipolis, Seleukos Nikanor did away with them. It is said that Kasandros issued the order.<sup>2</sup>

At that time, the astronomer Kallippos of Kyzikos was becoming known, as well as Dionysios, the author of a work about cities.

Erasistratos, an illustrious physician during the reign of Seleukos, was becoming known. He won acclaim for having diagnosed Antiochos, the son of Seleukos, who was suffering terribly with love-sickness for his father Seleukos' wife, the daughter of Demetrios. Whereupon Seleukos, greatly pained by his son's suffering, gave up his wife to his son Antiochos.<sup>3</sup>

(2) The second king of Asia, Syria, and Babylonia was Antiochos Soter

19 years

AM 5204

This Antiochos, called Soter, had a male child Antiochos, surnamed 'Theos', from Stratonike, the daughter of Demetrios and wife of his father Seleukos. He succeeded him to rule over Syria and Asia for fifteen years, and died in Ephesos.

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(3) The third king of Syria and Asia was Antiochos surnamed 'Theos'

15 years

AM 5223

### MISCELLANY

Astyanax the Milesian prevailed in the pankration for the third time. He also consumed food for six men.<sup>4</sup>

Demetrios of Phaleron was becoming known as the third lawgiver of the Athenians. After restoring democracy to the Athenians, he came to Egypt.

The philosophers Menedemos and Speusippos were becoming known.

The Romans conquered the Celts and Tyrrhenians and gained possession of the territory of the Sabines.

<sup>1</sup> Eus. 2.127<sup>cd</sup>, 128<sup>e</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Eus. 1.109.26-9.

<sup>3</sup> Plut. *Demetr.* 38; Lucian, *De Syria dea* 17-18; App. *Syr.* 308-27.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Athen. *Deip.* 10.4.27.

The leaders of the Macedonians fell into strife.  
 Perdikkas launched an invasion into Egypt.<sup>1</sup>  
 Antipatros' son Polyperches killed Aridaios.<sup>2</sup>  
 Lysimachia in Thrace was founded.  
 Agathokles became absolute ruler in Syracuse.  
 The Romans brought the Marsi, Imbri,<sup>3</sup> and the Pallini<sup>4</sup> to terms.  
 The Romans sent out colonies.  
 Ptolemy gained control of Cyprus.  
 The Lamian war erupted.  
 Anaximenes and Epikouros were becoming known.  
 In Rome a virgin<sup>5</sup> who had been defiled was killed.  
 Theodoros the atheist was becoming known.<sup>6</sup>  
 The Romans finally gained control over the Samnite Arabs.<sup>7</sup>  
 Menander the comic poet won the competition for his production  
 of his first piece, the *Orge*.  
 Theophrastos the philosopher was becoming known.  
 Demetrios Poliorketes despoiled the city of the Samaritans.  
 Menander the comic poet died.  
 Sarapis (or Sorapis, or Seirapis according to some) had a statue  
 erected to him in Alexandria.  
 One of the virgins in Rome was executed after having suffered  
 defilement.<sup>8</sup>  
 The Romans captured Kroton.<sup>9</sup>  
 332] In Rome a silver coin was struck for the first time.  
 The Romans seized Calabria and subjugated Messene as well.  
 Aratos the poet and author of the *Phainomena* was becoming  
 known.<sup>10</sup>  
 The ten kings of the Pontians, whose rule extended 218 years,  
 began their reign about this time. Apollodoros and Dionysios write  
 about them.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Eus. 2.127<sup>b</sup>, 126<sup>c</sup>, 128<sup>d</sup>, 125<sup>cf</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> Eus. 1.74.25-6.

<sup>3</sup> Umbrians.

<sup>4</sup> Paeligni.

<sup>5</sup> Referring to a vestal virgin.

<sup>6</sup> Eus. 2.126<sup>g</sup>, 125<sup>d</sup>, 126<sup>efi</sup>, 125<sup>e</sup>, 124<sup>b</sup>, 127<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.124<sup>g</sup>, 126<sup>b</sup>: 'Romani Samnitas . . . subigunt'; Diod. Sic. 19.10.1; 20.101.5; Eutrop. 2.9.3. For the identification of the Samnites as Arabs, see Eus. 2.198<sup>Arm</sup>: 'Die Römer erlangten vollends über die Saunier, die Araber, die Herrschaft' (tr. Karst).

<sup>8</sup> Eus. 2.125<sup>ik</sup>, 127<sup>f</sup>, 128<sup>c</sup>, 129<sup>a</sup>, 130<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>9</sup> Text: *Κρότον*. This should probably be emended to *Κρότωνα*; cf. Eus. 2.129<sup>e</sup>: 'Romani Crotona capiunt.'

<sup>10</sup> Eus. 2.130<sup>ecd</sup>.

<sup>11</sup> Apollod. *FGrH* 244 F 82; Dion. Hal. *FGrH* 251 F 5a.

Seven kings of the Cappadocians, whose rule lasted 160 years, began their reign about this time, as Diodoros writes.<sup>1</sup>

The Carthaginians seized ninety Roman ships in Sicily, after also putting the consul Metellus to flight.

The Romans sent out colonies.

In Rome, a virgin of the temple of Vesta, having been condemned, killed herself.

Nikomedes the king of the Bithynians founded Nikomedeia in his name.

The Romans prevailed over the Carthaginians in a naval battle and seized 100 Libyan cities.<sup>2</sup>

About this time, Hieron the tyrant of Sicily was in control of Syracuse and in an alliance with the Carthaginians against the Romans. It was then that war first broke out between the Romans and the Carthaginians, and lasted twenty-three years. Valerius succeeded Apion as consul and expelled the Carthaginians from all Sicily. He made the cities there subject to the Romans, with the exception of the city of Syracuse. This city Hieron retained after having been defeated with the Africans a second time.<sup>3</sup> At that time, the Romans also took 100 cities of Libya.<sup>4</sup>

The Romans prevailed over the Carthaginians, when the consul Tullus overcame the Carthaginians after a war of twenty-three years and made them and their country subject to the Romans. He also captured both Syracuse and the tyrant Hieron upon his surrender in the 128th Olympiad during the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphos. Appius Claudius, a general serving as consul who was sent against Hieron, inflicted extensive destruction upon the Sicilians and Carthaginians.<sup>5</sup>

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Antigonos restored freedom to the Athenians.

In Rome, the temple of Vesta was set afire.

In Rome, a virgin was deflowered by a slave and committed suicide.

The Romans slew 40,300 Gauls, and made the captives their slaves, calling them 'Galiarii'.

In Rome, virgins were sexually corrupted and buried alive.

Scipio Africanus brought many cities of the Celtiberians under Roman control.<sup>6</sup>

<\*\*\*> two sons were Philopator and Euergetes.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Diod. Sic. 31.19.9 (fr.).

<sup>2</sup> Eus. 2.131<sup>i</sup>, 130<sup>h</sup>, 131<sup>ade</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Eutrop. 2.18-19.

<sup>4</sup> Eus. 2.131<sup>e</sup>.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.131<sup>c</sup>.

<sup>6</sup> Eus. 2.131<sup>g</sup>, 132<sup>d</sup>, 133<sup>bd</sup>, 134<sup>d</sup>, 135<sup>e</sup>.

<sup>7</sup> Text: <\*\*\*> ούτου Di.: τούτου ('His'), referring to Antiochos the Great.

After the Stoic Zeno died, his pupil Kleanthes succeeded him. Epikouros died of his own free will.<sup>1</sup>

Polemon the philosopher died, after whom Alketas and Krates were becoming known.

When a census was taken in Rome, it was ascertained that there were 260,000 inhabitants.

Caria and Rhodes were shaken by earthquakes, resulting as well in the collapse of the great Colossus of Rhodes.

The Romans sent out various colonies.<sup>2</sup>

According to Dionysios, the eight kings of the Bithynians commenced their rule from that point, lasting 213 years.<sup>3</sup>

#### UNIVERSAL YEARS<sup>4</sup>

(12) The twelfth high priest of the Jews was Oneias' son Simon  
20 years<sup>5</sup>  
AM 5282

(13) The thirteenth high priest of the Jews was Jesus, the son of Sirach  
6 years<sup>6</sup>

He was also the author of the wisdom book called *Panareton*.<sup>7</sup> Here he also commemorates his predecessor Oneias.<sup>8</sup> (AM 5302

334] (14) The fourteenth high priest of the Jews was Simon's son Oneias  
7 years<sup>9</sup>  
AM 5308

According to Africanus, beginning from the time of Alexander the founder, the Jews, having submitted to Macedonian rule, at one

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.130<sup>g</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> Eus. 2.130<sup>f</sup>, 132<sup>c</sup>, 134<sup>a</sup>, 136<sup>f</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> Dion. Hal. *FGrH* 251 F 5b.

<sup>4</sup> Continued from p. 393 (= Moss. 325.16).

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *Chron. pasch.* 357.11, 390.18 (22 years); *Xpov. συντ.* 95.28 (Oneias, for 25 years).

<sup>6</sup> Cf. *Chron. pasch.* 357.14 (Oneias, for 29 years), 390.19 (Oneias, for 24 years); *Xpov. συντ.* 95.29 (Oneias II, for 19 years).

<sup>7</sup> Lit. 'Model of all Virtue'.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.133<sup>c</sup>, which states that Jesus commemorates Simon, not Oneias; on this, Sir. 50.1-24.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. *Chron. pasch.* 357.16, 390.20 (Jesus, for 16 years); *Xpov. συντ.* 95.30 (Matthias, for 3 years). Mosshammer apparently supplies the missing information about Oneias from *Chron. pasch.* 357.17, 390.21, which assigns 7 years to the high priesthood of Oneias IV. This chronology also agrees with a subsequent statement by Synk., according to which Jason, the 15th high priest of the Jews, assumed the high priesthood in AM 5315; see below, p. 404 (= Moss. 335.5-8).



time paid taxes to the Ptolemies, and then to the Antiochids; up to the high priest Oneias, they were peacefully guided for the most part by high priests instead of kings.<sup>1</sup> But at the time of the fourteenth high priest, the aforementioned Oneias, a certain Simon, captain of the temple in Jerusalem, fled to Apollonios, the governor of Phoenicia, claiming the high priesthood for himself and promising to hand over the temple treasury. Upon learning of this through Apollonios, Seleukos sent Heliodoros, who was in charge of administrative affairs; but after having been disciplined by the scourges of God, he returned empty-handed. And Oneias the high priest arranged to have Simon banished.<sup>2</sup> During this time, Seleukos, also known as Philopator, died after a reign of twelve years. His successor was Antiochos Epiphanes. He was brother of this Seleukos, and son of Antiochos the Great, and was serving as a hostage in Rome. He reigned over Syria for eleven years.<sup>3</sup>

To this king, Oneias' brother Jason promised 360 talents, on the condition that he obtain the high priesthood, as well as an additional revenue of 60 talents<sup>4</sup> and another 100 talents, if he might lead the Jews over to Hellenism.<sup>5</sup> Thereupon Antiochos removed Oneias from the priesthood, and offered it to Jason. After establishing a gymnasium for young men, Jason sent envoys and 3000 drachmas to the altar of Herakles on the occasion of the celebration of the quadrennial games in Tyre. And when King Antiochos arrived in Jerusalem, he received him in lavish style, and sent additional treasures through Simon's brother Menelaos. But when Menelaos outdid him with his gift of 300 talents and ascended to the priesthood, Jason fled to Ammon. However, because of their magnitude, Menelaos failed to make good on the gifts he promised to give Antiochos and in consequence was removed from the high priesthood. And his brother Lysimachos succeeded him. Now Oneias, the lawful high priest who preceded them and one most distinguished among men, withdrew to the region of Daphne. And for castigating Menelaos, he was killed by Andronikos, who had been won over by Menelaos' bribes and temple plunder. When

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<sup>1</sup> The extent of this quotation from Africanus, omitted by Routh, is uncertain.

<sup>2</sup> Eus. 2.137<sup>c</sup>; 2 Macc. 3.4-7, 22-8; 4.4-6.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. 1 Macc. 1.10; 2 Macc. 4.7.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. 2 Macc. 4.8 (80 talents).

<sup>5</sup> Cf. 2 Macc. 4.8-9 (150 talents), according to which Jason promised '360 talents of silver and from another source of revenue 80 talents. In addition to this, he promised to pay 150 more . . . .'

Antiochos returned from Cilicia, he was extremely grieved at the murder of Oneias and stripped Andronikos of his office.<sup>1</sup>

(15) The fifteenth high priest of the Hebrews was Jason, the brother of Oneias the high priest. Through bribery, he impiously seized control of the high priesthood, deposing his own brother Oneias, and being deposed himself by Menelaos after three years, likewise through bribery.<sup>2</sup>

AM 5315

Following Alexander's destruction of the Persians in the seventh year of his reign, that is, the first year of his reign over the Greeks (for we have learnt that the Greeks and the Macedonians, according to the writing of the Maccabees, are the same), the regime based in Macedonia was divided after his death into separate realms: the realm of the Ptolemies in the region of Egypt, the Antiochids in the region of Antiocheia and the other areas (as has been shown at that part in the narrative) and the region around Macedonia itself. This regime also subjugated the Jewish nation, which was at one time under the Ptolemies, and at another under the Antiochids, since these two kingdoms held between them the area that God had allocated to the Jews as their habitation. For the most part, they enjoyed peace over 137 years until the reign of Antiochos Epiphanes, and their affairs were overseen by high priests instead of kings.<sup>3</sup>

In any event, shortly before the reign of Antiochos Epiphanes, when his brother Seleukos was king and when Oneias, a man of high character and devotion to God, was high priest of the Jews, a certain Simon, a captain of the temple and a man of utter depravity, tried several times to remove Oneias. Not succeeding, he came as a fugitive to Apollonios, the governor of Syria, Phoenicia, and Cilicia, informing him of the existence of treasures of vast private wealth that had been deposited in the temple with the high priest Oneias and that belonged to King Seleukos. Now after reporting this to Seleukos and receiving this betrayer of his homeland, Apollonios, under orders from Seleukos, came to Jerusalem with Simon and an army, so as to lay hold of these treasures. But when, even as the Jews were saying that it was impossible to hand over deposits entrusted to the holy temple, and tearfully entreating God to

<sup>1</sup> 2 Macc. 4.7-10, 18-19, 22-9, 33-8.

<sup>2</sup> 2 Macc. 4.23-6. For reasons that are unclear, Synk. numbers the usurper Jason as the 15th Jewish high priest, while excluding from the sequence the other illegitimate high priests of this period (Simon, Menelaos, and Lysimachos). Cf. *Chron. pasch.* 357.17, 390.21 (Oneias, for 7 years); *Xpov. συγγρ.* 95.30 (Judas, for 13 years). Synk. names Judas as the 16th high priest; see below, p. 415 (= Moss. 346.6-7).

<sup>3</sup> 1 Macc. 1.1-11.

protect the temple, Apollonios entered the temple with a heavily armed force to seize the treasures, terrifying angels appeared on horseback, inspiring universal panic. Having collapsed half-dead in the Gentile precinct of the temple, Apollonios kept calling upon the Hebrews to pray on his behalf. Cured by the prayers of Oneias, he returned to Seleukos empty-handed, reporting what had happened to him. During this time, Seleukos died, as is reported in the fourth book of the Maccabees.<sup>1</sup> [336]

But in the second book of the same Maccabaeen literature, there is a rather different account of a Heliodoros, who oversaw the treasuries and had been sent by Seleukos to plunder the wealth of the temple. It describes how he came up and forcibly seized the deposits of widows and orphans in the sacred treasury; they consisted only of 200 talents of gold and 400 talents of silver, including some of the wealth of Hyrkanos, son of Tobias, an illustrious man. This was pointed out to him by Oneias the priest, but it was not what the accursed Simon had falsely claimed.<sup>2</sup>

So this Heliodoros, it says, and the bodyguard accompanying him were thrown into a panic when a fearsome horse, adorned with an extraordinarily beautiful pack-saddle, carrying the most formidable rider, and decked out in magnificent trappings, struck at him with its armed forefeet and terrified him with the lustrous golden panoply of its rider. And then there appeared another two beautiful and awesome young men who, whipping him on the back and chest, left him half dead. But as Oneias was making an offering on his behalf, the same young men appeared to Heliodoros and told him to give thanks to Oneias the high priest, to whom he owed his life, and to report to everyone about the power of God. And after making an offering to God and returning to Seleukos, he described to the king all the miraculous events.<sup>3</sup>

Now in the second book of the Maccabees, the writer ignored the narrative about Seleukos, abridged the period from Alexander the Macedon and his successors, and commenced his account from Antiochos Epiphanes. He says that he began his reign in the 137th year of the Greek kingdom and that the Israelites acted lawlessly in going to him and asking permission to Hellenize. Antiochos sided with them and waged a victorious battle against Ptolemy and Egypt with chariots, elephants, cavalry, and an enormous army. And after smashing<sup>a</sup> Egypt, he returned to Jerusalem with a powerful host in the 143rd year of the reign of the Greeks. And the [337]

<sup>a</sup> Text: *σκευάσας*. Emended to *ἀνασκευάσας*.

<sup>1</sup> 4 Macc. 4.1-14.

<sup>2</sup> 2 Macc. 3.10-11.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. 2 Macc. 3.24-36.

book describes how, after arrogantly entering the sanctuary and seizing the altar, the lampstand for the light, all the vessels of the house of the Lord, and its ornamentation and treasures, he committed great bloodshed.<sup>1</sup> And at that time the incidents involving the martyrdom of Eleazar and the seven youths and their mother occurred, as it is recorded in the fourth book of the Maccabees.<sup>2</sup>

Now after two years, he sent an officer to levy tribute on Judaea. This was Apollonios, the leader of the Mysians, who was petitioned by the accursed Menelaos to be sent by Antiochos to effect the total destruction of Jerusalem and its inhabitants.<sup>3</sup> Now he came in peace and for three days conducted himself as a friend. But on the day of the Sabbath, when everyone was observing the holiday, he slaughtered men of military age and set the city ablaze. Next he pulled down the walls and the houses, and captured women and their children together with their property. He deposited the military spoils in the highest point of the city, the so-called city of David, which was a stronghold in Jerusalem, having first fortified it with a great wall and sturdy towers and having stationed his army there after stockpiling arms and provisions.<sup>4</sup> Thereupon, Antiochos sent an Athenian elder, who compelled the nation to Hellenize and to put an end to the entire system of worship prescribed by law.<sup>5</sup> And in the temple, he erected a statue of the Olympian Zeus on the 15th day of the month of Cheseleu, the 145th year according to Josephos, and in Samaria a statue of Zeus Xenios.<sup>6</sup> And he issued orders to shred and burn the books of the law, to put to death those who were being circumcised, and to hang the corpses of the babies from the necks of their mothers; and many in Jerusalem gave up their lives on behalf of their ancestral customs.<sup>7</sup>

338] At that time, a certain Matthias, a priest and one of the sons of Joareim, son of Joannes, son of Symeon, came forth from Jerusalem and settled in Modeëin. He had five sons, Joannes surnamed Gaddes, Simon called Thasos, Judas called the Maccabee, Eleazar called Abaran, and Jonathas, also known as Sapphous. And with his

<sup>1</sup> 1 Macc. 1.10-24.

<sup>2</sup> 2 Macc. 7.1-42; 4 Macc. 5.1-18.24.

<sup>3</sup> 1 Macc. 1.29; 2 Macc. 5.24-6. The word 'leader of Mysians (*μυσάρχης*)' is a pun, also meaning 'the originator of a foul deed'.

<sup>4</sup> 1 Macc. 1.31-5; 2 Macc. 5.25-6.

<sup>5</sup> 2 Macc. 6.1-2.

<sup>6</sup> Lit. 'Protector of the rights of hospitality'.

<sup>7</sup> 1 Macc. 1.54-64. For Josephos' dating of the desecration of the temple to AS 145, see *Jos. Ant.* 12.248.

sons, he bewailed the city and the destruction of his nation, and he covered himself with sackcloth. Now when a man arrived from the king compelling sacrifice to idols, and when Matthias saw a Jew approaching the altar in the city of Modeëin, he rushed forward and put to the sword both him and the envoy sent from Antiochos to compel sacrifice, just as Phineës had put to the sword both Zambri the son of Salom and the Madianite woman.<sup>1</sup> And with his sons and others of like mind—huge numbers of them—he fled from the city into the wilderness. The king sent an army against them on the Sabbath and killed around 1000 of them. So Matthias, after conferring with his friends, determined that it was honourable to fight on behalf of one's customs on Sabbaths. And he prevailed over multitudes, liberated cities and tore down altars.<sup>2</sup>

As he was dying, he discoursed with his comrades about devotion to God. And he appointed his sons as chiefs of the people to replace him, with Judas Maccabaeus as their leader. And when Antiochos' commander Apollonios and the armies of the Syrians and Samaritans drew up in battle against Judas, Apollonios and many others were killed.<sup>3</sup>

Thereupon Seron, an officer in the Syrian army, marched against the Jews with a great host, and he and many others were killed. Outraged by these events, Antiochos, when he was about to journey to Persia to collect taxes, ordered Lysias, who was in charge of administrative affairs, to go into battle against the Jews. He sent forth his generals Ptolemy, Gorgias, and Nikanor, believing that he would make good on the Roman tax of 1000 talents from the plunder taken from the Jews.<sup>4</sup> But when they engaged the Jews around Emmaous, they were badly defeated, and in the following year the Greeks experienced a similar outcome. Then Judas came to Jerusalem and purified the temple of its defilements, besieging the guards on the citadel and building a wall around the city. He made war against the Jews in Akrabettene and the Ammonites and Timotheos, who was attacking Gilead. And when the Tyrians, Sidonians, and Ptolemies were plundering Galilee, he sent his brother Simon against them and put all of them to flight.<sup>5</sup> During this time, the events occurred involving Josephos, who was appointed guardian of the city by Judas, and the reversal he suffered

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<sup>1</sup> Num. 25.6–15.

<sup>2</sup> 1 Macc. 2.1–15, 23–8, 32–45.

<sup>3</sup> 1 Macc. 2.49–3.1; 3.10–11.

<sup>4</sup> 1 Macc. 3.13–38. Cf. 2 Macc. 8.10, which sets the tribute at 2000 talents.

<sup>5</sup> 1 Macc. 3.40–4.15, 28–34, 41–53; 5.3–6, 15–17, 21.

around the city of Jabinia; there was then Judas' revenge on Joppe and its residents for drowning the Jews, and his renown for his campaign against Jabinia and Timotheos.<sup>1</sup>

Now when King Antiochos launched an incursion against the Persian city of Elymaïs (because of the great wealth stored there), he suffered a reversal. And upon learning of the great military feats of Judas, he died a terrible death after succumbing to a disease of despair and sleeplessness. So Lysias, who was raising his son Antiochos, named him Eupator, and installed him as ruler of the kingdom. And with a great host and elephants, he marched against the Jews. After a fierce battle was joined and the royal beast was killed by Eleazar Sauaran,<sup>2</sup> the king concluded a peace treaty with the Jews. But he entered the city and pulled down the wall after the swearing of these oaths, while allowing Judas to rule as far as Ptolemaïs.<sup>3</sup>

Antiochos quickly moved camp to Antioch against Philip who had returned from Persia with his armies and claimed the kingdom for himself. After laying siege against him, he seized Antioch. He was immediately deposed by Seleukos' son Demetrios, who was serving as a hostage in Rome and had returned to Tripolis of Phoenicia by boat. In a few days, Antiochos and Lysias were arrested and killed by the populace at the order of his nephew Demetrios, who had refused them permission to appear before him. His reign was one and a half years. After him, this Demetrios reigned for twelve years.<sup>4</sup>

340] Seeking refuge with him were certain impious Jews, the leader of whom was Alkimos, someone from the priestly line. He made accusations against Judas and was entrusted with the priesthood by Demetrios. With a certain Bakchides in command, he therefore came back to his country with an army and went against Judas and his fellow kinsmen. When he failed to win over Judas with deceitful words, Bakchides, with the support of the base Alkimos, used words of peace to trick sixty prominent Jewish men and killed them in a single day. And after successfully obtaining the priesthood for Alkimos, Bakchides returned to Demetrios.<sup>5</sup> When Judas subsequently took vengeance on many of the impious, Demetrios sent Nikanor with an army to put an end to the war with Judas, and to marry and beget children. But Alkimos was not satisfied with this

<sup>1</sup> 1 Macc. 5.56-60; 2 Macc. 12.5-25.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. 1 Macc. 6.43: *Ἐλεάζαρος ὁ Ἀναραν*.

<sup>3</sup> 1 Macc. 6.1, 14-17, 28-31, 43-6, 60-2.

<sup>4</sup> 1 Macc. 6.55-6, 63; 7.1-4; 2 Macc. 14.1.

<sup>5</sup> 1 Macc. 7.5-17.

and criticized Nikanor, bidding him capture Judas alive.<sup>1</sup> And when war broke out, Judas' men prevailed and Nikanor fell; and his head and right hand were cut off, and he was hung impaled in Jerusalem.<sup>2</sup> Judas made an alliance of friendship with the Romans and Lakedaimonians.<sup>3</sup> In a frenzy Demetrios sent Bakchides and Alkimos against Judas. And around Basa<sup>4</sup> they engaged Judas, who had but 800 men in his command. After many had fallen from both sides, Judas died fighting most valiantly.<sup>5</sup>

Following these events, there is included in the above-mentioned first book of the Maccabees the story about Jonathes and his brothers.<sup>6</sup> But Third Maccabees tells the horrible things done to the Jews before this by Ptolemy Eupator.<sup>7</sup>

Simon, Jason, Menelaos, and Lysimachos, who in their impiety used bribes to gain control of the high priesthood through the treachery of Seleukos and Antiochos, ruled for nineteen years. This is based on the ordering of the preceding high priests and their successors by the author of Third Maccabees.<sup>8</sup>

#### KINGS OF THE MACEDONIANS<sup>9</sup>

(14) The fourteenth king of Macedonians was Antigonos Phouskos<sup>10</sup>

12 years

AM 5269

(15) The fifteenth king of the Macedonians was Demetrios' son Philip, sole ruler

42 years

He was born from Chryseis the captive.

AM 5281

During the reign of this Philip, Titus, commander of the Romans,

<sup>1</sup> 1 Macc. 7.24-5; 2 Macc. 14.24-7.

<sup>2</sup> 2 Macc. 15.25-35.

<sup>3</sup> 1 Macc. 8.17-32; 12.2.

<sup>4</sup> Berea (cf. 1 Macc. 9.4).

<sup>5</sup> 1 Macc. 9.1-8.

<sup>6</sup> 1 Macc. 9.23-73.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. 3 Macc. 1.1.

<sup>8</sup> Oneias, the 14th high priest, ended his rule in AM 5315; see above, p. 402 (= Moss. 334.1-2). Below (p. 415 = Moss. 346.6-7), Synk. states that the rule of Judas Maccabaeus, the 16th high priest, began in AM 5334. This would leave 19 intervening years for the four usurpers of the high priesthood. Of these four usurpers, Synk. includes only Jason in the numerical sequence.

<sup>9</sup> Continued from p. 395 (= Moss. 327.6). Cf. Eus. 1.112.27-113.24 (from Porphyry).

<sup>10</sup> The better-known surname of Antigonos was Doseon.

came to Macedonia, overcame the Macedonians in combat, and made them subject to the Romans; for the Macedonians had agreed to support Hannibal and the Carthaginians in their war against the Romans.<sup>a</sup> He took Philip's son Demetrios as a hostage. His subjugation of both the Lakedaimonians and the rest of the Greeks was carried out with generosity, compassion, and sagacity, and he offered them freedom.<sup>1</sup>

341] At that time, Eratosthenes was becoming known.<sup>2</sup>

(16) The sixteenth king of the Macedonians was Perseus

10 years,  
9 months<sup>3</sup>

AM 5323

During the reign of this Perseus, the government of the Macedonians dissolved when they were overwhelmingly defeated by the Romans around Pydna. In charge of the campaign was Aemilius Marcus, a member of the Roman Senate, and a distinguished consul. He took Perseus alive, along with his two sons and one daughter, and led off the whole Macedonian court to Rome.<sup>4</sup>

(17) The seventeenth king of the Macedonians was 'Pseudo-Philip'

1 year

AM 5334

#### KINGS OF EGYPT AND ALEXANDRIA<sup>5</sup>

(4) The fourth king of Egypt and Alexandria was Ptolemy Philopator

17 years

AM 5273

When Ptolemy Philopator was in control of Judaea, Antiochos the Great defeated him in battle and seized the country for himself.<sup>6</sup>

The third book of the Maccabees gives an account of this Ptolemy Philopator, but for reasons that escape me the order of the narrative is inverted.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Text: *Καρχηδονίους κατὰ Ρωμαίων συνθεμένους*. Following Scal., emended to *Καρχηδονίους κατὰ Ρωμαίων συνθεμένους*.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Eutrop. 4.1-2.

<sup>2</sup> Eus. 2.134<sup>e</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> Eus. 1.113.5-6 (10 years, 8 months).

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Justin. 33.1.

<sup>5</sup> Continued from p. 397 (= Moss. 329.10). Cf. Eus. 1.75.8-11, from Porphyry (= *Exc. Eus.* 120.27-30).

<sup>6</sup> Eus. 2.135<sup>b</sup>.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.134<sup>b</sup>; 3 Macc. 1.1-7. Synk. apparently is referring to the fact that the narrative of 3 Maccabees begins with Antiochos' occupation of Judaea, and then describes Ptolemy Philopator's defeat of Antiochos near Raphia in Palestine.



- (5) The fifth king of Egypt and Alexandria was Ptolemy Epiphanes  
 24 years<sup>1</sup>  
 AM 5290

Antiochos the Great made a treaty of friendship with Ptolemy Epiphanes and married Cleopatra his daughter, receiving as dowry from him Syria, Phoenicia, Samaria and Judaea, which a little before Ptolemy had taken through Skopas his general.<sup>2</sup>

Ptolemy Epiphanes sent out and subjugated Judaea and other cities of Syria through his general Skopas. In turn, Antiochos the Great went into battle against Skopas and took control of these regions, having the Jews also allied with him. He bore witness to their great value in letters, and honoured them with splendid gifts.<sup>3</sup>

Hyrkanos, son of the Jewish general Josephos, came to Ptolemy and was treated warmly. But his brothers revolted against him and were the source of great trouble for the Jews.<sup>4</sup>

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When Ptolemy Epiphanes died in the twenty-fourth year of his reign, his two sons, both called Ptolemy, succeeded to his throne after him. The elder of the two was called by the title Philometor, the younger Euergetes. In a state of discord with each other, they reigned alternately. For that reason, confusion has arisen regarding their dates. First Philometor reigned alone for eleven years; then, when he was deposed by Antiochos, who launched an invasion against him into Egypt and took away his crown, Ptolemy Euergetes, the younger brother of Philometor, took control of affairs of state, with the consent of the Alexandrians. Antiochos too was driven out, and when Philometor was ransomed, the two ruled jointly from his twelfth to his seventeenth year. Therefore, among the Alexandrians, the first year of Euergetes was called the twelfth year of Philometor. Now the two reigned in concord from this twelfth year of Philometor up to his seventeenth year (the sixth of Euergetes). Once again they fell into conflict with each other, and from his eighteenth year the government in Egypt was administered by Philometor alone, who, after the battle in Cyprus, had granted to his brother rule of Libya and Cyrene. In this battle, the younger Ptolemy, although defeated, was left unharmed; for his elder brother dealt humanely with him, not only allowing him to have the aforementioned region, but also to receive an ample supply of food yearly. Although this was in part due to his kindness and their

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Eus. 1.75.10–11 (23 years); *Exc. Eus.* 120.30 (24 years).

<sup>2</sup> Eus. 2.135<sup>f</sup>, 136<sup>g</sup>; *Jos. Ant.* 12.131–2, 154.

<sup>3</sup> Eus. 2.136<sup>bd</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> Eus. 2.138<sup>a</sup>; *Jos. Ant.* 12.197, 221.

blood relationship, the other reason, it is said, was his fear of the Romans, who were defending him. In any event, after his seventeenth year, this same Philometor reigned for another eighteen years. Upon his death in Syria (for he was also in possession of the regions located there), the one known as Euergetes II was summoned back from Cyrene and was sole ruler of Egypt for the twenty-nine years after the death of his older brother. Therefore the entire period of the reigns of both brothers comes to thirty-five and twenty-nine years, or sixty-four years in all.<sup>1</sup> Diodoros states that the younger Ptolemy ruled after his older brother for fifteen years, and committed numerous immoral acts. For he married his own sister Cleopatra and falsely accused many people of plotting against him. Then he put some of them to death, and drove others into exile with false prosecutions and confiscated their property.<sup>2</sup>

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### KINGS OF SYRIA AND ASIA<sup>3</sup>

(4) The fourth king of Syria and Asia was his<sup>4</sup> son Antiochos, surnamed Kallinikos, also known as Seleukos

21 years  
AM 5238

During the reign of this Antiochos, the Persians, who were tributaries to them from the time of Alexander the founder, revolted from Macedonian and Antiochid rule. The reason was as follows:

A certain Arsakes and Teridates, brothers tracing their lineage from Artaxerxes king of the Persians, were satraps of the Bactrians at the time of the Macedonian Agathokles, the Persian eparch. According to Arrian, this Agathokles fell in love with Teridates, one of the brothers, and was eagerly laying a snare for the young man. But failing utterly, he was killed by him and his brother Arsakes. Arsakes then became king of the Persians, after whom the kings of the Persians were known as 'Arsakidai'. He reigned for two years and was killed and his brother Teridates succeeded him to rule for thirty-seven years.<sup>5</sup>

(5) The fifth king of Syria was Seleukos, also known as Alexander, son of Seleukos Kallinikos, surnamed Keraunos

3 years  
AM 5259

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Eus. 1.75.12-76.4 from Porphyry (= Exc. Eus. 121.1-26).

<sup>2</sup> Diod. Sic. 33.6<sup>a</sup> (fr.).

<sup>3</sup> Continued from p. 399 (= Moss. 331.2). Cf. Eus. 1.118.17-119.34 (from Porphyry).

<sup>4</sup> That is, Antiochos Theos.

<sup>5</sup> Arrian, *FGrH* 156 F 31; cf. Eus. 1.97.20-26; 2.132<sup>a</sup>; Cass. Dio 40.14.3; Herodian 6.2.7.

(6) The sixth king of Syria was his brother Antiochos, surnamed 'Great' 36 years  
AM 5262

This Antiochos, called 'Great', was according to some a brother of Seleukos Keraunos, the preceding king. But according to others, he was his son.<sup>1</sup> His reign commenced during the 137th Olympiad, and not, as Eusebios supposes, during the 139th Olympiad.<sup>2</sup>

Around this time, Antiochos the Great commenced warfare against the Romans. He did this when Hannibal, who was in command of an army in the area of Spain and Carthage, was under attack from and waging war against the Romans, before taking flight to Prousia in Bithynia. Now when this Antiochos the Great first engaged the Romans in Thermopylai, he was defeated, whereupon he gathered up his army and accepted the aid of Hannibal the Carthaginian from Bithynia. Again he fought with the Romans in Thyateira, a city of Lydia, when Scipio Africanus was Roman commander along with his brother Scipio. He was defeated; as a result he became bound by treaty to pay 1000 talents to the Romans and hand over many warships and military costs. Hannibal fled again to Prousia from Thyateira; in fear of the Romans, he ended his life with poison.<sup>3</sup>

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It was in Antiochos' reign that the events narrated in the first book of the Maccabees among the Jews took place.<sup>4</sup>

Furthermore, the second war broke out between the Romans and the Carthaginians, this conflict also lasting for nineteen years. For Hannibal, the Carthaginian general, a youth both in spirit and age, seized Spain, which was under Roman control, and invaded Italy itself, with the Gauls and many other foreign peoples fighting on his side. Now the first to do battle with him were the consuls Cornelius Scipio and Sempronius Gracchus; in their flight from him they barely escaped unharmed. When Lucius Falamenius<sup>5</sup> subsequently did battle with him, Lucius and his army were destroyed. The third to contend with him was Fabius Maximus, a man of prae-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Eus. 1.119.11-21, which states that Antiochos the Great was the brother of Seleukos. See also Justin. 27.2.6; 29.1.3.

<sup>2</sup> See Eus. 1.119.20-2, which states that Antiochos the Great ruled for 36 years from Ol. 139.2 to Ol. 148.2.

<sup>3</sup> Eutrop. 4.3-5.

<sup>4</sup> Eus. 2.137<sup>b</sup>. Synk. probably confuses First and Second Maccabees, the latter of which describes Jewish affairs during the reign of Antiochos the Great (2 Macc. 3.1-4.6).

<sup>5</sup> i.e. Gaius Flaminius.

torian rank serving as consul. He put Hannibal to flight by strategy rather than prevailing against him by force.<sup>1</sup>

Also at that time the geometer Archimedes used war engines to repel the Romans repeatedly during their siege of Syracuse, his home. He was killed there by a soldier when the city was suddenly captured during a Syracusan celebration. His murder was contrary to the wishes of Marcellus the general, who after making Sicily again subject to the Romans, held a triumph.<sup>2</sup>

Many other Roman commanders subsequently did battle with Hannibal when he was in control of Carthage and Spain, but were unsuccessful against him. Finally Scipio Africanus put Hannibal's army to flight in Spain during the 145th Olympiad. Acting as consul, he took absolute control of the administration of all Italy; then he sailed to Carthage with a great fleet and laid waste all the region of the Carthaginians near Libya. The result of this was that the Carthaginian officials had to recall Hannibal from Italy. On Hannibal's return to Carthage, Scipio defeated him so decisively in his confrontation with him that Hannibal, fearing censure from the Carthaginians, fled and came to the king of Bithynia in Prousia. At that time, this Scipio, surnamed Africanus by the Senate in recognition of the magnitude of his accomplishment, presented Carthage to the Romans and led a triumph in Rome.<sup>3</sup>

(7) The seventh king of Syria was his son Seleukos the third

12 years

He was also known as Philopator.

AM 5298

(8) Antiochos Epiphanes was the eighth king of Syria 11 years

AM 5310

When he was king of Syria, Antiochos Epiphanes first attacked Ptolemy Philometor in Egypt and in a short time removed him from the Egyptian throne. But after being thwarted by the Romans and pursued by the Alexandrians, he ravaged Jerusalem and polluted the temple, setting up there the abomination of Olympian Zeus, just as had been prophesied by the great Daniel.<sup>4</sup> And he removed the sacred vessels and forced the Jews to Hellenize.<sup>5</sup> Thereupon, Matthias the priest burnt with zeal, and together with his sons Judas and Jonathes the Maccabees, as well as Simon and Joannes, prevailed against the tyrant. He attacked his generals and battled them, aided by the resistance of his own sons, who were also called

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Eutrop. 3.7.2, 8.2-9.3.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Diod. Sic. 26.18 (fr.); Eus. 2.134<sup>f</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Eutrop. 3.20, 23; 4.5.

<sup>4</sup> Dan. 9.27; 11.31.

<sup>5</sup> 1 Macc. 1.16-21; 2 Macc. 6.1-6; cf. Eus. 2.139<sup>bc</sup>.

Maccabees because of this, together with those who by divine zeal contended at that time for the ancestral laws.<sup>a</sup> Among them were also the seven young men, who with their mother and Eleazar their teacher, showed the highest virtue in scorning the many bitter tortures inflicted upon them. They gave up their lives in obedience to the law, dying the deaths of martyrs. The descendants of Matathias were called Asamonaioi,<sup>1</sup> because their father was named Asamonaïos; he lived in the village of Modeëim.<sup>2</sup>

The people of Tarsos and Mallos rebelled against Antiochos, because they were being given to his mistress Antiochis as a present. Antiochos went to them, leaving Andronikos in Daphne to tend to his affairs. Thanks to Menelaos' ruse, Andronikos murdered Oneias the priest; he in turn was executed as a murderer by Antiochos.<sup>3</sup>

(9) The ninth king of Syria was his son Antiochos Eupator

1 year,  
6 months<sup>4</sup>  
AM 5321

After beleaguering Egypt and making war against Ptolemy Philometor, this Antiochos returned to Judaea, and entrusted the high priesthood to Jesus, also known as Jason, the brother of Oneias.<sup>5</sup> Deposing him in turn, he gave the office to his brother, who was Menelaos. Because of their disputes with each other, they were to blame for great hardships that befell the Jews.<sup>6</sup>

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### UNIVERSAL YEARS<sup>7</sup>

(16) The sixteenth high priest of the Jews was Judas, the first son of Matathias the high priest

3 years;  
some say  
6 years<sup>8</sup>  
AM 5334

<sup>a</sup> Text: ἄμα τοῖς τότε ζήλω θεῖω τῶν πατρίων νόμων ὑπεραθλησάντων; for agreement with τοῖς emend ὑπεραθλησάντων το ὑπεραθλήσασιν.

<sup>1</sup> i.e. Hasmonaeans, after Has(h)mon.

<sup>2</sup> 1 Macc. 2.1-3.1; 2 Macc. 6.18-7.42; cf. Eus. 2.139<sup>bc</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> 2 Macc. 4.30-8.

<sup>4</sup> Eus. 1.119.31-4.

<sup>5</sup> The events described here involve Antiochos Epiphanes, not Antiochos Eupator.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. 1 Macc. 1.16-20; 2 Macc. 4.7-29.

<sup>7</sup> Continued from p. 404 (= Moss. 335.8).

<sup>8</sup> Cf. *Chron. pasch.* 356.18, 391.3 (33 years); *Xρον. συντ.* 95.32 (Jonathas, for 9 years).

Some report three years for Matathias' high priesthood and six for Judas'.<sup>1</sup>

(17) The seventeenth high priest of the Jews was Jonathes, brother of Judas the Maccabee

19 years<sup>2</sup>

AM 5340

The friends of Judas appointed his brother Jonathes to be their leader. He took the field against Bakchides and destroyed 3000 of his troops.<sup>3</sup> When he subsequently learned that some of the Jews were betraying him to Bakchides, he killed them and crossed into the city of Bethphese,<sup>4</sup> situated in the wilderness. Bakchides besieged the city, but Jonathes slipped out, killed a great number, and drove him off.<sup>5</sup>

For tearing down the wall of the inner court of the sanctuary, the impious Alkimos paid the penalty of a bitter death.<sup>6</sup>

For fear of Jonathes, Bakchides made a treaty of friendship with him, and thereafter Jonathes was made leader of his people.<sup>7</sup>

Alexander 'son of Ballas',<sup>8</sup> son of Antiochos Epiphanes, killed Seleukos' son Demetrios and reigned for five years (some say it was nine).<sup>9</sup> He made a treaty of friendship with Jonathes in Ptolemais and honoured him with gifts and garlands.<sup>10</sup>

(18) The eighteenth high priest of the Jews was Simon

8 years<sup>11</sup>

AM 5359

<sup>1</sup> For the 3 years of Matathias' high-priesthood, see *Xpov. συντ.* 95.30, which also assigns 13 years to Judas'. For the chronology of Judas' leadership, see 1 Macc. 2.70; 9.3, 18, according to which Matathias died in AS 146, his successor Judas in AS 152. But cf. *Jos. Ant.* 12.434; *Eus.* 2.141.10-12; 142<sup>b</sup>, both of which state that Judas was high priest for 3 years.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Chron. pasch.* 343.18, 357.19 (17 years), 391.7 (27 years); *Xpov. συντ.* 95.32 (Simon, for 22 years). For the 19 years of Jonathes' high priesthood, see 1 Macc. 9.31; 13.41, according to which Judas was succeeded by Jonathes in AS 152, who was in turn succeeded by Simon in AS 170. See also *Eus.* 2.142.5-8.

<sup>3</sup> 1000, according to 1 Macc. 9.49.

<sup>4</sup> Bethbasi (1 Macc. 9.62).

<sup>5</sup> 1 Macc. 9.28-31, 43-9, 61-9.

<sup>6</sup> 1 Macc. 9.54-7.

<sup>7</sup> 1 Macc. 9.70-3.

<sup>8</sup> 'Son of Ballas' is an epithet. As is clear from Synk.'s statement here and below (p. 425 = Moss. 353.28), Synk. considers Alexander as the true son of Antiochos Epiphanes.

<sup>9</sup> Synk. gives three different figures for Alexander's reign (5, 9, and 10 years). See below, p. 421 (= Moss. 350.17-22) and n. 6 ad loc.

<sup>10</sup> 1 Macc. 10.60.

<sup>11</sup> *Eus.* 2.144.24-6; cf. *Xpov. συντ.* 95.33 (Hyrkanos, for 26 years).

Simon and the Jews fled to Demetrios and sued for peace. Thereupon Simon became high priest, and captured in battle both Gaza and those who remained in the citadel of Jerusalem after Demetrios.<sup>1</sup>

Antiochos Sidites became friends with Simon.<sup>2</sup>

Antiochos Sidites demanded Joppe and 1000 talents from the Jews. When they did not comply, he ordered Kendebaios to take the field against them. Simon's son Joannes put him to flight.<sup>3</sup>

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The high priest of the Jews Simon, brother of the Maccabees Judas and Jonathes, was killed through a ruse devised by a certain Jewish commander of Jericho named Ptolemy, and his son-in-law.<sup>4</sup>

This Simon, after 170 years, released the Jews from the tribute that they had been paying from the time of Seleukos I.<sup>5</sup>

Matthias,<sup>6</sup> the father of the Maccabees, was leader of the Jews for three years. His son Judas was leader for six years; Jonathes for nineteen years; Simon for eight. Total years: 34.<sup>7</sup>

Judas made a treaty with the Romans.<sup>8</sup>

### Concerning the Maccabees

The period of time encompassing the rule of Matathias the father of the Maccabees, and Judas, Jonathes, and Simon is thirty-four years, based on accurate calculation, as is shown below. But according to Eusebios, it is thirty years.<sup>9</sup> In fact, the written account of the Maccabees reports events from the period when Ptolemy Philopator began to wage war against Antiochos the Great; but their dates are determined from Antiochos Epiphanes up to the death of Simon.<sup>10</sup> For when Philopator waged war on Antiochos the Great, he released

<sup>1</sup> 1 Macc. 13.34-50.

<sup>2</sup> 1 Macc. 15.1-9.

<sup>3</sup> 1 Macc. 15.26-16.10.

<sup>4</sup> 1 Macc. 16.16.

<sup>5</sup> 1 Macc. 13.41-2.

<sup>6</sup> Elsewhere, also Matathias.

<sup>7</sup> 1 Macc. 1.20; 2.70; 9.2; 13.41; 16.14.

<sup>8</sup> 1 Macc. 8.20-2.

<sup>9</sup> Synk.'s statement is somewhat misleading. See Eus. 2.141.10-12 (3 years for Judas); 142.5-8 (19 years for Jonathes); 144.24-6 (8 years for Simon). Although this yields a total of 30 years, it excludes Matathias, for whom Eusebios' *Canons* do not provide the years of his leadership. In Eus. 1.61.3-8, the period encompassed by 1 Maccabees from Matathias up to the death of Simon is said to be 40 years.

<sup>10</sup> 3 Macc. 1.1; cf. 1 Macc. 1.10; 16.16.

the Jews and granted them freedom. But the Jews sided with Antiochos Epiphanes, son of Antiochos the Great.<sup>1</sup> And the same Epiphanes despoiled the temple and forced the Jews to Hellenize.<sup>2</sup>

At that time, Matathias, out of his zeal for God, arose with his sons to wage war against him. Upon his death, Judas became leader of the nation. Thereupon Antiochos died a pitiful death, and his son Antiochos Eupator wrote to Lysias regarding peace with the Jews. Then Judas built and restored the altar; he established friendship and alliance with the Romans and encouraged the Jews into farming. Now during these events Seleukos' son Demetrios sailed back from Rome and slew Antiochos Eupator and Lysias, the latter of whom Judas went out to meet in battle when he arrived in Judaea. Then this Demetrios, at the insistence of Alkimos the priest, slew Judas, who died fighting valiantly.<sup>3</sup>

Jonathes succeeded Judas as leader of the Jews. The aforementioned Alkimos tore down the wall of the inner court of the temple. This was also when Alexander, son of Antiochos Eupator, slew Demetrios the so-called Soter<sup>4</sup> and clothed Jonathes in the royal purple, proclaiming him king of the Jewish nation. Then Demetrios' son Demetrios returned from Crete and after taking the field against Alexander removed him from power. Ptolemy Philometor fell in battle alongside him; and Zabelos the chief of the Arabs sent the head of Alexander (who had taken refuge with him) as consolation to the dying Ptolemy. Now Jonathes attacked Demetrios in the citadel. But Tryphon, also known as Diodotos, used a trick to kill Jonathes in Ptolemaïs, and claimed for himself the kingdom of Alexander's son Antiochos.<sup>5</sup>

Jonathes' brother Simon ruled the nation after him with great distinction; he appointed his son Joannes as commander-in-chief of the army and made peace with the Romans. He fell victim to Ptolemy son of Aboubos; Ptolemy was his own son-in-law, and a general in Jericho. The history of the Maccabees extends as far as this point.<sup>6</sup>

(19) The nineteenth high priest of the Jews was Joannes, also known as Hyrkanos

30 years<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> 3 Macc. 6.27-9; 1 Macc. 1.10-15.

<sup>2</sup> 1 Macc. 1.21.

<sup>3</sup> 1 Macc. 2.1-3.9; 6.1-17, 55-63; 7.1-9; 8.1-31; 9.1-22.

<sup>4</sup> i.e. 'Saviour', a name given to him after he liberated the Babylonians from the rebel general Timarchos.

<sup>5</sup> 1 Macc. 9.31, 54; 10.1-67; 11.1-19, 63-74; 12.39-48.

<sup>6</sup> 1 Macc. 13.8, 53; 14.16-18; 16.11-16.

