Chronicon

Eusebius of Caesarea (c. AD 260–339)

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Book 1 translated from Armenian

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Eusebius' Chronicle

[1] I have perused diverse histories of the past which the Chaldeans and Assyrians have recorded, which the Egyptians [g1] have written in detail, and which the Greeks have narrated as accurately as possible. [These works] contain [information about] the times of kings and Olympiads (which translates "athletes"), about the brave deeds which were performed by barbarians and Greeks, by Aryans and non-Aryans [i.e., by peoples inside and outside the Iranian cultural world], and about the marvelous accomplishments of their generals, sages, braves, poets, storytellers, and philosophers. I thought it would be appropriate to write down everything in brief, especially the beneficial and important things, and further to put adjacent to [these accounts] the history of the Hebrew patriarchs as revealed in the Bible. And thus we might establish how long [g2] before the life-giving revelation [of Christ] Moses and the Hebrew prophets who succeeded him lived and what they, filled with the divine spirit, said before [the time of Christ]. In this fashion it might be possible to recognize easily when the braves of each nation appeared [compared with] when the celebrated Hebrew prophets lived and, one by one, who all their leaders were [g3].

Permit me, right at the outset, to caution everyone against [believing that] there can be complete accuracy with respect to chronology. Indeed, we would benefit by contemplating what that wise Teacher told his acquaintances: "It is not for you to know times or seasons which the Father has fixed by his own authority" [Acts 1:7]. It seems to me that [Jesus], as God and Lord, delivered this succinct verdict not solely regarding the end of the world but about all times, in order to discourage those who would dare attempt such a futile undertaking [g4]. Let us also, in our own words, confirm the accuracy of the Teacher's dictum, for it is not possible to know unerringly the chronology of the entire world, not from the Greeks, not from the barbarians, not from other [peoples], not even the from the Hebrews. We would be pleased if just two points were taken from our words. First, do not be deceived into believing, as others do, that chronology [always] can be precisely determined. Second, despite this, to the extent that it is possible, use clarity to recognize the nature of the investigation which confronts you, and then proceed resolutely.

It should come as no surprise that the Greeks are absent [from recording information about events in antiquity] for a long period, since [during that time] they corrupted themselves with diverse forms of iniquities; moreover, for a long period, until Cadmus' generation, they were entirely unlettered since, they say, it was Cadmus who first brought them an alphabet from the land of the Phoenicians. Quite justly did that Egyptian reproach Solon in Plato's book [Timaeus 22b] when he remarked: "Oh, Solon, you Greeks are always [like] children [g5]. Nothing resembling an old man may be found amongst you. [And thus] it is impossible to study ancient history from you." On the other hand, the Egyptians relate many fabulous accounts [about ancient times], as do the Chaldeans, since they reckon their literacy embraces more than 400,000 years. The Egyptians have written extensively about [false] gods and their offspring, about ghosts and spirits of the dead, and of other [mortal] kings, in fable-like, delirious ravings [g6].

[2] Why should I, who reveres truth above all, pore over this type of material in such detail? [And why should I] who so loves the Hebrews point out, in the appropriate places, where I have found inconsistencies [in their accounts]? [I have done it] to reprove the boasting of vainglorious chronographers. I shall approach the task before me with writings which have come down from the past. First I shall present a chronology of the Chaldeans, then [I shall present a list of] the kings of the Assyrians, then the Medes, then the Lydians, followed by the Persians. In the next section [I shall present] the entire chronology of the Hebrews in order. [This will be followed by] a third section [describing] the period of the Egyptian dynasties [g7] including the Ptolemids who reigned after Alexander of Macedon in Egypt and Alexandria. Next, one by one, I will introduce the beginnings of other [nations], how the Greeks tell their own history. First, [I will tell] about those ruling in Sicyon then in the land of the Argives, then in the city of Athens itself, from first to last, those in Lacadaemon, those in Corinth, and whoever else ruled over any other part of the sea.

I shall add to this a description of the Olympiads, which the Greeks wrote. Once all these [parts] have been set forth, I shall record, one by one, the first kings of the Macedonians, and the Thessalonians, followed by the those of the Assyrians and Asiatics who ruled after Alexander [g8]. Next, each topic in a separate segment, I will describe those descendants of Aeneas who, after the capture of Ilium, ruled over the Latins later called Romans; then the descendants of Romulus who built the city of Rome; then the successors of Julius Caesar and Augustus who became emperors and the consuls who ruled in the intervening years. I will convert all the material collected about all these folk into chronological tables. Including, from the beginning, who from each nation ruled as king and for how long, I will put these [facts] into separate [chronological tables] together with the number of years involved. In this way, if we need to know who ruled and for how long [that information] will be easily and quickly accessible. Furthermore, the valiant deeds of each kingdom, which all nations have transmitted, I will place in summary form within [my account] of [these] kingdoms.

However, that [material] will be in the second part of this work. But at present, in the next section, let us examine what the Chaldeans' ancestors have related about [their own] chronology [g9].

[3] How the Chaldeans chronicled [their past], from Alexander Polyhistor; about their writings and their first kingdom.

Here is what Berosus related in Book One, and in Book Two what he wrote about the kings, one by one. He mentions the period when Nabonassarus was king, but merely records the kings' names not saying anything precise about their deeds, perhaps because he did not consider that they had done anything worth recalling--beyond [g10] [providing] a list of their names. This is how he begins. Apollodorus says that Alorus was the first Chaldean king to rule in Babylon, reigning for 10 sars. A sar consists of 3,600 years, and this [figure may be] broken down into [units called] ners and soses. He says that one ner is 600 years, while one sos is 60 years. This is how the [Chaldean] ancients reckoned [periods of] years. Having stated this, he proceeds to enumerate the kings of the Assyrians, one by one. There were 10 kings from the first king, Alorus, to Xisuthrus. He says that during [the latter's] time the first great flood occurred, which Moses also mentions. He states that the reign of those kings consisted of a total of 120 sars, making a total [in our denomination] of 2043 [Arm. sxd] myriad years. He describes them one by one thusly [g11].

He says that on the death of Alorus, his son, Alaparus, [ruled for] 3 sars; after Alaparus, the Chaldean Almelon, from the city of Pautibiblon [? Bad-tibira], ruled for 13 sars; after Almelon, Ammenon, from the city of Pautibiblon, ruled for 12 sars. Now in his day a creature called Idotion, having the [composite] shape of a man and a fish, emerged from the Red Sea. After [Ammenon], Amegalarus, from the city of Pautibiblon, ruled for 18 sars, and after him, the shepherd Daonus, from the city of Pautibiblon, ruled for 10 sars [g12]. In his day, once again there emerged from the Red Sea four hybrid beings (Arm. yushkaparik) of the same man-fish type [as Idotion]. Then Edovanchus, from the city of Pautibiblon, ruled for 18 sars. During his reign once again another sort of man-fish being emerged from the Red Sea, called Odacon. He says that all of them [g13] were from Oannes, [and] he concisely describes them, one by one. Then the Chaldean Amenpsinus, from [the city of] Lanchara ruled. His reign lasted for 10 sars. Then the Chaldean Otiartes from Lanchara ruled. His reign lasted 8 sars. Upon the death of Otiartus, his son Xisuthrus ruled for 18 sars. The great deluge occurred in his time. Altogether [this makes] 10 monarchs [ruling for a total of] 100 and 20 sars. [This material] may be presented as follows [g14]:

Alorus sars Alaparus sars Almelon sars Ammenon sars Amegalarus sars Daonus sars Edovanchus sars Amempsinus sars Otiartes sars Xisuthrus sars This makes a total of 10 kings [ruling for] [g15] a total of 120 sars. And they say that 120 sars equal 2043 myriad years, assuming that a sar consists of 3,600 years. Such are the figures related in Alexander Polyhistor's book. And if a person regards this as accurate history, and accepts as valid [reigns lasting] for such myriads of years, then [that person] would have to believe other incredible material found in the same book. Howbeit, I will relate what that same

Berosus relates in the aforementioned historical romance, and will resume their previous [thread] which [Alexander] Polyhistor has put in his own book. One after the other he recounts these types of things [g16].

[4] More apocryphal Chaldean history [taken] from the same book of Alexander Polyhistor about the Chaldeans.

In the first of [his] Babylonian books, Berosus claims that he lived in the time of Philip's [son] Alexander, and that he wrote based on numerous books which were kept carefully in Babylon [describing a period of] 215 [g17] myriad years, [such as] chronologies, historical accounts, the Creator's making of Heaven and Earth and the Seas, and [information] about kings and their deeds. First, he says, the country of the Babylonians was established on the Tigris [River] and the Euphrates passed through it. The country brings forth of its own accord wild wheat and barley, lentils, peas, and sesame; and in the tranquil, swampy rivers a type of edible tuber is found which they call gongk' (Arm. "turnip"), having the [same] virtue as barley bread. Also found there are dates and apples as well as various other fruits. There are fish and birds, wild fowl and marsh fowl. There are sections by the Arab areas devoid of water and fruit, while opposite the Arabs' land are areas which are mountainous and fruit-bearing. In Babylon dwell a multitude of foreign peoples from the Chaldean land [g19], and they live wantonly like beasts and wild animals.

Now it happened that in the first year, in the confines of Babylonia, there emerged from the Red Sea an awesome creature which was named Oannes. As Apollodorus relates in his book, [this being] had the complete body of a fish. Yet by the fish's head was another appropriate [human] head, and by the tail were [a pair of] human feet, and it could speak human language [g20]. A picture/likeness of [Oannes] has been preserved to this day. He further states that this creature kept company with humans during the day, completely abstaining from any kind of food, instructing people in letters and the techniques of different arts [including] city and temple [building], knowledge of laws, the nature of weights and measures, how to collect seeds and fruits; indeed, he taught humankind everything necessary for domestic life on earth. From that time on no one [individual] has discovered more. Now when the sun went down, the Oannes creature once again returned to the sea, remaining until morning in the vast expanse of the waters. Thus it lived the life of an amphibian [g21]. Subsequently other similar creatures came forth, as the book of the kings makes clear. Furthermore it is said that Oannes wrote about deeds and virtues, giving humankind words and wisdom.

[5] There was a time, he says, when all was dark and water. And there were other sorts of creatures [on the earth]. Half of them could reproduce themselves [asexually], while there were others which procreated and bore humans with two wings, others with four wings and two faces, with one body and two heads, male and female, and [others] having both male and female natures [combined]. Other humans had the legs of goats, horns on their heads, others had horses' hooves. Others had the rear half of a horse and the front half of a human. Some had the hybrid [Arm. yushkaparik] appearance of a horse and a bull. Also born [g22]

were bulls with human heads, dogs with quadripartite bodies having the flippers of a fish and a fish's tail sprouting from the hindquarters. [There were] horses with dogs' heads as well as humans and other creatures with horses' heads and/or human forms and the extremities of fish. In addition there were diverse sorts of dragon-shaped creatures, hybrid fish, reptiles, snakes, and many types of astonishing creatures of differing appearance. The pictures of each of them are preserved at the temple of Belus. All of them were ruled over by a woman named Markaye' who was called T'aghatt'ay in Chaldean. The Greek translation of T'aladday is "sea" [g23]. Now while all of these mixed [creatures] were arising, Belus attacked. He cut the woman [i.e. the sea] in two, making half the sky and the other half the earth, and he killed the creatures in it. Thus [information] about the natural world is expressed in the form of an allegorical fable which means that initially there existed only water and moisture and the creatures in it. Then that deity cut off its head and another deity took the blood which dripped from it, mixed it with soil, and created humankind. Thus they became wise and partook of the thoughts of the gods [g24].

As regards Belus, which translates into Greek as Dios and into Armenian as Aramazd, he split the darkness in two, separating heaven and earth from each other, and then smoothed and fashioned the world. [Those] creatures which could not endure the strength of the light perished. Then Belus looked at the world, [both] the desert [parts] and the fruitful [parts], and gave an order to one of the gods to take [some of] the blood which was dripping down from his own severed head and to mix it with soil and to create humans, other animals, and beasts which could withstand this air. Belus also established [g25] the sun, the moon, and the five wandering stars. According to [Alexander] Polyhistor, this is what Berosus relates in his first volume. In the second volume he provides [information] about the reigns of the ten kings individually, which we have already treated. [This portion, from Oannes to Belus,] extends [the account back] more than 40 myriads.

[6] Surely if anyone regards as veracious the Chaldean [account encompassing] such a huge number of years, then that person will also accept [as true] other parts of their fallacious history. [The Chaldean account] simply defies reason and is apocryphal, no matter how it is interpreted. [Even] if someone should accept [the account], then [g26] that [individual] should not accept [the Chaldean] calculation of time without examination. If, according to their chronology, there were [really] so many thousands of years amassed, and if the successors of these [early] peoples [performed] their acts and deeds over a similar extended period, and if only 10 kings could have lived for so many myriads of years, who would believe that there might be any truth in such things and fables? Now it is possible that the sars we cited [earlier] represented a shorter interval of time than what others have assigned to them. For example, the ancestors of the Egyptians spoke of a lunar cycle, that is, a month contained 30 days [g27], which they referred to as a "year." Others referred to three-month periods as "hours." I am saying that they styled seasons of the year and three-month intervals as "years." Consequently it could be the same sort of thing when the Chaldeans spoke of sars.

Accordingly, [the Chaldeans] considered that there were just 10 generations [g28] from Alorus whom they considered their first king until Xisuthrus. They relate that the great Flood occurred in the latter's day. Furthermore Moses, in the Hebrew books, says that there were 10 generations before the Flood, and each generation before the Flood is described, one by one. The Hebrew history reckons 2000 years for those 10 generations. Assyrian histories also detail the same number of generations as the writings of Moses do, though not embracing the same amount of time, since they reckon the 10 generations lasting for 120 sars, equaling 2043 myriad years. Now for those of you seeking the truth in this matter [g29] it is simple to accept that Xisuthrus is the same [individual] as the man the Hebrews call Noah, during whose lifetime the great [g30] Flood occurred. The book of [Alexander] Polyhistor describes [the Flood] in the following manner.

[7] Alexander Polyhistor on the Flood, from the same book we just mentioned. He says that upon the death of Otiartes, his son Xisuthrus ruled for 18 sars, during which time the great Flood occurred. His text relates the details as follows. He says that Chronos--who is called the father of Aramazd [Jupiter] and, by others, Time--came [to Xisuthrus] in his sleep and revealed to him that on the 15th [g31] of the month of Desios, which is the [Armenian] month of Marer [December/January], humankind would perish in a flood. [Chronos] commanded that the entire book [of Oannes?]--the beginning, middle, and ending--be taken and buried [for safety] at Heliopolis ("the city of the sun"), in Sippar. [He also commanded him] to fashion a ship and to go inside it with his family [g32] and closest friends, and to put inside [the ship] provisions and drink, animals, birds, and quadrupeds, and to be completely ready to set sail. Then [Xisuthrus] inquired where he should sail the ship, and [Chronos] replied that he should [just] pray to the gods [and] that all would be well for humanity. And so [Xisuthrus] saw to building the ship which [measured] 15 stadia in length and two stadia in width [g33].

After doing all that he was bidden, [Xisuthrus] entered the vessel with his wife, children, and closest friends. Then the deluge came. As soon as it had receded, Xisuthrus released some birds. However, when they were unable to find anything to eat or any place to perch, he took them back on board. A few days later he again released some birds, and they too returned to the ship, [but this time] their claws were covered with mud. Finally he released them a third time, and this time they did not return to the ship. By this Xisuthrus realized that the ground had become visible. He opened a side of the ship's deck and observed that the boat had landed on some mountain. He emerged with his wife, a daughter, and the [g34] navigator, and worshipped ("kissed the ground"). He fashioned an altar and made sacrifice to the gods. And thereafter he and those who descended with him from the ship did not appear to anyone. Those [people] who had remained on board and had not emerged with Xisuthrus subsequently descended and sought for him, circulating around shouting out his name. But Xisuthrus never again appeared to them. However [his] voice came to them from the air and commanded [g35] that they should worship the gods, and that he, because of his worship of the gods, had gone to dwell where the gods dwelled. His wife, daughter, and the ship's pilot shared in this honor. He also ordered them to return to Babylon, for so the gods

had commanded, and to excavate and remove the manuscripts buried at the city of Sippar and give them [back] to humanity. As for the place where they emerged [from the ship], it was the land of the Armenians.

Now when [the people] heard all this, they offered sacrifices to the gods, and then went to Babylon on foot. As for that ship which landed in Armenia, they say that to the present a small portion of it [g36] remains in the Korduats' Mountains [RB: south of Lake Van] in the land of the Armenians. Some [folk] scrape off the naphtha which had been used as a sealant for the ship and make amulets from it to treat pain. Now [those who disembarked] went and arrived at Babylon, excavated in Sippar city and removed [manuscripts of] the book. Then they constructed numerous cities, erected temples to the gods and renewed Babylon once more. Along with this story, [Alexander] Polyhistor tells the following story of the building of the tower [of Babel], similar to the account [found] in the writings of Moses, [almost] to the syllable [g37].

[8] Alexander Polyhistor on the building of the Tower

Sibyl states that the people were united and commenced building the lofty [g38] Tower, in order to ascend to the heavens. But Almighty God stirred up a wind which destroyed the Tower, and [God] divided each [of the participants] with distinct languages. It is for this reason that the city was called Babylon. It was after the Flood that the Titan Prometheus lived, and stirred up a war with Cronos. This is sufficient about the building of the Tower. Polyhistor supplements this [topic] by adding that after the Flood [g39], Evexius ruled over the Chaldeans for four ners. After him his son, Comosbelus, held authority for four ners and five soses. Polyhistor counts a total of 86 monarchs from the time of Xisuthrus and the Flood until the Medes captured Babylon, and he provides the name of each one from Berosus' book. The total for all of them comes to three myriad, three thousand and ninety-one [33,091] years. Now after these generations, one after the other, suddenly the Medes massed troops against Babylon and took it, and set up tyrants of their own [nationality] there.

Then he enumerates the names of the Median tyrants, 8 of them, ruling for 224 years. Then 11 kings for ...years; then Chaldeans again, 49 kings for 458 years; then 9 Arab kings for 245 years. After this period he writes that Shamiram [Semiramis] ruled the Assyrians. Then he briefly lists [g40] the names of 45 monarchs, giving them a total of 526 years. He says that after them, the kingship of the Chaldeans was held by a man named Phulus [Tiglath-Pileser III], also recalled in Hebrew history as Phulos. They say that he came against the country of the Jews. Polyhistor relates that following [Phulus] Sennacherib became king. He is mentioned by the Hebrew books as ruling during the time of King Hezekiah and the prophet Isaiah. Scripture mentions in order that "In the fourteenth year of King Hezikiah, Sennacherib king of Assyria came up against all the fortified cities of Judah and took them" [2 Kings 18:13]. After this entire narration he continues with [the information that] [Sennacherib's] son Asordan [Esarhaddon] ruled after him. Then he proceeds to relate that in that period Hezikiah became sick. Continuing on, [g41] he states that the king of the

Babylonians, Merodach Baldan [Marduk II], sent messengers, letters, and gifts to Hezekiah. This is what the Hebrew books say.

Now the historian of the Chaldeans mentions Sennacherib, his son Asordan, Marodach Baghdan, and with them Nebuchadnezzar as our passage has done. Here is his description.

[9] From the same Alexander [Polyhistor] on the deeds and valor of Sennecherib and Nebuchadnezzar.

After Sennacherib's brother ruled, then Akises reigned over the Babylonians. He barely held power for 30 days, before he was slain by Maradoch Baladanus [g42]. The latter forcibly ruled for six months until a certain Elibus killed him and seized power. Now Sennacherib king of the Assyrians, in the third year of his reign, massed an army, went against the Babylonians, fought them, and triumphed. He arrested [Elibus] and his associates and had them taken to the country of the Assyrians. So [Sennacherib] dominated the Babylonians. He then enthroned his son Asordanios, and he himself returned to the country of the Assyrians. Now soon thereafter he received word that the Greeks had come to the land of Cilicia to wage war. [Sennacherib] went there and deployed his troops, brigade by brigade. He triumphed over the enemy, despite the fact that many of his own troops were killed. As a memorial to his conquest, he had a statue of himself erected on the spot and ordered that an account of his bravery and power be inscribed in the Chaldean language as a memorial for the future. [Polyhistor] says that [Sennacherib] built the city of Tarsus in the likeness of Babylon, and named it Tarsin. And he relates that after all his other accomplishments he went on to rule for 19 years, until he died as a result of a plot hatched by his own son, Ardamusanus. This is from Polyhistor.

The account chronologically is in harmony with what is [g43] written in Scripture. According to Polyhistor, Sennacherib ruled during the period of Hezekiah for 18 years; his son succeeded him for 8 years; Sammuges followed, for 21 years; followed by his brother, for 21 years. Then Nabupalasar ruled for 20 years, followed by Nebuchadnezzar, for 43 years. From Sennacherib up to Nebuchadnezzar the regnal years total 88. If one examines Hebrew writings, nearly the same [information] will be found. For following Hezekiah, his son Manasseh ruled over the remaining Hebrews for 55 years. Then Amos [ruled] for 12 years, followed by Josiah, followed by Jehoiakim. At the beginning of the latter's reign, Nebuchadnezzar came and besieged Jerusalem and took the Jews captive to Babylon. From Hezekiah to Nebuchadnezzar there are 88 years, just as Polyhistor calculated from the Chaldean sources. After [describing] all this, Polyhistor again turns to the works and deeds of Sennacherib. The Hebrew sources also refer to his son[s]. And he records them one by one. They say that the philosopher Pythagoras lived in this period, during their time. Now following Sammuges, Sardanapallus ruled the Chaldeans for 21 years. He sent an auxiliary army to the patriarch and lord of the Medes, Azhdahak, [g44] to secure one of his daughters, Amuhean, as a wife for his son Nebuchadnezzar. Then Nebuchadnezzar ruled for 43 years. He massed troops and came and took captive the Jews, Phoenicians, and Assyrians. Since the Hebrew sources are in harmony with Polyhistor here, there is no need to elaborate.

Following Nebuchadnezzar, his son Amilmarudochus ruled for 12 years. In Hebrew history he is called Ilmaroduchus. After him, Polyhistor says, Neglisarus ruled the Chaldeans for 4 years, followed by Nabodenus for 17 years. It was during his reign that Cambyses' son, Cyrus, massed troops and came against the country of the Babylonians. Nabodenus resisted, was defeated, and took to flight. Cyrus ruled Babylon for 9 years. However, he died in another battle, in the plain of Daas. Subsequently Cambyses [II] ruled for 8 years, followed by Darius for 36 years, followed by Xerxes and other Persian kings. Berosus described the Chaldean kings briefly one by one, and so does Polyhistor. Now it is quite clear that from the time when Nebuchadnezzar massed troops and took the Jews captive until the time of Cyrus' rule over the Persians, 70 years had transpired. Hebrew history also confirms this, considering that they had been in captivity for 70 years, reckoning [that event] from the first year of Nebuchadnezzar until the time of Cyrus, king of the Persians [g45].

Abydenus' Chaldean history confirms this. In agreement with Polyhistor, he relates it as follows.

[10] Abydenus on the first Chaldean kings.
So much for an account of Chaldean wisdom. Now it is said that Alorus was the first to rule over the land of the Chaldeans as king [g46]. He claimed that the most provident Lord had designated him as shepherd of [his] people, and he ruled for 10 sars. A sar is 3,600 years, a ner is 600 years, and a sos is 60 years. Alaparus ruled after him, followed by Almelon from the city of Pautibiblon. During his reign the second Anidostus emerged from the sea. [He was a being] like Oannes, who had the appearance of a semi-divine hero. [Almelon] was followed by Ammenon, then by Amegazarus. Next the shepherd was Daonus. During his reign, four amphibious beings came on land, emerging from the sea: Iovdocos, E'newgamos, E'newboghos, and Amenentos [g47]. Anodap'os [, another sea-creature, appeared] during the reign of Edorescho who ruled after [Daonus]. Other [kings] ruled after him, until Xisuthrus. These are also recalled by Polyhistor. Now here is what [Abydenus] wrote about the Flood.

Abydenus on the Flood.
After him others ruled, including Xisuthrus. It was to him that Cronos gave advance warning about a great deluge [g48] of rain [which would begin] on the 15th of the month of Desios, which is [the Armenian month of] Marer. [Cronos] ordered that all books in the city of Heliopolis, in Sippar, be concealed [i.e. protected]. Xisuthrus did all this, and wanted to set sail for Armenia, when suddenly [the prophesy] of the god was realized on the sailors. On the third day, after the rain had decreased, Xisuthrus released some of the birds to determine whether land could be found in the midst of so much water. Now [the birds] flew off [g49] over the limitless expanse of sea but, not finding any perch, returned to Xisuthrus. [The latter] waited another three days and then released [some birds] again. [This time] they returned with mud sticking to their claws. Soon the gods removed [Xisuthrus] from the sight of humankind. The ship continued on and stopped in the land of the Armenians.

The inhabitants of that land were rewarded with a useful medicine made from the wood [of the ship].

Now it seems to me that it should be evident to everyone that what Abydenus writes about the Flood is confirmed by Hebrew history. Nor is it surprising if Greek and Chaldean writers call Noah Xisuthrus or another name, or if they use their customary "gods" instead of God, or if they are silent about the doves, replacing them with "birds" [g50]. Such is Abydenus' account of the Flood [based on] Chaldean history. He also presents the following account of the building of the Tower, which supports the Mosaic narrative. It is said that people in early times had become so enamoured of their own power and size, that they even mocked the gods and wrought foolishness. They began [g51] to construct an enormous tower in the place now called Babylon. When they neared the gods in heaven, the winds aided the gods by blowing and causing that gigantic, artful structure to collapse. The ruins were called Babylon. [If] until that time, [everyone] spoke the same language, [afterwards] the gods introduced many different languages among the multitudes [g52]. After this Cronos and the Titans engaged each other in warfare. [Abydenus] also recalls Sennacherib in the following manner.

[11] Abydenus on Sennacherib.
In this period Sennacherib became the 25th to rule [over the Assyrians]. He conquered and subdued Babylon under his control, defeated the Greek naval fleet off the coast of Cilicia, and constructed a temple of the Athenians erecting [there] a bronze monument and inscribing on it [an account] of his valor. In addition, [Sennecharib] built Tarsus in accordance with the style and plan of Babylon, for the Cydnus River flows through Tarsus, just as the Euphrates flows through Babylon. After [Sennacherib] Nergilus became king, but he was slain by his son Adramelus. The latter was slain by his brother Axerdis, who shared the same father but not the same mother. He pursued troops to the city of Byzantium and entered it. [Axerdis] was the first to muster mercenary troops, one of whom was [g53] Pythagoras, who became a student of Chaldean wisdom. Axerdis conquered Egypt and parts of inner Syria. He was succeeded by Sardanapallus.

Saracus was the next king of Assyria. Now when he learned that a motley force had attacked by sea, he immediately sent [his] general Busalossorus to Babylon. [This general], however, plotted rebellion and sought the marriage of Amuhean, daughter of Azhdahak [Astyages], the patriarch of the Medes, to his son, Nebuchadnezzar. Then he swiftly went against Ninea, that is, the city of Nineveh. King Saracus was informed of all this and set fire to the palace [killing himself and] whoever was inside it. Then Nebuchadnezzar took the reigns of kingship, and surrounded Babylon with a secure wall. After relating this [material], Abydenus provides an account of Nebuchadnezzar, which coincides with [what is found in] Hebrew writings [g54].

Abydenus on Nebuchadnezzar.
Now when Nebuchadnezzar took power, he built a wall and triple ramparts around Babylon in the space of about 15 days. He then conducted the Armakalen River [away] from

the Euphrates and dug a reservoir on the highland above the city of Sippar which was 40 leagues (hrasax) around and 20 fathoms (girk) deep. And he constructed gates which could open and always irrigate the plain. These gates were called E'k'e'tognomonas, to promote [g55] support and enthusiasm for himself. He also built a wall on the shore of the Red Sea [to protect it] from the pounding waves. He built the city of Terendos at the entrance to the Arabs' land. He also decorated the royal court by planting sapling trees, calling this the Hanging Garden. [Abydenus] presents a detailed description of this so-called Hanging Garden. The Greeks, he says, regarded [the Hanging Garden] as [one] of the seven wonders of the world.

In another place the same author has this to say [g56]. In the beginning, he says, everything was water and it was called the sea. Then Belus lowered [? the waters] and distributed the lands to each [nation]. He fortified Babylon by surrounding it with walls, but after the passage of a long time, [the walls] weakened. So Nebuchadnezzar rebuilt them, and they endured until the time of the rule of the Macedonians, together with their bronze gates. Everything that Abydenus relates is confirmed by what Daniel says. [The book of Daniel, 4:30] describes how Nebuchadnezzar boasted inordinately: "Is not this great Babylon [g57], which I have built by my mighty power as a royal residence and for the glory of my majesty?" This is how Nebuchadnezzar spoke in [the book of] the prophet Daniel, since he regarded his power as proof of his goodness. Now listen to what Abydenus says [about Nebuchadnezzar] being stronger than Heracles. Here is his account.

Megasthenes says that [g58] Nebuchadnezzar, who was stronger than Heracles, levied troops and went to Libya and Iberia, which he conquered. He took and settled some of them on the fore part of the Black Sea coast. He subsequently relates from the Chaldeans' [accounts] that when he had returned to the royal court, some deity took control of his mind and spoke [through him] in this manner: "Oh brave Babylonians, I, Nebuchadnezzar, I predict that grief [g59] will befall you." He continues on in this vein for a while and then the historian [tells us] that after this eloquent speech he suddenly disappeared from sight. Then [Nebuchadnezzar's] son, Amilmardochus, ruled. The latter was slain by his son-in-law, Niglissarus. [Amilmardochus] left a son named Labossoracus, who also met with a violent [g60] end. Then Nabonedochus was invited to take the throne, although it was certainly not his [by right]. When Cyrus captured Babylon, he granted [Nabonedochus] the marzpanate of the land of Carmania. King Darius partly expelled him from that land. All this coincides with Hebrew accounts.

For Daniel, in his account of Nebuchadnezzar, relates how he declined mentally. There is really nothing peculiar about the fact that the Greeks or Chaldeans disguised his madness by saying that the gods or a demon (Arm. dew) entered his body and took it over. It is their custom to claim that such things are caused by gods whom they call demons. All this is [from] Abydenus [g61]. Similarly Flavius Josephus, the Jewish author of Antiquities provides the following confirmation of this [g61] [RB: the passage is in Against Apion Book I, 19-21].

[12] From Josephus' Antiquities about Nebuchadnezzar

He says: I will now describe what is written and narrated about us in the Chaldean histories one by one. These [accounts] have much in common with our own [Hebrew] writings. Berosus will attest to these [remarks]. He was a Chaldean by nationality and known to everyone interested in learning and wisdom, because he put into the Greek language books on [g62] Chaldean astrology and learning. Berosus in his book of early times is in agreement with Moses' account of the flood and the extermination of humankind because of its corruption, and about the ark in which Noah, the forefather of our people, was spared, and [about how the ark] rested on the summit of the mountains in the land of the Armenians. One by one [Berosus] describes these folk and their times, from Noah to Nabopolassar, who was king of the Babylon and the Chaldeans. After describing [the latter's] acts and brave deeds, [Berosus] relates how [Nabopolassar] sent [g63] his son Nebuchadnezzar to the country of the Egyptians and to our land with an enormous army, since he had been informed that the inhabitants of the land had rebelled. [Nebuchadnezzar] arrived and subdued everyone, burned and ruined the Temple in Jerusalem and deported all of our people, settling them in the country of the Babylonians. Seventy years passed from this catastrophe--the destruction of the city and the Temple--until the time of the Persian king Cyrus the First. [Berosus] says that [Cyrus] ruled over the Babylonians, the land of the Egyptians, the Syrians, Phoenicians, and Arabs surpassing in valor and bravery all those who preceded him as kings of the Chaldeans and Babylonians. Here is how Berosus described it.

Nebuchadnezzar's father Nabopolassar learned [g64] that the satrap whom he had set over the lords of the land of the Egyptians, the regions of the Syrians and the Phoenician districts had rebelled from him. Now because he himself was not able to supress [the rebellion], he put part of the troops he had assembled under the control of his son, Nebuchadnezzar, who had reached maturity [g65], and dispatched them. Nebuchadnezzar went and defeated the rebel in battle, and then subdued the land as before. Now it happened that his father Nabopolassar had become ill in Babylon and had died, after a reign of 21 years.

[13] When, after a long while, Nebuchadnezzar was informed of his father's death [g66], he settled and arranged affairs in the country of the Egyptians and in other lands. He entrusted the captives, Jews, Phoenicians, Syrians, and Egyptians, to some of his friends and ordered them to procede to Babylon with the heavily-armed troops. Meanwhile he himself [quickly] reached [the city] and found that his kingdom had been preserved by a certain one of the nobles. And so, [Nebuchadnezzar] ruled over his entire patrimonial state. He ordered that the captives be settled in goodly locales in the land of the Babylonians. Then he took booty from the war and adorned the temples of Bel and the other gods [g67] with great abundance. He increased [the flow of] water to the city proper and to the suburbs and secured the place so that no besieger would be able to divert the river into the city. He added three walls to the exterior of the city, in addition to the three walls on the inside of the city building half of baked brick and bitumen and half solely of brick. After enclosing the city with magnificent walls and splendidly decorating its gates, he constructed yet another palace near his father's palace [g68] whose size, beauty, and adornment one can hardly

describe. Suffice it to say that it was a splendidly rare accomplishment, completely finished in fifteen days.

The palace had a lofty turreted portion at the summit, constructed in such a manner as to resemble mountains and planted with a great variety of trees. This was named the Hanging Garden and it was created to satisfy the longing of his wife for the airy mountainous places where she was [g69] raised, in the high mountains of Media. This is what [Berosus] says about the king. He says a great deal more in the third book of his Chaldean History. There he lambasts Greek writers for vainly believing that Babylon was built by [Queen] Semiramis (Shamiram) and for attributing all the glorious wonders there to her.

One must accept this account from the Chaldean History as trustworthy. There is additional confirmation from Phoenician archival material which details [events from the reign of] this Babylonian king. For [Nebuchadnezzar] conquered Syria and all Phoenicia. The History of Philostratus supports this also where it describes the siege of Tyre. [Confirmation is also found] in the fourth volume of Megasthenes' History of the Indians, where he wants to demonstrate that the aforementioned king of the Babylonians surpassed [g70] Heracles in valor and bravery, for he mentions that [Nebuchadnezzar] conquered the greater part of Libya and Iberia. We mentioned earlier that the Temple in Jerusalem had been set afire by the Babylonian troops sent against [the city]. When Cyrus took the kingship of Asia, a start was made at rebuilding [the Temple]. Confirmation of this is found in the writings of Berosus, for in the third book of [his History] he writes as follows.

Nebuchadnezzar fell ill and died after beginning the construction of the aforementioned wall. He had reigned for 43 years. His son Amel-Marduk took the kingship, but he governed in a corrupt and impious manner [g71]. He was murdered by his sister's husband, Neriglissar, after ruling for two years. Then that Neriglissar, who had committed the murder, held power for four years. The latter's son Labesorachus ruled as a child for nine months. However, he suffered a violent death at the hands of relatives because of his wicked behavior. After his murder, the conspirators assembled and by general agreement placed a certain Babylonian named Nabonidus on the throne. He had been a participant in the conspiracy. [14] It was during [Nabonidus'] reign that the walls of Babylon by the river were constructed of baked brick and bitumen. Now in the 17th year of his reign, Cyrus [g72] came from Persia with an enormous army with which he conquered all the other kingdoms. Then he turned upon Babylon. When Nabonidus was informed about his invasion, he resisted him in battle with his troops. Defeated in battle, [Nabonidus] took to flight and then fortified himself in the city of Borsippa with a few of his followers.

After Cyrus had taken Babylon, he ordered that the city's outer wall be razed to the ground because of its [effective] fortification and the trouble it had presented [to him] in capturing the city. Then he went to besiege Nabonidus in Borsippa. Nabonidus surrendered right away since he could not endure a siege. Cyrus was merciful toward him and settled him in the land of Carmania [g73]. Thus Nabonidus was removed from Babylon and sent there, where he spent the remainder of his life, and died. This is all true and in accord with our

literature, which states that in the 18th year of Nebuchadnezzar our temple was destroyed, and remained ruined for 50 years. In the second year of the kingship of Cyrus the foundations were laid and in the sixth year of Darius' reign it was completed. I will now add to this the Phoenician records, for it will not be superfluous to add further supporting proofs. The following [citations] are for chronology. Nebuchadnezzar [g74] besieged Tyre for thirteen years in the days of Ithobal, their king; after him reigned Baal, ten years; after him these judges were appointed: Ecnibalus, the son of Baslacus, two months; Chelbes, the son of Abdeus, ten months; Abbar, the high priest, three months; Sipunostus and Gerastratus, the sons of Abdelemus, were judges six years; after whom Balatorus reigned one year; after his death they sent and fetched Merbalus from Babylon, who reigned four years; after his death they sent for his brother Hirom, who reigned twenty years. Under his reign Cyrus the Persian flourished.

So that the whole interval is fifty-four years besides three months; for in the seventh year of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar he began to besiege Tyre, and Cyrus the Persian took the kingdom in the [g75] fourteenth year of Hirom. So that the records of the Chaldeans and Tyrians agree with our writings about this temple. The above is what Josephus has related. Abydenus, after providing this account of the Chaldean kings, which is similar to [Alexander] Polyhistor's [account] then separately describes the Assyrian kings, one by one, as follows.

[15] Abydenus on the Assyrian Kingdom.