<sup>7</sup> But cf. below, p. 424 (= Moss. 353.15-17), where Synk. gives the years



After prevailing over the Hyrkanians, the Jewish commander Joannes came to be known as Hyrkanos. He also made a treaty of friendship with the Romans, which was ratified by Senate decree.<sup>1</sup>

The high priest of the Jews, Joannes, also known as Hyrkanos, besieged the city of Sebaste<sup>2</sup> in Samaria and levelled it. This city Herod rebuilt and named Sebaste after Caesar.<sup>3</sup>

Thereafter, Joannes Hyrkanos ruled the Jewish nation with great distinction. The first book of the Maccabees terminates the narrative with him. About this man, Josephos gives extensive testimony of his piety to God.<sup>4</sup>

Simon's son Joannes was truly extraordinary, leading the Jewish nation in the office of priest. Through wars and riches (having removed 30,000 talents from the tombs of his forefathers David and Solomon<sup>5</sup>), he gained honour for his many other achievements, but especially for his trophies of war against the neighbouring peoples and Samaria. A casualty of the internecine turmoil caused by the two Antiochid kings, Grypos and Kyzikenos, he died after holding the high-priesthood for thirty years.<sup>6</sup> According to Africanus, it was twenty-seven years.<sup>7</sup> Solomon had interred many tens of thousands of talents of gold and silver in the tomb of David, as Josephos states. During a siege by Antiochos, Joannes, also called Hyrkanos, opened one of the chambers in David's tomb, and removed from this treasury around 3000 talents of gold. Subsequently, Herod also opened another chamber house and removed a large number of talents. But no one got near to the vaults of these kings since they had been constructed deep in the ground.<sup>8</sup>

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as 26. The years of Hyrkanos' high priesthood vary widely in other sources. See e.g. *Jos. Ant.* 13.299; 20.240; *JW* 1.68 (31 years); *Eus.* 2.145.25–6 (26 years); *DE* 8.2.73 (29 years); *Chron. pasch.* 346.9, 358.1, 391.5 (Joannes [*sic*], for 27 years); *Xpov. σουτ.* 95.34 (26 years). Below (= *Moss.* 349.4), *Synk.* states that Africanus assigned 27 years to the high priesthood of Hyrkanos; but cf. *Eus.* 1.61.11–12, which states that both Africanus and Josephos numbered Hyrkanos' years at 26.

<sup>1</sup> *Eus.* 2.146<sup>f</sup>; *Jos. Ant.* 13.228, 259.

<sup>2</sup> i.e. the city originally called Semmer (Samaria) (see above, p. 275 = *Moss.* 222.27–9).

<sup>3</sup> Caesar Augustus in Greek is *Καίσαρ Σεβαστός*. On Hyrkanos' destruction of the city of Samaria and Herod's subsequent renaming of the city as Sebaste, see *Eus.* 2.146<sup>h</sup>, *Jos. Ant.* 13.275; 15.296.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *Eus.* 2.147<sup>e</sup>; *Jos. Ant.* 13.228–66, 273–300.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *Jos. Ant.* 13.249, which gives the number as 3000 and says that it was the tomb of King David only.

<sup>6</sup> *Jos. Ant.* 13.249–99.

<sup>7</sup> Routh, fr. 47.

<sup>8</sup> *Jos. Ant.* 7.392–4.

KINGS OF EGYPT AND ALEXANDRIA<sup>1</sup>

(6) The sixth king of Egypt and Alexandria was Ptolemy Philometor

35 years<sup>2</sup>

AM 5314

Africanus says there were only eleven years for Philometor's rule.<sup>3</sup>

Ptolemy Philometor initially gave his daughter Cleopatra to Alexander in marriage, owing to the treachery of his general Ammonios, then allied with Demetrios against him. He was wounded when he fell from his horse in battle. Yet as he was breathing his last, he received the decapitated head of Alexander.<sup>4</sup>

(7) The seventh king of Egypt and Alexandria was Ptolemy Euergetes II

28 years<sup>5</sup>

AM 5349

(8) The eighth king of Egypt and Alexandria was Ptolemy Phouskon<sup>6</sup>

18 years<sup>7</sup>

AM 5377

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Also called Soter, he was elder son of Ptolemy Euergetes and Cleopatra. When his mother ousted him in the tenth year of his reign, he continued as king in Cyprus. Cleopatra's younger son Alexander, his brother, was appointed by her as her co-regent. Alexander was king of Alexandria for fifteen years. Pursued by the army, he fled to the city of Myra in Lycia with his wife and daughter, and from there to Cyprus with his son. He was killed during an attack by Chaireas, the admiral of the fleet. After him, the Alexandrians returned the kingship to his brother Ptolemy Soter (also called Phouskon because of the bulk of his body) and made him king a second time for another eight years. They ruled a total

<sup>1</sup> Continued from p. 411 (= Moss. 341.19). Cf. Eus. 1.75.12-77.4, from Porphyry (= *Exc. Eus.* 121.1-122.17).

<sup>2</sup> Eus. 1.76.1-4 (= *Exc. Eus.* 121.23-5); Eus. 2.138.17-19.

<sup>3</sup> Routh, fr. 46. On the 11 years of Philometor, see also Joh. Mal. 197.3-4.

<sup>4</sup> 1 Macc. 10.58; 11.9-18; Jos. *Ant.* 13.82, 106-8, 116-18.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Eus. 1.76.2 (26 years); Eus. 1.79.30 (= *Exc. Eus.* 125.17); 2.144.3-5 (29 years).

<sup>6</sup> i.e. Physkon ('pot-belly'), usually applied to his father.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Eus. 1.77.6 (17 years, 6 months); 2.147.6-9 (17 years). Synk. states below that Ptolemy was removed after 10 years of rule, and replaced by Alexander. He was subsequently reinstated for another 8 years. Hence the 18 years of rule are not continuous.

of thirty-three years.<sup>1</sup> After the death of Alexander his brother, his years are arranged as follows.<sup>2</sup>

### KINGS OF SYRIA<sup>3</sup>

(10) The tenth king of Syria was Seleukos' son Demetrios, sur-named Soter

12 years<sup>4</sup>

AM 5323

Demetrios was given as a hostage to Rome by his father Seleukos. Within days, he arrived as a fugitive in Tripolis of Phoenicia. In a confrontation, he killed Lysias the guardian of the boy Antiochos and Antiochos himself, unexpectedly gaining control of such a large kingdom in a matter of days. Opposed to Demetrios were both Ptolemy, who gave support to Alexander with foreign mercenaries, and Attalos king of Pergamon, who also reinstated him. Demetrios drew up in battle against Alexander and died in the twelfth year of his reign. Alexander, the king listed below, controlled Syria for five years. He was slain in Antioch fighting against Ptolemy, who restored Demetrios' son Demetrios to rule over Syria. Ptolemy also fell in battle and died not long thereafter.<sup>5</sup>

(11) The eleventh king of Syria and Asia was Alexander

9 years<sup>6</sup>

He was the son of Antiochos Epiphanes. Some, Eusebios among them, assert that he reigned for ten years.<sup>7</sup>

AM 5335

He established friendship with Ptolemy and married his daughter Cleopatra. When they were in Ptolemaïs, Jonathes arrived there and became friends with them.<sup>8</sup>

Entrusted by Alexander 'son of Ballas' with the management of affairs of state, Tryphon, also known as Diodotos, retrieved Alexander's son Antiochos, who was being reared by Imalkoue the Arab. And he made war against Demetrios, having established

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Eus. 1.77.13-14, which gives a total of 36 years to the rules of Ptolemy Soter and Alexander.

<sup>2</sup> Synk. does not go on to provide this information.

<sup>3</sup> Continued from p. 415 (= Moss. 346.4). Cf. Eus. 1.119.34-122.33, from Porphyry.

<sup>4</sup> Eus. 1.124.20; 2.141.6-7.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Eus. 1.119.34-120.12.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. above and p. 416 (= Moss. 346.21-3; 350.16-17), where Synk. says he ruled 5 years.

<sup>7</sup> See *Xpov. συντ.* 92.5 (10 years); Eus. 2.143.5-7 (9 years, 10 months). But cf. Eus. 1.120.7-8, 124.21 (5 and 15 years respectively).

<sup>8</sup> 1 Macc. 10.57-60.

351] friendly relations with Jonathes, who at that time had prevailed over great numbers and renewed his brother's treaty of friendship with the Romans.<sup>1</sup> Now Tryphon was fearful that Jonathes would not permit him to kill the boy Antiochos and proclaim himself king.<sup>2</sup> When Jonathes went out against him with his army, Tryphon persuaded him to discharge all but 1000 of his troops and to journey with him as far as Ptolemaïs so that Jonathes might take over his forces there. So Jonathes departed with only 1000 men, falling victim to treachery in Ptolemaïs. And after binding him in chains, Tryphon launched an attack against the Jews, who were under the command of Jonathes' brother Simon. He demanded 100 talents and Jonathes' two boys in exchange for his release. Now although Simon knew that this was a total lie, he nonetheless gave him everything, but even so failed to rescue his brother from murder.<sup>3</sup>

(12) The twelfth king of Syria and Asia was Demetrios, the son of Demetrios, also known as Sirippides,<sup>4</sup> the first time 3 years<sup>5</sup>

AM 5344

(13) The thirteenth king of Syria and Asia was Antiochos Sidites

9 years<sup>6</sup>

AM 5347

He was a brother of the above Demetrios.

Antiochos came from Sidon and besieged Tryphon, who had fled to Dara. This was the Tryphon who had murdered Jonathes and Alexander's son Antiochos, and proclaimed himself king of Syria. From Dara, Tryphon fled to Orthosia. When he was pursued from there, he died by leaping into fire.<sup>7</sup>

(14) The fourteenth king of Syria and Asia was Demetrios, the second time 4 years<sup>8</sup>

AM 5356

<sup>1</sup> 1 Macc. 11.39, 57; 12.1.

<sup>2</sup> Text: *ὁ δὲ Τρύφων Ἰωνάθην δεδοικώς ἀποκτείνει τὸν παῖδα Ἀντίοχον καὶ ἑαυτὸν ἀνειπεῖν βασιλέα* ('Now Tryphon was fearful that Jonathes had killed the boy Antiochos and proclaimed himself king'). Cf. 1 Macc. 12.40: 'He (Tryphon) feared that Jonathes might not permit (*μήποτε οὐκ ἔάσῃ*) him to do so' (that is, to kill Antiochos). After *δεδοικώς* in Synk.'s text *μήποτε* (or simply *μή*) *οὐκ ἔάσῃ* should be added (Holford-Strevens).

<sup>3</sup> 1 Macc. 12.39-48; 13.1-24.

<sup>4</sup> Text: *Σιριππίδης* (= B; A: *Σιρισπίδης*); Di.: *Σιδηρίτης*, cf. below, p. 423 (= Moss. 352.17). For the corrupt form of this epithet, see also Eus. 1.120.23 ('Siripides').

<sup>5</sup> Eus. 1.124.22; 2.144.14-16.

<sup>6</sup> Eus. 1.124.23; 2.145.5-7.

<sup>7</sup> 1 Macc. 15.10-41, 25, 37-9.

<sup>8</sup> Eus. 1.124.24; 2.146.3-5.

(15) The fifteenth king of Syria and Asia was Antiochos Grypos  
26 years<sup>1</sup>  
AM 5360

One should recognize that these twenty-six years do not belong solely to Antiochos Grypos, but rather to Kyzikios as well. For after first reigning for four years Grypos was ousted by Kyzikios. Kyzikios then reigned for eighteen years. Grypos in turn removed Kyzikios and reigned the remaining four years. Thus in succession, they would make war against one another.<sup>2</sup>

Together with Hyrkanos, Antiochos Grypos defeated Sindas, a Parthian general, and set up a war trophy at the river Lykos.<sup>3</sup>

Throughout Sicily, there was the Slave War. When the slaves in Sicily were under siege, they turned to cannibalism.<sup>4</sup> AM 5360

Seleukos, the son of Antiochos Grypos, removed Kyzikios and reigned briefly.<sup>5</sup>

Antiochos Kyzikios burnt Seleukos alive.<sup>6</sup>

After fleeing to the Parthians, Antiochos Kyzikios surrendered to Pompey.<sup>7</sup>

It should be understood that the title 'the Exile' was bestowed on both him and Alexander, his brother and successor—the former received the name from his mother, the latter when he was driven out by the army.

When this aforementioned Alexander, the son of Antiochos Epiphanes, fell in battle against Ptolemy, the kingdom of Syria was divided between Demetrios' son Demetrios, who was using Seleukia as his base for battle, and Alexander's son Antiochos, based in Syria and Antioch. But after a victory of lightning speed over Alexander, Demetrios' son Demetrios achieved complete control of the kingdom for three years—whence his title Nikanor. But when he attacked Arsakes in Babylon, he fell captive to him. And after being taken back to Parthia he was put in irons and imprisoned—whence he was later called Siderites.<sup>8</sup>

Before his imprisonment in Parthia, Demetrios returned from Crete, and after conquering Syria ordered Apollonios to go into battle against the Jews. Now Jonathes, together with 10,000 élite

<sup>1</sup> Eus. I.122.29, 124.25; but cf. Eus. 2.146.15–17 (12 years).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Eus. I.122.9–33.

<sup>3</sup> Jos. *Ant.* 13.251 (quoting Nikolaos of Damascus).

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.146<sup>c</sup>.

<sup>5</sup> Eus. I.122.34–5.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.149<sup>f</sup>.

<sup>7</sup> Eus. I.123.25–8.

<sup>8</sup> Lit. 'of iron'. Cf. Eus. I.120.12–24.

troops, seized Joppe and killed 8000 of Apollonios' men. He also set fire to Azotos and destroyed their idol of Dagon.<sup>1</sup>

It was to this Demetrios, son of Demetrios, surnamed Soter and Nikanor, that Ptolemy betrothed his daughter Cleopatra (whom he had taken away from Alexander), giving Demetrios rule over Syria as well. When Demetrios' forces rebelled, he appealed to Jonathes to send his army to assist him in Antioch, with the assurance that if he were to prevail Demetrios would rid the cities of Judah of Gentile armies. So Jonathes sent him 3000 men, who in Antioch utterly destroyed 100,000 Greek citizens in insurrection against Demetrios and set their city ablaze. But upon achieving this victory, Demetrios reneged on all the promises he had made to Jonathes.<sup>2</sup>

Now during this time Jonathes was treacherously murdered by Tryphon, and Simon his son succeeded him to rule for eight years.<sup>3</sup>

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#### MISCELLANY

Oppius subdued the Celts. During this time, Carthage was finally captured by Scipio Africanus the younger, 640 years after its founding, but according to others, 748 years.<sup>4</sup>

Arsakes the Parthian killed Antiochos Sidites.<sup>5</sup>

After treacherously murdering his own father-in-law Simon during a banquet, Ptolemy son of Aboubos invited Antiochos to send him an army and so deliver Judaea to him.

When Simon's son Joannes learned what Ptolemy had done to his father and his brothers, he slew those who came against him in Gazara, and established friendly relations with Antiochos. After receiving rule by popular acclaim, he killed this Ptolemy and assisted Antiochos against the Hyrkanians. Because he brought great glory to himself in that battle and fought with the highest distinction in every way, Joannes was given the name 'Hyrkanos'.<sup>6</sup>

Simon and all his sons except Joannes were assassinated at a banquet by his own son-in-law, Ptolemy son of Aboubos; this Joannes, renamed Hyrkanos, ruled the Jews for twenty-six years, as both commander-in-chief and high priest.<sup>7</sup>

The contents of the first book of the Maccabees extend as far as this point. The second book covers the events concerning Seleukos,

<sup>1</sup> I Macc. 10.67-9, 77-85.

<sup>2</sup> I Macc. 11.13, 41-53.

<sup>3</sup> I Macc. 13.20-3; cf. Eus. 2.144<sup>e</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> Eus. 2.143<sup>g</sup>.

<sup>5</sup> Eus. 2.146<sup>b</sup>.

<sup>6</sup> I Macc. 16.11-22; Jos. *Ant.* 13.228-9, 250-3.

<sup>7</sup> Eus. 2.145<sup>e</sup>; Jos. *Ant.* 13.228.

Antiochos Epiphanes, Antiochos Eupator, Demetrios Soter, and Judas the Maccabee. The third book describes events concerning Ptolemy Philopator, and how he planned to eliminate the Jewish nation. Because this was thirty years before the reign of Antiochos Epiphanes, the third book is chronologically first. And the fourth book is noteworthy in its claim that reason inspired by religion is the supreme ruler of the passions, and in its description of the struggle of the seven sons and their mother during the time of Jonathes the Maccabee and his brother Simon.

Ptolemy Euergetes was in control of Egypt; Alexander, son of Antiochos Epiphanes, the so-called 'son of Ballas', was ruling Asia Minor; and the *optimates* were ruling the Romans. Now although the Romans had other generals, the most outstanding of all of them was Scipio the younger, grandson of Scipio Africanus. In his prosecution of the third and final war against the Carthaginians in the region of Libya, he brilliantly prevailed in the armed conflict, overthrowing Carthage 640 years (according to others 748) after its founding. At that time, two Roman generals who had been defeated, one killed and the other taken captive, were sent to Rome with many other captives;<sup>1</sup> and Scipio himself returned (<\*\*\*>),<sup>2</sup> when those who traced their lineage from them had been ruling Egypt, Syria, and Asia ever since Alexander's time, and in turn also Babylonia at times, after the Macedonian dynasty had been made a tributary to the Romans, as was explained a little before.

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When Micipsa, king of Numidia and an ally of the Romans, died, his illegitimate son, known as Jugurtha, assassinated his father's legitimate offspring and seized control of the kingdom. Aggrieved at him, the Romans launched an attack against him first through the consul Marius, who prevailed against him in a violent battle, when Jugurtha took flight. Then they attacked through Metellus, a man also of consular rank who distinguished himself splendidly; and finally through Sulla, who captured Jugurtha alive and celebrated a triumph over him in Rome, leading him in chains before his chariot. This was during his consulate, which was the 165th Olympiad.<sup>3</sup>

(16) The sixteenth king of Syria and Asia was Antiochos Kyzikios

11 years<sup>4</sup>

AM 5386

<sup>1</sup> Mosshammer posits a lacuna concerning the Numantine War.

<sup>2</sup> Mosshammer suggests that the missing material might have treated the fourth Macedonian war.

<sup>3</sup> Eutrop. 4.26-7.

<sup>4</sup> Eus. 1.122.32 (18 years); 124.26 (17 years); 2.147.13-15 (18 years); *Xpov. συγγρ.* 92.10 (19 years).

**UNIVERSAL YEARS<sup>1</sup>**

(20) The twentieth high priest of the Jews was Jannaios, also known as Alexander

30 years<sup>2</sup>

AM 5397

Jannaios killed his remaining brothers and relations, leaving behind no one of his line. Because of this, all the cities of the Jews revolted from him; these cities he had restored [to Jewish control] with the help of Alexander's mother Cleopatra, when the Egyptians were allied with him.

Jannaios was hot-tempered, arrogant and exceedingly fierce. His flatterers called him 'Alexander' because in his judgement he was quick-witted and daring; but those who despised him called him 'Thrakidas',<sup>3</sup> since he was extremely unjust.<sup>4</sup>

355] During this time, Cleopatra Salene removed her sons and determined to rule alone, with two Jews Ananias and Chelkias as stewards in charge of managing all her affairs. Through them, Jannaios became her friend and got use of Egyptian allies against Palestine. When the Jews began to revolt, he razed the cities and mercilessly slaughtered his own fellow countrymen, extending even to women and children. He began with the cities across the Jordan, then seized Esebon, and then went against the regions of Amman and Moab, Dora and Pella near the Arabs, Gadara near the hot springs, Abila, Hippos, Lia, Philoteria, the colonies of the Macedonians, Basan (now Scythopolis), Mallea of Samaria, Mount Thabor, and Gabaa.<sup>5</sup>

Jannaios, also known as Alexander, was victorious in the war he prosecuted against Grypos' son Antiochos, also known as Dionysos.<sup>6</sup>

He proceeded against the land of the Tyrians and besieged their island. Put to the test by an insurrection by the Nabataeans and Ituraeans, he sent the Galilaean general Diagos against the Nabataeans.<sup>7</sup> But in the course of readying for war against the Ituraeans,

<sup>1</sup> Continued from p. 418 (= Moss. 348.18-19).

<sup>2</sup> Between John Hyrkanos and Alexander Jannaios, other witnesses include a 1-year reign for Aristoboulos; see *Jos. Ant.* 13.301-19; *Eus.* 1.61.12-15; 2.148.5-6; *Chron. pasch.* 349.2, 358.2, 390.8; *Xpov. συντ.* 95.35. For the duration of Jannaios' high priesthood, cf. *Eus.* 2.148.9-12; *DE* 8.2.74 (27 years). See also *Xpov. συντ.* 95.36 (34 years).

<sup>3</sup> Lit. 'the Thracian'.

<sup>4</sup> *Jos. Ant.* 13.383.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *Jos. Ant.* 13.346-7, 355-64, 393-7.

<sup>6</sup> *Jos. Ant.* 13.387-91.

<sup>7</sup> Synk.'s source for this report is unknown.



Jannaios died after a reign of thirty years. He had entrusted rule to his wife Salina, although she had two sons by him, Hyrkanos and Aristoboulos. Thereafter, the affairs of the Jews were thrown into turmoil.<sup>1</sup>

(21) The twenty-first ruler of the Jews was Salina, also known as Alexandra

9 years<sup>2</sup>

AM 5427

Alexandra, also known as Salina, was entirely lacking in the brutality of her husband Jannaios, also known as Alexander. By bestowing benefits, she gained the favour of the Jewish people, and because of her reputation for piety, her righteous trust in divinity, and her strictness in observing the ancestral laws, she reigned with steadfastness for nine years. She cultivated the Pharisaic system, considering it more devout than those of the other two, the Sadducees and Essenes; and since she was a religious woman, she entrusted the management of affairs of state to them. Whereas the pleasure of rule fell to the Pharisees, who would bind and loose as they wanted, the disagreeable matters fell to this woman. She was, however, more formidable and intimidating to foreigners. But even as she ruled the masses, she was dominated by them.<sup>3</sup> Of the two sons who belonged to her, Aristoboulos and Hyrkanos, to her elder son Hyrkanos she entrusted the kingship as she was approaching death; to the younger son Aristoboulos she gave the high priesthood. But when his mother was becoming infirm, Aristoboulos seized his opportunity, and took control of the fortresses with the aid of many members of his household; and with the money he found there, he recruited mercenaries and proclaimed himself king.<sup>4</sup>

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Out of pity for Hyrkanos' distress, Salina confined Aristoboulos' wife and children near the northern side of the temple in the citadel called Baris.<sup>5</sup> In the course of doing this and before punishing Aristoboulos for his insurrection against Hyrkanos, she died, after managing the government, as was stated above, for nine years and leaving Hyrkanos as her heir. After drawing up in battle against him, Aristoboulos defeated him in an engagement near Jericho. And the greater part of Hyrkanos' contingent deserted to Aristoboulos.

<sup>1</sup> Eus. 2.152<sup>f</sup>; Jos. *Ant.* 13.407.

<sup>2</sup> Eus. 2.152.10; Jos. *Ant.* 13.430.

<sup>3</sup> Presumably in reference to the Pharisees, to whom Josephos says Alexandra ceded most of her authority.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Jos. *JW* 1.107–19; *Ant.* 13.408–9. Synk.'s comment that Alexandra designated Aristoboulos as high priest contradicts Josephos' statement that she appointed Hyrkanos to this position.

<sup>5</sup> Text: Βαρεις; cf. Jos. *JW* 1.118: Βαπισ, renamed Antonia.

With a few allies, Hyrkanos took refuge by beating him to the aforementioned fortress of Baris near the temple and seizing Aristoboulos' property, as well as his children and wife. Anticipating this, Aristoboulos arrived in haste and put an end to the dispute with Hyrkanos in the temple, to the effect that Aristoboulos should become king, since he appeared to have the greater aptitude, and Hyrkanos, as the elder brother of the king, but inferior to him in other ways, should abdicate the throne, while enjoying every other honour. Thereupon, in the midst of a crowd, they embraced one another and exchanged residences; and just as Homer's Glaukos and Diomedes did, Aristoboulos departed to the palace and Hyrkanos withdrew to Aristoboulos' home.<sup>1</sup>

Thus as a result of Aristoboulos' unexpected victory, fear and grief descended upon the allies of Hyrkanos, especially a certain Antipatros, the father of the Herod who subsequently became king of the Jews. Antipatros was a foreigner, an Idumaeen according to Josephos. But according to Africanus, he was an Askalonite, the son of Herod, one of the temple slaves appointed in Askalon in the temple of Apollo. Idumaeen bandits captured this Antipatros and made him a bandit among them, hoping to receive ransom from his father Herod. But because his father was poor and unable to pay ransom, he grew up as one of their accomplices, and was brought up in their customs.<sup>2</sup>

357] Later befriended by Hyrkanos, he assumed a role of leadership over the populace by means of his wealth and honour, and by virtue of his aptitude and acuity in public affairs. He persuaded Hyrkanos to flee to Aretas, king of the Arabs, and recover the Jewish kingdom. Indeed, he took Hyrkanos with him by night and escaped from the city to Aretas, who was in Petra, the capital of the Arabs. And with many gifts, he convinced Aretas to become an ally and restore Hyrkanos to the throne that had been wrongfully wrested from him.<sup>3</sup>

When Aretas dispatched with them a force of cavalry and infantry numbering 50,000 men, Aristoboulos, unable to resist, fled after the first encounter to Jerusalem, where he was put under siege by them. Forsaken, he would have been taken by force, were it not for Scaurus. At that time Scaurus was staying in Damascus, which had

<sup>1</sup> Jos. *JW* I.117-22; *Il.* 6.235, where Homer notes that Glaukos' wits were taken away by Zeus and that he therefore exchanged gold for bronze.

<sup>2</sup> Routh, fr. 48. For Africanus' report about Herod's Askalonite background, see also Eus. *HE* I.6.2-3; 7.11. Cf. Jos. *JW* I.123.

<sup>3</sup> Jos. *JW* I.125-6.

been recently captured by Gemellius and Dollius,<sup>1</sup> who were themselves Roman generals. Scaurus sent a message to Hyrkanos and the Arabs, threatening them with the wrath of Pompey and the whole Senate if they did not lift the siege against Aristoboulos. And by taking a gift of 300 talents from Aristoboulos, Scaurus paid no heed to what was fair.<sup>2</sup>

After Aretas lifted the siege and withdrew in terror to Arabia, Aristoboulos engaged the forces of Hyrkanos and Antipatros around Papyron and slew Antipatros' brother Phallion and more than 6000 troops.<sup>3</sup>

Thereupon Hyrkanos, deprived of his Jewish support, arrived at Damascus with Antipatros, and met with Pompey the Great.<sup>4</sup> At that time Pompey had reached Syria from Armenia in the course of his much-celebrated prowess in the war against Mithridates and Tigranes, and Albania, Iberia, Kolchis, and the Assyrians themselves.<sup>5</sup> And without gifts, but with only eloquent pleas for justice, they persuaded Pompey, who was truly 'Great' and a lover of truth, to agree to come to the aid of Hyrkanos. Now when Aristoboulos himself also arrived with his hopes directed at Scaurus, he utterly failed to gain the good will of Pompey as he was making his way to Jerusalem and Palestine. And by secretly withdrawing from Diospolis, he foolishly made Pompey even more annoyed with him. For Pompey in his indignation marshalled his Roman and Syrian forces after receiving word that Aristoboulos had previously taken Alexandreia,<sup>6</sup> a fortress stronghold situated atop a high mountain. And he ordered him to come down, even though Aristoboulos was disinclined to do so. Fearful of their irresistible power and aware that the populace was terrified, Aristoboulos yielded to the advice of his friends. And under coercion from Pompey, he came down the mountain; after mounting a case in support of his right to rule, he again returned to his stronghold. Now after this happened more than once or twice, and when Hyrkanos opposed him before Pompey on the grounds that it was Aristoboulos who had wronged him and illegitimately claimed the throne, Aristoboulos was directed to evacuate the fortresses. But when the castellans refused

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<sup>1</sup> Correctly Quintus Metellus Nepos and Lucius Lollius.

<sup>2</sup> Jos. *JW* 1.126-9.

<sup>3</sup> Jos. *JW* 1.130.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Jos. *JW* 1.131, stating that Hyrkanos and Antipatros met with Pompey after they were deprived of their Arab allies.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Eutrop. 6.12-14; Cass. Dio 37.15.2.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Jos. *JW* 1.134; *Ant.* 14.49 (Alexandreion).

to admit him, he arrived at Jerusalem and attempted to conduct war against the Romans, who were bivouacking in Jericho, the most fertile region of Judaea and rich in palms and balsa. Terrified at their approach, Aristoboulos used bribery to plead for conciliation with Pompey as he was pressing on to Jerusalem.<sup>1</sup>

Now when Gabinius was sent to Aristoboulos to fetch the money, he did not even gain entrance into the city. So Pompey's general Piso, who was entrusted with the capture of the city, put Aristoboulos under guard and laid siege to Jerusalem.<sup>2</sup> To help him in taking this city, one that was difficult for them to capture, he received considerable assistance from the services and ideas of Hyrkanos and Antipatros and those associated with them, both inside and outside the city.<sup>3</sup> And in the third month, the Romans managed with great difficulty to overthrow one of the towers and burst through into the temple; Faustus Cornelius son of Sulla was the first to venture through, and the centurions Frurius<sup>4</sup> and Fabius followed along with the company of soldiers assigned to them. They surrounded the Jews and killed them throughout the whole city, the Jews for the most part fleeing into the temple. But many of them were also slaughtered at the hands of countrymen of the opposing faction. It is said that at that time 12,000 Jews were killed by the Romans; but because of their orderly and mutually supportive valour, the Romans suffered extremely few deaths at the hands of the Jews. For disorder in battles is a product of rashness and not valour, since it is a cause of defeat for those who rush forward in unclosed ranks.<sup>5</sup>

359] Now when the city had been captured, Pompey and his comrades penetrated the temple even as far as the sanctuary. But he touched none of the sacred vessels, nor the treasury in plain sight before him amounting to 2000 talents, not to mention<sup>6</sup> the aromatic herbs, the candelabrum, and lamp, the vessels for libations and censers, all of gold. Rather he gave orders to the temple officers that the temple be purified of blood. On the following day, he proclaimed Hyrkanos as high priest and kept Aristoboulos and his father-in-law in prison, killing by the sword all those responsible for the conflict. And he

<sup>1</sup> Jos. *JW* I.131-9; *Ant.* 14.48-55.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Jos. *JW* I.141, which states that it was Pompey himself who placed Aristoboulos under guard.

<sup>3</sup> Jos. *JW* I.141-4.

<sup>4</sup> Correctly Furius.

<sup>5</sup> Jos. *JW* I.149-51.

<sup>6</sup> Text: ἐκτός. In the present context, the word probably does not mean 'except'. See Jos. *JW* I.152, which states explicitly that Pompey avoided contact with all of the sacred vessels in the temple.

rewarded his allies with splendid gifts, especially Faustus the brave son of Sulla and his companions.<sup>1</sup>

Pompey made the Jews tributaries to the Romans, depriving them of all the Greek cities of Koile Syria that they had captured during the time of the Maccabees. And he confined them to their own borders alone. Besides these cities, he liberated the cities in the interior from Jewish authority, of which the better known are these: Scythopolis (that is, Basan), Hippos, Pella, Samaria, Marisa, Azotos, Jamneia, Arethousa, the coastal cities of Gaza, Joppe, Dora, and Straton's Tower (that is, Caesarea). Having returned these to the legitimate citizenry, he annexed them to the province of Syria, along with Judaea, from the boundaries of Egypt up to the river Euphrates.<sup>2</sup>

Once Pompey had entrusted to the administration of Scaurus these cities and two Roman legions as an auxiliary force, he set out in haste to Rome through Cilicia, in order to make arrangements for the most magnificent triumph.<sup>3</sup> He brought with him the kings whom he had defeated: Mithridates' son Pharnakes (the one who to curry favour with Pompey had tolerated the killing of his own father Mithridates, and again revolted against the Romans), the king of the Kolchians (that is, the Lazoi), the twenty chiefs of the Iberians, and Aristoboulos king of the Jews, along with his two daughters and sons, Alexander and Antigonos. Alexander, the younger of the two, escaped *en route* to Rome and made his way back to Judaea, to incite rebellion, as will be explained later.<sup>4</sup>

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**THE TREATISE (THAT IS, CHRONOGRAPHY) OF  
GEORGE, THE MOST DEVOUT MONK AND SYNKELLOS  
OF TARASIOS THE MOST HOLY ARCHBISHOP OF  
CONSTANTINOPLE, IN THE FORM OF AN EPITOME  
FROM JULIUS CAESAR'S REIGN OVER THE ROMANS,  
AM 5434, UP TO THE FIRST YEAR OF THE REIGN OF  
DIOCLETIAN, AM 5777, TOTALLING 343 YEARS.<sup>5</sup>**

So upon capturing Jerusalem by siege, Pompey took Aristoboulos captive along with his sons Alexander and Antigonos and departed for Rome, to lead in triumph the kings and leaders of the other nations as well. And after entrusting the high priesthood to

<sup>1</sup> Jos. *JW* I.152-4.<sup>2</sup> Jos. *JW* I.155-7.<sup>3</sup> Jos. *JW* I.157.<sup>4</sup> Jos. *JW* I.158. See also Eutrop. 6.16; App. *Mithr.* 117. For Synk.'s later account of Alexander's escape, see below, p. 432 (= Moss. 360.24-361.17).<sup>5</sup> On this superscription, see Intro., pp. xxvi-xxvii.

Aristoboulos' brother Hyrkanos, he made the Jews tributaries to the Romans.<sup>1</sup>

Cicero the orator and senator was flourishing among the Romans. He put an end to Catiline, Cethegus, and Lentulus, who were in league against the Senate.<sup>2</sup>

After arriving in Rome and leading the procession celebrating his many victories, Pompey was publicly proclaimed *Imperator* and joined in an alliance of friendship with Gaius Julius Caesar, becoming his son-in-law through his daughter Julia. After receiving his commission, Gaius was dispatched as military commander against the Gauls and the Britons; in the course of ten years of mighty battles, he made the Gauls and the Britons Roman tributaries—inhabitants of 500 cities—as Plutarch the philosopher of Chaironeia records.<sup>3</sup>

361] Aristoboulos' elder son Alexander escaped from Pompey and arrived in Judaea. After gaining control over a large body of Jews and even the government for a short while, he was attacked and ousted by Gabinius and Antony. Hyrkanos again recovered custody of the temple; on the advice of Antipatros, they divided the civil administration into five parts. The first they allocated to Jerusalem, the second to Dora, the third to Amathous, the fourth to Jericho, the fifth to Sepphoris, a city of Galilee. And from that time forward, it seemed as though they were going to live under an aristocracy, were it not that Aristoboulos had escaped from Rome and returned with his younger son Antigonos. Once again he became the source of Judaea's troubles, both by marshalling a large number of Jews, and by hastening to rebuild the fortress of Alexandria. He was again most speedily captured in flight with his son after a battle, when Gabinius had sent against him Sisenna, Antony, and Servianus with a Roman army. And once more he was sent back to Rome as a prisoner. So Alexander was left alone in authority over Judaea, at one time fleeing the Romans, at another time harassing Hyrkanos and Antipatros, the latter of whom Pompey and his successors<sup>a</sup> had also entrusted with management of the region. Dispatched by Gabinius, he routed Alexander in battle, killing 10,000 men in his company and scattering in flight the other 20,000 of the Jews who had joined forces with him around Mount Itabyrion.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Text: τῶ μετὰ ταῦτα. For τῶ read τῶν (= Di.).

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.153<sup>f</sup>; HE 1.6.6; Jos. JW 1.153–8; Ant. 14.73–9.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.154<sup>c</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.154<sup>e</sup>; Plut. *Caes.* 15.

<sup>4</sup> Jos. JW 1.160–77; Ant. 14.82–102. Mount Itabyrion is Mount Tabor.

At that time, Crassus succeeded Gabinus and acquired control of the Syrian government. In launching an invasion against the Parthians (that is, the Persians), he took it upon himself to loot all the furnishings of the Jewish temple, including the 2000 talents that Pompey had left untouched.<sup>1</sup> Now when he crossed the Euphrates river he was killed with the main body of his army, Crassus' quaestor Cassius rescuing the survivors and with great carnage driving out the Persians from the whole of Syria.<sup>2</sup> Cassius then moved with haste against Judaea, took 30,000 hostages, captured Tarichai, and killed Pisialos for collaborating with the partisans of Aristoboulos and his sons in their insurrection against Hyrkanos and Antipatros.<sup>3</sup> [362]

A participant in this murder was Antipatros, who had by gifts and other kinds of aid attached to himself powerful Romans from every quarter. Among them was Aretas, king of the Arabs, with whom Antipatros had become a close friend by marrying an illustrious Arab woman named Kypris. By her he had four children: Phasaïlos, Herod, who later succeeded Hyrkanos as king of the Hebrews (the first foreigner to be king), third Josep(h)os, and fourth Pheroras. When he then embarked on war, purportedly against Aristoboulos and his sons, it was to Aretas that he entrusted his sons and his daughter Salome.<sup>4</sup>

Although the preparation of this material has not been an easy task for me, I wished to show how, when the divine Incarnation of the only-begotten Son and Word of God, our Saviour Jesus Christ, was imminent, a leader from Judah and a ruler from his loins had ceased, in accordance with the prediction of the patriarch Jacob.<sup>5</sup>

Aristoboulos' elder son Alexander escaped from Pompey and for a little while was in control of the Jews. Indeed, he would soon have prevailed over Hyrkanos himself, had not Gabinus, who had been sent to Syria as successor to Scaurus, sent Mark Antony ahead with a military contingent, and then launched a more forceful assault against them. At that point, Alexander was unable to withstand the onslaught of Antony when Antipatros and the remaining

<sup>1</sup> Jos. *JW* 1.179; *Ant.* 14.104-5.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Eutrop. 6.18.2.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Jos. *JW* 1.180; *Ant.* 14.120.

<sup>4</sup> Jos. *JW* 1.181; *Ant.* 14.121-2.

<sup>5</sup> Gen. 49.10. Cf. Eus. 2.160<sup>a</sup>; *HE* 1.6.1-8. In the LXX version of his prediction, Jacob states that the 'sceptre shall not depart from Judah . . . until there come the things stored up for him; and he is the expectation of nations.' In Synk.'s view the accession of the foreign-born Herod signalled the departure of rule from Judah, thereby preparing the way for the Messiah.

Jewish partisans of Hyrkanos joined forces with him; and he fled to Jerusalem after sacrificing 6000 men to Antony's valour.<sup>1</sup> At every juncture, but particularly at that point, Pompey confirmed Hyrkanos' claim to the high priesthood.<sup>2</sup> It was he who made the Jews tributaries to the Romans. He also made the foreign-born Antipatros, son of one Herod and father of another, procurator of Palestine.<sup>3</sup>

Gaius Julius Caesar subdued Lusitania, the Gauls, the Britons, and some islands situated in Ocean.<sup>4</sup>

363] He also crossed the river Rhine and conquered the Germans and Gauls.<sup>5</sup>

The statue in Olympia was struck by a thunderbolt.<sup>6</sup>

Gaius Caesar made war against Pompey.<sup>7</sup>

In military contests of the utmost intensity, Gaius Julius subdued the Gauls, Britons, and Germans and with great exertion made the inhabitants of 500 cities subject to the Romans.<sup>8</sup> For ten years he was conducting war against overpowering barbarian forces near the very streams of Ocean. He returned to Rome expecting a more than usually grand triumph; but in (not) obtaining this because of opposition and jealousy over his victories from Pompey and many members of the Senate, he became angry with the Romans. Thereupon, civil war broke out a second time among the Romans in Pharsalos of Thessaly, following Gaius' return to Rome, as was already stated, and the death in childbirth of Julia, Pompey's wife and Caesar's daughter.<sup>9</sup>

After releasing Aristoboulos from imprisonment, Caesar dispatched him with two legions to Syria, confident that through him he should possess this region along with Judaea. But upon his arrival, Aristoboulos was poisoned by Pompey's friends. And deemed unworthy of burial in his native land, he was instead preserved in honey, until Antony ordered him to be buried in the royal sepulchres. During the same time, his son Alexander was executed in Antioch by Scipio upon Pompey's written instructions.<sup>10</sup>

Now this Pompey, after quitting Rome, fled in a single merchant vessel to Ptolemy and Cleopatra in Egypt; this man of such heroic stature was then killed by Ptolemy as a favour to Gaius Julius Caesar. Upon receiving this news at his arrival in Egypt with his troops to oppose Pompey, Gaius killed Ptolemy because of his

<sup>1</sup> Jos. *JW* 1.160-3; *Ant.* 14.82-5.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.153<sup>f</sup>; Jos. *JW* 1.178.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.155<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.155<sup>h</sup>.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Eutrop. 6.17-19.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.153<sup>f</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> Eus. 2.154<sup>f</sup>.

<sup>6</sup> Eus. 2.155<sup>f</sup>.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.155<sup>g</sup>.

<sup>10</sup> Jos. *JW* 1.183-5; *Ant.* 14.123-5.



murder of Pompey. And he established Cleopatra alone on the throne of Egypt, because, it is said, of his love for her. And he returned to Rome through Judaea, since Pompey's sons were in rebellion against him.<sup>1</sup> [364

At this time also Antigonos pleaded his case before Gaius Caesar. He brought numerous accusations against Hyrkanos and Antipatros, along with the associates of Pompey and Scipio, for the murder of his father Aristoboulos and his brother Alexander, and inveighed against them in person. But unexpectedly, he accomplished nothing more than to become the instrument of Antipatros' further advancement, owing to the alliance Antipatros made with Caesar shortly before in Egypt. For Mithridates of Pergamon, whose life he had saved, gave testimony on his behalf, and Antipatros himself pointed out the wounds all over his body that he had sustained because of his loyalty to Caesar.<sup>2</sup>

When Caesar heard this, he confirmed Hyrkanos' control of the high priesthood and offered Antipatros a position of power of his own choosing. After seizing it, he immediately appointed his first son Phasailos as the governor of Jerusalem and its environs; and to Herod, though still a youth, he gave authority equal to Phasailos', putting him in charge of Galilee and the surrounding cities. By finding projects befitting his mental acuity, Herod immediately brought credit to himself, with the result that he captured the attention of Sextus Caesar for his valourous actions against brigands.<sup>3</sup>

For he captured and executed Ezekias the brigand chief, who was laying waste to Syria, along with many in his horde. And in both the countryside and the cities, a report about him was circulating widely to the effect that he was fit for kingship. As a result of this, Hyrkanos was incited by envy against him, goaded by Herod's constant use of the death sentence. Now Herod withdrew to Sextus Caesar in Damascus and received from him authority as the appointed governor of Koile-Syria and Samaria. He advanced against Jerusalem with an army and would have removed Hyrkanos in Jerusalem, had he not been prevented from doing so by his father's advice. This then was the situation in Judaea during this time: whereas Hyrkanos was jealous of Antipatros' power and his sons' success, especially Herod's, Antipatros was maintaining amicable relations with Hyrkanos by not stirring up trouble.<sup>4</sup> [365

Now when Gaius Julius Caesar returned to Rome, he left

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.156<sup>cf</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> Jos. *JW* 1.195-7; *Ant.* 14.140-2.

<sup>3</sup> Jos. *JW* 1.199-207; *Ant.* 14.143-60.

<sup>4</sup> Jos. *JW* 1.204-15; *Ant.* 14.159-62.

untouched all Pompey's portion, which fell into the hands of Cicero, Brutus, and Cassius (for fear of Gaius, Cato had killed himself beforehand with poison). Finally then, in the fourth year after Pompey's death, he prevailed in mighty struggles over the sons of Pompey in Celtiberia, barely managing to defeat them because of the large army in their command. The elder of the brothers he killed; but he captured the remaining sons of Pompey alive.<sup>1</sup> And when he arrived in Rome, he dissolved consular rule, which, after Tarquinius Superbus, had been continuously<sup>a</sup> dominant. The first to be monarch, he proved by far the most humane of all the kings who had ever ruled.<sup>2</sup>

Cleopatra, the daughter of Ptolemy, also known as Dionysos, was ruler of Alexandria and Egypt

22 years<sup>3</sup>

AM 5446

Antony handed over Arabia to Cleopatra.<sup>4</sup>

Cleopatra was the last descendant of the Lagids after the murder of her brother. By committing adultery with Antony, she thereby became the agent of her own destruction, using an asp as an instrument for committing suicide. This was 298 years after Alexander.<sup>5</sup>

Hyrkanos rebuilt the walls of Jerusalem that had been torn down by Pompey.<sup>6</sup>

Cassius chose Herod as governor of Koile-Syria and Judaea in Damascus.<sup>7</sup>

Gaius Julius Caesar was Roman dictator

5 years<sup>8</sup>

AM 5454

When he arrived in Judaea from Egypt after the death of Pompey, Gaius Julius Caesar confirmed Hyrkanos' control over the priesthood and gave Antipatros free choice of a position of power.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>a</sup> Text: *σύνεγγυς*. Emended to *συνεχώς*.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Eutrop. 6.24, according to which the younger brother Sextus fled.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.156<sup>a</sup>. See above, pp. 346–7 (= Moss. 284.19–24).

<sup>3</sup> Eus. 1.78.1–2; 2.155.20–1. Synk.'s list of Ptolemaic kings is incomplete, lacking the years of the reigns of the two kings between Ptolemy Phouskon and Cleopatra (Philadelphos and Dionysos).

<sup>4</sup> Eus. 2.162<sup>c</sup>.

<sup>5</sup> The end of Cleopatra's 22-year rule would be AM 5467, or 298 years inclusive from the date of Alexander's death in AM 5170. Cf. Eus. 1.80.3–6; 2.163<sup>a</sup> (295 years); Eus. 1.79.18 (293 years).

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Jos. *Ant.* 14.144; *JW* 1.201. In the latter work, Antipatros is credited with the project.

<sup>7</sup> Jos. *Ant.* 14.280; *JW* 1.225. According to the latter work, Herod was appointed as prefect of the whole of Syria.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Eus. 1.61.23 (4 years, 5 months); 2.156.5 (4 years, 7 months).

<sup>9</sup> Jos. *JW* 1.199; *Ant.* 14.143.

The 183rd Olympiad.<sup>1</sup>

(\*\*\*\*) years from the founding of Rome.<sup>2</sup>

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Antony passed a decree that the seventh month in the Roman calendar, called Quintilis, was to be renamed Julius, because this was the month of Caesar's birth.<sup>3</sup>

After acting as Roman dictator for five years, Gaius Julius, when he was presiding over the Senate council, was suddenly assassinated through an act of treachery by Brutus and Cassius. They seized him in the company of sixty senators, despite being the beneficiaries of such great generosity from him that they even served as consuls. Nevertheless, so it is said, they killed him because they could not bear the loss of Pompey or the weakening of the consuls. But they provoked the enmity of Antony and instantly became fugitives from him, as he was very close to Caesar and was serving as consul at the time.<sup>4</sup> By gaining the support of the people, who were moved by pity for Caesar's murder, Antony chased them into exile, while he and the populace buried the body of Caesar in opulent style.<sup>5</sup>

His heir, adopted by Caesar when he was alive, was Octavian Caesar, also known as Augustus, the son of Caesar's sister Attia and Octavius, a man of praetorian rank. Octavian was spending time in Apollonia of Epeiros for the purpose of receiving an education in Greek letters. As a result of his uncle's murder, he was hastily escorted back to Rome, where he gained the support of the populace through his munificence. After locking horns on some minor matters with Antony and Lepidus<sup>6</sup> the chief consuls, he attained absolute authority over them. But in the end, he joined with them in friendship, and convinced these Romans to go into battle and the Senate to pass a decree condemning Brutus and Cassius and their accomplices. About the same time, he appointed Antony and Lepidus as supreme commanders, with Augustus himself the third member of the triumvirate. Now with Lepidus remaining behind to protect Rome, Augustus and Antony engaged the forces of Brutus and Cassius in Greece; they defeated them so decisively that fleeing in panic from those bearing down upon them they finally even slew each other. Following their victory, Augustus and Antony then returned to Rome and they and Lepidus divided into three parts the

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<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 284 (= Moss. 231.3), which dates Ol. 1.1 to AM 4721. Ol. 183.1 would then be AM 5454.

<sup>2</sup> If this is a reference to the period of time from the founding of Rome to the beginning of Caesar's rule, the missing number should be restored as 699, that is, the number of elapsed years from AM 4755 to 5454.

<sup>3</sup> Eus. 2.157<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Eutrop. 6.25.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Cass. Dio 44.35.4.

<sup>6</sup> Here and elsewhere 'Elpidios'.

entire Roman empire (which one might say was almost the whole inhabited world). Augustus was apportioned Europe, the region to the west as far as Ocean; Lepidus the whole region in the direction of Libya;<sup>1</sup> and Antony all Asia. Antony received news that Labienus, a Roman official and one of the partisans of Brutus and Cassius, had fled to the Persian king Herodes<sup>2</sup> and persuaded him to go to war against the Romans; and that for this purpose Herodes had dispatched his generals and his own son Pakouros<sup>3</sup> with a large army. So Antony first sent generals to oppose them, one of whom was Ventidius. He it was who brought victory to the Romans around Lydia in the region called Euphratesia in the Syrian language. So when the Persians had been decisively vanquished by the generals of Antony and the Senate of Rome, Herodes again made preparations for a second war, Antony also doing likewise.<sup>4</sup>

At just that time Antigonos sent forth a deputation of Jewish well-wishers, and brought charges against Herod and his brothers, as well as Hyrkanos (for Herod's father Antipatros had already been poisoned by Malichos). After punishing Herod's accusers, Antony, now at Antioch, for the moment committed the government to Hyrkanos and Herod. Then, when a larger number of Jews made a clamour against them, he killed their leaders.<sup>5</sup>

At that time Herod proved a useful servant to Cassius, who after Caesar's murder had taken 800 talents from Judaea: with Cassius' consent he also murdered Malichos and thereby avenged the death of his father Antipatros.<sup>6</sup> When he was again driven from power, he fled with Hyrkanos to Antony. But even though he was not accepted by the Jews, he fought resolutely, and banished Antigonos himself.<sup>7</sup> Now Antigonos, despairing of any aid from the Romans, fled to the Persian king Herodes, who was at war with the Romans.