Here is the way the Chaldeans describe the kings of their land, from Alorus to [g76] Alexander. There is no special attention given to Ninus or Semiramis. So saying, [Abydenus] begins [g77] his account. He says that [the kings of the Assyrians] were Ninus, son of Arbelus, son of Chaalus, son of Arbelus, son of Anebus, son of Babus, son of the Assyrian king Belus [g78]. Then [Abydenus] describes [the rulers] one by one, from Ninus and Semiramis to Sardanapallus, who was the last of them. From the latter until the first [g79] Olympiad 67 years elapsed. Abydenus wrote about each of the Assyrian kings, one by one [g80] in this fashion. He is not the sole [author to write about them]. Castor, too, in the summary of his first Chronology describes the Assyrian kings in the same manner to the refuge of Solomon.

From the Summary of Castor, on the kingdom of the Assyrians.

[Castor] says: "Belus was the king of the Assyrians. During his reign [g81], the Cyclopes, using thunder and lightning, fought on Zeus' side in the battle Zeus (Aramazd) fought against the Titans. The kings of the Titans were known at this time, one of them being Ogygus. [Castor], after some brief words about him, states that the giants attacked the gods and were defeated after Heracles and Dionysius--who were descended from the Titans--came to the aid of the gods. Belus, about whom we spoke earlier, died and was regarded as a god. After him Ninus ruled the Assyrians as king for 52 years. He married Semiramis. After [Ninus], Semiramis was the monarch for 42 years. Then Zames, also called Ninyas, ruled. Then [Castor continues] to mention each of the successive kings of the Assyrians to Sardanapallus. Shortly we too will provide a list of the names and regnal years of the

monarchs. [Castor], in his Canons, also writes about who succeeded them [i.e. the rulers after Sardanapallus].

[Castor states:] First we described the kings of the Assyrians starting with Belus, but since the length of [g82] his reign has not been passed down with certainty, we have merely recorded his name. We have begun the chronology with Ninus and ended it with the other Ninus who held the kingship after Sardanapallus. In this fashion the entire duration [of the kingdom] may be shown clearly, as well as each individual king's [reign]. Thus it turns out that the [total] duration [of the Assyrian kingdom] was 1,280 years. This is Castor's [account]. Diodorus Siculus collected the same [material] in his Library. Here is what he wrote.

[16] From Diodorus' work on the kingdom of the Assyrians.
No testimony of the first kings of the Asian world [g83] has survived--neither about their deeds nor [even] their names. Ninus was the first king of the Assyrians found to be worthy of historical remembrance. [Ninus]' deeds and valor were great, and we shall endeavor to describe them briefly. And [Diodorus] informs after narrating other things, that Ninus had a son Ninyas from Semiramis, and that after [Ninus]' death, Semiramis buried Ninus' body in the palace [out of sight] and stopped being queen [ruling instead as king]. Then after a bit [Diodorus] says that Semiramis ruled over all the Asians except the Indians. She died as we previously stated after living 62 years and [g84] reigning for 42 years. Separately [Castor] says that after [Semiramis'] death, Ninyas, son of Ninus and Semiramis assumed power. He maintained peace, not emulating his mother's martial and industrious manner. Again, further on, [Diodorus] says that in such a fashion royal power was handed down from father to son, from generation to generation until [g85] Sardanapallus. During his reign royal power passed from the Assyrians to the Medes, after lasting more than 1,300 years as Ctesias of Cnidus observes in his second book. But [these authors] did not bother to record the names of these kings or the lengths of their reigns, since they accomplished nothing worthy of recall. The only event meriting recording [during this interval] was the [military] assistance sent to the Trojans by the Assyrians under general Memnon, Tithonus' son [g86].

While Teutamus--the 26th king from Semiramis' son, Ninyas--was the reigning king of the Asian world the Greeks, under Agamemnon, mustered troops and went to the land of the Trojans to fight. By this time the Assyrians had ruled over Asia for more than a thousand years. Priam, king of Troy, in difficulty because of the war, beseechingly requested [g87] military aid from the Assyrian king. [Teutamus acceded] and provided [Priam] with 10,000 [troops] from the land of the Ethiopians, an equal number from the Nusians, and two hundred chariots, [all] under [the command of] Tithonus' son Memnon. [Diodorus] further states that the barbarians said that Memnon had performed such feats of bravery that they were recorded in the royal books. Sardanapallus, the 35th king from Ninus who [g88] organized the state, became the final king of the Assyrians. He surpassed all his predecessors in luxurious living and laziness. After a bit [Diodorus] informs that [Sardanapallus]

was so dissolute that not only did he ruin his own life, but he wreaked the entire Assyrian state which had endured from time immemorial. Now it happened that there was a certain Arbaces of Median nationality, a virtuous stout-hearted man who was a general of the Medes who were sent each year to Ninus' city. In the course of his military duties, he became friendly with the commander-in-chief of the Median army, who beseeched him to overthrow the Assyrian government. This is what Diodorus relates in book two of the Historical Library. Cephalion also mentions Assyrian rule. Here is what he says [g89].

[17] The historian Cephalion on the Assyrian kingdom.

Let me begin by writing about what others too have written. First Hellanicus [g90] of Lesbos and Ctesias of Cnidus, followed by Herodotus of Halicarnassus [have written about the Assyrians]. The first of the Assyrians to rule over the Asians was Belus' son, Ninus. During his reign many valorous deeds were done. Then he continues to discuss the birth of Semiramis, Zoroaster the Mage, war with the king of the Bactrians and the military defeat by Semiramis. Ninus' reign lasted for 52 years, and then he died. After him [g91] Semiramis ruled. It was she who built the walls around Babylon in the manner described by many [writers such as] Ctesias, Zenon, Herodotus and others after him. Then he describes how Semiramis mustered troops [and went] against India, her defeat and flight; how she killed her own sons and then was killed by her son Ninyas, after a reign of 42 years. Then Ninyas assumed power. Cephalion says that he did nothing worthy of recall. Then he and others describe how for a thousand years power passed from father to son with none of them [g92] ruling for less than 20 years. Disliking warfare and strife they were effeminate, carefully keeping themselves fortified indoors, doing nothing, and seeing no one except their concubines or effeminate men. It seems to me that Ctesias records the names of some 23 of these kings, should someone want to know about them in more detail. But what pleasure or satisfaction would it bring to record the barbaric names [g93] of despicable, weak savages who displayed neither valor nor brave deeds?

[Cephalion] says next that 640 years later, Belimus ruled over the Assyrians. Perseus, [son] of Danae arrived in his land with 100 ships. He was escaping from Semele's son, Dionysius. After describing the defeat of Perseus by Dionysius, [Cephalion] says that in later times, when Pannyas [g94] ruled over the Assyrians, the fleet of the Argonauts sailed up the Phasis River to Mende' in Colchis. Hercules had [previously] left the ship out of his desire and longing for Hylas. As they say, he wandered about seeking [Hylas] in Cappadocia. Furthermore [Cephalion] says that 1000 years had elapsed from Semiramis to King Mitraeus. If one computes it, [the story of Medea and the period of King Mitreus] join up. [It was then] that Medea left King Aegeus [?Aeetes] of Colchis out of lust [for Jason]. Her son was Medus, whence Media, that is the [Armenian term] Mark' ("Medes"). Moreover that land is called Media, [g95] which is Marastan [in Armenian]. [Cephalion] says that Teutamus succeeded Mitraeus. The former also lived according to the customs and laws of the Assyrians. Nothing new occurred during his reign.

Agamemnon and Menelaeus, the Mycenaeans, mustered troops with the Argives and went against the city of Ilium while Priam was general of Phrygia. He said: "The Greek troops [g96] which have come against me have reached your own land. We have engaged them in battle, sometimes winning, sometimes losing. But now, behold, my own son Hector has died among many other brave sons. Send us auxiliary troops under a courageous general." [Cephalion] then describes in detail how Teutamus sent assistance to him under the generalship of Memnon, Tithonus' son. However, the Thessalians (T'eghaghats'ik) treacherously killed him. In another passage [Cephalion] says that Sardanapallus became king of the Assyrians in the 1,013 th year; and then he describes his destruction. After the death of Sardanapallus, (V)Arbaces the Mede, destroyed the power of the Assyrians and transferred rule to the Medes. All this is related by Cephalion. Here is a list of the Assyrian kings, based on the most trustworthy writings [g97].

[18] Kings of the Assyrians.

Ninus years They say that he was the first king to reign over all the Asians, except the Indians. Abraham, patriarch of the Hebrew people, lived during his time. Semiramis years Zhames, also called Ninyas years Arius years Aralius, also called Amyrus years Xerxes, also called Balaeus years Armamithres years Belochus years Balaeas years Aladas years Mamithus years Machchalaeus years Sphaerus years Mamilus years Sparethus years Ascatades years Moses, the law-giver of the Jews, lived during his reign. Amintas years Belochus years His daughter Tratre's, who was also [g98] called Ak'urartist, ruled in her own stead for 17 years. Dionysius and Perseus lived in this period. Balatores years Lamprides years Sosmares years Lampares years Pannias years During his reign the fleet of the Argonauts and Heracles appeared. Sosarmus years Mithraeus years Teutamus years During his reign Ilium was captured. Teutaeus years Theneus years Derusus years Eupalmes years During his reign David, the prominent king of the Hebrews, lived. It was his son [g99] Solomon who built the temple in Jerusalem.

Laosthenes years Peritiades years Ophrataeus years Ophatanes years Acrazanes years Sardanapallus years During his reign Lycurgus made laws for the Lacedaemonians. The kings of the Assyrians were the rulers until this period, when Thespieus, Ariphron's son, was king of the Athenians. According to reliable sources, the entire empire of the Assyrians lasted for 1,240 years. Others say that it lasted for 1,300 years. Thonnus Concolerus, who is called Sardanapallus in Greek, was defeated by Arbaces and Belesius and committed suicide by fire. From [Sardanapallus] until the first Olympiad, 40 years elapsed. Once Arbaces had destroyed Assyrian rule, he designated Belesius as king of the Babylonians. [Arbaces] himself transferred the authority of the Assyrians to the Medes. Here is [a table of] their [kings'] reigns [g100].

[19] Kings of the Medes.

Arbaces (Varbak) years Maudaces years Sosarmus years Articas years Deioces years Phraortes years Ciaxares years Astyages (Azhdahak) years [g101]. During his reign Cyrus the Persian ruled as king. He deposed Astyages and destroyed the rule of the Medes, which

had lasted 298 years. Other books, however, record the [list of] Median kings differently [g102].

[20] Kings of the Lydians.
Ardys, son of Alyattes years Alyattes years Meles years Candaules years Gyges years Ardys years Sadyattes years Odyartes years Croesus years Cyrus killed Croesus and eliminated the Lydian empire [g103].

[21] Kings of the Persians.
Cyrus years Cambyses years Smerdis the Mage months Darius, son of Hystaspis years During his reign the temple in Jerusalem was rebuilt after the first [temple] was burned down by the Babylonians. Xerxes, son of Darius years Artaxerxes, who was called Longimanus years During his reign Ezra and Nehemiah were recognized as leaders of the Hebrews [g104]. Darius years Artaxerxes years Ochus years Arses years Darius years [Darius] was slain by Alexander, son of Philip, who ruled over both Persian and Assyrian states for 12 years. After [Alexander] , Macedonians ruled for 295 years until the death of a certain woman named Cleopatra, who ruled in the 187th Olympiad [32-29 B.C.]. During her reign, Augustus ruled over the Romans. [Augustus] was called Sebastos which translates "adorable" [g105]. [Cleopatra died] in the 15th year of Augustus' reign. Fifty-two years elapsed from that time until the 202nd Olympiad [29-32 A.D.], and the 15th year of Tiberius Caesar. From then until the 20th anniversary of Constantine, there are 300 years. Thus far, this much. Let us now turn to the chronology of the Hebrews.

[22] How the Hebrews transmitted [their] chronology.
We shall set out the chronology of the Hebrews, taken from the writings of Moses and later Hebrew authors, from The Antiquities of the Jews by Flavius Josephus and the chronologies of Africanus.

How the Hebrews chronicled [their history].
In the preceding sections we have recorded the events and kings of the Chaldeans, Assyrians, Medes and Persians [g106]. The fact that the Hebrew people derived from the Chaldeans was clearly demonstrated, since Abraham was Chaldean and his ancestors inhabited that land. Moreover, the Mosaic writings confirm this [in the following passage [Genesis 11.31]]: "Terah took Abraham his son and Lot the son of Haran, his grandson, and Sarah his daughter-in-law, his son Abraham's wife, and they went forth together from the land of the Chaldeans." Thus it is fitting that the history of Hebrew antiquities follow our exposition of Chaldean history. The story they relate about the flood is quite different from the Greek legendary tale which places the flood during the time of Deucalion [g107], [an event which occurred] long before Ogyges and the great flood which the Greeks say occurred in his time. The flood [recounted in Genesis] took place some 1,200 years before Ogyges' flood, which in turn preceded Deucalion's flood by 250 years.

There are not a few similarities between the Assyrian and Hebrew writings about the flood. [For example] they [both] say that there were ten successive generations before the flood.

After the flood, the human race throughout the entire world was fathered by [only] three men. All Europe [g108], from Mt. Amanus to the western ocean, descended from Japheth. [The people of] Egypt, the land of Libya, and all points westward descended from Ham. The third brother, Shem, fathered [the inhabitants of] Assyria and all points eastward. Hebrew scriptures regard Nimrod as the first builder of Babylon, describing [the matter] in this way [in Genesis 10.8-11]: "Cush became the father of Nimrod". Cush was an Ethiopian who was considered the father of Nimrod, about whom scripture says: "He was a mighty hunter before the Lord; therefore it is said, 'Like Nimrod a mighty hunter before the Lord'. The beginning of his kingdom was Babel, Erech, and Accad, all of them in the land of Shinar. From that land [g109] he went into Assyria and built Nineveh." Nineveh, which is called Ninus [in Greek], was the first royal city of the Assyrians. It was built by Asshur, one of the sons of Shem, who, as we said held all the eastern areas.

They say that the sons of Shem were Elam, Asshur, Arphaxad, Aram, and Lud. The Elamites, the first nation of the Persians, descended from Elam, who also built the city of Elymais. the Assyrians descended from Asshur who also built the Assyrian city, Ninus, which was called Nineveh. The Arphaxadians descended from Arphaxad also called Chaldeans. The Aramaeans, also called Syrians (Asorik'), descended from Aram. The Lydians descended from Lud. Arphaxad was the father of Shelah, who was the father of Eber, from whom the name and nation of the Hebrews derives. Abraham, the patriarch of the Hebrew nation, was the sixth generation descendant of Eber, in the tenth generation after the flood. This much should be sufficient to demonstrate in summary fashion that the ancestry of the Chaldeans and Assyrians is mixed with that of the Hebrews. Consequently it is appropriate to begin their [Hebrew] chronology close to those others.

[23] Their chronology commences with an account of the fall from grace of our human race. This occurred [g110] during the time of Adam, the first patriarch, whose name is synonymous with human kind, since in the Hebrew language "Adam" means, generally, "man." The period of his life after his expulsion from Paradise has been recorded by Moses, through the agency of the Holy Spirit. Moses then lists [Adam's] descendants and their ages through successive generations [Genesis 5.1-32]. Because of this we can set down a chronology of the Hebrews from him. But no one can determine when it was that [Adam] dwelled in that Paradise described in the Bible. It seems to me that the marvelous Moses alludes to a goodly, godly existence then in a world better than our own, a place called Paradise where the first man dwelled. [Moses] refers to all of humanity when he describes Adam's sweet and desirable existence in Paradise [g111].

Our chronicle will not provide accounts about that existence [in Paradise] nor about how the Almighty established heaven and earth. This is how some [chroniclers] have thought [to begin]. Rather, we shall begin from the time that our human race experienced mortality and from [the time of] our first ancestor who set out on that path. [That ancestor] was the man named Adam, whose dying, mortal span of years was calculated in Hebrew literature, for it was from this point that Hebrew chronology began. Indeed, the Book of Moses [Genesis

3.23] describes it as follows: "The Lord God sent him (that is, the first man) forth from the garden of Eden, to till the ground from which he was taken. And he drove Adam out and made him live outside the comforts of Paradise." Further on it says [Genesis 4.1]: "Now Adam knew Eve [g112] his wife and she conceived and bore Cain." Our present chronology will begin at this point. The history of earlier, unknowable times will be set aside here, because it should be kept distinct from subsequent [verifiable] history.

There is considerable disagreement among the Hebrews about their own chronology, so it will be good to commence by examining their differing accounts. By evaluating and comparing all of them, the truth will be arrived at. The five books of Moses describe the creation of the world, life before the flood, the history of the ancients after the flood, the generations of the Hebrews, and the passing of Moses. The Jews [g113] and the Samaritans, who were foreigners who came to live among the Jews, have differing versions of the books of the law. The characters of the Hebrew alphabet used by the Jews differ from those used by the Samaritans. The correct and original [alphabet] is not the one used by the [contemporary] Jews, because their descendants corrupted it. Yet there was no conflict between them [the Hebrews and the Samaritans] until the alteration of the letters. Furthermore there are numerous disagreements between the two with respect to chronology, as will become clear in the comparison below.

The Greek translation [of the Bible] also differs from the Hebrew, though not so much from the Samaritan [version]. There is disagreement [in chronology in the versions] up to the flood, but thereafter, until the time of Abraham, the versions are in harmony. The text we use was translated collectively by seventy Hebrew men [g114] from their language into Greek during the reign of Ptolemaeus Philadelphus. [Their translation] was placed in the library in the city of Alexandria, where it was carefully preserved. Now we shall set forth historical information from each of the versions, one after the other, so that it will be easy to distinguish the discrepancies. We shall begin with the translation of the seventy men [the Greek Septuagint] [g115] and see how it treats the chronology of the period from Adam to the birth of Abraham.

[24] The Septuagint

1. Adam, the first man, was 230 years of age when he fathered Seth. He lived an additional 700 years, until the 135th year of Mahalalel. 2. Seth fathered Enosh when he was 205 years of age. He lived an additional 707 years, until the 20th year of Enoch [g116]. 3. Enosh fathered Kenan when he was 190 years of age. He lived an additional 715 years, until the 53rd year of Methuselah. 4. Kenan fathered Mahalalel when he was 170 years of age. He lived an additional 740 years, until the 81st year of Lamech. 5. Mahalalel fathered Jared when he was 165 years of age. He lived an additional 730 years, until the 48th year of Noah. 6. Jared fathered Enoch when he was 162 years of age. He lived an additional 800 years, until the 280th years of Noah. 7. Enoch fathered Methusaleh when he was 165 years of age. He lived an additional 200 years, until he was translated in the 33rd year of Lamech.

8. Methusaleh fathered Lamech [g117] when he was 167 years of age. He lived an additional 802 years. Thus he would have survived the flood by 22 years. However, [g118] in other versions he died before the flood having lived an additional 782 years [after Lamech's birth] [g119]. 9. Lamech fathered Noah when he was 188 years of age. He lived an additional 535 years. Lamech predeceased his father Methusaleh in the 535th year of Noah [g120]. 10. Noah fathered Shem, Ham, and Japheth when he was 500 years of age. This was 100 years before the flood, which occurred in the 600th year of Noah. He lived an additional 350 years after the flood, until the 83rd year of Eber. [Thus] according to the Septuagint, the full total is 2,242 years [for the period from Adam to the death of Noah]. Now for the Hebrew version of the Jews.

[25] The Jewish [Hebrew Version]

1. Adam fathered Seth when he was 130 years of age. He lived an additional 800 years, until the 56th year of Lamech [g121]. 2. Seth fathered Enosh when he was 105 years of age. He lived an additional 807 years, until the 168th year of Lamech. 3. Enosh fathered Kenan when he was 90 years of age. He lived an additional 815 years, until the 84th year of Noah. 4. Kenan fathered Mahalalel when he was 70 years of age. He lived an additional 840 years, until the 179th year of Noah. 5. Mahalalel fathered Jared when he was 65 years of age. He lived an additional 830 years, until the 234th year of Noah. 6. Jared fathered Enoch when he was 162 years of age. He lived an additional 800 years, until the 366th year of Noah. 7. Enoch fathered Methusaleh when he was 65 [g122] years of age. He lived an additional 300 years until he was translated in the 113th year of Lamech.

8. Methusaleh fathered Lamech when he was 187 years of age. He lived an additional 782 years, until the [time of the] flood. 9. Lamech fathered Noah when he was 182 years of age. He lived an additional 595 years, dying five years before the flood. 10. Noah fathered Shem, Ham and Japheth when he was 500 years of age, 100 years before the flood. The flood occurred in the 600th year of Noah. He lived an additional 350 years after the flood, until the 58th year of Abraham. The total sum [for this version] is 1656 years.

There is a 586 year discrepancy between this version and the Septuagint. The difference [g123] is in the number of years each man from Adam to Noah lived before fathering children. [The versions agree] only for the times of Jared, Methusaleh, and Lamech. This circumstance suggests to us that the text which we use [i.e. the Septuagint] is the best. From the longer period assigned to Jared and his descendants [in the Hebrew version] it is clear that the periods of their predecessors, similarly, should be the same as in the Septuagint version. By adding one hundred years the discrepancy observed between the later and more recent generations in the Hebrew and the Septuagint versions is eliminated. [We might suggest] the possibility that the descendants [g124] lived longer than their ancestors. Yet for each man's life, the number of years before his son was born, and the number of year that he lived afterwards, added together, produces the same total in the Hebrew version and the Septuagint. It is only the number of years before their sons were born which is shorter in the Jewish copies. Therefore we suspect that this was something which the

Jews did. They made bold to shorten the time before the fathering of children to encourage early marriages. For if these ancestors lived such long lives, marrying early and fathering children early [g125] as their version clearly states, who would not want to emulate them by marrying early?

The Hebrew version of the Samaritans.

[26] The Samaritan [Hebrew Version]

1. Adam fathered Seth when he was 130 years of age. He lived an additional 800 years, until the 223rd year of Noah. 2. Seth fathered Enosh when he was 105 years of age. He lived an additional 807 years, until the 335th year of Noah. 3. Enosh fathered Kenan when he was 90 years of age. He lived an additional 815 years, until the 433rd year of Noah. 4. Kenan fathered Mahalalel when he was 70 years of age. He lived an additional 840 years, until the 528th year of Noah [g126]. 5. Mahalalel fathered Jared when he was 65 years of age. He lived an additional 830 years, until the 583rd year of Noah. 6. Jared fathered Enoch when he was 62 years of age. He lived an additional 785 years, until the time of the flood. 7. Enoch fathered Methusaleh when he was 65 years of age. He lived an additional 300 years until he was translated in the 180th year of Noah.

8. Methusaleh fathered Lamech when he was 67 years of age. He lived [g127] an additional 653 years, until the time of the flood. 9. Lamech fathered Noah when he was 53 years of age. He lived an additional 600 years, until the time of the flood. 10. Noah fathered Shem when he was 500 years of age, 100 years prior to the flood. The flood occurred in the 600th year of Noah. He lived an additional 350 years, until the 83rd year of Eber. The total [for this edition] is 1,307 years. [The Samaritan Hebrew version] differs from the Jewish Hebrew [version] by 349 years, and from the Septuagint [g128] translation by 935 years. This much, then, on [the period] before the flood. Let us advance to the period following this. But first we should mention [again] the similarity between the Hebrew and the Chaldean sources in describing the flood and the ark built by Noah. We consider it superfluous to repeat this account, since we already discussed it in the section on Chaldean history.

As we are writing this chronicle we have received confirmation that the flood rose above the highest mountains--a contemporary eyewitness account of the veracity of the account. In our day, [the fossils of] fish were discovered high up Mt. Lebanon. It happened that while rocks [g129] were being quarried there for construction in the valley, [the fossils of] various types of ocean fish were uncovered, pressed into the mud. These [fossils] had been preserved to the present, thus providing evidence that the old story [of the flood] is credible. Those who hear this may believe it or not. But now we shall advance [g130]. [Beginning with the second year] after the flood, according to the Septuagint.

[27] The Septuagint

1. Noah's son Shem fathered Arphaxad [g131]. He lived an additional 500 years, until the 101st year of Peleg [g132]. 2. Arphaxad fathered Shelah when he was 135 years of age. He lived an additional 403 years, until the 9th year of Reu [g133]. 3. Shelah fathered

Eber when he was 130 years of age. He lived an additional [g134] 406 years, until the 7th year of Serug [g135]. 4. Eber fathered Peleg when he was 134 years of age. He lived an additional [g136] 433 years, until the 38th year of Nahor. 5. Peleg fathered Reu when he was 130 years of age. He lived an additional 209 years, until the [g137] 75th year of Serug. In his time the world was divided up, just as phaleg means "division" in Hebrew. [Serug] predeceased [g138] his father. In his day, the tower [of Babel] was constructed, and many languages sprang out of the one [which everyone had spoken], with each nation speaking a different tongue. Holy Scripture recounts this [Genesis 11.5-9] as do secular writings. [For example], Alexander Polyhistor in his writings on the Chaldeans and Abydenus [in his writings], similarly, describe it. We too mentioned it in our earlier narration of Chaldean history. Now after Peleg:

6. Reu fathered Serug when he was 135 [g139] years of age. He lived an additional 207 years, until the 77th year of Nahor. 7. Serug fathered Nahor when he was 130 years of age. He lived an additional 200 years, until the 51th year of Abraham. 8. Nahor fathered Terah when he was 79 years of age. He lived an additional 119 years, until the 49th year of Serug. Terah fathered Abraham when he was 70 years of age. He lived an additional 135 years, until the 35th year of Isaac [g140]. 9. Year one of Abraham. He was the first patriarch of the Jewish people. During his time Ninus and Semiramis ruled over Assyria and all of Asia. [According to this version], 942 years transpired from the flood to the first year of Abraham, 2,242 years transpired from Adam to the flood, for a total of 3,184 years.

Now for the Hebrew version of the Jews, starting with the second year after the flood.

[28] The Jewish [Hebrew Version]

1. Noah's son Shem fathered Arphaxad and lived an additional 500 years, until the 50th year of Jacob [g141]. 2. Arphaxad fathered Shelah when he was 35 years of age. He lived an additional 403 years, until the 48th year of Isaac. 3. Shelah fathered Eber when he was 30 years of age. He lived an additional 403 years, until the 18th year of Jacob. 4. Eber fathered Peleg when he was 34 years of age. He lived an additional 430 years, until the 79th year of Jacob. 5. Peleg fathered Reu when he was 30 years of age. He lived an additional 209 years, until the 48th year of Jacob. 6. Reu fathered Serug when he was 32 years of age. He lived an additional 207 years, until the 78th year of Abraham. 7. Serug fathered Nahor when he was 30 years of age. He lived an additional 200 years, until the first year of Isaac [g142].

8. Nahor fathered Terah when he was 29 years of age. He lived an additional 119 years, until the 49th year of Abraham. 9. Terah fathered Abraham when he was 70 years of age. He lived an additional 135 years, until the 35th year of Isaac. Year one of Abraham. From the flood to the first year of Abraham, 292 years transpired. From Adam, a total of 1,948 years transpired. This [figure] differs from the [total for the] Septuagint translation by 1,235 years [g143]. Now for the Hebrew version of the Samaritans, starting with the second year after the flood.

[29] The Samaritan [Hebrew Version]

1. Noah's son Shem fathered Arphaxad.. He lived an additional 500 years, until the 101th year of Peleg. 2. Arphaxad fathered Shelah when he was 135 years of age. He lived an additional 303 years, until the 39th year of Peleg. 3. Shelah fathered Eber when he was 130 years of age. He lived an additional 303 years, until the 39th year of Reu [g144]. 4. Eber fathered Peleg when he was 134 years of age. He lived an additional 270 years, until the 140th year of Reu. 5. Peleg fathered Reu when he was 130 years of age. He lived an additional 109 years, until the 109th year of Reu. 6. Reu fathered Serug when he was 132 years of age. He lived an additional 207 years, until the 77th year of Nahor [g145]. 7. Serug fathered Nahor when he was 130 years of age. He lived an additional 100 years, until the 21th year of Terah.

8. Nahor fathered Terah when he was 79 years of age. He lived an additional 69 years, until the 69th year of Terah. 9. Terah fathered Abraham when he was 70 years of age. He lived an additional 75 years, until the 75th year of Abraham. 10. Year one of Abraham. From the flood to the first year [g146] of Abraham totals 942 years, the same figure that the Septuagint provides. Our [Septuagint] text and this Samaritan Hebrew text are in harmony regarding the number of years each man lived prior to fathering a son. They [both] diverge from the Jewish Hebrew version by 650 years, because, according to the latter, 292 years transpired from the flood until the first year of Abraham. The most ancient Hebrew text, which has been preserved in the Samaritan version, agrees with the Septuagint translation that these men from [the time of the] flood until [the time of] Abraham fathered sons when they were at least a hundred years of age. Then who would suggest that their descendants, who lived longer, had fathered children any sooner than [g147] the period provided in the Septuagint? Consequently, the rational conclusion is that the [figures provided in the] Jewish version from Adam to Abraham are in error, except for the three generations beginning with Jared, and that the Samaritan version is also in error, but only from Adam to the flood, because from the flood to Abraham [the Samaritan version] is in agreement with the Septuagint translation.

[30] Moreover it is obvious that the Hebrew Jewish version is incorrect from the fact that by its calculations Adam and Noah were alive at the same time--something [g148] which no other account proposes. If, according to the Jewish scriptures, there were 292 years from the flood until Abraham, and Noah lived an additional 350 years after the flood, it is clear that Noah was alive until the 58th year of Abraham. Furthermore it is possible to show that the Jewish version is unreliable in another way, because it says that the generations before Abraham were about 30 years old when they fathered sons, while it makes the generations after Abraham considerably older when they fathered sons. Thus it is patently clear that the Septuagint was translated from old and accurate Hebrew copies [g149], and is the most appropriate text for us to use in our present Chronicle, especially [g150] since the church of Christ, which has spread throughout the world, supports only this version and since the apostles and disciples of Christ used and transmitted this version. In the Septuagint

[version], 2,242 years transpired from Adam until the flood, and 942 years transpired from the flood until the first year of Abraham, making a total of 3,184 years.

In the Jewish Hebrew [version], 1,656 years transpired from Adam until the flood, and 292 years transpired from the flood until the first year of Abraham, making a total of 1,948 years. In the Samaritan Hebrew [version], 1,307 years transpired from Adam until the flood, and 942 years transpired from the flood until the [g151] first year of Abraham, making a total of 2,249 years. All versions agree that 505 years transpired from Abraham until Moses and the exodus of the Jews from Egypt. It is calculated as follows. When Abraham was 75 years of age, God appeared to him and said that He would give the promised land to his descendants. For it is written [in Genesis, 12.4-5]: "Abraham was seventy-five years old when he departed from Haran. And Abraham took Sarah his wife, and Lot his brother's son." In the same passage, further on [Genesis, 12. 7] it states: "Then the Lord appeared to Abraham and said: 'To your descendants I will give this land.'" Thus [we calculate] 75 years [in the life] of Abraham plus 430 years [from God's promise] until the exodus of the Jews from Egypt. The Apostle Paul confirms this [in Galatians, 3.17-18]: "The law, which came [g152] four hundred and thirty years afterward, does not annul a covenant previously ratified by God, so as to make the promise void." Then he adds: "God gave it to Abraham by a promise." When Abraham was 100 years of age his son Isaac was born, 25 years after God's promise. Four hundred and five years transpired from that event until the exodus from Egypt. Consequently, from the promise [until the exodus] 430 years elapsed.

Now God appeared to Abraham a second time and said [Genesis, 15.13]: "Know of a surety that your descendants will be sojourners in a land that is not theirs, and will be slaves there, and they will be oppressed for four hundred years." The word descendants is used deliberately so that we not allocate [g153] the entire period [solely] to Isaac. Moreover the period of 430 years is mentioned again at the time of the exodus of the children of Israel from Egypt, [Exodus, 12.40-41]: "They and their forefathers dwelled in Egypt and the land of Canaan for 430 years. And at the end of four hundred and thirty years, all the hosts of the Lord went out from the land of Egypt at night." Since the period from God's God's promise in the 75th year of Abraham is 430 years, it is clear that 505 years elapsed from the first year of Abraham to the time of Moses and the exodus from Egypt. Some [authors] have presented [this material] in detail, [g154] as follows: Abraham fathered Isaac at the age of 100. Isaac fathered Jacob at the age of 60. Jacob fathered Levi at the age of 86. Levi fathered Kohath at the age of 46. Kohath fathered Amran at the age of 63. Amran fathered Moses at the age of 70. Moses led his people out of Egypt when he was 80 years old. Thus from the first year of Abraham until the exodus from Egypt, a total of 505 years transpired. According to the Septuagint, [g155] the total from Adam to the exodus from Egypt is 3,689 years; according to the Jewish [Hebrew version], 2,453 years; and according to the Samaritan [Hebrew version], 2,753 years.

[31] [The chronology] from the death of Moses to the time of Solomon's construction of the temple is described differently [by the available sources]. The book of Judges, as well as the

blessed Apostle Paul in Acts of the Apostles calculate it one way, while the book of Kings and Hebrew tradition calculate it another way. It will be best to describe both and then select [the account] which proves truest. First, however, we must pause to criticize Africanus, who wrote a five-book Chronology. It seems to me that he is greatly in error regarding the matter before us. From the exodus of Moses to [the time of] Solomon and the building of the temple [Africanus], through his own unique calculations assigns 744 years, mostly without any citations, and not only contrary to what is recorded in Scripture, but even audaciously [g156] adding an extra hundred years on his own. [Africanus] inserts an additional 30 years after Joshua, for the elders. Then, after Samson, he adds 40 years of anarchy and another 30 years of peace. By adding these additional years without any proof, he [g157] creates an inflated total of more than 740 years for the period between Moses and the reign of Solomon.

To see the fanciful nature of his calculations, we have to observe the preceding generations and their lengths. From Abraham to David there were 14 generations, and the eleventh generation had already ended at the time of Moses, when Nahshon the son of Aminadab was recognized as the prince of the nation of Judah. Nahshon died in the desert after leaving Egypt, and he was present when the people were first counted. It is clear that there were five generations from Nahshon to David: David was the son of Jesse, who was the son of Obed, who was the son of Boaz, who was the son of Salmon, who was the son of Nahshon. So on what grounds can it be claimed that the five generations after Moses endured for more than 700 years? If the years for men of each generation are evenly divided, we find that each one lived for 140 years before fathering a son, something that no rational person would accept as probable. For Moses himself died at 120 years of age, and his successor, Joshua, died at 110 years of age. Before them Joseph lived a total of 110 years, and earlier still Jacob, who was also called Israel, the patriarch of all the Jews, lived [g158] for 147 years.

Consequently, how could anyone claim that in the period after Moses anyone could have lived as long as we mentioned above? This is the error that Africanus made. Clemens, however, calculated 574 years from Moses' successor Joshua until the building of the temple, in his first book [Stromata 1.21]. The blessed Apostle Paul in his speech to the Jews in the Acts of the Apostles [13.19-22] states: "Joshua destroyed seven nations in the land of the Canaanites, and he gave them their land as an inheritance. And after 450 years he gave them judges until the time of Samuel the prophet. Then they asked for a king, and [God] gave them Saul the son of Kish, of the tribe of Benjamin, who reigned for 40 years. Afterwards [God] removed Saul and gave them David in his place.[g159]" That is what the Apostle says. He calculated 534 years after Joshua in addition to the 450 years for the judges until Samuel. Add to this 40 years for Saul, another 40 years for David, and the four years of Solomon's reign before the building of the temple, which makes a total of 534 years from Joshua the successor of Moses until Solomon. According to the Apostle by adding the 40 years Moses spent in the wilderness, and the 27 years of Joshua the son of Nun, the total for the entire period will be 600 years. The book of Judges is in agreement with his account, and calculates 450 years to the judges until Samuel, which are divided up as follows:

[32] From the Book of Judges

After Joshua, rule by foreigners, 8 years Othniel, 40 years [g160] foreigners, 18 years Ehud and Shamgar, 80 years foreigners, 20 years Barak and Deborah, 40 years foreigners, 7 years Gideon, 40 years Abimelech, 3 years Tola, 23 years Jair, 22 years foreigners, 18 years Jephthah, 6 years Ibzan, 7 years Elon, 10 years Abdon, 8 years foreigners, 40 years Samson, 20 years Eli, in whose time Samuel [was born], 40 years The total for all the judges until Samuel is 450 years [g161]. This is in agreement with what the blessed Apostle indicated, for it excludes the figures for Moses, Joshua, Moses' successor, Samuel, or Saul. Currently the dates for Samuel, Saul, and Joshua are not certain. But as the Apostle indicates, the 40 years of Saul should be added to the 450 year period of the judges. Moreover, if the 40 years of David and the 4 years of Solomon are included, the total reaches 534 years--exactly what the Apostle indicated. Add the 40 years that Moses spent in the wilderness, the 27 years of Nun's son Joshua, according to the Hebrews, and we arrive at a grand total of 600 years.

Earlier we mentioned that there were five generations between Nahson and David. Taking the total [of 600 years] and dividing it equally among the generations, we find that the men lived for more than 115 years before becoming fathers, an unbelievable proposition. Since Moses lived for a total of 120 years, how could his descendants reach almost the same age before becoming fathers? There is nothing left [to deduce from the book of Judges] on this point, so let us turn to the book of Kings for [additional] evidence. [33] The book of Kings confirms that from the exodus of the children of Israel from Egypt until Solomon and the construction of the temple, 440 years elapsed. According to the Hebrew version, it was 480 years [g162]. The third book of Kings [1 Kings, 6.1] states: "It happened in the 440th year after the exodus from Egypt, that Solomon began building the house of the Lord." The Hebrew version says: "It happened in the 480th year." This is because the Jewish doctors [of the faith] calculated that the total figure was 480 years, since they did not count the years that the foreigners ruled over the people separately. They just counted the time that the judges ruled them and included the foreign domination in that figure. This must have been the case, for it is the only way to arrive at a total of 480 years. It seems to me that when the blessed Apostle stated the number of years as mentioned earlier, he was not speaking as a chronographer, or someone trying to make a precise calculation. He was delivering a sermon on salvation. It would have been inappropriate [g163] to insert into it a treatise on chronological methodology, and so he followed the popular interpretation of the book of Judges.