<sup>1</sup> i.e. Roman Africa.

<sup>2</sup> For 'Herodes (*Ἡρώδης*)' as the Parthian king and father of Pakoros see also below, pp. 368-9, 442 (= Moss. 367.26-368.1; 371.11-12). The spelling is probably corrupt for *Ἡρώδης*. For this latter spelling, see Dio Cass. 40.28.3; Justin. 42.4.1-5.

<sup>3</sup> Below spelt 'Pakoros', pp. 439, 442 (= Moss. 368.1; 371.11).

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Eutrop. 7.5; Justin. 42.4.7-11.

<sup>5</sup> Jos. *JW* 1.226, 242-7; *Ant.* 14.281, 302-5, 324-9.

<sup>6</sup> Jos. *JW* 1.220-1, 234; *Ant.* 14.272, 292-3. According to Josephos, the sum exacted by Cassius from Judaea was 700 talents. Josephos also states that Herod was the first to collect his share of the contribution, 100 talents from Galilee. Synk. may thus have understood Herod's contribution as a supplement to the 700 talents raised by Cassius in Judaea.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Africanus, below, p. 442 (= Moss. 371.10).

By promising the Persians 1000 gold talents, he was restored to Judaea through Pakoros the son of Herodes.<sup>1</sup> He captured Hyrkanos alive and with his own teeth cut off his ears, so that he could no longer serve in the priesthood.<sup>2</sup> And he then handed him over to the Persians to take back with them. Herod fled to Malichos king of the Arabs. At that time also, his brother Phasaïlos was killed.<sup>3</sup>

### Chronography from the creation of the universe: 5458

The second Roman monarch was Caesar Sebastos Octavius, sur-named Augustus 56 years<sup>4</sup>

In AM 5460, it was the end of Augustus Caesar's second year and the beginning of his third year. In this year, he decreed the indiction (that is, the special imperial tax), as the blessed Maximos attests in his work *On the Pascha*.<sup>5</sup>

A decree enacted by the Senate and a resolution by the Athenians promoting friendship were dispatched to the Jews (that is, Hyrkanos and Herod) who had sent envoys to them.<sup>6</sup>

Cicero, the orator and senator, was killed in Caieta in Italy, but according to others, he used poison to commit suicide.<sup>7</sup>

The reign of the seven kings who ruled in Pergamon ended, after lasting 154 years from AM 5313 up to AM 5467, as will be shown in what follows.<sup>8</sup>

Subsequent Roman rulers were named Caesar, after Gaius Julius Caesar, and Augustus after Augustus. At this time, the Roman commonwealth was flourishing.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Jos. *JW* 1.248–50; *Ant.* 14.330–2.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Lev 21.17–23. According to *JW* 1.270, Antigonos mutilated (λωβᾶται) Hyrkanos' ears with his teeth; but cf. *Ant.* 14.366 and Africanus (see below, p. 442 [= Moss. 371.14]), both of which say that Antigonos simply 'cut off (ἀποτέμνει) his ears. Synk.'s account of Antigonos 'cutting off (ἐκκόψας) the ears of Hyrkanos with his teeth is probably conflated from the two slightly different versions of the same event. Cf. below, p. 440 (= Moss. 369.15–16): τοῖς ὀδοῦσιν ἀποτεμῶν αὐτοῦ (= Ὑρκανοῦ) τὰ ὦτα.

<sup>3</sup> Jos. *JW* 1.269–76; *Ant.* 14.365–70.

<sup>4</sup> By Synk.'s reckoning, Augustus' 56-year reign began in AM 5459. AM 5458 would be the last year of Caesar's 5-year rule (5554–8). Cf. Eus. 1.61.24; 2.157.18–19 (56 years, 6 months).

<sup>5</sup> Maximos, *On the Pascha* 33 (PG 19.1249 D–1252 B).

<sup>6</sup> Eus. 2.156<sup>h</sup>.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.158<sup>c</sup>; Plut. *Cic.* 47.5–7.

<sup>8</sup> Synk. does not return to this subject.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.156<sup>a</sup>.

Lepidus, who was supporting Antony, was taken alive by Augustus, who killed him in Rome.<sup>1</sup>

369] The Antiochenes count their years from this point.<sup>2</sup>

After defeating Antony and Lepidus, Augustus received them as friends, when the Senate intervened as negotiator.<sup>3</sup>

Augustus was allocated Europe, Lepidus Libya, and Antony Greater Asia.

Antony arrived in Cilicia and after sending for Cleopatra was consumed by passionate love for her. After launching an attack against the Persians and suffering defeat, he returned to do battle against Augustus. Defeated in a sea-battle against him, he committed suicide.<sup>4</sup>

Augustus celebrated an ovation.<sup>5</sup>

The rule of the six Epeirot kings ceased, after having lasted ninety years.

Now that we have counted thirty-four years for Hyrkanos' rule over the Jews, let us make it clear for those unaware that three of these years belong to Antigonos.<sup>6</sup>

For in Hyrkanos' thirty-first year, Antigonos was restored to Jewish rule by the Parthians. He took control of Judaea after capturing Hyrkanos alive and cutting off his ears with his own teeth, so that he could no longer serve in the priesthood. And he handed him over to the Parthians to take him to Persia. Then he killed Herod's brother Phasaïlos. And with the Parthians making numerous incursions into Judaea against Herod, Antigonos put Herod<sup>a</sup> to flight, along with his mother and kinfolk.<sup>7</sup> During his flight, Herod repeatedly routed the Parthians, but decimated in battle he tried again and again to seek out refuge with Malichos, king of the Arabs; for Malichos had previously been a recipient of his services. But turned away by Malichos because of his fear of the Parthians, he came to Cleopatra in Alexandria. Welcomed by her, he declined an offer to administer the government under her control, because he was journeying to Antony and Augustus in Rome. So says Josephos.<sup>8</sup> But according to Africanus, he came with her to Antony, and it was Antony who sent him to Octavius Augustus in

<sup>a</sup> Text: τοῦτο. Emended to τοῦτον.

<sup>1</sup> See below, p. 449 (= Moss. 376.8).

<sup>2</sup> Eus. 2.156<sup>b</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> Eus. 2.158<sup>i</sup>; Eutrop. 7.1-2.

<sup>4</sup> Eutrop. 7.6-7.

<sup>5</sup> Eus. 2.162<sup>d</sup>.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.153.9-13 (34 years).

<sup>7</sup> Jos. *JW* 1.248, 263-72; *Ant.* 14.365-9.

<sup>8</sup> Jos. *JW* 1.276-9; *Ant.* 14.370-6.

Rome.<sup>1</sup> And because Antigonos used the Parthians, enemies of the Romans, to take control of the government, and because both his father Antipatros and Herod himself were Roman allies, Augustus wrote to the governors in Syria to restore Herod to the Jewish throne; after Sosius was commissioned by Caesar to conduct war against Antigonos, Herod gained control in three years.<sup>2</sup> [370]

**From the fourteenth book of Josephos' *Antiquities*,  
concerning the ignoble origin of Herod<sup>3</sup>**

**UNIVERSAL YEARS: 5469**

This disaster befell the city of Jerusalem when Marcus Agrippa and Candidus Gallus were consuls in Rome in the 185th Olympiad in the third month on the fast day, as if it were a recurrence of the disaster that had befallen the Jews under Pompey. For they were conquered by him<sup>4</sup> on the very same day, twenty-seven years later.

After dedicating a golden garland to God, Sosius departed from Jerusalem, taking Antigonos in chains to Antony. Now Herod was fearful lest Antigonos, kept under guard by {his son} Antony and escorted back to Rome by him, might make a legal case against him, proving to the Senate that he was descended from kings, while Herod was a commoner; or that it was fitting for his sons to take the throne, or that even he himself<sup>5</sup> had committed a wrongdoing against the Romans. Fearful of this, he convinced Antony with a great bribe to kill Antigonos. And when this was done, Herod was freed of his fear, and thus the rule of the Asamonaian line ceased after 126 years.

Their house was brilliant and renowned because of their lineage and their priestly office, and because of the achievements that its founders had accomplished for the nation. But they forfeited their rule because of internal feuding, and it passed to Antipatros' son Herod, who came from a house of commoners, a private family, and one subject to the kings. And this is the story of the end of the Asamonaian line that we have received. [371]

<sup>1</sup> Routh, fr. 49. See below, p. 442 (= Moss. 371.21-2).

<sup>2</sup> Jos. *JW* 1.327, 343; *Ant.* 14.447, 465.

<sup>3</sup> Jos. *Ant.* 14.487-91.

<sup>4</sup> That is, Sosius.

<sup>5</sup> Text: ἦ καὶ αὐτὸς. Cf. Jos. *Ant.* 14.490: εἰ καὶ αὐτὸς ('even though he himself').

**From Africanus, on Hyrkanos and Antigonos' fate, and on Herod, Augustus, Antony, and Cleopatra, in summary form<sup>1</sup>**

As his (Caesar's) adopted son, Octavius Sebastos, whom the Romans call Augustus, returned to Rome from Apollonias of Epeiros, where he was being educated, and took over the principate from those in power. Subsequently Antony obtained as his portion rule of Asia and the regions beyond. During his rule, the Jews brought charges against Herod. But Antony killed their envoys and restored Herod to rule.<sup>2</sup> Later he, as well as Hyrkanos and his brother Phasaïlos, were ousted and returned in flight to Antony for refuge. But since the Jews would not accept him, there arose a violent struggle. Not long thereafter he also banished Antigonos, who was on his way back, after defeating him in battle. Now Antigonos fled to the Parthian king Herodes<sup>3</sup> and returned to Judaea with the aid of Herodes' son Pakoros, which he got in exchange for 1000 talents of gold.<sup>4</sup> So now Herod took flight, and Phasaïlos was killed in battle.<sup>5</sup> Hyrkanos was delivered up alive to Antigonos, and after cutting off his ears to disqualify him from the priesthood, he gave him to the Parthians to take with them. For insofar as he was a relative, Antigonos recoiled from executing him. Herod escaped and first sought refuge with Malichos king of the Arabs. But when he would not receive him for fear of the Parthians, Herod departed for Cleopatra in Alexandria.<sup>6</sup> This was the 185th Olympiad. Now since Cleopatra had killed her brother, who had shared the throne with her, Antony summoned her to Cilicia to defend her actions. For this reason, she consigned the supervision of her realm to Herod. But because he would not consent to be entrusted with anything until he was restored to his own rule, she took him with her to Antony. And since he had been overcome by passionate love for the woman, Antony sent Herod off to Octavius Augustus in Rome.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Routh, fr. 49.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Jos. *JW* 1.242, 247; *Ant.* 14.302–3, 326–7.

<sup>3</sup> For *Ἡρώδης* as a corruption of *Ἰρώδης*, see above, p. 438 n. 2.

<sup>4</sup> See Jos. *Ant.* 14.331; but cf. Jos. *JW* 1.248, according to which Lysanias made this promise on Antigonos' behalf.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Jos. *JW* 1.271–2, according to which Phasaïlos either died from a self-inflicted wound, or, having recovered from this wound, was poisoned by Antigonos' physician.

<sup>6</sup> Jos. *JW* 1.270–8; *Ant.* 14.366–76.

<sup>7</sup> As Synk. recognizes, Josephos furnishes a different account of Herod's trip to Rome; according to Josephos' account, Herod declined Cleopatra's



For the sake of Herod's father Antipatros and of Herod himself, and because it was the Parthians who had installed Antigonos as king, Augustus ordered the governors in Palestine and Syria to restore him to power. Alongside Sosius, he carried on the war against Antigonos for a long time and in manifold battles. At that time too Herod's brother Josephos, a general in his command, died. And after Herod came to Antony,<sup>1</sup> they besieged Antigonos for three years and took him alive as a captive to Antony.<sup>2</sup>

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Antony himself also proclaimed Herod king, and delivered to him the cities of Hippos, Gadara, Gaza, Joppe, Anthedon, and in Arabia Trachon,<sup>3</sup> Auranites, Sakia,<sup>4</sup> and Gaulane,<sup>5</sup> and in addition to this, the procuratorship of Syria.

Herod was declared king of the Jews by the Senate and Octavius Augustus and reigned for thirty-four years.<sup>6</sup>

When Antony was about to launch an invasion against the Parthians, he executed Antigonos the king of the Jews and handed over Arabia to Cleopatra. And when he crossed over to the Parthians, he suffered a major setback, losing the greater part of his army. This was in the 186th Olympiad.<sup>7</sup>

Octavius Augustus led his army from Italy and the entire West against Antony, who, out of fear resulting from his failures in Parthia and because of his love for Cleopatra, was unwilling to return to Rome. Antony in turn began moving to meet him with his army from Asia. But Herod, as clever as he was, and as one who waited on the powerful, sent out both a double set of letters and his army by ship, ordering his commanders to wait and see

offer to take command of an expedition, and set sail to Rome on his own. See Jos. *JW* 1.279; *Ant.* 14.376, and above, p. 440 (= Moss. 369.23-7). Gelzer (i. 262-5) traces Africanus' version of events to the lost work of Justus of Tiberias.

<sup>1</sup> At this point, Goar suggests a lacuna; see also Routh, 469, n. ad loc. Josephos states that after Antigonos had killed Herod's brother, Antony appointed Sosius as governor of Syria and directed him to assist Herod in the war against Antigonos.

<sup>2</sup> Jos. *JW* 1.282-5, 323-4, 343, 353; *Ant.* 14.379-89, 448-9, 465-67, 481.

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 63 n. 3.

<sup>4</sup> On this location, see Ptol. *Geog.* 5.15, which places it in the vicinity of Batanaia (also Basanitis, biblical Bashan), a district of ancient Palestine east of the Jordan.

<sup>5</sup> Gaulanitis, a district in the North of ancient Palestine, to the East of Lake Tiberias.

<sup>6</sup> Jos. *JW* 1.284-5; *Ant.* 14.388-9; Eus. 2.160.2-9 (37 years).

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Jos. *JW* 1.357, 361-3; *Ant.* 14.490; 15.8-9, 88.

the way things would turn out. When the victory was decided, and Antony, defeated in two naval battles, fled to Egypt with Cleopatra, those carrying the letters delivered the ones for Augustus, but hid those they were holding for Antony. And Herod attacked Cleopatra.<sup>1</sup> And in the mausoleum, she killed herself, using a wild asp as the instrument of death. Then Augustus arrested Cleopatra's children<sup>2</sup> Helios and Selene, who had fled to the Thebaïd. Nikopolis was founded near Aktia and the Aktian games were instituted.<sup>3</sup> When Alexandria was captured, Gallus Cornelius was sent as the first prefect of Egypt; he destroyed the cities of the Egyptians that were in revolt.<sup>4</sup> Up to this time, the Lagids were in control, and the entire duration of the Macedonian empire after the conquest of the Persians was 300 years less two.<sup>5</sup>

So then, this is the entire chronology from the beginning of the Macedonians to their dissolution during the time of the Ptolemies and Cleopatra their last ruler, which occurred in the eleventh year of the supremacy of the Roman empire, the fourth year of the 187th Olympiad. Altogether there are 5472 years from Adam.<sup>6</sup>

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After the conquest of Alexandria, the 188th Olympiad began.

Herod re-established the city of the Gabinioi, which was formerly called Samaria, giving it the name Sebaste. After building its seaport, Straton's Tower, into a city, he called it Caesarea

<sup>1</sup> For a different version of Herod's conduct in the war, see Jos. *JW* 1.386–97; *Ant.* 15.187–93. According to Josephos, Herod admitted to Augustus that he had been allied with Antony.

<sup>2</sup> Lit. 'sons'.

<sup>3</sup> Eus. 2.163<sup>f</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.162<sup>h</sup>.

<sup>5</sup> Text: *μετὰ ἔτη τ' τῆς Περσῶν καθαιρέσεως δυοῖν δέοντα*. Both Gelzer (i. 268–9) and Routh (471–2 n. ad loc.) suggested that the original text of Africanus' chronicle lacked the words 'less two (*δυοῖν δέοντα*)'. Gelzer believed that these words were an addition by Synk. designed to align Africanus' chronology with Synk.'s own 298-year chronology of Macedonian history; see above, p. 436 (= Moss. 365.15).

<sup>6</sup> Africanus' dating of the end of the Macedonian kingdom to AM 5472 and Ol. 187.4 is not entirely consistent with statements made by him elsewhere. According to other excerpts preserved by both Eusebios (*DE* 8.2.52; *PE* 10.10.9–10) and Synk. (see above, pp. 90–1 = Moss. 71.12–14), Africanus determined that, beginning with 1 Cyrus in Ol. 55.1 (= AM 4942), the kingdom of the Persians lasted 230 years (i.e. till Ol. 112.2, AM 5171). Hence the entire 300-year duration of the Macedonian kingdom would have extended from AM 5172 to 5471 (not 5472). Even if we accept 5472 as the last year of the Macedonian kingdom (so Gelzer i. 46, 104), this would correspond with Ol. 187.3, not Ol. 187.4. Gelzer (i. 46), following Trieber ('Africanus', 66), attributes the discrepancy to a scribal error.

after the same person, and erected in each city a temple to Octavius. Later, he built Antipatris in the Lydian plain, named after his father; those dwelling around Sebaste, whose land he had taken, he resettled in this city. He also built other cities, and while oppressive to the Jews, he was extremely benevolent to the other nations.<sup>1</sup>

The 189th Olympiad began, which included the additional sixth day before the Kalends of March, in the 24th year according to the Antiochenes. Through this means, the course of the year was established with fixed limits.<sup>2</sup>

Africanus fails to say how many years Hyrkanos was ruler of the Jews, because the thirty-four years of Hyrkanos' rule contradicts his presentation. In addition to this, he cut off three years from Herod's rule, assigning him only thirty-four years instead of thirty-seven. Now if we grant this as true, Herod will be found to have died in the first year of the Incarnation of the Lord and God, our Saviour Jesus Christ, which is totally at odds with the teachings of the gospels.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.166<sup>a</sup>, 167<sup>de</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> Text: *Ἦν ἀλυμπιάς ρπθ', ἣτις πρὸ ἕξ καλανδῶν Μαρτίων, κατὰ Ἀντιοχεῖς κδ', ἠχθη, δι' ἧς ἐπὶ τῶν ἰδίων ὄρων ἔσται ὁ ἐνιαυτός.* Since Africanus did not as a rule use the Antiochene era, Unger (*Manetho*, 36–7) proposed that the words that follow 'the 189th Olympiad' were a later insertion by a Syrian historian; see also Gelzer i. 38. The meaning of the sentence as it now stands is uncertain. Unger suggested a full stop after *ρπθ'* and emended *ἣτις* to *ἡ δὲ*, in reference to Julius Caesar's institution of the *bissextus*. Through this reform, an additional sixth day before the Kalends of March was inserted every four years, thereby stabilizing the length of the solar year; but until 8 BC the day was added every three years in error. The passage thus seems to claim that the correlation of bissextile years with Olympiad dating began in Ol. 189.1, which would be equivalent to 5478 according to Africanus' reckoning (= 24 BC). If this is correct, the identification of this year as bissextile confirms the current view that 24 BC was a leap year in the miscalculated Roman calendar; see A. E. Samuel, *Greek and Roman Chronology* (Munich, 1972), 156–7.

The translation understands the words *κατὰ Ἀντιοχεῖς κδ'* to mean the 24th year of the Antiochene era of Pharsalos (on which see Goar, *Emend.* ii. 525; Samuel, op. cit. 247 n. 2). However, this corresponds to 1 Oct. 26–30 Sept. 25 BC; the correct Antiochene year would be 25. Holford-Strevens suggests that the reference is not to a year, but rather to the day of the Antiochene calendar corresponding to *bis VI Kal. Mart.*, so that the Greek text should run *κατὰ <δὲ> Ἀντιοχεῖς <Περιτίου> κδ'* ('on 24 Peritios according to the Antiochenes'). Admittedly there is good reason to suppose that *bis VI Kal. Mart.* officially followed *VI Kal. Mart.*, but in unofficial usage it often came first, nor do we know the custom of Antioch.

**From Eusebios Pamphilou, concerning Antigonos and the  
end of the kingdom of the Jews, and the prediction of the  
prophet Daniel about the seventy weeks and Herod the man  
of foreign stock<sup>1</sup>**

After rising up against the kingdom of the Jews and carrying on extensive warfare, Antigonos was killed, at which point the royal house of the Jews came to an end. Herod was their leader after this, receiving the throne from the Romans, even though he was not at all entitled to it.

374] At that time also, the 'anointed one who rules' prophesied by Daniel came to an end.<sup>2</sup> For up to the time of Herod, there were 'anointed ones who rule'. These were the high priests, who presided over the Jewish nation beginning with the restoration of the temple during the time of Dareios in the 65th Olympiad and lasting until the time of Hyrkanos in the 186th Olympiad.

The intervening period was 483 years, which the prophecy of Daniel foretold: 'you will know and understand: from the going forth of the command for the answer and the building of Jerusalem up to an anointed one who rules, there are seven weeks and sixty-two weeks.'<sup>3</sup> These sixty-nine weeks complete a period of 483 years, which are as many years as there are of the rule of the 'anointed ones who rule'.<sup>4</sup> When Hyrkanos, the last ruler, was

<sup>1</sup> Eus. 2.209<sup>Arm</sup>; cf. Eus. 2.159<sup>e</sup>, 160<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> Dan. 9.25. In his interpretation of this verse, Eusebios suggests that the *χριστὸς ἡγούμενος* described the entire succession of Jewish post-exilic high priests from Jeshua until the dissolution of the hereditary high priesthood by Herod the Great. For this interpretation of Dan. 9.24-7, see also Eus. *HE* 1.8-11, and most extensively *DE* 8.2.80-92. For analysis of Eusebios' treatment of the prophecy in Daniel, see Fraidl, 58-68, esp. 64-6.

<sup>3</sup> Dan. 9.25.

<sup>4</sup> In the parallel discussion of this passage from Daniel in *DE*, Eusebios identifies the *terminus a quo* of the prophecy as 2 Dareios, the year in which the rebuilding of the temple began anew (see 2 Esdr. 4.24; Zech. 1.1, 12). This year Eusebios equates with Ol. 66.1 (*DE* 8.2.85). Since Ol. 186.4 was 1 Herod, the *terminus ad quem* of the prophecy would be the previous year, namely the last year of Hyrkanos' high priesthood. The total number of years (Ol. 66.1 to Ol. 186.3) would then come to 483 years, in conformity with the 69 year-weeks of Dan. 9.25. The chronology presented in this excerpt from Eusebios' chronicle is less consistent. Eusebios' *Canons* date 2 Dareios to Ol. 65.1 (2.106.1) and the end of Hyrkanos' high priesthood to Ol. 186.3 (2.160.1). The total number of years would thus exceed the 69 year-weeks by 4 years. A possible explanation for the incon-

taken captive by the Parthians, Herod the son of Antipatros, even though he was in no way entitled to it, received the Jewish throne from Augustus and the Roman Senate; and thereafter his sons were rulers up until the final siege of Jerusalem. No longer were those who belonged to the succession of the priestly line ordained to serve God, nor was it a lifelong office in accordance with the Mosaic law; rather various people of undistinguished rank, serving at various times, some for a year, some for a little longer, bought the high priesthood from their Roman masters.

Herod, son of the Askalonite Antipatros and a mother named Kypris, an Arabian woman, was entrusted by the Romans with the kingdom of the Jews, although it did not at all belong to him. At this time, when the birth of Christ was imminent, the hereditary succession, the high priesthood, and the Jewish government were dissolved, thus fulfilling the prophesy spoken by Moses: 'A leader shall not fail from Judah and a ruler from his loins, until there comes what is stored up for him; and he is the expectation of the nations.'<sup>1</sup> In the following verse, Daniel makes his prophecy: 'And after seven and sixty-two weeks, anointing will be utterly destroyed, and there will be no judgement in him; and a people shall destroy the temple and the holy place with the coming of a ruler, and they shall be cut off in a cataclysm of war.' And in what follows, he says, 'And in the holy places, there will be an abomination of desolations, and at the end of time, an end shall be put to the desolation.'<sup>2</sup>

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**A summary of what is reported in certain Roman treatises about the chronology from Alexander to Augustus, as well as the chronology from the founding of Rome and the conquest of Troy up to this same Augustus Caesar**

From the death of Philip's son Alexander, which occurred in the 177th year from the beginning of consular rule, up to the reign of Augustus and Antony, seventy-five Olympiads have elapsed, or nearly 300 years. From the founding of Rome up to the reign of Augustus there are 720 years, because 243 years have elapsed from

sistency is that, unlike the chonology of *DE*, the *terminus a quo* for the prophecy in the chronicle was 6 Dareios (Ol. 66.1). According to 2 Esdr. 6.15, this was the year in which the rebuilding of the temple was actually completed. But this would still not explain why Eusebios dated the starting year of the prophecy in Ol. 65 and not Ol. 66.

<sup>1</sup> Gen. 49.10.

<sup>2</sup> Dan. 9.26-7.

Romulus up to the beginning of the rule of the consuls, which stretched 477 years; and from the conquest of Troy up to the rule of this same Augustus Caesar there are 1153 years, because there are 433 years from the conquest of Troy up to the reign of Romulus.<sup>1</sup>

At the completion of the 185th Olympiad cycle, Antony marched out against the Persians, when Herodes the king of the Persians was murdered by Phraartes, who succeeded him to the throne. And Antony met Cleopatra at Tarsos in Cilicia, and smitten by her beauty accomplished nothing worthy of note against the Persians. Driven by his desire for her, he first returned to Armenia. Then because of her, he quickly returned to Alexandria, utterly neglecting Octavia his lawful wife, the sister of Augustus Caesar.<sup>2</sup>

In the 188th Olympiad, Antony divorced his wife in the month of Daisios,<sup>a</sup> and after leaving with his children went to live with Cleopatra.<sup>3</sup> Thereupon, Augustus' war with Antony broke out, during which Antony fled with Cleopatra to Egypt, after many naval battles and myriad other battles. And they disdained their own lives, recognizing that even there Augustus' arrival was imminent. Upon his arrival, he found that they had committed suicide. And after taking Cleopatra's fugitive children<sup>4</sup> Helios and Selene, he came back to Rome, making a most delightful display of them in his triumph for the Roman people.<sup>5</sup>

376] Also at that time, the Persians made an appeal for a peace treaty with the Romans, by sending hostages to Augustus. For upon learning that the grandchild of Augustus Caesar, Claudius by name,<sup>6</sup> had been sent by him to Asia, they prepared to have him assassinated by a certain Persian soldier who had promised to show him monetary treasures. For this reason in particular, they sent an embassy to sue for peace and disowned the conspiracy just mentioned.

<sup>a</sup> Text: *δι' αἰσίων* ('through omens'). Following Dindorf's reading, emended to *Δαισίω*. Daisios is a month in the Antiochene calendar, corresponding to the month of June.

<sup>1</sup> Synk.'s dates are not entirely consistent. He dates the founding of Rome in either AM 4752 or 4755, and the conquest of Troy in AM 4329 or 4331; see above, pp. 241, 283, 346 (= Moss. 195.17; 230.8-23; 284.19-24). However, 720 years from the founding of Rome and 1153 years from the fall of Troy would exceed by several years AM 5458, the date that Synk. subsequently gives as 1 Augustus; see below, p. 454 (= Moss. 380.15).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Eutrop. 7.6; Justin. 42.5.1-3.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.162<sup>f</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> Lit. 'sons'.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.163<sup>e</sup>; Plut. *Ant.* 36.5-7; Cass. Dio 51.21.7-9.

<sup>6</sup> Claudius Marcellus was Augustus' nephew, not his grandchild.

Also at that time, the Indian king Pandion negotiated through an embassy to become a friend and ally of Augustus.<sup>1</sup>

Now in the 185th Olympiad, after Lepidus was captured and slain by Augustus in his war with Antony, Augustus became sole ruler in Rome. He was the first to wear the diadem, the royal attire, and the other symbols of royalty and to prefer a rather opulent style of life. His predecessor Gaius, while a monarch, availed himself of none of these things.

The Alexandrians number the years of Augustus from the fourteenth year of his rule.<sup>2</sup>

Pandion, the king of the Indians, made representation through an embassy to become a friend and ally of Augustus.<sup>3</sup>

Octavius was hailed as Augustus, and the eighth Roman month of Sextilis was likewise designated by the same name Augustus.<sup>4</sup>

(1) The first king of the Jews of foreign stock was Herod

37 years  
AM 5469<sup>5</sup>

After summoning Ananelos, a high priest of the Jews in Babylon, Herod made him high priest in Jerusalem. He deposed him shortly thereafter, and appointed as high priest Aristoboulos his brother-in-law, and son of Hyrkanos, who was in Parthia; but after killing him, he reinstated Ananelos a year later.<sup>6</sup>

We said previously at the outset of this work that the most pressing concern set before us in it was demonstrating that the date of the divine Incarnation of the only-begotten Son and Word of God, our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, occurred at the completion of AM 5500 and the beginning of AM 5501, on the 25th of the Roman month of March, and according to the convention instituted by God through Moses, on the 1st day of the first created Hebrew month of Nisan. On this day, the archangel Gabriel presented the good news

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.164<sup>e</sup>; Cass. Dio 54.9.8; Eutrop. 7.10.1.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. below, p. 451 (= Moss. 377.30–378.2), where Synk. states that the Alexandrians number the years of Augustus' reign from the 16th year of his rule. Cf. also Eus. 2.210<sup>Arm</sup>, which states that while some treat 16 Augustus (= Ol. 188.2) as his first year, the Alexandrians count from his 14th year.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.164<sup>e</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.163<sup>d</sup>.

<sup>5</sup> Eus. 2.160.2–9. Cf. above, p. 427 (= Moss. 355.20–1). Since Synk. states that Salina Alexandra's 9-year rule began in AM 5427, the first year of her successor Hyrkanos would be AM 5436. He in turn served as high priest for 34 years, meaning that the last year of his rule was 5469. Herod's rule would thus begin in AM 5470, not 5469.

<sup>6</sup> Eus. 2.161<sup>a</sup>.

of universal joy to her who was truly and properly Mother of God. For in the same way the day of his life-bringing Resurrection will occur on this first-created day according to the apostolic traditions, as will be demonstrated.

According to our chronological system, which has been subject to the most exacting analysis possible, AM 5472 corresponds to the fifteenth year of the reign of Augustus, six years after the conquest of Alexandria. In that year, the so-called Bissexus was intercalated by Augustus Caesar and the sages of that time.<sup>1</sup> For that reason, I consider it necessary to offer an explanation of the solar year of 365 days and a quarter of one day.<sup>2</sup> Now this quarter-day aggregated over twenty-eight years adds on seven daily cycles, from the first day of the week to the seventh. Called the seven epacts of the sun, they complete their cycle in twenty-eight years, and begin anew in the twenty-ninth. (For seven multiplied four times comes to twenty-eight.) These same epacts are also designated as 'tetraeterides' by the mathematical astronomers, because over a term of four years they add one day to the year.

We have discovered that the Jews have no recorded statement about this additional day, for the reckoning of lunar years that they have received in their tradition is based on the Paschal rule and the full moon in the first month of Nisan. Since the Greeks, on the other hand, got their knowledge of this tradition after it was brought by the patriarch Abraham (so it is reported) from the Chaldaeans to the Egyptians, the Greeks followed the Egyptians in reckoning a year of 365 days.<sup>3</sup> They begin their calendar from the 1st day of their month of Thoth, which corresponds with the 29th of the month of August. And in a four-year period, they shift one day until there is a full cycle of the 365 days of the Egyptian

<sup>1</sup> In reforming the Egyptian moveable year, Augustus added a sixth epagomenal day every four years. In this way, the beginning of the Egyptian year always occurred on 29 or 30 August.

<sup>2</sup> Text: ἀναγκαῖον ἡγοῦμαι δηλῶσαι περὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἡλιακοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ τξέ' α' ἡμερῶν παρὰ δ' μιᾶς ἡμέρας (AB: παρὰ λ' μιᾶς ἡμέρας; X: παρὰ λα'). Lit. 'I consider it necessary to offer an explanation of the solar year of 365 and one days minus ¼ of one day.' In the context of Synk.'s discussion of the origins of the *bissexus*, this passage must have originally referred to a solar year of 365¼ days. It is impossible, however, to reconstruct the original Greek text. Goar (*Emend.* ii. 531) attempted to restore the questionable portion of this passage as follows: ἐνιαυτοῦ τοῦ τριακοσίων ἐξήκοντα πέντε πρώτον ἡμερῶν ὄντος, καὶ περὶ τεταρτημόριον μιᾶς ἡμέρας, the last phrase then being copied shorthand as περὶ δ' α'. ἡμέρας, which was later corrupted to παρὰ λα'. μιᾶς ἡμέρας.

<sup>3</sup> See Ps.-Eupolemos, in Eus. *PE* 9.17.3, 8.



calendar completed in 1460 years, which is a revolution, as it were, from a given sign of the Zodiac back to that same sign, beginning on the 29th of the month of August. A completion of the cycle occurs in AM 5471, and according to our chronological system in the fifteenth year of Augustus.<sup>1</sup> According to Panodoros, however, this was Augustus' twenty-second year; this is because the majority of the historians say that the conquest of Alexandria took place in the sixteenth year of Augustus' reign and calculate the dates of his reign from that point, after which, beginning in the fifth year of Augustus, the quadrennial day was intercalated.<sup>2</sup> Even to this day, this is the way that the astronomical tables in use among the Greeks (that is, the Alexandrians) calculate the eclipses of the two luminaries and the conjunctions and full moons,<sup>3</sup> and it is in this way that the positions of the five planets and the other fixed astronomical bodies are determined. And it is for this same reason that Panodoros, in his pursuit of agreement with the pagan scholars regarding the motion of the celestial spheres, was seven years off in his dating of the year 5500, calculating it as 5493 instead of 5500 (although he surpassed many others in other areas).<sup>4</sup> We, on the other hand, put our trust in God, the timeless author of time, the all-creative and consubstantial Trinity; and we have adhered to the divinely inspired scriptures given us by the Trinity in both the Old and New Testament. In certain matters we also are in agreement with those pagan chronological tables, such as in dating the years of Alexander of Macedon on the basis of the year AM 5170. But in this case we find that their premiss, in conflict with the apostolic traditions, originates from some other point, and not from the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. above, p. 450 (= Moss. 377.7-9), where Synk. states that 15 Augustus was AM 5472, not 5471. AM 5472 is more consistent with Synk.'s assertion below, p. 455 (= Moss. 381.19-20) that AM 5500 was 43 Augustus. See also below (= Moss. 377.29), where Synk. states that 15 Augustus corresponds to the 22nd year of his rule according to Panodoros. Since Panodoros dated 1 Augustus to AM 5451 (p. 475 = Moss. 397.7-8), 22 Augustus would be AM 5472. For discussion, see Unger, *Manetho*, 35.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. above, p. 449 (= Moss. 376.13-14), where Synk. states that the Alexandrians number the years of Augustus from the 14th year of his reign. The intercalation of the quadrennial day refers to Augustus' reform of the Egyptian calendar, whereby from 22 BC a sixth epagomenal day was added every four years.

<sup>3</sup> Text: *συνόδω πανσελήνοις*. GO.: *συνόδοις καὶ πανσελήνοις* (the reading followed here).

<sup>4</sup> On Panodoros' calculation of the date of Jesus' birth, see below, pp. 474-5 (= Moss. 396.12-397.6).

Creation of the universe in its totality. For that reason we are compelled to prefer the accurate dating of the divine and ineffable Incarnation.<sup>1</sup>

Augustus enacted laws for the Romans.

Lollius Marcus extended Roman rule to Gaul.

Augustus refused the principate when it was granted to him.<sup>2</sup>

Augustus imposed tribute on the Gauls.<sup>3</sup>

Tiberius delivered Armenia to Augustus.

Augustus deprived the Kyzikenoi of their independence.

Augustus restored independence to the Samians.

The Cantabri were destroyed for stirring up sedition.

Many parts of Cyprus collapsed in an earthquake.

A census taken in Rome recorded 4,164,000 Romans.<sup>4</sup>

379] In AM 5480, the rule of the eight kings of the Bithynians, which began in AM 5268, came to an end through a decree from Augustus. Their names will be disclosed below. The reign of the ten kings of Pontos likewise came to an end.<sup>5</sup>

Tiberius was proclaimed Caesar.<sup>6</sup>

Augustus adopted Gaius Agrippa as his son.

Augustus exiled his own daughter Julia for committing adultery.<sup>7</sup>

Tiberius Caesar subdued the Vindici<sup>8</sup> and the other peoples bordering on Thrace. He sent out Roman colonies to Patrai and Berytos.<sup>9</sup>

After vanquishing the Germans in war, Tiberius Caesar was proclaimed *Imperator*.

Tiberius led a triumph for his victory over the Pannonians.

He also led a procession for his victory over the Rhaeti, the Armenians, Vindici, and Pannonians.

Augustus sponsored the exhibition of a sea-battle and a gladiatorial contest.

Lollius Marcus subjugated the Germans, who were in rebellion.

Agrippa subdued the Bosphoros.

Augustus was elected Pontifex Maximus.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See below, p. 454–5 (= Moss. 381.5–382.4).

<sup>2</sup> Eus. 2.163<sup>g</sup>, 164<sup>ik</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.164<sup>g</sup>; Cass. Dio 53.26.3.

<sup>4</sup> Eus. 2.165<sup>db</sup>, 166<sup>b</sup>, 165<sup>f</sup>, 166<sup>c</sup>, 163<sup>h</sup>.

<sup>5</sup> Dion. Hal. *FGtH* 251 F 5; see above, pp. 400, 402 (= Moss. 332.4–5; 333.17).

<sup>6</sup> Eus. 2.211<sup>Arm</sup> (Ol. 191).

<sup>7</sup> Eus. 2.166<sup>f</sup>, 168<sup>c</sup>.

<sup>8</sup> Probably the Vindelici, a people conquered by Tiberius in 15 BC.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.166<sup>h</sup>.

<sup>10</sup> Eus. 2.167<sup>kf</sup>, 168<sup>bg</sup>, 166<sup>d</sup>, 167<sup>ac</sup>.

### The remaining narrative about Herod

When Hyrkanos returned in old age from Parthia, Herod, out of fear of his noble lineage, killed him, as well as Hyrkanos' son, the high priest Aristoboulos.

He then also murdered Mariamne, his own wife and Hyrkanos' daughter, along with the two sons that he had from her, already grown into men; this bloodthirsty man also killed the mother of Mariamne, his own mother-in-law.<sup>1</sup>

In Judaea, a great earthquake occurred.<sup>2</sup>

Herod built many great buildings in Jerusalem.<sup>3</sup>

Herod restored from its foundations the ancient city of Samaria, which was in ruins; he named it Sebaste in honour of Caesar.

He also established the Panion, an idol temple, in Panaias for the god Pan.<sup>4</sup>

There was a great famine in Judaea and all Syria.<sup>5</sup>

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Herod reconstructed the Jerusalem temple to twice its former size.<sup>6</sup>

Herod rebuilt Straton's Tower, a town of old, and called it Caesarea in honour of Caesar.<sup>7</sup>

He rebuilt Anthedon, renaming it Agrippina; furthermore, Parsanabas<sup>8</sup> he named Antipatris in honour of his father Antipatros. And another city that he built he named Herodion after himself.<sup>9</sup>

He rebuilt Gabal in the Galilee and made restorations throughout all the cities of Syria and Palestine.<sup>10</sup>

To add to his many other acts of bloodshed, he killed the husband of his own sister Salome, and in turn gave her someone else as a second husband.<sup>11</sup>

He executed those of the Jews who were scribes and strict observers of the ancestral laws.

He burnt the genealogical records of the Jews, ensuring that for

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.168<sup>a</sup>; Jos. *JW* 1.434–7, 550; *Ant.* 15.173–8, 232–6; 16.392–4.

<sup>2</sup> Jos. *Ant.* 15.121.

<sup>3</sup> Eus. 2.165<sup>b</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> Eus. 2.166<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>5</sup> Jos. *Ant.* 15.299–300.

<sup>6</sup> Jos. *Ant.* 15.380; *JW* 1.401.

<sup>7</sup> Eus. 2.167<sup>d</sup>.

<sup>8</sup> Synk.'s spelling of the name is probably a corruption of the 'Kapharsaba' mentioned in Jos. *Ant.* 16.142 as the location of Herod's building of the city of Antipatris; cf. also *Chron. pasch.* 367.4, which refers to this site as 'Persabine'.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.167<sup>e</sup>; Jos. *JW* 1.416–19; *Ant.* 16.142.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Jos. *Ant.* 15.294.

<sup>11</sup> Eus. 2.169<sup>a</sup>.

both them and himself documentation of noble lineage did not exist.<sup>1</sup>

It should be known that the first year of Augustus Caesar is AM 5458, and the end of AM 5499 marks the completion of the forty-first year of this same Augustus, and the beginning of his forty-second year, which is the thirty-second year of Herod.<sup>2</sup>

In AM 5500, the forty-second year of Augustus Caesar, and the thirty-second year of Herod, on the tenth day of the seventh Hebrew month,<sup>3</sup> that is 27 September, Zacharias was burning incense in the sanctuary according to the order of his priestly division, as the divine evangelist Luke states. And the angel that he saw was proclaiming the good news about the conception of great John, the Forerunner and Baptist. And because of his fear and ambivalence, as his punishment he remained speechless until John's birth.<sup>4</sup>

381] Notice how in the gospel according to Luke the angel speaks to the holy Virgin about the forerunner's conception: 'And behold Elizabeth your kinswoman.'<sup>5</sup> This is because she is descended on the one hand from David and on the other from Levi. Concerning this, we have offered evidence in what follows.<sup>6</sup>

With the completion of this same year AM 5500, 28 Phamenoth, 24 March, and at the beginning of 29 Phamenoth, that is on 25 March, in the sixth month after the good news proclaimed to Zacharias and the Forerunner's conception, the archangel Gabriel was sent to the holy Virgin of surpassing glory, bringing the good

<sup>1</sup> See Africanus, *Ep. Aristid.* 61.12–17, in Eus. *HE* 1.7.13.

<sup>2</sup> See further below, pp. 474–5 (= Moss. 397.1–6).

<sup>3</sup> Text: *μηνὶ καθ' Ἑβραίων ζ' ι'*. Di. deletes *ι'* ('10th [day]'). According to Synk.'s comparative table of the months (see above, p. 10 = Moss. 7.9–11), 27 September corresponds to the 5th, not the 10th, day of the seventh Hebrew month Theëleiph (Tishri).

<sup>4</sup> Luke 1.8–22. The calculation of the date of John's conception is derived from several chronological notices in Luke. According to Luke 1.26, the annunciation to Mary occurred when Elizabeth was in the sixth month of her pregnancy. Mary then stayed with Elizabeth for three months, after which John was born (Luke 1.56–7). From this, Synk. must have inferred that John was conceived six months before Jesus' conception on 25 March. Since the date of John's conception is 23 September in the Byzantine and Coptic liturgies, it may be that Synk. assumed an interval of time between John's conception and the annunciation to Zacharias. But cf. Luke 1.24, according to which John's conception occurred after the angel announced it to Zacharias.

<sup>5</sup> Luke 1.36.

<sup>6</sup> See below, pp. 456–7 (= Moss. 383.10–15), where Synk. makes a case for Mary's mixed Levitical and Judahite/Davidic ancestry.

news of universal salvation and eternal life. This is the commencement of the 181st year of the eleventh 532-year cycle, the first-created Hebrew month of Nisan on the first day of the year, which always coincides with the 25th of the Roman month of March, and the 29th of the Egyptian month of Phamenoth, eight days before the Kalends of April.<sup>1</sup> And at the completion of the 31st day of Chuseu, the ninth month according to the Hebrews and Christians, which is the fourth of the Egyptian month of Chyak,<sup>2</sup> that is the 24th of the month of December, nine days before the Kalends of January, there are 275 days. At the completion of that day, our Lord and God Jesus Christ, the only-begotten son of God, was born according to the flesh from the blessed Mary, eternal Virgin, and in nature and in reality truly the holy Mother of God; his birth was on the next day, 25 December, in Bethlehem a city of Judaea, in the forty-third year of the reign of Augustus Caesar over the Romans, in the consulate of Gulpicius, and Marinus and Gaius Pompeius,<sup>3</sup> as it is reported in accurate and ancient manuscripts.

We have not compiled this on our own. It is based rather on the traditions that have come down from Hippolytos, the blessed apostle, archbishop of Rome, and holy martyr; Annianos the most holy monk, who arranged a Paschal table of eleven cycles of 532 years, along with accurate scholia;<sup>4</sup> and Maximos the most saintly monk and philosopher martyr, confessor, and great teacher of the Church.

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A decree went out from Caesar Augustus that all the world should be registered, as the sacred writing of the divine evangelists says. At that time, because they were from the house and family of David, Joseph, together with the Virgin, arrived at Bethlehem the city of David and was enrolled. Then, when the days of the ineffably sublime pregnancy of the Mother of God had been completed, she miraculously gave birth to her first-born son, wrapped him in swaddling clothes, and laid him in the manger that they happened to find in the cave, the shelter for God; for there was no room in the inn.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Note here Synk.'s statement that Jesus' conception occurred at the beginning of AM 5501, not in AM 5500; cf. above, pp. 2, 3 (= Moss. 1.22; 2.26-7).

<sup>2</sup> Correctly Choiak.

<sup>3</sup> Text: *ἐν ὑπατείᾳ Γουλπικίου καὶ Μαρίνου καὶ Γαίου Πομπηίου*. Di.: *ἐν ὑπατείᾳ Σουλπικίου Καμερίνου καὶ Γαίου Ποππαίου* ('in the consulate of Sulpicius Camerinus and Gaius Poppaeus' = AD 9). For this date cf. MS Ambrosiana H 150 inf., fo. 137<sup>v</sup>; Ps.-Alcuin, *De divinis officiis* 1 (PL 101.1074 D-1075 A).

<sup>4</sup> On Annianos, see above, pp. 46-7 (= Moss. 35.20-31).

<sup>5</sup> Luke 2.1-7.

In this universal year, Quirinius, by a decree of the Senate, was dispatched to oversee this enrolment in Judaea, keeping records of property and inhabitants. According to the divine Luke, this first enrolment occurred when Quirinius was governor of Syria.<sup>1</sup>

AM 5500

**The first year of the divine Incarnation, when the 5500th year was completed and the 5501st was beginning<sup>2</sup>**

The good shepherd summoned the first shepherds through angels to see and hear the ineffable mysteries. Through the guidance of a star, he drew the Magi to him to stand guard<sup>3</sup> and worship. On the eighth day, they circumcised the Lord and on the fortieth day they led him up to Jerusalem according to the law of Moses, at which time Symeon was at hand and embraced the creator of all things. The prophetess Anna, the daughter of Phanouel, was also present at that time, giving thanks to Him who became an infant for our sake.<sup>4</sup>

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AM 5501

Sextus the Pythagorean philosopher was flourishing.<sup>5</sup>

Judas, a Galilaean, urged the Jews to revolt against the Romans because of the enrolment; he was from Gamala and Gamaliel spoke about him in the Acts of the Apostles.<sup>6</sup>

Herod died after living seventy years; for thirty-seven of these years he was king of the Jews, in violation of the law. For with his reign, the prediction of the patriarch Jacob was fulfilled: 'A leader shall not fail from Judah and a ruler from his loins, until there comes what is stored up', that is Christ.<sup>7</sup>

Until Herod, the rule from Judah was maintained by kings and high priests. Of these rulers, there is common agreement that the kings were descended from Judah. However, the high priests were themselves also descended from Judah through matriarchal lineage,

<sup>1</sup> Luke 2.2.

<sup>2</sup> The heading of this section implies that Synk. is about to describe the Incarnation, by which is meant the conception in the womb. By Synk.'s calculations, this occurred on 25 March, at the beginning of AM 5501. What follows, however, is the gospel narrative of Jesus' birth, nine months later.

<sup>3</sup> Text: *εἰς δορυφορίαν*. B: *εἰς δωροφορίαν* ('to bring gifts').

<sup>4</sup> Luke 2.8-14, 21-38; Matt 2.1-2.

<sup>5</sup> Eus. 2.169<sup>g</sup>.

<sup>6</sup> Acts 5.37; Eus. 2.169<sup>i</sup>.

<sup>7</sup> Gen. 49.10. Cf. Jos. *Ant.* 17.191; Eus. 2.160.4-13.

since in fact Aaron married in Egypt the daughter of Aminadab the chief of the sons of Judah.<sup>1</sup> Accordingly, the descendants of Judah and Levi came to share a common ancestry. For that reason, the angel said to the Mother of God: 'And behold Elizabeth your relative.'<sup>2</sup>

Herod, being an Idumaeen Arab, was the first Jewish ruler of foreign stock.<sup>3</sup>

He also appointed Ananelos as the first Jewish high priest of foreign stock, according to Josephos.<sup>4</sup>

He was also the first to put the priestly robe under his own seal.<sup>5</sup> [384

### The remaining narrative about Herod the foreigner

AM 5501

To add to the many other murders that he committed against his kindred, Herod, a man of extreme savagery, killed the infants throughout Bethlehem, upon learning from the Magi of the birth of the Lord and God and our Saviour, Jesus Christ.<sup>6</sup>

Smitten by God, Herod, suspecting his lawfully begotten third son of plotting against him, put him to death. Racked by dropsy, he disgorged worms from his mouth and in this way, amidst his lamentations, died a horrible death. He lived seventy years, and was king of the Jews for thirty-seven.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Exod. 6.23.

<sup>2</sup> Luke 1.36. Luke 1.5 states that Elizabeth was a descendant of Aaron. To explain how Mary (generally considered to be a Judahite through the line of David) and Elizabeth could be related, Synk. suggests that the two tribes were mixed through marriage. For Synk., mixing of the two tribes would also explain how Jacob's oracle in Gen. 49.10, predicting the end of a leader from the tribe of Judah, was fulfilled with the dissolution of the hereditary high-priestly line under Herod. On the idea that the post-exilic Levitical high priests were also descended maternally from Judah, see also Georg. Mon. 1.300.7-301.2; Eus. *Supplementa Quaestionum ad Stephanum* (PG 22.973). Eusebios himself rejects this interpretation as an inaccurate reading of Luke 1.36. See W. Adler, 'Exodus 6:23 and the High Priest from the Tribe of Judah', *JTS* 48 (1997), 24-47.

<sup>3</sup> Jos. *Ant.* 14.8. Cf. above, p. 428 (= Moss. 356.25-8), where Synk. mentions Africanus' alternative account of Herod's ancestry, namely that Herod was an Askalonite.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Jos. *Ant.* 15.22, which says only that Ananelos was a priest from an undistinguished background, not that he was a foreigner.

<sup>5</sup> Jos. *Ant.* 18.92; Eus. *HE* 1.6.10.

<sup>6</sup> Matt 2.1-18.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.170<sup>a</sup>; *HE* 1.8.4-15; Jos. *Ant.* 17.168-70.

AM 5505

**Five years from the Incarnation of God**

At Herod's death, according to the divinely inspired Matthew, 'Behold an angel of the Lord appeared in a dream to Joseph in Egypt, saying: "Rise up and take the child and his mother and journey to the land of Israel."' <sup>1</sup> This, then, was our Saviour's fifth year according to the flesh.

The second king of the Jews of foreign stock was Herod's son Archelaos

9 years<sup>2</sup>

AM 5506

Whereas Augustus made Herod's son Archelaos ethnarch of the Jews, he appointed as tetrarchs his other brothers, four in number: Herod, who had the same name as his father; Antipatros, named after his grandfather; Lysanias; and Philip.<sup>3</sup>

385] It should be recognized that a variety of gospels have been composed, of which only four have been adjudged by the blessed apostles fit for use in the churches. In other gospels, the childhood deeds of our Saviour are recorded; these include reports about the miracles performed by the creator of the ages up until his twelfth year of age according to the flesh. For it would be impossible for all the mighty acts that he performed to be recorded, because, as the Theologian attests, the entire world would not be able to contain, either through the senses or the mind, the books that would be written.<sup>4</sup>

The most wise Luke makes a partial reference to these acts in the following statement: 'The child grew and became strong in spirit, filled with wisdom; and the favour of God was upon him. Now his parents went to Jerusalem every year for the festival of the Passover. And when he was 12 years of age, they went up according to custom for the festival. And when they ended their stay, as they were returning, the boy Jesus remained behind in Jerusalem. And Joseph and his mother did not know it, but supposing him to be in the group of travellers, they went a day's journey; and they began to look for him among their relations and acquaintances. When they did not find him, they returned to Jerusalem in search of him. After three days, they found him in the temple sitting in the midst of the

<sup>1</sup> Matt. 2.19-20.

<sup>2</sup> Eus. 2.170.5-8; Jos. *Ant.* 17.317, 342.

<sup>3</sup> Eus. 2.170<sup>c</sup>; Jos. *Ant.* 17.317-19.

<sup>4</sup> John 21.25.



teachers, listening to them and asking them questions. And all who heard him were amazed at his understanding and his answers.<sup>1</sup>

**AM 5513**

**Year 13 of the divine Incarnation<sup>2</sup>**

**The remaining narrative about Sebastos Caesar Octavius  
of the Romans, also known as Augustus**

At the time of Caesar Augustus, the following illustrious philosophers were flourishing: Virgil, Sallust, Livy, Hortensius, Terence, Horace, Athenodoros of Tarsos, and Sition<sup>3</sup> of Alexandria.<sup>4</sup>

After launching an insurrection, the Athenians desisted when they were punished.<sup>5</sup>

Succeeding Gaius Julius Caesar to power, Augustus controlled the Roman government for a total of fifty-six years; he was emperor for forty-three years, according to others for forty-eight years. He ended his life in Rome. During that time there was a solar eclipse, and a famine gripping the Roman empire was so severe that a modius of grain sold for many denarii.<sup>6</sup>

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In his person-by-person inventory of the inhabitants of Rome, Augustus found that 131,037 men inhabited the city.

After adopting his stepson Tiberius as his own son, he appointed him manifest successor to his entire domain and third Roman emperor. He reigned for twenty-two years.

**The remaining narrative about Herod's son Archelaos,  
the second ruler of foreign stock**

After ruling for nine years, he was banished by the Romans to Vienna,<sup>7</sup> a city of Gaul.<sup>8</sup>

The third ruler of the Jews of foreign stock was Herod's son Herod, the brother of Archelaos 24 years<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Luke 2.40-7.

<sup>2</sup> Lit. '13 years of the divine Incarnation', and so in subsequent headings.

<sup>3</sup> i.e. Sotion.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.170<sup>g</sup>.

<sup>5</sup> Eus. 2.170<sup>h</sup>.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.157.18-19 (56 years, 6 months); 170<sup>d</sup>, 171<sup>d</sup>.

<sup>7</sup> i.e. Vienne in present-day France.

<sup>8</sup> Eus. 2.171<sup>c</sup>.

<sup>9</sup> Eus. 2.171.11-16.

He killed John the Baptist, in the year of his rule.<sup>1</sup> During his rule, our Lord willingly endured on our behalf the passion that was the agent of our salvation.<sup>2</sup>

## AM 5515

## Year 15 of the divine Incarnation

The third Roman monarch was Tiberius 22 years<sup>3</sup>

AM 5515

387] Thirteen cities of Asia Minor collapsed in an earthquake: Ephesos, Magnesia, Sardis, Mostine, Aigai, Hierokaisareia, Philadelpheia, Tmolos, Temnos,<sup>4</sup> Myrina, Kyme, Apollonia Dia, and Hyrkania.<sup>5</sup>

## AM 5520

Year 20 of the divine Incarnation<sup>6</sup>

Of the birth according to the flesh of the Lord and God and our Saviour, Jesus Christ, only two of the evangelists have provided an account: Matthew describes his royal lineage from David through Solomon, whereas Luke gives his priestly lineage from this same

<sup>1</sup> Text: τῷ ἔτει τῆς αὐτοῦ ἀρχῆς. The Greek text specifies no year. Cf. Kedr. i. 323.4–5: τῷ ἔτει μὲν ἔτει τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτοῦ ('in the 13th year of his rule'). Below (p. 462 = Moss. 388.14–19), Synk. states that Herod killed John the Baptist in AM 5532. If, as Synk. states earlier (pp. 458, 459 = Moss. 384.16–17; 386.12–13), Herod Antipas became king of the Jews in AM 5515, John the Baptist's death would have occurred in the 18th year of his reign.

<sup>2</sup> Eus. *HE* 1.11.1; Jos. *Ant.* 18.116–19.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.171.16; *HE* 2.4.1 (23 years); Clement Al. *Strom.* 1.21.144.2 (22 years); Ptol. *Canon* (22 years); Eutrop. 7.11.3 (23 years).

<sup>4</sup> Text: Τίμος, emended by Leopardi, *Scr. fil.* 307 and Di. to Τήμνος; Temnos is a city of Aiolis in Asia Minor about 50 km south of Sardis, on the west bank of the Hermos (see Tac. *Ann.* 2.47, Eus. 2.172<sup>a</sup>). Timos is not known.

<sup>5</sup> Eus. 2.172<sup>a</sup>. Apart from Tmolos (known as a mountain rather than a city), these are cities of western Asia Minor, located in ancient Aiolis and Lydia. They are all mentioned by Tacitus (with the exception of Ephesos) in his account of the earthquake at *Ann.* 2.47.

<sup>6</sup> One would have expected 5530 (also below, p. 462 = Moss. 388.2) and 30, since John began his mission in 15 Tiberius and Jesus was baptized at 30; however, Anastasius gives the same date in his entry, which translates Synk.'s first sentence while omitting the rest of the section (Theophan. ii. 62.22–5).

David through his son Nathan.<sup>1</sup> Only John the Son of Thunder spoke in divine terms about his eternal birth from the father. However, as to their account of his baptism, the four gospels have a harmonious and fitting account. But whereas three of the gospels describe this without a definite chronology, the divinely inspired Luke was also chronologically exact, speaking as follows:

In the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius Caesar, when Pontius Pilate was governor of Judaea, Herod was tetrarch of the Galilee, Philip was tetrarch of the region of Ituraea and Trachonitis, and Lysanias was tetrarch of Abilene, at the time of the high priests Annas and Kaiaphas, the word of the Lord came to John the son of Zacharias in the wilderness. And he came into all the region around Jordan, proclaiming a baptism of repentance for the forgiveness of sins.<sup>2</sup>

Now it is worth marvelling at the divine brevity of this most wise evangelist, how in a few words he teaches things which most others have described at great length: the date of the emperor (since every chronological calculation is based either on the patriarchs of old, or on famous kings who came thereafter); Pilate, the governor of Judaea; Herod and his brothers, along with the region over which each ruled; and Annas and Kaiaphas, who were serving as high priests.

Luke's gospel was last of all, and the first to speak about the Lord's age. For that reason, after taking note of the fifteenth year of Tiberius, Luke first introduces, as a kind of crown for the narrative, the Baptist and the nature of the baptism he administered, insofar as it is a foundation for the baptism in Christ; then he appends Christ's actual age, and the genealogy from David through Nathan, using an order different from the genealogical order.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> On the view that Luke provides Jesus' priestly lineage through Nathan, see Africanus, *Ep. Aristid.* 54.25–55.1. Although Africanus himself personally rejects this claim, the tradition is widely attested in Christian sources; see e.g. Aug. *Diver. quaest.* 61.2; Greg. Naz. *Carm. dogm.* 18.10–20 (*PG* 37.481–2).

<sup>2</sup> Luke 3.1–3.

<sup>3</sup> This is a reference to the fact that Luke traces Jesus' genealogy backwards through Nathan and David, and not, as Matthew does, forwards through David and Solomon.

**The remaining narrative about the monarch Tiberius Caesar**

**UNIVERSAL YEARS: 5520**

After taking on Drusus as a joint ruler, Tiberius killed him a little later, as a scapegoat.<sup>1</sup>

The theatre of Pompey was set ablaze.

Tiberius sent out Pontius Pilate as governor of Judaea.

Philip the tetrarch rebuilt Panaias and assigned it the name Caesarea Philippi. He also founded the city of Julias.

Herod founded Tiberias after the name of Tiberius Caesar; he also founded Libias.<sup>2</sup>

**The remaining narrative about Herod, the son of Herod**

**AM 5532**

**Year 32 of the divine Incarnation**

Since John the Baptist and Forerunner was baptizing in water for repentance, and preparing the way for the proclamation of the gospel of Christ for the baptism in spirit, and since he was being revered by everyone as a prophet, Herod was fearful of him and thus put him to death, as Josephos states.<sup>3</sup> But the divine evangelist states more accurately that it was also because John accused him of committing adultery with Herodias the wife of his brother Philip.<sup>4</sup>

**AM 5533**

**Year 33 of the divine Incarnation**

This year AM 5533 was our Saviour's thirty-third year of age according to the flesh, the 213th year of the eleventh revolution of the 532-year cycle, in the nineteenth year of Tiberius Caesar. In this

<sup>1</sup> Text: *μετὰ μικρὸν ὡς φαρμακὸν ἀνείλε*. The meaning is unclear. Perhaps *φαρμακὸν* should be read as *φάρμακον* ('sorcerer'). Thus Goar translates ad loc.: 'Tiberius Drusum . . . brevi spatio quasi veneficiis addictum, interfecit.' Scaliger, following the parallel notice in Eusebios, emends *φαρμακὸν* to *φαρμάκω*. See Eus. 2.172<sup>ef</sup>: 'Tiberius Drusum consortem regni facit. Drusus Caesar ueneno perit'; cf. Eus. 2.212<sup>Arm</sup>: 'Drosos Kaisr ward durch Zauberei getötet' (tr. Karst). See also Tac. *Ann.* 3.56; 4.8; Cass. Dio 57.22.1-4; Suet. *Tib.* 62.1. These latter sources blame Drusus' wife and Sejanus, not Tiberius, for the death of Drusus.

<sup>2</sup> Eus. 2.172<sup>d</sup>, 173<sup>a</sup>, 172<sup>i</sup>, 173<sup>c</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> Jos. *Ant.* 18.116-19.

<sup>4</sup> Matt. 14.3-4; Mark 6.17-19; Luke 3.19.

year, our Lord and God Jesus Christ, in his nature the only-begotten, consubstantial Son of the unbegotten Father, eternally coexistent with the consubstantial Spirit, one member of the uncreated and all-creating Trinity, completely fulfilled the divine plan after his virgin birth, appropriate to his divinity and ineffably sublime, and his baptism by John in the Jordan and countless signs of divinity and teachings and revelations of the mysteries of the kingdom of heaven. And he went forth willingly to the suffering that brings salvation according to the divine prophecies about him, and he suffered on our behalf all the horrors, abounding in God's mysterious condescension, that are concisely described concerning him by the divine evangelists. And although blameless, he was crucified on the 27th of the month of Phamenoth, on the day of preparation, that is the sixth day of the week, 23 March, at the sixth hour of the day, in the consulate of Nero for the third time, and of Valerius Messala.<sup>1</sup> And after his burial, he arose on the third day, on 29 Phamenoth, that is 25 March, when the Lord's day, the first day of the week, was dawning, on the eighth day before the Kalends of April,<sup>2</sup> the 1st day of the first-created Hebrew and Christian month of Nisan, concerning which it was said: 'In the beginning, God created the heaven and the earth',<sup>3</sup> and again, 'This is the book of the creation of the heaven and the earth, on which day God created.'<sup>4</sup> Concerning this, David the ancestor of God, as a prelude to universal salvation, has sung: 'This is the day that the Lord created; let us rejoice and be glad in it.'<sup>5</sup>

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Concerning this matter also, we have committed all our labour on this work to demonstrate the premiss that this first-created day corresponds with the day of the divine proclamation and the miraculous conception of the only-begotten son of God from the

<sup>1</sup> Synk.'s erroneous dating of Jesus' death during the 'consulate of Nero for the third time and Valerius Messala' (= AD 58, in which year 23 March was a Thursday) is also attested in other sources. See e.g. MS Ambrosiana H 150 inf., fos. 137<sup>v</sup>-138<sup>r</sup> (on the authority of Victorinus of Pettau): 'Ita viii kl. ian(ua)r. natus est d(ominus) n(oster) i(esus) (christus) sulpitio & camerino consuli(bu)s [AD 9] et baptizatus est viii id. ianuar. valeriano et asiatico cons. [AD 46], passus est x kl. apl. nerone iii & valerio mesala cons. Resurrexit viii. kl. ap. consss [sic] suprascriptis ascendit in celos v no(nas) maias post dies xl consss suprascriptis.'

<sup>2</sup> Text: *πρωτὶ καλανδῶν Ἀπριλλίων*; emended to *πρὸ η'* (Holford-Strevens), see above, p. 455 (= Moss. 381.13).

<sup>3</sup> Gen. 1.1.

<sup>4</sup> Gen. 2.4.

<sup>5</sup> Ps. 118.24.

holy Virgin; and with the day of the life-bringing Resurrection from the dead, a day which for those made worthy to celebrate it in spirit and truth is both more divine than the other days and the source of all light.

390] For orthodox Christians, this day was rightly considered the first Pascha, not with ancient leaven and in flight from the Pharaoh perceptible to the senses in Egypt and his ruthless taskmasters. It was rather in the direct apprehension of the Egypt perceptible to the mind, which is evil and ignorance, and the Devil, who is its author. Surpassing the types and the shadow based in the law, they delight in the true lamb of God who takes away the sin of the world by word and deed (for Christ, our Paschal lamb, was offered up on our behalf<sup>1</sup>); and by his grace and redemption, they are introduced to the heavenly Jerusalem through the voluntary cross of his sufferings on earth, and his burial and Resurrection, that is, his humiliation until death, a death by crucifixion.<sup>2</sup> By this means, the creator of all power and rule and authority, with the approval of the unbegotten Father and the co-operation of the holy and consubstantial Spirit, trampled upon the impotent and arrogant tyrant by taking on humble human nature oppressed by his malignity, and arose from the dead. And he granted forgiveness not only to those spirits descended from Adam imprisoned in Hades, but also to those alive in the flesh who have faith in him, as we can learn from the holy gospels.

'All hail' were the words first uttered to the women, through whom all sorrow entered into the human race. And to the holy disciples, 'Peace to you' were the words first spoken by the author of all peace and devout love of God, addressing not only rational beings, but the heaven and the earth and the elements and all creation; for he had brought together existence into a permanent and mutual relationship.<sup>3</sup>

This same God and our Lord appeared for forty days in all, and as he spoke about the kingdom of heaven he did not leave the disciples. Whereupon, as they were watching, he was assumed into heaven on the holy Mount of Olives on the fortieth day after his holy Resurrection,<sup>4</sup> which was the fifth day of the week, the 3rd day of the Roman month of May.

<sup>1</sup> I Cor. 5.7-8.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Phil. 2.8.

<sup>3</sup> Matt. 28.9; Luke 24.36.

<sup>4</sup> Acts 1.3-12.

To summarize, then, it is AM 5534, the year that inaugurates for the first time the Lord's day, the first Pascha of the Lord on the 25th of the Roman month of March, the 29th of the Egyptian month of Phamenoth; according to the divinely inspired scriptures of the Old and New Testament, it is 1 Nisan, the first-created day of the first-created month. On that day, the new creation begun in Christ ushered from death to life all those with a correct belief in him.

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### From Africanus concerning the events associated with the passion of the Saviour and the life-bringing Resurrection<sup>1</sup>

Concerning each of his deeds and his cures, both of bodies and souls, and the secrets of his knowledge, and his Resurrection from the dead, this has been explained with complete adequacy by his disciples and the apostles before us. A most terrible darkness fell over all the world, the rocks were torn apart by an earthquake, and many places both in Judaea and the rest of the world were thrown down.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Routh, fr. 50. This excerpt from Africanus comprises three segments: (a) an exposition of the meaning of the miraculous events narrated by Matthew at the time of Jesus' crucifixion (Matt. 27.45–54); see also Kedr. i. 331.9–332.15; (b) an extended chronological interpretation of the 70-week prophecy of Dan. 9.24–7; see also Eus. *DE* 8.2.45–54; (c) a summary of Africanus' 5531-year chronology from Adam up to the time of Jesus' crucifixion.

<sup>2</sup> Matt. 27.45, 51. In the discussion that follows, Africanus challenges a widespread effort by Christian chroniclers and apologists to validate Matthew's story of the darkness and the earthquake from pagan historians, chiefly Phlegon's account of a great earthquake and solar eclipse during the reign of the Roman emperor Tiberius; for proponents of this view, see Origen, *Contra Celsum* 2.33; Eus. 2.174<sup>d</sup> (= Synk. 394.1–22); Joh. Mal. 240.17–22; *Chron. pasch.* 412.7–15; 417.9–15. Africanus' chief argument is that Jesus' crucifixion occurred during the celebration of the Passover, that is around the middle of the month of Nisan, when the sun and moon are in opposition. Since solar eclipses only occur when the sun and moon are in conjunction, the darkness at noon described in Matthew was not a naturally occurring and predictable astronomical phenomenon; it was rather an extraordinary event, 'created by God'. Africanus was not the only Christian writer to express doubts that the darkness over the earth at the time of the crucifixion was a solar eclipse; see Origen, *Scholia in Matthaeum* (PG 17.309); Joh. Philop. *De opif. mundi* 2.21.

In the third book of his *Histories*, Thallos dismisses this darkness as a solar eclipse.<sup>1</sup> In my opinion, this is nonsense. For the Hebrews celebrate the Passover on Luna 14, and what happened to the Saviour occurred one day before the Passover.<sup>2</sup> But an eclipse of the sun takes place when the moon passes under the sun. The only time when this can happen is in the interval between the first day of the new moon and the last day of the old moon, when they are in conjunction.<sup>3</sup> How then could one believe an eclipse took place when the moon was almost in opposition to the sun? So be it. Let what had happened beguile the masses, and let this wonderful sign to the world be considered a solar eclipse through an optical (illusion).

Phlegon records that during the reign of Tiberius Caesar there was a complete solar eclipse at full moon from the sixth to the ninth hour; it is clear that this is the one.<sup>4</sup> But what have eclipses

<sup>1</sup> Thallos, *FGrH* 256 F 1.

<sup>2</sup> Exod. 12.6; John 19.31.

<sup>3</sup> Text: ἐν τῷ μεταξύ μιᾶς καὶ τῆς πρὸ αὐτῆς κατὰ τὴν σύνοδον. Cf. Kedr. i. 331.24: νομηνίας ('new moon') instead of μιᾶς.

<sup>4</sup> Phlegon, *FGrH* 257 F 16. This sentence is full of inconsistencies. It is hard to imagine why, after previously discounting the solar eclipse explanation, Africanus suddenly embraces Phlegon's eclipse as 'clearly' the same one described in Matthew. Phlegon's dating of the eclipse is also at odds with Africanus' own chronology of Jesus' ministry. According to Eusebios (2.174<sup>d</sup> = Synk. 394.8–15), Phlegon dated the solar eclipse in the '4th year of the 202nd Olympiad (quarto . . . anno CCII olympiadis)', corresponding to 18 Tiberius. Since Jesus' ministry commenced in 15 Tiberius (see Luke 3.1), Eusebios concluded that Phlegon's report established that 'Jesus preached for a period of 3 years'. But as Synk. states repeatedly, Africanus assigned only one year (5530/1) to Jesus' ministry; see below, pp. 471, 472, 473 (= Moss. 393.28–30; 394.25–7; 395.19–22). That would mean that Jesus' crucifixion occurred in 16, not 18, Tiberius. Finally, the description of the eclipse that Africanus ascribes to Phlegon conflicts with Eusebios'. According to the latter writer, Phlegon stated only that 'there was an eclipse of the sun greater than any previously known, and it became night on the sixth hour of the day.' There is no suggestion here about a three-hour solar eclipse at full moon. Routh (478 n. ad loc.) thus suggests that the above sentence might be an editorial corruption either by Synk. or an intermediary. In any case, the eclipse intended must be that of 24 November 29 = Ol. 202.1; at some point, before or after Phlegon, A' was corrupted to Δ'.



to do with an earthquake, rocks breaking apart, resurrection of the dead, and a universal disturbance of this nature?<sup>1a</sup>

Certainly an event of such magnitude has not been recalled for a long time. But it was a darkness created by God, because it happened that the Lord experienced his passion at that time. And reason proves that the seventy weeks of years mentioned in Daniel were completed in this time.

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(And after some other remarks:) According to the calculations of the Jews, the seventy weeks of years are completed from Artaxerxes up to the time of Christ. For from Nehemiah, who was sent by Artaxerxes to resettle Jerusalem in the 115th year of the Persian empire, the twentieth year of Artaxerxes, the fourth year of the 83rd Olympiad, until this time, which was the second year of the 202nd Olympiad, the sixteenth year of the reign of Tiberius Caesar, there is a total of 475 years. This represents 490 Hebrew years, since they number their years according to the lunar month, which is commonly said to be 29½ days. For the cycle of the solar year is 365¼ days, and the twelve-month lunar cycle is 11¼ days less. For this reason, both the Greeks and the Jews insert three intercalary months every eight years. For 11¼ multiplied by 8 makes a period of three months. Therefore, 475 years come to 59 eight-year periods and three months;<sup>2</sup> since there are three intercalary months in an octaeteris, this adds up to 15 years. Added to the 475 years, they make 70 weeks of years. So let no one consider us unversed in astronomical calculation, for having postulated a calculation of 365¼ days. And it is not out of

<sup>a</sup> Text: *τίς δ' ἡ κοινωνία σεισμῶ καὶ ἐκλείψεσι, πέτραις τε ῥηγνυμέναις καὶ ἀναστάσει νεκρῶν, τοσαύτη τε κίνησις κοσμική.* Following Di. and Routh, *τοσαύτη τε κίνησις κοσμική* emended to *τοσαύτη τε κινήσει κοσμική.*

<sup>1</sup> Lit. 'What is the connection between eclipses and an earthquake, rocks breaking apart', etc. But since in the preceding discussion Africanus attempts to prove that the events described in Matt. 27 were not evidence of a solar eclipse, the translation given above better conveys Africanus' argument.

<sup>2</sup> Over a period of 475 solar years, there are actually 59 lunisolar octaeterides and three solar years (not three months as stated here). The same mistake appears in the other witnesses to this passage (both Eusebios and Jerome's excerpt in his commentary on Daniel, the latter translated from *DE*), though many commentators treat it as a scribal error.

ignorance of the truth, but because of the complexity of the argument, that we have condensed the calculation.<sup>1</sup>

For those who seek to examine everything in rigorous detail, the following will serve as a brief summary.<sup>2a</sup> Each year consists

<sup>a</sup> The translation of the text, which is manifestly corrupt, follows the emendations proposed by E. Schwartz (*Die Königslisten*, 25–6).

<sup>1</sup> The parallel excerpt from Africanus in Eus. *DE* 8.2.48–54 provides a more extensive explanation of the chronological reasoning behind his interpretation of the 70 year-weeks of Dan. 9.24–7. 2 Esdr. 12.1–8 states that in the 20th year of his rule the Persian king Artaxerxes granted permission to Nehemiah to rebuild the walls and gates of Jerusalem. This is the *terminus a quo* of the prophecy. For Africanus, this occurred in the 115th year from Cyrus' accession to power in AM 4942 (= Ol. 65.1), that is AM 5057 (= Ol. 83.4). Since the Persian kingdom lasted 230 years, there remained 115 years of Persian rule. The additional 300 years of Macedonian rule make a total of 415 years. There are then 60 additional years up to the *terminus ad quem* of the prophecy, namely 16 Tiberius (= Ol. 202.2). Since Africanus assigned only one year to Jesus' ministry, 16 Tiberius was the date of Jesus' crucifixion, at which time the terms of the prophecy were completed. The whole period of time comes to a total of 475 solar years. To account for the deficiency of 15 years, Africanus theorizes that Daniel's chronology of 70 year-weeks presupposed a Jewish lunar calendar of 354 days, 11¼ days less than the Julian year. To adjust for the yearly 11¼-day deficiency, the 'Jews and Greeks', he writes, add three intercalary months over a period of eight years ( $8 \times 11\frac{1}{4} = 90$ ). In 475 years there are  $59\frac{3}{8}$  of these eight-year cycles. Over 59 cycles, the Jews would have intercalated 177 months, an interval of time equivalent to 15 lunar years. Therefore, 472 solar years (= 172,398 days) are equivalent to 487 lunar years ( $59 \times 8 + 15 = 487$ ). The remaining three solar years (= 1095¾ days) exceed three lunar years (= 1062 days) by  $33\frac{3}{4}$  days. Thus 475 solar years equal 490 lunar years, one full month, three days, and 18 hours (= 173,493.75 days). Since by Africanus' time the more accurate 19-year cycle (the so-called 'Metonic cycle') had largely replaced the 8-year cycle, it is uncertain where Africanus derived his information about Jewish and Greek use of the octaeteris. For analysis of this passage, see Fraidl, *Siebzig Wochen*, 46–8; Schwartz, *Die Königslisten*, 25–7.

<sup>2</sup> Africanus' motive for taking up this discussion of mathematical minutiae is to prove to his readers that he was not unversed in the subtleties of mathematical astronomy. Africanus' interpretation of Dan. 9.24–7 assumed a Julian year of  $365\frac{1}{4}$ . But he alleges that the Metonic solar year of  $365\frac{5}{19}$  days is slightly longer ( $\frac{1}{6}$  day). Since this comes to a difference of only  $6\frac{1}{4}$  days aggregated over a period of 475 solar years, it does not in Africanus' opinion disturb his theory. The same argument applies to the difference in length between the conventional lunar month (29½ days) and the lunar month of the Metonic cycle ( $29\frac{125}{235}$ ) days. The difference between the two,  $\frac{3}{94}$  of a day, would produce only a slight difference over a period of 475 years.

of a total of 365 days, and an additional  $5/19$  of a day, if we divide day and night into 19 parts. Over a period of 475 years, the difference between the year of  $365\frac{1}{4}$  days in length and that of  $365\frac{5}{19}$  days comes to  $6\frac{1}{4}$  days.<sup>1</sup> We find further that a lunar month, according to precise computation, is  $29\frac{1}{2}$  days plus (if we divide day and night into 235<sup>a</sup> parts) an additional fraction of  $7.5/235$ ,<sup>b</sup> which represents  $3/94$  of a day. Now over 475 years the difference is a matter of short duration.<sup>c</sup>

Therefore, it turns out that from the twentieth year of Artaxerxes' reign, as it is described in the Hebrews' book of Esdras<sup>2</sup> (which according to the Greeks was the fourth year of the 80th Olympiad),<sup>3</sup> until the sixteenth year of Tiberius Caesar (which was the second year of the 202nd Olympiad), there are altogether the aforementioned 475 years. As we stated previously, these are 490 years according to the Hebrews, that is seventy weeks of years, in accordance with the advent of Christ as it was prophesied to Daniel by Gabriel. But if it is someone's opinion that these fifteen Hebrew years produce an error, after these events up to our time, nearly 200 years have elapsed and nothing out of the ordinary has been recorded in the interim.<sup>4</sup> However,

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<sup>a</sup> Text: σε'. Schwartz: σλε' ('235', the number of months in a Metonic cycle).

<sup>b</sup> Text: ο'. Schwartz: ζ' (the reading followed here).

<sup>c</sup> Text: περι' ὀλίγων χρόνων.

Scal.: παρ' ὀλίγον χρόνον (the reading followed here).

<sup>1</sup> Text: μεταξὺ δὲ τοῦ λήγειν τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ἡμερῶν τξέ' δ' καὶ τὸν ἀπὸ ιθ' τῆς νυχθημέρου μερῶν ε' εἰς τὰ νοε' ἡμέραι τὸ παράλληλόν (Schwartz: παραλλάσσον, translated) εἰσιν ε' καὶ δ'. Africanus appears to be referring, however obscurely, to the cumulative difference over 475 years between the length of the Julian year of  $365\frac{1}{4}$  days and that of the supposed Metonic year of  $365\frac{5}{19}$  days, based on a cycle lasting 6940 days, not 6936 days, that is to say adjusted to accommodate the Roman *bissextus*.<sup>2</sup> 2 Esdr. 12.1.

<sup>3</sup> Text: ὀλυμπιάδος ὀγδοηκοστῆς τέταρτον ἔτος (following Scaliger). Cf. Eus. DE 8.2.53: Ὀλυμπιάδος ὀγδοηκοστῆς τρίτης ἔτει τετάρτῳ. The Olympiad number provided by Eusebios (Ol. 83.4) is consistent with Africanus' reckoning of 475 solar years up to Christ's Resurrection (= Ol. 202.2).

<sup>4</sup> In this next section, Africanus attempts to placate misgivings about his explanation of the surplus 15 'Hebrew years.' Since, in Africanus' own words, 'nothing out of the ordinary has been recorded' in the nearly 200 years that had elapsed from 16 Tiberius up to his own time, the only other way to account for these 15 additional years is to identify them with the  $1\frac{1}{2}$  year-weeks of Dan. 9.27 and defer the completion of the 70 year-weeks to the end-times. Africanus fails to explain how these  $1\frac{1}{2}$  year-weeks could be equated with 15 years. Nor does he express complete confidence in this alternative explanation. After proposing it, he acknowledges with some hesitation that the prophecies are put forth in a 'somewhat symbolic way'.

the 1½ weeks, which we suppose must be added on to complete the number, may also resolve and allay the chronological problem of the 15 years; for it is clear that the prophecies are put forth in a somewhat symbolic way.

Now to the best of our ability, I believe that we have correctly grasped the scripture, especially since the preceding section of the vision seems somehow to be related, the beginning of which is: 'In the third year of the reign of Baltasar', where he foretells the subjugation of the Persian empire by the Greeks, which he clearly alludes to by the ram and the goat: 'The offering', he says, 'having been removed, and the holy places shall be made desolate, so as to be trodden underfoot, which events will be determined in 2300 days.'<sup>1</sup> Now if we reckoned the day as a month (since elsewhere in prophecy days are taken as years, and in different places in different ways), and if we reduced the period to Hebrew months in the same way as we have done to the months discussed above, we should discover that the period was completed in the twentieth year of the reign of Artaxerxes from the conquest of Jerusalem. Altogether the years come to 185 and one additional year, in which year Nehemiah built the wall of the city. Therefore, we discover that these 186 years are 2300 Hebrew months, since the eight-year period consistently receives an additional three intercalary months.<sup>2</sup> Then from the time of Artaxerxes, when the decree went out that Jerusalem was to be rebuilt, the seventy weeks of years are completed. We have proved this in more detail in a separate work dealing with the weeks of years and this prophecy.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Dan. 8.1, 5-7, 11-14.

<sup>2</sup> From the conquest of Jerusalem to Nehemiah's rebuilding of the city (= 20 Artaxerxes), Africanus calculated a total of 186 years (AM 4872-5057). Using the same formula that he applied above to Dan 9.24-7, he determined that over these 186 years there were 23 oktaeterides ( $186/8 = 23, r. 2$ ), meaning a total of 69 intercalary months for the same period ( $23 \times 3 = 69$ ). These 69 months, added to 2232 months ( $186 \times 12 = 2232$ ), yield a total of 2301 months, approximately equal to the 2300 'month-days' of Dan. 8.

<sup>3</sup> The separate work to which Africanus refers does not survive. Apparently, he offered other interpretations of Dan. 9.24-7, in addition to that found in Synk.'s excerpt. See e.g. the *Chron. pasch.* 307.15-308.9, which ascribes to Africanus a completely different analysis of the 70 year-weeks. According to this interpretation, the first 69 years of the prophecy extended from Ol. 81.4 (AM 5048) up to 14 Tiberius (Ol. 202.1 = AM 5530). The final year-week of the prophecy extended from 15 to 22 Tiberius. With this explanation, Africanus apparently abandoned his theory about the 'lunar years' of Daniel's prophecy.

But I am amazed at the Jews who claim that the Lord has not yet arrived, and that the followers of Marcion deny that he was foretold by the prophecies,<sup>1</sup> seeing that the scriptures point to this in a way that is obvious to the eyes.

(And after a few words:) Therefore, from Adam there are altogether 5531 years up to the coming of the Lord and the Resurrection,<sup>a</sup> from which time to the 250th Olympiad there are 192 years, as has been demonstrated by us above.<sup>2</sup>

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### From Eusebios Pamphilou concerning the same matter<sup>3</sup>

In accordance with the prophecies about him, Jesus Christ, the son of God, our Lord, went forth to his passion in the nineteenth year of the reign of Tiberius.<sup>4</sup> At that time, we have found the following events recounted verbatim in other Greek historical records as well: 'There was a solar eclipse. Bithynia was shaken

<sup>a</sup> Text: τῆς ἀναστάσεως ('[from Adam and] the Resurrection'). Emended: τὴν ἀνάστασιν.

<sup>1</sup> Marcion rejected the entire Old Testament, and with it the prophecies whose fulfilment the Church saw in Christ's life on earth.

<sup>2</sup> Africanus' reference to the '192 years from that time' is an apparent allusion to the chronological end-point of his chronicle, 3 Elagabalus (AM 5723). See above, p. 309 (= Moss. 251.27–9), and Gelzer i. 280. On Africanus' dating of the Crucifixion and Resurrection to AM 5531, see also below, pp. 472, 473 (= Moss. 394.25–6; 395.20–2), where Synk. criticizes Africanus for limiting the duration of Jesus' ministry to one year. Since Jesus' ministry began in 15 Tiberius (= AM 5530), AM 5531 would correspond to 16 Tiberius (= Ol. 202.2). In a previous segment of this excerpt, however, Africanus states that the fulfilment of Daniel's prophecy occurred 475 years after 20 Artaxerxes; see above, p. 469 (= Moss. 392.26–393.1). By this reckoning, the Crucifixion in 16 Tiberius' rule would have occurred in AM 5532 (5057 + 475 = 5532). This is also the date attested in the Syriac chronicle of Bar Hebraeus (48). Basing himself on this information, Gelzer (i. 48–9) claimed that Africanus actually dated the Crucifixion to the spring of 5532, after the **completion** of 5531 years. Since the Olympiad year begins on 1 July, Gelzer also proposed that in Africanus' system Ol. 202.2 extended from 1 July AM 5531 to 30 June AM 5532.

<sup>3</sup> Eus. 2.174<sup>d</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.174.16 (18 Tiberius). Synk.'s date, also attested in the Armenian version of the *Canons* (2.213<sup>Arm</sup>), is the preferable reading. In this same excerpt, Eusebios puts Jesus' crucifixion in Ol. 202.4 (= 19 Tiberius). Jerome's version perhaps emended the 19th year to the 18th year, in order to conform with the accepted chronology of Jesus' ministry (three years, beginning in 15 Tiberius).

by an earthquake. Many sites in Nikaia collapsed.' These reports also correspond with the events associated with the passion of our Saviour. Phlegon, who composed a record of the Olympiads, also writes about these same events in his 13th book, with the following words: 'In the fourth year of the 202nd Olympiad, there was an eclipse of the sun, greater than any that had been previously known. And night fell at the sixth hour of the day, so that the stars appeared in the sky. A great earthquake occurring throughout Bithynia overturned many sites in Nikaia.'<sup>1</sup> This is the witness of the man just mentioned. But let the witness of the [authoritative] gospel according to John be proof of the fact that the Saviour suffered in that year. It attests that after the fifteenth year of Tiberius the duration of his teaching was three years.<sup>2</sup> Around this same time, Josephos also recounts that on the day of Pentecost the priests were first conscious of a commotion and a din, and then they heard a collective voice from within speaking to them from the innermost part of the sanctuary, with the following words: 'Let us depart from here.' And this Josephos records elsewhere that around that same time, when Pilate was governor, images of Caesar were dedicated at night in the temple, which was unlawful, and that this was the beginning of the onset of enormous turmoil and discord among the Jews.<sup>3</sup> From that point, you will recognize the number of calamities that beset the Jewish nation, one after the other.

Flaccus Asylaeus<sup>4</sup> was dispatched by Tiberius as governor of Alexandria and Egypt. He devised many intrigues against the Jewish nation.<sup>5</sup>

395] In asserting that it was AM 5531 and not 5533, Africanus commits an error of two years, according to the inerrant guidance of the gospels.<sup>6</sup> For it is abundantly clear that starting about the beginning of his 30th year—more or less, because of the statement by the great evangelist Luke, 'Jesus was about 30 years of age'<sup>7</sup>—he was baptized and began to teach and treat every disease and every infirmity over a period of three years. Therefore, from the time of his divine conception, beginning in AM 5501, on the first day of the first-created

<sup>1</sup> Phlegon, *FGrH* 257 F 16.

<sup>2</sup> John 2.13; 6.4; 11.55.

<sup>3</sup> Jos. *JW* 6.299–300; 2.169–70.

<sup>4</sup> Avilius Flaccus.

<sup>5</sup> Eus. 2.213<sup>Arm</sup>.

<sup>6</sup> Routh, fr. 50. On Africanus' dating of Jesus' Resurrection, see above, p. 471 (= Moss. 393.28–30).

<sup>7</sup> Luke 3.23.

month of Nisan, 25 March, until his life-bringing Resurrection, which occurred on the same day, 25 March, at the beginning of AM 5534, the duration of time is thirty-three years and one day. And there are forty days from that day up to his divine and exalted bodily assumption into heaven. So from Adam up to this same day, there are 5533 years and 40 days. Now there may be those who do not believe what we have said about this day in our frequent discussions about it: that on it our Lord trampled upon death, and on the first-begotten day brought forth life for us from the dead. If so, let them examine the eleventh revolution of the 532-year cycle in the 213th year of this same cycle, and consider Luna 14 of the Hebrew Passover. And they will discover that on the 23rd of this month of March, on this day of preparation, it corresponds with the passion of the Saviour, which he willingly endured on our behalf. And after his burial by Joseph of Arimathaia and Nikodemos, he arose from the dead at dawn of the third day after this day of preparation, on the first day of the week, on the 1st day of the first Hebrew month of Nisan, which is for ever one and the same day as 25 March.

So Africanus, in conformity with apostolic tradition, reckoned the divine Incarnation in the 5500th year, but he was in error by two years in dating the passion and the Resurrection of the Saviour, calculating this in AM 5531.<sup>1</sup>

But Eusebios Pamphilou cut short the years from Adam up to the birth of Abraham, which, as he allows, was at the time of Ninus and Semiramis. In concert with the Hebrew tradition, he computed 3184 years, and did not include in his calculation the second Kaïnan who lived 130 years before fathering a child; of him Luke the divine evangelist makes mention in his genealogy, as has been stated elsewhere.<sup>2</sup> But our chronography encompasses 3032 years from Adam up to the birth of Abraham,<sup>3</sup> in harmony with the divine writing of

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<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 471 (= Moss. 393.28–30). As Gelzer notes, the Syriac chronicle of Bar Hebraeus (49) states that Africanus dated the Resurrection in AM 5532. He suggests that this latter date may be more accurate. In Synk.'s excerpt from Africanus' explanation of Dan. 9.24–7, Africanus counts 475 years from 20 Artaxerxes (= Ol. 83.4 and AM 5057) up to the date of Christ's Resurrection in 16 Tiberius (= Ol. 202.3). This would mean that, according to Africanus, Jesus' Resurrection occurred in AM 5532. Gelzer (i. 48–9) maintains that the date of 5531 arises from a mistranslation of Olympiad years into Julian years.

<sup>2</sup> Luke 3.36; Gen. 11.12–13 (LXX).

<sup>3</sup> Actually 3312 years from Adam to Abraham, according to Synk.'s own calculations. See above, p. 130 (= Moss. 105.6).

Moses and the generations recorded in the gospel according to Luke. And from the birth of Abraham up to the crucifixion of the Saviour and his life-bringing Resurrection, Eusebios came up with a total of 2048 years, for which period we have made an unerring calculation of 2221 years. So then altogether the years from Adam are 5533, but according to Eusebios 5232, which is entirely at odds with apostolic tradition. And the fallacious reasoning to which he fell prey was such that, in addition to the 130 years of Kainan, he omitted the 111 years of foreign kings during the period of the judges, and the years without a ruler and the forty years of peace, as well as the eleven years of Dareios, also known as Astyages.<sup>1</sup>

Now a certain Panodoros, one of the monks of Egypt, was a historian not unversed in precise chronology. He flourished at the time of the Emperor Arkadios and Theophilos, archbishop of Alexandria. He cleaved to truth in many matters, but when he came to the Incarnation of the Saviour, he erred by seven years, calculating this in the year 5493. The reason for his error was as follows: The first year of Philip Aridaios, who was the first king of the Macedonians after Alexander of Macedon, is the year on the basis of which Claudius Ptolemy also fixed the calculation of the era of his *Handy Tables*, the beginning of which is the Egyptian and Greek year on the first of the month known by the Egyptians as Thoth, that is 29 August.<sup>2</sup> Now there is agreement that the first year of Philip coincides with AM 5170. Therefore, from this first year of Philip up to the subjugation of Cleopatra, there is a total of 294 years according to the *Astronomical Canons*. And from this same year AM 5170, there are accordingly 5463 years from Adam up to the subjugation of Cleopatra, which does not agree with church tradition, since it was about the forty-third year of Augustus Caesar when our Lord's Incarnation occurred. For after this suppression and subjugation of Egypt, Augustus is said by the mathematical astronomers to have reigned for only forty-three years. Now if we grant this as true, Augustus will be found to have died in AM 5505, and this will be when our Saviour was 5 years of age. But it is abundantly clear that at the time of the death of Augustus Caesar, the Lord was almost in his fifteenth year, and in the fifteenth year of Tiberius Caesar was around 30 years, according to the teaching of

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<sup>1</sup> See also above, p. 49 (= Moss. 36.30-37.11), where Synk. attributes many of these criticisms of Eusebios to his Alexandrian authorities, Panodoros and Annianos.

<sup>2</sup> Although the *Handy Tables* began with the reign of the Babylonian king Nabonasar, Ptolemy evidently began a new system of totalling the reigns of kings with Philip, the successor to Alexander.



the gospel—this fact is unmistakable. Thus the death of Augustus Caesar will be somewhere between AM 5514 and 5515, and the beginning of his entire reign in 5458.

So by adhering to the astronomical exposition, Panodoros did not reason soundly and computed the beginning of the reign of Augustus in AM 5451, and the end of his reign in 5506, and the birth of the Saviour in 5493.<sup>1</sup>

**AM 5534**  
**Year 34 of the divine Incarnation**

On the first day of this year, 25 March, on the Lord's day, our Lord and God Jesus Christ arose from the dead on the third day, and first appeared to those bearing unguents, and then to the apostles, whom he sent out to all the nations to teach the doctrines about the holy and consubstantial Trinity. Assumed into heaven on the fortieth day, 3 May, and sending down to them the Paraclete Spirit on the holy fiftieth day, he distributed to them the fiery tongues and the remaining divine gifts of grace.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> On Panodoros' calculation of the birth of Jesus in AM 5493, see also above, p. 451 (= Moss. 377.29–378.9), and Gelzer ii. 247–8. The starting-point of Panodoros' calculation of Jesus' birth in AM 5493 is AM 5170 = 1 Philip Aridaïos (a date also accepted by Synk.). From that date up to the defeat of Cleopatra, 294 years elapsed (= AM 5463). Since, according to Ptolemy's *Handy Tables*, Augustus reigned 43 years after this point, Panodoros determined that Augustus died in AM 5506 (5463 + 43). If Tiberius acceded to rule the following year, the beginning of Jesus' ministry in 15 Tiberius (see Luke 3.1) was 5522; Jesus' death thus occurred in 5525. If Jesus was around 30 years of age at the time his ministry began (Luke 3.23), Jesus' conception in the womb occurred in 5492, his birth in 5493. There is some confusion in Synk.'s summary of Panodoros' chronology. He first states that the mathematical astronomers dated Augustus' death in AM 5505. Here, however, he states that Panodoros, who followed them, dated Augustus' death to AM 5506. Synk.'s claim that Panodoros dated 1 Augustus to AM 5451 contradicts a statement about Panodoros that he makes above, p. 451 (= Moss. 377.27–378.2); there Synk. claims that Panodoros dated 22 Augustus to AM 5471. If Augustus' 1st year was AM 5451, his 22nd year would be AM 5472. Another source of confusion is Synk.'s statement that Panodoros followed the mathematical astronomers in dating Cleopatra's defeat in AM 5463, allegedly in 16 Augustus; see above, p. 451 (= Moss. 377.30). If this is true, then the beginning of Augustus' reign would be AM 5449, not 5451. For an ingenious attempt to resolve all these inconsistencies, see Gelzer ii. 247–8.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Matt. 28.1–30; Acts 1.3; 2.1–4.

To Peter, James the brother of God, and John, the Lord gave orders to oversee the rest of the apostles after his ascension, so that they might not compete with one another for glory. And they chose this same James to be the first leader of Jerusalem, as Clement says in the sixth book of his *Hypotyposesis*. In his seventh book, this same author makes the following statement in agreement with it:

After his Resurrection, the Lord gave James the Just, and John and Peter, the tradition of knowledge. These passed it on to the rest of the apostles, and the latter apostles to the seventy, of whom one was James the brother of God, the first bishop of the church in Jerusalem.<sup>1</sup>

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AM 5534

### Year 34 of the divine Incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ

During these same days, the disciples asked the Lord on the Mount of Olives, 'Are you at this time going to restore the kingdom to Israel?'<sup>2</sup>

In this same year, James the brother of God was appointed the first bishop of Jerusalem by the apostles.<sup>3</sup>

There were two Jameses. One, the brother of God and son of Joseph, was known as the Just. Concerning him, Paul says, 'I did not see another of the apostles except for James the brother of the Lord.'<sup>4</sup> He was thrown down from the pinnacle of the temple and beaten to death with a fuller's club by the Jews. The other one, who was decapitated, was the brother of John the Theologian.<sup>5</sup>

Through prayer and the laying on of hands by the blessed apostles, Matthias, one of the seventy disciples of the Lord, was the first to be admitted by lot to the apostolate in place of the betrayer Judas.<sup>6</sup>

Seven in number, I think,<sup>7</sup> were appointed to serve the brethren by the apostles. The first of them was Stephen the protomartyr who after the Saviour was stoned to death by the murderers of the Lord and on his behalf deservedly took upon himself a martyr's crown, implied by his name.<sup>8</sup>

The third ruler of the Jews of foreign stock was Herod's son Herod  
24 years<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Eus. *HE* 2.1.3-4.

<sup>3</sup> Eus. 2.175<sup>a</sup>; *HE* 2.1.2-3.

<sup>5</sup> Eus. *HE* 2.1.5.

<sup>7</sup> Rightly so: see Acts 6.5.

<sup>9</sup> Eus. 2.171.11-15.

<sup>2</sup> Acts 1.6.

<sup>4</sup> Gal. 1.19.

<sup>6</sup> Acts 1.26.

<sup>8</sup> Eus. *HE* 2.1.1.