The book of Kings clearly states that [the period] from the exodus until [the time of] Solomon embraced 440 or 480 years. However, if we examine the years for each of the judges individually and also tally the years of foreign rule separately--as mentioned in the book of Judges--we find 600 years total between Moses and Solomon: Moses was in the wilderness for 40 years. Joshua [g164], 27 years. Judges and foreigners, 450 years. This is what the Apostle states, according to the book of Judges. Samuel and Saul, 40 years. David, 40 years. Solomon 4 years, until the building of the temple. Accordingly, each of the men

in the five generations just mentioned must have lived 120 years before fathering a son, a wholly preposterous proposition. If we follow the book of Kings, we get a total of 480 years, after subtracting the 120 years of the Hebrews' servitude. The Hebrews themselves reckon it this way, combining their years of servitude to foreigners with the years of their freedom. We shall do the same in our Chronicle, incorporating the period of foreign servitude with the number of years assigned to each [of the judges] in the book of Kings. [This method] is especially [persuasive] concerning the five generations [g165] from Nahshon to David. By subtracting from the total of 480 years the 40 years Moses spent in the wilderness and the four years of Solomon, 436 years remain to the death of David. Dividing these years equally among the five generations, produces 87 years for each generation. Should people investigate this, they will find a credible account beginning with the birth of David. David was born when his father Jesse was an old man. David was the eighth son born after his seven older brothers. Consequently we can assume that something similar happened to his ancestors.

Thus, for our purposes, we will accept that 480 years elapsed from the exodus from Egypt until Solomon and the construction of the temple. And we will include the years of foreign rule within the reigns of each successive judge. Now it happens that this decision is supported by a statement in the book of Judges made by Jephthah, one of the judges of the people. When the Ammonites who lived on the far side of the Jordan River started a war with him, [Jephthah] sent a messenger [g166] to the enemy with this import [Judges 11.25-26]: "Now are you any better than Balak the son of Zippor, king of Moab? Did he ever strive against Israel, or did he ever go to war with them? While Israel dwelt in Heshbon and its villages, and in Aroer and its villages, and in all the cities that are on the banks of the Jordan, three hundred years, why did you not recover them within that time?" Thus [Jephthah] informed them that Moses and Balak, son of Zippor, lived 300 years before their period. The 300 year total can only be obtained by including the period of the rule by foreigners [g167] within the reigns of the judges.

Should someone tally the years of servitude to foreigners separately, he will obtain a figure which far exceeds the 300 years. Yet if only the years of the judges' rule are counted, then he will discover 300 years between Moses and Jephthah, exactly as Jephthah's message stated. Consequently we will adopt the following chronology in this work:

[34] From Moses to Solomon
Moses, 40 years Joshua, 27 years [g168] foreigners and Othniel the judge, 40 years foreigners and Ehud the judge, 80 years foreigners and Deborah and Barak, 40 years foreigners and Gideon, 40 years Abimelech, 3 years Tola, 23 years Jair, 22 years foreigners and Jephthah the judge, 6 years Ibzan, 7 years Abdon, 8 years foreigners and Samson, 20 years. In his time, the Trojan war was fought. Eli, 40 years Samuel and Saul, 40 years David, 40 years Solomon (until the building of the temple), 4 years [g169] From Moses' exodus from Egypt until the building of the temple, a total of 480 years elapsed. Concerning Joshua, Moses' successor, the book which bears his name mentions only that he died at the age of

110. The Hebrews consider that he was their leader for 27 years, thus he was 43 years old when Moses left Egypt.

[35] As regards Samuel, since the book [which bears his name] says nothing about his duration, I consider that what the blessed Apostle said concerning Saul should be taken to include both Saul and Samuel. For it appears that Samuel was the leader of the people for many years, while Saul ruled for but two years. The first book of Kings [1 Samuel 13.1] describes it this way: "Saul was the son of a year in his reign; and he ruled over Israel for two years more." Symmachus clarifies [g170] this in his translation: "Saul resembled a one-year-old child in his reigning," which means that at the beginning of his reign Saul was sincere and good, and stayed that way for two years. But then he became corrupted and was rejected by God and was strangled by a demon in punishment. Thus the remaining years have been assigned to Samuel and 40 years is the combined total for Samuel and Saul. It is clear that Saul ruled for this period not solely based on the testimony of the Apostle, but through a careful reading of Scripture.

It is written [in 2 Samuel 2.10] that following Saul's death, "Ish-bosheth, Saul's son, was 40 years old when he began to reign over Israel, and he reigned two years. But the house of Judah followed David." The Ish-bosheth mentioned here must have been born [g171] after Saul became king, because when describing events from the beginning of Saul's reign [1 Samuel 14.49], mention is made of three sons of Saul, but not this one. Thus we believe that [Ish-bosheth] was born late, and that the length of Saul's reign was approximately the same as the age of his son following his death. Thus, the third book of Kings [1 Kings 6.1] states that 480 years elapsed from the exodus out of Egypt until Solomon and the building of the temple; 505 years elapsed from Abraham until Moses and the exodus; 942 years elapsed from the flood until the first year of Abraham; and 2,242 years elapsed from Adam until the flood. Altogether 4,170 years elapsed from Adam until Solomon and the building of the temple.

The historian Josephus in the first book of his Jewish Antiquities when describing the time of Solomon and the construction of the temple includes the testimony of some Phoenician men. The evidence of these men seems valuable to me. In that book [Against Apion 1.17], [Josephus] writes [g172]:

[36] The evidence of the Phoenicians about the temple at Jerusalem, from Josephus

I will now, therefore, pass from these records, and come to those that belong to the Phoenicians, and concern our nation, and shall produce attestations to what I have said out of them. There are then records among the Tyrians that take in the history of many years, and these are public writings, and are kept with great exactness, and include accounts of the facts done among them, and such as concern their transactions with other nations also, those I mean which were worth remembering. Therein it was recorded that the temple was built by king Solomon at Jerusalem, one hundred forty-three years and eight months before the Tyrians built Carthage [g173].

In their annals the building of our temple is related; for Hirom, the king of Tyre, was the friend of Solomon our king, and had such friendship transmitted down to him from his forefathers. He thereupon was ambitious to contribute to the splendor of this edifice of Solomon, and made him a present of one hundred and twenty talents of gold. He also cut down the most excellent timber out of that mountain which is called Libanus, and sent it to him for adorning its roof. Solomon also not only made him many other presents, by way of requital, but gave him a country in Galilee also, that was called Chabulon. But there was another passion, a philosophic inclination [g174] of theirs, which cemented the friendship that was betwixt them; for they sent mutual problems to one another, with a desire to have them unriddled by each other; wherein Solomon was superior to Hirom, as he was wiser than him in other respects: and many of the epistles that passed between them are still preserved among the Tyrians. Now, that this may not depend on my bare word, I will produce for a witness Dius, one that is believed to have written the Phoenician History after an accurate manner. This Dius, therefore, writes thus, in his Histories of the Phoenicians:

Upon the death of Abibalus, his son Hirom took the kingdom. This king raised banks at the eastern parts of the city, and enlarged it [g175]; he also joined the temple of Jupiter Olympius (Aramazd), which stood before in an island by itself, to the city, by raising a causeway between them, and adorned that temple with donations of gold. He moreover went up to Libanus, and had timber cut down for the building of temples. They say further, that Solomon, when he was king of Jerusalem, sent problems to Hirom to be solved, and desired he would send others back for him to solve, and that he who could not solve the problems proposed to him should pay money to him that solved them. And when Hirom had agreed to the proposals, but was not able to solve the problems, he was obliged to pay a great deal of money, as a penalty for the same [g176]. As also they relate, that one Abdemon, a man of Tyre, did solve the problems, and proposed others which Solomon could not solve, upon which he was obliged to repay a great deal of money to Hirom.

[37] These things are attested to by Dius, and confirm what we have said upon the same subjects before. And now I shall add Menander the Ephesian, as an additional witness. This Menander wrote the Acts that were done both by the Greeks and Barbarians, under every one of the Tyrian kings, and had taken much pains to learn their history out of their own records. Now when he was writing about those kings that had reigned at Tyre, he came to Hirom, and says thus: Upon the death of Abibalus, his son Hirom took the kingdom; he lived fifty-three years [g177], and reigned thirty-four. He raised a bank on that called the Broad Place, and dedicated that golden pillar which is in Jupiter's (Aramazd's) temple; he also went and cut down timber from the mountain called Libanus, and got timber of cedar for the roofs of the temples. He also pulled down the old temples, and built new ones; besides this, he consecrated the temples of Hercules and of Astarte. He first built Hercules's temple in the month Peritus, and that of Astarte when he made his expedition against the Tityans, who would not pay him their tribute; and when he had subdued them to himself [g178], he returned home. Under this king there was a younger son of Abdemon, who mastered the

problems which Solomon, king of Jerusalem, had recommended to be solved. Now the time from this king to the building of Carthage is thus calculated:

Upon the death of Hirom, Baleazarus his son took the kingdom; he lived forty-three years, and reigned seven years: after him succeeded his son Abdastartus; he lived twenty-nine years, and reigned nine years. Now four sons of his nurse plotted against him and slew him, the eldest of whom reigned [twelve years]: after them [g179] came Astartus, the son of Deleastartus; he lived fifty-four years, and reigned twelve years: after him came his brother Aserymus; he lived fifty-four years, and reigned nine years: he was slain by his brother Pheles, who took the kingdom and reigned but eight months, though he lived fifty years: he was slain by Ithobalus, the priest of Astarte, who reigned thirty-two years, and lived sixty-eight years: he was succeeded by his son Badezorus, who lived forty-five years, and reigned six years: he was succeeded by Matgenus his son; he lived thirty-two years [g180], and reigned nine years: Pygmalion succeeded him; he lived fifty-six years, and reigned forty-seven years. Now in the seventh year of his reign, his sister fled away from him, and built the city Carthage in Libya. So the whole time from the reign of Hirom, till the building of Carthage, amounts to the sum of one hundred fifty-five years and eight months. Since then the temple was built at Jerusalem in the twelfth year of the reign of Hirom, there were from the building of the temple, until the building of Carthage, one hundred forty-three years and eight months.

Wherefore, what occasion is there for alleging any more testimonies out of the Phoenician histories [on the behalf of our nation], since what I have said is so thoroughly confirmed already? and to be sure our ancestors came into this country long before the building of the temple [g181]; for it was not till we had gotten possession of the whole land by war that we built our temple. And this is the point that I have clearly proved out of our sacred writings in my Antiquities. This is Josephus' account. [38] For this Chronology, the following table shows [the rulers and their reigns] from the building of the temple in the fourth year of Solomon to its destruction by the Babylonians 432 years later. Here are the figures: 1. Solomon, 37 years, including the additional three years 2. Rehoboam, 16 years 3. Abijam, 3 years 4. Asa, 41 years 5. Jehoshaphat, 25 years 6. Jehoram, 8 years 7. Ahaziah, 1 year 8. Athaliah, his mother, 7 years 9. Jehoash, 40 years [g182] 10. Amaziah, 28 years 11. Uzziah, 52 years. In his reign the Greeks established the first Olympic games [776 B.C.]. 12. Jotham, 16 years 13. Ahaz, 16 years 14. Hezekiah, 29 years 15. Manasseh, 55 years 16. Amon, 2 years 17. Josiah, 31 years 18. Jehoahaz, 3 months 19. Jehoiakim, 11 years 20. Jehoiachin, his son, also called Jekhoniah, 3 months 21. Mattaniah, also called Zedekiah, 11 years

This makes a total of 432 years. After this, during [the next] 70 years, the Babylonian captivity of the Jews occurred and the destruction of the [temple's] site. According to the Bible, this ended in the second year of King Darius of Persia, which was during the 65th Olympiad [B.C. 520-517]. Clement agrees with us on this [point] in the first [book of his] Stromata [1.21] where he notes [g183]: The captivity lasted for seventy years, and ended

in the second year of Darius Hystaspes, who had become king of the Persians, Assyrians, and Egyptians. As I said previously, it was during his reign that Haggai and Zechariah, of the twelve, and Malachi [Angelus], whose name translates as "angel", prophesied. The high priest at that time was Joshua the son of Josedech. Such is the account of that credible man [Clement]. [39] Moreover, the prophet Zechariah as a contemporary also testifies that there was a period of 70 years from the destruction of the temple until the second year of Darius. For in the second year of Darius he wrote [Zechariah 1.12]: "God Almighty, how long wilt thou have no mercy [g184] on Jerusalem and the cities of Judah, against which thou hast had indignation these seventy years?"

At this point one might inquire: Why does it state in the beginning of the book of Ezra [1.1]: "In the first year of Cyrus king of Persia, that the word of the Lord by the mouth of Jeremiah might be accomplished, the Lord stirred up the spirit of Cyrus king of Persia so that he made a proclamation throughout all his kingdom and also put it in writing." Furthermore, subsequent [passages] indicate that freedom [was given] to the Jews [at that point] and that it was Cyrus who ordered that the temple be rebuilt. From this one would assume that it was during the time of Cyrus, rather than Darius, that the 70 years of captivity came to an end. To this I reply that the prophecies refer to two [distinct] 70-year periods. The first began with the destruction of the temple and ended, as Zechariah stated, in the second year of Darius [g185]. The second extends from the enslavement of the Jews to the capture of Babylon and the destruction of the Chaldean kingdom. This began in the time of the prophecy and ended with Cyrus, as Jeremiah recorded. [Jeremiah] further predicted [Jeremiah 29.10]: "For thus says the Lord: When seventy years are completed for Babylon, I will visit you, and I will fulfil to you my promise and bring you back to this place." And he also prophesies [Jeremiah 25.11-12]: "This whole land shall become a ruin and a waste, and these nations shall serve the king of Babylon seventy years. Then, after seventy years are completed, I will punish the king of Babylon and that nation, the land of the Chaldeans, for their iniquity, says the Lord, making the land an everlasting waste. [g186]"

All this came to a head during the time of Cyrus. The period of the enslavement [of the Jews] should not be reckoned from the [time of the] destruction of the temple, but earlier--from the second year of [the reign of] Jehoiakim, king of the Jews, when Nebuchadnezzar the king of the Babylonians enslaved them. [It could be reckoned] even earlier, from the time when the prophet Jeremiah first began to prophesy. From that time until the siege [of Jerusalem] and the burning of the temple 40 years elapsed, and 70 years until the first year of Cyrus. From the start of Jeremiah's prophesying until Cyrus' reign, the first 70 years [period] elapsed. However, from the destruction of the temple until Cyrus, 30 years elapsed, while it was in the second year of Darius that [the other] 70 years was completed. [The temple] was restored in the eighth year of Darius [g187].

[40] And from that time onward, the Jews remained without a king from their own [line of] kings. Their chief-priests served as princes and leaders, and throughout the entire period of the Persian kingdom they remained loyal to the Persian kings. Subsequently they served

the Macedonians who ruled after Alexander, until the time of Antiochus Epiphanes. [The latter], ruling Syria, harassed the Jews to adopt paganism. During his time Mattathias, a priest in Jerusalem [g188], son of Asamonaeus, his son Judas, who was called Maccabaeus, and their descendants re-established the principality of the Jews, and held it until the time of Augustus. It was during his reign that Herod, at the order of the Romans, became the first foreign king of the Jews. Our Savior Jesus Christ was born during his reign. This was the fulfillment of the prophecy of Moses [in Genesis, 49.10]: "The scepter shall not depart from Judah, nor the ruler's staff from between his feet until he comes to whom it belongs; he is the hope of the gentiles." And it happened in just such a manner.

Five hundred and two years elapsed from the time of Solomon and the building of the first temple to the restoration of the temple in the second year of King Darius. Four hundred and eighty years elapsed from the time of Moses and the exodus from Egypt to Solomon and the building of the temple. Five hundred and five years elapsed from the first year of Abraham to the exodus. Nine hundred and forty-two years elapsed from the flood to the first year of Abraham. Two thousand two hundred and forty-two years elapsed from Adam to the flood. Thus the grand total, from Adam to the second year of Darius and the second building of [the temple in] Jerusalem, is 4680 years [g189]. From the second year of Darius which was the first year of the 65th Olympiad [520 B.C.] [until the time of Christ], is 137 Olympiads and 548 years.

[41] This [material] can be shown in more detail [cross-referenced with the kings of Persia] as follows: Cambyses took the crown following Cyrus, who was the first Persian king. Then came Darius, who ruled for 36 years. In the second year of his reign, the temple in Jerusalem was restored. Darius ruled for an additional 34 years. Darius' son, Xerxes, ruled next for 20 years. During his reign the story of Esther took place. Artaxerxes ruled for 41 years. During his time Ezra lived, who, it is said, knew all the sacred Hebrew texts by heart including the entire Holy Bible, and transmitted it to the Jews in the new Hebrew script, because the world was riven by warfare. Indeed, it was during this time that Nehemiah, the chief cupbearer, lived. By order of the king, he went to the country of the Jews and [re]built Jerusalem, surrounding the city with a wall. For until then [g190] the city had been in ruins, except for the temple which had been restored in Darius' time. After Artaxerxes the following kings ruled Persia:

Darius, 19 years. Artaxerxes Mnemon, 40 years. Ochus, 26 years. Arsaces, 4 years. Darius, 6 years. After these [monarchs], Alexander of Macedon eliminated the Persian kingdom and ruled for 6 years. He ruled an additional 6 years after slaying [the last king] Darius. From the second year of Darius [the First] to the death of Alexander--which occurred in the first year of the 114th Olympiad [324 B.C.]--197 years elapsed. After the death of Alexander, the following monarchs ruled in Egypt and in the city of Alexandria: 1. Ptolemaeus, son of Lagus, 40 years. 2. Ptolemaeus Philadelphus, 28 years. During his reign the Hebrew sacred books were translated into Greek and placed [g191] in the library at Alexandria. 3. Ptolemaeus Euergetes, 24 years. 4. Ptolemaeus Philopator, 21 years. 5. Ptolemaeus

Epiphanes, 22 years. 6. Ptolemaeus Philometor, 34 years. During his reign, Antiochus Epiphanes ruled in Syria. And it was during [Antiochus'] reign that the events described in the book of Maccabees took place, including how [Antiochus] tried to force the Jewish people into paganism, how he polluted the temple by placing idols in it, and how he stole the temple's sacred vessels, in the 151st Olympiad [176-173 B.C.]. [To sum up,] 150 years elapsed from the death of Alexander of Macedon to the first year of Antiochus Epiphanes. And 347 years elapsed from the second year of Darius to Antiochus.

[42] It was during the reign of the aforementioned Antiochus that Mattathias, the son of Asamonaeus, showed zeal for his patrimonial religion and became a general of the people. After [Mattathias], his [g192] son Judas, called Maccabaeus, [led the people]; he was followed by his brother Jonathan, who was followed by his brother Simon. It is with him that the book of the Maccabees ends. It covers a period of 40 years, to the end of the 161st Olympiad [136-133 B.C.]. Eighty-eight years elapsed from that date to the Roman emperor Augustus. According to Africanus and Josephus, after Simon [ruled] as general of the Jews, Jonathan, also called Hyrcanus, [succeeded him] for 26 years. After him, Aristobulus [ruled] for one year. [Aristobulus] was the first to put the royal crown on his head, simultaneously being king and high priest of the Jewish people. This was 484 years after the Babylonian captivity. After him, Alexander, also called Jannaeus, was king for 25 years. After him, his wife Alexandra, also called Mesalina, [ruled] for 9 years. After her, Aristobulus [g193] and Hyrcanus [ruled]. In their reign, Pompeius the Roman general put the Jews under Roman taxation. He established Hyrcanus as their king, but bound Aristobulus and took him to Rome.

In his reign, in the 184th Olympiad [44 B.C.], Julius Caesar became king of the Romans, ruling as an absolute monarch [emperor] for 4 years and 7 months. He was followed by Augustus, also called Sebastos, who ruled for 56 years and 6 months. It was in his reign that Herod, who was not fit [for the position] became the first foreign king of the Jews, getting [the position] through the Romans. [Herod's] people were from Ascalon. During his reign the Annointed of God [Christ] was born [g194] in Bethlehem, Judaea. Following Augustus, Tiberius ruled the Romans. In the 15th year of his reign, which was the fourth year of the 201st Olympiad [28 A.D.], our Savior and Lord Jesus Christ appeared among humankind. Thus [the period] from Antiochus Epiphanes until the 15th year of Tiberius contains 201 years. [The period] from Alexander of Macedon to the same [15th] year of Tiberius contains 352 years. From the second year of Darius to [the 15th year] of Tiberius is 548 years. From the 15th year of Tiberius to the very end of the siege of Jerusalem--which occurred in the second year of Vespasian--is a total of 42 years. From Adam until the second year of Darius, is 4680 years. From the second year of Darius until the 15th year of Tiberius, is 548 years. Thus from Adam until the 15th year of Tiberius, a total of 5228 years elapsed. From the 15th year of Tiberius [g195] until the 20th anniversary of Constantinus Victor Augustus, is 300 years. The grand total is: 5518 years according to the Hebrews in the [Greek] Septuagint version; 1237 years less according to the Hebrew version of the Jews; and 935 years less according to the Hebrew Samaritan version.

This is how [our] chronology [is constructed] according to the Hebrews' [sources].

[43] How the Egyptians chronicled [their past], and how Egyptian chronology includes that of the Ethiopians and [the chronology of] the Ptolemies' rule in Egypt and Alexandria.

After discussing the chronologies of the Chaldeans, Assyrians, and Hebrews, it is time to pass to the chronology of the Egyptians. Diodorus in the first book of the Bibliotheca [1.44] wrote [g196]: Some of them relate fabulous stories claiming that initially gods and heroes ruled Egypt for a period of somewhat less than 16,000 years. The last god to rule there was Horus, Isis' son. Then humans ruled that land as kings, they say, during the time of Myris. And this has continued for somewhat less than 5,000 years, through the 180th Olympiad [60-57 B.C.], when we visited Egypt. At that time, Ptolemy, called the New Dionysus, was ruling [g197]. For most of this period, [the Egyptians'] own kings ruled the land. However, for a small portion [of time], Ethiopians, Persians, and Macedonians [ruled]. Only four Ethiopian [kings] ruled, and not contiguously at that, rather, [they ruled] at separate times, and for a total of slightly less than 36 years. Persian domination was established by Cambyses who forcibly subdued [the Egyptians]. [Persian rule] lasted for 135 years and was ended by the rebellion of the Egyptians when they could no longer bear the harshness of [Persian] rule and the insults to their country's gods. After this the Macedonians and their descendants ruled for 276 years. For all the rest of the time native kings ruled, [g198] 470 kings and 5 queens.

The priests kept records ahout all of them in their temple archives, which were transmitted continuously from ancient times from generation to generation. They described each one's bravery and valor, personality and triumphs, and whatever else they accomplished in their periods. However it is unnecessary and even pointless for us to write down what each one wrought, since some of them, even in their own day, were considered useless. This according to Diodorus. It is fitting and proper to add to this Manetho's account of the Egyptians, since his history seems quite reliable [g199].

[44] From the Egyptian records of Manetho, who wrote a three-volume work about the gods, demi-gods, spirits, and the mortal kings who ruled over the Egyptians, to the time of the Persian king Darius.

The first being among the Egyptians was Hephaestus, who discovered fire for them. He was succeeded by the Sun (Arm. Aregakn), (who was succeeded by Agathodaemon, followed) by Cronos, followed by Osiris. Then came Typhon, Osiris' brother, then Horus, who was the son of Osiris and Isis. These [entities] were the first rulers of the Egyptians. After them, one ruler succeeded the next until the time of Bidis, for a period of 13,900 years. This [was calculated] as lunar years of 30 days each, for what we now call a month was called a year in those days. After rule by the gods, a race descended from the gods ruled for 1,255 years. Then other kings ruled for 1,817 years. After them 30 kings from Memphis ruled for 1,790 years. Then 10 other kings, from Thinis, ruled for 350 years. Then, for 5,813 years, the

kings were spirits and demi-gods. This makes a total of 11,000 years--lunar years, that is, months.

The Egyptians calculate a total of [g200] 24,900 lunar years--2,206 solar years--to the [rule of the] gods, demi-gods, and spirits. If you compare this [calculation] with [similar calculations of] Hebrew chronology you will get almost the same figure. For among the Hebrews Aegyptus is called Mizraim, and he lived a long time after the flood. Because it was after the flood that Noah's son Ham became the father of Aegyptus, or Mizraim; and at the time of the dispersal of the peoples, he went to Egypt, as its first inhabitant. According to the Hebrews 2,242 years elapsed from Adam to the flood. Be this as it may, the Egyptians still boast of their great antiquity before the flood. They say that they had gods, demi-gods, and spirits [as rulers in remote antiquity]. If we convert to months the years calculated by the Hebrews, we get over 20,000 lunar years. So when we count the "years" from the first man [Adam] until Mizraim, the Hebrew calculation is approximately the same [as the Egyptian]. Mizraim was first among the Egyptians, and the first dynasty is presumed to descend from him.

Despite this, if the number of years seems excessive, we must [g201] examine the reasons for it. It is conceivable that there were many kings ruling in Egypt simultaneously. For they say that [kings from] Thinis, Memphis, Sais, Ethiopia and elsewhere ruled. It may be that these dynasties did not rule in succession to each other, as is the norm, but in different places at the same time. As a consequence of this, the total number [of kings] is very large. Let us leave this issue, however, and move on to the details of Egyptian chronology. After the [period of] spirits and demi-gods [g202], the First Dynasty appeared, consisting of 8 kings. The first and most noble of them was Menes. Beginning with him, we shall list the succession of kings from each generation [g203].

[45] 1st Dynasty

Menes of Thinis and his seven descendants. [Menes], whom Herodotus [in The Histories 2.4] calls Min, ruled for 30 (or 60?) years. He took the army beyond the borders of his land seeking glory and renown. A hippopotamus made off with him. Athotis, his son, ruled for 27 years. He built a palace in the city of Memphis. He was skilled in medicine, and wrote about how to conduct autopsies. Chechenes, his son, [ruled for] 39 years. Venephes, 42 years. In his reign a famine gripped [g204] the land. He built the pyramids near Cocome. Usaphais, 20 years. Niebais, 26 years. [Se]mempses, 18 years. During his reign numerous abominations and corruptions occurred. Vbienthis, 26 years. Altogether [these kings] reigned for 252 years.

2nd Dynasty

9 kings. First was Bochus. During his reign an enormous fissure opened up in Bubastis and many people perished. Then Caechous, in whose reign Apis and Mnevis and [g205] the goat of Mendes were honoured as gods. Then Biophis, during whose reign women got the right to rule as monarchs. After [Biophis], three other kings ruled, but nothing noteworthy was accomplished during their reigns. During the reign of the seventh king, it is fabulously

related that for eleven days the Nile ran with honey mixed with water. Then Sesochris [ruled] for 48 years. He is said to have been 5 cubits and 3 palms tall. During [g206] the reign of the ninth king, nothing noteworthy occurred. Altogether [these kings] reigned for 297 years.

[46] 3rd Dynasty
8 kings of Memphis. Necherochis. In his reign the Libyans revolted from the Egyptians, but when the moon unexpectedly grew in size, they were moved by fear and went back into service [to the Egyptians]. Sesorthus. He was called Asclepius by the Egyptians because of his skill in medicine. He discovered methods of building with hewn stone, and also was interested in writing. The other six kings achieved nothing worthy of mention. Altogether [these kings] reigned for 197 years.

4th Dynasty
17 kings of Memphis, from another line. Suphis was the third monarch. He built the largest pyramid, the one Herodotus [in The Histories 2. 124] [g207] claims was built by Cheops. At one time [Suphis] had been hostile toward the gods, but he subsequently regretted this and wrote a sacred book which the Egyptians hold in great esteem. Nothing noteworthy has been recorded about any of the other kings [of this line]. Altogether [these kings] reigned for 448 years.

5th Dynasty
31 kings of Elephantine. Othoes was the first king [of this group]. He was slain by his attendants. Phiops, the fourth king, began his reign at the age of six and ruled until he was one hundred. [RB--From this point Eusebius (or Manetho) does not consistently provide dynasty totals.]

[47] 6th Dynasty
A woman by the name of Nitocris ruled next. It is said that she was braver than any man of her day and more beautiful [g208] than any contemporary woman, fair haired and red cheeked. The third pyramid is said to have been built by her. Altogether [these kings] reigned for 203 years.

7th Dynasty
5 kings from Memphis. Altogether [these kings] reigned for 75 years.

8th Dynasty
5 kings from Memphis. Altogether [these kings] reigned for 100 years.

9th Dynasty
[g209] 4 kings from Heracleopolis, who ruled for 100 years. Achthoes was the first [of this dynasty]. He was harsher than any of his predecessors, and worked crimes throughout the entire country of Egypt. Subsequently he became mad and was killed by a crocodile.

10th Dynasty
19 kings from Heracleopolis, who ruled for 185 years.

11th Dynasty
6 kings from Diospolis, who ruled for 43 years. After them Ammenemes reigned for 16 years. Manetho's first book concludes here. One hundred ninety-two kings [were described], reigning for a total of 2,300 years [g210].

[48] From the Second Book of Manetho. — 12th Dynasty
7 kings from Diospolis. Sesonchosis the son of Ammenemes, 46 years. Ammanemes, 38 years. He was killed by his own eunuchs. Sesostris, 48 years. Supposedly he was 4 cubits, 3 palms and 2 digits tall. He conquered all of Asia in nine years, as well as Europe as far as Thrace. Everywhere he erected monuments to show his control over the nations; he depicted men's genitals on the columns for brave nations, and women's genitals for cowardly nations. Therefore the Egyptians [g211] evaluated him as coming after Osiris. Lamares, 8 years. He built the maze at Arsinoite for his own tomb. His descendants ruled for 42 years. Altogether [these kings] reigned for 245 years.

13th Dynasty
60 kings of Diospolis, who ruled for 453 years.

14th Dynasty
76 kings of Xois, who ruled for 484 years.

15th Dynasty
15 kings of Diospolis, who ruled for 250 years.

[49] 16th Dynasty
5 kings of Thebes, who ruled for 190 years [g212].

17th Dynasty
A dynasty of shepherds who were Phoenician brothers, foreign kings who took Memphis. Saites was first, 19 years. The district of Saite was named after him. Then they established a city in the district of Sethroite from which they advanced and conquered [g213] the Egyptians. Bnon, second, 40 years. Archles, years. Apophis, 14 years, Altogether [these kings] reigned for 103 years. Joseph seems to have appeared during the time of these kings.

[50] 18th Dynasty
14 kings from Diospolis. Amosis, 25 years. Chebron, 13 years. Ammenophis, 21 years. Misphres, 12 years. Misphragmuthosis, 26 years. Tuthmosis, 9 years. Amenophis, 31 years. He [g214] is the one believed to be Memnon, the talking statue. Orus, 38 years. Achencherses, 16 years. In his reign, Moses as general of the Jews, took them out of Egypt. Acherres, 8 years. Cherres, 15 years. Armais, also called Danaus, 5 years. Afterwards he was expelled from Egypt, and fled from his brother Aegyptus to Greece. He captured Argos and became king of the Argives. Rhamesses, also called Aegyptus, 68 years. Amenophis, 40 years. Altogether [these kings] reigned for 348 years [g215].

18th Dynasty
5 kings from Diospolis. Sethos, 55 years Rhampses, 66 years Amenephthis, (?) 40 years

Ammenemes, 26 years Thuoris, 7 years. Homer [Odyssey 4.126] calls him Polybus, the husband of Alcandra. In his reign Troy was captured. Altogether [these kings] reigned for 194 years. In sum, the second book [g216] of Manetho contains 92 kings who reigned for a total of 2,121 years.

[51] From the Third Book of Manetho. — 20th Dynasty
12 kings from Diospolis, who ruled for 172 years.

21th Dynasty
7 kings from Tanis. Smendis, 26 years. Psusennes, 41 years. Nephercheres, 4 years. Amenophthis, 9 years. Osochor, 6 years. Psinaches, 9 years. Psusennes, 35 years. Altogether [these kings] reigned for 130 years [g217].

22nd Dynasty
3 kings from Bubastis. Sesonchosis, 21 years. Osorthon, 15 years. Tacelothis, 13 years. Altogether [these kings] reigned for 49 years.

23rd Dynasty
3 kings from Tanis. Petubastis, 25 years. Osorthon, whom the Egyptians called Heracles, 9 years. Psammu-s, 10 years. Altogether [these kings] reigned for 44 years.

24th Dynasty
Bocchoris from Sais, 44 years. In his reign, a lamb spoke..

[52] 25th Dynasty, Ethiopian
3 kings. Sabacon, who captured Bocchoris and burnt him alive, ruled for 12 years. Sebichos, his son, [g218] 12 years. Taracus, 20 years. Altogether [these kings] reigned for 44 years.

26th Dynasty
9 kings from Sais. Ammeres the Ethiopian, 12 years. Stephinathis, 7 years. Nechepsos, 6 years. Nechao, 8 years. Psammetichus, 44 years. Nechao II, 6 years. He captured Jerusalem, and took king Jehoahaz back as a prisoner to Egypt. Psammuthes (Psammetichus) II, 17 years. Vaphres, 25 years. The remaining Jews fled to him after Jerusalem had been captured by the Assyrians. Amosis, 42 years. Altogether [these kings] reigned for 167 years [g219].

27th Dynasty
8 kings from Persia. Cambyses, in the 5th year of his reign, ruled the Egyptians for 3 years. the magi, 7 months. Darius, 36 years. Xerxes, the son of Darius, 21 years. Artaxerxes, 40 years. Xerxes II, 2 months. Sogdianus, 7 months. Darius, the son of Xerxes, 19 years. Altogether [these kings] reigned for 120 years and 4 months.

[53] 28th Dynasty
Amyrtaeus of Sais, 6 years..

29th Dynasty
4 kings of Mendes. Nepheretes, 6 years. Achoris, 13 years. Psammuthes, 1 year. Muthes, 1 year. Nepherites, 4 months. Altogether [these kings] reigned for 21 years and 4 months [g220].

30th Dynasty
3 kings from Sebennytus. Nectanebis, 10 years. Teos, 2 years. Nectanebus, 8 years. Altogether [these kings] reigned for 20 years.

31st Dynasty
3 kings from Persia. Ochus in the 20th year of his reign ruled over Egypt, for 6 years. Arses, the son of Ochus, 4 years. Darius, who was killed by Alexander of Macedon, 6 years. All this is from the third book of Manetho. [54] From this point, the information comes from Greek authors, because the kingdom of the Egyptians went into decline. Yet, since we still possess further information from the books of Manetho contained in the writings of Flavius Josephus, which he included when describing the ancestors of the Hebrews, I think it will be good [g221] to include what he put down in his own words. The following [passage] is from the first book of his Antiquities of the Jews. [RB: it is from Josephus' Against Apion Book I.14-16. The translation below is from the Whiston edition. The extant works of Flavius Josephus including Antiquities of the Jews, Against Apion, and other writings are available on another page of this website.]

I shall begin with the writings of the Egyptians; not indeed of those that have written in the Egyptian language, which it is impossible for me to do. But Manetho was a man who was by birth an Egyptian, yet had he made himself master of the Greek learning, as is very evident; for he wrote the history of his own country in the Greek tongue, by translating it, as he saith himself, out of their sacred records [g222]; he also finds great fault with Herodotus for his ignorance and false narrations of Egyptian affairs. Now this Manetho, in the first book of his Egyptian History, writes concerning us in the following manner.

I will set down his very words, as if I were to bring the very man himself into a court for a witness: "[There was a king of ours whose name was Timaus. Under him] it came to pass, I know not how, that God was averse to us, and there came, after a surprising manner, men of ignoble birth out of the eastern parts, and had boldness enough to make an expedition into our country [g223], and with ease subdued it by force, yet without our hazarding a battle with them. So when they had gotten those that governed us under their power, they afterwards burnt down our cities, and demolished the temples of the gods, and used all the inhabitants after a most barbarous manner; nay, some they slew, and led their children and their wives into slavery. At length they made one of themselves king, whose name was Salatis; he also lived at Memphis, and made both the upper and lower regions pay tribute, and left garrisons in places that were the most proper for them. He chiefly aimed to secure the eastern parts, as foreseeing that the Assyrians, who had then the greatest power, would be desirous of that kingdom, and [g224] invade them; and as he found in the Saite Nomos, [Sethroite,] a city very proper for this purpose, and which lay upon the Bubastic channel,

but with regard to a certain theologic notion was called Avaris, this he rebuilt, and made very strong by the walls he built about it, and by a most numerous garrison of two hundred and forty thousand armed men whom he put into it to keep it. Thither Salatis came in summer time, partly to [gather his corn, and] pay his soldiers their wages, and partly to exercise his armed men, and thereby to terrify foreigners. This man reigned for fifteen and then died.

[55] After him reigned another [g225], whose name was Beon, for forty-four years; after him reigned rgbanother, called Apachnas, thirty-six years and seven months; after him Apophis reigned sixty-one years, and then Janins fifty years and one month; after all these reigned Assis forty-nine years and two months. And these six were the first rulers among them, who were all along making war with the Egyptians, and were very desirous gradually to destroy them to the very roots. This whole nation was styled Hykos, that is, Shepherd-kings: for the first syllable Hyk, according to the sacred dialect, denotes a king, as is sos a shepherd; but this according to the ordinary dialect; and of these is compounded Hyksos: but some say that these people were Arabians [g226]. " Now in another copy it is said that this word does not denote Kings, but, on the contrary, denotes Captive Shepherds, and this on account of the particle Hyk; for that Hyk, with the aspiration, in the Egyptian tongue again denotes Shepherds, and that expressly also; and this to me seems the more probable opinion, and more agreeable to ancient history. [But Manetho goes on]: "These people, whom we have before named kings, and called shepherds also, and their descendants," as he says, "kept possession of Egypt five hundred and eleven years."

After these, he says, "That the kings of Thebais and the other parts of Egypt made an insurrection against the shepherds, and that there a terrible and long war was made between them." He says further, "That under a king, whose [g227] name was Alisphragmuthosis, the shepherds were subdued by him, and were indeed driven out of other parts of Egypt, but were shut up in a place that contained ten thousand acres; this place was named Avaris." [56] Manetho says, "That the shepherds built a wall round all this place, which was a large and a strong wall, and this in order to keep all their possessions and their prey within a place of strength, but that Thummosis the son of Alisphragmuthosis made an attempt to take them by force and by siege, with four hundred and eighty thousand men to lie rotund about them, but that, upon his despair of taking the place by that siege, they came to a composition with them, that they should leave Egypt [g228], and go, without any harm to be done to them, whithersoever they would; and that, after this composition was made, they went away with their whole families and effects, not fewer in number than two hundred and forty thousand, and took their journey from Egypt, through the wilderness, for Syria; but that as they were in fear of the Assyrians, who had then the dominion over Asia, they built a city in that country which is now called Judea, and that large enough to contain this great number of men, and called it Jerusalem.

Now Manetho, in another book of his, says, "That this nation, thus called Shepherds, were also called Captives, in their sacred books.[g229]" And this account of his is the truth; for

feeding of sheep was the employment of our forefathers in the most ancient ages and as they led such a wandering life in feeding sheep, they were called Shepherds. Nor was it without reason that they were called Captives by the Egyptians, since one of our ancestors, Joseph, told the king of Egypt that he was a captive, and afterward sent for his brethren into Egypt by the king's permission. But as for these matters, I shall make a more exact inquiry about them elsewhere.

But now I shall produce the Egyptians as witnesses to the antiquity of our nation. I shall therefore here bring in Manetho again, and what he writes as to the order of the times in this case; and thus he speaks: "When this people or shepherds were gone out of Egypt to Jerusalem, Tethtmosis the king of Egypt, who drove them out, reigned afterward [g230] twenty-five years and four months, and then died; after him his son Chebron took the kingdom for thirteen years; after whom came Amenophis, for twenty years and seven months; then came his sister Amesses, for twenty-one years and nine months; after her came Mephres, his son, for twelve years and nine months; after him was Mephramuthosis, for twenty-five years and ten months; after him was Thmosis, for nine years and eight months; after him came Amenophis, for thirty years and ten months; after him came Orus, for thirty-six years and five months; then came his daughter Acenchres, for twelve years and one month; then was her brother Rathotis, for nine years; then was Acencheres, for twelve years and five months; then came another Acencheres, for twelve years and three months; after him Armais, for four years and one month; after him was Ramesses [g231], for one year and four months; after him came Armesses Miammoun, for sixty-six years and two months; after him Amenophis, for nineteen years and six months; after him came Sethosis, and Ramesses, who had an army of horse, and a naval force.

This king appointed his brother, Armais„ to be his deputy over Egypt. He also gave him all the other authority of a king, but with these only injunctions, that he should not wear the diadem, nor be injurious to the queen, the mother of his children, and that he should not meddle with the other concubines of the king; while he made an expedition against Cyprus, and Phoenicia, and besides against the Assyrians and the Medes. He then subdued them all, some by his arms, some without fighting, and some by the terror of his great army; and being puffed up by the great successes he had had [g232], he went on still the more boldly, and overthrew the cities and countries that lay in the eastern parts. But after some considerable time, Armais, who was left in Egypt, did all those very things, by way of opposition, which his brother had forbid him to do, without fear; for he used violence to the queen, and continued to make use of the rest of the concubines, without sparing any of them; nay, at the persuasion of his friends he put on the diadem, and set up to oppose his brother. But then he who was set over the priests of Egypt wrote letters to Sethosis, and informed him of all that had happened, and how his brother had set up to oppose him: he therefore returned back to Pelusium immediately, and recovered [g233] his kingdom again. The country also was called from his name Egypt;

for Manetho says, that Sethosis was himself called Egyptus, as was his brother Armais called Danaus."

[57] This is Manetho's account. And it is evident from the number of years set down by him belonging to this interval, if they be summed up together, that these shepherds, as they are here called, who were no other than our forefathers, were delivered out of Egypt, and came thence, and inhabited this country, three hundred and ninety-three years before Danaus came to Argos; although the Argives look upon him as their most ancient king Manetho, therefore, bears this testimony to two points of the greatest consequence to our purpose, and those from the Egyptian records themselves. In the first place, that we came out of another country into Egypt; and that withal our deliverance out of it was so ancient in time as to have preceded the siege of Troy by almost a thousand years; but then, as to those things which Manetho adds, not from the Egyptian records, but, [g234] as he confesses himself, from some stories of an uncertain origin, I will disprove them hereafter particularly, and shall demonstrate that they are no better than incredible fables.

This is what Josephus relates in his book. One by one he names the kings of Egypt and their chonologies starting at the beginning and continuing until the period of the one named Nectanebus. I have already mentioned Nectanebus previously in the list of kings. After Nectanebus, Ochus the king of the Persians gained control of Egypt, and ruled for 6 years. Then Arses, Ochus' son, ruled for 4 years. After him, Darius ruled for 6 years. Then Alexander of Macedon killed Darius the Persian, and ruled over both the Asians and the Egyptians. Alexander founded the city of Alexandria in Egypt in the sixth year of his reign. After the death of Alexander, his empire was divided between many different rulers, and the Ptolemies became kings of Egypt and Alexandria. The dates of these kings are as follows [g235].

[58] Concerning those who ruled Egypt and the city of Alexandria after Alexander of Macedon. From the writings of Porphyry.

Alexander of Macedon [died] in the 114th Olympiad [324 B.C.]. He was succeeded by Aridaeus, also called Philippus, Alexander's brother by a different mother. For [g236] he was the son of Philippus and Philinna of Larissa. This Aridaeus ruled for 7 years. He was killed in Macedonia by Polysperchon the son of Antipater. A year after Philippus took power, Ptolemy (Ptolemy) the son of Arsinoe and Lagus was sent to be governor of Egypt. He was governor for 17 years, and then he was king for 23 years. Thus he ruled for 40 years, until his death. However, while still alive he abdicated in favour of his son Ptolemy, called Philadelphus, and he lived for a further two years after his son had become king. Consequently the reign of this first Ptolemy, called Soter, we take to be 38 rather than 40 years. He was succeeded by his son Ptolemy, who as we said was called Philadelphus. The son reigned for two years while his father was still alive [g237], and then for an additional 36 years, so we consider his reign to have lasted 38 years, the same as his father's.

He was succeeded by the third Ptolemy, called Euergetes, who reigned for 25 years. He was succeeded by the fourth Ptolemy, called Philopator, who reigned for 17 years. He was

succeeded by the fifth Ptolemy, called Epiphanes, who reigned for 24 years. The latter was succeeded by his two sons. The elder was called Philometer and the younger [g238], Euergetes the second. Their combined reigns totaled 61 years. We present their reigns as one due to the confusion of the period, since they were perpetually at war with each, and one was always seizing the throne from the other. First Philometor ruled for 11 years; but when Antiochus invaded Egypt and removed him from the throne, the inhabitants of Alexandria put the younger brother on the throne, forced Antiochus out of Egypt, and freed Philometor. They called that the 12th year of Philometor, and the first year of Euergetes. After that the two kings ruled jointly until the 17th year, but from the 18th year onwards Philometor ruled on his own.

Then the elder brother, who had recently been deposed by the younger brother, was restored [g239] by the Romans. So he ruled over Egypt, and gave the land of Libya to his younger brother. [Philometor] ruled [Egypt] alone for 18 years. He died in Syria, which was also under his rule. At that point Euergetes was called back from Cyrene and named king. Euergetes counted his years from the time he first became king, so he seems to have reigned for 25 years after his brother's death, but officially he reigned for 54 years. The 36th year of Philometor should have been called the first year of his reign, but instead he ordered it to be written as the 25th year of his reign. So the combined length of both their reigns is 64 years, 35 years [g240] under Philometor and the rest under Euergetes. Dividing it up into separate reigns would lead to confusion.

[59] Euergetes II Ptolemid had two sons by Cleopatra, the elder called Ptolemy Soter and the younger called Ptolemy Alexander. First the elder son was brought to the throne by his mother [g241]. She thought he would obey her, so favoured him for a time. But in the sixth year of his reign he murdered his parents' friends. His mother removed him from power because of his cruelty, and he fled to Cyprus. His mother summoned her younger son from the city of Pelusium, and appointed him joint monarch with her. Thus the younger son and his mother ruled together and the country was governed in both their names. This year was called the 11th year of Cleopatra and the 8th year of Alexander Ptolemy, because Alexander counted his years from the 4th [g242] year of his brother's reign, which was when he started to rule over Cyprus. Thus matters continued until the death of Cleopatra. After she died, Alexander ruled as the sole monarch, reigning for a total of 18 years after he returned to Alexandria, though officially he reigned for 26 years. In the 19th year, after a dispute with his soldiers, he went away to collect an army to bring to Egypt against them. However they pursued him, and under the leadership of Tyrrus, who was a relative of the kings, they defeated him in a naval battle. Alexander escaped by a hairsbreadth and took refuge with his wife and daughter in Myra, a city of Lycia; from there, he crossed over to Cyprus, where he was defeated by the admiral Chaereas, and died [g243].

After [Alexander's] flight, the Alexandrians sent an emissary to his elder brother, Ptolemy Soter, once more giving the throne to him, when he would sail back from Cyprus. He lived another 7 years and 6 months after his return. The entire period after the death of the

brothers' father was counted in his name, which was a total of 35 years and 6 months. But if we divide the period precisely , Ptolemy Soter ruled at two different times for a total of 17 years and 6 months, and in between the younger brother, Ptolemy Alexander, ruled for 18 years. The inhabitants of Alexandria were unable to completely delete Alexander's reign from the records, but as far as was in their power they erased all mention of it. This was due to the fact that Alexander with the help of some Jews had gone against them. So they did not count the years of his reign, but instead attributed the entire 36 year period to the elder brother. Similarly, they do not attribute the next 6 months after the death of the elder brother [g244], which make up the complete 36 years, to Cleopatra, the daughter of the elder brother and wife of the younger brother, who took over control of the kingdom after the death of her father. Nor do they formally attribute to Alexander the 19 days in which he jointly reigned with her.

[60] This Alexander, who was living in the city of Rome, was the homonymous son of the younger Ptolemy Alexander and the stepson of Cleopatra. Since there was a dearth of military men in Egypt at the time, he was summoned [home]. He arrived at Alexandria, married the aforementioned Cleopatra, took the kingdom from her against her will, and then murdered her 19 days later. But he himself [g245] was killed for this loathsome deed by a group of soldiers during a military review. This Alexander was succeeded by Ptolemy called the new Dionysius. He was the son of Ptolemy Soter and the brother of the aforementioned Cleopatra. He reigned for 29 years. His daughter Cleopatra was the last of the Ptolemid dynasty. She reigned for 22 years. These reigns also were not continuous from beginning to end, as is found in writings, but each had some interruptions in its course. In the reign of the new Dionysus, his daughters Cleopatra Tryphaena and Berenice, had a three year [g246] reign ascribed to them: one year as a joint reign and the following two years, after the death of Cleopatra Tryphaena, as the reign of Berenice on her own. Because Ptolemy had gone to Rome, and was spending a long time there, his daughters took over the rule of the kingdom, as if he was not going to return, and Berenice had some some of her male relatives as co-rulers. But when Ptolemy returned from Rome, he forget all affection towards his daughter, and, full of rage for what she had done, put her to death.

In the first years of Cleopatra's reign, she shared power with her elder brother Ptolemy and then with others, for the following reasons. When the new [g247] Dionysus died, he left four children, two sons called Ptolemy and daughters called Cleopatra and Arsinoe. He handed over power to the two eldest children, Ptolemy and Cleopatra, who reigned jointly for 4 years. This arrangement would have continued if Ptolemy had not wanted to seize sole power for himself, defying his father's orders. However he died shortly, after being defeated in a naval battle by Julius Caesar, who came to the aid of Cleopatra. After Ptolemy's death, Cleopatra's younger brother, who was also called Ptolemy, became joint ruler with his sister, according to Caesar's wishes. The next year was called the fifth year of Cleopatra and the first year of Ptolemy, and so it continued [g248] for the following two years, until he died. He died in his 4th year, which was Cleopatra's 8th year, due to Cleopatra's treachery. Thereafter Cleopatra ruled on her own, untill her 15th year. However, her 16th year was also called the first year,

because after the death of Lysimachus the king of Chalcis in Syria, the Roman general Marcus Antonius gave Chalcis and the surrounding regions to Cleopatra. And thenceforth for the remaining years until the 22nd year, which was the last of Cleopatra's reign, the years were counted in the same way, so that the 22nd year was also called the 7th year.

Octavius Caesar, also called Augustus, conquered Egypt [g249] in the battle of Actium, and succeeded Cleopatra as ruler of Egypt in the second year of the 184th Olympiad [43 B.C.]. From the first year of the 111th Olympiad [336 B.C.], when Aridaeus Philippus became king, until the second year of the 184th Olympiad [43 B.C.], is 73 Olympiads and one additional year. Thus the total duration of the rule of all the kings of Alexandria, to the death of Cleopatra, is 293 years [g250].

[61] The Ptolemids and the Lengths of Their Reigns.

Alexander of Macedon began his reign in the first year of the 111th Olympiad [336 B.C.]. He founded the city of Alexandria in Egypt, and ruled for 12 years and 7 months. After him, the kings of the city of Alexandria and all of Egypt were: Ptolemy the son of Lagus, 40 years. Ptolemy Philadelphus, 38 years. Ptolemy Euergetes, 24 years. Ptolemy Philopator, 21 years. Ptolemy Epiphanes, 24 years. Ptolemy Philometor, 21 years [g251]. Ptolemy the second Euergetes, 29 years. Ptolemy Physcon, or Soter, 17 years and 6 months. Ptolemy Alexander, who was expelled by his mother's father, 3 years. Ptolemy Philadelphus, returning from exile after the expulsion of Alexander, 8 years. Ptolemy Dionysus, called Philadelphus, 30 years. Cleopatra the daughter of Ptolemy, 22 years. In her reign, Gaius Julius Caesar became the first Roman emperor. The next emperor, Octavius Caesar Augustus, called Sebastos in Greek, killed [g252] Cleopatra and put an end to the dynasty of the Ptolemids, who had ruled for 295 years [g253].

[62] How the Greeks Calculate Their Ancient History.

[We shall list:] The kings of the Athenians. The kings of the Argives. The kings of the Sicyonians. The kings of the Lacedaemonians. The kings of the Corinthians. Who ruled the sea, and for how long. How the Greeks reckon each of the Olympiads. The first Macedonian kings. The Thessalian, Syrian and Asian kings after Alexander of Macedon.

Greek Chronology.

The Greeks regard the Sicyonians as the most ancient [Greeks]. Their kings [g253] resided at Sicyon. The first king to rule Sicyon was Aegialeus, at the same time as Ninus and Belus, who are the first remembered kings of the Assyrians and of Asia. The Peloponnese was originally called Aegialeia, after this Aegialeus. Inachus is said to have been the first king of the Argives, 235 years after the start of the Sicyonian kingdom. Cecrops, called Diphyes, was the first king of the Athenians, [ruling] about 300 years after the start of the Argive kingdom, and 533 years after the start of the Sicyonian kingdom. This chronicle will start with the earliest rulers, and will begin with a list of the kings of the Sicyonians [g254]. There is considerable disagreement among the ancients who composed chronicles of Greek history. As far as possible, we will select [material] on which there is consensus.

The chronographer Castor lists the dates of the Sicyonian kings in his chronicle and then provides a summary of them, as follows:

"We will provide a list of the kings of Sicyon, starting with Aegialeus, the first king, and ending with Zeuxippus. These kings reigned for a total of 959 years. After the kings, [g255] six priests of [Apollo] Carneius were appointed; this priesthood lasted for 33 years. Then Charidemus was appointed priest; but he could not bear the expense, and went into exile." This according to Castor. Below we present the full list of the Sicyonian kings.

[63] The Kings of the Sicyonians.

1. Aegialeus, 52 years. The Peloponnese was originally called Aegialeia, after this Aegialeus. He is said to have started to rule Sicyon in the 15th year of Belus, the first king of the Assyrians. According to legend, [Belus] was the son of Poseidon and Libya [g256]. 2. Europs, 45 years. He reigned at the same time as Ninus, the son of Belus. 3. Telchin, 20 years. He reigned at the same time as Semiramis. 4. Apis, 25 years. The Peloponnese was then called Apia, after this Apis. 5. Thelxion, 52 years. 6. Aegydrus, 34 years. 7. Thurimachus, 45 years. During his reign, Inachus became the first king of the Argives. 8. Leucippus, 53 years. 9. Messapus, 47 years. During his reign Egypt was ruled by Joseph, as the Hebrews record [g257]. 10. Eratus, 46 years. 11. Plemnaeus, 48 years. 12. Orthopolis, 63 years. 13. Marathonius, 30 years. During his reign, Cecrops Diphyes became the first king of Attica.

14. Marathus, 20 years. During his reign, Moses led the Hebrews out of Egypt, as will be shown in due course. 15. Echyreus, 55 years. During his reign, Danaus became king of the Argives [g258]. 16. Corax, 30 years. 17. Epopeus, 35 years. 18. Laomedon, 40 years. 19. Sicyon, 45 years. During his reign, the kingdom of the Argives came to an end, after lasting for 540 years. 20. Polybus, 40 years. 21. Inachus, 40 years. 22. Phaestus, 8 years. 23. Adrastus, 4 years. 24. Polypheides, 31 years. During his reign, Troy was captured [g259]. 25. Pelasgus, 20 years. During his reign, Aeneias was king of the Latins. 26. Zeuxippus, 31 years. There were a total of 26 kings of Sicyon, who reigned for 959 years. After [Zeuxippus], there were no more kings. Instead the priests of [Apollo] Carneius [ruled]. 1. The first [of these] priest[s] was Archelaus [who ruled] one year. 2. Automedon, one year. 3. Theoclytus, four years. 4. Euneus, six years. 5. Theonomus, nine years [g260]. 6. Amphigyes, twelve years. 7. Finally, Charidemus one year. He could not bear the expense, and went into exile. He was priest 352 years before the first Olympiad [i.e. 1128 B.C.].

The total for the Sicyonian kings and priests is 998 years. Following this list of the Sicyonian rulers it is appropriate to list the kings of the Argives as they are accurately recorded in ancient histories. Here is how Castor desribed them [g261].

[64] Castor on the Kings of the Argives.

Now we will list the kings of the Argives, begining with Inachus and ending with Sthenelus the son of Crotopus. These kings reigned for a total of 382 years, until Sthenelus was expelled by Danaus, who seized control of Argos. The descendants of Danaus ruled Argos, ending with Eurysthenes, the son of Sthenelus, the son of Perseus. After Eurysthenes, the

descendants of Pelops ruled Argos. The duration of the reign of the kings of the Danaidae was 162 years. The duration of the reign of the Pelopidae was 105 years, starting with Atreus, and ending with Penthilus, Tisamenus and Cometes the son of Orestes, in whose time the invasion of the Heracleidae occurred. The dates of each of the Argive kings are as follows.

The Kings of the Argives.

1. Inachus, 50 years. The country was called Inachia, after this Inachus. He began to rule [g262] the Argives at the time of Thurimachus, who was the seventh king of the Sicyonians. 2. Phoroneus, 60 years. In his reign, Ogygus founded Eleusis. 3. Apis, 35 years. The country was then called Apia, after this Apis. During his reign, Joseph governed the Egyptians, as recorded by the Hebrews. 4. Argus, the son of Zeus and Niobe, for 70 years. The name of the country was changed to Argeia, after this Argus. 5. Criasus, 54 years. 6. Phorbas, 35 years. During his reign, Cecrops Diphyes became king of the Athenians. 7. Triopas, 46 years. During his reign, Moses led the Hebrews out of Egypt. 8. Crotopus, 21 years. 9. Sthenelus, 11 years. Altogether these kings reigned for 382 years [g263]. Danaus expelled Sthenelus, and ruled Argos, as did his descendants. The succession of kings, and their dates, are as follows.

10. Danaus, 50 years. 11. Lynceus, 41 years. 12. Abas, 23 years. 13. Proetus, 17 years. 14. Acrisius, 31 years. Altogether they ruled Argos for 545 years, until the end of the Danaidae. After Acrisius, rule of the Argives passed to Mycenaae, when the descendants of Pelops took power, in the time of Eurysthenes the son of Sthenelus [g264]. Pelops was the first ruler of the Peloponnese, and he encouraged the Olympic games. After Acrisius, when the Argives were ruled from Mycenae: Eurysthenes ruled as king for 45 years. Then the Pelopidae, Atreus and Thyestes, 65 years. Then Agamemnon, 30 years. In the 18th year of his reign, Troy was captured. Aegisthus, 17 years. Orestes, Tisamenus, Penthilus and Cometes 58 years, until the invasion of the Heracleidae, who then conquered the Peloponnese. From the return of the Heracleidae until the migration of the Ionians [g265], 60 years elapsed. From the migration of the Ionians until the first Olympiad [776 B.C.], 267 years elapsed.

It is appropriate to follow this with a list of the kings of the Athenians, summarizing accurate accounts from ancient writers. Ogygus is said to have been the first [king] of the Athenians. The Greeks relate that their great ancient flood took place during his reign. Phoroneus the son of Inachus, king of the Argives, is considered to have lived at this time. Plato mentions this in the Timaeus [22], as follows: ”When he wished to acquaint [g266] them with ancient history, so they could discuss the antiquity of this city, he began his account with the old stories about Phoroneus and Niobe, and then what happened after the flood.” Ogygus lived in the time of Messapus, the ninth king of Sicyon, and Belochus, the eighth king of the Assyrians. After Ogygus and until the time of Cecrops, it is said that there was no king in Attica for 190 years, because of the great destruction caused by the flood. The number of years is calculated from the kings of the Argives, who reigned before Ogygus. From the end of the reign of Phoroneus, king of the Argives, in whose time Ogy-

gus' flood is said to have occurred, until Phorbas, in whose time Cecrops became king of Attica, 190 years elapsed. From Cecrops until the first Olympiad [g267], seventeen kings, and twelve archons for life are listed; in this period too, the amazing fables of the Greeks are said to have unfolded. The Greeks count the kings of Attica from [Cecrops], because they do not know for certain the dates of any earlier kings. Castor explained this briefly in his history, as follows.

[65] Castor on The Kings of the Athenians.
Now we will list the kings of the Athenians, beginning with Cecrops, called Diphyes, and ending with Thymoetes. The total duration of the reigns of all these kings, called Erechtheidae, was 450 years. After them, Melanthus of Pylus, son of Andropompus, took over the kingdom, followed by his son Codrus. The total duration of their two reigns was 52 (or 58) years. [lacuna]... [archons] starting with Medon (?) son of Codrus, and ending with Alcmaeon son of Aeschylus. The total duration of the rule of the archons for life was 209 years. The next archons held power for 10 years each; there were seven such archons, who ruled for 70 years [g268]. Then the archons started to hold power for one year each, starting with Creon and ending with Theophemus, in whose time the valorous deeds of our land ceased. This is how Castor put it. Let us now provide a list of all these kings.

[66] The Kings of the Athenians.
1. Cecrops Diphyes, 50 years. In his reign Prometheus, Epimetheus and Atlas lived. He began ruling the Athenians in the time of Triopas, the seventh king of the Argives, and Marathonius, the thirteenth king of Sicyon. At this time, Moses had become recognized amongst the Hebrews, as we will show in due course. Also at this time, the flood of Deucalion is said to have occurred in Thessaly [g269], and fire devastated the land of Ethiopia in the time of Phaethon. 2. Cranaus, a native, 9 years. 3. Amphictyon, the son of Deucalion and son-in-law of Cranaus, 10 years. The deeds narrated about the Danaidae are said to have occurred in his reign. 4. Erichthonius, the son of Hephaestus, who is called Erechtheus by Homer, 50 years. The Idaean Dactyls lived in his reign. 5. Pandion, the son of Erichthonius, 40 years. The kidnaping of the girl [Persephone], and what is narrated about Triptolemus, occurred in his reign.

6. Erechtheus the son of Pandion, 50 years. The deeds narrated about Perseus occurred in his reign. 7. Cecrops, the brother of Erechtheus, 40 years. The deeds narrated about Dionysus occurred in his reign [g270]. 8. Pandion, the son of Erechtheus, 25 years. Afterwards Pandion went into exile, and became king of Megara. The deeds narrated about Europa, Cadmus and the Sparti occurred in his reign. 9. Aegeus, the son of Pandion, 48 years. The deeds narrated about the Argonauts and the Centaurs occurred in his reign; and Heracles held the wrestling competitions. 10. Theseus, the son of Aegeus, 30 years. In his reign, Minos became recognized as a legislator. 11. Menestheus, the son of Peteus, son of Orneus son of Erechtheus, 23 years. In his reign, Troy was captured. 12. Demophon, the son of Theseus, 33 years. The deeds narrated about Odysseus and Orestes occurred in his reign; and Aeneias was king of Lavinium.

13. Oxyntes [g271], the son of Demophon, 12 years. In his reign, the Amazons burned down the temple at Ephesus. 14. Apheidas, the son of Oxyntes, one year. 15. Thymoetes, the brother of Apheidas, 8 years. 16. Melanthus of Pylus, the son of Andropompus, 37 years. In his reign the Heracleidae returned and occupied the Peloponnese. 17. Codrus, the son of Melanthus, 21 years. In his reign, the Ionians were expelled from Achaea, and took refuge in Athens.

[67] The Athenian Princes [Archons] Who Ruled for Life.
18. Medon, the son of Codrus, 20 years. 19. Acastus, the son of Medon [g272], 36 years. In his reign occurred the migration of the Ionians, including Homer, so they say. At the same time, Solomon built the temple at Jerusalem, as we will show at the appropriate time. 20. Archippus, the son of Acastus, 19 years. 21. Thersippus, the son of Archippus, 41 years. 22. Phorbas, the son of Thersippus, 30 years. 23. Megacles, the son of Phorbas, 30 years. 24. Diognetus, the son of Megacles, 28 years. At this time, Lycurgus had become prominent. 25. Pherecles, the son of Diognetus, 19 years. 26. Ariphron, the son of Pherecles, 20 years. At this time, the kingdom of the Assyrians came to an end, and Sardanapalus was killed [g273]. 27. Thespieus, the son of Ariphron, 27 years. At this time, Lycurgus created laws for the Spartans. 28. Agamestor, the son of Thespieus, 17 years. 29. Aeschylus, the son of Agamestor, 23 years. In his twelfth year, the first Olympiad was held, in which Coroebus won the stadion contest.

Adding together the reigns of all the Athenian kings, from the time of Cecrops to the first Olympiad [776 B.C.] the total is 780 years. And 970 years elapsed from Ogygus until the first Olympiad. Henceforth it is appropriate to provide dating according to the Olympiads [g274]. After Aeschylus, Alcmaeon ruled the Athenians, for 2 years. After him it was decided to appoint archons for ten years each: Charops, for ten years. Aesimides, for ten years. Cleidicus, for ten years. Hippomenes, for ten years. Leocrates, for ten years. Apsander, for ten years. Eryxias, for ten years. During [Eryxias' reign], it was decided to appoint archons for one year each. The first yearly archon was Creon, in the 24th Olympiad [684-681 B.C.]. Thereafter an archon was appointed each year. There is no need to list their names. We have provided the dates of the ancient rulers of the Athenians [g275], as related by old and especially reliable historians. We have set down the dates and events before the capture of Troy--which are not regarded as particularly accurate--as well as we could from the many accounts. Similarly, events from the capture of Troy until the first Olympiad are not accurately recorded. However Porphyry, in the first book of his Philosophical History, gives the following summary:

[68] Porphyry from the first book of his Philosophical History [g276].
Apollodorus says that there are 80 years from the capture of Troy [1183 B.C.] until the Heracleidae invasion of the Peloponnese [1103 B.C.]; 60 years from the return of the Heracleidae until the settling of Ionia [1043 B.C.]; 159 years from that point until Lycurgus [884 B.C.]; ... and there are 108 years from Lycurgus until the first Olympiad [776 B.C.]. Altogether, 407 years elapsed from the capture of Troy to the first Olympiad. I believe that it would

be appropriate next to discuss the Greek Olympiads [g277]. [69] From the time of the first Olympiad, in which Coroebus of Elis won the stadion race, Greek chronology appears to have been accurately [g277] recorded. Before that time, however, the dates are provided according to the views of each writer.

About the Institution of the Olympics, which are Athletic Competitions.
It is necessary to discuss briefly [the origins of] the Olympics. There are some who place its beginning in remote antiquity, before the time of Heracles. [This group attributes the founding of the Olympics] to one of the Idaean Dactyls. Subsequently Aethlius [used the concept] as a means of challenging his sons. And it was from his name that the adversaries are called athletes. After [Aethlius] his sons Epeius and then Endymion, Alexinus and Oenomaus were each in charge of the sacrifices [connected with the] festival. Next Pelops [conducted an athletic competition] in honor of [g278] his father, Zeus (Aramazd). And then Heracles, son of Alcmene and Zeus (Aramazd) [held an athlethic competition]. Now it was 10 generations--though some say only 3--from the time of Heracles to the time of Iphitus. [Iphitus] was from Elis and was the steward for the entire Peloponnesus. He wanted to reduce the fighting among the cities. To this end he had sent men throughout the Peloponnesus to observe [conditions and] to learn how to lessen the military irritants. Then the gods gave the following commands to the Peloponnesians:

Enter the temples and make sacrifice, And obey what the soothsayers command. This additional prophesy was given to the Eleians [g279]: Eleians, hold firm to the laws of your forefathers And preserve your land, And put an end to warfare. Stay in complete friendship with the [other] Greeks Until the arrival of a joyous celebration. As a consequence of this, Iphitus ordered that they stop fighting, and that each [party]begin to experience peace under confederation. He implemented Heracles' command that they not attack one another. And he initiated the [Olympic] games with Lycurgus the Lacedaemonian, who like himself was a descendant of Heracles [g280]. At this time the stadion race was the sole competition; however, subsequently, one by one, other contests were added [to the games]. Aristodemus of Elis relates that in the 27th Olympiad after Iphitus the names of the winners in the athletic contests began to be recorded. Before then the athletes' names were not recorded. In the twenty[-eighth] Olympiad, Coroebus of Elis won the stadion race, and he was the first [winner] to be recorded. Thus were the Olympiads initiated, by which the Greeks reckon their chronology. Polybius supports Aristodemus' information; but Callimachus says that thirteen Olympiads passed after Iphitus without victors being recorded, and that Coroebus was the victor in the 14th Olympiad. Many [g281] writers state that 459 years elapsed between the institution of the games by Heracles the son of Alcmene and what is [commonly] regarded as the first Olympiad. The Eleians hold the games every fifth year, with a four year interval separating them.

[70] The Greek Olympiads — [A list] from the first Olympiad to the 247th, when Antoninus the son of Severus was emperor of the Romans.
1st [776 B.C.] Coroebus of Elis was the victor in the stadion race [g282]. The stadion race

was the sole contest until the thirteen Olympiad. 2nd [772 B.C.] Antimachus of Elis, stadion race. Romulus and Remus [the legendary founders of Rome] were born. 3rd [768 B.C.] Androclus of Messenia, stadion race. 4th [764 B.C.] Polychares of Messenia, stadion race. 5th [760 B.C.] Aeschines of Elis, stadion race. 6th [756 B.C.] Oebotas of Dyme, stadion race. 7th [752 B.C.] Diocles of Messenia, stadion race. Romulus built Rome. 8th [748 B.C.] Anticles of Messenia, stadion race. 9th [744 B.C.] Xenocles of Messenia, stadion race. 10th [740 B.C.] Dotades of Messenia, stadion race. 11th [736 B.C.] Leochares of Messenia, stadion race. 12th [732 B.C.] Oxythemis of Coroneia, stadion race. 13th [728 B.C.] Diocles of Corinth, stadion race. 14th [724 B.C.] Desmon of Corinth, stadion race [g283]. A double race was added, which was won by Hypenus of Elis.

[71] 15th [720 B.C.] Orsippus of Megara, stadion race. A long race was added, and the runners were naked; the winner was Acanthus of Laconia. 16th [716 B.C.] Pythagoras of Laconia, stadion race. 17th [712 B.C.] Polus of Epidaurus, stadion race. 18th [708 B.C.] Tellis of Sicyon, stadion race. A wrestling contest was added, and the winner was Eurybatus of Laconia. A pentathlon contest was also added, and the winner was Lampis of Laconia. 19th [704 B.C.] Menus of Megara, stadion race. 20th [700 B.C.] Atheradas of Laconia, stadion race. 21st [696 B.C.] Pantacles of Athens, stadion race. 22nd [692 B.C.] Pantacles for a second time. 23rd [688 B.C.] Icarius of Hyperesia, stadion race [g284]. A boxing contest was added, and the winner was Onomastus of Smyrna. It was Onomastus who established the rules of boxing. 24th [684 B.C.] Cleoptolemus of Laconia, stadion race. 25th [680 B.C.] Thalpis of Laconia, stadion race. A race was added for chariots drawn by four horses, and the winner was Pagon of Thebes.

26th [676 B.C.] Callisthenes of Laconia, stadion race. Philombrotus of Laconia won the pentathlon at three Olympic games. The Carneia, a contest for citharodes, was held for the first time. 27th [672 B.C.] Eurybus of Athens, stadion race. 28th [668 B.C.] Charmis of Laconia, stadion race. Charmis trained on a diet of dried figs. These games were held [g285] by the inhabitants of Pisa, because Elis was preoccupied by a war in the west. 29th [664 B.C.] Chionis of Laconia, stadion race. Chionis could leap a distance of 22 feet. 30th [660 B.C.] Chionis for a second time. The inhabitants of Pisa rebelled from Elis, and [so the Pisans] supervised these and the following 22 games. [72] 31st [656 B.C.] Chionis of Laconia for a third time, stadion race. [g286] 32nd [652 B.C.] Cratinus of Megara, stadion race. At these games, Comaeus was the third of his brothers to win the boxing contest.

33rd [648 B.C.] Gygis of Laconia, stadion race. At these games, a pancratium contest was added, and the winner was the enormous Lygdamis of Syracuse. He was able to measure out the stadion with his feet, in only six hundred paces. A horse race was added, and the winner was Craxilas of Thessaly. 34th [644 B.C.] Stomas of Athens, stadion race. 35th [640 B.C.] Sphaerus of Laconia, stadion race. The double race was won by Cylon of [g287] Athens, who later attempted to set himself up as tyrant. 36th [636 B.C.] Phrynon of Athens, stadion race. On the island of Coo, Phrynon was killed in single combat. 37th [632 B.C.] Eurycleidas of Laconia, stadion race. A stadion race for boys was added, and the winner was Polynices of

Elis. A wrestling contest for boys was added, and the winner was Hipposthenes of Laconia, who won the men's wrestling contest five times in a row, starting from the next-but-one Olympic games.

38th [628 B.C.] Olyntheus of Laconia, stadion race. A pancratium contest for boys was added, but only on this one occasion. The winner was Deutelidas of Laconia. 39th [624 B.C.] Rhipsolaus of Laconia, stadion race [g288]. 40th [620 B.C.] Olyntheus of Laconia for a second time, stadion race. 41st [616 B.C.] Cleondas of Thebes, stadion race. A boxing contest for boys was added, and the winner was Philotas of Sybaris. 42nd [612 B.C.] Lycotas of Laconia, stadion race. 43rd [608 B.C.] Cleon of Epidaurus, stadion race. 44th [604 B.C.] Gelon of Laconia, stadion race. 45th [600 B.C.] Anticrates of Epidaurus, stadion race. 46th [596 B.C.] Chrysamaxus of Laconia, stadion race. The boys' stadion race was won by Polymnestor of Miletus, who chased and caught a rabit while he was shepherding. [73] 47th [592 B.C.] Eurycles of Laconia, stadion race. 48th [588 B.C.] Glycon of Croton, stadion race [g289]. Pythagoras of Samos was excluded from the boys' boxing contest and was mocked for being effeminate, but he went on to the men's contest and defeated all his opponents.

49th [584 B.C.] Lycinus of Croton, stadion race. 50th [580 B.C.] Epitelidas of Laconia, stadion race. [During this Olympiad] the seven wise men were named. 51st [576 B.C.] Eratosthenes of Croton, stadion race. 52nd [572 B.C.] Agis of Elis, stadion race. 53rd [568 B.C.] Hagnon of Peparethus, stadion race. 54th [564 B.C.] Hippostratus of Croton, stadion race. Arichion of Phigaleia died after winning the pancratium contest for the third time. Though dead he was crowned as victor, because his opponent had already conceded defeat, after his leg was broken by Arichion. 55th [560 B.C.] Hippostratus for a second time. [During this Olympiad] Cyrus was king of the Persians [g290]. 56th [556 B.C.] Phaedrus of Pharsalus, stadion race. 57th [552 B.C.] Ladromus of Laconia, stadion race. 58th [548 B.C.] Diognetus of Croton, stadion race. 59th [544 B.C.] Archilochus of Corcyra, stadion race. 60th [540 B.C.] Apellaeus of Elis, stadion race. 61st [536 B.C.] - Agatharchus of Corcyra, stadion race.

62nd [532 B.C.] - Eryxias of Chalcis, stadion race. Milon of Croton won the wrestling contest. He won six times at the Olympic games, six times at the Pythian games, ten times at the Isthmian games, and nine times at the Nemean games. 63rd [528 B.C.] - Parmenides of Camarina, stadion race. 64th [524 B.C.] - Menander of Thessaly, stadion race. [74] 65th [520 B.C.] - Anochas of Tarentum, stadion race. A race as hoplites (wearing armour) was added, and the winner was Damaretus of Heraea [g291]. 66th [516 B.C.] - Ischyrus of Himera, stadion race. 67th [512 B.C.] - Phanas of Pellene, stadion race. Phanas was the first to win all three races, the stadion race, the double race and the race wearing armour. 68th [508 B.C.] - Isomachus of Croton, stadion race. 69th [504 B.C.] - Isomachus for a second time. 70th [500 B.C.] - Nicasias of Opus, stadion race.