In the same year, Pilate, after the Jewish unrest that arose as a result of the images of Caesar, expended the so-called Korbonas,<sup>1</sup> that is the sacred treasury, on the building of an aqueduct, and drove them again to sedition.<sup>2</sup>

This Pilate, after sending back to Tiberius a report about the Saviour and the doctrine of the Christians, inspired him to a longing for faith. And Tiberius deliberated with the Senate about faith in Christ. But even though the Senate was not won over, and instead considered the proclamation of the cross folly, Tiberius decreed the death penalty against the persecutors of the Christians, as Tertullian records.<sup>3</sup>

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Sejanus, the prefect of Tiberius Caesar, gave a great deal of advice to Caesar about the complete annihilation of the Jewish nation, as Philo the Jew living in Alexandria recounts in the second book of his *Embassy* concerning these matters.<sup>4</sup>

Gaius deified himself. He also took the wife of Memmius Regulus and forced Memmius, her own husband, to say that he was her father.<sup>5</sup>

In Jerusalem, at the time of Herod the tetrarch, there was a plot against the apostles and the whole Church.<sup>6</sup>

#### AM 5535

#### Year 35 of the divine Incarnation

Peter and John went up to the temple and healed the man lame from birth.<sup>7</sup>

#### AM 5536

#### Year 36 of the divine Incarnation

The acts of Peter in Jerusalem concerning Ananias and Sappheira.<sup>8</sup>

In accordance with a divine oracle, Thomas and Judas sent out

<sup>1</sup> The reference is to the 'Korban' (spelt Korbanas in Matt. 27.6).

<sup>2</sup> Eus. 2.176<sup>c</sup>; Jos. *JW* 2.175.

<sup>3</sup> Eus. 2.176<sup>g</sup>; *HE* 2.2.1–6, quoting Tertullian.

<sup>4</sup> Eus. 2.176<sup>d</sup>; *HE* 2.5.6–7; Philo, *Leg.* 159–60.

<sup>5</sup> Eus. 2.177<sup>d</sup>, 178<sup>b</sup>.

<sup>6</sup> Eus. *HE* 2.9.1; Acts 12.1–2. Synk. appears to be confusing Herod the tetrarch and son of Herod of Great with Julius Agrippa I, called Herod Agrippa in Acts, grandson of Herod the Great and king of the Jews during the reign of emperor Claudius.

<sup>7</sup> Acts 3.1–10.

<sup>8</sup> Acts 5.1–11.

400] Thaddaios to Edessa to preach the gospel. He healed Abgar by the word of the Lord, just as the Saviour had previously written, having also sent his holy image, saying: 'After I am taken up, I am sending you some of my disciples, so that they may heal your affliction and give life to you and yours.' And he enlightened all those in that place with his words and deeds. And the whole city up to this day is devoted to God, venerating this same image of the Master, which was made without hands.<sup>1</sup>

AM 5537

**Year 37 of the divine Incarnation**

In this year of persecution against the Church, many of the believers were dispersed, to whom James the brother of God wrote the first catholic epistle, addressing it to those in the dispersion.<sup>2</sup>

Stephen, the great protomartyr, apostle and first deacon, was stoned to death, and Saul converted thereafter through a divine vision.<sup>3</sup>

Around this same time, with the help of our Saviour Jesus Christ, the great apostle Paul was suddenly converted. And after having had his sight restored by Ananias in Damascus, he fled to Tarsos, teaching the word of God, and from there in turn he went to Antioch.<sup>4</sup>

401] Philip, one of the seven who, along with the protomartyr, had been already appointed to the diaconate by the apostles, was among those in the dispersion; and after going down from Jerusalem to Samaria he was filled with the power of God, so that Simon the magus, astounded by his wonderful acts, came to him with his companions, and became Philip's disciple and was baptized under false pretences.<sup>5</sup> For this reason, his followers up to this day, while pretending to be baptized, are completely estranged from the divine precepts and doctrines. For neither receiving the teaching about resurrection, nor ascribing the visible universe to God, they pursue every kind of disgraceful act abhorrent to God. He handed down a tradition that these wretches were to call him Father and make obeisance to him in the name of Zeus through an image. And in a way similar to their veneration of this image, he taught them to do obeisance to his companion the harlot Helena in place of Athena. But to the Jews, he said that he was himself 'Christ', not 'Father'.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Eus. *HE* 1.13.10-22.

<sup>2</sup> Jas. 1.1.

<sup>3</sup> Lit. 'Saul, the one who converted thereafter through a divine vision.' Cf. Acts 7.55-9.19.

<sup>4</sup> Acts 9.17-18; 11.25-6.

<sup>5</sup> Eus. *HE* 2.1.10-11; Acts 8.9-13.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Eus. *HE* 2.13.1-8, from Justin and Irenaeus.

The first bishop of the church in Jerusalem was James the brother of God	28 years <sup>1</sup>
The fourth Roman emperor was Gaius Caligula	3 years <sup>2</sup>

## AM 5537

## Year 37 of the Incarnation

During the reign of Gaius Caesar, Pontius Pilate succumbed to all kinds of misfortunes according to the Roman historians, and committed suicide.<sup>3</sup>

Gaius Caligula, the grandson of Tiberius, killed many members of the Senate without cause. He also banished his own sisters to islands, and after killing those in exile, he was subsequently killed by the notable officers in his army.<sup>4</sup>

He also killed Julius Canus, one of the Stoic philosophers, concerning whom, in my opinion, an incredible story was fabricated by the Greeks. For as he was being led away to his death, he is said to have calmly foretold to one of the pupils in his company by the name of Antiochos of Seleukeia that on that very night after his death he would meet him and pose a question about something worth investigating; and that after three days, Rectus, one of his associates, would be killed by Gaius. And these things actually came true. For Rectus was killed three days later, and Antiochos described how in his nocturnal vision Julius Canus appeared and discoursed on the soul's permanence and the purer light that follows death. This is what Plutarch of Chaironeia recounts.<sup>5</sup>

The fourth ruler of the Jews of foreign stock was Herod's son Agrippa

7 years<sup>6</sup> [402

## AM 5539

## Year 39 of the divine Incarnation

Herod's son Agrippa was imprisoned during the reign of Tiberius Caesar, because of his accusations against his own father; and after being released from prison by Gaius Caesar, he was dispatched as king of the Jews.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Eus. 2.175<sup>a</sup>, 182<sup>k</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> Eus. 2.177.11–12 (3 years, 10 months).

<sup>3</sup> Eus. 2.178<sup>c</sup>; *HE* 2.7.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.178<sup>fghi</sup>.

<sup>5</sup> Unattested in Plutarch. On Julius Canus, see Seneca, *On Tranquillity* 14.4–9.

<sup>6</sup> Eus. 2.177.14–17.

<sup>7</sup> Eus. 2.176<sup>f</sup>, 177<sup>c</sup>. Cf. Jos. *JW* 2.178–80, which reports Agrippa's accusations against Herod the tetrarch, but states that Tiberius imprisoned Agrippa because he openly prayed for the emperor's death.

His father Herod was banished to Lugdunum in Gaul and died in utter poverty together with his adulterous wife Herodias. Now as to the young girl whose dancing was responsible for the decapitation of John the great prophet, Forerunner and Baptist, the earth devoured her alive.<sup>1</sup>

Flancus Ancylius,<sup>2</sup> prefect of Egypt, subjected the Jewish nation to all manner of misfortunes.<sup>3</sup>

Gaius ordered Petronius, prefect of Syria, to set up a statue of himself in Jerusalem, bearing the name 'Zeus Manifest'.<sup>4</sup>

Philo reports in the work entitled *Flaccus* that he made representation to Gaius concerning the Jews, over the fact that Flaccus was conspiring against the Jews and defiling the synagogues with dedications of images, statues, and altars. At that time also, the Alexandrian populace joined in the attack and subjected the Jews to all kinds of afflictions.<sup>5</sup>

Josephos and Philo record that in the Jewish synagogues everywhere, statues, images, and altars were dedicated to Gaius.<sup>6</sup>

403] In these times, Simon, the Samaritan magus from the Samaritan village of Gittho, appeared and led many astray with signs and wonders of deception. Philip, one of those associated with Stephen the protomartyr, was the first to oppose him and put him to shame. This was after Stephen's perfection by martyrdom, when Philip was circulating outside of Jerusalem. It is reported that at that time the first of the Gentiles to be baptized by him were the Ethiopian eunuch and Simon himself; but Simon affected Christianity in name only, for he did not confess belief in resurrection or that the universe belongs to God, and introduced every abomination to his own disciples.<sup>7</sup>

#### AM 5540

#### Year 40 of the divine Incarnation

After establishing the first church in Antioch, Peter the chief apostle departed for Rome to preach the gospel. Until his perfection by martyrdom, he was the first to preside jointly over the churches in both Antioch and Rome.<sup>8</sup>

Peter sent out the first catholic epistle from Rome, having with him, according to Eusebios, Mark the evangelist as a follower. At

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Eus. *HE* 2.4.1; Jos. *JW* 2.183.

<sup>2</sup> Flaccus Avilius.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.177<sup>c</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> Eus. 2.178<sup>d</sup>.

<sup>5</sup> Eus. 2.177<sup>e</sup>; Philo, *Flaccus* 41, 48-52; see also Jos. *Ant.* 18.257-60.

<sup>6</sup> Eus. 2.178<sup>e</sup>; *HE* 2.6.2-4.

<sup>7</sup> Eus. *HE* 2.13; Acts 8.9-40.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.179<sup>b</sup>.

that time, he composed his gospel at the request of the Romans, according to Clement in the sixth book of his *Hypotyposesis* and Papias the bishop of Hierapolis.<sup>1</sup> In the letter, Peter makes mention of Mark and of the city of Babylon.<sup>2</sup> But there are others who say that the letter was composed from Joppe.

The return of Paul and Silas to Derbe, Lystra, Phrygia, Isauria, Cilicia, Galatia, and Troas.<sup>3</sup>

The acts of Paul and Mark in Philippi, Thessalonike, and Beroia.<sup>4</sup>

The acts of Paul in Athens and Corinth.<sup>5</sup>

The acts of Paul in Ephesos, Kenchreia, Caesarea, Antioch, Italy, and Phrygia.<sup>6</sup>

What Paul did on his own in Ephesos.<sup>7</sup>

Paul commended his actions in Troas and Miletos to the Ephesians.<sup>8</sup>

The actions of the Jews in Jerusalem against Paul.<sup>9</sup>

The actions of Paul in Caesarea, regarding Felix and Drusilla.<sup>10</sup>

The actions of Paul in Caesarea and the actions of the Jews against him.<sup>11</sup>

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Mark the evangelist was proclaiming the word of salvation to Egypt and Alexandria.<sup>12</sup>

(1) The first bishop of the church at Antioch was Euodios

29 years<sup>13</sup>

(5) The fifth ruler of the Romans was Claudius

13 years<sup>14</sup>

#### AM 5540

#### Year 40 of the divine Incarnation

The prophecy of Agabos in Acts was realized when a great famine gripped the entire inhabited world during the reign of Claudius.<sup>15</sup>

Claudius celebrated his triumph over the Britons.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Eus. *HE* 2.15.

<sup>2</sup> 1 Pet. 5.13.

<sup>3</sup> Acts 16.1-8.

<sup>4</sup> Acts 16.12; 17.1, 10.

<sup>5</sup> Acts 17.15-18.17.

<sup>6</sup> Acts 18.18-23.

<sup>7</sup> Acts 19.1-20.

<sup>8</sup> Acts 20.17-35.

<sup>9</sup> Acts 21.27-36.

<sup>10</sup> Acts 24.22-6.

<sup>11</sup> Acts 25.7.

<sup>12</sup> Eus. 2.179<sup>c</sup>.

<sup>13</sup> See also below, p. 483 (= Moss. 406.11). Cf. Eus. 2.179<sup>d</sup>, 186<sup>f</sup> (26 years); *HE* 3.22; also *Xρον. συντ.* 74.24 (27 years).

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.179.1-2 (13 years, 8 months, 28 days); *HE* 2.19.2 (13 years, 8 months).

<sup>15</sup> Cf. Acts 11.28; Eus. 2.179<sup>f</sup>; *HE* 2.8.1.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.179<sup>g</sup>.

In his census of the Roman citizenry, Claudius found that the population was 6,941,000.<sup>1</sup>

Claudius sent out Felix as governor of Judaea.<sup>2</sup>

**The remaining narrative about Agrippa the ruler of the Jews of foreign stock, also known as Herod, is as follows:**

Paul and Barnabas spoke boldly in the synagogue of Antioch in Pisidia.<sup>3</sup>

Paul and Barnabas were teaching in Ikonion, at which time the events in Lystra, Derbe, Perga, Atalia, and Antioch took place, as well as the acts of these two men in Phoenicia, Samaria and Jerusalem.<sup>4</sup>

After laying the foundations of the third wall in Jerusalem, Agrippa, fearful of Claudius Caesar, ceased work on the project.<sup>5</sup>

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Also known as Herod in Acts, this Agrippa, who clothed himself in silver raiment and allowed himself to be honoured as a god in the theatre of Caesar, was struck down by an angel and died, eaten by worms.<sup>6</sup>

When Agrippa the king of the Jews died, his son Agrippa was entrusted by Claudius with rule over the Jews.

(5) The fifth ruler of the Jews of foreign stock was Agrippa II  
23 years<sup>7</sup>

**AM 5546**

**Year 46 years from the Incarnation**

From this time, Thrace, which was previously a monarchy, was converted into a province.<sup>8</sup>

An island of 30 stades appeared between Thera and Therasia.<sup>9</sup>

During the days of the feast of Unleavened Bread, when a riot broke out in Jerusalem, approximately 30,000 Jews perished, trampled under foot around the exits through the gates. This

<sup>1</sup> Eus. 2.211<sup>Ann</sup>; cf. Tac. *Ann.* 11.25 (5,984,072).

<sup>2</sup> Eus. 2.181<sup>c</sup>; *HE* 2.19.2; Jos. *JW* 2.247.

<sup>3</sup> Acts 13.14-52.

<sup>4</sup> Acts 14.1, 6, 25-6; 15.3-4.

<sup>5</sup> Jos. *JW* 2.218; *Ant.* 19.326.

<sup>6</sup> Eus. *HE* 2.10.1; Acts 12.21-3.

<sup>7</sup> See p. 495 (= Moss. 418.1). Cf. Eus. 2.179<sup>e</sup>, 17-19 (26 years); *Xpov. συντ.* 96.2 (25 years).

<sup>8</sup> Eus. 2.180<sup>d</sup>.

<sup>9</sup> Eus. 2.180<sup>b</sup>.



was when Cumanus was military commander of the Romans and governor of all Judaea.<sup>1</sup>

Because of a great famine that struck throughout Greece, a modion of grain sold for six didrachms.<sup>2</sup>

At that time, an altar was inscribed by the Athenians with the words 'to an unknown God'.<sup>3</sup>

**From Justin the philosopher and martyr from his first work on behalf of the Christians addressed to the emperor Antoninus<sup>4</sup>**

After the ascension of the Lord into heaven, the demons put forth certain men who were claiming divinity for themselves. And not only were they not persecuted by you, but they were also deemed worthy of honour, such as Simon, a certain Samaritan from the village named Gitthion. At the time of Claudius Caesar, through demonically inspired art, he used magic to perform miracles in your city, the capital city of Rome; and he was venerated as a god and honoured as a god by you with a statue on the Tiber river between the two bridges. It bore this Latin inscription: 'Simoni Deo Sancto', which is 'To Simon a holy god'.<sup>5</sup> And nearly all the Samaritans, and a few among the other nations as well, acknowledge him as the chief god and worship him. And they say that a certain Helena, who travelled around with him at that time, but who had previously lived in a brothel in Tyre of Phoenicia, was the first Idea emanating from him.

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**AM 5550**

**Year 50 of the divine Incarnation**

The bishop of Antioch was Euodios 29 years<sup>6</sup>

The bishop of Alexandria was (Mark the evangelist 2<sup>7</sup>) years<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Eus. 2.180<sup>c</sup>; HE 2.19.1; Jos. Ant. 20.105-12; JW 2.223-7.

<sup>2</sup> Eus. 2.181<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Acts 17.23.

<sup>4</sup> Lit. 'Antonius'. See Just. Mart. 1 Apol. 26.1-3 (= Eus. HE 2.13.3-4).

<sup>5</sup> Justin's misunderstanding of 'Semoni Sanco Deo', a dedication to the Roman rustic god Semo Sancus; see CIL vi. 567.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.179<sup>d</sup>, 186<sup>f</sup> (29 years, from Ol. 205.4 to Ol. 212.4).

<sup>7</sup> Mosshammer supplies the two years for Mark's episcopacy from a notice below (p. 487 = Moss. 409.20), according to which Anianos, Mark's successor, became bishop of Alexandria in AM 5553.

<sup>8</sup> See Xpov. συντ. 72.7 (two years). Cf. Eus. 2.179<sup>c</sup>, 183<sup>b</sup>, which assigns an interval of 19 years from Mark's proclamation of the gospel in Egypt to the ordination of his successor.

### The remaining years of the Roman ruler Claudius

Claudius was emperor of the Romans after Gaius for thirteen years. A murderous man and uncle of this Gaius, he courageously subdued the Celts and the Britons by force of arms.<sup>1</sup> He likewise conquered the Thracians, when their king Rhymetalkes was slain by his own wife.

In love with his own niece, he was the first, it is said, to make it legal to marry daughters of brothers.<sup>2</sup>

407] During his reign, many of those with an education in Greek letters were flourishing. One of the more outstanding of them was reputed to be Apollonios from the Italian city of Tyana.<sup>3</sup> His training in Pythagorean philosophy was at so advanced a level that his grasp of it was more inspired than even Pythagoras himself, according to Philostratos and other historians who have written reliably about him.<sup>4</sup>

According to the Egyptian historians, with whom Dexippos also agrees, the bird known as the phoenix appeared at this time, after having been sighted 650 years before.<sup>5</sup>

At that time, Laodikeia, Hierapolis in Asia, and other cities, including Antioch, were shaken by earthquakes.<sup>6</sup>

During his reign, Felix was sent as governor of Judaea. At that time many Jews were practising deception. Amongst them in particular was an Egyptian false prophet, who together with 30,000 men set to work on greater things, and was destroyed by the army of Felix. Josephos concurs in this with the Acts of the Apostles, where the tribune said to divine Paul: 'Are you not the Egyptian who before these days stirred up sedition and led out into the desert the 4000 men?' It was before Felix that Paul, under accusation by the Jews, made his defence.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Eutrop. 7.13.1-3.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Suet. *Claud.* 26.3, according to which Claudius had the Senate enact this decree before marrying Agrippina, the daughter of his brother Germanicus.

<sup>3</sup> Tyana is actually in Asia Minor.

<sup>4</sup> Philost. *Apollonios* 1.2.

<sup>5</sup> Dexipp. *FGrH* 100 F 11.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.183<sup>b</sup>; Tac. *Ann.* 14.27. Both writers put these earthquakes during the reign of Nero, not Claudius; see below, p. 487 (= Moss. 410.3-4).

<sup>7</sup> Eus. 2.181<sup>d</sup>; *HE* 2.20-1; Acts 21.38; Jos. *JW* 2.261-3.

During his reign, the Jews were in revolt in Caesarea Stratonis and many perished.<sup>1</sup>

During his reign, in accordance with Agabos' prediction, there was a worldwide famine that then gripped Judaea with particular severity. At that time Helena, queen of the nation of Adiabene, paid a great sum of money for food from Egypt and distributed it to the needy. According to Josephos, the monuments of her are reported to stand out conspicuously in the outskirts.<sup>2</sup>

Acts is in agreement, reporting that the believers in Antioch, according to their ability, sent relief to the believers dwelling in Judaea by the hand of Barnabas and Saul.<sup>3</sup>

In the second book of his *Ecclesiastical Histories*, Eusebios says that in the time of Claudius, and during the reign of Agrippa I, also known as Herod, as Acts states, King Herod put forth his hand to vex certain members of the Church, and killed the brother of John with the sword. Concerning him Clement also says in the seventh book of his *Hypotyposesis* that the man who brought him to court, after seeing him witness, confessed along with him that he too was a Christian. So both were led away together, he says, along the road, and he asked that he should be forgiven by James. And James considered for a moment and said, 'Peace be with you', and kissed him. And in this way both were beheaded at the same time. And then Herod, seeing that he had pleased the Jews with his murder of James, set upon Peter as well; and having put him into prison, he would have killed him, were it not that he was miraculously freed from prison by the care of an angel and was delivered from custody.<sup>4</sup>

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But if one thinks that this happened to James the brother of God, the first bishop of Jerusalem, it contradicts the tradition that reports that in the eighth year of Nero, which was about the thirtieth year of James' episcopacy, he was killed by the Jews with stones and a fuller's club, and cast from the roof, just as Eusebios states in the *Canon*.<sup>5</sup> But the tradition is trustworthy if it involves another James.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.182<sup>a</sup>; Jos. *JW* 2.266-70.

<sup>2</sup> Jos. *Ant.* 20.95, 101; see also Eus. 2.179<sup>f</sup>; *HE* 2.8.1-2, 12.1-3. The monuments, though called *στῆλαι*, were in fact pyramids.

<sup>3</sup> Acts 11.28-30.

<sup>4</sup> Eus. *HE* 2.9.1-4.

<sup>5</sup> Eus. 2.182<sup>k</sup>.

AM 5553

## Year 53 of the divine Incarnation

From Eusebios, from the second book of the *Ecclesiastical History*, concerning the affairs of the blessed Paul and James the brother of God<sup>1</sup>

409] Festus was sent as his successor by Nero, before whom Paul pleaded his case, and was taken as a prisoner to Rome. Aristarchos was with him, whom he also naturally [calls] a fellow prisoner [somewhere] in his epistles.<sup>2</sup> [Luke also, who committed the Acts of the Apostles to writing,] concludes<sup>a</sup> his history at this point, with the notice that Paul spent the entire two-year period in Rome in freedom and preached the word of God unhindered.<sup>3</sup> Now there is a tradition that at that time the apostle, after presenting his defence, set out again on the ministry of preaching. And having come a second time to the same city, he was perfected by martyrdom under him.<sup>4</sup> During his confinement in prison, he composed the second epistle to Timothy, indicating at the same time that he had made an earlier defence and that his death was imminent. Now then, take under consideration his testimony about this:

'At my first defence', he says, 'no one was with me. Instead, everyone deserted me. Let this not be counted against them. But the Lord was present with me and strengthened me, so that through me the preaching might be completed and all the nations might hear, and I was rescued from the mouth of the lion.'<sup>5</sup>

He clearly demonstrates by this that on the first occasion, so that the preaching through him might be fulfilled and all the nations might hear, he was rescued from the mouth of the lion (in this he is presumably referring to Nero, because of his ferocity). So he did not add next something like, 'he will rescue me from the mouth of the lion'. For he saw that his death was almost imminent; therefore, he also says, 'And the Lord will rescue me from the mouth of the lion, from every evil work, and he will save me for his heavenly kingdom',<sup>6</sup> indicating imminent martyrdom, which he foretells even more clearly in the same letter when he says, 'And the time of my release is at hand.'<sup>7</sup>

<sup>a</sup> The Greek text, obviously corrupt, has been restored from the parallel passage in Eusebios' *Ecclesiastical History*.

<sup>1</sup> Eus. *HE* 2.22.1-5.

<sup>2</sup> Col. 4.10.

<sup>3</sup> Acts 28.30-1.

<sup>4</sup> i.e. Nero; but the text *κατ' αὐτόν* may mean 'his own (martyrdom)'.

<sup>5</sup> 2 Tim. 4.16, 17.

<sup>6</sup> 2 Tim. 4.18.

<sup>7</sup> 2 Tim. 4.6.

(2) The second bishop of Jerusalem was Symeon, also known as Simon, the son of Kleopas 23 years<sup>1</sup>

After Mark the evangelist, the first to be ordained bishop of the Alexandrian church was Anianos, who presided over it for

22 years<sup>2</sup>

The sixth Roman emperor was Nero

13 years<sup>3</sup>

AM 5553

### Year 53 of the divine Incarnation

Nero killed his own mother Agrippina and his father's sister.

In Rome, a great earthquake occurred.

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In Rome, Nero was victor in a cithara contest.

A thunderbolt struck the table of Nero.

There were many fires in Rome, and three cities in Asia collapsed: Laodikeia, Hierapolis, and Kolossai.<sup>4</sup>

### The remaining years of Agrippa II, the fifth ruler of the Jews of foreign stock

Festus was sent by Nero to succeed Felix. Before him the divine Paul, in the presence also of Agrippa king of the Jews, defended himself, and was sent in chains to Rome.<sup>5</sup>

The successor to Festus was Albinus.

The successor to Albinus was Gestius Florus.<sup>6</sup>

The Jews revolted against the Romans during the rule of Gestius Florus because of his boundless greed. Against them Nero dispatched as commander-in-chief Vespasian, who recovered very much of Judaea.<sup>a</sup>

It should be noted from the express statements of the apostle that the divine Paul appeared before Caesar a second time in Rome. The

<sup>a</sup> Text: ἐφ' οὗς ὁ Νέρων Οὐεσπασιανὸν ἐξέπεμψε στρατοπεδάρχην πολλὰ τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἀγανακτησάμενος. Following Di., ἀγανακτησάμενος emended to ἀνακτησάμενον. Cf. Eus. 2.216<sup>Am</sup>: '... unterdessen entsandte Neron den Vespianos als Feldherrn, **der grobenteils die Verhältnisse der Juden wiederherstellte**' (tr. Karst); also 2.185<sup>de</sup>: 'Contra Iudaeos . . . , Uespasianus magister militiae a Nerone transmittitur. **Uespasianus plurimas urbes Iudaeae capit.**'

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.182<sup>k</sup> (without years); *Χρον. συντ.* 77.17 (26 years).

<sup>2</sup> Eus. 2.183<sup>b</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.181.24–5 (13 years, 7 months, 28 days).

<sup>4</sup> Eus. 2.182<sup>fe</sup>, 182<sup>h</sup>, 183<sup>ah</sup>.

<sup>5</sup> Acts 25.13; Eus. 2.182<sup>b</sup>; *HE* 2.22.1–2.

<sup>6</sup> Eus. 2.182<sup>i</sup>, 183<sup>i</sup>.

first time Nero, somewhat more temperate in his attitude to Christian doctrine, heard his defence and released him; for the Spirit had arranged that the preaching to everyone should be accomplished through him, as he himself states in the second epistle to Timothy. Indeed, he writes that Luke was with him, whose Acts of the Apostles embraces the period extending to Paul's first defence.<sup>1</sup> And Luke, so it seems, was with him. But he has no account to offer of Paul's martyrdom, at which he was not present; this obviously took place when the blessed Paul at his own request was sent up a second time to Nero by Festus from Caesarea in Palestine, and after appearing before him a second time, was perfected by martyrdom through blood. Hence the Jews, having failed in their plot to kill him, turned to the murder of James the brother of God.<sup>2</sup> Concerning this, Hegesippos, the eminent disciple of the apostles, says the following in his fifth commentary:

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**From Hegesippos the disciple of the apostles from the  
fifth commentary, concerning the holy James, the brother  
of God<sup>3</sup>**

Together with the apostles, James, the brother of the Lord, took over control of the church. Since many were named James, he was called the Just by everyone, from the time of Christ until now. But he was holy from his mother's womb. He did not drink wine and strong drink, and he did not eat flesh. And no razor went upon his head. And he did not anoint himself with oil and made no use of the baths. It was allowed to him alone to enter into the sanctuary. For he did not wear wool, but linen. And he used to go into the temple alone, and be found kneeling and asking forgiveness for his people, so that his knees became dried up like a camel's, because in worshipping God he was always kneeling and asking forgiveness for the people. Because of his abundant righteousness, he was called the Just and 'oblias', that is 'bastion of the people, justice', as the prophets reveal about him.

Thus some members of the seven heresies previously described by me in this book, the *Commentaries*, inquired of him, 'What is the gate of Jesus?' And he said that he was the Saviour. From this, some believed that Jesus is the Christ. But the aforementioned heresies did not believe either in resurrection or in him who is coming to reward each according to his works. But those who believed did so through James.

<sup>1</sup> 2 Tim. 4.11.<sup>2</sup> Eus. *HE* 2.22-3.<sup>3</sup> Eus. *HE* 2.23.4-18.

Now since many even of the leaders believed, there was a clamour of the Jews and Pharisees and scribes saying that all the people were in danger of expecting Jesus as the Christ. So they assembled and said to James, 'We beseech you, restrain the people, since they are going astray after Jesus, as if he were the Christ. We beseech you to persuade all who come for the day of Passover concerning Jesus. For all of us obey you. And we and the entire people testify to you that you are just and that you are not a respecter of persons. So then you persuade the mob not to be deceived regarding Jesus. For we and all the people obey you. So stand up on the highest point of the temple, so that you may be up high and your words may be easily heard by all the people. For all the tribes, along with the Gentiles also, have assembled for the Passover.'

So the aforementioned scribes and Pharisees placed James on the highest point of the temple and shouted to him, 'Just one, whom all of us ought to obey, since the people are going astray after the crucified Jesus, tell us what is the gate of Jesus.' And he replied in a loud voice: 'Why do you ask me about the Son of Man, this one who is seated in heaven at the right hand of the great power, and is going to come on the clouds of heaven?' And when many were convinced and were giving praise at the witness of James, saying, 'Hosanna to the son of David', again the same scribes and Pharisees said to one another, 'We did not act well in providing this kind of witness to Jesus. But let us climb up and cast him down, so that, out of fear, they may not believe him.' And they cried out, 'Oh! Oh! Even the just one has gone astray.' And they fulfilled that which was written in the book of Isaiah: 'Let us remove the just one, because he is of no value to us; therefore they shall eat the fruits of their works.'<sup>1</sup>

So after they climbed up, they cast down the just one, and they began to stone him. He did not die from the fall, but turned and knelt, saying, 'I beseech you, Lord, God, Father, forgive them, for they do not know what they are doing.'<sup>2</sup> And when they were stoning him in this way, one of the priests of the sons of Rechab, son of Rhachaëim,<sup>3</sup> to whom Jeremiah bore witness,<sup>4</sup> cried out: 'Stop! What are you doing? The just one is praying for us.' And someone, one of the fullers, took a club, with which he used to

<sup>1</sup> Isa. 3.10.

<sup>2</sup> Luke 23.34.

<sup>3</sup> Text: *Ραχαείμ*. Cf. Eus.: *Ραχαβείμ*. The word in Eusebios is a reference to the Rechabites.

<sup>4</sup> Jer. 42.6-19 (LXX)/35.6-19 (MT).

beat out clothes, and hit the head of the just one. And this is how he was martyred. And they buried him in the place by the temple, and a monument to him stands by the temple. This man has become a true witness to Jews and Greeks, that Jesus is the Christ. And immediately Vespasian set siege to them.

413] The above is the accurate account of Hegesippos, a trustworthy author, one of those who adhere to our orthodox doctrine. Josephos, whose report is also not in disagreement, concurs with him that this was to blame for the conquest of the Jews at the time of Vespasian.

#### From Josephos, concerning the same events<sup>1</sup>

This befell the Jews in retribution for James the Just, who was the brother of Jesus, the so-called Christ, since the Jews had killed him, although he was most righteous.<sup>2</sup>

The younger Ananos, who as we said acquired the high priesthood, was brash in his manner and exceptionally daring. He belonged to the party of the Sadducees, who are cruel in their judgements in excess of the other Jews, just as we have already explained. Since Ananos had this kind of character, he thought that it was the appropriate time because Festus had died, and Albinus was still in transit. And he convened a council of judges and brought before it the brother of Jesus, the so-called Christ, whose name was James, as well as certain others, accusing them of having broken the law. And he handed them over to be stoned. But all who were considered to be the most capable of the citizens of the city and strict observers in matters of the law took offence at this and sent secretly to the king, appealing to him to write to Ananos to desist from such conduct—for, they said, he had not even behaved correctly in the first place. Some of them went to meet Albinus, who was journeying from Alexandria and they informed him that it was illegal for Ananos to convene a meeting of the Sanhedrin without his knowledge.

Albinus was persuaded by what was said, and he angrily wrote to Ananos, threatening to impose penalties against him. And because of this King Agrippa removed him from the high priesthood that he had controlled for three months and appointed Jesus son of Idammaios.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Eus. *HE* 2.23.20-4; cf. Jos. *Ant.* 20.199-203.

<sup>2</sup> This sentence is not attested in the preserved text of Josephos' *Antiquities*.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Eus. *HE* 2.23.24: Dammaios; Jos. *Ant.* 20.203: Damnaios.



AM 5563

**Year 63 of the divine Incarnation  
The remaining narrative about Nero**

Nero was the first to incite a persecution against Christians, at the end of his most disgraceful life and reign, during which the divine apostles Peter and Paul became martyrs. And he killed many other Christians and persecuted even more.<sup>1</sup>

Nero killed the divine apostles Peter and Paul, did away with many Christians, and persecuted even more. Thereafter, he went throughout Rome and Greece ostentatiously celebrating his victories in singing to the kithara and in tragedy. And he was crowned by heralds in the Isthmian, Pythian, Elean, and Actian games for his victories in chariot races with teams of foals, horses, and ten-yoked horses. After altering even the Olympic games, he made a shameful spectacle of himself by performing on stage.<sup>2</sup>

At that time, he planned to dig a canal across the Isthmos in order to make the Peloponnese an island.<sup>3</sup>

Upon his return to Rome from Greece, he fled from there to Argos under pressure from insurrection, and was brutally killed by a member of his household; but according to others, he died by his own hand.<sup>4</sup>

Vespasian, a powerful member of the consulate, was sent by Nero against the Jews, who were in revolt. After routing them in two battles, he put them under siege.<sup>5</sup>

Josephos, serving as a Jewish commander, barely managed to escape with his life and predicted to Vespasian Nero's demise and his succession to power.<sup>6</sup>

Nero, Claudius' step-son, was adopted as a son by Claudius, the Roman emperor who preceded him. After Claudius, he was emperor of the Romans for thirteen years (according to others, fourteen).<sup>7</sup> It is manifest that in no other time were the Romans ruled more criminally and shamefully than during his reign. Acts of utter tyranny and cruelty were committed by him, uncontrolled

<sup>1</sup> Eus. 2.185<sup>c</sup>; *HE* 2.25.1–2.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.183<sup>e</sup>, 184<sup>df</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Suet. *Ner.* 19.2; Cass. Dio 63.16.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.185<sup>h</sup>; Cass. Dio 63.29; Suet. *Ner.* 49.2–4.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.185<sup>de</sup>.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.185<sup>f</sup>; Jos. *JW* 3.392–408.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.181.24–5 (13 years, 8 months, 7 days); Joh. Mal. 250.15 (13 years, 2 months); Georg. Mon. i. 364.13 (14 years).

415] deeds of licentiousness, and murders of his mother Agrippina, Octavia his own wife, his full brother, his paternal uncle, many other relatives, and members of the Senate. And in addition to all his outrages, he unveiled the first persecution against Christians, at which time Peter and Paul, the most divine apostles, received the crown of martyrdom for their struggle for Christ. Peter was crucified head downwards, a punishment he chose for himself; and Paul's blessed head was cut off. Concerning them, the Roman author Tertullian writes the following:

Read your memoirs. There you will find that Nero was the first to issue this decree, when, having subdued the whole East, he was a cruel persecutor against everyone, above all in Rome. Such is the kind of man we boast of as the author of our punishment. For he who knows that man is able to recognize that it would not have been condemned by Nero unless it were something great and good.<sup>1</sup>

In this, then, he was the first to be proclaimed most especially as a fighter against God, and raised up for slaughter against the apostles. Indeed, Paul was beheaded in Rome and likewise Peter is said to have been crucified in his time. And the formal statement<sup>2</sup> 'of Peter and Paul' which up to now endures in respect of the cemeteries there confirms the account. Gaius, a man of the church, writes in a similar vein in his discussion with a certain Proklos of the Phrygian heresy<sup>3</sup> when Zephyrinus was the fifteenth bishop of the church of Rome, during the reign of the Roman emperor Severus: 'I have<sup>4</sup> the trophies of the Apostles. For if you will go to the Vatican along the Ostian Way, you will find the trophies of those who have founded this church.'<sup>5</sup>

416] Dionysios the bishop of Corinth also writes in agreement with this, that they were manifestly martyred at the same time: 'By so great an admonition, you blended together the plant of the Romans and the Corinthians brought into being by Paul and Peter. For both of them alike taught us in their frequent visits to our Corinth, and similarly, having completed their teaching together in Italy, they were martyred at the same time.'<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Tert. *Apol.* 5.3 (= Eus. *HE* 2.25.4).

<sup>2</sup> Text: *πρόσρησις*. Cf. Eus. *HE* 2.25.5: *πρόσρησις* ('designation').

<sup>3</sup> The 'Phrygian heresy' is a reference to Montanism.

<sup>4</sup> Text: *ἔχω*. Cf. Eus. *HE* 2.25.7: *ἔχω δεῖξαι* ('I am able to point out').

<sup>5</sup> Although unattributed to him, the preceding paragraph is a verbatim quotation from Eus. *HE* 2.25.5-7.

<sup>6</sup> Dionysios, in Eus. *HE* 2.25.8.

(1) The first bishop of the Roman church after Peter the chief apostle was Linos  
18 years<sup>1</sup>

AM 5564

**Year 64 of the divine Incarnation**

When Nero had ended his life in disgrace, Vespasian was proclaimed Roman emperor by the armies throughout Judaea. But Galba, who was in command in Iberia, arrived in Rome and held power for seven months. Otho, a highly placed Roman official, slew him and held power over Rome for three months. After Vitellius killed him, he held power for eight months. When Vespasian's brother Sabinus, who was spending time in Rome, fled to the Capitol out of fear of his brother's proclamation as emperor, Vitellius killed him in the precinct of the temple of Zeus, after surrounding the man and burning the temple.<sup>2</sup>

The above-mentioned Vitellius was straight away killed by Vespasian's younger son Domitian, whom his father had dispatched for this purpose. After leaving behind his elder son Titus, who had concluded<sup>3</sup> the war against the Jews, Vespasian arrived in Greece, taking pleasure (so the Greek story goes) at what he had heard from Apollonios of Tyana concerning the length of time of his reign and other words of praise; he met him in Egypt upon Apollonios' return from the Indians and the Brahman Gymnosophists who lived there.<sup>4</sup> So then he arrived in Greece and quelled the cities in rebellion; and from there he arrived in Rome, exercising rule in a way that was both decent and entirely opposed to Nero's. For he brought life back to normal and restored the city's legal system, and through his sons Domitian and Cyrenalius,<sup>5</sup> he brought to terms the barbarians who were in rebellion: Broxyloi, Britons, Dacians, Sarmatai.

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**From Eusebios<sup>6</sup>**

Titus besieged the Jews, devastated Jerusalem and killed 60,000 men. Josephos also says that 1,100,000 perished by famine and the sword, and another 30,000 of the captives were sold off. He states that the feast of Passover was responsible for the great number of people that happened to be in the city. During the festival, the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.185<sup>b</sup> (11 years); HE 3.13 (12 years).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Eutrop. 7.16-18.

<sup>3</sup> Text: ἐκτελέσαντα. Possibly emend to ἐκτελέσοντα ('in order to conclude').

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Philost. *Apollonios* 5.27, 41; Suet. *Vesp.* 7.1.

<sup>5</sup> That is, Cerealis. <sup>6</sup> Eus. 2.187<sup>a</sup>. Cf. HE 3.5.4-5; Jos. *JW* 6.428.

whole nation had come together and were hemmed into the city as if they were in a prison.<sup>1</sup> For it was necessary that those who had plotted against our Saviour during the days of Passover should suffer punishment for what they dared at no time other but then.

Vespasian restored the Capitol, which had been set on fire.

There was rebellion in Alexandria.<sup>2</sup>

The Colossus of Rhodes was erected from bronze, 127 feet in height.<sup>3</sup>

There was a great plague throughout Rome, so that over the course of many days over 10,000 people died daily.

In Cyprus, three cities collapsed in an earthquake.<sup>4</sup>

After sending out colonies, Vespasian died of a disease.<sup>5</sup>

The bishop of Antioch was Ignatios Theophoros 30 years<sup>6</sup>.

### AM 5566

#### Year 66 of the divine Incarnation

#### The remaining narrative about Agrippa, king of the Jews

The kingdom of the Jews under foreign rulers was abolished, having lasted 100 years until the reign of this Agrippa the Little, in the following sequence:

Herod was the first king, who killed the infants in Bethlehem

37 years

His son Archelaos

9 years

Archelaos' brother Herod

24 years

Herod's son Agrippa, the Herod who was consumed by worms

7 years<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Jos. *JW* 6.421-8.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.186<sup>i</sup>, 188<sup>ab</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> Above, p. 402 (= Moss. 333.15), Synk. states that the Colossus of Rhodes collapsed much earlier in an earthquake; he apparently confused the Colossus of Rhodes with the colossus in Rome set up along the 'Sacred Way' and completed by the emperor Vespasian. Originally dedicated to Nero, it was rededicated to the sun. For the confusion of this colossus with the Colossus of Rhodes, see also *Chron. pasch.* 464.13-14; Kedr. i. 377.15-16. For a description of Vespasian's colossus, see Suet. *Vesp.* 18; Pliny, *NH* 34.18.45; Cass. Dio 66.15.1. Cf. also the parallel notice in Eus. 2.188<sup>d</sup>: 'Colossus erectus habens altitudinis pedes CVII' (but '128 Ellen' in Eus. *Arm* 2.217).  
<sup>4</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.188<sup>hg</sup>.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.188<sup>i</sup>; Cass. Dio 66.17.1-3; Suet. *Vesp.* 24.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.186<sup>f</sup>, 194<sup>h</sup> (40 years); *Xpov. συντ.* 74.26 (32 years).

<sup>7</sup> See Eus. 2.160.2-9, 170.5-8, 171.11-16, 177.13-17. Eusebios' and Synk.'s dates for Herod the Great and his descendants are thus far in agreement.

His son Agrippa, known as the 'Little'	23 years <sup>1</sup>
Total	100 years
The entire period from Adam up to the second year of Vespasian according to the present chronography totals	
From the Flood <sup>2</sup>	5567 years
From the first year of Abraham <sup>3</sup>	3325 years
From the first year of Abraham <sup>3</sup>	2255 years
From the Exodus (of the people through Moses <sup>4</sup>	1751 years
From the first building) of the temple through Solomon	
	<1088
	years <sup>5</sup> >
<From the second restoration of the temple,> that is the second year of Dareios <sup>6</sup>	<574 years>
{Years from the second restoration of the temple}	
From the siege of Antiochos	<258> years <sup>7</sup>
From the crucifixion of the Saviour	34 years <sup>8</sup>

AM 5575  
Year 75 of the divine Incarnation

(8) The eighth Roman emperor was Vespasian's son Titus  
2 years<sup>9</sup>

At the urging of the Senate, according to some, Titus was proclaimed a god in the second year of his reign<sup>10</sup> and died immediately thereafter by an act of God. But according to Greek historians, his brother Domitian, because of his lust for the monarchy, murdered him with poison.<sup>11</sup> It is said that Titus surpassed his predecessors in

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.179.18–20 (26 years).      <sup>2</sup> That is, AM 2242.

<sup>3</sup> That is, AM 3312; see above, p. 130 (= Moss. 105.6–7).

<sup>4</sup> That is, AM 3816; see above, p. 184 (= Moss. 147.3).

<sup>5</sup> Go.<sup>m</sup> completes the missing date with the number 1094. This proceeds from the assumption that Synk. has in mind the inception of the temple in 2 Solomon (AM 4472). Synk. dates its completion in AM 4478; see above, pp. 264–5 (= Moss. 213.1–4). Based on this date, Mosshammer completes the lacuna with the number 1088. But since Synk.'s dating of the previous dates reflects inclusive reckoning (up to the beginning of AM 5567), the correct number of years should probably be 1089 (AM 4478–5566).

<sup>6</sup> i.e. AM 4993; see above, p. 352 (= Moss. 289.10, 24–5).

<sup>7</sup> According to Synk., 1 Antiochos Epiphanes was AM 5310; see above, p. 414 (= Moss. 345.5–6). If this is the year of his siege, the number of elapsed years should be 257.

<sup>8</sup> Synk.'s dating from previous events in Jewish history appears to be an attempt to correct Eusebios' own chronology. Cf. Eus. 2.187<sup>b</sup>.

<sup>9</sup> Eus. 2.189.3 (2 years, 2 months).      <sup>10</sup> Eus. 2.190<sup>b</sup>.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Cass. Dio 66.26.

bringing good fortune to the affairs of the city and the entire Roman empire in a short span of time. During his reign, there was a great conflagration in Rome; and when at that time Mount Vesuvius exploded at its summit, it spewed forth so much fire that it consumed the neighbouring countryside together with its cities.<sup>1</sup>

419] Now as was said, Domitian, out of envy of Titus' success and in his lust for imperial rule, assassinated him with poison and reigned after him for twelve years; including his joint rule with him, Domitian reigned for fourteen years (according to others fifteen).<sup>2</sup> He exercised his power with the utmost depravity, pursuing every form of cruelty, greed, murderous deed, and obscene behaviour, so that even the palace itself was saturated with vice. He banished Nerva, on the charge of conspiring against the government. And because of him he imprisoned Apollonios the philosopher of Tyana, on the grounds that he was Nerva's friend, cutting off his hair and taking him to court in chains. But not even in this way did Domitian convince the philosopher not to rebuke and mock the proceedings. At that time, so the story goes, he immediately vanished after uttering to him this much-celebrated line, as Philostratos attests: 'you will not kill me, since I tell you I am not destined to die.'<sup>3</sup>

Domitian banished many patricians from Rome. At that time, he also built a temple without wood, and ordered<sup>4</sup> men to become eunuchs.<sup>5</sup> And he proclaimed his own wife as Augusta.<sup>6</sup>

He removed a second time the mathematical philosophers from Rome.<sup>7</sup>

Three consecrated Vestal Virgins, overcome by defilement, were condemned. And then Cornelia, the chief priestess of the Vestal Virgins, was buried alive for succumbing to defilement.

During his reign, the Dacians and Nasamonnes revolted against the Romans and were crushed.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.189<sup>b</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.189.24-5 (15 years, 5 months); Joh. Mal. 262.11-12 (15 years, 2 months); Cass. Dio 67.18 (15 years, 5 months).

<sup>3</sup> Philost. *Apollonios* 8.5. Apollonios' quotation is from *Il.* 22.13.

<sup>4</sup> Text: ἐκέλευσεν, probably corrupt for ἐκώλυσεν ('forbade'). Cf. *Chron. pasch.* 465.17: Δομετιανὸς εὐνουχίζειν ἄνδρας ἐκώλυσεν; Eus. 2.217<sup>Arm</sup>; Eus. 2.190<sup>c</sup>: 'Domitianus eunuchos fieri prohibuit.'

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.190<sup>ceg</sup>; Cass. Dio 67.2.3; Philost. *Apollonios* 6.42.

<sup>6</sup> Eus. 2.190<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>7</sup> Text μαθηματικούς . . . φιλοσόφους. Cf. Eus. 2.190<sup>n</sup>: 'mathematicos et philosophos' ('astrologers and philosophers'). On the latter see also Suet. *Dom.* 10.3.

Domitian celebrated his triumph over the Dacians and Germans.<sup>1</sup> He prohibited planting of the grapevine in urban areas, and killed many of the patricians.<sup>2</sup>

Domitian ordered the descendants of David to be killed, in order that no Jew of royal lineage might survive.<sup>3</sup>

After Nero, he was the second to persecute Christians, and banished John the theologian and apostle to the island of Patmos. There he beheld the revelation, as the holy Irenaeus says.<sup>4</sup> Many Christians became martyrs during Domitian's reign, as Brettius recounts.<sup>5</sup> Among them was the niece of the consul Flavius Clemens, Flavia Domitilla, who was banished for being a Christian to the island of Pontia. Clement himself was killed for Christ.<sup>6</sup> One of his freedmen, a certain Stephanos, out of devotion to his master Clement, killed Domitian in an ambush. He was honoured by the Senate for having rid the Romans of an enormous disgrace.<sup>7</sup> [420]

Succeeding Peter the chief apostle as bishop of the Roman church was Anenkletos 2 years<sup>8</sup>

#### AM 5576

#### Year 76 of the divine Incarnation

Domitian was Roman emperor 12 years<sup>9</sup>

#### AM 5577

#### Year 77 of the divine Incarnation

(4) The fourth to preside over the Roman church was Clement 9 years<sup>10</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Eus. 2.190<sup>nd</sup>, 191<sup>d</sup>, 190<sup>i</sup>, 191<sup>b</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.191<sup>eh</sup>; Philost. *Apollonios* 6.42; Eutrop. 7.23.2.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.192<sup>e</sup>; *HE* 3.19.

<sup>4</sup> Iren. *Haer.* 5.30.3. Cf. Eus. 2.192<sup>a</sup>; *HE* 3.18.1.

<sup>5</sup> On the chronicler Brettius, see also Joh. Mal. 262.19 ('Bottios'); *Chron. pasch.* 69.13–14; 468.7–8 ('Brouttios').

<sup>6</sup> Eus. 2.192<sup>e</sup>; cf. *HE* 3.18.4.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Philost. *Apollonios* 8.25.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.189<sup>e</sup> (12 years). At p. 493 (Moss. 416.4–5) Peter's successor was Linos; below Clement will be the fourth to preside over the Roman church, which he can be (on these data) only if we count Peter as no. 1, Linos as no. 2, and Anenkletos as no. 3.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.189.24–5 (15 years, 5 months).

<sup>10</sup> Eus. 2.191<sup>f</sup>.