71st [496 B.C.] - Tisicrates of Croton, stadion race. 72nd [492 B.C.] - Tisicrates for a second time. 73rd [488 B.C.] - Astyalus of Croton, stadion race. 74th [484 B.C.] - Astyalus for a second time. 75th [480 B.C.] - Astyalus for a third time. 76th [476 B.C.] - Scamander of Mytilene, stadion race. 77th [472 B.C.] - Dandes of Argos, stadion race [g292]. 78th

[468 B.C.] - Parmenides of Poseidonia, stadion race. 79th [464 B.C.] - Xenophon of Corinth, stadion race. 80th [460 B.C.] - Torymmas of Thessaly, stadion race. The wrestling contest was won by Amesinas of Barce, who trained by wrestling with a bull while he was tending cattle. He even brought the bull to Pisa for his training. 81st [456 B.C.] - Polymnastus of Cyrene, stadion race. 82nd [452 B.C.] - Lycus of Larissa, stadion race. 83rd [448 B.C.] - Crisson of Himera, stadion race. 84th [444 B.C.] - Crisson for a second time. 85th [440 B.C.] - Crisson for a third time.

86th [436 B.C.] - Theopompus of Thessaly, stadion race. 87th [432 B.C.] - Sophron of Ambracia, stadion race. After this [Olympiad], the Peloponnesian war began. 88th [428 B.C.] - Symmachus of Messenia, stadion race [g293]. 89th [424 B.C.] - Symmachus for a second time. 90th [420 B.C.] - Hyperbius of Syracuse, stadion race. [75] 91st [416 B.C.] - Exagentus of Acragas, stadion race. 92nd [412 B.C.] - Exagentus for a second time. 93rd [408 B.C.] - Eubatus of Cyrene, stadion race. The pancratium contest was won by the enormous Polydamas of Scotussa, who killed lions and fought without weapons against armed men, when he was with Ochus among the Persians. He was able to bring chariots charging at full speed to a halt. A race was added for chariots drawn by a pair of horses (Synoris), and the winner was Euagoras of Elis. 94th [404 B.C.] - Crocinas of Larissa, stadion race. 95th [400 B.C.] - Minon of Athens, stadion race.

96th [396 B.C.] - Eupolemus of Elis, stadion race. A contest for trumpeters was added, and the winner was Timaeus of Elis [g294]. A contest for heralds was added, and the winner was Crates of Elis. 97th [392 B.C.] - Terinaeus [...], stadion race. 98th [388 B.C.] - Sosippus of Delphi, stadion race. The wrestling contest was won by Aristodemus of Elis, whom no one could grasp round the middle. 99th [384 B.C.] - Dicon of Syracuse, stadion race. A race was added for chariots drawn by four colts, and the winner was Eurybatus of Laconia. 100th [380 B.C.] - Dionysodorus of Tarentum, stadion race. 101st [376 B.C.] - Damon of Thurii, stadion race. 102nd [372 B.C.] - Damon for a second time [g295]. 103rd [368 B.C.] - Pythostratus of Ephesus, stadion race. 104th [364 B.C.] - Phocides of Athens, stadion race. These games were held by the Pisans. 105th [360 B.C.] - Porus of Cyrene, stadion race. 106th [356 B.C.] - Porus for a second time. 107th [352 B.C.] - Micrinas of Tarentum, stadion race. 108th [348 B.C.] - Polycles of Cyrene, stadion race. 109th [344 B.C.] - Aristolochus of Athens, stadion race. 110th [340 B.C.] - Anticles of Athens, stadion race.

111th [336 B.C.] - Cleomantis of Cleitor, stadion race. 112th [332 B.C.] - Eurylas of Chalcis, stadion race. [During this Olympiad] Alexander captured Babylon, and killed Darius. [76] 113th [328 B.C.] - Cliton of Macedonia, stadion race [g296]. Ageus of Argos, won the long race. He returned to Argos and announced his own victory on the same day. 114th [324 B.C.] - Micinas of Rhodes, stadion race. [During this Olympiad] Alexander died, and his empire was split into many parts; Ptolemy became king of Egypt and Alexandria. 115th [320 B.C.] - Damasias of Amphipolis, stadion race. 116th [316 B.C.] - Demosthenes of Laconia, stadion race. 117th [312 B.C.] - Parmenides of Mytilene, stadion race. 118th [308 B.C.] - Andromenes of Corinth, stadion race. Antenor of Athens or Miletus, undisputed winner of

the pancratium, was crowned in all the major competitions, [g297] and was undefeated in each of three age groups.

119th [304 B.C.] - Andromenes of Corinth, stadion race. 120th [300 B.C.] - Pythagoras of Magnesia-on-Maeander, stadion race. Ceras of Argos, [victor in] wrestling, tore the hooves off an ox. 121st [296 B.C.] - Pythagoras for a second time. 122nd [292 B.C.] - Antigonus of Macedonia, stadion race. 123rd [288 B.C.] - Antigonus for a second time. 124th [284 B.C.] - Philomelus of Pharsalus, stadion race. 125th [280 B.C.] - Ladas of Aegium, stadion race. 126th [276 B.C.] - Idaeus or Nicator of Cyrene, stadion race. 127th [272 B.C.] - Perigenes of Alexandria, stadion race. 128th [268 B.C.] - Seleucus of Macedonia, stadion race. 129th [264 B.C.] - Philinus of Cos, stadion race [g298]. A new race for two-colt chariots was added, and the first winner was Philistiachus [son] of Macedonia. 130th [260 B.C.] - Philinus for a second time. 131st [256 B.C.] - Ammonius of Alexandria, stadion race. A one-colt race was introduced, and the first winner was Hippocrates [son] of Thessaly.

132nd [252 B.C.] - Xenophanes of Amphissa in Aetolia, stadion race. [77] 133rd [248 B.C.] - Simylus of Neapolis, stadion race. [During this Olympiad] the Parthians revolted against the Macedonians. Arsaces was their first king, whence the [dynastic] name Arsacid. 134th [244 B.C.] - Alcides of Laconia, stadion race. 135th [240 B.C.] - Eraton of Aetolia, stadion race. Cleoxenus of Alexandria, winner in boxing, won without injury at all the major games. 136th [236 B.C.] - Pythocles of Sicyon, stadion race. 137th [232 B.C.] - Menestheus of [? son of] Barcyla, stadion race [g299]. 138th [228 B.C.] - Demetrius of Alexandria, stadion race. 139th [224 B.C.] - Iolaidas of Argos, stadion race. 140th [220 B.C.] - Zopyrus of Syracuse, stadion race. 141st [216 B.C.] - Dorotheus of Rhodes, stadion race. 142nd [212 B.C.] - Crates of Alexandria, stadion race. Caprus of Elis won both the wrestling and the pancratium competitions, like Heracles. Thus he was recorded as ”second after Heracles”.

143rd [208 B.C.] - Heracleitus of Samos, stadion race. 144th [204 B.C.] - Heracleides of Salamis in Cyprus, stadion race. 145th [200 B.C.] - Pyrrhias of Aetolia, stadion race. Moschus of Colophon, [victor in] boys' boxing, was the only boy to have won the boxing competition at all the major games. A boys' pancratium competition was added, and the first winner was Phaedimus of Alexandria [g300]. 146th [196 B.C.] - Micion of Boeotia, stadion race. 147th [192 B.C.] - Agemachus of Cyzicus, stadion race. Cleitostratus of Rhodes, [victor in] wrestling, defeated his opponents by grasping their necks. 148th [188 B.C.] - Arcesilaus of Megalopolis, stadion race. 149th [184 B.C.] - Hippostratus of Seleucia in Pieria, stadion race. 150th [180 B.C.] - Onesicritus of Salamis, stadion race. [78] 151st [176 B.C.] - Thymilus of Aspendus, stadion race. 152nd [172 B.C.] - Democritus of Megara, stadion race. 153rd [168 B.C.] - Aristander of Antissa in Lesbos, stadion race. 154th [164 B.C.] - Leonidas of Rhodes, three times victor in the stadion race. 155th [160 B.C.] - Leonidas for a second time.

156th [156 B.C.] - Leonidas for a third time. Aristomenes of Rhodes [g301] was the third after Heracles to win both the wrestling and the pancratium competitions. 157th [152 B.C.] - Leonidas, victor in the stadion race for a fourth time, was the first and only man to win

12 Olympic crowns over four Olympiads. 158th [148 B.C.] - Othon of Syracuse, stadion race. 159th [144 B.C.] - Alcimus of Cyzicus, stadion race. 160th [140 B.C.] - Agnodorus of Cyzicus, stadion race. 161st [136 B.C.] - Antipater of Epirus, stadion race. 162nd [132 B.C.] - Damon of Delphi, stadion race. 163rd [128 B.C.] - Timotheus of Tralles, stadion race. 164th [124 B.C.] - Boeotus of Sicyon, stadion race. 165th [120 B.C.] - Acusilaus of Cyrene, stadion race. 166th [116 B.C.] - Chrysogonus of Nicaea, stadion race. 167th [112 B.C.] - Chrysogonus for a second time [g302]. 168th [108 B.C.] - Nicomachus of Philadelphia, stadion race. 169th [104 B.C.] - Nicodemus of Lacedaemon, stadion race. 170th [100 B.C.] - Simmias of Seleuceia-on-Tigris, stadion race.

171st [96 B.C.] - Parmeniscus of Corcyra, stadion race. 172nd [92 B.C.] - Eudamus of Cos, stadion race. Protophanes of Magnesia-on-Maeander was the fourth after Heracles to win both the wrestling and the pancratium competitions. 173rd [88 B.C.] - Parmeniscus of Corcyra again, stadion race. 174th [84 B.C.] - Demostratus of Larissa, stadion race. 175th [80 B.C.] - Epaenetus of Argos, boys' stadion race. There was no stadion race for men this year, because Sulla had summoned all the athletes to Rome. 176th [76 B.C.] - Dion of Cyparissus, stadion race. 177th [72 B.C.] - Hecatomnos of Elis, stadion race [g303]. 178th [68 B.C.] - Diocles [? son of] Hypopenus, stadion race. Stratonicus of Alexandria, son of Corragus, was the fifth after Heracles to win both the wrestling and the pancratium competitions. At the Nemean games, he won four crowns on the same day in the boys' and youths' competitions, competing naked. He attended without a horse. He won through the favour of his friends or the kings, and therefore he was considered disqualified.

[79] 179th [64 B.C.] - Andreas of Lacedaemon, stadion race. 180th [60 B.C.] - Andromachus of Ambracia, stadion race. 181st [56 B.C.] - Lamachus of Tauromenium, stadion race. 182nd [52 B.C.] - Anthestion of Argos, stadion race. [g304] Marion of Alexandria, son of Marion, was the sixth after Heracles to win both the wrestling and the pancratium competitions. 183rd [48 B.C.] - Theodorus of Messene, stadion race. [During this Olympiad] Julius Caesar was emperor of the Romans. 184th [44 B.C.] - Theodorus for a second time. [During this Olympiad] Augustus became emperor of the Romans. 185th [40 B.C.] - Ariston of Thurii, stadion race. 186th [36 B.C.] - Scamander of Alexandria Troas, stadion race. 187th [32 B.C.] - Ariston of Thurii again, stadion race. 188th [28 B.C.] - Sopater of Argos, stadion race. 189th [24 B.C.] - Asclepiades of Sidon, stadion race. 190th [20 B.C.] - Auphidius of Patrae, stadion race [g305].

191st [16 B.C.] - Diodotus of Tyana, stadion race. 192nd [12 B.C.] - Diophanes of Aeolis, stadion race. 193rd [8 B.C.] - Artemidorus of Thyateira, stadion race. 194th [4 B.C.] - Demaratus of Ephesus, stadion race. 195th [1 A.D.] - Demaratus for a second time. 196th [5 A.D.] - Pammenes of Magnesia-on-Maeander, stadion race. 197th [9 A.D.] - Asiaticus of Halicarnassus, stadion race. 198th [13 A.D.] - Diophanes of Prusa [near] Mt. Olympus, stadion race. Aristeas of Stratoniceia or Maeander was the seventh after Heracles to win both the wrestling and the pancratium competitions. [During this Olympiad] Tiberius became emperor of the Romans. [80] 199th [17 A.D.] - Aeschines Glaucias of Miletus, stadion race.

The four-horse race was reinstated, and the winner was Tiberius Caesar. 200th [21 A.D.] - Polemon of Petra, stadion race. 201st [25 A.D.] - Damasias of Cydonia, stadion race [g306]. 202nd [29 A.D.] - Hermogenes of Pergamum, stadion race. 203rd [33 A.D.] - Apollonius of Epidaurus, stadion race.

204th [37 A.D.] - Sarapion of Alexandria, stadion race. Neicostratus of Aegae was the eighth and last after Heracles to win both the wrestling and the pancratium competitions. Only eight men between Heracles and our times have achieved this, because after these games the inhabitants of Elis would not award the crown even to those who were capable of it. [During this Olympiad] Gaius became emperor of the Romans. 205th [41 A.D.] - Eubulidas of Laodiceia, stadion race. [During this Olympiad] Claudius became emperor of the Romans. 206th [45 A.D.] - Valerius of Mytilene, stadion race [g307]. 207th [49 A.D.] - Athenodorus of Aegium, stadion race. 208th [53 A.D.] - Athenodorus for a second time. [During this Olympiad] Nero became emperor of the Romans. 209th [57 A.D.] - Callicles of Sidon, stadion race. 210th [61 A.D.] - Athenodorus of Aegium, stadion race. 211th [65 A.D.] - These games were not held [at the usual time] because Nero postponed them until his visit to Greece. They were held two years later, and Tryphon of Philadelphia won the stadion race. Nero was awarded the crown in the contests for heralds, performers of tragedy and citharodes; and also in the races for chariots drawn by colts, mature horses and ten colts.

212th [69 A.D.] - Polites of Ceramus, stadion race [g308]. [During this Olympiad] Vespasianus became emperor of the Romans. 213th [73 A.D.] - Rhodon of Cyme, or Theodotus, stadion race. 214th [77 A.D.] - Straton of Alexandria, stadion race. [During this Olympiad] Titus became emperor of the Romans. [81] 215th [81 A.D.] - Hermogenes of Xanthus, stadion race. [During this Olympiad] Domitian became emperor of the Romans. 216th [85 A.D.] - Apollophanes Papis of Tarsus, stadion race. 217th [89 A.D.] - Hermogenes of Xanthus for a second time, stadion race. 218th [93 A.D.] - Apollonius of Alexandria, or Heliodorus, stadion race. 219th [97 A.D.] - Stephanus of Cappadocia, stadion race. [During this Olympiad] Nerva became emperor of the Romans, followed by Trajan [g309]. 220th [101 A.D.] - Achilleus of Alexandria, stadion race. 221st [105 A.D.] - Theonas Smaragdus of Alexandria, stadion race. 222nd [109 A.D.] - Callistus of Side, stadion race. Horse races were reintroduced.

223rd [113 A.D.] - Eustolus of Side, stadion race. 224th [117 A.D.] - Isarion of Alexandria, stadion race. [During this Olympiad] Hadrian became emperor of the Romans. 225th [121 A.D.] - Aristeas of Miletus, stadion race. 226th [125 A.D.] - Dionysius Sameumys of Alexandria, stadion race. 227th [129 A.D.] - Dionysius for a second time 228th [133 A.D.] - Lucas of Alexandria, stadion race. 229th [137 A.D.] - Epidaurus Ammonius of Alexandria, stadion race. [During this Olympiad] Antoninus Pius became emperor of the Romans. 230th [141 A.D.] - Didymus Clydeus of Alexandria, stadion race [g310]. 231st [145 A.D.] - Cranaus of Sicyon, stadion race. 232nd [149 A.D.] - Atticus of Sardis, stadion race. [Socrates] entered both the wrestling and the citharode competitions, but was rejected by the inhabitants of

Elis, in favour of Dionysius of Seleuceia. 233rd [153 A.D.] - Demetrius of Chios, stadion race. 234th [157 A.D.] - Eras of Chios, stadion race.

[82] 235th [161 A.D.] - Mnasibulus of Elateia, stadion race. [During this Olympiad Marcus] Antoninus [Pius] and [Lucius] Verus became emperors of the Romans. 236th [165 A.D.] - Aeithales of Alexandria, stadion race. 237th [169 A.D.] - Eudaemon of Alexandria, stadion race. 238th [173 A.D.] - Agathopus of Aegina, stadion race. 239th [177 A.D.] - Agathopus for a second time [g311]. [During this Olympiad] Commodus became emperor of the Romans. 240th [181 A.D.] - Anubion Pheidus of Alexandria, stadion race. 241st [185 A.D.] - Heron of Alexandria, stadion race. 242nd [189 A.D.] - Magnus [Libycus] of Cyrene, stadion race. 243rd [193 A.D.] - Isidorus [Artemidorus] of Alexandria, stadion race. [During this Olympiad] Pertinax, and then Severus, became emperors of the Romans. 244th [197 A.D.] - Isidorus for a second time 245th [201 A.D.] - Alexander of Alexandria, stadion race. 246th [205 A.D.] - Epinicus, called Cynas, of Cyzicus, stadion race.

247th [209 A.D.] - Satornilus of Gortyn in Crete, stadion race. [During this Olympiad] Antoninus, called Caracalla, became emperor of the Romans [g312]. 248th [213 A.D.] - Heliodorus Trosidamas of Alexandria, stadion race. 249th [217 A.D.] - Heliodorus for a second time The record the Olympiads which we have found goes [only] this far. Now it will be appropriate to add lists of the kings of the Corinthians, kings of the Spartans [g313], rulers of the sea and the early kings of the Macedonians. I will list their names and dates, taking them from the Historical Library of Diodorus, who gives the most accurate account of them.

[83] The Kings of the Corinthians from the Books of Diodorus.
After this investigaton, it remains to tell how Corinth and Sicyon were settled by the Dorians. Almost all the peoples of the Peloponnese, except the Arcadians, were devastated by the invasion of the Heracleidae. The Heracleidae [g314], when dividing up the land, selected Corinth and the surrounding area as the best and most choice. They sent for Aletes, and gave the territory to him to rule over. Aletes was a venerable man who and increased the power of Corinth. He reigned as king for 38 years. Following his death, the firstborn son reigned as king [successively] until the [time of the] tyrant Cypselus, some 447 after the invasion of the Heracleidae. The first to reign [after Aletes] was Ixion, 38 years. Then Agelas, 37 years. Then Prymnis, 35 years. Then Bacchis, also 35 years. Bacchis was more distinguished than the kings preceding him. Consequently, the kings after him called themselves Bacchidae instead of Heracleidae.

Then Agelas, [g315] 30 years. Eudemus, 25 years. Aristomedes, 35 years. When Aristomedes died, his son Telestes was still a child; and so his uncle and guardian Agemon [ruled] for 16 years. Then Alexander was king, 25 years. Telestes, who had been deprived of power, killed Alexander, and ruled 12 years. Automenes ruled for one year, after Telestes was killed by his relatives. The Bacchidae, descendants of Heracles who were more than 200 in number, seized power and jointly governed the city; each year they chose one of their

number to be leader, in place of the king. They governed the city for 90 years, until the the tyranny of Cypselus, after which they died out [g316].

List of the Kings of the Corinthians.
1. Aletes, 35 years. 2. Ixion, 37 years. 3. Agelas, 37 years. 4. Prymnis, 35 years. 5. Bacchis, 35 years. 6. Agelas, 30 years. 7. Eudemus, 25 years. 8. Aristomedes, 35 years [g317]. 9. Agemon, 16 years. 10. Alexander, 25 years. 11. Teletes, 12 years. 12. Automenes, one year. After this there were annual leaders.

[84] The Kings of the Spartans from the Books of Diodorus.
It is difficult to establish the dates between the Trojan war and the first Olympiad, because there were no [lists of] annual rulers at that time either in Athens or in any other city. We will take the kings of the Spartans as an example. According to Apollodorus of Athens, 308 years elapsed from the destruction of Troy [1183 B.C.] to the first [g318] Olympiad [776 B.C.]. Eighty of those years passed before the invasion of the Heracleidae [1103 B.C.]; the rest are covered by the reigns of the kings of the Spartans - Procles, Eurysthenes and their descendants. We will now set down the order of each of the monarchs to the first Olympiad. Eurysthenes began his reign in the 80th year after the Trojan war, and he was king for 42 years. After him, Agis reigned for one year. Echestratus, 31 years. After him, Labotas, 37 years. Dorystus, 29 years. They were followed by Agesilaus, 44 years. Archelaus, 60 years. Teleclus, 40 years.

Alcamenes, 38 years. In the tenth year of his reign, the first Olympiad was established, in which Coroebus of Elis won the stadion race. Procles was the first king of the other house, 49 years. After him, Prytanis, 49 years. Eunomius, 45 years. And then Chariclus, 60 years. Nicander, 38 years. Theopompus, 47 years. The first Olympiad occurred in the tenth year of this reign. In summary, there were 80 years from the capture of Troy until the invasion of the Heracleidae [g319].

[85] Next [we list] the Kings of the Spartans.
1. Eurysthenes, 42 years 2. Agis, one year 3. Echestrates, 37 years 4. Labotas, 37 years 5. Dorystus, 29 years 6. Agesilaus, 44 years. 7. Archelaus, 60 years 8. Teleclus, 40 years 9. Alcamenes, 37 years. In his tenth year, the first Olympiad was established. In total, 325 years [g320]. The kings from the other house were: 1. Procles, 51 years 2. Prytanis, 49 years 3. Eunomius, 45 years 4. Charicles, 60 years 5. Nicander, 38 years 6. Theopompus, 47 years. In his tenth year, the first Olympiad was established. In total, 290 years.

A Summary from the Writings of Diodorus Regarding the Sea Powers, the Thalassocracies, Who Ruled the Seas after the Trojan War.
1. The Lydians and Maeones, 92 years 2. The Pelasgians, 85 years 3. The Thracians, 79 years 4. The Rhodians, 23 years 5. The Phrygians, 25 years 6. The Cypriots, 33 years 7. The Phoenicians, 45 years 8. The Egyptians, [..] years 9. The Milesians, [..] years 10. [The Carians, .. years] 11. The Lesbians, [..] years 12. The Phocaeans, 44 years 13. The Samians for [..] years 14. The Spartans, 2 years 15. The Naxians, 10 years 16. The Eretrians, 15

years 17. The Aeginetans, 10 years [The above ruled] until Alexander crossed over the sea. It is appropriate following this to turn to the kingdom of the Macedonians [g321].

[86] The Kings of the Macedonians.
Tthe Macedonian period followed the end of the Assyrian empire. This came after the death of Sardanapallus the last king of the Assyrians. Before the first Olympiad, Caranus assembled troops from the Argives and the rest of the Peloponnese, and lead this army into the territory of the Macedonians. At that time the king of the Orestae was warring with his neighbours, the Eordaei, and he called on Caranus to help him, promising half of his territory in return, if the Orestae were successful. The king kept his promise, and Caranus took possession of the territory. He reigned there for 30 years, until he died in old age [g322]. He was succeeded by his son Coenus, who was king for 28 years. After him, Tyrimias reigned for 43 years. Then Perdiccas for 42 years. He wanted to expand his kingdom; so he sent [a mission] to Delphi. A little further on, [Diodorus] says:

Perdiccas reigned for 48 years, and left his kingdom to Argaeus, who reigned for 31 years. The next king was Philippus, who reigned for 33 years. Aeropus, 20 years. Alcetas, 18 years. Amyntas, 49 years. He was followed by Alexander, who reigned 44 years. Then Perdiccas was king, 22 years. Archelaus, 17 years. Aeropus, 6 years. Then Pausanias was king, one year. Ptolemy, 3 years. Perdiccas, 5 years. Philippus, 24 years. Alexander, [who] fought against the Persians, for more than 12 years. Thus the most reliable historians derive the Macedonian kings from [g323] Heracles. From Caranus, who was the first to rule all the Macedonians, until Alexander, who conquered Asia, 24 kings reigned for a total of 453 years.

[87] [Here is a List] of Each of these Kings.
1. Caranus reigned 30 years. 2. Coenus, 28 years. 3. Tyrimias, 43 years. 4. Perdiccas, 48 years. 5. Argaeus, 38 years. 6. Philippus, 33 years. 7. Aeropus, 20 years. 8. Alcetas, 18 years. In his time, Cyrus was king of the Persians. 9. Amyntas, 42 years. 10. Alexander, 44 years. 11. Perdiccas, 23 years. 12. Archelaus, 24 years. 13. Orestes, 3 years. 14. Archelaus, 4 years. 15. Amyntas, one year. 16. Pausanias, one year. 17. Amyntas, 6 years [g324]. 18. Argaeus, 2 years. 19. Amyntas, 18 years. 20. Alexander, one year. 21. Ptolemy of Alorus, 3 years. 22. Perdiccas, 6 years. 23. Philippus, 27 years. 24. Alexander the son of Philippus, 12 years .

[88] From [the Writings of] Porphyry the Philosopher, Our Adversary.
After Alexander the son of Philippus, the following kings [g325] ruled Macedonia and Greece until the Macedonian kingdom was taken over by the Romans. After Alexander the Macedonians made Aridaeus king. He was the son of Philippus and Philinna of Thessaly, king [and was appointed] because they liked Philippus' family, despite the fact that Aridaeus was the son a courtesan and he was weak-minded. He began to reign, as we said, in the second year of the 114th Olympiad [323 B.C.]. He is considered to have reigned for 7 years, because he lived until the fourth year of the 115th Olympiad [317 B.C.]. Now Alexander [the Great] left two sons, Heracles the son of Barsine the daughter of Pharnabazus, and Alexander the son of Roxane the daughter of Oxyartes the Bactrian; this Alexander was

born about the time of his father's death [g326], at the start of Philippus' reign. Olympias, Alexander's mother, killed Aridaeus, but then Cassander the son of Antipater killed her and Alexander's two sons. One he killed by himself and the other he eliminated by ordering Polysperchon to do it. Cassander left Olympias' body where it fell, and forcibly declared himself king of the Macedonians. From that time forth, all the other lords ruled as kings. When the family of Alexander had been eliminated, [Cassander] married Thessalonice the daughter of Philippus. He reigned as king for another 19 years and then died of a wasting disease. His reign, including the year in which Olympias ruled after the death of Aridaeus, lasted from the first year of the 116th Olympiad [316 B.C.] until the third year of the 120th Olympiad [298 B.C.].

[Cassander] was succeeded by his sons, Philippus and Alexander and Antipater, who reigned for 3 years and 6 months [g327] after the death of their father. Philippus, who died at Elateia, ruled first. Then Antipater murdered his mother Thessalonice, who favoured her other son Alexander, and fled to Lysimachus. But Lysimachus put him to death, even though he had married one of Lysimachus' daughters. Alexander married Lysandra, the daughter of Ptolemy. In a war against his younger brother he sought aid from Demetrius the son of Antigonus, who was called Poliorcetes. But Demetrius killed Alexander, and made himself the king of the Macedonians. The sons of Cassander are considered to have reigned from the fourth year of the 120th Olympiad [297 B.C.] until the third year of the 121st Olympiad [294 B.C.] [g328]. Pyrrhus the king of Epirus--the 23rd in line from Achilleus the son of Thetis--deposed [Demetrius] who had reigned for 6 years, from the [fourth year of the] 121st Olympiad [293 B.C.] until the first year of the 123rd Olympiad [288 B.C.]. Pyrrhus claimed the rule devolvded to him after the end of Philippus' family, because Olympias the mother of Alexander, was also a descendant of Pyrrhus the son of Neoptolemus. [Pyrrhus] ruled the Macedonians for seven months in the second year of the 123rd Olympiad [287 B.C.]. In the eighth month, he was replaced by Lysimachus the son of son of Agathocles, a Thessalian from Crannon who had been an attendant of Alexander. However, Lysimachus was king not only of Thrace and the Chersonese, for he now invaded the neighbouring country of Macedonia and took it.

[89] Urged on by his wife Arsinoe, Lysimachus killed his own son. He ruled Macedonia for 5 years and 6 months, from the second year of the 123rd [g329] Olympiad [287 B.C.] until the third year of the 124th Olympiad [282 B.C.]. He was defeated by Seleucus Nicator, the king of Asia, at the battle of Corupedium, and lost his life in the battle. However immediately after this victory, Seleucus was murdered by Ptolemy Ceraunus, the son of Lagus and Eurydice the daughter of Antipater,despite the fact that Seleucus was his benefactor and had received him [earlier]when he was in flight. Now [Ptolemy] ruled over the Macedonians, until he was killed in battle against the Galatians. He reigned for one year and five months, which lasted from the fourth year of the 124th Olympiad [281 B.C.] until the fifth month of the first year of the 125th Olympiad [280 B.C.].

Ptolemy was succeeded by his brother Meleager. The Macedonians quickly deposed Meleager after only two months [g330] however, considering him unworthy. Because no one could be found from the royal line, they appointed as king Antipater, who was the nephew of Cassander and the son of Philippus. After ruling for 45 days he was put to flight by a certain Sosthenes, who did not consider him to be enough of a general to face the invasion that Brennus the Galatian threatened. The Macedonians gave Antipater the name Etesias, because the Etesian winds blow for about as long a time as he was king. Sosthenes also drove off Brennus, and died after ruling for two complete years. After Sosthenes, Macedonia was without a ruler, because the followers of Antipater and Ptolemy and Aridaeus were competing for control of the state, and no one was completely in charge. From the time [g331] of Ptolemy to the end of the anarchy, that is from the fourth year of the 124th Olympiad [281 B.C.] until the [first year of the] 126th Olympiad [276 B.C.], Ptolemy Ceraunus reigned for one year and five months, Meleager for two months, Antipater for 45 days, and Sosthenes for two years. The remainder is considered a period without rulers.

While Antipater was plotting, Antigonus took power. He was the son of Demetrius Poliorcetes and Phila the daughter of Antipater, and was called Gonatas because he had been born and brought up at Gonni in Thessaly. Antigonus reigned in total for 44 years. Prior to taking control of Macedonia, he had been king for a total of 10 years. He was declared king in the second year [g332] of the 123rd Olympiad [287 B.C.], and became king of the Macedonians in the first year of the 126th Olympiad [276 B.C.]. [Antigonus] conquered the Greek world with extreme force; he lived for 83 years in all, and died in the first year of the 135th Olympiad [240 B.C.]. [Antigonus] was succeeded by his son Demetrius, who conquered all of Libya and Cyrene. He ruled over all of his father's holdings as sole ruler for 10 years. He took to wife a captive whom he called Aureola/Chryseis, and by her he had a son Philippus, who was the first of the kings to fight against the Romans, causing the Macedonians much woe. After [Demetrius], Philippus succeeded under the superintendecy of a member of the royal line [g333], named Phuscus. [The Macedonians] subsequently made this Phuscus king when they saw that he honorably served as guardian. And they gave him Chryseis as a wife. The sons she bore him he did not raise [to the throne] because he was holding the kingdom in trust for Philippus. And indeed he was succeeded by Philippus, when he died.

[90] Demetrius, called the Handsome, died in the second year of the 130th Olympiad. Philippus then became king, with the aforementioned Antigonus as his guardian. [Antigonus] died in the fourth year of the 139th Olympiad [221 B.C.]; he had been guardian for 12 years, and lived for 42 years in all. Philippus began to rule without a guardian in the 140th Olympiad [220 B.C.][g334].He reigned for 42 complete years, and died in the second year of the 150th Olympiad [179 B.C.], aged 58 years. Perseus the son of Philippus killed his brother Demetrius and ruled for 10 years and 8 months, until the fourth years of the 152nd Olympiad [169 B.C.]. Then Lucius Aemilius conquered the Macedonians at Pydna. Perseus fled to Samothrace, but then voluntarily surrendered to the combattants. They transferred

him to Alba, where he was kept in custody. He died five years later, and with his death the Macedonians' [independent] rule ended.

At that time the Romans allowed the Macedonians to keep their autonomy, [g335] out of respect for their glorious reputation and their former greatness. But 19 years later, in the third year of the 157th Olympiad [150 B.C.], a certain Andriscus falsely claimed to be the son of Perseus, and styled himself Philippus. Thus he was known as the false Philippus. With the help of the Thracians he conquered Macedonia. After ruling for a year he was defeated and fled to the Thracians, who surrendered him, and sent him bound to Rome. Because the Macedonians had been ungrateful, and had aided the false Philippus, the Romans made them tributary in the fourth year of the 157th Olympiad [149 B.C.]. Thus from [the time of] Alexander until [g336] the end, when they became tributary to the Romans, that is from the second year of 114th Olympiad [323 B.C.] until the fourth year of the 157th Olympiad [149 B.C.], the kingdom of the Macedonians endured 43 Olympiads plus two years, for a total of 174 years.

[91] Listing of the Macedonian Kings Following Alexander, Son of Philippus.
1. Aridaeus, also called Philippus, 7 years. 2. Cassander, 19 years. 3. The sons of Cassander, 3 years and 6 months. 4. Demetrius Poliorcetes, 6 years. 5. Pyrrhus, 7 months. 6. Lysimachus, 5 years and 5 months [g337]. 7. Ptolemy Ceraunus, 1 year and 5 months. 8. Meleager, 2 months. 9. Antipater son of Lysimachus, 45 days. 10. Sosthenes, 2 years. 11. No Ruler/Anarchy, 2 years. 12. Antigonus Gonatas, 34 years. 13. Demetrius the Fair, 10 years. 14. Antigonus Phuscus, 12 years. 15. Philippus, 42 years. 16. Perseus, 10 years and 8 months. 17. Self Rule/Autonomy, 19 years. 18. The false Philippus, 1 year. After this the Romans ruled them [g338].

The Kings of the Thessalians.
The Thessalians and Epirus had the same rulers as the Macedonians for a long period. The Romans made them autonomous after the Roman general Titus defeated Phillipus in Thessaly. But they too became tributary to the Romans, and for the same reasons. They too were ruled by Aridaeus, also called Philippus, for seven years after the death of Alexander. Then his successor Cassander ruled over Epirus and the Thessalians for 19 years. After him, his son Philippus for 4 months. Then his brothers Antipater and Alexander, for 2 years and 6 months. And then Demetrius the son of [Antigonus] for 6 years and 6 months. After him, Pyrrhus for 4 years and 4 months. Then Lysimachus the son of Agathocles for 6 years. And Ptolemaeus, who was called Ceraunus, for one year and 5 months. Then Meleager for 2 months. After him, Antipater the son of Lysimachus for 45 days. After him, Sosthenes for one year. Then there was anarchy for 2 years and 2 months, after which Antigonus the son of Demetrius [ruled] for 34 years and 2 months.

[92] During these years, Pyrrhus took over Antigonus' army and ruled a few regions, but he lost control of them when he was defeated [g339] by Demetrius the son of Antigonus in a battle at Derdia. Soon after this Antigonus died, and his son Demetrius reigned for 10 years. After him, Antigonus, the son of Demetrius who went off to Cyrene and of Olympias

the daughter of Pauliclitus of Larisa, [ruled] for 9 years. Antigonus came to the aid of the Achaeans, defeated Cleomenes the king of the Spartans in battle, and liberated Sparta. Therefore the Achaean people honoured him like a god. After him, Philippus the son of Demetrius reigned for 23 years and 9 months, until he was defeated in a battle in Thessaly by Titus the Roman general. Then the Romans allowed the Thessalians to be autonomous, along with the rest of the Greeks who had been subject to Philippus. For the first year there was anarchy in Thessaly, but then they started to elect annual generals, chosen from the masses.

The first to be elected was Pausanias the son of Echecrates, from Pherae. Then Amyntas the son of Crates, from Pieria; in his year, Titus returned to Rome. Then Aeacides the son of Callas, from Metropolis. Then Epidromas the son of Andromachus, from Larisa, for 8 months only; for the remaining 4 months of the year, the leader was Eunomus the son of Polyclitus, from Larisa. Eunomus was leader again for one year [g340]. Then Aeacides the son of Callas, from Metropolis, for a second time. Then Pravilus the son of Phaxas, from Scotussa. Then Eunomus the son of Polyclitus, from Larisa, for a second time. Then Androsthenes the son of Italas, from Gortona. Then Thrasymachus the son of Alexander, from Atrax. Then Laontomenes the son of Damothon, from Pherae. Then Pausanias the son of Damothon. Then Theodorus the son of Alexander, from Argos. Then Nicocrates the son of Paxinas, from Scotussa. Then Hippolochus the son of Alexippus, from Larisa. Then Cleomachides the son of Aeneus, from Larisa. Then Phyrinus the son of Aristomenes, from Gomphi. In his year, Philippus the king of Macedonia died, and was succeeded by his son Perseus. As we said, Philippus reigned over the Thessalians for 3 years and 9 months, but in all he reigned over the Macedonians for 42 years and 9 months. From the start of the reign of Philippus [Aridaeus] until the death of Philippus the son of Demetrius, that is from the second year of the 114th Olympiad [323 B.C.] until the fifth month of the second year of the 150th Olympiad [179 B.C.], is a total of 144 years and five months.

[93] All the Thessalian Kings.

1. Aridaeus, also called Philippus, 7 years. 2. Cassander, 19 years [g341]. 3. Philippus, 4 months. 4. Antigonus and Alexander, 2 years and 6 months. 5. Demetrius, 6 years and 6 months. 6. Pyrrhus, 3 years and 6 months. 7. Lysimachus, 6 years. 8. Ptolemaeus, also called Ceraunus, 1 year and 5 months. 9. Meleager, 2 months. 10. Antipater, 45 days. 11. Sosthenes, 1 year. 12. (Anarchy), 2 years and 2 months. 13. Antigonus, 33 years and 2 months. 14. Demetrius, 10 years. 15. Antigonus, 9 years. 16. Philippus, 23 years and 9 months. And then the following generals: Pausanias, Amyntas, Aeacides, Epidromus, Eunomus, Aeacides again, Praviles, Eunomus again, Androsthenes, Thrasymachus, Laontomenes, Pausanias, Theodorus, Nicocrates, Hippolochus, Cleomachides, Phyrinus, and Philippus [g342].

[94][The Kings of Asia Minor after Alexander the Great's Death.]

In the 6th year of Philippus [son of] Aridaeus, which was the third year of the 115th Olympiad [318 B.C.], Antigonus became the first king of Asia [Minor]. He reigned for 18

years, and lived in all for 86 years. He was the most formidable of the kings of that period, and died in Phrygia. All the other rulers had attacked him out of fear of him, in the fourth year of the 119th Olympiad [301 B.C.]. His son Demetrius saved himself by escaping to Ephesus. However he lost control of all of Asia. [Demetrius] was considered the most violent of kings.He was particularly [skilled] in siege warfare, and so was nicknamed "the besieger" [Poliorcetes]. Demetrius reigned for 17 years, and lived a total of [g343] 54 years. Starting from the first year of the 120th Olympiad [300 B.C.], he ruled jointly with his father for 2 years, which were included in the 17 years of his reign. In the fourth year of the [123rd] Olympiad [285 B.C.] he was captured by Seleucus and sent to Cilicia, and was kept in custody by Seleucus in a manner appropriate to a king. He died in the fourth year of the 124th Olympiad [281 B.C.]. Such were the reigns of Antigonus and Demetrius.

At this time Lysimachus was ruling in Lydia opposite Thrace, and Seleucus was ruling in the upper (eastern) regions and Syria. Both of them started to reign in the first year of the 114th Olympiad [324 B.C.]. We shall not describe Lysimachus' reign, but we shall describe what took place during Seleucus' reign. Now Ptolemy, the first [post-Alexandrian] king of the Egyptians, went to Old Gaza and defeated Demetrius the son of Antigonus in battle. After this he appointed Seleucus as king of Syria and the eastern regions. Seleucus went to Babylonia and defeated the barbarians there; so he was given the name Nicanor, which means "victor". He reigned for 32 years, from the first year of the 117th Olympiad [312 B.C.] until the fourth year of the 124th Olympiad [281 B.C.], and lived for a total of [g344] 75 years. Eventually, he was deceived and killed by his friend Ptolemy, called Ceraunus.

[Seleucus] was succeeded by his son Antiochus, from Apame the Persian. Antiochus was called Soter which means "Savior", and died in the [third] year of the 129th Olympiad [262 B.C.] after he had lived for a total of 54 years and had reigned for 19 years, from the first year of the 125th Olympiad [280 B.C.] until the third year of the 129th Olympiad [262 B.C.]. [95]Antiochus Soter's children by Stratonice the daughter of Demetrius were a son Antiochus, and two daughters Stratonice and Apame. Apame became the wife of [?] while Stratonice was married to Demetrius the king of the Macedonians. When he died, he was succeeded by Antiochus called Theos, in the fourth year of the 129th Olympiad [261 B.C.]. After 19 years, Antiochus Theos fell ill, and died at Ephesus in the third year of the [133rd] Olympiad [246 B.C.], after living for a total of 40 years. He had two sons, Seleucus called Callinicus and Antigonus, and two daughters by Laodice the daughter of Achaeus, of whom one was married to Mithridates and the other to Ariathes. The elder son [g345] Seleucus, who as we said was called Callinicus, succeeded Antiochus and reigned for 21 years, from the third year of the 133rd Olympiad [246 B.C.] until the second year of the 138th Olympiad [227 B.C.].

Later on when he died, Seleucus was succeeded by his son, Seleucus called Ceraunus. However during his lifetime it happened that his younger brother Antigonus refused to accept the state of affairs and tried to take power. Antigonus had help and assistance from [Alexander], the brother of his mother Laodice, who controlled the city of Sardis. He also was allied

to the Galatians in two battles. Seleucus won a battle in Lydia, but he was unable to capture Sardis or Ephesus, which was held by Ptolemey. Then Seleucus fought a second battle against Mithridates in Cappadocia, where 20,000 of his men were killed by the barbarians, and he himself lost his life. Meanwhile Ptolemey called Tryphon seized part of Syria, but his siege of Damascus and Orthosia was stopped in the third year of the 134th Olympiad [242 B.C.], [g346] when Seleucus advanced to that region. Antigonus the brother of Callinicus circulated around in greater Phrygia and placed the inhabitants under taxation. Then he dispatched his generals with an army against Seleucus. But he was betrayed by his own volunteers to the barbarians. But he escaped with a few men and went to Magnesia. The next day he fought again and won, with auxilliary military assistance from Ptolemy. He then married the daughter of Zielas. However, in the fourth year of the 137th Olympiad [229 B.C.] he fought twice in the country of Lydia and was defeated, and he warred with Attalus in the region of Lake Coloe. In the first year of the 138th Olympiad [228 B.C.], after a battle in Caria he was forced by Attalus to flee to Thrace, where he died.

Now it happened that Seleucus Callinicus, the brother of Antigonus, died the next year. He was succeeded by his son Alexander, who adopted the name Seleucus, and was called Ceraunus by his troops. Seleucus had a brother called Antiochus. After reigning for three years, Seleucus was treacherously attacked and killed in Phrygia by a Galatian called Nicanor, in about the first year of the 139th Olympiad [224 B.C.]. He was succeeded by his brother Antiochus, whom the army recalled from Babylon. Antiochus was called [the Great] and reigned for 36 years, from the second year of the 139th Olympiad [223 B.C.] until the second year of the 148th Olympiad [187 B.C.] when he [g347] made an expedition to Susa and the eastern provinces, but was killed with all of his nobles in battle with the Elymaeans. He was survived by two sons, Seleucus and Antiochus.

[96]Seleucus succeeded his father in the third year of the 148th Olympiad [186 B.C.], and reigned for 12 years, until the first year of the 151st Olympiad [176 B.C.]. He lived for a total of 60 years. When Seleucus died, he was succeeded by his brother Antiochus called Epiphanes, who reigned for 11 years, from the third year of the 151st Olympiad [174 B.C.] until the first year of the 154th Olympiad [164 B.C.]. While Antiochus Epiphanes was still alive, his son Antiochus called Eupator was made king, when he was only twelve years old, after which his father lived for an additional one year and six months. Then Demetrius, who had been given to the Romans by his father Seleucus as a hostage, escaped from Rome to Phoenicia, and came to the city of Tripolis. Demetrius killed the young Antiochus along with his guardian Lysias, and made himself king in the fourth year of the 154th Olympiad [161 B.C.]; he was called Soter, and reigned for 12 years, until the fourth year of the 157th Olympiad [149 B.C.] when he was slain. He was forced to fight for his kingdom against Alexander, who brought in mercenaries from Ptolemy and other troops from Attalus. But he was killed in battle.

Alexander gained control of Syria [g348] in the third year of the 157th Olympiad [150 B.C.], and ruled for 5 years. He died in the fourth year of the 158th Olympiad [145 B.C.], in a

battle near the city of Antioch against Ptolemy, who had come to the aid of Demetrius the son of Demetrius. Ptolemy also was wounded and died in the same battle. The war was continued by the aforementioned Demetrius, the son of Demetrius. Arriving from Seleuceia, he defeated Antiochus the son of Alexander, who was based in Syria and the city of Antioch, and started to reign in the first year of the 160th Olympiad [140 B.C.]. The next year, he gathered troops and set off for Babylon and the eastern regions, to fight against Arsaces. But the next year, which was the third year of the 160th Olympiad [138 B.C.], he was captured by Arsaces, who sent him to be held prisoner in Parthia; so he was called Nicanor, "victor", because he had defeated Antiochus the son of Alexander. He was also called Seripides because he was kept in prison in chains. When the younger brother of Demetrius--who was called Antiochus Sidetes since he was brought up in the city of Side--heard that Demetrius had been defeated and made a prisoner, he left Side and in the fourth year [g349] of the 160th Olympiad [137 B.C.] gained control of Syria, which he ruled for nine years. In the third year of the 162nd Olympiad [130 B.C.] he conquered the Jews, after a siege [of Jerusalem] and put their most select leaders to death.

Arsaces came with 120,000 troops the fourth year of the 162nd Olympiad [129 B.C.],and attacked. Moreover, he tried to make mischief by sending [Antiochus'] brother Demetrius, who had been kept as a prisoner, back to Syria. Now winter was coming on and Antiochus attacked the barbarians in a narrow place. But as the battle grew fiercer he was injured and killed at 35 years of age. [Antiochus'] son Seleucus, who was a lad, had accompanied him. He was captured and taken off by king Arsaces though kept in royal style. [97]Antiochus the fifth had three sons and two daughters; the first two, the daughters, were both called Laodice. The third, called Antiochus, fell ill and died, like his sisters. The fourth was Seleucus, who was captured by Arsaces. The fifth was another Antiochus, who was raised by Craterus the [g350] eunuch at Cyzicus, where he had fled with Craterus and the rest of Antiochus' servants, through fear of Demetrius. One [of the brothers] had already died, along with his sister, so only Antiochus was left, the youngest of the brothers. He was called Cyzicenus because he lived in Cyzicus. In the second year of the 163rd Olympiad [127 B.C.], Demetrius returned [to Syria]. Thus began his second reign after having been held captive for 10 years. As soon as he returned from captivity, he turned his attention to Egypt. He marched as far as Pelusium, but when Ptolemy Physcon opposed him Demetrius had to retreat, because his soldiers challenged his command and loathed him.

Ptolemy was enraged by this [development] and set up Alexander, the so-called son of Alexander, to be king of Asia. The Syrians called Alexander "Zabinas" [g351] because they thought that he had been bought by Ptolemy to collaborate. Demetrius was defeated in a battle at Damascus, and fled to Tyre, but was refused entry into the city. While trying to escape by boat, he was seized and killed, in the first year of the 164th Olympiad [124 B.C.]. Prior to his captivity he had reigned for 3 years, and after his release he reigned an additional 4 years. Demetrius was succeeded by his son Seleucus, who died immediately afterwards as a result of his mother's slander. His younger brother Antiochus took charge in the second year of the 164th Olympiad [123 B.C.], and in the third year he defeated Zabi-

nas, who committed suicide with poison because he could not endure the defeat. Antiochus reigned for 11 years, until the fourth year of the 166th Olympiad [113 B.C.]; the one year of his brother Seleucus' reign is also included in this total [g352]. He was called Grypus, which means "hook-nosed", and Philometor. However, he ceded power to the aforementioned Antiochus Cyzicenus--who was his half-brother by the same mother as well as his nephew on his father's side--who attacked him. Thus Grypus gave up his kingdom and took refuge in Aspendus. Thus he was called Aspendius, as well as Grypus and Philometor.

Antiochus Cyzicenus began to rule in the first year of the 167th Olympiad [112 B.C.], after Antiochus [Grypus] fled to Aspendus. But in the second year of the same Olympiad [111 B.C.], Antiochus returned from Aspendus, and seized Syria, while Cyzicenus ruled in another part [Coele Syria]. After the kingdom had been split between them in this way, Grypus remained as king until the fourth year of the 170th Olympiad [97 B.C.] [g353]. He lived for an additional 15 years after his return, so that his reign lasted for a total of 26 years: 11 years on his own, and 15 years after the kingdom had been divided Cyzicenus ruled from the first year of the 167th Olympiad [112 B.C.], and died in the first year of the 171st Olympiad [96 B.C.], after reigning for 18 years and living for a total of 50 years. Here is how he died. After Antiochus Grypus died at the time which was stated above, his son Seleucus circulated around with an army and seized many cities. Antiochus Cyzicenus brought an army from Antioch, but was defeated in battle. Now his horse carried him into the midst of the enemy. When they were about to capture him, he drew his sword and comitted suicide. Thus Seleucus gained control of the entire kingdom, and captured Antioch.

[98]But the surviving son of Cyzicenus began a war [against Seleucus] [g354]. When their armies clashed at the city called Mopsuestia in Cilicia, Antiochus was the victor. Seleucus fled into the city, but when he realized that the inhabitants had recognized him and were planning to burn him alive, he quickly commited suicide. His two brothers Antiochus and Philippus who were called the twins [Didymi], appeared with an army and captured the city by force. They then destroyed the city to avenge their brother's death. But then the son of Cyzicenus came and defeated them in a battle. While fleeing from the battle Antiochus, Seleucus' brother, rode his horse carelessly and fell into the Orontes River, where he was caught by the current and perished. Then two others began dueling for the kingdom: Philippus, the brother of Seleucus and son of Antiochus Grypus, and Antiochus, the son of Antiochus Cyzicenus [g355]. Beginning in the third year of the 171st Olympiad [94 B.C.], they fought against each other for control of Syria with select armies, each controlling part of the country. Antiochus was defeated and fled to the Parthians. Later he surrendered to Pompey, hoping to get Syria back. But Pompey, who had received a gift of money from the inhabitants of Antioch, did nothing for Antiochus and allowed to city to be autonomous.

Then the inhabitants of Alexandria sent Menelaus and Lampon and Callimander to ask Antiochus to come and rule in Egypt together with the daughters of Ptolemy, after Ptolemy Dionysus had been driven out of Alexandria. But Antiochus fell ill, and died. Philippus whom we mentioned before, the son of Grypus and of Tryphaena the daughter of Ptolemy

VIII, was also deposed. He wanted to go to Egypt, because he too had been invited [g356] by the inhabitants of Alexandria to rule there, but Gabinius, an officer of Pompeius who was the Roman governor of Syria, prevented this. Thus the royal dynasty in Syria came to an end with Antiochus and Philippus.

[99]These are the Kings of Asia and Syria.
1. Antigonus was king of Asia, 18 years. 2. Demetrius Poliorcetes, king of Syria and the east, 17 years. 3. Seleucus Nicator [or "Nicanor"], 32 years. 4. Antiochus Soter, 19 years. 5. Antiochus Theos, 15 years. 6. Seleucus Callinicus, 21 years. 7. Seleucus Ceraunus, 3 years. 8. Antiochus the Great, 36 years. 9. Seleucus [Philopator], 12 years [g357]. 10. Antiochus Epiphanes, 11 years. 11. Antiochus [Eupator] his son, 1 year and 6 months. 12. Demetrius Soter, 12 years. 13. Alexander, 15 years. 14. Demetrius the son of Demetrius, 3 years. 15. Antiochus Sidetes, 9 years. 16. Demetrius again, 4 years. 17. Antiochus Grypus, 26 years. 18. Antiochus Cyzicenus, 17 years. 19. Philippus the son of Grypus [2 years] [g358]. And with the latter the rule of the kings of Syria ended. [100] [We shall now present information about] the kings of the Romans, beginning with Romulus [and about the Romans'] consuls and emperors from Julius Caesar to our own time, based on all the historical sources which we have thus far relied upon.

[These sources are:] Alexander Polyhistor, Abydenus, who wrote books about the Assyrians and Medes, the three books of Manetho, about the history of Egypt, Cephalion's nine books of the Muses, the forty books of Diodorus' [Historical] Library, containing a summary of events to [the time of] Gaius Caesar, the eighteen books of Cassius Longinus, containing a summary of 228 Olympiads, the fourteen books of Phlegon, the freedman of [Hadrianus] Caesar, containing a summary of 229 Olympiads, the six books of Castor, containing an account of history from Ninus to the 181st Olympiad, the three books of Thallus, containing an account of events from the capture of Troy until the 167th Olympiad [112 B.C.], [the writings of] Porphyry, the philosopher who is our contemporary [containing events] from the capture of Troy until the reign of Claudius [g359].

[101] The Chronology of the Romans.
Let us now present the chronology of the kings of the Romans. Their rulers first took the title [of king] in the seventh Olympiad [752-749 B.C.], when Romulus founded the city of the Romans, and gave his name to the city, and to all the people who were ruled by its kings. Before this time they had been called sometimes Latins, and sometimes Aborigines, having different names at different times. Aeneas the son of Anchises, and his successors ruled over [these folk] after the fall of Troy and prior to the foundation of the city. The history of these kings has been related by many different writers, not only native Romans but also Greeks. It will be sufficient to quote just two of them, as reliable witnesses to the events which we are considering. First I will quote Dionysius [of Halicarnassus, d. ca. 7 B.C.], who provides a summary of the history of the Romans. In addition to books, he wrote an Ancient History of the Romans. In the first book, he gives an account of Aeneas and the

kings after him following the capture of Troy. I shall now summarize the relevant portions from Book One [DionHal 1.9] [g360] which concern the matter at hand.

The History of the Romans from Book One of Dionysius of Halicarnassus.
From this city, which the Romans now inhabit, the whole earth and sea is ruled. Its earliest inhabitants, it is said, were a native people, the barbarian Sicels. No one knows for sure what the condition of the place was before [the Sicels], whether it was occupied by others or uninhabited . But some time later the Aborigines gained possession of it, after a long war with its inhabitants. These people had previously lived on the mountains in unwalled villages scattered around here and there [g361]. They say that after them, the Pelasgians and some of the Greeks took the country. At first they were called Aborigines; but under Latinus, their king, who reigned at the time of the Trojan war, they began to be called Latins. Sixteen generations later, Romulus founded the city, and expanded it, and brought great prosperity to it. Subsequently returning to the topic, Dionysius [DionHal.1.10] adds:

Some claim that the Aborigines, from whom the Romans are originally descended, were natives of Italy, a people which came into being spontaneously (Italy I designate as the entire peninsula which is bounded by the Ionian Gulf and the Tyrrhenian Sea and by the region where the Latins live). The Aborigines were called ”clan heads” or ”ancestors”. Others claim that they were called [g362] nomads/wanderers, coming together out of many places. Still others relate that they were foreigners who came there from Libya. But some of the Roman historians say that they were Greeks, who once inhabited Achaea, and that some of them migrated there many generations before the Trojan war. [Dionysius] adds: [102] It is doubtful that this is accurate. In my opinion, the Aborigines belong to the same people now called Arcadians. They were the first Greeks to cross the Ionian Sea and to settle in Italy. They were led there by Lycaon’s son Oenotrus [g363], the fifth from Aezeius and Phoroneus, seventeen generations before the Trojan war. Oenotrus settled in the mountains, and called the region Oenotria, and its inhabitants Oenotrians. Later they were called Italians after king Italus, who also gave the name of Italy to the whole country. Italus was succeeded by Morges, from whose name they were called Morgetes. And at the same time as Oenotrus, his brother Peucetius came as a colonist from Arcadia, and settled by the Junian bay, and the people were called Peucetii after him.

All this is [Dionysius’] speculation. Then he writes: The Pelasgians left Greece and came [g364] and settled in the Italian areas among the Aborigines. The Pelasgians were also called Tyrrheni [Etruscans] and the entire land was called Tyrrhenia, after one of their rulers, who was called Tyrrhenus. Later, Euander arrived with a fleet from Greece, from the city of Pallantium in Arcadia, and he settled in the region of Italy where the city of Rome would later be built. [Dionysius] says that they brought the Greek alphabet to Italy, along with the lyre, a musical instrument, and that they introduced [their] laws. Subsequently Heracles arrived with another Greek fleet and settled in the same area. At first, he was called Saturnius, and from his name the whole region was called Saturnia. Heracles had a son named Latinus, and he too ruled over the land of the Aborigines [g365]. [These

people] were called Latins after him. When Latinus died without any sons, Aeneas the son of Anchises succeeded him as king.

Later [Dionysius] summarizes all of this as follows [DionHal 1.60]: The Romans derived from the people who congregated there and mingled with the native population of the land. They were: first, the Aborigines, who expelled the Sicels from the area. [The Aborigines] were Greeks, originally from the Peloponnese, who came as colonists with Oenotrus, from the region which is now called Arcadia, I believe. The second [group of colonists], the Thessalians, migrated there from the country which used to be called Haemonia, and is now called Thessaly [g366]. The third [group], the Pelasgians, arrived with Euander from the city of Pallantium in Arcadia. Then another group arrived, who were part of the Peloponnesian army commanded by Heracles. Finally the Trojans who escaped with Aeneas from Ilium, Dardanus and the other Trojan cities [came to Italy].

[103] From the Same Book, Concerning when Aeneas Arrived in Italy.
[Dionysius, in 1.63] says: Ilium was captured at the end of the summer, seventeen days before the winter solstice [g367], in the month of Elaphebolion, according to the calendar of the Athenians. There still remained five days after the solstice before the end of that year. I believe that the Achaeans spent the thirty-seven days that followed the taking of the city regulating the affairs of the city, receiving embassies from those who had withdrawn themselves, and creating a treaty with them. The next year, the first after capturing the city, the Trojans set sail after the autumnal equinox, [g368] crossed the Hellespont, and landed in Thrace. They spent the winter there with others who had fled with them, and prepared for their next voyage. When spring arrived, they took ship and sailed from Thrace. They reached Sicily at the end of that year, and passed the winter there living mixed in with the Elymians in their cities.

Now as soon as it was possible to sail, they left the island [of Sicily], crossed the Tyrrhenian Sea, and arrived at Laurentum on the coast of the Aborigines [g369] in the middle of the summer. After capturing the region, they founded Lavinium. Thus ended the second year from the taking of Troy. I have explained these matters as they seem to me. Next, Aeneas ornamented many sites with temples and other structures which exist to my own day. The following year, the third since the departure from Troy, he ruled as king over Trojans only. However, in the fourth year, after Latinus died, [Aeneas] took over his kingdom as well. This was due to family ties through marriage and the inheritance through Lavinia, after Latinus' death. A bit later [Dionysius] adds that in a fierce battle over these [?] matters [g370], Latinus, Turnus, and many others had died. Nonetheless Aeneas those with him triumphed. Aeneas took power due to his marriage ties. But after ruling as king for three years after the death of Latinus he lost his life in battle, in the fourth year.

Shortly after this [Dionysius] writes: Aeneas died some the seven years after the taking of Troy. Euryleon, who had been renamed Ascanius during the escape [from Troy], took over rule of the Latin state. Then [Dionysius] adds [DionHal 1.70]: After the death of the Ascanius in the thirty-eighth year of his reign, his brother Silvius took over the kingship.

He was had been born of Lavinia, the daughter of Latinus, after Aeneas' death. [104] Then [Dionysius] adds: Silvius, after holding the sovereignty twenty-nine years, was succeeded by Aeneas, his son, who reigned one less than thirty years [g371]. After him, Latinus reigned fifty-one, then Alba, thirty-nine; after Alba, Capetus reigned twenty-six, then Capys twenty-eight, and after Capys, Capetus held the rule for thirteen years. Then Tiberinus reigned for a period of eight years. This king, it is said, perished in a battle that was fought by a river. After being thrown by his horse into the stream, the river, which had previously been called the Albula, came to be called after his name. Tiberinus' successor, Agrippa, reigned forty-one years. After Agrippa the tyrant Amulius, who was loathed by the gods, reigned nineteen years. Disrespecting divine powers, he had created imitations of lightning and sounds resembling thunder [g372], with which he hoped to terrify people into thinking that he was a god. But rain and lightning descended upon his house. The house was next to a lake which swelled to an unaccuctomed level, so that [Amulius] drowned with his entire household. To the present, in fact, when that lake is clear in a certain part, which happens whenever the level drops and the depths are undisturbed, the ruins of porticoes and other traces of a house can be seen.

[Amulius] was succeeded by Aventius, after whom was named one of the seven hills that are joined to make the city of Rome, and he reigned thirty-seven years. He was followed by Procas for twenty-eight years. Then Numitor, [Amulius'] elder brother, having been unjustly deprived of the kingdom by Amulius [g373], reigned forty-two years. When Amulius had been slain by Romulus and Remus, the sons of a noble maiden, as shall presently be related, Numitor, the maternal grandfather of the youths, after his brother's death resumed the sovereignty which by law belonged to him. In the next year of Numitor's reign, which was the three hundred and thirty-second after the taking of Troy, the Albans sent out a colony, under the leadership of Romulus and Remus, and founded Rome, in that year, which was the seventh Olympiad, when Daicles of Messene was victor in the foot race [752 B.C.], and at Athens Charops was in the first year of his ten-year term as archon.

The same writer adds yet more [information] when relating the different accounts of the history of the city of Rome [DionHal 1.72] [g374].

[105] Regarding the Construction of the City of Rome.

There are many problems concerning the construction of the city, its time and founders. In my opinion none of them [the previous accounts] is accurate. Thus, because [the details] are not universally agreed on, we shall present a brief review. Cephalon of Gergis, a very ancient writer, says that the city was built in the second generation after the Trojan war by those who had escaped from Troy [g375] with Aeneas. [Cephalon] names Romus as its founder. [Romus] had been leader of the colony and one of Aeneas' sons. He says that Aeneas had four sons, Ascanius, Euryleon, Romulus and Remus. Demagoras, Agathymus and many other [authors] agree with [Cephalon] regarding both the time and the leader of the colony. But the author of the history of the priestesses at Argos and of what happened in the days of each of them says that Aeneas came into Italy from the land of the Molossians

with Odysseus and became the founder of the city, which he named Rome--after one of the Trojan women. He says that this woman stirred up the other citizens (or women) [g376] and together with them set fire to the ships, since they had grown weary of wandering. Damastes of Sigeum and some others agree with this [account].

But Aristotle, the philosopher, relates that some of the Achaeans were overtaken by a violent storm while they were navigating Cape Malea on their return from Troy. Since they were driven out of their course by the winds, they wandered over many parts of the sea finally arriving at this place in the land of the Opicans which is called Latium, by the Tyrrhenian sea. Being pleased with the sight of land, they hauled up their ships, and passed the winter there. They were preparing to sail at the beginning of spring, but their ships [g377] were set ablaze one night. Thus they could not depart and were, unwillingly, forced to live in the land where they had landed. He says this was effected by the captive women they were carrying with them from Troy. They burned the ships because they feared that the Achaeans in returning home would make slaves out of them. Callias, who wrote about the deeds of Agathocles, says that one of the Trojan women who came into Italy with the other Trojans, [who was named] Rome, married Latinus, the king of the Aborigines. She bore him two sons, Romus and Romulus, who built a city, and named it after their mother.

Xenagoras, the historian [g378], wrote that Odysseus and Circe had three sons, Romus, Antias and Ardeias, who built three cities and named them after themselves. Dionysius of Chalcis names Romus as the founder of the city, but says that according to some this man was the son of Ascanius, and according to others the son of Emathion. Now there are also other [writers] who claim that Rome was built by Romus, the son of Italus and Leuce, the daughter of Latinus, while many other Greek historians describe different founders for the city. But so that I will not be considered wordy, let me come to the Roman historians. The Romans lack even one historian or chronicler who can be considered ancient. But each of their [g379] historians has taken something out of ancient accounts that are preserved on tablets in their temples. Some of these say that Romulus and Remus, the founders of Rome, were the sons of Aeneas. According to others they were the sons of a daughter of Aeneas, without mentioning who their father was. Some say that they were presented as hostages by Aeneas to Latinus, the king of the Aborigines, when the treaty was made between the inhabitants and the immigrants. [According to this version], Latinus gave them a friendly welcome and not only looked after them carefully, but, upon dying without a male heir, willed part of his kingdom to them.

[106] Others say that after the death of Aeneas Ascanius, having succeeded to the entire kingdom of Latinus, divided both the country and the forces of the Latins into three parts, two of which he gave to his brothers, Romulus and Remus. He himself, they say, built Alba and some other towns [g380]. Remus built cities which he named Capua, after Capys, his great-grandfather, Anchisa, after his grandfather Anchises, Aeneia (which was afterwards called Janiculum), after his father, and Rome, after himself. This city was for some time deserted (or ruined), but upon the arrival of another colony, which the Albans sent out

under the leadership of Romulus and Remus, Rome again flourished. Thus there were two settlements of Rome, one shortly after the Trojan war, and the other fifteen generations after the first. And if anyone wants to look more carefully into the distant past, even a third [g381] foundation of Rome will be found. This [foundation] occurred before Aeneias and the Trojans came into Italy.

This is related by Antiochus of Syracuse, whom I have mentioned before, hardly a commonplace historian. He says that when Morges reigned in the land of the Latins--which then included all of Italy from Tarentum to the coast of Poseidonia--a man came to him who had fled from Rome. His words are: "When Italus was growing old, Morges reigned. In his reign there came a man from Rome named Sicelus." Thus according to the Syracusan author, an ancient Rome existed even before the Trojan war [g382]. However he left it unsaid whether [Rome] was situated in the same region that the present city stands or whether some other place happened to be called by this name. Consequently I, too, cannot say for sure. I believe that enough has been said about the ancient foundations [of the city of Rome]. As regards the last settlement or founding of the city, or whatever it should be styled, Timaeus of Sicily, based on some unknown calculation, places it at the same time as the founding of Carthage, that is, in the thirty-eighth year before the first Olympiad [814 B.C.]. Lucius Cincius, a member of the senate, places it about the fourth year of the twelfth Olympiad [729 B.C.]. Quintus Fabius places it in the first year of the eighth Olympiad [748 B.C.]. Porcius Cato does not give the date according to Greek reckoning [g383], but being as careful as any [historian] in gathering material about ancient history, he places [Rome's] foundation four hundred and thirty-two years after the Trojan war; and this date, when compared with the Chronicles of Eratosthenes, corresponds to the first year of the seventh Olympiad [752 B.C.]. In another work I have demonstrated the reliability of the canons of Eratosthenes. In that same work I have also shown how to synchronize Roman and Greek chronology.

Dionysius, in the first book of his Ancient History of Rome, describes all the events which transpired following the capture of Troy in this order: the escape of Aeneias from Troy, and his arrival in Italy; his descendants and successors, who were kings of the Latins, until the time of Romulus and the foundation of Rome; the various accounts of the ancient [historians] about the foundation of the city of Rome. However, some say that Picus the son of Cronus [g384] was the first king in the territory of Laurentium, where Rome is now situated, and that he reigned for 37 years. After him Faunus the son of Picus [ruled] for 44 years. In his reign, Heracles traveled from Spain and erected an altar in the Forum Boarium, to commemorate his killing of Cacus, Vulcanus' son. Then Latinus was king for 36 years. The Latins were named after him. Troy was captured in the 33rd year of his reign. Then Aeneas fought against the Rutuli, and killed Turnus. He married Lavinia, Latinus' daughter, and founded the city of Lavinium. After this he was king for 3 years. This summarizes what we have found in the books of other writers.

Let us continue with yet another author, namely Diodorus [Siculus], who produced in one collection a complete repository of [historical] writing. [Diodorus] recorded the history of the Romans in his seventh book, as follows [g385].

[107] On the Ancient History of the Romans, from the Seventh Book of Diodorus. Some historians have incorrectly suggested that Romulus [and Remus], who founded the city of Rome, were the sons of the daughter of Aeneas. But this is not the case, for a lengthy period intervened between Aeneas and Romulus [filled with] many kings. Rome was founded in the second year of the 7th Olympiad [751 B.C.], which was [g386] 433 years after the Trojan War. Aeneas became king of the Latins three years after the capture of Troy. He ruled for three years and then vanished from sight, to be honoured [thereafter] as an immortal. He was succeeded as king by his son Ascanius, who founded the city today called [Alba] Longa. It was named after the river which was then called Alba, but is now called Tiber. Now the historian Fabius, who wrote about things Roman, tells a different tale about the name of this city. He says that it was foretold to Aeneas, that a four-footed animal would lead him to the place where he would must build a city. When he was preparing to sacrifice a pregnant white sow, the sow escaped from his grasp and was chased up a hill, where she gave birth to thirty piglets. Aeneas was astounded by this, and being desirous of fulfilling the prophecy, he commenced building on that site [g387]. But he was warned in a dream, that he should not found the city until thirty years had passed, the same number as the piglets which were born to the sow. And so he abandoned his plan.

After the death of Aeneas, his son Ascanius became king and after thirty years he founded a settlement on the hill, which he called Alba, after the colour of the sow; for the Latin word for 'white' is alba. [Ascanius] also added another name, Longa, which translates 'long', because the city was narrow in width and of great length. [Diodorus] adds that Ascanius made Alba the capital of his kingdom and conquered no small number of the inhabitants round about. [Ascanius] became a noteworthy man and died after a ruling for thirty-eight years. After his death, there arose a division among the masses, since two men who were contending with each other for the kingship. Julius claimed that since he was Ascanius' son, his father's kingdom belonged to him. But Silvius, the brother of Ascanius and, furthermore, a son of Aeneas by his first wife ,[g388] who was a Trojan woman, maintained that the kingdom belonged to him. Now it happened that after the death of Aeneas, Ascanius had plotted against the life of Silvius. It was while the child [Silvius] was being reared by some herdsmen on a mountain, to avoid this plot, that he came to be called Silvius, after the name of that mountain, which the Latins call Silva. After a struggle between the two sides, Silvius finally took the throne with the support of the people. Julius, though he did not take power, was established as supreme priest (pontifex maximus) thereby becoming like a second king. They say that the Julian family, which survives in Rome even to this day, descends from him.

[108] During his reign, Silvius achieved nothing worthy record, and died after ruling for 49 years. He was succeeded as king by his son Aeneas Silvius, who ruled for more than 30 years.

He was a strong ruler, in government and in war. He subdued the neighbouring regions, and founded the eighteen cities known as the oldest of the Latins. They are: Tibur, Praeneste, Gabii, Tusculum, Cora, Cometia, Lanuvium, Labicum, Scaptia, Satricum, Aricia, Tellenae, Crustumerium, Caenina, Fregellae, Cameria, Medullia, and Boilum. Some call this Bola. When Latinus died, his son Albas Silvius was selected as king. He ruled for 38 years. The next king was Epitus Silvius, for 26 years. When his death Capis succeeded as king, ruling [g389] for 28 years. His son Calpetus was the next king, ruling for 13 years. Then Tiberius Silvius ruling for 8 years. [Tiberius] went off to fight against the Etruscans with an army, but while he was crossing the river Alba he fell into a whirlpool and died. As a result, the name of the river was changed to Tiber. After his death Agrippa became king of the Latins, for 41 years. The next king was Arramulius Silvius, who reigned for 19 years.

The next king was Arramulius Silvius, who reigned for 19 years. It is related that Arramulius was arrogant throughout his life, and became so proud that he claimed to rival the power of Aramazd (Zeus/Jupiter). When there was steady and severe thunder during the heat [of autumn], he ordered all the men in his army at a given command to strike their swords against their shields, supposing that by this noise he could surpass even thunder. Consequently the gods exacted vengeance and killed him with a bolt of lightning and submerged his house in the Alban lake. The Romans who live near the lake today still point out some columns which can be seen deep beneath the surface of the water, which are the remains of the royal palace under the lake. Aventius, who was chosen to be the next king, ruled for 37 years. During a battle against the people who lived around the city, he was trapped in a narrow space and killed near a hill, which was named the Aventine hill after him. After he died, his son Procas Silvius was appointed to be the next king, and he ruled [g390] for 23 years. After his death, his younger son Amulius forcibly seized power, because his elder brother Numitor was in a foreign country. Amulius reigned for a little over 43 years, and was killed by Remus and Romulus, who founded the city of Rome.

[109] Here is a Listing of the Roman Kings.

Aeneias became king of the Latins, in the fourth year after the capture of Troy, 3 years. Ascanius, 38 years. Silvius, the son of Aeneias, 28 years. Aeneias Silvius, 31 years. Latinus Silvius, 50 years. Albas Silvius, 39 years. Epitus Silvius, 26 years. Capis Silvius, 28 years. Calpetus Silvas, 13 years. Tiberius Silvius, 8 years. Agrippa Silvius, 35 years. [Arramulius Silvius, 19 years]. [Aventius, 37 years]. [p291] Procas Silvius, 23 years. Amulius Silvius, 42 years [g391]. Romulus founded Rome and became king in the seventh Olympiad [752-749 B.C.]. From Aeneas up until Romulus, 427 years elapsed. From the capture of Troy [up until Romulus], 431 years elapsed.

Kings Beginning with Romulus, Founder of Rome.

Romulus, 38 years. Numa Pompilius, 41 years. Tullus Hostilius, 33 years. Ancius Marcus, 33 years. Tarquinius, 37 years. Servilius, 44 years. Tarquinius Superbus, 24 years. There were seven kings of the Romans, starting with Romulus, and [the kingship] ceased after a period of 244 years. From the capture of Troy until Romulus, 431 years elapsed. Altogether

675 years elapsed. Dionysius of Halicarnassus gives a brief account of the dates of these kings, from Romulus to Tarquinius, around the time of the first Olympiad, as follows [Dion Hal 1.75] [g392].

[110] Dionysius of Halicarnassus Regarding the Kings in Rome after Romulus. From Romulus, first ruler of the city, to the time of the expulsion of the kings two hundred and forty-four years elapsed. This is known both from the order of the kings' succession and the number of years each of them ruled. Following Romulus' death the city was kingless for one year. Then Numa Pompilius, who was chosen by the army, reigned for forty-three years. After Numa, Tullus Hostilius ruled for thirty-three years [g393]. Ancus Marcius, his successor, ruled for twenty-four years. He was followed by Lucius Tarquinius, called Priscus, for thirty-eight years. Servius Tullius succeeded him, reigning for forty-four years. The murderer of Servius, the tyrant Lucius Tarquinius, extended his reign to the twenty-fifth year. Because of his contempt of justice, he was called Superbus. Romulus, the first ruler of the city, must have begun to rule in the first year of the seventh Olympiad [752 B.C.], when Charops at Athens was in the first year of his ten-year term as archon. [We calculate this] because the reigns of the kings [g394] amount to two hundred and forty-four years or sixty-one Olympiads. Thus the count of the [monarchs'] years requires this [determination of the placing of Romulus' rule]; and the number of years that each king reigned is known from writings. Such is the account given by those who lived before me and adopted by me concerning the time of the settlement of the city which now rules supreme.