AM 5578

**Year 78 of the divine Incarnation**

In his first letter to the Philippians, the apostle makes mention of him, saying, 'Along with Clement and my other co-workers, whose names are in the book of life'.<sup>1</sup> One authentic letter by Clement is in circulation, which is written in the name of the Roman church, when dissension had at that time broken out in Corinth, as Hegesippos attests, and which is also approved by the Church.<sup>2</sup>

(5) The fifth Roman bishop was Euarestos 9 years  
In Rome and over all the inhabited world, many divine signs occurred.<sup>3</sup>

(3) The third bishop of Alexandria was Aemilius 12 years<sup>4</sup>

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AM 5587

**Year 87 of the divine Incarnation****From Hegesippos concerning those from the family of David and the Saviour, whom the heretics denounced to Domitian<sup>5</sup>**

There were still surviving from the family of the Lord sons<sup>6</sup> of Judas, who is said to have been his brother according to the flesh; and they were informed on,<sup>7</sup> as being from the family of David. These the veteran officer<sup>8</sup> brought to Domitian. For, like Herod, he feared the coming of the Christ, and asked them about the size of their property and how much money they controlled. Both said that they only had 9000 denarii between them, half of that belonging to each one of them. They also stated that this was not in money, but the valuation of only 39 plethra of land,<sup>9</sup> from which they paid taxes and from which they made their living by farming it.

(3) The third bishop of Jerusalem was Justus 7 years<sup>10</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Phil. 4.3.<sup>2</sup> Cf. Eus. *HE* 3.15–16.<sup>3</sup> Eus. 2.193<sup>g</sup>, 192<sup>f</sup>.<sup>4</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.190<sup>f</sup>; *HE* 3.21 (Abilios, for 13 years).<sup>5</sup> Hegesippos, in Eus. *HE* 3.20.1–2.<sup>6</sup> Text: *υἱῶν*. Cf. Eus. *HE* 3.20.1: *υἱωνοί* ('grandsons').<sup>7</sup> Text: *ἐδηλάτευσαν*. Cf. Eus. *HE* 3.20.1: *ἐδηλατόρευσαν*.<sup>8</sup> Text: *ὁ ἰούκατος*. Cf. Eus. *HE* 3.20.1: *ὁ ἡουοκᾶτος* (= Lat. *evocatus*, a soldier called on to do volunteer service).<sup>9</sup> A plethron is 10,000 square feet (whatever the local standard foot), hence in the order of 950 m<sup>2</sup>, roughly corresponding to the dunam (Turkish *dönüm*).<sup>10</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.194<sup>f</sup>, 196<sup>a</sup> (4 years); *Xρον. συντ.* 77.19 (7 years). In the latter, this bishop is called Judas as well as Justus.



AM 5587

**Year 87 of the divine Incarnation**

The philosophers Apollonios of Tyana and Euphrates were flourishing.<sup>1</sup>

AM 5588

**Year 88 of the divine Incarnation**

Domitian's honours were revoked by the Senate, and those who had been unlawfully exiled returned. Some also recovered their property.<sup>2</sup>

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**From the holy Irenaeus, bishop of Lugdunum, from the second book of his *Against the Heresies*, concerning the holy John the Theologian<sup>3</sup>**

And all the elders who had been in contact with John the disciple of the Lord in Asia attest to the tradition that John passed down. For he remained with them until the times of Trajan.

In agreement with this, Clement of Alexandria in the work entitled *Who is the Rich Man that is Saved?* also writes that following the death of the tyrant Domitian, John the Theologian returned from Patmos; and he was urged to appoint bishops for the neighbouring Gentile districts, and for some even put together whole churches. In this narrative, he weaves in the useful story about a young man, added in for the benefit of those who are repenting for many sins. He tells how John entrusted him to a certain one of the bishops in Asia, after bearing witness to him concerning his salvation; and after that bishop had baptized him and instructed him in divine doctrine, he left him on his own. Some of his peers led him astray, and because of his bodily stature, they chose him to lead their robber gang. After a certain time had elapsed, the Theologian demanded that the bishop pay back, so to speak, the deposit of Christ. And when in a state of confusion that bishop then learnt that his inquiry was a demand for the return of the young man and not money, he sighed deeply and told him that he had died to God and had become a robber-chief. But the apostle, he says,

<sup>1</sup> Eus. 2.192<sup>d</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.193<sup>b</sup>; *HE* 3.20.8.

<sup>3</sup> Iren. *Haer.* 2.22.5, in Eus. *HE* 3.23.3.

charged him with neglect of the youth. And on horseback, he caught up with the band of robbers on his own, and set out after the youth who was fleeing from him. With prayers and tears, he overtook him even though he was extremely advanced in years. And with kind words which lead to repentance and hope of life, he gave him enlightenment. With tears and lamentations he brought him back with him; and through his repentance he granted him salvation and forgiveness and restored him to the Church, so that through him everyone might be taught that repentance is a great example, a trophy of resurrection, and a testimony of regeneration.<sup>1</sup>

(10) The tenth Roman emperor was Nerva 1 year<sup>2</sup>

423]

AM 5589

### Year 89 of the divine Incarnation

Nerva ruled with humanity and wisdom, and died of an illness in the Sallustian gardens.<sup>3</sup>

Philostratos states that during Nerva's reign Apollonios of Tyana died in old age, having signalled beforehand the circumstances of his death to Nerva, and in a personal letter at that.<sup>4</sup>

(11) The eleventh Roman emperor was Trajan 19 years<sup>5</sup>

AM 5590

### Year 90 of the divine Incarnation

Justus of Tiberias, the Jewish historian, was becoming known.<sup>6</sup>

Tertullian records that Plinius Secundus, a provincial governor, condemned a multitude of Christians to death. At a loss as to what to do about them, he communicated to Trajan a report that except for avoiding offering sacrifice to idols they were doing nothing deserving death, that they arose at dawn and sang hymns to Christ as a God, and abstained from all evil. In his rescript, Trajan told him that Christians were not to be sought out.<sup>7</sup>

Upon subduing the Dacians and Scythians, Trajan celebrated his victory over them, after having made Dacia a province.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Clem. Al. *Quis dives salvetur* 42, quoted in Eus. *HE* 3.23.5-19.

<sup>2</sup> Eus. 2.192.25-6 (1 year, 4 months).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.193<sup>d</sup>; Cass. Dio 68.4; Eutrop. 8.1.

<sup>4</sup> Philost. *Apollonios* 8.27-30.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.193.17-18 (19 years, 6 months).

<sup>6</sup> Eus. 2.193<sup>c</sup>.

<sup>7</sup> Tert. *Apol.* 2, cited in Eus. 2.195<sup>a</sup>; *HE* 3.33.3.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.194<sup>ab</sup>.

In Rome, the Golden House was set on fire.

Four cities in Asia collapsed from earthquakes: Elaia, Myrina, Pitane, and Kyme; in Greece, Opountia and Oritos.

The Pantheon was destroyed by a thunderbolt.

Three cities in Galatia collapsed from an earthquake.<sup>1</sup>

(6) The sixth bishop of Rome was Alexander 12 years<sup>2</sup> [424

AM 5595

(2) Ignatios Theophoros, the second bishop of Antioch, received the crown of martyrdom for Christ during the reign of Trajan.

(3) The third bishop of Antioch was Heron 20 years<sup>3</sup>

AM 5596

(4) The fourth bishop of Alexandria was Kerdon 10 years<sup>4</sup>

AM 5597

((2) The second bishop of Jerusalem was Symeon, also known as Simon, the son of Kleopas 23 years<sup>5</sup>)

During the reign of Trajan, he became a martyr in the persecution that took place at his time.<sup>6</sup>

(3) The third bishop of Jerusalem was Justus 6 years<sup>7</sup>

(4) The fourth bishop of Jerusalem was Zakcheios 4 years<sup>8</sup>

AM 5597

Year 97 of the divine Incarnation

Irenaeus and others record that John the Theologian and apostle survived until the time of Trajan. After him, his disciples, the bishops Papias of Hierapolis and Polycarp of Smyrna, were becoming known.<sup>9</sup>

(5) The fifth bishop of Jerusalem was Tobias 4 years<sup>10</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Eus. 2.194<sup>cd</sup>, 195<sup>ed</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.195<sup>b</sup> (10 years).

<sup>3</sup> Eus. 2.194<sup>h</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.193<sup>a</sup> (11 years).

<sup>5</sup> Mosshammer inserts this material from above, p. 487 (= Moss. 409.18–19).

<sup>6</sup> Eus. 2.194<sup>f</sup>.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.194<sup>fg</sup> (5 years).

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.196<sup>a</sup> (without years); *Xρον. συντ.* 77.20 (9 years).

<sup>9</sup> Iren. *Haer.* 2.22.5; 3.3.4; 5.33.4. Cf. Eus. 2.193<sup>h</sup>; *HE* 3.23.3, 39.1.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.196<sup>a</sup> (without years); *Xρον. συντ.* 77.21 (5 years).

425]

AM 5600

**Year 100 of the divine Incarnation****The remaining years of Trajan, the eleventh ruler of the Romans**

When the Jews throughout Libya, Cyrene, Egypt, Alexandria and the Thebaïd commenced hostilities against the Greek inhabitants there, they were utterly destroyed.<sup>1</sup>

Antioch suffered an earthquake when Trajan was staying there.<sup>2</sup>

Trajan ordered Lysius Quintus<sup>3</sup> to eliminate the insurgents in Mesopotamia. For killing many tens of thousands of Jews, he was thereby appointed governor of Judaea.<sup>4</sup>

After killing the Greeks at Salamis in Cyprus, the Jews razed the city.<sup>5</sup>

The Senate passed a resolution making Trajan a god.<sup>6</sup>

According to Eusebios, Trajan died of an illness in Selinous; but according to others, he died of dysentery in Seleukeia of Isauria.<sup>7</sup>

(7) The seventh Roman bishop was Xystos	9 years <sup>8</sup>
⟨(5) The fifth⟩ bishop of Alexandria was Primus	12 years <sup>9</sup>
(6) The sixth bishop of Jerusalem was Benjamin	2 years
(7) The seventh bishop of Jerusalem was Joannes	2 years
(8) The eighth bishop of Jerusalem was Matthias	2 years <sup>10</sup>

AM 5609

**Year 109 of the divine Incarnation**

(12) The twelfth Roman emperor was Aelius Hadrian

21 years<sup>11</sup>

The holy Quadratus, a disciple of the apostles, delivered an apologia to the emperor Aelius Hadrian, on behalf of Christians, in

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.196<sup>d</sup>; HE 4.2.1-4; Cass. Dio 68.32.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.196<sup>c</sup> (without the mention of Trajan); Cass. Dio 68.24.1.

<sup>3</sup> Text: Λουσίω Κύντῳ; cf. Eus. HE 4.2.5: Λουσίω Κνήτῳ ('Lusius Quietus').

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.196<sup>e</sup>; HE 4.2.5.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.196<sup>f</sup>.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.197<sup>f</sup>; Eutrop. 8.5.2.

<sup>7</sup> Eus. 2.197<sup>a</sup>. For the tradition about Trajan's death in Seleukeia, see Eutrop. 8.5.2.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.198<sup>b</sup>; HE 4.5.5 (10 years).

<sup>9</sup> Eus. 2.194<sup>e</sup>.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.196<sup>a</sup> (without years). Cf. also Χρον. συντ. 77.22-4, which gives 3 years for Benjamin, 2 years each for Joannes and Matthias.

<sup>11</sup> Eus. 2.197.10.

which he reports something like the following: 'The works of our Saviour were always present; for they were true. Those who were healed and those who rose from the dead did not appear only as healed and raised, but also as always present—not only when the Saviour dwelt among us, but for a considerable time after he had gone, so that some of them have survived even to our own time.'<sup>1</sup> Aristeides also, an Athenian philosopher, addressed analogous words to emperor Hadrian on behalf of the Christians. Caesar received this apology along with a work from Serenius, the most illustrious governor, who wrote that it would be unjust to kill Christians without a trial and in the absence of written accusations. So Hadrian wrote to Minucius Fundanus<sup>2</sup> the proconsul of Asia not to execute anyone without written accusations and a formal charge.<sup>3</sup>

Hadrian punished the Jews for rising up against the Alexandrians.

Hadrian waived the financial obligations owed to the public treasury by the cities subject to him, by burning the tax records.<sup>4</sup>

He forgave the Romans many taxes, for which reason the Senate decreed him to be a god.<sup>5</sup>

He financed the restoration of Nikomedeia, which had collapsed in an earthquake, and Nikaia, cities in Bithynia.

In response to a petition from the Athenians, he introduced laws based on those of Drakon and Solon; when he was in Athens for the winter, he was initiated into the Eleusinian Mysteries and furnished Eleusis with a bridge, since it had been flooded by the river Kephisos.<sup>6</sup>

In old age, the philosopher Plutarch of Chaironeia was appointed by the emperor as procurator of Greece.

The philosopher Sextus, as well as Agathoboulos and Oinomaos, were becoming known.

The Sauromatai were vanquished in war.<sup>7</sup>

Throughout Libya and Egypt, the Jews were devastated by warfare.

Hadrian sent a colony to Libya, which had been laid waste.<sup>8</sup>

Hadrian was proclaimed 'Pater Patriae' and his wife 'Augusta'.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See Eus. *HE* 4.3; Eus. 2.199<sup>b</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Eus. *HE* 4.8.6 (Minucius Fundanus).

<sup>3</sup> Eus. 2.199<sup>b</sup>; *HE* 4.8.6–7.

<sup>4</sup> Eus. 2.197<sup>eh</sup>.

<sup>5</sup> Eus. 2.197<sup>f</sup> (Trajan); 2.219<sup>Arm</sup> (Hadrian).

<sup>6</sup> Eus. 2.198<sup>e</sup>, 198<sup>hi</sup>.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.198<sup>ad</sup>.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.198<sup>g</sup>.

<sup>9</sup> Eus. 2.199<sup>c</sup>.

427]	(8) The eighth bishop of Rome was Telesphoros	10 years <sup>1</sup>
	(4) The fourth bishop of Antioch was Cornelius	13 years <sup>2</sup>
	(6) The sixth bishop of Alexandria was Justus	10 years <sup>3</sup>
	Nikopolis and Caesarea collapsed in an earthquake. <sup>4</sup>	
	(9) The ninth bishop of Jerusalem was Philippos	2 years
	(10) The tenth bishop of Jerusalem was Seneca	1 year
	(11) The eleventh bishop of Jerusalem was Justus	4 years
	(12) The twelfth bishop of Jerusalem was Levi	4 years <sup>5</sup>

## AM 5621

## Year 121 of the divine Incarnation

## The remaining years of Aelius Hadrian, the twelfth ruler of the Romans

When Hadrian was spending the winter in Athens, he was initiated into the Eleusinian Mysteries. He sponsored games there, restoring numerous buildings in the area and establishing libraries.<sup>6</sup>

Hadrian sent out an army against a Jewish uprising, since the Jews, after many wars, had overrun Judaea from Egypt and Libya.<sup>7</sup> The governor of Judaea was Tinnius Rufus, who was also the man directing the war against the Jews. The leader of the Jewish uprising was a certain Chochebas (which meant 'star'), the only-begotten.<sup>8</sup> He inflicted all kinds of ordeals on the Christians because they refused to ally with him against the Romans. Events turned out badly for the Jews, and the war against them came to an end with the final conquest of Jerusalem, so that in accordance with the divine pronouncement there was left not a stone upon a stone.<sup>9</sup> From that time, then, by the command of God and through the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.199<sup>d</sup>; HE 4.10 (11 years).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.199<sup>e</sup>, 202<sup>f</sup> (14 years).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.198<sup>c</sup> (11 years).

<sup>4</sup> Eus. 2.200<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>5</sup> Eus. 2.198<sup>k</sup> (without years). For the years of these four bishops, cf. also *Χρον. συντ.* 77.25–8 (2, 1, 5, and 5 years respectively).

<sup>6</sup> Eus. 2.200<sup>fg</sup>.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.200<sup>h</sup>.

<sup>8</sup> Text: *Χωχεβᾶς τις ὁ μονογενής*; A: *χοχεβάστης*. Cf. Eus. 2.201<sup>b</sup> (Chochebas); Eus. HE 4.6.2 (*Βαρχωχεβας*). 'Barchochebas' more faithfully renders 'Bar Cochba', the Hebrew name of the Jewish leader. The application of Synk.'s description of Bar Cochba as *ὁ μονογενής* ('the only-begotten') is uncertain; perhaps a Christian attempt to make him claim to be, not only the Messiah, but God's only son like Jesus Christ.

<sup>9</sup> Matt. 24.2.

power of Rome, they were absolutely barred from entering the city and were scattered everywhere.<sup>1</sup>

Hadrian died of dropsy in Baïae in Italy.<sup>2</sup>

- |   |                       |      |
|---|-----------------------|------|
| (9) The ninth bishop of Rome was Hyginus            | 4 years               |      |
| (5) The fifth bishop of Antioch was Eros            | 26 years              |      |
| (7) The seventh bishop of Alexandria was Eumenes    | 13 years <sup>3</sup> |      |
| (13) The thirteenth bishop of Jerusalem was Ephraïm | 2 years <sup>4</sup>  | [428 |

Favorinus and Polemon the rhetor were becoming known.<sup>5</sup>

Herodes the Athenian rhetor.

Marcus the rhetor of Byzantion.

(14) The fourteenth bishop of Jerusalem was Joseph 2 years

(15) The fifteenth bishop of Jerusalem was Judas 2 years<sup>6</sup>

At his time, and during the reign of Hadrian, the absolute and final conquest of the city and the Jewish nation occurred. After that, the first of the Gentiles to be bishop of Jerusalem was Marcus 8 years<sup>7</sup>

#### AM 5629

#### Year 129 of the divine Incarnation

(16) The sixteenth bishop of Jerusalem, but the first bishop of Jerusalem from the Gentiles, was Marcus 8 years<sup>8</sup>

#### AM 5630

#### Year 130 of the divine Incarnation

(13) The thirteenth Roman emperor was Titus Antoninus, surnamed 'Pius'; he reigned jointly with his sons Aurelius and Lucius 23 years<sup>9</sup>

Antoninus was hailed as 'Pater Patriae'.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Eus. 2.200<sup>h</sup>, 201<sup>bc</sup>; HE 4.6.2-3, 8.4.

<sup>2</sup> Eus. 2.201<sup>f</sup>; Joh. Mal. 280.6; Cass. Dio 69.22.

<sup>3</sup> Eus. 2.202<sup>af</sup>, 205<sup>i</sup>, 200<sup>c</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> Eus. 2.198<sup>k</sup> (without years). See also *Xpov. σvvτ.* 77.29 (2 years).

<sup>5</sup> Eus. 2.200<sup>i</sup>.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.198<sup>k</sup> (Joses and Judas, without years). See also *Xpov. σvvτ.* 77.30-1 (3 and 2 years respectively). This latter work knows Joseph by the name Josias as well.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.198<sup>k</sup>, 201<sup>d</sup>.

<sup>8</sup> Eus. 2.198<sup>k</sup>, 201<sup>d</sup>; HE 4.6.4 (without years).

<sup>9</sup> Eus. 2.202.1-3 (22 years, 3 months).

<sup>10</sup> Eus. 2.202<sup>b</sup>.

Justin received the title 'the Philosopher'. He delivered a book to Antoninus in defence of our orthodox doctrine.<sup>1</sup>

(10) The tenth Roman bishop was Pius 15 years<sup>2</sup>

429] During the period from Hyginus and Pius the bishops of Rome until Aniketos, Valentinianus<sup>3</sup> and Kerdon, instigators of the Marcionite heresy, were becoming known in Rome.<sup>4</sup>

Mesomedes of Crete, a poet who composed melodies for the kithara, was becoming known, as well as Tauros the Platonist of Beirut.

The philosopher Arrian, a general of Nikomedeia, was becoming known.<sup>5</sup>

Epiktetos, Euphrates, and Peregrinos, who immolated himself in imitation of Kalanos the Brahman gymnosophist and contemporary of Alexander of Macedon.<sup>6</sup>

Maximos of Tyre, Apollonios the Chalkedonian Stoic, and Basileides of Scythopolis: these men were also teachers of Caesar Verissimus.<sup>7</sup>

Criscus<sup>8</sup> the Cynic philosopher orchestrated a martyr's death for Justin our divine philosopher because he was reproached by him for his dog-like gluttony.<sup>9</sup>

(7) The seventh bishop of Alexandria was Eumenes <13> years<sup>10</sup>

(8) The eighth bishop of Alexandria was Marcianus 10 years<sup>11</sup>

(16) The sixteenth bishop of Jerusalem was Marcus 8 years

(17) The seventeenth bishop of Jerusalem was Cassianus  
5 years<sup>12</sup>

### AM 5638

### Year 138 of the divine Incarnation

<sup>1</sup> Eus. 2.202<sup>d</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> Eus. 2.202<sup>e</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> i.e. Valentinus.

<sup>4</sup> Eus. 2.202<sup>c</sup>; *HE* 4.11.1 (from *Iren. Haer.* 3.4.3).

<sup>5</sup> Eus. 2.202<sup>ik</sup>, 203<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>6</sup> Eus. 2.198<sup>f</sup>, 204<sup>g</sup>; *Lucian. Peregr.* 20–36. See below, pp. 507–8 (= *Moss.* 430.14–15).

<sup>7</sup> Eus. 2.203<sup>ab</sup>.

<sup>8</sup> i.e. Crescens.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.203<sup>d</sup>; *HE* 4.16. The description of Criscus as dog-like (*κυνικήν*) is a word-play on his identity as a Cynic philosopher.

<sup>10</sup> Eus. 2.200<sup>c</sup> (13 years).

<sup>11</sup> Eus. 2.202<sup>g</sup>.

<sup>12</sup> Eus. 2.203<sup>f</sup> (without years). See also *Xρον. συντ.* 77.32 (5 years).



## AM 5640

## Year 140 of the divine Incarnation

- (10) The tenth bishop of Rome was Pius <15> years<sup>1</sup>  
 (11) The eleventh bishop of Rome was Aniketos 11 years<sup>2</sup> [430  
 In his time, Polycarp turned many in Rome away from heresies.<sup>3</sup>  
 (9) The ninth bishop of Alexandria was Keladion 14 years<sup>4</sup>  
 (18) The eighteenth bishop of Jerusalem was Publius  
 5 years  
 (19) The nineteenth bishop of Jerusalem was Maximus  
 4 years  
 (20) The twentieth bishop of Jerusalem was Julianus  
 2 years<sup>5</sup>

## AM 5653

## Year 153 of the divine Incarnation

(14) The fourteenth Roman emperor was Marcus Aurelius, also known as Verus, along with both Lucius Aurelius and Commodus<sup>6</sup>  
 19 years<sup>7</sup>

As he was performing sacred rites in Athens, Lucius Caesar saw fire stretching across heaven from West to East.<sup>8</sup>

After subduing the Parthians, Lucius Caesar celebrated a triumph over them.<sup>9</sup>

Ouologessos,<sup>10</sup> king of the Parthians, launched an incursion against Roman territory.<sup>11</sup>

At a festival, the philosopher Peregrinos lit a fire and immolated

<sup>1</sup> Eus. 2.202<sup>e</sup> (15 years).

<sup>2</sup> Eus. 2.203<sup>e</sup> (11 years).

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Eus. 2.203<sup>c</sup> (14 years).

<sup>5</sup> Eus. 2.203<sup>f</sup>; HE 5.12.2 (without years). See also *Χρον. συντ.* 77.39–41, which gives the same years as Synk.

<sup>6</sup> Text: *Μάρκος Αὐρήλιος ὁ καὶ Οὐῆρος, Λούκιός τε Αὐρήλιος καὶ Κόμοδος*. Cf. Eus. 2.204.7–9: 'Marcus Antonius, qui et Uerus, et Lucius Aurelius Commodus.' Synk. apparently understands three distinct figures: Marcus Aurelius Verus (referred to below as Antoninus), the co-regent Lucius Aurelius (Lucius Aurelius Verus) and Marcus Aurelius' son Commodus (Lucius Aurelius Commodus). Perhaps we should read <ὁ> καὶ Κόμοδος ('also called Commodus').

<sup>7</sup> Eus. 2.204.7 (18 years, 1 month).

<sup>8</sup> Eus. 2.204<sup>c</sup>.

<sup>9</sup> Eus. 2.205<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>10</sup> i.e. Vologeses.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.204<sup>d</sup>

himself, in imitation of the Brahman Kalanos, the gymnosophist and contemporary of Alexander.<sup>1</sup>

The most holy Polycarp, bishop of Smyrna, was perfected by martyrdom for Christ, when persecution had broken out throughout Asia.<sup>2</sup>

Many in Gaul contended as true athletes for Christ; a record of their martyrdom is publicly registered as a memorial for posterity.<sup>3</sup>

The Romans contended with the Germans, Sauromatai, Dacians, and Quadi; a plague swept the land and reached as far as Rome.<sup>4</sup>

The emperor Lucius died in the ninth year of his reign.<sup>5</sup>

Apollinarios, the bishop of Hierapolis in Asia, a holy man, was flourishing. Melito was bishop of Lydia of Sardis; he delivered a book to Antoninus in defence of the Christians.<sup>6</sup>

431] Dionysios, bishop of Corinth, a holy man, was becoming known.<sup>7</sup>

Oppian, the poet who composed the *Halieutika*, a Cilician by birth, was flourishing.<sup>8</sup>

Through the prayers of the Christians, the Roman army, on the verge of perishing by thirst amongst the Quadi, was rescued after God made it rain and destroyed their opponents the Germans and Sauromatai with a thunderbolt; Antoninus himself also attests to this in his letter. Pertinax was commander of the army.<sup>9</sup>

<(11) The eleventh bishop of the Romans was Aniketos

11 years<sup>10</sup>>

In his time Polycarp was in Rome.<sup>11</sup>

(12) The twelfth bishop of the Romans was Soterichos

9 years<sup>12</sup>

(6) The sixth bishop of Antioch was Theophilos 13 years<sup>13</sup>

Various writings of this Theophilos exist and are in circulation.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.204<sup>g</sup>; Lucian, *Peregr.* 20–37.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.205<sup>c</sup>; *HE* 4.15.

<sup>3</sup> Eus. 2.205<sup>e</sup>; *HE* 5.1–4.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.205<sup>fg</sup>; Eutrop. 8.12.2.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.205<sup>k</sup>.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.206<sup>ab</sup>; *HE* 4.26.1.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.206<sup>c</sup>; *HE* 4.21.

<sup>8</sup> Eus. 2.206<sup>g</sup>. The *Halieutika*, attributed to Oppian, was a poetical work on fishing.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.206<sup>i</sup>; *HE* 5.5.1–2.

<sup>10</sup> Mosshammer supplies from p. 507 (= Moss. 429.21).

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.203<sup>e</sup>; *HE* 4.19 (11 years).

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.205<sup>h</sup>; *HE* 5. praef. 1 (8 years).

<sup>13</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.205<sup>i</sup>, 207<sup>c</sup> (8 years); *Xpov. συντ.* 74.33 (14 years).

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.205<sup>i</sup>; *HE* 4.20, 24.



Antoninus died of illness in Pannonia, but according to others it was in Spain.<sup>1</sup>

(13) The thirteenth Roman bishop was Eleutherios 15 years<sup>2</sup>

(7) The seventh bishop of Antioch was Maximus 13 years<sup>3</sup>

(25) The twenty-fifth bishop of Jerusalem was Elias 2 years<sup>4</sup>

(26) The twenty-sixth bishop of Jerusalem was Apion (some say it was Kapiton) 4 years<sup>5</sup>

Smyrna, a city in Asia, collapsed from an earthquake; and in order to restore it, the city was exempted from taxes for ten years.<sup>6</sup>

#### AM 5672

#### Year 172 of the divine Incarnation

(15) The fifteenth Roman emperor was Commodus 13 years<sup>7</sup>

Commodus was proclaimed Augustus by the Senate.<sup>8</sup>

433] He celebrated his triumph over the Germans.<sup>9</sup>

Irenaeus, bishop of the city of Lugdunum in Gaul, was conspicuous for his divine words and deeds.<sup>10</sup>

The Serapeion in Alexandria was consumed by fire.

A thunderbolt incinerated the libraries on the Capitol, as well as other areas on it.

Commodus removed the head of the solar colossus in Rhodes and replaced it with his own.

A great fire consumed the Palatium in Rome, the house of the virgins, and a great many other places.<sup>11</sup>

After doing away with the nobility in the Senate, among whom were the jurist Julianus and his own nephew Antoninus, Commodus was killed in the palace by Narkissos, one of the king's horse-trainers.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.208<sup>d</sup>; Joh. Mal. 282.13; *Chron. pasch.* 489.12–14 (Pannonia). Cf. Cass. Dio 71.33, which states that Antoninus was murdered.

<sup>2</sup> Eus. 2.207<sup>b</sup> (15 years); but cf. *HE* 5.22 (13 years).

<sup>3</sup> Eus. 2.207<sup>c</sup>, 209<sup>d</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> Elias is lacking in Eusebios' *Canons*, but cf. *Χρον. συντ.* 77.45.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.203<sup>f</sup>; *HE* 5.12 (Kapiton).

<sup>6</sup> Eus. 2.208<sup>c</sup>.

<sup>7</sup> Eus. 2.208.15–16.

<sup>8</sup> Eus. 2.208<sup>b</sup>.

<sup>9</sup> Eus. 2.208<sup>f</sup>.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.208<sup>h</sup>; *HE* 5.5.8.

<sup>11</sup> Eus. 2.208<sup>g</sup>, 209<sup>acf</sup>.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.209<sup>e</sup>. On Narkissos' murder of Commodus, see Herodian 1.17.11; Cass. Dio 73.16.5; *SHA* Nig. 1.5. Synk.'s description of Narkissos as a horse-trainer (*ἵπποδαμαστής*) may be a corruption of *ἀκμαστής* ('first-class sportsman') as in Herodian. The *Suda* (s.v. *Ἀμάστης* [*sic*]) describes Narkissos as *ἄνδρα γενναῖόν τε καὶ ἀμάστης* (*sic*).

(14) The fourteenth Roman bishop was Victor	12 years <sup>1</sup>	
(7) The seventh bishop of Antioch was Maximus	13 years <sup>2</sup>	
(8) The eighth bishop of Antioch was Serapion	25 years <sup>3</sup>	
(10) The tenth bishop of Alexandria was Agrippinus	12 years <sup>4</sup>	
(11) The eleventh bishop of Alexandria was Julius	10 years <sup>5</sup>	
(12) The twelfth bishop of Alexandria was Demetrios	43 years <sup>6</sup>	
(27) The twenty-seventh bishop of Jerusalem was Maximus	4 years	
(28) The twenty-eighth bishop of Jerusalem was Antoninus	5 years	
(29) The twenty-ninth bishop of Jerusalem was Valens	3 years	
(30) The thirtieth bishop of Jerusalem was Narkissos <sup>7</sup>	4 years	[434

## AM 5685

## Year 185 of the divine Incarnation

- (16) The sixteenth Roman emperor was Helvius Pertinax  
6 months
- (17) The seventeenth Roman emperor was Severus 18 years<sup>8</sup>

Pertinax was proclaimed Roman emperor by the Senate and the people. A man of the highest character and extremely cautious in military affairs, he was killed by soldiers for this reason. According to Eusebios, he reigned for six months (but according to others, it was not even three months in all).<sup>9</sup> His successor in the principate was Julianus, called Didius; because he used bribes to purchase the empire, he was removed from power by the friends of Severus after two months.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.210<sup>c</sup>; HE 5.28.7 (10 years).

<sup>2</sup> Eus. 2.207<sup>c</sup>, 209<sup>d</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.209<sup>d</sup>, 213<sup>b</sup> (21 years).

<sup>4</sup> Eus. 2.205<sup>b</sup>; HE 5.9.

<sup>5</sup> Eus. 2.208<sup>c</sup>.

<sup>6</sup> Eus. 2.209<sup>b</sup>; HE 6.26.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.208<sup>l</sup>; HE 5.12.2 (without years). Eusebios names a bishop Dolichianos before Narkissos. See also *Xpov. σvvτ.* 77.47–78.3, which gives the same list of Jerusalem bishops as Eusebios, and assigns 4 years to Dolichianos and 12 years to Narkissos.

<sup>8</sup> Eus. 2.210.4–5, 20–1.

<sup>9</sup> Eus. 2.210.4–5; cf. Cass. Dio 73.10.3 (87 days); Eutrop. 8.16 (80 days).

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Eutrop. 8.16–17.

After becoming emperor, Severus immediately executed the murderers of Pertinax.<sup>1</sup>

Clement, the author of the *Stromateis*, a presbyter of the Alexandrian church and a most outstanding teacher, excelled in his writing on Christian philosophy.

Pantainos, a Stoic philosopher, was eminent in divine doctrine.<sup>2</sup>

The Christian historian Africanus was flourishing.<sup>3</sup>

Leonidas the father of Origen was martyred when persecution had broken out in Alexandria.

Mousianus, the ecclesiastical historian, was becoming known.<sup>4</sup>

Through the use of Greek doctrines, the feeble-minded Origen formulated in Alexandria meaningless and radical ideas. As one who had the same beliefs and treated Origen like a god, Eusebios Pamphilou should be classed with him.<sup>5</sup>

435]

After a general named Niger incited revolution, seized control of Byzantion, and amassed in the Bithynian capital of Nikaia a Persian force, Severus used his own generals to kill him, as well as the Persian king Ouligissos and other foreigners. And he regained Byzantion by siege, vanquishing Niger's comrades. When Severus engaged Ouligissos and the Persians, he put him to flight in a rout; and he recaptured Nisibis, which had long before been relinquished to the Persians.<sup>6</sup>

(14) The fourteenth bishop of Rome was Victor	<12> years <sup>7</sup>
(15) The fifteenth bishop of Rome was Zephyrinus	19 years, but according to Eusebios 12 years <sup>8</sup>
(8) The eighth bishop of Antioch was Serapion	<25> years <sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Aurel. Vict. *Caes.* 20.1.

<sup>2</sup> Eus. 2.211<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.214<sup>h</sup>, which places Africanus' floruit about 20 years later, during the reign of Elagabalus. See also below, p. 517 (= Moss. 439.15-22).

<sup>4</sup> Eus. 2.212<sup>cg</sup>.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.212<sup>l</sup>. For Synk.'s harsh criticisms of Origen and Eusebios' adherence to his doctrines, see below, p. 525 (= Moss. 445.22-446.27).

<sup>6</sup> Cf. *SHA Sev.* 8.6-9, 16-17; Cass. Dio 75.9.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.210<sup>c</sup>; *HE* 5.28.7 (10 years). Mosshammer supplies the missing years of the bishops from above, p. 511 (= Moss. 433.14, 16, 19, 23).

<sup>8</sup> *Xpov. σπυτ.* 69.24 (19 years); cf. Eus. 2.212<sup>b</sup> (without years); 2.224<sup>Arm</sup> (12 years); *HE* 6.21.1 (18 years).

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.209<sup>d</sup>, 213<sup>b</sup> (21 years).

- (12) The twelfth bishop of Alexandria was Demetrios  
 (43) years<sup>1</sup>  
 (30) The thirtieth bishop of Jerusalem was Narkissos  
 (4) years  
 (31) The thirty-first bishop of Jerusalem was Dolichianos  
 12 years<sup>2</sup>

AM 5696

Year 196 of the divine Incarnation

The remaining years of Severus the 17th Roman emperor

After Ouligissos, the Persian king, fled to Nisibis, Severus also won back other cities that had surrendered to the Persians, but had previously belonged to the Romans.<sup>3</sup>

Severus subjugated the Adiabenoï and the Arabs who had allied with Niger.<sup>4</sup>

He won over Kolchike, that is Lazike.

After arriving in Rome, Severus killed Albinus, who had established himself as a despot in the city of Lugdunum.<sup>5</sup>

When Severus came to Britain, he died of a virulent disease, namely epilepsy.<sup>6</sup>

- (15) The fifteenth Roman bishop was Zephyrinus 19 (or 12)  
 years  
 (8) The eighth bishop of Antioch was Serapion (25) years [436  
 (12) The twelfth bishop of Alexandria was Demetrios  
 (43) years  
 (31) The thirty-first bishop of Jerusalem was Dolichianos  
 12 years<sup>7</sup>  
 (32) The thirty-second bishop of Jerusalem was Dios  
 8 years<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Eus. 2.209<sup>b</sup>; HE 6.26.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.208<sup>1</sup>; HE 5.12, according to which Dolichianos preceded Narkissos.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Cass. Dio 75.9.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.211<sup>c</sup>; Eutrop. 8.18.4; Cass. Dio 75.1.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.212<sup>1</sup>; Eutrop. 8.18.4.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.213<sup>a</sup>; Eutrop. 8.19.1, who also note Severus' death in Eburacum (York).

<sup>7</sup> The notices from Zephyrinus to Dolichianos repeat the material given above, pp. 512–13 (= Moss. 435.5–9).

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.208<sup>1</sup>; HE 6.10 (without years).

AM 5700

AM 5701

**Year 201 of the divine Incarnation**

(18) The eighteenth Roman emperor was Antoninus, surnamed Caracalla. The son of Severus, he reigned for seven years with his brother Geta, whom he killed. He was more murderous than Commodus and wrongfully killed many.

On his arrival in Alexandria, he destroyed the city emblem along with a great multitude of people, because of popular unrest; for he had an insatiable blood-lust and never accomplished anything praiseworthy.<sup>1</sup>

After determining to go to war with the Persian king Artabanus, he was assassinated near Kariai<sup>2</sup> and Edessa. These were cities of Osroëne.<sup>3</sup>

Macrinus, a member of his household who was accompanying him, succeeded him to the principate, ruling one year and six months, according to some.<sup>4</sup> Proving humane and considerate in everything, especially in military affairs, he kept his subjects free from harm. For this reason, some of the soldiers in the East plotted against him and proclaimed as emperor Aurelius Antoninus, an Edessene. After attempting to do battle with him, Macrinus was defeated. And as he was fleeing, he was chased from place to place around Byzantion, and killed in captivity.<sup>5</sup>

(18) The eighteenth Roman emperor was Macrinus<sup>6</sup> 1 year

But according to what others say, he reigned for an additional six months. He was slain in Archelaïs.<sup>7</sup>

AM 5710

The amphitheatre in Rome was burnt in the circus games of the Vulcanalia.<sup>8</sup>

(15) The fifteenth Roman bishop was Zephyrinus 19 years

(8) The eighth bishop of Antioch was Serapion <25> years

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Herodian 4.9; *SHA Carac.* 6.2–3.

<sup>2</sup> i.e. Kariai, Latin Carrhae, that is Harran.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.213<sup>g</sup>; Herodian 4.13.3–5.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.213.24 (1 year); Cass. Dio 78.41.4 (1 year, 3 months, less 3 days).

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Herodian 5.4, 11; *SHA Macr.* 10.3.

<sup>6</sup> Note that Synk. numbers both Caracalla and Macrinus as the 18th Roman emperor.

<sup>7</sup> Eus. 2.214<sup>d</sup>.

<sup>8</sup> Eus. 2.214<sup>b</sup>.



- (9) The ninth bishop of Antioch was Asklepiades 9 years<sup>1</sup>  
 (12) The twelfth bishop of Alexandria was Demetrios  
 (43) years  
 (32) The thirty-second bishop of Jerusalem was Dios  
 (8) years  
 (33) The thirty-third bishop of Jerusalem was Germanion  
 4 years<sup>2</sup>

## AM 5710

## Year 210 of the divine Incarnation

- (19) The nineteenth Roman emperor was Aurelius Antoninus  
 4 years<sup>3</sup>

Aurelius Antoninus of Edessa was emperor after Macrinus for four years. A thoroughly effeminate man, who had changed to the ways of a woman, adorning himself with and affecting the trappings of females, he was exceedingly bloodthirsty. For this reason, he too was struck by javelins hurled by his troops, and, along with his mother, suffered a wretched death. Succeeding him to the principate was Alexander son of Mamaea, and Antoninus' nephew.<sup>4</sup> Born in Arkai in the coastal region of Phoenicia, he was influenced by the advice of the jurist Ulpianus, who was very much in favour of military discipline. For that reason, as the emperor watched, Ulpianus was killed by the troops. A certain Ouranios was proclaimed emperor in Edessa in Osroëne and set himself up as tyrant in opposition to Alexander; he was killed by him, at the time when Alexander also drove out the Persians who had overrun Cappadocia and were besieging Nisibis. But when he returned to Rome, he was killed along with his mother Mamaea by a throng of soldiers. A certain Maximus, a Mysian by birth, and a commander of Celtic troops, was proclaimed Roman emperor by the armies, ruling the Roman empire for three years.

[438]

- (16) The sixteenth Roman bishop was Kallistos 8 years<sup>5</sup>  
 (9) The ninth bishop of Antioch was Asklepiades 9 years  
 (34) The thirty-fourth bishop of Jerusalem was Gordianus  
 5 years<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.213<sup>b</sup>, 214<sup>a</sup> (8 years).

<sup>2</sup> *Xpov. συντ.* 78.5. Cf. Eus. 2.208<sup>1</sup>; *HE* 6.10 (without years).

<sup>3</sup> Eus. 2.214.8–9.

<sup>4</sup> Text: ἀδελφιδούς. Alexander was actually Antoninus' first cousin.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.214<sup>f</sup>; *HE* 6.21.2 (5 years).

<sup>6</sup> *Xpov. συντ.* 78.6. Cf. Eus. 2.208<sup>1</sup>; *HE* 6.10 (without years).

AM 5715

## Year 215 of the divine Incarnation

(20) The twentieth Roman emperor was Alexander, the son of Mamaea  
13 years<sup>1</sup>

Hippolytos, the holy philosopher and bishop of Portus in Rome, was at the height of his highly distinguished career in Christian philosophy, composing an abundance of spiritually edifying commentaries. He published commentaries on the six days of Creation, on what followed them, and on many writings of the prophets, especially of the great prophets Ezekiel and Daniel, as well as the Psalms and various other books of the Old and New Testaments, including a commentary on the Revelation of the Theologian on Patmos against Marcion and the other heresies.<sup>2</sup> He also published a table of the sixteen-year Paschal cycle, for which he set the first year of Alexander, the son of Mamaea, as a starting-point.<sup>3</sup> In a word, he was for the Church a prophetic river of living water, and assumed the martyr's crown at his death.

Starting from that time, the wretched Origen began to write commentaries on many of the scriptures. Ambrosios encouraged him in this effort,<sup>4</sup> while generously defraying the cost of necessities and supplying seven writers of shorthand, who relieved one another as he dictated, and even more copyists, as well as girls skilled in handwriting. And he offered him boundless good will in composing his commentaries.<sup>5</sup>

439] But Origen stumbled into the pit of Greek fantasy and taught about cyclic restoration and pre-existence, and other profane doctrines. And he was expelled thereby from the chorus of the saints.

Mamaea, mother of the emperor Alexander, was an exceedingly religious woman. She is said to have studied with Origen when she was living in Antioch, after having summoned him from Pharos. Because of her faith in Christ, she also associated with all the notable Christian teachers of that time.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Eus. 2.215.1-2.

<sup>2</sup> Text: *εἰς τὴν ἐν Πάτμῳ τοῦ θεολόγου ἀποκάλυψιν πρὸς Μαρκίωνα καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς αἱρέσεις*. Hippolytos is credited with a commentary on Revelation, a treatise against Marcion, and a work against heresies. The Greek text conflates the three works into one.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Eus. HE 6.22.

<sup>4</sup> According to Eus. HE 6.18.1, Ambrosios was converted by Origen from gnostic heresy to the doctrine of the Church.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Eus. HE 6.23.1-2.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Eus. HE 6.21.3.

After killing the tyrant Ouranios and gaining a reputation in his conflict with the Persians, Alexander, the son of Mamaea, upon his return to Rome, was killed with his mother Mamaea in a military uprising in Moguntiacum.<sup>1</sup>

(1) The first ruler of the Persians was Artaxerxes 15 years<sup>2</sup>

(17) The seventeenth bishop of Rome was Urbanus 7 years<sup>3</sup>

(10) The tenth bishop of Antioch was Philetos (or Philippos)  
8 years<sup>4</sup>

(11) The eleventh bishop of Antioch was Zebennos 6 years<sup>5</sup>

(35) The thirty-fifth bishop of Jerusalem was Narkissos, a second  
time 10 years<sup>6</sup>

Emmaous, the village in Palestine mentioned in the holy gospels, was honoured by being named Nikopolis by the emperor Alexander, when Africanus, the author of the five-volume histories, had made representation on its behalf.<sup>7</sup>

Africanus dedicated to this Alexander his nine-volume treatise entitled the *Kestoi*, which treated the properties of medical, natural, agricultural, and alchemical products.<sup>8</sup>

Africanus says that Abgar, a holy man, who bore the same name as the earlier Abgar, was king of Edessa at this time.<sup>9</sup>

Assyrian kings ruled, then, from Ninus and Semiramis up to Beleous, the son of Delketades.<sup>10</sup> When the line of Semiramis ceased

<sup>1</sup> Mainz. Cf. Eus. 2.216<sup>c</sup>; Herodian 6.9.7; Eutrop. 8.23.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Eutrop. 8.23 (Xerxes).

<sup>3</sup> Eus. 2.215<sup>b</sup> (9 years); *HE* 6.23.3 (8 years).

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.214<sup>a</sup>, 215<sup>f</sup> (10 years).

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.215<sup>f</sup>, 218<sup>g</sup> (23 years).

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.208<sup>l</sup>; *HE* 6.10 (without years). In the *Canons*, Eusebios declines to provide years for the individual bishops of Jerusalem up to Narkissos, stating that at the time of his writing their dates are not preserved; see also *HE* 4.5.1. Cf. also *Xpov. cuvτ.* 78.7, which names Alexander the martyr as the 35th bishop of Jerusalem.

<sup>7</sup> Eus. 2.214<sup>h</sup>; *Chron. pasch.* 499.5–7. On the renaming of Emmaous as Nikopolis, cf. Sozom. *HE* 5.21.5, which states, contrary to Synk., that Emmaous came to be called Nikopolis after the destruction of Jerusalem in AD 70. Synk.'s and Sozomen's statement that Emmaous/Nikopolis was the same town as that mentioned in the gospels (see Luke 24.13) is uncertain. It may also be the Emmaous situated to the southeast of Lydda, about 42 km NW of Jerusalem (see 1 Macc. 3.40, 57; 4.3; 9.50; *Jos. Ant.* 13.15; 14.275; *JW* 1.222). For discussion, see Gelzer i. 5–7; Schürer, *History of the Jewish People*, i/2.159 n. 440; ii/1.253 n. 138.

<sup>8</sup> Eus. *HE* 6.31.

<sup>9</sup> Routh, fr. 53; cf. Eus. 2.214<sup>c</sup>. The reference is to Abgar VIII (177–212).

<sup>10</sup> Cf. *Agath.* 2.25.4 (Derketades). Synk.'s previous discussion of the reign of Severus Alexander elicits this rather abrupt digression on the

440] with him, the gardener Belitaran became king and it was his line that ruled in succession up to Sardanapalos, according to the opinion of Bion and Alexander Polyhistor.<sup>1</sup> Arbakes the Mede and Beleous the Babylonian<sup>2</sup> killed Sardanapalos and transferred kingship to the Medes. The Assyrian kingdom, therefore, lasted 1306 years; for a statement to this effect by Ktesias is also supported by Diodoros of Sicily.<sup>3</sup> When the Medes had reigned for thirty years, Cyrus the Persian deposed Astyages, the last Median king, and transferred authority to the Persians.<sup>4</sup>

The Persians reigned 228 years until Dareios, the son of Arsamos. After defeating him, Alexander the son of Philip delivered the Persian kingdom to the Macedonians. The Macedonians controlled the Persian government for 293 years. Arsakes the Parthian expelled them and delivered the Persian kingdom to the Parthians. From that point, the Persian kings are named 'Arsakidai'.<sup>5</sup>

Beginning with Arsakes, the Parthian kingdom lasted 270 years until Artabanos. Alexander, the son of Mamaea, was Roman emperor when the Parthian Artabanos was king of the Persians. After Artabanos, the line of Chosroës began to rule. This is the way it began: Artaxerxes the Persian, an obscure and undistinguished man, gathered a band of rabble, and killed Artabanos; he put on the Persian royal tiara and once again restored rule to the Persians. He was a Magian and from him the Magians rose to fame among the Persians. It is said that the mother of Artaxerxes lived in wedlock with a man by the name of Pabekos; while a leather-worker by trade, he was also an astrologer who practised this art. Now a soldier by the name of Sananos, who was travelling through the region of the Kadousaioi, was received by Pabekos into his home; and Pabekos predicted, supposedly through astrology, that the line of Sananos would be exalted to a high level of prosperity. But since Sananos did not have a daughter or sister or any other female kinfolk, Pabekos made him sleep with his own wife; and when she conceived, she gave birth to Artaxares.<sup>6</sup>

kingdoms of the Assyrians, Medes, Persians, Parthians, and Sasanians. Severus Alexander was contemporary with Artaxerxes (Ardashir), the founder of the Sasanian empire; see below, p. 519 (= Moss. 441.3-4). The ensuing discussion appears to have been derived for the most part from Agathias, on whom see Cameron, 'Agathias on the Sassanians', 100-7.

<sup>1</sup> Bion, *FGrH* 89 F 1; Alex. Polyhist. *FGrH* 273 F 81<sup>b</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. above, p. 299 (= Moss. 243.10); Agath. 2.25.5 (Belesys).

<sup>3</sup> Diod. Sic. 2.28.2.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Agath. 2.25.4-6.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Agath. 2.25.7-10.

<sup>6</sup> That is, Ardashir. Cf. Agath. 2.26.1-27.4.

From that Artaxares, then, also known as Artaxerxes, the line of Chosroës is traced. Their reigns are as follows:<sup>1</sup> [441

Artaxares, also known as Artaxerxes	15 years, starting in the fourth year of the reign of Alexander son of Mamaea <sup>2</sup>
Sapores	31 years <sup>3</sup>
Hormisdas	1 year <sup>4</sup>
Ouraranes <sup>5</sup>	3 years
Ourarakes	17 years <sup>6</sup>
Ouraranes	1 year <sup>7</sup>
Another [king]	4 years <sup>8</sup>
Narses	8 years <sup>9</sup>
Hormisdas	8 years <sup>10</sup>
Sabores	70 years <sup>11</sup>
Jovian handed Nisibis over to him.	
Artaxer <sup>12</sup>	4 years

<sup>1</sup> For parallel lists of Persian kings, see Agath. 4.23–30 (up to Chosroës I [531–79]); Theophan. *passim*; *Xρον. συντ.* 96.5–37. The notes that follow indicate Synk.'s deviations from these Greek witnesses. For a Syriac witness, see Elias Nis. 1.26.1–33 (based on Jacob of Edessa). Mango–Scott (p. lxix) maintain that up to the reign of Chosroës I, Agathias was the probable source of Synk.'s list, upon the latter of which Theophanes depended. This is suggested by the fact that, whereas Agathias gives lengths of rule in years and months, the latter two round up to years. For Agathias' sources, see the detailed analysis by Cameron ('Sassanians', 112–77), who maintains that he had access to Persian royal annals.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Agath. 4.24.1 (14 years, 10 months).

<sup>3</sup> Shapur. Cf. *Xρον. συντ.* 96.10 (Magouses).

<sup>4</sup> Hormizd. Cf. Agath. 4.24.5 (Hormisdates, 1 year, 10 days).

<sup>5</sup> Vahram.

<sup>6</sup> This is probably a corruption of Ouraranes (= Vahram II). Cf. *Xρον. συντ.* 96.14 (Ouraranes, 7 years).

<sup>7</sup> Vahram III. Cf. Agath. 4.24.6 (4 months).

<sup>8</sup> Text: ἄλλος δ'. An unnamed Persian emperor who ruled after Ouraranes is unattested in the other witnesses.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Agath. 4.25.1 (7 years, 5 months); *Xρον. συντ.* 96.15 (18 years).

<sup>10</sup> Hormizd II. Cf. Agath. 4.25.1 (Hormisdates, 7 years, 5 months); Theophan. i. 8.20 (6 years); *Xρον. συντ.* 96.16 (Hormisdates, 6 years).

<sup>11</sup> Shapur II. Cf. *Xρον. συντ.* 96.17 (7 years). <sup>12</sup> Ardashir II.

Sabor, <sup>1</sup> son of Artaxer	5 years
Ouraranes <sup>2</sup>	11 years
Another Ouraranes <sup>3</sup>	20 years
Isdigerdes	21 years <sup>4</sup>
Perozes <sup>5</sup>	24 years
Isdigerdes	17 years <sup>6</sup>
Kabades <sup>7</sup>	11 years
He was deposed.	
Oualas	4 years <sup>8</sup>
Kabades again	30 years
Zamaspes	4 years <sup>9</sup>
Hormisdas <sup>10</sup>	15 years
Chosroës, <sup>11</sup> son of Kabades	48 years <sup>12</sup>
Chosroës the Great, <sup>13</sup> who was killed during the reign of	
442] Herakleios by his son Siroës	39 years <sup>14</sup>
Siroës, the son of Chosroës	8 months <sup>15</sup>
Adeser <sup>16</sup>	7 months

<sup>1</sup> Shapur III.

<sup>2</sup> Vahram IV.

<sup>3</sup> Vahram V.

<sup>4</sup> Yazdgerd I. Cf. Agath. 4.26.8; Theophan. i. 74.21; 83.8. According to them, Isdigerdes preceded the second Ouraranes; see also *Xpov. σvvτ.* 96.21-2, which has the same order as Theophanes and Agathias and assigns only 11 years to Ouraranes.

<sup>5</sup> Peroz.

<sup>6</sup> Yazdgerd II. Cf. Agath. 4.27.2 (17 years, 4 months); *Xpov. σvvτ.* 96.23-4; Theophan. i. 92.30; 106.15-18. According to them, Isdigerdes preceded Perozes.

<sup>7</sup> Kavad.

<sup>8</sup> Valash. Cf. Agath. 4.27.5; *Xpov. σvvτ.* 96.25-6; Theophan. i. 124.8; 128.13. According to them, Oualas preceded Kabades.

<sup>9</sup> Zamasp. Cf. Agath. 4.28.6 (Zamasphes); *Xpov. σvvτ.* 96.26-7 (Zamasphes); Theophan. i. 136.23-7 (Zamasphos). According to them, Zamaspes preceded Kabades.

<sup>10</sup> Hormisd IV.

<sup>11</sup> Khusro I.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. *Xpov. σvvτ.* 96.28-9; Theophan. i. 171.4-7; 246.1-4, according to which Chosroës preceded Hormisdas. Agathias' record of Persian rulers ceases at this point.

<sup>13</sup> Khusro II.

<sup>14</sup> On Siroës' slaying of Chosroës, see Theophan. i. 326.20-327.8; Agath. 4.24-9.

<sup>15</sup> Kavad II Siroë. Cf. *Xpov. σvvτ.* 96.32 ('Seroës, with his son Artaxi, 1 year').

<sup>16</sup> Ardashir III.

Sarbaraxas <sup>1</sup>	2 months <sup>2</sup>
Borane the daughter of Chosroës	7 months <sup>3</sup>
Hormisdas, who was driven out by the Saracens	<11 <sup>4</sup> > years <sup>5</sup>

AM 5728

Year 228 of the divine Incarnation

(21) The twenty-first Roman emperor was Maximinus  
3 years<sup>6</sup>

Maximinus instigated a persecution against Christians.<sup>7</sup>

He was a true tyrant and extremely violent, so that he killed even his own wife.

His wretched death came at the hands of the troops in Aquileia.<sup>8</sup>

The philosopher Themistokles was flourishing, to whom, as the Greek story goes, the Pythian oracle bore witness, with the following utterance: 'A noble man, honoured by the gods, and blessed by Fortune.'<sup>9</sup>

The philosopher Plotinos, the author of the *Enneads*, was flourishing.

(2) The second king of the Persians was Sapore 31 years<sup>10</sup>

(18) The eighteenth bishop of Rome was Anteros 1 month<sup>11</sup>

(19) The nineteenth bishop of Rome was Pontianus 3 years<sup>12</sup>

Some say that Pontianus was bishop of Rome before Anteros.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Šahrvaraz.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Xpov. συγγ.* 96.33 (Sarbaros, 1 year).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Xpov. συγγ.* 96.34 (1 year).

<sup>4</sup> Bracketed material supplied from Theophan. i. 329.14.

<sup>5</sup> Hormizd V. See also Theophan. i. 329.2–8. Hormisdas is lacking in *Xpov. συγγ.* After the reign of Borane, it has the following report: 'The kingdom of the Persians was transferred to the Saracens—AM 6131' (96.35–6).

<sup>6</sup> Eus. 2.216.9–10.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.216<sup>c</sup>; *HE* 6.28, which also states that this persecution was directed mainly at the leaders of the Church.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.216<sup>g</sup> and Eutrop. 9.1, which also note that Maximinus was killed by a certain Pupienus.

<sup>9</sup> See Oraculum 103 (Pythian oracles), in *Epigram. anthol.* iii. 484.

<sup>10</sup> See above, p. 519 (= Moss. 441.5).

<sup>11</sup> Eus. 2.216<sup>h</sup>; *HE* 6.29.1.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.216<sup>b</sup> (5 years); *HE* 6.29.1 (6 years); *Xpov. συγγ.* 69.30–1 (7 years).

<sup>13</sup> On this sequence of Roman bishops, see *Xpov. συγγ.* 69.30–3; also Eus. 2.216<sup>bh</sup>; *HE* 6.29.1

(11) The eleventh bishop of Antioch was Zebennos 6 years<sup>1</sup>

(13) The thirteenth bishop of Alexandria was Heraklas

16 years<sup>2</sup>

(35) The thirty-fifth bishop of Jerusalem was Narkissos

10 years

(36) The thirty-sixth bishop of Jerusalem was Alexander the martyr

15 years<sup>3</sup>

The feeble-minded Origen moved from Alexandria to Caesarea in Palestine.<sup>4</sup>

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AM 5731

**Year 231 of the divine Incarnation**

(22) The twenty-second Roman emperor was Gordian

6 years<sup>5</sup>

After coming from Italy against the Parthians and engaging Artaxerxes' son Sapores, king of the Persians, he routed him. And he made Nisibis and Karrhai, which had been captured by the Persians during the reign of Maximinus the Mysian, subject to Rome. But when he was at Ktesiphon, he was slain by his own troops at the instance of the praetorian prefect Philip.<sup>6</sup> Philip ruled after him for five years, but the majority of the historians say that it was for seven years.<sup>7</sup>

(20) The twentieth bishop of Rome was Fabianus the martyr

13 years<sup>8</sup>

(12) The twelfth bishop of Antioch was Babylas the martyr

13 years<sup>9</sup>

(13) The thirteenth bishop of Alexandria was Heraklas

16 years<sup>10</sup>

(36) The thirty-sixth bishop of Jerusalem was Alexander the martyr

15 years<sup>11</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.215<sup>f</sup>; HE 6.23.3 (without years).

<sup>2</sup> Eus. 2.215<sup>h</sup>; HE 6.35.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.213<sup>c</sup>, 218<sup>g</sup>; HE 6.8.7 (without years). Cf. also *Xpov. συντ.* 78.7, which omits Narkissos and gives 18 years for Alexander.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.216<sup>a</sup>; HE 6.26 (10 Severus Alexander)

<sup>5</sup> Eus. 2.216.19–20.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.217<sup>a</sup>; Eutrop. 9.2; Ammian. Marc. 23.5.17.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Eutrop. 9.3 (5 years); Eus. 2.217.9–10; HE 6.39.1 (7 years).

<sup>8</sup> Eus. 2.216<sup>h</sup>; HE 6.29.1.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.218<sup>g</sup>; HE 6.29.4, 39.3–4 (without years).

<sup>10</sup> Eus. 2.215<sup>h</sup>; HE 6.35.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.218<sup>g</sup>; HE 6.39.2 (without years).



AM 5737

Year 237 of the divine Incarnation

(23) The twenty-third Roman emperor was Philip 7 years<sup>1</sup>  
The philosopher Plotinos was leader of the Platonic academy.  
Porphyry was a student at his lectures.

The philosopher Theopompos was flourishing in Chaironeia.

Nikator the sophist was flourishing in Athens.

Philip was so devoted to the Christian faith that he even willingly confessed his sins and shared along with the multitude in the prayers at the church on the night of the feast of the Pascha.<sup>2</sup> And as a result, from that point the word of God was declared more openly.

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At that time also, the wretched Origen, who was in his sixtieth year, was delivering public discourses which were being recorded by writers of shorthand. He was also writing to the emperor Philip and his wife, the empress Severa.<sup>3</sup>

At that time, there were some in Arabia who were teaching the impious doctrine that the body perishes with the soul at death, and comes back to life with it in the Resurrection. A great synod was convened against them.<sup>4</sup>

Also at that time, the heresy known as that of the Helkesaites arose. This heresy completely denies many things in the divine scriptures, while cursorily using certain texts of the divine apostles from the Old and New Testament. And it says that denying the faith is a matter of indifference, because the prudent man denies with his mouth when necessity requires it, but not with his heart. They also carry a book, making up a fabulous story that it had fallen from heaven, and that he who has heard it will receive forgiveness for failings different from the forgiveness which our Lord bestowed on us.<sup>5</sup>

Philip, then, after ruling the Romans for seven years, returned to Rome after concluding a peace treaty with Sapore the Persian king. And during a battle with Decius, who had been proclaimed emperor by the armies, he was slain.<sup>6</sup>

After succeeding him to the principate for two years, Decius, because of his enmity toward Philip, fomented a brutal persecution against Christians. During the persecution, in the city of Rome, Fabianus, the bishop there, took on the martyr's crown, as well as

<sup>1</sup> Eus. 2.217.9-10.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.217<sup>c</sup>; HE 6.34.

<sup>3</sup> Eus. HE 6.36.1-3.

<sup>4</sup> See Eus. HE 6.37.

<sup>5</sup> Eus. HE 6.38.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Aurel. Vict. Caes. 28.10.

Babylas, who was bishop in Antioch; and Alexander, the holy man of Jerusalem, appeared for the second time before the governor's tribunals and died in prison.<sup>1</sup>

At that time also, Cyprian the great bishop of Carthage, eminent for his works and deeds of piety, was perfected by martyrdom for Christ.<sup>2</sup>

(12) The twelfth bishop of Antioch was the martyr Babylas  
13 years

(13) The thirteenth bishop of Alexandria was Heraklas  
16 years

(36) The thirty-sixth bishop of Jerusalem was Alexander, who was also a martyr  
15 years<sup>3</sup>

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AM 5744

**Year 244 of the divine Incarnation**

(24) The twenty-fourth Roman emperor was Decius 2 years<sup>4</sup>

(21) The (twenty-first) bishop of Rome was Cornelius  
3 years<sup>5</sup>

(13) The thirteenth bishop of Antioch was Fabianus 9 years<sup>6</sup>

(14) The fourteenth bishop of Alexandria was Dionysios  
17 years<sup>7</sup>

(37) The thirty-seventh bishop of Jerusalem was Mazabanes  
21 years<sup>8</sup>

After Decius killed Philip, along with his children, and ignited the persecution against Christians, the chief clergy of the notable churches of the world, as we previously indicated, received the crown of martyrdom for Christ: Fabianus, of the most holy Roman church; Babylas, of the church of the Antiochenes; and the most holy Alexander, of the church of Jerusalem, who had appeared before the tyrant's tribunals twice and died in prison after a confession that was boldly delivered and worthy of God.<sup>9</sup>

After them, Cyprian too, the great Carthaginian bishop, who with

<sup>1</sup> Eus. 2.218<sup>de</sup>, *HE* 6.39.1-4.

<sup>2</sup> Eus. 2.220<sup>c</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 522 (= Moss. 443.11-13).

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.218.7-8 (1 year, 3 months); *HE* 7.1 (less than 2 years).

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.218<sup>i</sup> (2 years); *HE* 7.2.1 (3 years).

<sup>6</sup> Eus. 2.218<sup>s</sup> (Fabius); cf. 2.226<sup>Arm</sup> (Phabianos); *HE* 6.39.4 (Fabius). Eusebios gives no years for this bishop.

<sup>7</sup> Eus. 2.218<sup>a</sup>; *HE* 7.28.3.

<sup>8</sup> Eus. 2.218<sup>s</sup>; *HE* 6.39.3 (without years).

<sup>9</sup> Eus. *HE* 6.39.1-4.

his highly prolific speeches and letters had anointed many for the struggle in the same Decian persecution and persuading them to become willing martyrs, was perfected by martyrdom for the Lord, after a mighty struggle with the serpent, the author of evil. This is made clear in the account about him, which shows the impotence of the demonic attack against the holy and virginal Justina and the sincerity of his renowned confession to God.<sup>1</sup>

Many others were also perfected for Christ in the same persecution; their names are known only to the Lord to whom they bore witness. But Origen, who prided himself on his use of sophistry and Greek fables, failed to obtain such a crown of martyrdom; this was not at all because of his godly uprightness, but rather because of his arrogant and self-trusting judgement. This, however, is not the opinion of Eusebios of Caesarea, who in the sixth book of his *Ecclesiastical History* strives to prove that he was greater than all the other saints and teachers. As one holding the same views that Origen did, he actually insults him with his lavish words of praise, since he knows neither whereof he speaks nor what he affirms. For he makes only the briefest remarks about the holy and blessed fathers of that time, I mean Clement, the author of the *Stromateis*, and the holy martyr Hippolytos, and Africanus the historian, and Dionysios the Great of Alexandria, and others. The progress of only the feeble-minded Origen from his childhood up to his desertion in the face of martyrdom does he exalt to the status of divinity. As to the above-mentioned Fabianus, the holy martyr and bishop of Rome, and Babylas the bishop of Antioch, and Alexander the bishop of Jerusalem, he passed over them with just a few words. But when he gets to Origen (one holding the same opinions that he does), he showers this God-accursed man with lavish and premature praise, adding words about him that read something like the following:

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Now then the character and magnitude of what befell Origen during the persecution and what was the end that he met; how the wicked demon in rivalry with this man arrayed all his forces against him, and how with every contrivance and power he led his army against him; and how he made him the special object of his onslaught, beyond all those on whom he had made war at that time; and the character and magnitude of what the man suffered for the word of Christ, chains and tortures inflicted on his body,

<sup>1</sup> An apparent reference to the *Martyrdom of Cyprian and Justa*. For Greek and Arabic versions of this work, see M. D. Gibson, *Apocrypha Arabica* (Studia Sinaitica, 8; London, 1901). For a summary of the work, see Phot. *Bibl.* 184.128<sup>a</sup>-129<sup>a</sup>.

punishments both as he lay in irons and in the depths of prison; and how when for many days, his feet were stretched under the four posts of the stocks,<sup>1</sup> he steadfastly bore brands and threats of fire, and whatever else was inflicted by the enemy; and the kind of end which befell the events of his life, when the judge exerted himself strenuously and with all his strength to put him to death, but with no effect; and what sort of words he bequeathed after this, words full of help for those in need of support—of these things the man's letters contain as fully as possible both a true and accurate account.<sup>2</sup>

447] While applying this description and numerous other words before this in praise of the ungodly Origen, Eusebios has left his martyrdom unattested and the course of his life incomplete. For he who endures to the end will be saved, says the Lord, but not the one who has suffered greatly and deserted.<sup>3</sup> So this same Eusebios of Caesarea then also goes on to speak about the blessed Dionysios, bishop of Alexandria, after setting forth an excerpt from his epistle against Germanus, in this way obliging both Origen and like-minded people. He does this to avoid giving the impression that Origen was the only one who deserted; rather he had other associates who acted this way. The excerpt from Dionysios is something like the following:

As for myself, I too proclaim before God, and he knows that I do not lie. Acting in no way on my own, nor lacking the aid of God, have I fled. But previously as well, when the persecution under Decius had been instituted, Sabinus at that very hour sent a *frumentarius* in search of me.<sup>4</sup> And as for me, I remained in my house for four days, awaiting the arrival of the *frumentarius*. And he went around searching for me everywhere: the roads, the rivers, the fields, where he suspected that I was either hiding or walking; but he was seized by blindness and did not find the house. For they did not believe that I was staying at home during their pursuit of me. And after the fourth day, when God had

<sup>1</sup> Text: ὑπὸ τέσσαρα τοῦ κολαστηρίου ξύλα παραταθείς. Cf. Eus. HE 6.39.5: ὑπὸ τέσσαρα τοῦ κολαστηρίου ξύλου παραταθείς διαστήματα ('stretched four spaces in that instrument of torture, the stocks').

<sup>2</sup> Eus. HE 6.39.5.

<sup>3</sup> Matt. 10.22, presumably in reference to the fact that Origen was imprisoned, but not put to death.

<sup>4</sup> As the name suggests, a *frumentarius* was officially a 'commissary of the stores', but he also undertook some of the duties of a courier and a policeman.

ordered me to leave and had miraculously made a way, I and my servants and many of my brethren with difficulty made our departure together. And that this was the work of divine providence, the following events have shown, in which we have perhaps proved helpful to some.<sup>1</sup>

(Then after some intervening remarks, he describes what befell him after his flight, adding these words:) For around sunset, I, along with my companions, was taken by the soldiers to Taposiris. But Timothy, by divine providence, happened to be absent and avoided being arrested. But arriving later, he found the house deserted, servants guarding it, and us entirely captive.<sup>2</sup>

(And further on, he says:) And what was the nature of God's amazing plan? For the truth will be spoken. A certain rustic happened upon Timothy as he fled in distress, and he asked the reason for his haste. Now Timothy told the truth, and that man, when he heard it (he was on his way to a marriage-feast, for it was a custom for them to spend the whole night in gatherings like this) went in and made a report to those who were reclining at the marriage-feast.<sup>3</sup>

And they all arose *en masse*, and borne along at a run hastening on with the utmost speed, they reached us. They shouted out, and when the soldiers who were guarding us immediately fled, they came up to us, stretched out, as we were, on cots without bedding. Now as for myself, God knows, my first thoughts were that they were robbers who had come to plunder and rob. So I remained on the bed clad in a linen garment, and held out to them the rest of my garments that were lying nearby. But they directed me to get up and to leave by the quickest way. At that time I understood why they had come and I cried out, begging and pleading with them to go away and leave us alone. If they wanted to do something useful, I asked them to anticipate those who were leading me away and behead me themselves. And as I shouted such things, as my companions and those who shared in the same events know, they forcibly lifted me up. And although I had allowed myself to fall backwards to the ground, those who held my hands and feet dragged me out. And those who witnessed all of this followed after me: Gaius, Faustus, Peter, and Paul. They lifted me up and speedily carried me out from the little town, and setting me upon an unsaddled ass led me away.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Eus. *HE* 6.40.1-3

<sup>2</sup> Eus. *HE* 6.40.4.

<sup>3</sup> Eus. *HE* 6.40.5.

<sup>4</sup> Eus. *HE* 6.40.6-9.

Surely then, the way the excerpt describes this great father is entirely different from the desertion of Origen.

This Dionysios, Eusebios says, possessed of the highest wisdom, also writes to Fabius the bishop of Antioch concerning those who became martyrs in Alexandria during the reign of Decius:

449] It was not from the imperial edict that the persecution began among us. Rather it preceded it by an entire year. For the oracle and author of evil in that city, whoever that was, anticipated it in agitating and inciting the masses of the Gentiles against us, rekindling their native superstition. For provoked by him and seizing every authority for wickedness, they assumed that this worship of demons—perpetrating bloodshed against us—was the only kind of piety. Thus they first seized an old man, Metranos by name, and commanded him to utter godless words; and when he did not comply, they struck his body with clubs and his face and eyes with sharp reeds; and after taking him away to the suburbs, they stoned him. Thereupon, they led a woman of the faith, named Quinta, to the idol temple and forced her to worship. But when she turned away in disgust, they bound her by the feet and dragged her through the whole city along a rough pavement paved with stones. And as she was being dashed against the millstones, at the same time they were flogging her; and they took her away to the same place and stoned her to death. Thereupon with one accord, they rushed into the homes of those who know God, and they each began hastily to lead off those whom they recognized as neighbours, and to strip and rob them; the more precious of their valuables they took for themselves, whereas the cheap items and whatever was made of wood they smashed to pieces and incinerated in the streets, thus giving the visual impression of a city captured by enemies. But the brethren began to give ground and gradually to withdraw and accepted with joy the plunder of their possessions, in a way similar to those to whom Paul himself bore witness.<sup>1</sup> And no one knew of it,<sup>2</sup> except perhaps there may have been a single person, who up to this time fell away and denied the Lord. But they also seized the once<sup>3</sup> most remarkable old woman Apollonia, a virgin, and by striking her jaw broke out all her teeth. And piling up a pyre before the city, they threatened to burn her alive, unless she recited with them the declarations of

<sup>1</sup> Heb. 10.34.

<sup>2</sup> Text: οὐκ ᾔδει τις. Eusebios has rightly οὐκ οἶδ' εἴ τις . . . ('I do not know whether anyone').

<sup>3</sup> Text: ποτέ. Eusebios has τότε ('and then they seized').

blasphemy. But she begged for a brief respite, and when she was released, straightaway leapt into the fire and was consumed. And they seized Sarapion at his home and after inflicting harsh tortures on him and breaking all his joints, they hurled him down headfirst from the upper storey. There was not a single road, no highway, no pathway accessible to us, either at night or by day. For all were everywhere constantly shouting that anyone who did not proclaim these disgraceful words should be immediately dragged off and burnt. And initially<sup>1</sup> this continued to rage for a long time. But this unrest, this civil war, befell<sup>a</sup> these wretches in their turn, and deflected against each other the savagery that had been directed against us. So we enjoyed a brief respite, since they had no time for anger against us. But right after that there came news about the transfer of power from that regime that had been more kindly to us,<sup>2</sup> and great was the fear of the threat against us that held out our preaching.<sup>3</sup> And the decree arrived, ready to hand so to speak, of the kind that had been predicted by the Lord (or in its extreme terror was very similar to it), 'so as if possible to cause even the elect to stumble'.<sup>4</sup> Be that as it may, everyone cowered with fear. And immediately, of the many more eminent persons,<sup>b</sup> some came forth out of fear, and others who worked in the public service were drawn out by their duties, and others were dragged forward by those around them. Called upon by name, they approached the defiled and unholy sacrifices, some pale and shaking, as if they were not about to make a sacrifice, but were themselves to be offerings and victims to idols. The result was that they were the objects of ridicule from many of the common people standing around them; and others were complete<sup>c</sup> cowards, shuddering both at the prospect of dying and of making a sacrifice. But some of them who were less hesitant ran to the altars, confirming by their rashness that they had not been Christians even previously; concerning them, the prediction of the Lord was completely true that 'they shall with difficulty be

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<sup>a</sup> Text: *διαδεξαμένους*. Emended to *διαδεξαμένη* (= Eus. HE 6.41.9).  
*περιφανεστέραν*. Emended to *τῶν περιφανεστέρων* (= Eus. HE 6.41.11).  
*πάντας*. Emended to *πρὸς πάντα* (= Eus. HE 6.41.11).

<sup>b</sup> Text: *τὴν*

<sup>c</sup> Text: *πρὸς*

<sup>1</sup> Text: *τὸ πρῶτον*. Cf. Eus. HE 6.41.9: *τὸν τρόπον*.

<sup>2</sup> Text: *ἐπιφανεστέρας* ('more outstanding'). Cf. Eus. HE 6.41.9: *εὐμνεστέρας* ('more favourable'), adopted here.

<sup>3</sup> Text: *καὶ πολὺς ὁ τῆς ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ἀπειλῆς φόβος ἐπανέτεινε τὸ κήρυγμα*. The meaning of this passage is obscure. Cf. Eus. HE 6.41.9: *καὶ πολὺς ὁ τῆς ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ἀπειλῆς φόβος ἀνετείετο* ('and great was the fear hanging over us of the threat against us').

<sup>4</sup> Matt. 24.24.

saved'.<sup>1</sup> And of the remaining ones, some followed either group, and some fled, and some were captured. Of these, some got as far as chains and prisons, and some were locked up for even more days, and then renounced the faith even before appearing in court. And others persevered in the punishments for a certain period of time, and then subsequently renounced their faith. But the firm and blessed pillars of the Lord were strengthened by him and received endurance and strength in proportion to and worthy of the potent faith in them; and they became wonderful martyrs for his kingdom. The first of them was Julianus, a man with gout, who, as he was able neither to stand nor walk, was brought forwards with two other men carrying him. One of them immediately made a denial, the other, by the name of Kronion, surnamed Nous,<sup>2</sup> and the old man Julianus himself confessed the Lord. And they were carried around on camels through the whole city (which you know is extremely large) and were beaten as they were held aloft. Finally they were completely consumed by an unquenchable fire, with the entire populace massed around them. A soldier who was standing nearby to them as they were being led forward opposed those who were mocking them, and as they were shouting out, this champion for God, Besas, was brought forward, and after proving his valour in the great battle for true religion, was beheaded. And there was someone else, Makar, a Libyan by nationality, who was true both to his name and his blessing, and even though great pressure to make a denial was exerted upon him by the judge, he was not swayed, and was burnt alive. Both Epimachos and Alexander, after remaining as prisoners for a long time, endured untold sufferings, files and whips, and they too were dissolved by an unquenchable fire. And with them there were four women, including Ammonaria<sup>3</sup> the holy virgin. Although the judge tortured her with great zeal for a long time, since she had declared beforehand that she would say nothing that he had ordered her to say, she stayed true to her promise and was taken away. And as to the rest of the women, Mercuria, the most revered older woman, and Dionysia the mother of many children, who did not love them more than the Lord;<sup>4</sup> and when

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. Matt. 19.23.

<sup>2</sup> Text: *Noūs*. Eusebios: *Εὐνοῦς* ('Loyal').

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Eus. *HE* 6.41.18 (Ammonarion).

<sup>4</sup> Text: *αἱ δὲ λοιπαί, σεμνοτάτη πρεσβύτις Μερκουρία καὶ αἱ ὑπόλοιπαι μὲν οὐχ ὑπὲρ τὸν κύριον δὲ ἀγαπήσασαι τὰ τέκνα Διονυσία*. Corrected from Eus. *HE* 6.41.18: *αἱ δὲ λοιπαί, ἡ σεμνοτάτη πρεσβύτις Μερκουρία καὶ ἡ πολὺπαις μὲν, οὐχ ὑπὲρ τὸν κύριον δὲ ἀγαπήσασα τὰ τέκνα Διονυσία*.



the governor was ashamed to continue torturing them to no avail and to be defeated by women, they died by the sword, no longer subject to these trials. For the champion Ammonaria had taken on these [punishments] for all.<sup>1</sup>

**More about those who were perfected in Christ during  
the Decian persecution from the same letter of the blessed  
Dionysios<sup>2</sup>**

The Egyptians Heron, Aster, and Isidoros were delivered up, and with them Dioskoros, a youth of around 15 years of age. And when he<sup>3</sup> first endeavoured to cajole the lad with words, as if he were easily coaxed, and to coerce him with torture, as if he were weak, Dioskoros neither complied nor yielded. The rest he most brutally mutilated; upon their holding out, he delivered them too to the fire. But out of admiration for Dioskoros' brilliant public conduct and his great wisdom in answering the questions asked him privately, he released him; on account of this, he said that it was because of his youth that he gave him additional time for repentance. And now this most godly Dioskoros is to be with us for a longer contest and a more lasting ordeal. A certain Nemesion, he too an Egyptian, was falsely charged, for associating with bandits. And when before the centurion he had absolved himself of the charge, which was utterly alien to his character, he was denounced as a Christian and came to the governor as a prisoner. Now this most wicked man inflicted on him twice as many tortures and lashings as he inflicted on the robbers. And when he burnt him between the robbers, this happy man was honoured by the example of Christ. Now a whole military unit, massed together in close array, Ammon, Zenon, Ptolemaios, and Ingenes, and with them an old man Theophilos, were standing before the court. And whenever anyone was being tried as a Christian, and was inclining to denial, these men standing by him would grind their teeth, signal to him with their expressions, stretch out their hands, and gesture with their

<sup>1</sup> Text: τὰς γὰρ ὑπὲρ πασῶν ἡ πρόμαχος Ἀμμωνάρια ἀναδέδεκται. The antecedent for τὰς is not clear. In the parallel text in Eus. *HE* 6.41.18, it refers to the word βασάνων ('punishments') in the previous clause. This word, however, is lacking in Synk.'s version. For Eusebios' text of the entire excerpt, see *HE* 6.41.1–18.

<sup>2</sup> Eus. *HE* 6.41.19–42.6.

<sup>3</sup> Since this extract is a direct continuation of the previous one, 'he' is the judge (i.e. governor, as often in imperial Greek and Latin).

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bodies. And when all of them turned to them, absolutely before anyone could seize them, they had already run forward to the bench, saying they were Christians, so that the governor and his fellow judges were in fear. Thus, whereas the defendants manifested great courage in the face of what they were to undergo, the judges recoiled in fear. And they marched proudly away from the court and rejoiced in their witness, with God gloriously leading them in triumph.

But others in great multitudes in the countryside and the villages were torn apart by the Gentiles, of whom I shall recall one for the sake of example. Ischyron was managing affairs for one of the rulers. His paymaster ordered him to sacrifice, and when he did not comply, he ridiculed him, and when he persisted he abused him. He took a huge staff, and by jamming it through his intestines and internal organs, he killed him. What need is there to speak of the mass of people who wandered in the deserts and mountains and who perished of famine and thirst and freezing cold and robbers and diseases and savage beasts, of whom the survivors are witnesses to their election and victory? For illustration, I shall also cite one fact about them. Chairemon was a very aged bishop of Nilopolis. After fleeing to the Arabian mountain range<sup>1</sup> with his wife, he did not return; and although they conducted an extensive investigation, his brethren were no longer able to locate them or their bodies. But many in this Arabian mountain range were reduced to utter slavery by the Saracen barbarians. Some of them were with difficulty ransomed at great expense; others not yet even up to the present time. I have discussed this matter, my brother, not without reason, but in order that you may know the number and magnitude of the terrible things that happened to us, of which those whose trials were greater would know even more.

(And shortly thereafter): Therefore the divine martyrs among us, who are now coadjutors of Christ and share in his kingdom and participate in his decisions and make judgement with him, took upon themselves the case for some of their fallen brethren who had become liable to the charge of sacrificing. And seeing their conversion and repentance, and judging that it was capable of being acceptable to Him who does not desire at all the death of sinners, but rather their repentance, they received them and worshipped with them, and gave them fellowship in their prayers and feast. What then, brethren, do you advise concerning these

<sup>1</sup> For this sense of *Ἀράβιον ὄρος* see e.g. Herodot. 2.8.

matters? What should we do? Shall we become of one mind and one opinion with them and safeguard their decision and be merciful to those whom they have pitied, or shall we consider their decision unjust, and set ourselves<sup>1</sup> up as critics of their opinion, and cause grief to their kindness and undo what they have prescribed?

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And with these words, the holy Dionysios clearly refutes the misanthropy of Navatus.<sup>2</sup>

At this time, this Navatus, a presbyter of the Roman church, sought without success for the office of bishop of Rome, for which he was unworthy. And when he was charged with many other offences, especially avarice, conceit, and selfishness, he split off from the Roman church, using as his supposed pretext those who had sacrificed during the Decian persecution, and through repentance had been readmitted into communion with the Church. And he emerged as leader and heresiarch of those who, in their arrogant opinion, called themselves the 'Pure'. And along with them, he was expelled from the blessed abode of the Church, through a vote of sixty holy fathers who had gathered together in Rome.<sup>3</sup>

#### Concerning the synod against Navatus that was set up in Rome by Cornelius

It was the decree of the synod that along with very many presbyters and deacons who had by proclamation banished him, as well as the misanthropes who shared his views, and received back through repentance the brethren who had fallen. . . .<sup>4</sup> Cornelius, the bishop of Rome, presided over this synod. He also wrote to Fabius the bishop of Antioch about what had happened in the synod and again wrote privately concerning the wrongdoing of Navatus, saying:

I wish to speak in order that you may know that for a long time this amazing man has been seeking the office of bishop and escaped detection by keeping to himself this uncontrolled desire, cloaking his folly in the fact that he had the confessors with him from the beginning. Maximus, one of our presbyters, and Urbanus, both of whom twice reaped the highest glory from con-

<sup>1</sup> Text: *αὐτοὺς* ('them'). Corrected from Eus. *HE* 6.42.6: *αὐτοῦς*.

<sup>2</sup> Novatus in Eusebios; Novatianus in Latin sources.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Eus. *HE* 6.43.1.

<sup>4</sup> The sentence seems to be corrupt and fragmentary. Cf. Eus. *HE* 6.43.2.

454] fession, and both Sidonius and Celerinus, a man who, through God's mercy, having undergone every punishment with great endurance, and having fortified by the strength of his faith his bodily weakness, has mightily defeated the adversary—these men, then, after considering him and detecting the knavery and fickleness in him, his perjuries, and lies, his lack of fellowship, and his wolf's friendship, returned to the holy Church. And all his tricks and his villainies, which though he had long harboured them, he kept to himself, they reported in the presence of the bishops, as well as before a great number of presbyters and the laity, lamenting and repenting the fact that for a brief time they had been won over by the deceitful and malicious beast and abandoned the Church.<sup>1</sup>

(And after a few more words:) Dear brother, what an inconceivably great change and transformation in a short time have we observed to have happened to them! Imagine, this most illustrious man, who with some awesome oaths pledges that he has no designs whatsoever on the office of the bishop, suddenly turns up as bishop, as if hurled into our midst by a catapult. Imagine, this expert in doctrine, this champion of ecclesiastical knowledge, when he was attempting to grab and purloin for himself the office of bishop, which had not been given to him from above, selected for himself two companions who had renounced their own salvation—this, so that he might send them to some small and utterly insignificant part of Italy to beguile from that place with false reasoning three bishops, rustics and extremely simple men. And he strongly and confidently affirmed that they should arrive in Rome quickly, supposedly so that any and every dissension that had arisen might be resolved through their mediation together with the other bishops. Now since, as we have stated, they were rather naïve about the knavery and machinations of evil persons, when they arrived they were imprisoned by some disturbed men like him. And at the tenth hour he violently coerced them, drunk and hungover, to give him episcopal office by a sham and a pointless act and a worthless laying-on of hands. Since it did (not) belong to him, he made claim to this office by treachery and knavery. And one of them not long thereafter came back to the Church bewailing and confessing his sin; we had communion with him as a layman, with all the laity present making supplication on his behalf. And we appointed successors for the remaining bishops and sent them out to the places where

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. Eus. *HE* 6.43.5–6.

they were. So this vindicator of the gospel did not realize that there should be a single bishop in a catholic church, in which he was not unaware (for how could he be?) that there are forty-six presbyters, seven deacons, seven subdeacons, forty-two acolytes, as well as exorcists and readers, together with fifty-two door-keepers, over 1500 widows and persons in distress, all of whom the grace and benevolence of the Master nurture. But such a multitude, so necessary in the church, a number rich and increasing through the providence of God, along with a laity of massive incalculable size, did not avert him from such despair and denial and call him back to the church.<sup>1</sup>

(And to this he adds further on the following:) Come now, let us next say by what works or by what conduct he gained confidence and laid claim to the office of bishop. Was it because he was involved in the church from the beginning and fought in many struggles for it and experienced many great dangers for the sake of the religion? But it is not so, seeing that the cause of his having faith was Satan, who repeatedly visited him and dwelt in him for a considerable length of time. As he was receiving help from the exorcists, he fell into a serious illness and, as he was considered as good as dead, received baptism by having water poured over him in that very bed in which he lay (if indeed one must say that a man like this received it). But once he recovered from the disease, he did not even obtain the other things of which one should partake according to the rule of the church, nor being sealed with the sign of the cross by the bishop. And since he did not receive these things, how could he receive the Holy Spirit?<sup>2</sup>

(And again he adds:) Did he not, because of his cowardice and love of life, deny in the time of the persecution that he was himself a presbyter? And he was requested and encouraged by the deacons to come out from the small room in which he had confined himself, and aid the brethren to the extent that it is right and possible for a presbyter to aid brethren who are in danger and in need of assistance; but his refusal to comply with the deacons' appeals reached the point that he actually went away and departed in anger. For he stated that he no longer wanted to be a presbyter, since he was a devotee of a different philosophy.<sup>3</sup>

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(Then a little further on he adds:) For this brilliant man deserted the church of God, in which he had placed his trust and was deemed worthy of the office of the presbyter according to the favour of the bishop who had laid his hand on him to bestow upon

<sup>1</sup> Eus. *HE* 6.43.7-12.

<sup>2</sup> Eus. *HE* 6.43.13-15.

<sup>3</sup> Eus. *HE* 6.43.16.

him that office. In doing this, the bishop was opposed by the entire clergy, and many of the laity as well (for someone like him, who because of an illness had been baptized by having water poured over him on his bed, could not be ordained to a church order), and so he asked permission to ordain this man alone.<sup>1</sup>

(To this, Cornelius appends this, the most unseemly of Navatus' acts of impiety:) For after he has made the offerings, he distributes their portions to them, and as he is adding to it,<sup>2</sup> instead of making a blessing, he forces the wretched people to swear an oath, grasping in both hands the hands of the person who had received it and not relaxing his grip until they declare this oath (for I will use that man's very words): 'Swear to me according to the body and the blood of our Lord Jesus Christ that you will never desert me and turn to Cornelius.' And the poor people do not get to taste unless they first call down this curse upon themselves. And instead of saying the 'Amen' as they receive the bread, they say, 'I will never go back to Cornelius.'<sup>3</sup>

To Bishop Fabius of Antioch, who was dragging his feet,<sup>4</sup> Cornelius wrote of necessity the above remarks about Navatus, describing also how most people were deserting him and returning to the Church. In the course of this, he also appends the story of how Moses the blessed martyr before his martyrdom came to despise his rashness and broke off communion with Navatus and his five presbyters who had broken from the Church with him. And at the conclusion of the letter, he has made a catalogue of the bishops who assembled in Rome against him, according to their name and diocese, as well as those unable to attend because of some pressing circumstances, but who personally wrote to express their approval of the divine judgement against him. Following this, Dionysios the Great of Alexandria, in the letter that he sends to this same Fabius concerning repentance, adds something worthy both of note and admiration; for after relating the story of those who had recently suffered martyrdom in Alexandria, he describes to him the conclusion of the tale.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Eus. *HE* 6.43.17.

<sup>2</sup> Text: ἐπιδιδούς τούτω. Cf. Eus. *HE* 6.43.18: ἐπιδιδούς τούτο ('as he is handing it over').

<sup>3</sup> Eus. *HE* 6.43.18-19.

<sup>4</sup> Lit. 'limping (χωλαίνοντι)'.  
<sup>5</sup> Cf. Eus. *HE* 6.43.20-44.1.

**From the letter of Dionysios to Fabius against Navatus<sup>1</sup>**

I will cite for you this one example which happened among us. There was a certain Sarapion among us, an old man of faith, who had lived a long time blamelessly, but who had lapsed in the test. This man asked absolution many times, but no one paid attention to him; for he had in fact offered sacrifice. When he became ill, he was without speech and unconscious for three days continuously. But on the fourth day, he recovered briefly. And he summoned his daughter's son and said, 'My child, how long will you people go on restraining me? I beg of you all, hurry and release me quickly, and you, child, summon one of the presbyters for me.' And after saying this, he was again without speech. Off ran the boy to the presbyter; but it was night, and he was too ill to come. But I had issued an order to absolve those who were departing from this life, if they requested it, and especially if they had by chance previously made supplication, so that they might depart in good hope. So he gave the little boy a small piece of the eucharist, and directed him to soak it and let it drip down into the old man's mouth. And the boy returned with it, and as he drew near, and before he entered, Sarapion rallied again and said to him, 'Have you come, my child? And the presbyter was not able to come, so you quickly do what he ordered, and I will depart.' And the boy soaked it, and at the same time began pouring it into his mouth; and after swallowing a little, he immediately breathed his last. Is it not clear that he was preserved and remained, until he might be released and, when his sin was expunged, he could be acknowledged for the many good things that he had done?

(And he wrote to this same Navatianus<sup>2</sup> in something like the following words:) Dionysios sends greeting to his brother Navatianus. If, as you say, you were led on unwillingly, you will prove this if you withdraw willingly. For it would be necessary to suffer everything whatsoever to avoid dividing the Church of God. And martyrdom<sup>a</sup> to prevent schism would not be less honourable than martyrdom incurred to avoid idolatry. Indeed, in my view it would be more honourable. For in the former case, one suffers martyrdom for a single soul, one's own, while in the latter it is for the whole church. And now if you were to persuade or coerce the

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<sup>a</sup> Text: ἡ . . . μαρτυρία. Emended to ἡ . . . μαρτυρία (= Eus.).

<sup>1</sup> Eus. *HE* 6.44.2-6, 45.1.

<sup>2</sup> Another version of the name Navatus.

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brethren to come to unanimity, your success would be greater than your error, and the one would not be reckoned against you, while the other would be praised. But if you prove powerless over those who are disobedient, by all means save your own soul. I pray that you fare well and hold fast to the peace in the Lord.

And through brief words, but highly compelling thoughts, the divine Dionysios admirably shut off all of Navatus' knavery, who as a pretext was blaming the opposition of the brethren and not his own recklessness for dissension in the Roman church. But the same most holy Dionysios also writes to those in Egypt on repentance and the restoration of those who after conversion had gone astray during the persecution; and he makes an outstanding and detailed description of the degrees of transgressions. And to Kolon, bishop of the city of the Eremoupolitans, he has composed an exceptional book *On Repentance*, and another rebuking work to the Alexandrians; another to Origen *On Martyrdom*, as he says, not to mention another as well to the Laodikeians when Thelymidres was their bishop; and to the Armenians when Merouzanes was the bishop presiding over them. And Helenos the bishop of Tarsos in Cilicia and those bishops with him, Firmilianus of Cappadocia and Theoktistos of Palestine, entreated this Dionysios in writing to meet with them in Antioch in order to examine together the matter of Navatus, since Fabius the bishop of Antioch and some others were giving in to the schism. Therefore, after receiving the letter against Navatus from Cornelius, the bishop of Rome, he wrote back to him explaining as well the appeals of the aforementioned men. But during this time, since Fabius had fallen asleep, Demetrianos was appointed bishop of Antioch. And with a variety of other epistles and sacred words, Dionysios also earnestly fought to reconstitute especially the Roman church, which was being thrown into disorder by Navatus, everywhere urging repentance and harmony. Included among these epistles are a letter of ministry *On Peace* that he wrote to the Romans through Hippolytos, and another *On Repentance*, and a private letter to the confessors who were in agreement with Navatus' error. And he wrote two letters to those of the confessors who have broken away from him and been united with the Church.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Eus. *HE* 6.46.



AM 5746

## Year 246 of the divine Incarnation

(25) The twenty-fifth Roman emperor was Gallus, along with Volusianus

(22) The twenty-second Roman bishop was Cornelius

3 years<sup>1</sup>

(23) The twenty-third Roman bishop was Lucius 2 years<sup>2</sup>

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Navatus, the heresiarch, was becoming known as presbyter of Rome.<sup>3</sup>

(13) The thirteenth bishop of Antioch was Fabianus 9 years<sup>4</sup>

(14) The fourteenth bishop of Alexandria was Dionysios

17 years<sup>5</sup>

(37) The thirty-seventh bishop of Jerusalem was Mazabanes

21 years<sup>6</sup>

The Scythians, the so-called Gotthoi, crossed the Istros river during the reign of Decius and began to overrun the Roman dominion in huge numbers. They surrounded the Mysians as they were fleeing to Nikopolis. Decius attacked them, as Dexippos records, and was worsted in battle although killing 30,000, with the result that he lost Philippopolis, which they captured, and many Thracians were killed. And after this same Decius attacked the Scythians as they were returning to their own land, this fighter against God, along with his son, was killed in a most miserable way in Abrytos, the so-called Forum Thembronium; and the Scythians returned with a great number of captives and much booty. The legions proclaimed as emperor a certain Gallus who had been previously consul, together with Decius' son Volusianus.<sup>7</sup> According to Dexippos, they also ruled for eighteen months, accomplishing nothing of note;<sup>8</sup> but according to some others, it

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.218<sup>i</sup> (2 years); *HE* 7.2 ('about 3 years').

<sup>2</sup> Eus. 2.219<sup>d</sup> (8 months); *HE* 7.2 ('less than 8 whole months').

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.219<sup>b</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> Eus. 2.218<sup>g</sup>, 220<sup>h</sup>.

<sup>5</sup> Eus. 2.218<sup>a</sup>; *HE* 7.28.3.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.218<sup>g</sup>, 221<sup>e</sup> (15 years); *Xpov. συντ.* 78.8 (21 years).

<sup>7</sup> Synk. (or Dexippos) appears to be fusing Gallus' own son Volusianus with Decius' son Hostilianus, the latter of whom Gallus is said to have adopted. Cf. Aurel. Vict. *Caes.* 30.1, who notes that the Roman senate voted Gallus and Hostilianus to the rank of Augustus, and Gallus' son Volusianus to the rank of Caesar.

<sup>8</sup> Dexipp. *FGrH* 100 F 22.

was three years, and others two years.<sup>1</sup> Betrayed by their own forces, they were slain in the agora of Flaminius;<sup>2</sup> for they were possessed of the same malice as Decius, as Dionysios, the blessed bishop of Alexandria, says somewhere in writing about Gallus to Hermammon: 'But that man neither recognized the evil of Decius nor did he consider beforehand why on earth he fell. Instead he stumbled over the same stone that was before his eyes. For when his empire was prospering, and affairs were progressing as he intended, he expelled our holy men, those who were acting as ambassadors to our God for his peace and health. Accordingly, along with them he also expelled their prayers for him.'<sup>3</sup>

460] At this time, Gregory the great man and wonderworker was showing his brilliance for his flawless mastery of Christian philosophy. And Eusebios of Caesarea has failed to give Gregory the notice that he deserves (I know not why) although he wastes his time with absurd encomia of the ungodly Origen—this, even though Gregory was being celebrated throughout the whole inhabited world, and shone out brilliantly for his divine speech and wonders, so that because of his great confidence in God and the purity of his life and speech, he was issuing orders even to the demons themselves, as if they were so many chattel slaves. In my opinion, Eusebios kept silent about the magnitude of the godly excellence of the divinely inspired wonderworker Gregory because of the absolute purity of his doctrines and their antagonism to Origen's ravings and the blasphemies of Areios, with which Eusebios was infected.

The same Eusebios is also silent about the martyrdom of Cyprian the Great, the bishop and martyr of Carthage in Libya; for he suggests that he was still alive during the reign of Gallus and Volusianus and convened the synod in Carthage against those who were opposed to the rebaptism of some of the heretics, since, he says, the ancient custom that had prevailed in the Church was to purify them only with the laying-on of hands and prayer.<sup>4</sup> But in fact, Gregory of Nazianzos, a theologian of the highest order, states in his oration on Cyprian that he died during the reign of Decius.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Eutrop. 9.5 (less than 2 years); Eus. 2.218.21-2 (2 years, 4 months); *Xpov. σνντ.* 101.19 (3 years).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.219<sup>f</sup>, which also notes that according to others Gallus and Volusianus were killed at Interamna; see also Eutrop. 9.5.

<sup>3</sup> Eus. *HE* 7.1.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Eus. *HE* 7.3.

<sup>5</sup> Greg. Naz. *Orat.* 24 (*in laudem Cypriani*) 14-16 (*PG* 35.1185 B-1188 A). Eusebios was right.