This is Dionysius' account. Now after the death of Tarquinius and the collapse of unified [royal] rule, the Romans no longer had kings. Instead, they appointed consuls [starting with] Brutus; then [they appointed] tribunes of the plebs; then dictators, who were orators; and then consuls again. I think it would be superfluous to list the magistrates of each year here, because there would be a huge mass of names. Moreover, if I described their achievements in detail, my account would become greatly enlarged and stray from its intended purpose. Consequently I think it is appropriate [g395] to leave these magistrates, and everything connected with them, to another chronicle: that is, the consuls who followed Tarquinius, the tribunes of the plebs and the dictators who governed the city of Rome during the years preceding the advent of Caesar. After these remarks, we will return to the reign of the first emperor. From the death of Tarquinius until the time of Julius Caesar, 115 Olympiads--the equivalent of 460 years--elapsed.

[111] Tarquinius died at the end of the 67th Olympiad [509 B.C.]. Caesar became emperor at the start of the 183rd Olympiad [48 B.C.]. Between these [two termini] an interval of 460 years exists. From the 7th Olympiad [752 B.C.], when the city of Rome was founded, [until the death of Tarquinius] 244 years elapsed. Thus, a total of 704 years--which is the equivalent of 176 Olympiads--elapsed from the foundation of Rome until the time of Julius Caesar. This [schema] is confirmed by the chronicler Castor who writes as follows in a passage summarizing the [relevant] dates [g396]:

Castor on the Kingdom of the Romans.

We have listed the kings of the Romans one by one, beginning with Aeneas son of Anchises, when he became king of the Latins, and concluding with Amulius Silvius, who was killed by Romulus, the son of his niece Rhea. Now we will add Romulus and the others who ruled Rome after him up until Tarquinius Superbus, for a period of 244 years. After these kings, we will give a separate list of the consuls, starting from Lucius Junius Brutus, and ending with Marcus Valerius Messalla and Marcus Piso, who were consuls when Theophemus was archon at Athens [61 B.C.]. Altogether [they ruled] for 460 years. That is what Castor says. Now it is appropriate for us to append a list of the emperors of the Romans, starting from Julius Caesar. We shall mention the consuls for each year, equating [these dates] with the Olympiads. [The Armenian manuscript of book 1 of Eusebius' Chronicle breaks off here]

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Book 1 translated from Latin

[Translated by Andrew Smith] [p1] I have searched through the various books of ancient history; [I have read] what the Chaldaeans and Assyrians have recorded, what the Egyptians have written in detail, and what the Greek have related as accurately as possible. They include the dates of their kings and the Olympiads, which are athletic contests, and they contain the outstanding exploits of both the Greeks and the barbarians, of both the brave and the decadent. They also mention the remarkable victories of these nations, their generals, scholars, heroes, poets, historians and philosophers. I think it is fitting, or rather a useful and necessary task, to summarise all this, and to write down the ancient history and chronology of the Hebrews, taken from the Holy Scriptures, alongside the things which I have just mentioned. From that we can tell how long Moses, and the prophets who came after him, lived before the appearance on earth of our saviour, about which they prophesied through the holy spirit; and we can easily recognise in which [reigns] of Greek or barbarian [rulers] the famous men of each race were alive; and at what time, from the beginning, the outstanding prophets existed amongst the Hebrews, together with all their rulers, one after another.

I warn and advise everyone from the start, that no-one should ever pretend that he can be completely certain about matters of chronology. It will help if first we remember the advice of our true master, [p3] who told his companions [Acts, 1:7]: ”It is not for you to know the hours and seasons whicih the Father has set under his own authority.” He, as our Lord and God, uttered this saying not only about the end of the world, but also, in my opinion, about all dates, to dissuade men from such pointless investigations. Indeed, my own words here will confirm this saying of our master, [by showing] that it is not possible to gain an accurate knowledge of the whole chronology of the world from the Greeks, or from any others, not even from the Hebrews themselves. But it is possible to hope for this only: that what is said by us in this present treatise will help us to recognise two things. Firstly, no-one, like some have done, should believe that he is calculating dates with full accuracy, and be deceived in that way. But he should realise that this has been brought up for discussion, only so that he can know the means and manner of the proposed investigation, and so that he should not remain in doubt.

There is no reason to be surprised that the Greeks do not appear in the most ancient times. They have fallen into various fatal errors, and for a long time before the generation of Cadmus they were completely ignorant of writing. They say that Cadmus was the first to bring them the alphabet, from the land of the Phoenicians. And so the Egyptian in Plato's book [Timaeus, 22'B] rightly despises Solon; "O Solon," he says, "you Greeks are always children. An old Greek man is never to be found, and no-one can learn from you about ancient times." But many improbable stories have been told by the Egyptians and Chaldaeans. For instance, the Chaldaeans calculate that their recorded history has lasted for more than 400,000 years. [p5] The Egyptians make up myths about gods and demi-gods, and also about some shades; and they tell many crazy myths about other mortal kings.

Yet what forces me to examine such matters in detail now, when I value the truth above all else? Even amongst my beloved Hebrews one can find inconsistencies, which I will mention at the appropriate time. But I have said this much in reproach of those chroniclers who are eager for such hollow glory. In accordance with these objectives, I will scrutinise the books of the ancient writers.

First I will put in writing the chronology of the Chaldaeans; and then the chronology of the Assyrians; next the kings of the Medes; and then the kings of the Lydians and Persians. Then I will go on to a different topic, and set out all the chronology of the Hebrews in sequence. After the Hebrews, in the third section [I will set out] the dates of the Egyptian dynasties. I will add to them the dynasty of the Ptolemaei, who reigned after Alexander the Macedonian in Egypt and Alexandria. Then I will start on another [topic], and describe one after another what the Greeks have told about their history: first the rulers of Sicyon, and then [the rulers] of the land of the Argives, and of the city of the Athenians, from the first to the last; next, the kings of Lacedaemon and Corinth; and lastly, those who in any region held control of the sea. To these I will add a list of the Olympiads, which are recorded by the Greeks. After I have set out all the Olympiads in sequence, I will write down the first kings of the Macedonians and Thessalians, and then the leaders of the Syrians and Asians, who came after Alexander, one by one. Next I will set out in their turn all the individual rulers of the Latins, who were later called Romans, starting from Aeneias after the capture of Troy. Then [I will set out] in sequence [the kings], starting from Romulus, who founded the city of Rome; the succession of emperors, starting from Julius Caesar and Augustus; and the consuls for each year.

After collecting material from all these sources, I will move on to the chronological canons of time. Resuming from the beginning with those who ruled in each nation, I will divide their dates into separate series; [p7] and next to them I will place in sequence the numbers of their [regnal] years, so that it can easily and quickly be seen, at which time each of them lived. I will briefly mention the outstanding events of each reign, as recorded by every nation, in the context of that reign. But the second book is a task for the future. Now, in the following section, let us investigate the chronology of the Chaldaeans, and what they have recorded about their ancestors. [THE CHALDAEANS] How the Chaldaeans record their chronology,

from [the writings of] Alexander Polyhistor; about the books of the Chaldaeans, and their first kings That is what Berossus relates in his first book, and in the second book he lists the kings, one after another. He says that Nabonassar was king at that time. He merely lists the names of the kings, and says very little about their achievements; or perhaps he thinks that they are not worth mentioning, when he has already stated the number of kings. He begins to write as follows: "Apollodorus says that the first king was Alorus, who was a Chaldaean from Babylon, and he reigned for 10 sars." He divides a sar into 3,600 years, and adds two other [measures of time]: a ner and a soss. He says that a ner is 600 years, and a soss is 60 years. He counts the years in this way, following some ancient form of calculation. After saying this, he proceeds to list ten kings of the Assyrians, one after the other in [chronological] order; from Alorus, the first king, until Xisuthrus, in whose reign the first great flood occurred, the flood which Moses mentions.

He says that the total length of the reigns of the [ten] kings was 120 sars, which is the equivalent of 432,000 years. He writes about the individual kings as follows: [p9] When Alorus died, his son Alaparus became king for 3 sars. After Alaparus, Amelon, a Chaldaean from the city of Pautibiblon, became king for 13 sars. After Amelon, Ammenon, a Chaldaean from (?) Parmibiblon, became king for 12 sars. - In his reign, the monster Annedotus, whose form was a mixture between a man and a fish, appeared out of the Red Sea. Megalarus, from the city of Pautibiblon, reigned for 18 sars. The shepherd Daonus, from the city of Pautibiblon, reigned for 10 sars. - In this reign, again four monsters appeared out of the Red Sea, who [like Annedotus] were a mixture between a man and a fish. Euedorachus, from the city of Pautibiblon, reigned for 18 sars. - In this reign, another monster appeared out of the Red Sea, which also was a mixture between a man and a fish, and its name was Odacon. All these [monsters] explained in detail what Oannes had stated briefly.

Amempsinus, a Chaldaean from Larancha, reigned for 10 sars. Otiartes, a Chaldaean from Larancha, reigned for 8 sars. When Otiartes died, his son Xisuthrus became king, for 18 sars. - In his reign, the great flood occurred. The reigns of all these kings, added together, make 120 sars. They are calculated in this way: Alorus, for 10 sars Alaparus, for 3 sars Amelon, for 13 sars Ammenon, for 12 sars Megalarus, for 18 sars Daonus, for 10 sars Euedorachus, for 18 sars Amempsinus, for 10 sars Otiartes, for 8 sars Xisuthrus, for 18 sars In total, 10 kings and 120 sars. [p11] And they say that 120 sars are the equivalent of 432,000 years, because one sar is the equivalent of 3,600 years. That is what Alexander Polyhistor says in his book. But if anyone thinks that what is contained in that book is a true history, and that [those kings] really ruled for so many myriads of years, then he should also believe in all the other similar things in that book, which are equally incredible. Now will tell what Berossus wrote in the first book of his history, and first I will add another quotation from the same book of Polyhistor, as follows.

Another unreliable account of Chaldaean history, from the same book of Alexander Polyhistor about the Chaldaeans Berossus, in the first book of his Babylonian History, says that he lived at the time of Alexander the son of Philippus, and that he transcribed the writings of

many authors, which had been carefully preserved at Babylon, containing the records of (?) over 150,000 years. These writings contain the history of heaven and the sea, of creation, and of the kings and their deeds. Firstly, he says that the land of Babylonia lies between the rivers Tigris and Euphrates. Wild wheat, barley, lentils and sesame grow on the land; and the marshes produce roots, called gonges, which are as nutritious as barley. There are dates, apples, [p13] and other fruits and fish, as well as birds in the woods and marshes. The parts lying towards Arabia are dry and barren, but the parts on the opposite side from Arabia are mountainous and fertile. A large number of foreigners dwell in Chaldaea; they live in Babylon in a disorderly way, like wild animals.

In the first year, a horrible beast appeared out of the Red Sea in the region near Babylonia. Its name was Oannes, according to Apollodorus. It had the complete body of a fish, but underneath its head there grew another head, beneath the fish's head; and in the same way the feet of a man grew of the tail of the fish. It had the voice of a man, and its likeness has been preserved even down to the present day. He says that this beast spent the day with men, taking no food, but instructing them about writing and science and all kinds of crafts. It taught them about founding cities and establishing temples, about introducing laws and about geometry. It showed them how to sow seed and gather fruit; and in general it gave men all the skills they needed for a civilised life. Since that time, nothing additional has been discovered.

But when the sun set, this beast called Oannes went back into the sea, and spent the night in the water, because it was amphibious. Afterwards other similar beasts appeared, which he says he will mention in the list of kings. But he says that Oannes wrote about creation and about the government of states, and he passed on this message on to mankind. There was once a time, in which everything was darkness and water. [p15] In those times, monstrous beasts were born, with strange appearances. There were men with two wings, and some with four wings and two faces. They had one body, but two heads, of a man and a woman, and two sets of genitals, male and female. Other men had the legs and horns of a goat, or the hooves of a horse, or the rear end of a horse and the front of a man, like centaurs. Other beasts were born, such as bulls with human heads; dogs with four bodies and fish tails protruding from their rear end; horses with dogs' heads; humans and other animals with the head and body of a horse, but the tail of a fish; and other beasts with the form of all kinds of wild animals. As well as these [beasts], there were fish and reptiles and snakes and many other strange creatures, each of which had a different appearance. Representations of them were set up in the temple of Belus. A woman called Omorca ruled over all these [creatures]; she is called Thalatth in the Chaldaean language, which is translated into Greek as thalassa ("the sea").

When everything was joined together in this way, Belus came along and split the woman in half. Half of her he made the heavens, and the other half he made the earth; and he destroyed all the creatures on her. He says that this story is an allegory about nature; for when everything was wet and creatures were born in it, this god cut off his own head. The

other gods took the blood that flowed from him and by mixing it with earth they created men. Therefore men are intelligent and have a share of divine reason. [p17] Belus, which is translated as Zeus in Greek, cut the darkness in half. He separated the earth and the heavens from each other, and he arranged the universe. But because the creatures could not bear the power of the light, they were destroyed. When Belus saw that the land was empty and fertile, he ordered one of the gods to cut off his own head, and by mixing the blood which flowed from him with earth, to create men and wild beasts who could endure the air. Belus created the stars, the sun, the moon and the five planets.

That, according to Alexander Polyhistor, is what Berossus says in his first book. In the second book he lists the kings, one after another, and he says that the time of the ten kings, which we mentioned above, lasted for longer than 400,000 years. Anyone who believes that these writers are telling the truth about such a huge number of years should believe all the other improbable stories that they tell. Such a length of time is clearly supernatural, and is not worthy of belief, even if it is explained in a different way. And even if someone thinks that this number of years is possible, they still should not accept the statement about the dates without some further questions. If the number of rulers was sufficient to explain all these thousands of years, which are produced by their chronology, or if the writers reported the events and actions which would be expected to occur over such a length of time, then one might perhaps agree that there is some likelihood of their account being true. But as they claim that so many myriads of years were taken up by the rule of only ten men, who can doubt that these stories are merely ravings and myths?

Perhaps these so-called sars were originally measured not in years, but in some very small period of time. For instance, the ancient Egyptians talked about lunar years, [p19] that is a month of days or years containing 30 days. Other people consider the seasons to be periods of three months; in other words, they reckon each changing period of three months as a single year, and count the years in that way. Similarly, it is likely that the so-called sar of the Chaldaeans indicated some such [period of time]. So they count only ten generations from Alorus, who was the first to be called king [of the Chaldaeans], up until Xisuthrus, in whose reign the great flood occurred. In the Hebrew scriptures also, Moses declares that there were ten generations before the flood; for the Hebrews mention that number of generations, one by one, from the first man in their account up until the flood. But Hebrew history assigns about 2,000 years to these ten generations. Assyrian [history] lists the same number of generations as the book of Moses, but produces a very different total of years. It says that the ten generations lasted for 120 sars, which is the equivalent of (?) 430,000 years.

The reader who is keen to know the truth can easily understand, from what we have already said, that Xisuthrus is the same as the man who is called Noah by the Hebrews, in whose time the great flood occurred. The book of Polyhistor also mentions him, and writes about him as follows. From the same book of Alexander Polyhistor, about the flood When Otiartes died, his son Xisuthrus became king, for 18 sars. In his reign, the great flood occurred.

This is how the story is told. Cronus (whom they call the father of Zeus, while others call him Chronus ["time"]) approached him in his sleep, and said that on the 15th day of the month of Daesius the human race would be destroyed by a flood. [p21] Cronos ordered him to bury the beginnings, the middles and the ends of all writings in Heliopolis, the city of the Sippareni; to build a boat and embark on it with his close friends; to load the boat with food and drink, and to put on board every kind of bird and four-footed creature; and then, when all the preparations were complete, to sail away. When he asked where he should sail, Cronus replied, "To the gods, to pray that good things may happen to men." Xisuthrus did as he had been told. He built a boat which was 15 stades long, and 2 stades wide. After completing everything as instructed, he sent his wife, his children and his close friends onto the boat.

When the flood had come, and soon afterwards stopped, Xisuthrus sent out some of the birds. But they could not find any food or anywhere to rest, and so they returned to the boat. A few days later, Xisuthrus sent out the birds again, and this time they returned to the boat with mud on their feet. The third time that he sent out the birds, they no longer returned to the boat. Xisuthrus realised that some land had appeared. He removed part of the sides of the boat, and saw that it had come to rest on a mountain. He disembarked with his wife and daughter and the helmsman, and kissed the ground. After he had set up an altar and had sacrificed to the gods, he disappeared from sight, along with the others who had left the boat with him. When Xisuthrus and his companions did not return, the remainder of those who were on the boat disembarked and searched for him, calling out his name. They could not see Xisuthrus anywhere, but a voice came out of the sky telling them that they should honour the gods, and that Xisuthrus had gone to live with the gods, because of the honour he showed them; his wife, his daughter and the helmsman had received the same reward. The voice told them to return to Babylon; they were destined to dig up the writings which had been hidden in the city of the Sippareni, [p23] and distribute them amongst men. They were told that they were now in the land of Armenia.

When they heard all of this, they sacrificed to the gods and went by foot to Babylon. A small part of the boat, which came to rest in Armenia, can still be found in the mountains of the Cordyaei in Armenia. Some people scrape off the asphalt, which covers the boat, and use it to ward off diseases, like an amulet. When they arrived back in Babylon, they dug up the writings in the city of the Sippareni. They founded many cities, and re-founded Babylon, constructing many temples. Afterwards Polyhistor gives an account of the building of the tower, which agrees with the books of Moses, in exactly these words. [From the writings] of Alexander Polyhistor, about the building of the tower The Sibyl says: "When men all spoke the same language, they built a very tall tower, so that they could climb up to heaven. However god blew a wind at them and overturned the tower. Then he gave each of them their own language, and so the city was called Babylon. After the flood there came Titan and Prometheus, in whose time Titan made war against Cronus."

That is what Polyhistor says about the building of the tower. He continues with the following details. After the flood, (?) Euechius ruled the land of the Chaldaeans, for 4 ners Then his son Chomasbelus became king, for 4 ners and 5 sosses From Xisuthrus and the flood until the capture of Babylon by the Medes, [p25] Polyhistor lists 86 kings in all, and names each of them, copying their names from the book of Berossus. These kings reigned in total for 33,091 years. But when the city had become so firmly established, the Medes unexpectedly led their forces against Babylon and captured it. Then they set up their own kings as rulers there. He names 8 kings of the Medes, who reigned for 224 years Then again 11 kings, for [28] years Then 49 kings of the Chaldaeans, for 458 years Then 9 kings of the Arabs, for 245 years

After that time (he says) Semiramis was ruler of the Assyrians Then he lists individually the names of 45 kings, and allocates 526 years to them After them, Phulus became king of the Chaldaeans - The Hebrew scriptures [2 Kings 15:19] call this king Pul, and say that he invaded the land of the Hebrews. After him, Polyhistor says that Sennacherib became king The Hebrew scriptures say that Sennacherib was king at the time of king Hezekiah and the prophet Isaiah. To be exact, Holy Scripture says [2 Kings 18:13]: ”It happened in the fourteenth year of king Hezekiah that Sennacherib the king of the Assyrians marched against the fortified cities of Judah, and captured them.” And after telling the whole story, it continues [2 Kings 19:37]: ”And his son Esarhaddon reigned in his place.” Later on again, it adds [2 Kings 20:1]: ”It happened at that time that Hezekiah fell ill”, and [2 Kings 20:12] ” at that time Merodach Baladan sent envoys with letters and gifts to Hezekiah.”. That is what the Hebrew scriptures say.

But Sennacherib and his son Esarhaddon [Asordanus] and Merodach Baladan, along with Nebuchadnezzar, are mentioned by the historian of the Chaldaeans, who speaks about them as follows. [p27] [From the writings] of the same Alexander, about Sennacherib and Nebuchadnezzar, their exploits and their virtues After the reign of the brother of Sennacherib, when Achises had been king for less than thirty days, he was killed by Merodach Baladan. Merodach Baladan seized the throne, but after ruling for six months he was killed by someone called Elibus, who became king in his place. In the third year of his reign, Sennacherib the king of the Assyrians led an army against the Babylonians and defeated them in battle. He captured Elibus, and ordered him to be taken with his friends to the land of the Assyrians. After bringing the Babylonians under his control, he appointed his son Asordanus to be their king. Then he returned to the land of the Assyrians.

When Sennacherib heard that the Greeks had arrived in Cilicia with the intention of fighting, he set out for Cilicia and met them in battle. Although many men from his own army were killed, he defeated the enemy, and as a monument of his victory he set up a statue of himself in that place. He ordered it to be inscribed with Chaldaean letters, which recorded his bravery and greatness for future generations. And he founded the city of Tarsus, on the same model as Babylon, and gave it the name of Tharsis. Then, after relating the other achievements of Sennacherib, he adds: ”After remaining [in power] for 18 years, he died

as a result of a plot which was formed against him by his son Ardumuzan." That is what Polyhistor says [about Sennacherib]. These dates agree with what is said in Holy Scripture. For in the time of Hezekiah, as Polyhistor states:

Sennacherib was king, for 18 years Then his son, for 8 years Then Sammuges, for 21 years His brother, for 21 years Then Nabopolassar for 20 years Then Nebuchadnezzar for 43 years In total, from Sennacherib until Nebuchadnezzar, there are 88 years. A careful investigation of the Hebrew scriptures will come to a similar conclusion. [p29] After Hezekiah, the kings who reigned over the remaining Jews were: Manasseh, the son of Hezekiah, for 55 years Then Amon, for (?) 2 years Then Josiah, for 31 years Then (?) Jehoiachin - At the beginning of his reign, Nebuchadnezzar besieged Jerusalem and took Jewish captives back to Babylon. In total, from Hezekiah until Nebuchadnezzar, there are 88 years, which is the same number of years as was calculated by Polyhistor in his history of the Chaldaeans. After this, Polyhistor relates some other deeds and exploits of Sennacherib. He speaks about his son in the same way as the Hebrew scriptures, and gives a detailed account of all that happened. He says that the philosopher Pythagoras lived at the same time as these kings. After Sammuges, Sardanapallus was king of the Chaldaeans for 21 years.

Sardanapallus sent an army to the assistance of Astyages, the satrap of the Medes, and accepted Amyïtis, the daughter of Astyages, as the bride of his son Nebuchadnezzar. Then Nebuchadnezzar became king for 43 years. After gathering an army, he attacked the Jews, Phoenicians and Syrians, whom he took away as captives. I do not need to give a long explanation to prove that Polyhistor agrees with the Hebrew scriptures in this matter also. After Nebuchadnezzar, his son Amilmarudoch became king for 12 years. He is called Evilmerodach in the Hebrew histories. Polyhistor says that after him, Neglissar ruled the Chaldaeans for 4 years, and then Nabonidus for 17 years. In his reign, Cyrus the son of Cambyses led an army against the land of the Babylonians. Nabonidus met him [in battle], but was defeated and put to flight. Then Cyrus became king of Babylon, for 9 years After Cyrus died in another battle on the (?) plain of the Dahae, Cambyses became king, for 8 years

Then Dareius, for 36 years After Dareius came Xerxes and the other Persian kings Just as Berossus gives a brief account of each of the Chaldaean kings, so Polyhistor describes them in the same manner. From what he says, it is clear that Nebuchadnezzar led an army against the Jews and conquered them. From Nebuchadnezzar until Cyrus the king of the Persians, there is period of 70 years. [p31] The Hebrew histories agree with this, and state that the Jews were in captivity for 70 years, calculating from the first year of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar up until Cyrus the king of the Persians. Abydenus, whose account is similar to Polyhistor (?) in most respects, writes as follows in his History of the Chaldaeans. [From the writings] of Abydenus, about the first kings of the Chaldaeans So much about the wisdom of the Chaldaeans. The first king of the region, so they say, was Alorus. - He spread a report about himself that he had been chosen by god to be the shepherd of the people, and he reigned [over them] for ten sars (a sar is 3,600 years; a ner is 600 years; and a soss is 60 years).

Next, Alaparus Amillarus, from the city of Pautibiblon - In his reign, a second Annedotus, a kind of demi-god, similar in appearance to Oannes, rose out of the sea. Ammenon Magalanus The shepherd Daōs - In his reign, bi-formed creatures came out of the sea onto the land, and their names were: Euedocus, Eneugamus, Eneubulus and Anementus. Euedoreschus - In his reign, Anodaphus [came out of the sea]. After him, there were other rulers, and finally Sisuthrus After agreeing with Polyhistor in such matters, this historian then writes about the flood in the same way. [From the writings] of Abydenus, about the flood After him, there were other kings, including Sisuthrus, to whom Cronus foretold that there would be a great torrent of rain on the fifteenth day of the month of Daesius. Cronus ordered him to conceal all the books which were kept in Heliopolis, the city of the Sippareni. Sisuthrus did as instructed, and then he sailed away to Armenia. Immediately it began to happen as the god had foretold. [p33] On the third day, when the rain eased, Sisuthrus sent out some birds, to test if they could see any land rising up out of the sea. But they found nothing except a gaping wide sea, and, having nowhere to rest, they flew back to Sisuthrus. The same thing happened when [he sent] some other birds. But he achieved success with the third set of birds, who came back with mud splattered on the bottom of their feet, and then the gods removed him from the sight of men. The inhabitants of Armenia made wooden amulets out of his ship, as a protection against poisons.

I think that it will be obvious to everyone that what Abydenus says about the flood is similar to the story of the Hebrews, and uses the same form of words. That these historians, whether they are Greeks or Chaldaeans, give Noah a different name, and call him Sisuthrus, is hardly surprising. Nor is it surprising that, as is their custom, they refer to gods rather than God, and talk about birds in general without mentioning a dove. That then is what Abydenus says about the flood in this History of the Chaldaeans. He also writes about the building of the tower, in a way which is similar to the account of Moses, as follows. [From the writings] of Abydenus, about the building of the tower They say that the first men at that time were puffed up with pride because of their strength and height, and in their arrogance they thought that they were better than the gods. They built a huge tower where Babylon now is, and it was already close up to heaven. But the winds came to the aid of the gods, and threw down the structure around them. The remains of the tower were called Babylon. Up to that time they had shared a common language but then they received a great variety of different speech from the gods. Afterwards a war arose between Cronus and Titan.

[p35] The same author writes about Sennacherib, as follows. [From the writings] of Abydenus, about Sennacherib At this time, Sennacherib became the 25th of the [Assyrian] kings. He conquered Babylon and brought it under his control. He defeated a fleet of Greek ships in a naval battle off the coast of Cilicia. He established a temple of the Athenians, and erected bronze columns on which he inscribed in writing his mighty achievements. He built Tarsus with a design which was similar to Babylon, so that the river Cydnus flows through the middle of Tarsus, just as the Euphrates flows through the middle of Babylon. After him Nergilus became king, but he was killed by his son Adramelus. Then Adramelus was killed by Axerdis, his half-brother (by the same father, but a different mother). Axerdis gathered

an army and sent it against the city of Byzantium. He was the first king to seek help from mercenaries, and one of these was Pythagoras, who became a student of Chaldaean wisdom. Axerdis conquered Egypt and parts of lower Syria. Then Sardanapallus was [king].

Then Saracus became king of the Assyrians, [p37] and when he was informed that an army like a swarm of locusts had invaded by sea, he immediately sent his general Nabopolassar [Busalossorus] to Babylon. But this general started to plot rebellion, and betrothed his son Nebuchadnezzar [Nabuchodonosor] to Amytis the daughter of Astyages, the king of the Medes. And then he immediately set off to attack the city of Nineveh. When king Saracus learned of the attack, he burnt down the palace with himself inside it. Nebuchadnezzar took over power as king, and put up a strong wall around Babylon. After saying this, Abydenus gives an account of Nebuchadnezzar, which agrees with the writings of the Hebrews, as follows. [From the writings] of Abydenus, about Nebuchadnezzar When Nebuchadnezzar came to power, he fortified Babylon with a three-fold circuit of walls in about fifteen days. He made a channel for the river Narmalacis, a branch of the Euphrates, [(?) and the Acracanus]. [p39] He dug a reservoir above the city of the Sippareni, which was 40 parasangs in circumference, and 20 fathoms deep; and he constructed gates, which could be opened to irrigate the whole plain. They call these gates ochetognomones. He protected [the shore] against flooding by the Red Sea, and he built the city of Teredon [to guard] against the raids of the Arabs. He adorned the palace with new kinds of plants, and called it "The Hanging Gardens".

Then he gives a detailed description of this Hanging Garden. He says that the Greeks regard it as one of the so-called seven wonders of the world. And in another place the same author writes as follows: "It is said that in the beginning everything was water, which was called the sea. But Belus restrained [the sea] and assigned a region to each person. He surrounded Babylon with a wall, and at the appointed time he disappeared from sight. Later Nebuchadnezzar gave Babylon new walls, with gates of bronze, which lasted until the time of the Macedonians." The words of Daniel are in accordance with everything that Abydenus says. In his book [Dan. 4:30] he relates how Nebuchadnezzar, becoming arrogant and puffed up with pride, declared; "Is this not the great Babylon I have built as the royal residence, by my mighty power and for the glory of my majesty?"

That Nebuchadnezzar regarded his power as proof of his good fortune, is made clear the words of the prophet Daniel. And Abydenus declares that he was "mightier than Heracles", when he writes as follows: [p41] "Megasthenes says that Nebuchadnezzar, who was mightier than Heracles, let his armies as far as Libya and Iberia. He conquered these countries, and settled some of their inhabitants on the right-hand shore of the Euxine Sea. But the Chaldaeans say that afterwards, when he went up to the palace, he was possessed by some god, and uttered these words: 'O Babylonians, I Nebuchadnezzar predict that a great disaster will befall you.' " After adding some more details about this, the historian continues: "When he had (?) uttered this prediction, he immediately vanished from sight, and his son Amilmarudocus became king in his place. But Amilmarudocus was killed by his kins-

man Niglisares, leaving a son called Labassoarascus. When he too died a violent death, they proclaimed Nabannidochus as king, although he had no right to assume royal power. When Cyrus captured Babylon, he made Nabannidochus the governor of Carmania; but king Dareius took some of the territory away from him.

All this is in accordance with what is said in the Hebrew scriptures. [p43] The book of Daniel tells how and in what way Nebuchadnezzar was afflicted in his mind. The Greek historians and the Chaldaeans turn his suffering to good account, by calling the madness a god who entered into him, or some demon which came to him. But this is not surprising, because it is their custom to attribute all such occurrences to a god, and to call the demons gods. All this is related by Abydenus. Flavius Josephus, the Jewish historian, gives a similar account in the first book of his Antiquities [Ap_1'128-160], as follows: From the first book of the Antiquities of Josephus, about Nebuchadnezzar

I will now relate what has been written about us in the Chaldaean histories, which closely agree with our scriptures on various points. Berossus shall be witness to what I say: he was by birth a Chaldaean, well known by the learned, on account of his publication for Greek readers of books on Chaldaean astronomy and philosophy. This Berossus, therefore, following the most ancient records of that nation, describes in the same way as Moses the flood, and the destruction of mankind which it caused. He also gives us an account of the ark in which Noah, the forefather of our race, was preserved, when it was brought to the highest part of the Armenian mountains. Then he gives us a list of the descendants of Noah, with their dates; and at length comes down to Nabopolassar, who was king of Babylon, and of the Chaldaeans. And in his narrative of the acts of this king, he describes how he sent his son Nebuchadnezzar against Egypt, and against our land, with a great army, when he was informed that they had revolted from him. [p45] After he had subdued them all, and destroyed our temple at Jerusalem by fire, he removed our people entirely out of their own country, and transported them to Babylon. Then our city was deserted for a period of seventy years, until the days of Cyrus king of Persia. He adds that this Babylonian king conquered Egypt, and Syria, and Phoenicia, and Arabia, and exceeded in his exploits all the kings who had reigned before him in Babylon and Chaldaea.

I will set down Berossus' own words, which are as follows: "Nabopolassar, father of Nebuchadnezzar, heard that the governor whom he had set over Egypt, and over the regions of Coele Syria and Phoenicia, had revolted from him. Because he was not able to bear the hardships of a campaign, he committed part of his army to his son Nebuchadnezzar, who was then a young man, and sent him against the rebel. Nebuchadnezzar joined battle with the rebel, and conquered him, and forced the country to submit to him again. Meanwhile it happened that his father Nabopolassar fell ill, and died in the city of Babylon, after he had reigned twenty-one years. When Nebuchadnezzar heard, soon afterwards, that his father Nabopolassar was dead, he set the affairs of Egypt and the other countries in order. He committed the captives he had taken from the Jews, and Phoenicians, and Syrians, and inhabitants of Egypt, [p47] to some of his friends, that they might conduct them with his

heavy-armed forces troops, and the rest of his baggage, to Babylonia. He himself went in haste, having only a few companions with him, over the desert to Babylon. When he arrived there, he found that the public affairs were being managed by the Chaldaeans, and that the principal person among them had preserved the kingdom for him. Accordingly, he then took over complete control of his father's dominions.

"He ordered the captives to be placed in colonies in the most suitable places of Babylonia; but as for himself, he adorned the temple of Belus, and the other temples, in a magnificent manner, out of the spoils he had taken in this war. He also rebuilt the old city, and added another to it on the outside. He restored Babylon in such a way, that no-one who should besiege it afterwards might be able to divert the course of river, in order to force an entrance into it. He achieved this by building three walls about the inner city, and three about the outer city. Some of these walls he built of burnt brick and bitumen, and some of brick only. So when he had fortified the city on this grand scale, and had adorned the gates magnificently, he added a new palace to the one which his father had dwelt in. It was close by it, but was superior in its height, and also in its great splendour. It would require too long a narration, to describe it all in detail. However, as prodigiously large and magnificent as the palace was, it was finished in only fifteen days. In this palace he erected very high walks, supported by stone pillars, and by planting what was called a Hanging Garden, and adorning it with all sorts of trees, he gave it the appearance of a mountainous country. This he did to please his queen, because she had been brought up in Media, and was fond of mountainous scenery."

This is what Berossus says about Nebuchadnezzar, and he relates many other things about him in the third book of his Chaldaean History, in which he censures the Greek writers because they suppose, without any foundation, that Babylon was built by Semiramis, queen of Assyria, and they wrongly claim that those wonderful buildings were created by her. [p49] On this subject, the account in the Chaldaean History must surely be accepted. Moreover, we find confirmation of what Berossus says in the archives of the Phoenicians, concerning this king Nebuchadnezzar, that he conquered all of Syria and Phoenicia. Philostratus is in agreement on these matters in his History, where he mentions the siege of Tyre; as is Megasthenes, in the fourth book of his Indian History, in which he tries to prove that this king of the Babylonians was superior to Heracles in strength and the greatness of his exploits; for he says that he conquered most of Libya and Iberia.

I have said before that the temple at Jerusalem was attacked by the Babylonians, and burnt down by them, but it was restored after Cyrus had taken control of Asia. This is proved by what Berossus adds on the subject; for in his third book he says as follows: "Nebuchadnezzar, after he had begun to build the wall which I mentioned, fell sick and died, when he had reigned forty-three years. His son Evilmerodach became king, but he governed public affairs in an illegal and dishonest manner, and after he had reigned for only two years, Neriglissar, his sister's husband, plotted against him and killed him. After his death, Neriglissar, the man who had plotted against him, succeeded him in the kingdom, and reigned for four

years; his son Laborosoarchod obtained the kingdom, though he was but a child, and kept it for nine months; but because of the depraved disposition which he showed, a plot was laid against him also, and he was beaten to death by his friends.

After his death, the conspirators met together, and by common consent entrusted the kingdom to Nabonidus [Nabonnedus], a Babylonian who had joined in the plot. In his reign the walls of the city of Babylon were built magnificently with burnt brick and bitumen; but when he had reached the seventeenth year of his reign, Cyrus advanced from Persia with a great army; and having already conquered all the rest of Asia, he marched against Babylonia. [p51] When Nabonidus heard that Cyrus was coming to attack him, he met him with his forces, but was defeated in battle. He fled away with a few of his troops, and was shut up in the city of Borsippa. Cyrus captured Babylon, and gave orders that the outer walls of the city should be demolished, because the city had proved very formidable, and was difficult to capture. He then marched away to Borsippa, to besiege Nabonidus, who immediately surrendered without waiting for a siege. Nabonidus was at first kindly treated by Cyrus, who sent him away from Babylonia and gave him Carmania, as a place to inhabit. Accordingly Nabonidus spent the rest of his time in that country, and there he died."

This account is true, and agrees with our scriptures; for in them it is written that Nebuchadnezzar, in the eighteenth year of his reign, destroyed our temple, and so it lay in ruins for fifty years; but in the second year of the reign of Cyrus its foundations were laid, and it was completed again in the second year of Dareius. I will now add the records of the Phoenicians, because I ought to give the reader abundant proof on this occasion. These records list the lengths of the reigns of their kings as follows: Ithobal - During his reign, Nebuchadnezzar besieged Tyre for thirteen years. Baal, ten years After him judges were appointed, and held office: Ecnibalus, the son of Baslechus, two months Chelbes, the son of Abdaeus, ten months Abbar, the high priest, three months Myttynus and Gerastratus, the sons of Abdelimus, six years After them, Balatorus was king for one year

After his death they summoned Merbalus from Babylon, who reigned four years After his death they sent for his brother Hirom, [p53] who reigned twenty years - In his reign Cyrus became king of Persia. So the whole period is fifty-four years and three months; for Nebuchadnezzar began to besiege Tyre in the seventh year of his reign , and Cyrus the Persian came to power in the fourteenth year of Hirom. Therefore the records of the Chaldaeans and the Tyrians agree with our writings about this temple. That is what Josephus says about these matters. Later on, Abydenus includes another account of the kings of the Chaldaeans, which is similar to Polyhistor. Then he lists the kings of the Assyrians in [chronological] order, as follows. [THE ASSYRIANS] [From the writings] of Abydenus, about the kingdom of the Assyrians "That is the account which the Chaldaeans give of the kings of their country, but they do not mention Ninus or Semiramis." After saying this, he immediately begins the history [of the Assyrians]: "Ninus was the son of Arbelus, the son of Anebus, the son of Babus, the son of Belus, king of the Assyrians."