Eusebios says that during the time of Gallus, Origen died in his seventieth year, joining, that is to say, the death of his soul to his godless doctrines.<sup>1</sup>

Stephanos, who after Lucius discharged the duties of the see of Rome, initially opposed Cyprian for teaching that some repentant heretics were to be purified by baptism, on the grounds that he was introducing an innovation contrary to the prevailing custom. To this Stephanos, bishop of Rome, the great Dionysios wrote his first letter on baptism.<sup>2</sup> And regarding Cyprian's teaching, he again wrote at length, advising Stephanos that, since the churches everywhere were at peace over the difficulty caused by Navatus, he too should be at peace, writing as follows:

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**A hortatory excerpt from the epistle of Dionysios to  
Stephanos bishop of Rome, on baptism<sup>3</sup>**

Now recognize, brother, that all the churches in the East and even beyond, which had been previously divided, are unified. And the leaders everywhere are entirely of one mind, rejoicing to the highest degree at the unexpected advent of peace: Demetrianos in Antioch, Theoktistos in Caesarea, Mazabanes in Aelia,<sup>4</sup> Marinos in Tyre (since Alexander has fallen asleep), Heliodoros in Laodikeia (since Thelymidres has taken his rest), Helenos in Tarsos, and all the churches of Cilicia, Firmilianus and all Cappadocia. I have named only the more notable of the bishops, in order neither to prolong my letter nor burden my discourse. But the Syrias as a whole and Arabia, whom you assist at every opportunity and to whom you have written an epistle, and Mesopotamia and Pontos and Bithynia, and to speak briefly, all the churches everywhere rejoice greatly with one mind and brotherly love, glorifying God.

Now with these words and others similar to them, Dionysios wrote to Stephanos, who presided over the church at Rome for two years before the end of his life, giving soothing counsel in the interests of peace.

To Xystos, who succeeded to the bishop's throne after Stephanos, this same Dionysios wrote a second epistle, in which he explained

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Eus. *HE* 7.1.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Eus. *HE* 7.2.

<sup>3</sup> Eus. *HE* 7.5.1-2.

<sup>4</sup> Colonia Aelia Capitolina, the name that Hadrian gave the city of Jerusalem after the second Jewish revolt.

the opinion of Stephanos and the judgement of the rest of the bishops about the opinion of this Stephanos, as follows:

**From the second epistle on baptism of this same  
Dionysios bishop of Alexandria, to Xystos<sup>1</sup>**

462] Now he had also written earlier concerning Helenos and Firmilianus and all those from Cilicia and Cappadocia, and, of course, Galatia and all the bordering regions next to it, that he would not be in communion with them either for this same reason, since, he says, they rebaptize heretics. And consider the magnitude of the matter. For there were in fact decrees made about this in the greatest synods of the bishops, as I ascertain, so that those who come from heresies after having received instruction should then be bathed and purified of the filth of the old and impure leaven. And concerning Navatus, I wrote him a letter entreating him concerning all these matters.

(And further on:) And to our beloved fellow presbyters Dionysios and Philemon, who had previously been of the same opinion as Stephanos, and who wrote to me concerning the same matters, I have previously written briefly, but now I have written at greater length.

(And he adds to this the following about the beliefs of Sabellios the Libyan heretic:) Regarding the teaching that has now been introduced in Ptolemaïs of the Pentapolis, which is both impious and contains great blasphemy about God the Father Almighty, and our Lord Jesus Christ, and great unbelief about his only begotten son, the first-born of all creation, the Word made incarnate, and which is insensible of the Holy Spirit—when there had come to me from either side both documents and those intending to enter into discussion, I wrote some letters, to the extent that I was able, God providing, offering instruction in a more expository manner. Copies of them I sent to you.

And after relating this in his second discourse to Xystos, the divine Dionysios details a kind of remarkable vision of God in his third discourse on baptism, writing to Philemon, the presbyter of Rome.

<sup>1</sup> Eus. *HE* 7.5.4–6.1.

**From the third discourse on baptism by Dionysios of  
Alexandria, to Philemon the presbyter of Rome, and on his  
vision<sup>1</sup>**

As for myself, I have also read the treatises and traditions of the heretics, defiling my soul awhile with their foul and filthy notions, yet reaping this advantage from them—that of refuting them for myself and loathing them much more. And indeed when a brother, one of the presbyters, was trying to prevent and frighten me from getting involved with the mire of their wickedness (for it would injure my own soul), my feeling was that he was speaking the truth. But a vision sent by God came to me and gave me strength. And word came to me, expressly ordering the following: [463] 'Read everything that may come into your hands. For you are able to set right and examine each and every matter; and this you had from the beginning and has been the reason for your faith.' I accepted the vision, since it was consistent with the apostolic saying addressed to those who are stronger: 'Become trustworthy money-changers.'

(And in addition to this, he adds the following words about all heresies:) I have received this rule and model from our blessed pope Heraklas. For those who were coming back from heresies after having left the Church (or rather, they did not even leave the Church, but still appearing to be part of the congregation, yet had been reported to be frequenting one of the heretical teachers), he expelled from the church and did not accept their entreaties until they described publicly everything that they had heard from the antagonists.<sup>2</sup> And then he admitted them into the congregation, but did not demand of them another baptism. For they had previously obtained this sacred rite from him.

(And then after describing in detail this teaching, he confirms it with these additional words:) I have also learnt this fact: this is not a practice introduced just now by the Africans alone; rather this was the accepted practice long before among the bishops who preceded us in the most populous churches and the synods of the brethren, in Ikonion and Synnada, and in many places—I do not dare to throw them into conflict and strife by overturning their decisions. 'For you shall not move', scripture says, 'the landmarks of your neighbour, which your fathers put in place.'<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Eus. *HE* 7.7.1–5.

<sup>2</sup> Text: *τοῖς ἀντιθεμένοις*. Cf. Eus. *HE* 7.7.4: *τοὺς ἀντιδιατιθεμένοις* ('them that resist'), probably based on 2 Tim. 2.25.

<sup>3</sup> Deut. 19.14; Prov. 22.28.

This is what the great Dionysios writes in the third letter on baptism, but in his fourth letter on baptism, which he wrote to Dionysios a presbyter of Rome, a learned and remarkable man, who succeeded to the bishop's throne a little later, he writes the following:

**From the fourth letter on baptism by Dionysios bishop of Alexandria, written to Dionysios presbyter of Rome<sup>1</sup>**

464] For we have good reason to despise Navatianus, who divided the Church, released<sup>2</sup> some of the brethren into impieties and blasphemies, made the church most profane with a flood of his teachings about God,<sup>3</sup> and slanders our Lord Jesus Christ as unmerciful. And in addition to all this, he also rejects the holy washing and overturns the faith and confession that precede it, and entirely banishes the Holy Spirit from them, even though there was some hope of its remaining or even returning to them.

And the fifth letter was written by him to Xystos bishop of the Romans, in which he speaks extensively against the heretics and cites the following thing that happened in his time:

For in truth, brother, I need your advice and I ask for an opinion from you, since the following matter has come before me, and I am afraid lest I err. For of the brethren who assemble together for worship, there is one considered a believer of long standing, from even before my election, and, I think, even before the appointment of the blessed Heraklas over the congregation.<sup>4</sup> Recently, he happened to be baptized,<sup>5</sup> and after hearing the questions and answers, he came to me crying, bewailing himself, and falling before my feet; and he confessed and abjured the

<sup>1</sup> Eus. *HE* 7.8–9.6.

<sup>2</sup> Text: ἐκλύσαντι. Cf. Eus. *HE* 7.8.1: ἐλκύσαντι ('dragged').

<sup>3</sup> Text: ταῖς περὶ τοῦ θεοῦ διδασκαλίαις ἀνοσιωτάτην ἐπικλύσαντι. Cf. Eus. *HE* 7.8.1: περὶ τοῦ θεοῦ διδασκαλίαν ἀνοσιωτάτην ἐπεισκυκλήσαντι ('introduced most profane teaching about God').

<sup>4</sup> Text: οἶμαι δὲ καὶ τῆς τοῦ μακαρίου Ἡρακλᾶ καταστάσεως τῆς συναγωγῆς. Cf. Eus. *HE* 7.9.2: οἶμαι δὲ καὶ τῆς τοῦ μακαρίου Ἡρακλᾶ καταστάσεως, τῆς συναγωγῆς μετασχών ('... and a member of the congregation, I think, even before the appointment of the blessed Heraklas').

<sup>5</sup> Text: ὑπόγουον βαπτιζόμενος περιτυχών (lit. 'having been on hand when he was recently being baptized'). The Greek text makes little sense. Cf. Eus. *HE* 7.9.2: τοῖς ὑπόγουον βαπτιζομένοις παρατυχών ('having been present with those who were recently being baptized').

baptism that he had undergone from the heretics, that it was not such as this, nor was he able in any way to lift his eyes to God, after starting out from those impious words and deeds. And for this reason, he asked to receive this most pure cleansing, acceptance, and grace. But as for myself I did not dare to do it, saying that his longstanding communion was sufficient for this. For he had heard the thanksgivings and had joined in saying the 'Amen' and stood before the table, and had stretched out his hands to receive the holy food, and after receiving it had partaken of the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ for a considerable time. For that reason, I should not dare to build him up again from the beginning. So I began exhorting him to take heart and with resolute faith and good hope come forth to participate in the holy rites. But he does not cease his grieving and trembles to approach the table, and when called upon is barely able to endure taking his stand at the prayers.

In addition to the aforementioned letters, there is also another letter in circulation by the same author on baptism, addressed from him and the diocese that he led to Xystos and the church at Rome. In it, by way of a lengthy demonstration, he offers an extended discourse on the problem at hand. And after this, another letter by him is in circulation addressed to Dionysios at Rome, which concerns Lucianus. So much for these matters.

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## AM 5748

## Year 248 of the divine Incarnation

- |  |                       |
|--|-----------------------|
| (26) The twenty-sixth Roman emperor was Valerian, along with Gallienus | 15 years <sup>1</sup> |
| (3) The third king of the Persians was Hormisdas                       | 1 year                |
| (4) The fourth king of the Persians was Ouararanes                     | 3 years <sup>2</sup>  |
| (24) The twenty-fourth bishop of Rome was Stephanos                    | 2 years <sup>3</sup>  |
| (25) The twenty-fifth bishop of Rome was Xystos                        | 9 years <sup>4</sup>  |
| (26) The twenty-sixth bishop of Rome was Dionysios                     | 8 years <sup>5</sup>  |

<sup>1</sup> Eus. 2.220.2.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 519 (= Moss. 441.6-7).

<sup>3</sup> Eus. 2.219<sup>d</sup> (three years); *HE* 7.5.3 (2 years).

<sup>4</sup> Eus. 2.220<sup>b</sup> (8 years); *HE* 7.27.1 (11 years).

<sup>5</sup> Eus. 2.221<sup>c</sup>; *HE* 7.30.23 (9 years).

(14) The fourteenth bishop of Antioch was Demetrianos  
4 years<sup>1</sup>

(15) The fifteenth bishop of Antioch was Paul of Samosata  
8 years<sup>2</sup>

When he renewed the heresy of Artemon, he was removed from office by a divine decree and a judgement of the holy fathers.<sup>3</sup>

(16) The sixteenth bishop of Antioch was Domninos  
3 years<sup>4</sup>

(14) The fourteenth bishop of Alexandria was Dionysios  
17 years<sup>5</sup>

(15) The fifteenth bishop of Alexandria was Maximus  
8 years<sup>6</sup>

(37) The thirty-seventh bishop of Jerusalem was Mazabanos  
21 years<sup>7</sup>

The successors to the Roman throne after Gallus and Decius' son Volusianus were Valerian and his son Gallienus, according to the majority opinion. After the former were killed by treason in their own army, as was stated above, they ruled the empire for fifteen years; but according to some Aemilianus was head of state for a period of three years.<sup>8</sup> And when he was killed in accordance with the will of Valerian, this same Valerian was proclaimed Roman emperor.

466] During the rule of Valerian and Gallienus, the Scythians again crossed the Istros river and ravaged Thrace and besieged the Illyrian city of Thessalonike. But because of the courage of those guarding the city, they achieved nothing of great note against it. Thrown into panic because of this, the Greeks stationed guards at Thermopylai, and the Athenians rebuilt the wall that had been taken down from the time of Sulla. And the Peloponnesians fortified the Isthmus with a wall extending from sea to sea. And the Scythians returned home with much booty.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.219<sup>c</sup>, 220<sup>h</sup> (7 years).

<sup>2</sup> Eus. 2.220<sup>h</sup>, 221<sup>f</sup> (8 years).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.221<sup>f</sup>; *HE* 7.30.18.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.221<sup>f</sup>, 222<sup>c</sup> (Domnus, for 4 years).

<sup>5</sup> See above, p. 539 (= Moss. 459.3).

<sup>6</sup> Cf. below, p. 553 (= Moss. 472.4), where Synk. assigns 18 years to Maximus. Cf. also Eus. 2.221<sup>b</sup>; *HE* 7.32.30 (18 years).

<sup>7</sup> See above, p. 539 (= Moss. 459.4).

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.219<sup>g</sup>; Eutrop. 9.6, according to which Aemilianus was killed in his third month.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Eutrop. 9.8; *SHA Gall.* 5.6.



After this, moreover, Sapores, the Persian emperor, overran Syria and came to Antioch and ravaged all Cappadocia.<sup>1</sup> With the Roman army facing starvation in Edessa and in uproar as a result, Valerian was in panic. And after making a pretence of going into battle a second time, he surrendered himself to the Persian emperor Sapores, promising as well the surrender of the main body of his army. When the Romans learnt of this they barely managed to escape after suffering a few losses. As he pursued them, the Persian emperor Sapores took Antioch the Great and Tarsos in Cilicia and Caesarea in Cappadocia.<sup>2</sup> At that time, the Persians, through their greed, were scattered in different places; and as they were on the verge of seizing Pompeiopolis Maritima, and were plundering Lykaonia, they were destroyed in very large number, when Ballista, the Roman general whom the Romans had made their leader while in flight, launched an unexpected naval attack against them with his forces. After seizing Sapores' concubines and a great deal of wealth, he departed with his fleet to Sebaste and Korykos, where he killed 3000 Persians.<sup>3</sup> In great anguish over these events, Sapores made a hasty retreat in fear. And Valerian remained with the Persians until the end of his life.<sup>4</sup> Now Odenathos, a Palmyrene general skilled in warfare, allied with the Romans and destroyed many of the Persians in an attack against them as they were retreating across the region of the Euphrates. Because of this, he was honoured by Gallienus as *dux* of the eastern provinces, having also killed some of the Romans who revolted against him in Phoenicia.<sup>5</sup> At that time, the Scythians, who are called Gotthoi in their native tongue, again passed through the Pontic Sea into Bithynia; after traversing the whole of Asia and Lydia, they seized Nikomedeia, a large city of Bithynia, and laid waste the cities of Ionia. Some of the

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<sup>1</sup> Eus. 2.220<sup>f</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> Eutrop. 9.7. Cf. also Zon. 12.23. Zonaras provides two accounts of the circumstances of Valerian's capture. According to the first explanation, Valerian decided to engage the Persians in battle only after he witnessed the success of Edessene troops against them. After the Roman army, surrounded by a much larger Persian force, suffered many casualties, Valerian surrendered to Shapur. The second explanation is the same as Synk.'s, namely that Valerian, fearful of mutiny from his own starving army, surrendered willingly to the Persians. Upon learning of this, his men fled after having suffered only a few casualties.

<sup>3</sup> *SHA Valer.* 4.2–4; *Tyrann.* 18. The *Historia Augusta* credits Odenathos, not Ballista, with these military successes against the Persians.

<sup>4</sup> Eutrop. 9.7; Eus. 2.220<sup>d</sup>.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Zon. 12.24; Eus. 2.221<sup>d</sup>; Eutrop. 9.10.

cities that they captured were unwalled, others were partially fortified. What is more, they took hold of Phrygia, after ravaging Troy, Cappadocia, and Galatia.<sup>1</sup> And again Odenathos demonstrated his mettle against the Persians. He won over Ktesiphon after a siege, and upon hearing of the calamities in Asia, he hastened with his forces through Cappadocia to Pontic Herakleia in order to lay hold of the Scythians. But he was assassinated there by a man also called Odenathos. So before his arrival, the Scythians returned across the same Pontos to their own land. And his bodyguard slew Odenathos, the assassin of Odenathos, and entrusted rule of the eastern provinces to Zenobia his wife.<sup>2</sup>

Also at that time, the Ailouroi<sup>3</sup> sailed with 500 ships through Lake Maiotis to the Pontos and seized Byzantion and Chrysopolis. Thereupon, after engaging in battle, they turned back a little to the mouth of the Pontic Black Sea, the so-called 'Holy Mouth'. On the next day, they sailed downstream with a favourable wind; at first they moved towards the strait of Kyzikos, the largest city of Bithynia, and then they also ravaged the islands of Lemnos and Skyros. After arriving in Attica, they set fire to Athens, Corinth, Sparta, Argos, and overran all Achaïa, until the Athenians ambushed them along certain rough and narrow defiles and destroyed them in very great numbers. The emperor Gallienus had also launched an attack and killed 3000 near Nessos. Then Naulobatos, the leader of the Ailouroi, unconditionally surrendered himself to the emperor Gallienus and was honoured by him with the rank of consul. Aureolus, a Celtic general of the Romans, assassinated Gallienus.<sup>4</sup> So much for the emperors Valerian and Gallienus.

It is also fitting to cite excerpts from Dionysios the Great, bishop of Alexandria, concerning these same emperors, as well as the persecution during their reigns and his own zeal in Christ and confession.

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. *SHA Gall.* 4.7–8; II.1–2.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *SHA Gall.* 12.6–13.1; *Tyrann.* 15.5; 17; *Zon.* 12.24. According to the *Historia Augusta*, Odenathos was slain by his cousin and his own son. Zonaras fixes the blame for Odenathos' death on his nephew, whom he had previously imprisoned. During a drinking-party, he slew both Odenathos and his son, the same person who had earlier helped secure his release from prison.

<sup>3</sup> A corruption of Heruli to the Greek for 'cats'.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *SHA Gall.* 13.6–9 (based on Dexippos); 14.6–8.

**From Dionysios, bishop of Alexandria, from his  
letter to Hermammon<sup>1</sup>**

And to John there is a revelation about this: 'For there was given to him', he says, 'a mouth speaking great things and blasphemies, and there was given to him authority and forty-two months.'<sup>2</sup> One can wonder at both of these things occurring during the reign of Valerian, and above all these matters, take note of the previous state of affairs: how mild and friendly he was to God's people. For none of the other emperors who preceded him was as benign and favourably disposed to them, not even those who were said to have become openly Christians, as they were.<sup>3</sup> From the outset he received them publicly in the most familiar and friendly manner. And his whole household had been filled with devout people and was a church of God. But the master and the head of the assembly of Egyptian magicians cajoled him into expelling them, and enjoined him to kill the pure and holy men, on the grounds that they opposed and impeded his most vile and loathsome incantations (for by their presence and by being seen and by simply breathing and speaking, they are and were capable of dispersing the plots of the wicked demons). And he persuasively advised him to perform profane rites and abominable trickeries, and ill-omened offerings: to cut the throats of pitiful boys and sacrifice children of luckless fathers, and to cut open the entrails of new-born babies, and butcher and grind up the human forms created by God, as if there would be good fortune as a result.

(And to this he adds:) In any case, they were fine thank-offerings that Macrinus presented to them for the empire to which he aspired. Said to be initially in charge of the whole imperial account, he was neither accountable nor whole in his thinking.<sup>4</sup> Instead, he succumbed to the prophetic curse that says, 'Woe to those who make prophecy from their hearts and do not see the whole.'<sup>5</sup> For he did not understand the universal providence, nor did he perceive the judgement of him who is before all things and in all things. Therefore he became an enemy of his catholic

<sup>1</sup> Eus. *HE* 7.10.2–9.

<sup>2</sup> Rev. 13.5.

<sup>3</sup> Text: *ὡς ἐκεῖνοι*. Eus. *HE* 7.10.3 has correctly *ὡς ἐκεῖνος* ('as he was when at the outset . . .').

<sup>4</sup> Text: *οὐδὲν εὐλογον οὐδὲ καθολικὸν* (lit. 'nothing reputable nor catholic'), a pun on the words *καθ' ὅλου λόγον* in the preceding clause.

<sup>5</sup> Ezek. 13.3.

Church, and alienated and estranged himself from the mercy of God and exiled himself as far as possible from his own salvation, thereby validating his own name.<sup>1</sup>

469] (And again, after some other remarks, he says:) For Valerian was induced to do this by God, and was given up to insults and calumnies, in accordance with what was said to Isaiah: 'And they have chosen their ways and their abominations, in which their soul delighted. And I will choose their entanglements, and will recompense their sins upon them.'<sup>2</sup> Now quite mad in his desire for the empire, which he did not deserve, and unable to adorn his deformed body with the imperial regalia, this man put forth as leaders his two sons, who had received their father's sins. For the prediction that God spoke clearly applies to them: 'Recompensing the sins of the fathers upon the children, to the third and fourth generation, to those that hate me.'<sup>3</sup> For by heaping his own evil desires, whatever they happened to be, upon the heads of his sons, he wiped off on them his own evil and his hatred toward God.

And this is what the great Dionysios says about Valerian, not to mention Macrinus.

AM 5763

**Year 263 of the divine Incarnation**

(27) The twenty-seventh Roman emperor was Claudius

1 year<sup>4</sup>

Claudius held power for one year.

During his reign also, the Ailouroi fared badly in another massive naval incursion over diverse places in Roman territory; they were pummelled at one time in naval battles, at another time by storms, and another time by plague, to which this same Claudius also succumbed and died.<sup>5</sup> After him, Quintillius<sup>6</sup> held power for a total of seventeen days and died.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A possible play on the verbal similarity between Macrinus and μακρᾶν ('far away').

<sup>2</sup> Isa. 66.3-4.

<sup>3</sup> Exod. 20.5.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.221.22-3 (1 year, 9 months).

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *SHA Claud.* 6.1-2; 9.3-9; 11.3; 12.2.

<sup>6</sup> Quintillus.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Eutrop. 9.12; *SHA Claud.* 13.3.

AM 5764

## Year 264 of the divine Incarnation

(28) The twenty-eighth Roman emperor was Aurelian

6 years<sup>1</sup>

Aurelian conquered the Palmyrenes and subdued Gaul;<sup>2</sup> it is said that during his reign Philostratos the Athenian historian and Longinus flourished.

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At that time, Zenobia amassed a huge army and rose up against the Romans. She seized control of Egypt, killing Probus, who was at that time serving there as military commander of the Romans. Finding this news intolerable, Aurelian arrived with an army. And near Antioch in Syria in the place called Immai he destroyed the Palmyrenes, vanquished Zenobia, and led her back to Rome. He treated her with great humanity and honoured her by marrying her to a man of senatorial rank.<sup>3</sup>

He also overcame the Gauls, who were in rebellion at that time.<sup>4</sup>

After also making an incursion against the Scythians, he was killed in an uprising by his own army; he came to grief between Byzantion and Herakleia in the place called Kainon Phrourion<sup>5</sup> of the Thracians, when he was on the verge of instigating a persecution against Christians.<sup>6</sup>

He also constructed a temple to Helios in Rome, which was admirable both for its gold and precious stones.<sup>7</sup>

After releasing Trajan's Dacia to the barbarians, he settled men and women in the middlemost part of Mysia,<sup>8</sup> to be named Middle Dacia, with Mysia on either side.<sup>9</sup>

(5) The fifth Persian emperor was Ourarakes 17 years<sup>10</sup>

(26) The twenty-sixth bishop of Rome was Dionysios

8 years<sup>11</sup>(16) The sixteenth bishop of Antioch was Domnus 3 years<sup>12</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Eus. *HE* 7.30.22 (6 years); cf. Eus. 2.222.8–9 (5 years, 6 months).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.222<sup>de</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *SHA Tyrann.* 30.27; *Aurel.* 22.25, 28; Eutrop. 9.13.2; Eus. 2.222<sup>eg</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.222<sup>d</sup>; Eutrop. 9.13.1.

<sup>5</sup> Lit. 'New Fort'.

<sup>6</sup> Eus. 2.223<sup>c</sup>; *HE* 7.30.20–1; Eutrop. 9.15.2.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.223<sup>a</sup>; Eutrop. 9.15.1.

<sup>8</sup> That is, Moesia.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Eutrop. 9.15.1.

<sup>10</sup> See above, p. 519 (= Moss. 441.8).

<sup>11</sup> See above, p. 545 (= Moss. 465.11).

<sup>12</sup> See above, p. 546 (= Moss. 465.16).

- (17) The seventeenth bishop of Antioch was Kyrillos  
15 years<sup>1</sup>
- (15) The fifteenth bishop of Alexandria was Maximus  
8 years
- (37) The thirty-seventh bishop of Jerusalem was Mazabanēs  
21 years<sup>2</sup>

## AM 5765

**Year 265 from the divine Incarnation**

(29) The twenty-ninth Roman emperor was the aforementioned Aurelian  
6 years

In his sixth year, Aurelian, as he was about to instigate a persecution against Christians, was thwarted by a thunderbolt from God. After a plot was hatched against him by those in his household, he was assassinated in Kainon Phrourion.<sup>3</sup>

- 471] Tacitus was emperor after him  
6 months<sup>4</sup>
- When he was slain in Pontos, Florianus became emperor  
88 days<sup>5</sup>
- When he was slain in Tarsos, Probus became emperor  
6 years,  
4 months<sup>6</sup>
- Total  
7 years

## AM 5770

**Year 270 of the divine Incarnation**

In the third year of Probus, Anatolios bishop of Laodikeia, who was eminent in philosophical studies, was becoming known.<sup>7</sup>

In the fourth year of Probus, the ruinous calamity of the maniacal Manichaeans was introduced into human existence.<sup>8</sup>

In the sixth year of Probus, the military commander Saturninus began to build New Antioch. When he subsequently revolted against Roman rule, he was slain by his own men in Apameia. Probus was slain in Sirmium.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.222<sup>c</sup>, 224<sup>b</sup>: (17) Timaeus, 10 years; (18) Cyrillus, 15 years; *Xpov. συντ.* 75.5–8: (18) Timeos, 3 years; (19) Kyrillos, 15 years.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 546 (= Moss. 465.18–19).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. above, p. 551 (= Moss. 470.9–11).

<sup>4</sup> Eus. 2.223.12.

<sup>5</sup> Eus. 2.223<sup>e</sup>.

<sup>6</sup> Eus. 2.223.16.

<sup>7</sup> Eus. 2.223<sup>i</sup>.

<sup>8</sup> Eus. 2.223<sup>l</sup>.

<sup>9</sup> Eus. 2.224<sup>c</sup>.

(32) The thirty-second Roman emperor was Carus, with his sons  
Carinus and Numerianus 2 years<sup>1</sup>

## AM 5775

## Year 275 of the divine Incarnation

In Carinus' first year, when Numerianus arrived in Antioch and expressed a desire to enter the church and examine the Christian mysteries, the holy Babylas prevented him, saying: 'It is not possible for you to see the Christian mysteries, since you have been defiled by sacrifices to idols.' Enraged by this, Numerianus slew him.<sup>2</sup>

(27) The twenty-seventh bishop of Rome was Felix 5 years<sup>3</sup>

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The successor to Felix as bishop of the Roman church was  
Eutychianos 8 months

(28) After him, Gaius was the twenty-eighth bishop 15 years<sup>4</sup>

(18) The eighteenth bishop of Antioch was Kyrillos 15 years<sup>5</sup>

(15) The fifteenth bishop of Alexandria was Maximus  
18 years<sup>6</sup>

(16) The sixteenth bishop of Alexandria was Theonas  
19 years<sup>7</sup>

(38) The thirty-eighth bishop of Jerusalem was Hymenaios  
12 years<sup>8</sup>

## AM 5776

## Year 276 of the divine Incarnation

## The remaining narrative about the Roman emperor Carus

In his second year, Carus, a Gallic man of brave temperament, subdued the Sarmatai, who were in revolt. After also engaging the Persians in combat, he took control of Ktesiphon. As he was

<sup>1</sup> Eus. 2.224.19–20.

<sup>2</sup> According to Eusebios, Babylas died in prison during the reign of Decius (*HE* 6.39.4). For other versions of Synk.'s story of Babylas' death at the hands of Numerianus, see Joh. Mal. 303.12–20; Joh. Dam. *Passio sancti Artemii* 54 (*PG* 96.1301 AB); *Suda*, s.v. Βαβύλας.

<sup>3</sup> Eus. 2.223<sup>f</sup>; *HE* 7.32.1.

<sup>4</sup> Eus. 2.224<sup>d</sup> (8 months and 15 years respectively); *HE* 7.32.1 ('not even 10 whole months' and 15 years respectively). It is unclear why Synk. omits Eutychianos' number in the succession of Roman bishops. According to Eusebios, he succeeded Felix as the 26th bishop of the church in Rome.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.224<sup>b</sup>, 227<sup>i</sup> (13 years).

<sup>6</sup> Eus. 2.221<sup>b</sup>; *HE* 7.32.30. <sup>7</sup> Eus. 2.224<sup>f</sup>; *HE* 7.32.31.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.221<sup>e</sup>; *HE* 7.14 (without years); *Xρον. συντ.* 78.9 (23 years).

bivouacking by the Tigris river, he was killed when a thunderbolt suddenly struck him and his tent.<sup>1</sup>

His son Numerianus was emperor after him for only 30 days. For as he was returning from Persia, he succumbed to ophthalmia, and was murdered by his own father-in-law, whose name was Aper. The praetorian prefect, he aspired to the principate, but he nevertheless failed to attain the object of his hope.<sup>2</sup> For the army was unanimous in proclaiming as emperor Diocletian, who had taken part in the expedition with Carus at that time and displayed great valour. A Dalmatian by nationality, and a member of the Senate, he had received the office of the consulate. In Rome at that time, Carus' son Carinus, who was left there by his father when he launched his expedition against the Persians, proved to be a hardship on the Romans. So Diocletian, after taking control of the government, immediately slew the prefect Aper, Numerianus' murderer; and Carinus, who was flouting the law in his management of the government, he killed upon returning to Rome.<sup>3</sup> Showing the highest probity throughout the entire course of his rule, Diocletian was Roman emperor for twenty years<sup>4</sup>

473]	(28) The twenty-eighth bishop of Rome was Gaius	15 years
	(18) The eighteenth bishop of Antioch was Kyrillos	15 years
	(16) The sixteenth bishop of Alexandria was Theonas	19 years
	(38) The thirty-eighth bishop of Jerusalem was Hymenaios	12 years <sup>5</sup>

**From the *Ecclesiastical History* of Eusebios Pamphilou,  
concerning Paul of Samosata and his depravity<sup>6</sup>**

Also at this time, when Demetrianos had passed away in Antioch, Paul of Samosata received the office of bishop. This man had miserable and lowly ideas about Christ which were opposed to church teaching, namely that he was in his nature an ordinary man. So Dionysios of Alexandria was summoned to attend the synod, but pleading both old age and bodily infirmity, he put off his arrival, supplying by a letter the opinion that he held on the problem at hand. Now the rest of the pastors of the churches all

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.224<sup>b</sup>; Eutrop. 9.18.1.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Eutrop. 9.18.2; *SHA Car.* 12.1-2.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Eutrop. 9.19-20; *SHA Car.* 13; 18.1-2; Eus. 2.225<sup>c</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> Eus. 2.225.5-7.

<sup>5</sup> This list of bishops repeats the list given above, p. 553 (= Moss. 472.2-6).

<sup>6</sup> Eus. *HE* 7.27.1-30.19.



made haste from various quarters to assemble at Antioch, as if against a corrupter of the flock of Christ. Of those who were the most outstanding, there was Firmilianus bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia; the brothers Gregorios and Athenodoros, who were pastors of the dioceses in Pontos; and in addition to these, Helenos, of the diocese in Tarsos, and Nikomas, of the diocese in Ikonion, not to mention Hymenaios, of the church in Jerusalem; in addition to them, also Maximus, of the church of Caesarea—Jerusalem's neighbour—<sup>1</sup> who was leading with distinction the brethren at Bostra as well. One would not be at a loss to enumerate countless others, together with the presbyters and deacons, who were assembled in the aforementioned city for the same reason. But of them, these were the most notable. When all those, then, were meeting together regularly at different times about this matter, issues and problems were debated at each meeting, with the Samosatene's party endeavouring to conceal and disguise (what was) false in his teaching, while the others were striving mightily to expose and bring to light his heresy and blasphemy against Christ. At this time, Dionysios died in the twelfth year of the reign of Gallienus, after presiding over the office of the bishop in Alexandria for seventeen years. Maximus succeeded him. When Gallienus had held the principate for fifteen complete years, Claudius was established as his successor. After completing his second year, he handed over the government to Aurelian.

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In his time, when a final synod of the greatest possible number of bishops was convened, the leader of the Antiochene heresy, detected and now clearly condemned of heterodoxy by all, was excommunicated from the catholic Church under heaven. The man who particularly scrutinized and completely refuted this dissembler was Malchion, a man well versed in other areas and brimming with wisdom, the head of the Greek schools in Antioch;<sup>2</sup> not only this, but what is more, because of the exceed-

<sup>1</sup> Text: τῆς ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἐκκλησίας Ὑμέναιος, τῆς ὁμόρου ταύτης Καισαρείας Μάξιμος ἔτι πρὸς τούτοις, τῶν κατὰ Βόστραν δὲ καὶ οὗτος ἀδελφῶν διαπρεπῶς ἡγεῖτο . . . Cf. Eus. HE 7.28.1: τῆς ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἐκκλησίας Ὑμέναιος τῆς τε ὁμόρου ταύτης Καισαρείας Θεότεκνος, Μάξιμος ἔτι πρὸς τούτοις, τῶν κατὰ Βόστραν δὲ καὶ οὗτος ἀδελφῶν διαπρεπῶς ἡγεῖτο . . . (Hymenaios, of the church in Jerusalem, and Theoteknos, of its neighbour Caesarea, and in addition to these, Maximos, who too was leading with distinction the brethren at Bostra'). For ταύτης in the text of Synk. and Eusebios, the translators have read ταύτη.

<sup>2</sup> Text: τοῦ τῶν ἐπ' Ἀντιοχείας Ἑλληνικῶν παιδευτηρίων προεστῶς. Cf. Eus. HE 7.29.2: σοφιστοῦ τῶν ἐπ' Ἀντιοχείας Ἑλληνικῶν παιδευτηρίων διατριβῆς προεστῶς

ing sincerity of his faith in Christ, he had been considered worthy of the office of presbyter in that diocese. It was indeed he who set up an inquiry into him, recorded by shorthand-writers, the proceedings of which, as we know, are still in circulation even to this day; and it was he alone who was able to expose this dissembling and deceitful man. And thus those pastors who were assembled in that place unanimously drafted a single letter personally for Dionysios bishop of Rome and Maximus bishop in Alexandria and sent it throughout all the provinces. In it they manifested to all their zeal and the twisted heterodoxy of Paul, as well as the arguments and questions that they had debated with him, discussing moreover the man's whole life and character. From them, for the sake of remembrance, it would be good on the present occasion to recount these, their words:

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(And shortly afterwards, they add the following:) 'We are writing this letter jointly and at the same time urging many even of the bishops far away to heal this deadly teaching, including Dionysios in Alexandria and Firmilianus from Cappadocia, blessed men. Of these, one sent a letter to Antioch, not even deigning to address the leader of the heresy, nor writing to him personally, but to the diocese as a whole; we append a copy. But as for Firmilianus, it was twice that he arrived and condemned his innovations, just as we who were present know and attest, and many others know as well. But when he had promised to mend his ways, Firmilianus called for adjournment, since he trusted and hoped that the matter would be fittingly resolved without any reproach to the Word. For he was misled by this man, who denied

('head of a school of rhetoric, one of the Greek educational establishments in Antioch'). The superfluous article *τοῦ* in Synk.'s text probably originates in a misreading of *σοφιστοῦ*, which he had construed as *σοφὸς τοῦ*. In place of *σοφὸς*, he then substituted *σοφίας ἀνάπλεως*, but retained the definite article *τοῦ*.

his own God and Lord and had not safeguarded the faith that he too had previously held. And Firmilianus was planning to cross over to Antioch, and got as far as Tarsos, since he had experience of the God-denying depravity of this man. But in the meantime, when we had come together and were calling and waiting for him to come, his life came to an end.'

(After some other remarks, they again describe in turn the sort of life that he lived, in these words:) 'But whereas he departed from the rule and has pursued base and spurious doctrines, we have no need to judge the deeds of one who is an outsider—not even because, while he was previously poor and destitute and did not receive a livelihood from his fathers, nor did he acquire it from a skill or any business, he has now come upon abundant riches from his acts of lawlessness and sacrilege, and from what he demands and extorts from the brethren. And he deprives the victims of wrongdoing of what is rightfully theirs and promises to assist them for a fee, but he lies to them too, and falsely reaps gain from the predisposition of those engaged in legal troubles to make an offer for the sake of getting rid of those annoying them; for he considers service to God as a livelihood.<sup>1</sup> Nor do we pass judgement on him because he sets his mind on lofty matters and is exalted, decking himself out with worldly honours and wishing to be called *ducenarius* instead of bishop; he swaggers through the market-places and reads and dictates letters as he walks in public, protected by bodyguards, some preceding and some following, in great numbers. The result is resentment and hatred for the faith, because of his haughtiness and the arrogance of his heart. Nor do we judge the pedantry in the church synods that he devises, looking for popular acclaim and indulging vain fantasies and impressing the minds of the simpler folk with such things. For he has built himself a tribunal and an imposing throne, not as a disciple of Christ, but as a forerunner and imitator of the Antichrist, and just like the rulers of this world possesses and specifically refers to a *secretum*. And he slaps his thigh with his hand and pounds the tribunal with his feet. And those who do not applaud or wave with their handkerchiefs as in the theatre, or shout out or jump up in the same way as his partisan supporters—both men and women—who listen to him in this unruly manner—those, that is, who listen, as in a house of God, with order and dignity he rebukes and reviles. And to those interpreters of the Word who have departed from this life, his behaviour in the common

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. 1 Tim. 6.5.

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assembly is that of an abusive and vulgar drunk. And he boasts about himself as if he were not a bishop, but a sophist and a fraud. And while suspending the psalms to our Lord Jesus Christ, supposedly because they are rather recent and the compositions of rather modern men, he prepares women to sing hymns to himself in the middle of the church on the great day of the Pascha—hymns indeed that one would shudder to hear. And this is also the kind of discourse that he encourages his toadies amongst the bishops of the neighbouring country and towns, as well as the presbyters, to use in their sermons to the laity. For he does not wish to confess with us that the Son descended from heaven (to anticipate a little of what we are about to write; and this will not be simply asserted, but is demonstrated abundantly from the explanatory notes that we sent, not least of all where he says that Jesus Christ was from below). Yet those who sing psalms to him and extol him among the laity say that their own impious teacher has come down from heaven as an angel. And he does not hinder them; rather this arrogant man is even present when this is being said. And there are his *subintroductae*,<sup>1</sup> as the Antiochenes call them, and those of the presbyters and deacons associated with him, whom he assists in concealing this and their other incorrigible sins (even though he is aware of them and has reproved them). This is so that he may keep them in his debt, and through fear for themselves they shall not dare to denounce him for his wrongdoings both in word and deed. But instead he has even made them wealthy, for which he is loved and admired by those who desire this. But why should we write of these things? For we know, beloved, that the bishop and the clergy in general should be an example of all good works to the multitude. And we are not ignorant of how many have fallen by soliciting for themselves women as *subintroductae*, while others are under suspicion; so that even if one were to grant that he is doing nothing lewd, still he should guard against the suspicion arising from such a practice, lest he cause some to stumble, and incite others even to imitate him. For how could he chastise or counsel another person to consort no more with a woman, and guard against a moral lapse, as it is written, when he has already sent one away, and has two with him who are in their prime and beautiful to behold? And even if he goes away anywhere, he takes them with him, living this life of luxury and excess. For this

<sup>1</sup> In Greek *ἐπίσακτοι*: women in the early Church who lived with men in spiritual marriage.

reason, they groan and lament to themselves, but they have become so afraid of his tyranny and power that they do not dare to denounce him. But someone, as we said earlier, might have set straight a man who at least had a catholic mind and was numbered among us; but as for the man who has disgraced the mystery and marched along with the foul heresy of Artemas (for why should we not take the effort to mention his father?), we do not deem it necessary to demand from him an explanation of his behaviour.'

(Then at the end of the letter, they add the following:) 'We have been compelled, therefore, to excommunicate him for opposing himself to God and not yielding and to appoint for the catholic Church another bishop in his place. By the providence of God, as we are convinced, we have chosen Domnus, the son of the blessed Demetrianos, who previously presided with distinction over the same diocese. Domnus is adorned with all the good qualities befitting a bishop. We have, then, reported this to you, so that you might write to him and receive from him documents of communion. But let him<sup>1</sup> write to Artemas and let those who think like Artemas enter into communion with him.'

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So then when Paul had fallen away from the office of bishop along with the orthodox faith as well, Domnus, as was stated, succeeded to the ministry of the church in Antioch. But since Paul was not at all willing to yield possession of the church building, an appeal was made to the emperor Aurelian, who handled the matter most judiciously. He ordered the house to be allotted to those with whom the bishops of the doctrine in Italy and the city of Rome should communicate in writing. In this way, therefore, did the secular power expel in complete disgrace this aforementioned man from the Church.

<sup>1</sup> Presumably Paul of Samosata.

## Appendix of Biblical Names

<i>Synkellos' Form</i>	<i>Normal English Form</i>
Abasai, Abioud, Abisouë	Abishua
Abdemelech	Ebed-melech
Abdiou	Obadiah
Abeiron	Abiram
Abenne	Tibni
Abia	Abijam
Abor	Habor
Achaab	Ahab
Achar	Achan
Achelaië	Iye-abarim
Achias the Silonite	Ahijah the Shilonite
Achisamech	Ahisamach
Achitob	Ahitub
Addo	Iddo
Ader's son	Ben-hadad
Adonibezek	Adoni-zedek
Aeilon	Elon
Aggai	Ai
Aggaios	Haggai
Aiglom	Eglon
Ailon	Elon
Aimath	Hamath
Aithaal	Ethbaal
Alam	Elam
Aman	Haman
Amathi the Getthaiian	Amittai the Gittite
Ambakoum	Habakkuk
Ambram	Amram
Ambri	Omri
Amesias	Amaziah
Aminadam	(father of Aaron) Amminadab; (custodian of the Ark) Abinadab
Anani	Hanani
Ananias	Hananiah
Aod	Ehud
Apheidoth	Lappidoth
Archad	Accad

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Archedon	Esarhaddon
Archikaros	Ahikar
Arphaxad	Arpachshad
Arran	Haran
Aseroth	Hazeroth
Asor	Hazor
Asoueros	Ahasuerus
Asour	Asshur
Azareas	Seraiah
Baasa	Baasha
Bal(l)a	Bilhah
Balsamos	Bishlam
Baltasar	Belshazzar
Barachias	Berechiah
Basan	Bashan; Beth-shean
Beëlphegor	Baal of Peor
Beëlsephon	Baal-zephon
Beëltethmos	Beltethmus
Beër	Beeri
Bersabeë	Beer-sheba
Beseleël	Bezalel
Bokoka	Bukki
Chaber	Heber
Chabolon	Cabul
Chalach	Calah
Chalane	Calneh
Chalchal	Halah
Charestha	Cherith
Charmeï	Carmi
Char(r)an	Haran
Chasbi	Cozbi
Chelkias	Hilkiah
Choreb	Horeb
Chousarsathom	Cushan-rishathaim
Dabeir	Debir
Dalida	Delilah
Deblatha	Riblah
Deklam	Diklah
Edesa	Hadassah
Eliab	Oholiab
Elias the Thesbite	Elijah the Tishbite
Eliasib(os), Eliasoub	Eliashib
Elissaios, -ië	Elisha

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Elmodam	Almodad
Epsibaal	Hephzibah
Ermom	Hermon
Esaias	Isaiah
Esdras	Ezra
Esdrias	Azariah ( <i>son of Meraioth</i> )
Esebon	( <i>person</i> ) Ibzan; ( <i>city</i> ) Heshbon
Eueilad Marodach	Evil-merodach
Euilat	Havilah
Ezekias	Hezekiah
Ezerias	Azariah ( <i>son of Hilkiah</i> )
Gabaath	Gibeah
Gabaon	Gibeon
Gai	Ai
Gaidad	Irad
Galaad	Gilead
Galgala	Gilgal
Gamarias	Gemariah
Garizein	Gerizim
Gebel	Obal
Ged(d)ida	Jedidah
Geion	Gihon
Gersam	Gershom
Gesem	Goshen
Giezei	Gehazi
Godolias	Gedaliah
Gotholia	Athaliah
Gothonoël, Gothoniël	Othniel
Hebraïr	Heber
Hierobaal	Jerubbaal
Hierouas	Irijah
Jabania	Jamnia
Jabein	Jabin
Jaëir	Jair
Jaram	Horam
Jasdous	Jaddua
Jechonias	Jeconiah
Jeou	Jehu
Jephone	Jephunneh
Jephthaë	Jephthah
Jesbok	Ishbak
Jesous	Jeshua
Jexan	Jokshan



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Joachaz	Jehoahaz
Joachim	Jehoiachin
Joakeim	Jehoiakim
Joas	Joash
Joatham	Jotham
Jochabet	Jochebed
Jodaë	( <i>pre-exilic</i> ) Jehoiada; ( <i>post-exilic</i> ) Joiada
Jonathes	Jotham
Joram	Jehoram
Josaphat	Jehoshaphat
Jothor	Jethro
Joudadan	Dedan
Joudein	Judith
Kaath	Kothath
Kades	Kadesh
Kades Barne	Kadesh-barnea
Kainan	Kenan
Kariathiareim	Kiriath-jearim
Kariathsepharei	Kiriath-sepher
Kenez	Kenaz
Kore	Korah
Lacheis	Lachish
Lomna	Libnah
Loud	Lud
Madam	Medan
Madiam	Midian
Magdol	Migdol
Magedon	Megiddo
Makeda	Makkedah
Malaleël	Mahalalel
Manaëm	Menahem
Mardochoios	Mordechai
Mareoth	Meraioth
Marodach Baladan	Merodach-baladan
Massiphatos	Mizpah
Mathnaï	Mattanah
Merra	Marah
Michaias	Micaiah, Micah
Mithridates	Mithredath
Mizaël	Mishaël
Mocthei	Bukki
Mosoch	Mash
Naasson	Nahshon

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Nabau	Nebo
Nabouthai	Naboth
Nabouzardan	Nebuzaradan
Nachaiel	Nahaliel
Naieman	Naaman
Naoum	Nahum
Napheleim, Naphileim	Nephilim
Nonthom	Etham
Oblatha	Riblah
Ochozias	Ahaziah
Od	Nod
Odollam	Eglon
Olda	Huldah
Opher	Hepher
Or	( <i>person</i> ) Hur; ( <i>mountain</i> ) Hor
Orech	Erech
Os	Uz
Oseë	( <i>king of Judah</i> ) Hoshea; ( <i>prophet</i> ) Hosea
Ouasthe	Vashti
Ouer	Ophir
Oul	Hul
Oure	Uri
Ourias	Uriah
Oxa	Achsah
Ozei	Uzzi
Ozias	Uzziah
Oziel	( <i>Moses' kinsman</i> ) Uzziel; ( <i>prophet</i> ) Jahaziel
Phakeë	Pekah
Phakesias	Pekahiah
Phalek	Peleg
Phoua	Puah
Phouth	Put
Rhaab	Rahab
Rhagai	Rages
Rhagau	Reu
Rhamelios, Rhomelios	Shimshai
Rhaphidein	Rephidin
Rhapsakes	Rabshakeh
Rhasson	Rezin
Rhathymos	Rehum
Rhegma	Raamah
Rhoboam	Rehoboam

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Rhoboth	Rehoboth
Rhomelias	Remaliah
Saar	Zohar
Sabat	Sheba
Sabbat	Shebat
Sadok, Saddos	Zadok
Salemos	Shallum
Salmana	Zalmunna
Salmanasar	Shalmaneser
Salom	Salu
Salpaad	Zelophehad
Sammaias	Shemaiah
Sareias	Seraiah
Satteim	Shittim
Saua	Shua
Sebakatha	Sabteca
Sebata	Sabtah
Sedekias	Zedekiah
Segor	( <i>city</i> ) Zoar; ( <i>king of Egypt</i> ) So
Selom	Shelah
Seloum	Shallum
Seme(i)gar	Shamgar
Senaar	Shinar
Senachereim	Sennacherib
Seon	Sihon
Sepphor	Zippor
Seraphtha	Zarephath
Sophonias	Zephaniah
Sour	( <i>person</i> ) Zur; ( <i>city</i> ) Ur; ( <i>desert</i> ) Shur
Sousakeim	Shishak
Tabellios	Tabeël
Taphnai	Tahpanhes
Thamnasarach	Timnath-serah
Thamnath	Timnah
Tharseis	Tarshish
Theglapha(la)sar	Tiglath-pileser
Zambrei	Zabdi
Zambri	Zimri
Zara	Zerah ( <i>man of Judah</i> )
Zare	Zerah ( <i>Ethiopian</i> )
Zareas	Zerahiah
Zareth	Zered
Zebeë	Zebah

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Zelpha  
Zembriam  
Zorobabel

Zilpah  
Zimram  
Zerubbabel

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The index does not as a rule include proper names mentioned incidentally or only in lists or tables. Names are given as they appear in the translation. For names with variable spellings, Synkellos' usual spelling ordinarily appears first. To find standard equivalents for Synkellos' spelling of names in the Bible, the reader should consult the index of biblical names (pp. 560–6). In those other cases for which the standard spelling of a name may not be recognizable from Synkellos' rendering of it, the more familiar spelling of the name is cross-referenced and provided in parentheses.

Note the following abbreviations: Alex. (Alexandria), Ant. (Antioch), bp. (bishop), br. (brother), emp. (emperor); f. (father), Jer. (Jerusalem), m. (mother); OT (Old Testament), s. (son), sis. (sister).

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