Then he lists [the kings of the Assyrians] from Ninus and Semiramis up until Sardanapallus, who was the last of all the kings; and from Sardanapallus until the first Olympiad, there are 67 years. That is the account which Abydenus gives about each of the Assyrian kings. But he is not the only writer [to mention them]: Castor, in the first book of the Summary of his Chronicle, speaks about the kingdom of the Assyrians in the following words. From the Summary of Castor, about the kingdom of the Assyrians "Belus was the king of the Assyrians. During his reign, the Cyclopes brought lightning and thunder to assist Zeus during his battle against the Titans. At the same time, the kings of the Titans were in their prime - including king Ogygus." And shortly afterwards he says: "The giants attacked the gods, [p55] and were killed, after Heracles and Dionysus, who were descended from the Titans, came to the aid of the gods. Belus, whom we mentioned before, came to the end of his life, and was regarded as a god. After him, Ninus ruled the Assyrians for 52 years. His wife was Semiramis. After Ninus, Semiramis ruled the Assyrians for 42 years. Then Zames, who was also called Ninyas, [was king]."

Then he lists each of the subsequent kings of the Assyrians in order, up until Sardanapallus. He mentions all of them by name; and we also will write down their names, together with the length of each of their reigns, a little later on. Castor writes about the Assyrians again in his Canons, in these words: " First we have listed the kings of the Assyrians, starting with Belus; but because the length of his reign is not stated for certain, we have only mentioned his name. We have started the list in this chronicle with Ninus, and ended with another Ninus, who succeeded Sardanapallus as king. In this way, the total duration of the kingdom can be clearly shown, as well as the length of each of the individual reigns. And it shows that the kingdom lasted for 1,280 years." That is what Castor says. And Diodorus Siculus, who wrote the [Historical] Library, gives a similar account, in the following words.

From the writings of Diodorus, about the kingdom of the Assyrians "No noteworthy deeds or even names have been recorded of the native kings who ruled in Asia in the most ancient times. Ninus of Assyria is the first king who is recorded in history. His achievements were great, and we will give a detailed account of him." And then a little later he says: "[Ninus] had a son by Semiramis, who was called Ninyas. But when Ninus died, Semiramis became queen, and she buried Ninus in the palace." And again, a little later he says: "[Semiramis] ruled over all of Asia, except for the Indians; [p57] and she died in the manner which we have described, when she had lived for 62 years and had reigned for 42 years." And he states separately that: "After she died, Ninyas the son of Ninus and Semiramis became king, and he remained at peace. He did not attempt to imitate the exploits of his mother, who had been eager for war and struggle."

And again, a little later he says: "And in a similar way the other kings ruled for 35 generations, handing down the kingdom from father to son, until the time of Sardanapallus. When he was king, the empire of the Assyrians was destroyed by the Medes, after lasting for over 1,300 years, as Ctesias of Cnidus says in his second book. There is no need to write down the names of these kings, or the lengths of their reigns, because they achieved

nothing worthy of mention. The only event which is recorded is that the Trojans received assistance from the Assyrians, led by Memnon the son of Tithonus. They say that when the Greeks sailed with Agamemnon against Troy, Asia was ruled by Teutamus, who was the twenty-sixth king from Ninyas the son of Semiramis; and the empire of the Assyrians in Asia had already lasted for over a thousand years. Priamus the king of the Trojans, worn out by the pressure of war, submitted to the king of the Assyrians, and sent an embassy to ask the Assyrians to send aid and reinforcements. The king of the Assyrians gave him ten thousand men from the land of the Ethiopians, and a similar number of Susians, with two hundred chariots; and he sent Memnon the son of Tithonus to be their leader." And again he says: "The barbarians say that the splendid achievements of Memnon are reported in the royal books."

"Sardanapallus was the 35th king from Ninus, who established their empire. He was the last king of the Assyrians, and he outstripped all his predecessors in luxury and indolence." And a little later he says: "He was so shameless, that he not only ruined his own life by his perversions, but also destroyed the entire empire of the Assyrians, which had lasted for longer than any other recorded empire. [p59] Arbaces, one of the Medes who was renowned for his bravery and his outstanding spirit, was the leader of the Medes who were sent every year to the city of Ninus [Nineveh]. While leading his army, he became acquainted with the general of the Babylonians, who urged him to overthrow the empire of the Assyrians." This is what Diodorus says in the second book of his Historical Library [chapters 1-24]. Cephalion is another writer who mentions the empire of the Assyrians, and this is what he says.

[From the writings] of the historian Cephalion, about the kingdom of the Assyrians "I begin my account with what the other writers have mentioned: firstly Hellanicus of Lesbos and Ctesias of Cnidus, and then Herodotus of Halicarnassus. In ancient times, the Assyrians ruled over Asia, and Ninus the son of Belus was their king. In his reign, many great events occurred." Then he writes about the birth of Semiramis, Zoroaster the magus, the war with the king of the Bactrians and the disaster [suffered] by Semiramis; and about the death of Ninus, after a reign of 52 years. After Ninus, Semiramis became queen. She built the walls around Babylon, in the manner which has been described by many writers, such as Ctesias, Zenon [(?) or Dinon], Herodotus, and later authors. Then he tells of her expedition into the land of the Indians, how she was defeated and fled; and how she killed her own sons, but was herself put to death by Ninyas, another of her sons, when she had reigned for 42 years. After her, Ninyas became king, but Cephalion says that he achieved nothing worthy of mention. [p61] Then he passes over all the other [kings]; "they ruled in total for a thousand years, handing down the kingdom from father to son; and none of them reigned for less than twenty years. Their unwarlike, unadventurous and effeminate character kept them safe. Because they were inactive and remained indoors, no-one had access to them except for their concubines and effeminate men. If anyone wishes to know, I think that Ctesias lists the names of 23 of these kings. But what pleasure or benefit would I provide, if

I wrote down the names of barbarian kings, who achieved nothing, but were cowardly, weak and degenerate?"

And again he adds: "After about 640 years had passed, Belimus was king of the Assyrians; and in his reign, Perseus the son of Danaë, who was escaping from Dionysus the son of Semele, arrived in the country with 100 ships." Then, after describing the defeat of Perseus by Dionysus, he adds: "In a later generation, when Pannyas was king of the Assyrians, the expedition of the Argonauts sailed to the river Phasis, and to (?) Medeia of Colchis. They say that Heracles left the ship because of his love for Hylas, and wandered amongst the Cappadocians." And again he says; "A thousand years after Semiramis, when Mitraeus was king [of the Assyrians], Medeia of Colchis left king Aegeus; her son was Medus, [p63] who gave his name to the Medes and the country of Media." Then he says: "Teutamus became king after Mitraeus, and he too lived according to the customs and laws of the Assyrians. Nothing else happened in his reign, but [at this time] Agamemnon and Menelaus the Mycenaeans sailed with the Argives and other Achaeans against the city of Troy, when Priamus governed Phrygia. [Priamus wrote to Teutamus:] 'The Greeks have invaded your territory and attacked me; we have met them in battle, and sometimes we have been victorious, but sometimes we have been defeated. Now even my son Hector has been killed, along with many others of my brave children. Therefore send a force to come to our relief, and appoint a valiant general to lead them.' " Then [Cephalion] describes in detail, how Teutamus sent assistance to him, and appointed Memnon the son of Tithonus to be the leader of the army; but the Thessalians killed Memnon in an ambush.

Then in another place, he says: "In the 1,013th year, Sardanapallus became king of the Assyrians." Later, he describes the downfall of Sardanapallus. "After the death of Sardanapallus, Arbaces the Mede destroyed the kingdom of the Assyrians and transferred their empire to the Medes." All this is what Cephalion says. The kings of the Assyrians, as recorded by the most reliable of the writers, are as follows. The kings of the Assyrians Ninus, for 52 years. They say that Ninus was the first to rule over all the inhabitants of Asia, except for the Indians. It can be shown that Abraham, the patriarch of the Hebrew nation, lived during his reign. Semiramis, for 42 years. Zames, also called Ninyas, for 38 years. Arius, for 30 years. Aralius, also called Amyrus, for 40 years. Xerxes, also called Balaeus, for 30 years. Armamithres, for 38 years. Belochus, for 35 years. Balaeas, for 12 years.

Aladas, for 32 years. [p65] Mamythus, for 30 years. Machchalaeus, for 30 years. Spherus, for 22 years. Mamylus, for 30 years. Sparethus, for 40 years. Ascatades, for 40 years. Moses, the law-giver of the Jews, lived during his reign. Amyntas, for 45 years. Belochus, for 45 years. His daughter Tratres, who was also called (?) Achurard, ruled for 17 years. Dionysus and Perseus lived at this time. Balatores, for 30 years. Lamprides, for 32 years. Sosmares, for 8 years. Lampares, for 30 years. Pannias, for 42 years. The expedition of the Argonauts and Heracles happened during his reign. Sosarmus, for 19 years. Mithraeus, for 27 years. Teutamus, for 32 years. Troy was captured during his reign. Teutaeus, for 40 years. Theneus, for 30 years. Derusus, for 40 years. Eupalmes, for 38 years. [David], the

famous king of the Hebrews, lived during his reign. Solomon, the son [of David], built the temple at Jerusalem.

Laosthenes, for 45 years. Peritiades, for 30 years. Ophrataeus, for 21 years. Ophatanes, for 50 years. [p67] Acrazanes, for 42 years Sardanapallus, for 20 years. In his reign, Lycurgus established laws for the Lacedaemonians. The empire of the kings of the Assyrians lasted until this time, when Thespieus the son of Ariphron was archon of the Athenians. According to some writers, the whole empire of the Assyrians lasted for 1,240 years; according to others, it lasted for 1,300 years. Thonnos Konkoleros, who is called Sardanapallus in Greek, was defeated by Arbaces and Belesius, and burnt himself to death. From Sardanapallus until the first Olympiad, there are 40 years. After destroying the empire of Sardanapallus and the Assyrians, Arbaces appointed Belesius to be governor of Babylon. He transferred the empire of the Assyrians to the Medes, and the duration of their empire was as follows. THE MEDES The kings of the Medes

Arbaces, for 28 years. Maudaces, for 20 years. Sosarmus, for 30 years. Artycas, for 30 years. Deioces, for 54 years. Phraortes, for 24 years. Cyaxares, for 32 years. Ashdahak [Astyages], for 38 years. In his time, Cyrus was king of the Persians. He deposed Ashdahak and destroyed the empire of the Medes, which had lasted for 298 years. Others writers have given a different list of the kings of the Medes. THE LYDIANS The kings of the Lydians Ardys the son of Alyattes, for 36 years. Alyattes, for 14 years. [p69] Meles, for 12 years. Candaules, for 17 years. Gyges, for 35 years. Ardys, for 37 years. Sadyattes, for 5 years. Odyartes, for 49 years. Croesus, for 15 years. Cyrus killed Croesus, and destroyed the empire of the Lydians. THE PERSIANS The kings of the Persians Cyrus, for 31 years. Cambyses, for 8 years. Smerdes the magus, for 7 months.

Dareius the son of Hystaspes, for 36 years. In his reign, the temple at Jerusalem was rebuilt, after the first [temple] had been burnt down by the Babylonians. Xerxes the son of Dareius, for 20 years. Artaxerxes, who was called Longimanus [Macrocheir], for 41 years. In his reign, Ezra and Nehemiah were the leaders of the Hebrews. Dareius, for 7 years. Artaxerxes, for 40 years. Ochus, for 26 years. Arses, for 4 years. Dareius, for 6 years. Alexander the son of Philippus killed Dareius, and ruled over the empire of the Persians and Assyrians for 12 years. After Alexander, there were Macedonian kings for 295 years, until the death of queen Cleopatra, who reigned in about the 187th Olympiad [32-29 B.C.]. In her time, Augustus was emperor of the Romans, who was called Sebastos in Greek. [p71] [Cleopatra died] in the 15th year of Augustus' reign. From then until the 202nd Olympiad [29-32 A.D.], and the 15th year of Tiberius Caesar, there are 52 years. And from then until the 20th anniversary of Constantinus, there are 300 years.

We will now proceed to the chronology of the Hebrews. [p71] THE HEBREWS How the Hebrews have recorded their chronology We will set down here the chronology of the Hebrews, taken from the writings of Moses and later Hebrew writers; from the Jewish Antiquities of Flavius Josephus; and from the chronicle of Africanus. How the Hebrews describe the [most ancient] times The dates and kings of the Chaldaeans and Assyrians, and of the Medes and

Persians, have been described in the previous section. And it is clearly shown that the ancestors of the Hebrew race were Chaldaeans, because Abraham was a Chaldaean and his forefathers are said to have lived in the land of the Chaldaeans, as Moses says in these words [Genesis, 11:31]: "Terah took his son Abraham, his grandson Lot son of Haran, and his daughter-in-law Sarah, the wife of his son Abraham, and he led them out of the land of the Chaldaeans."

Therefore it is fitting, after our account of the Chaldaeans, next to relate the history of the ancient Hebrews. The description of the flood, which is recorded by the Hebrews, is very different from the stories of the Greeks, which they tell about the flood at the time of Deucalion. [The Hebrew flood] happened a long time before Ogyges and the equally large flood, which is said by the Greeks to have happened in the time of Ogyges. In all, the flood which is described by the Hebrews happened 1,200 years before the time of Ogyges, which in its turn happened 250 years before Deucalion's flood. But three is considerable agreement between the Hebrew scriptures and the accounts of the Assyrians, and the story which is told by them about the flood. They relate that before the flood, there were [p73] ten successive generations. After the flood, the human race throughout the whole world was derived from three men. Japheth was the ancestor of the inhabitants of Europe, from Mount Amanus to the western ocean. Ham was [the ancestor of the inhabitants] of Egypt, Libya and all the regions to the west in that direction. And Shem, who was the eldest brother, [was the ancestor] of the Assyrians, and all the peoples of the east.

The Hebrew scriptures state that Nimrod was the first man to build the city of Babylon. These are the words of the scriptures [Genesis, 10:8-11]: "Cush was the father of Nimrod" (Cush was an Ethiopian, who they believe was the father of Nimrod). Then Scripture says about Nimrod: "He grew to be a mighty [warrior] on the earth. He was a mighty hunter before the Lord, that is why it is said, 'Like Nimrod, a mighty [hunter] before the Lord.' The first centres of his kingdom were Babylon, Erech, Akkad and Calneh, in the land of Shinar. From that land he went to [Assyria], where he built Nineveh." Nineveh is the city which is called Ninus [by the Greeks]; it was the first royal city of the Assyrians, which was founded by Asshur. Asshur was one of the sons of Shem, who, as we said, took possession of all the regions of the east.

They say that the sons of Shem were Elam, Asshur, Arphaxad, Aram and Lud. Elam was the ancestor of the Elymaeans, the most ancient tribe of the Persians, who founded the city of Elymais. Asshur was the ancestor of the Assyrians; he founded the city of Nineveh, which was later restored by Ninus the king of the Assyrians, who renamed it Ninus after his own name. Arphaxad was the ancestor of the Arphaxaeans, who were also called Chaldaeans. Aram was the ancestor of the Aramaeans, who were also called Syrians. Lud was the ancestor of the Lydians. Arphaxad was the father of Shelah, and Shelah was the father of Eber, from whom the name and nation of the Hebrews was derived. The sixth in succession from Eber was Abraham, the patriarch of the Jewish nation, in the tenth generation after the flood. That is sufficient to show in brief the close relationship between the Hebrews and the

Chaldaeans and Assyrians. [p75] Therefore it is fitting after [the Assyrians] to start on the chronology of the Hebrews.

At the very start of their account of history, [the Hebrews] tell the ancient story of the fall of the human race from their blissful state, and the first patriarch Adam, who was the forefather of the whole human race (Adam in the Hebrew language means all men in general). The rest of the life [of Adam] after he was cast out of paradise is described by the Holy Spirit, through Moses. And then [Genesis, 5:1-32] he lists the names of Adam's descendants and successors, and the length of each of their lives, so that from this point onwards we can calculate the chronology of the Hebrews, and write it down in order. No-one could calculate the length of their stay in the so-called paradise of God. The admirable Moses, inspired by the Holy Spirit, seems to be suggesting another kind of era, greater than our own, a thrice-blessed and god-loving way of life, which he calls paradise - the dwelling place of the first race of men. When Moses describes the blissful life of Adam in paradise, he is referring to the whole race [of men].

But this present chronicle will not include an account of that stay [in paradise], nor [will it start] from the creation of heaven, the earth and the universe, as some have done, but [it will start] from the establishment of our human race, and our era, beginning with the forefather of our race, called Adam, who was the one who fell from paradise and was case out from the blissful life. Taking the information from the scriptures of the Hebrews, as the book of Moses relates, I will set down the number of the years of the doomed and mortal life [of Adam], [p77] and what follows; which is where the historical accounts of the Hebrews begin. At this point, the book of Moses says [Genesis 3:23]: "The Lord banished him" (that is, the first man) "from paradise to work the ground from which he had been taken. And he drove Adam out, and made him dwell outside the region of paradise." Then it adds [Genesis 4:1]: "Adam lay with his wife Eve, and she conceived and gave birth to Cain." Our present chronicle will start from this point; but it will not include the first part of history, which cannot be calculated and must be left separate from the subsequent times.

There is much disagreement amongst the Hebrews about the dates which they have recorded. Therefore it is best to look at the different accounts which they have given, and by comparing and considering them all, to decide where the truth lies. The five books of Moses tell the story of the creation of the world, and of life before the flood, and the history of the most ancient men after the flood, and the successive generations after the flood, and Moses' departure from this life. But the books of the law are written down differently by the Jews, and by the Samaritans, who were foreigners who came to live among the Jews. The characters, which are used by the Jews to represent the Hebrew letters, are different from those used by the Samaritans; and even the descendants of the Jews agree that the Samaritans use the original and true forms of the characters. The two races had no disagreement [about the texts] until the characters were changed. But now there is a great difference between them on matters of chronology, which will become immediately obvious when we compare them in the discussion which follows.

The Greek translation also differs significantly from the Jewish version in some respects, but it does not differ much from the Hebrew version of the Samaritans. There are some differences in the period up to the flood; but from then onwards until the time of Abraham, the two versions are in agreement. The text which we use was translated by seventy Hebrew men, out of their native language into Greek. [p79] They produced the translation in complete harmony during the reign of Ptolemaeus Philadelphus, and placed it in the library at Alexandria. Now we will down write each version of Scripture in turn, so that it will be easy to spot the differences between them. First of all, we will see how the Septuagint [the translation of the seventy men] records the chronology of the period from Adam until the birth of Abraham. The Septuagint Adam, the first man, became the father of Seth when he was 230 years old, and lived for another 700 years, until the 135th year of Mahalalel.

Seth became the father of Enosh when he was 205 years old, and lived for another 707 years, until the 20th year of Enoch. Enosh became the father of Kenan when he was 190 years old, and lived for another 715 years, until the 53rd year of Methuselah. Kenan became the father of Mahalalel when he was 170 years old, and lived for another 740 years, until the 81st year of Lamech. Mahalalel became the father of Jared when he was 165 years old, and lived for another 730 years, until the 48th year of Noah. Jared became the father of Enoch when he was 162 years old, and lived for another 800 years, until the 280th year of Noah. Enoch became the father of Methuselah when he was 165 years old, and lived for another 200 years, until he was taken away in the 33rd year of Lamech. Methuselah became the father of Lamech when he was 167 years old, and lived for another 802 years. The number of years assigned to Methuselah [by the Septuagint] suggests that he survived for (?) 22 years after the time of the flood; but we know that in some copies of the text, it is stated that he lived for another 782 years [after the birth of Lamech], and died at the time of the flood.

[p81] Lamech became the father of Noah when he was 188 years old, and lived for another 535 years. Lamech died before his father Methuselah, in the 535th year of Noah. Noah became the father of Shem, Ham and Japheth when he was 500 years old, 100 years before the time of the flood. The flood occurred in the 600th year of Noah, and he lived for another 350 years after the flood, until the 83rd year of Eber. In total, 2,242 years, according to the Septuagint version. The Hebrew version, of the Jews Adam became the father of Seth when he was 130 years old, and lived for another 800 years, until the 56th year of Lamech. Seth became the father of Enosh when he was 105 years old, and lived for another 807 years, until the 168th year of Lamech. Enosh became the father of Kenan when he was 90 years old, and lived for another 815 years, until the 84th year of Noah.

Kenan became the father of Mahalalel when he was 70 years old, and lived for another 840 years, until the 179th year of Noah. Mahalalel became the father of Jared when he was 65 years old, and lived for another 830 years, until the 234th year of Noah. Jared became the father of Enoch when he was 162 years old, and lived for another 800 years, until the 366th year of Noah. Enoch became the father of Methuselah when he was 65 years old, and lived

for another 300 years, until he was taken away in the 113th year of Lamech. Methuselah became the father of Lamech when he was 187 years old, and lived for another 782 years, up until the time of the flood. Lamech became the father of Noah when he was 182 years old, and lived for another 595 years. He died five years before the flood.

[p83] Noah became the father of Shem, Ham and Japheth when he was 500 years old, 100 years before the time of the flood. The flood occurred in the 600th year of Noah, and he lived for another 350 years after the flood, until the 58th year of Abraham. In total, 1,656 years.

This version differs from the Septuagint by a total of 586 years. This is the difference from the Septuagint in the number of years for which each of them lived before their sons were born; apart from Jared, Methuselah and Lamech, who are given the same number of years in both versions. From the agreement with respect to these three, we can deduce that the version which we use is more reliable, because the longer length of years which is assigned to Jared and his descendants in the Hebrew version makes it clear that the years of their predecessors should also be the same as in the Septuagint version. If the later and more recent generations are found, with the addition of the hundred years, to be assigned the same number of years in both the Hebrew and the Septuagint versions, how much likely is it that the previous generations, their forefathers, lived to be older than their descendants? For in the summary of each man's life, the number of years before his son was born, and the number of year that he lived afterwards, added together gives the same total of years in the Hebrew version and the Septuagint translation. It is only the numbers of years before their sons were born which are shorter in the account preserved in the Jewish copies. Therefore we suspect that this was something which the Jews did: that they ventured to compress and shorten the time before these sons were born, in order to encourage early marriages. For if these most ancient of men, who lived such long lives, came quite soon to marriage and fatherhood, as their account declares, who would not want to imitate them and marry early?

The Hebrew version, of the Samaritans Adam, the first man, became the father of Seth when he was 130 years old, and lived for another 800 years, until the 223rd year of Noah. [p85] Seth became the father of Enosh when he was 105 years old, and lived for another 807 years, until the 335th year of Noah. Enosh became the father of Kenan when he was 90 years old, and lived for another 815 years, until the 433rd year of Noah. Kenan became the father of Mahalalel when he was 70 years old, and lived for another 840 years, until the 528th year of Noah. Mahalalel became the father of Jared when he was 65 years old, and lived for another 830 years, until the 583rd year of Noah. Jared became the father of Enoch when he was 62 years old, and lived for another 785 years, up until the time of the flood.

Enoch became the father of Methuselah when he was 65 years old, and lived for another 300 years, until he was taken away in the 180th year of Noah. Methuselah became the father of Lamech when he was 67 years old, and lived for another 653 years, up until the time of the flood. Lamech became the father of Noah when he was 53 years old, and lived for another 600 years, up until the time of the flood. Noah became the father of Shem when he was

500 years old, 100 years before the time of the flood. The flood occurred in the 600th year of Noah, and he lived for another 350 years after the flood, until the 83rd year of Eber. In total, 1,307 years. [The Samaritan version] differs from the Jewish version by 349 years; and it differs from the Septuagint translation by 935 years. That is the end of our discussion of the period before the flood.

Let us now proceed to the times after the flood. First, let us note that the books of the Chaldaeans contain a very similar account to what is told by the Hebrews about the flood and about the ark which was built by Noah. But because I have already written down the account which was recorded by the Chaldaeans in the appropriate place, I think it is pointless to repeat the same words here. [p87] Some proof that the flood rose above the highest mountains was given a long time afterwards to us, as we wrote this [chronicle]. We observed that, in our own times, fish had been found on top of the highest peaks of the Libanus mountains. Some men, who had gone there to cut out stones from the mountains for building, found various kinds of sea-fish, compacted into the mud in the hollows of the mountains. The fish had survived until the present time, as if they had been artificially preserved, and the sight of them provided evidence to us that the ancient story was true. Let our readers believe this as they wish - but we will now proceed to the following period of time.

After the flood, according to the Septuagint translation In the second year [after the flood], Shem the son of Noah became the father of Arphaxad, and lived for another 500 years, until the 101st year of Peleg. Arphaxad became the father of Shelah when he was 135 years old, and lived for another 403 years, until the 9th year of Reu. Shelah became the father of Eber when he was 130 years old, and lived for another 406 years, until the 7th year of Serug. Eber became the father of Peleg when he was 134 years old, and lived for another 433 years, until the 38th year of Nahor. Peleg became the father of Reu when he was 130 years old, and lived for another 209 years, until the 75th year of Serug. In the days of Peleg, the land was divided up, and therefore the name Peleg means ”division” in the Hebrew language. Peleg [was the second man who] died before his father. In his time, the tower [of Babel] was built; men began to speak many different languages, instead of the common language which they had used before; and each nation had its own language, as the Holy Scriptures say [Genesis 11:5-9]. [p89] Gentile writers also tell the same story; Alexander Polyhistor mentions it in his book about the Chaldaeans, and Abydenus also gives a similar account. I have already recorded what they say in my account of the Chaldaeans.

After Peleg, Reu became the father of Serug when he was 135 years old, and lived for another 207 years, until the 77th year of Nahor. Serug became the father of Nahor when he was 130 years old, and lived for another 200 years, until the 51st year of Abraham. Nahor became the father of Terah when he was 79 years old, and lived for another 119 years, until the 49th year of Serug. Terah became the father of Abraham when he was 70 years old, and lived for another 135 years, until the 35th year of Isaac. The first year of Abraham, who was the forefather of the Jewish nation. In his time, Ninus and Semiramis ruled over Assyria and

the whole of Asia. From the flood up until the first year of Abraham, there are 942 years. From Adam up until the flood, 2,242 years. In total, 3,184 years.

After the flood, according to the Hebrew version of the Jews In the second year after the flood, Shem the son of Noah became the father of Arphaxad, and lived for another 500 years, until the 50th year of Jacob. Arphaxad became the father of Shelah when he was 35 years old, and lived for another 403 years, until the 48th year of Isaac. Shelah became the father of Eber when he was 30 years old, and lived for another 403 years, until the 18th year of Jacob. Eber became the father of Peleg when he was 34 years old, and lived for another 430 years, until the 79th year of Jacob. Peleg became the father of Reu when he was 30 years old, and lived for another 209 years, until the 48th year of Jacob. Reu became the father of Serug when he was 32 years old, and lived for another 207 years, until the 78th year of Abraham.

[p91] Serug became the father of Nahor when he was 30 years old, and lived for another 200 years, until the first year of Isaac. Nahor became the father of Terah when he was 29 years old, and lived for another 119 years, until the 49th year of Abraham. Terah became the father of Abraham when he was 70 years old, and lived for another 135 years, until the 35th year of Isaac. The first year of Abraham. From the flood up until the first year of Abraham, there are 292 years. In total, 1,948 years from Adam. This differs from the Septuagint translation by 1,235 years. After the flood, according to the Hebrew version of the Samaritans In the second year after the flood, Shem the son of Noah became the father of Arphaxad, and lived for another 500 years, until the 101st year of Peleg. Arphaxad became the father of Shelah when he was 135 years old, and lived for another 303 years, until the 39th year of Peleg.

Shelah became the father of Eber when he was 130 years old, and lived for another 303 years, until the 39th year of Reu. Eber became the father of Peleg when he was 134 years old, and lived for another 270 years, until the 140th year of Reu. Peleg became the father of Reu when he was 130 years old, and lived for another 109 years, until the 109th year of Reu. Reu became the father of Serug when he was 132 years old, and lived for another 207 years, until the 77th year of Nahor. Serug became the father of Nahor when he was 130 years old, and lived for another 100 years, until the 21st year of Terah. Nahor became the father of Terah when he was 79 years old, and lived for another 69 years, until the 69th year of Terah. Terah became the father of Abraham when he was 70 years old, and lived for another 75 years, until the 75th year of Abraham.

[p93] The first year of Abraham, who was the forefather of the Jewish nation. From the flood up until the first year of Abraham, there are 942 years. This is the same total as in the Septuagint translation. Therefore, the Hebrew version of the Samaritans agrees with our version in the number of years which it assigns to each of these men, before his son was born; but it differs from the Hebrew version of the Jews by 650 years. For according to the Jewish version, there were 292 years from the flood up until the first year of Abraham. It is clear from the oldest version of the Hebrew scriptures, which is preserved by the Samaritans, and which is in agreement with the Septuagint translation, that these men, from the flood

down to Abraham, did not have sons until they were over a hundred years old. So who could suppose that their ancestors, who lived for much longer, had fathered children more quickly, rather than after the length of time which is recorded in the Septuagint [translation]? That is what any rational study would suggest; and so we must agree that [the numbers of years in] the Jewish version are incorrect for the whole period from Adam until Abraham, except for the three generations starting with Jared; and the Samaritan version is also incorrect, but only in the period from Adam until the flood, because in the period from the flood until Abraham, it records the same numbers of years as the Septuagint translation.

Indeed, it is absolutely clear that [the dates in] the Hebrew version of the Jews are incorrect. It even suggests that Noah and Abraham were alive at the same time - which is something that is not mentioned in any history. For if, according to the Jewish scriptures, there were 292 years from the flood until Abraham, and Noah lived for another 350 years after the flood, it is obvious that Noah was alive until the 58th year of Abraham. And it is possible to show that the Jewish version is untrustworthy in another way: because it says that the generations before Abraham were about 30 years old when their sons were born, but the generations after Abraham are said to have been much older when they fathered their children. [p95] Therefore, because it has been definitely established that the Septuagint version was translated from the original, unadulterated Hebrew scriptures, it is reasonable for us to use that version for this chronicle - especially since it is the only version that is approved by the church of Christ, which has spread throughout the whole world, and it is the version that was handed down to us from the beginning by the apostles and disciples of Christ.

According to the Septuagint [version], from Adam until the flood, there are 2,242 years. From the flood until the first year of Abraham, 942 years. In total, 3,184 years. According to the Hebrew [version] of the Jews, from Adam until the flood, there are 1,656 years. From the flood until the first year of Abraham, 292 years. In total, 1,948 years. According to the Hebrew [version] of the Samaritans, from Adam until the flood, there are 1,307 years. From the flood until the first year of Abraham, 942 years. In total, 2,249 years.

All the versions agree that from Abraham up until Moses and the exodus of the Jews from Egypt, there are 505 years, which are calculated in the following way. In the 75th year of Abraham, God appeared to him and said that he would give the promised land to his offspring. It is written [Genesis, 12:4-7]: ”Abraham was seventy-five years old when he set out from Haran. He took his wife Sarah, and his nephew Lot.” And a little later, Scripture adds: ”The Lord appeared to Abraham, and said, 'To your offspring I give this land.' ” So from the first year of Abraham [until this promise made by God], there are 75 years; and from the 75th year of Abraham until the exodus of the Jews from Egypt, there are 430 years. The Apostle Paul bears witness to this, when he says [Galatians, 3:17-18]: ”The law, introduced 430 years later, does not set aside the covenant previously established by God and thus do away with the promise.” And shortly afterwards, he adds: ”God in his grace gave it to Abraham through a promise.” Abraham’s son Isaac was born in Abraham’s 100th

year, 25 years after the promise which God made to him. From then until the exodus from Egypt there are 405 years, so that the total time from the promise until [the exodus] is 430 years.

[p97] But God, who had appeared to Abraham, appeared to him again and said [Genesis 15:13]: ”Know for certain that your descendants will be strangers in a country not their own, and they will be enslaved and ill-treated for four hundred years.” The word ”descendants” is used deliberately; and to show that we should not allocate the [whole] time to Isaac, the period of 430 years is mentioned at the time of the exodus of the children of Israel from the land of the Egyptians. Scripture says [Exodus 12:40-41]: ”Now the length of time which they and their forefathers lived in Egypt and the land of Canaan, was 430 years. At the end of the 430 years, all the Lord’s divisions left Egypt by night.” Because the length of time, from when the promise was made by God (in the 75th year of Abraham), is 430 years, it is clear that from the first year of Abraham until Moses and the exodus from Egypt, there are 505 years.

Some writers calculate the years in detail, as follows: Abraham became the father of Isaac, when he was 100 years old Isaac became the father of Jacob, when he was 60 years old Jacob became the father of Levi, when he was 86 years old Levi became the father of Kohath, when he was 46 years old Kohath became the father of Amram, when he was 63 years old Amram became the father of Moses, when he was 70 years old Moses led the people out of Egypt, when he was 80 years old So the total length of time, from the first year of Abraham until the exodus from Egypt, is 505 years. In total, from Adam until the exodus from Egypt, according to the Septuagint version, there are 3,689 years; according to the Jews, 2,453 years; according to the Samaritans, 2,753 years. The period from the death of Moses until Solomon and the building of the temple is described in one way by the book of Judges, with which the holy Apostle agrees in the Acts of the Apostles; but in a different way by the book of Kings and the Hebrew tradition. It will be best to report both accounts, and then to choose the one which is more truthful.

Firstly, it must be mentioned that Africanus, who compiled a Chronography in five books, seems to me to have been greatly mistaken in these matters. [p99] By his reckoning, there were 741 years from the exodus of Moses until Solomon and the building of the temple at Jerusalem, but he provides no evidence for most of this. He is wrong, not only because what he says is contrary to the account of the Holy Scriptures, but also because he audaciously adds a total of 100 years on his own authority. He assigns an additional 30 years to the elders after Joshua; and then after Samson, he places 40 years of anarchy, and another 30 years of peace. By inserting these additional years without any proof, he carelessly produces an inflated total of over 740 years in his calculation of the time between Moses and king Solomon.

By observing how many generations had elapsed, we can see that his account is improbable. There were 14 generations from Abraham until David, and the ninth generation had already come to an end at the time of Moses, when Nahshon the son of Aminadab was leader of the

tribe of Judah. Nahshon died in the desert after leaving Egypt, and he was present when the people were first numbered. It is clear that there were five generations after Nahshon until David: David was the son of Jesse, who was the son of Obed, who was the son of Boaz, who was the son of Salmon, who was the son of Nahshon. So how can it be claimed that these five generations after Moses lasted for a total of more than 700 years? If the years are evenly distributed between the men in each generation, we will find that each of them lived for over 140 years before his son was born; and no-one in their senses would consider that possible. Moses himself died at the age of 120 years, and his successor Joshua died at the age of 110 years. Before their time, Joseph lived in all for 110 years, and earlier still Jacob, who was also called Israel, the patriarch of all the Jews, lived for 147 years.

[p101] So how can it be supposed that in later times, after Moses, anyone could have lived for as long as we have said? Africanus is clearly wrong in this matter. However, Clemens reckoned that there were 674 years from Joshua the successor of Moses until the building of the temple, as can be found in the first book of his Miscellany [Stromata, 1'21]. The holy Apostle Paul, in his speech to the Jews in the Acts of the Apostles, says as follows [Acts 13:19-22]: "Joshua destroyed seven nations in the land of Canaan, and he divided the land [amongst the Jews] for 450 years, and after that he gave them judges until the time of Samuel the prophet. Then they asked for a king, and God gave them Saul the son of Kish, of the tribe of Benjamin, who reigned for 40 years. After that, God removed Saul and gave them David in his place."

That is what the Apostle says. According to him, there were 534 years after Joshua. As well as the 450 years, which he assigns to the judges until Samuel, there must be added 40 years for Saul, another 40 years for David, and the four years of Solomon's reign before the building of the temple, which makes a total of 534 years from Joshua the successor of Moses until Solomon. If you add the 40 years of Moses in the wilderness, and the 27 years of Joshua the son of Nun, then the total for the whole period will be 600 years, according to the Apostle. The book of Judges is in agreement with his account, and assigns 450 years to the judges until Samuel, which are divided up as follows: According to the book of Judges After Joshua, rule by foreigners - 8 years Othniel - 40 years foreigners - 18 years

Ehud and Shamgar - 80 years foreigners - 20 years Barak and Deborah - 40 years [p103] foreigners - 7 years Gideon - 40 years Abimelech - 3 years Tola - 23 years Jair - 22 years foreigners - 18 years Jephthah - 6 years Ibzan - 7 years Elon - 10 years Abdon - 8 years foreigners - 40 years Samson - 20 years Eli, in whose time Samuel was born - 40 years The total for all the judges until Samuel is 450 years. The total is consistent with the words of the holy Apostle, but it does not include the years of Moses, or of Joshua the successor of Moses, or of Samuel, or of Saul. The number of years for Samuel and Saul, and also for Joshua, may be uncertain; but as the Apostle suggests, the 40 years of Saul should be added to the 450 years of the judges, and if the 40 years of David and the 4 years of Solomon are joined to this, they make a total of 534 years, the same as in the account of the Apostle. If

we also add the 40 years of Moses in the wilderness, and the 27 years of Joshua the son of Nun, according to the tradition of the Hebrews, the total for the whole period is 600 years.

If this total is compared with the five generations between Nahshon and David, which were mentioned previously, and the years are divided equally between the generations, it follows that the men in each generation lived for more than 115 years before their sons were born. It is scarcely credible that, when Moses lived in all for 120 years, his descendants should reach almost the same age, before their sons were born. Therefore there is nothing left but to move on at this point to the account in the book of Kings.

The book of Kings clearly states that, from the exodus of the children of Israel until Solomon and the building of the temple, there was a total of 440 years; according to the Hebrew version, it was 480 years. [p105] The third book of Kings says as follows [1 Kings 6:1]: "It happened in the 440th year after the exodus out of Egypt, that Solomon began to build the house of the Lord." In the Hebrew version, it says "It happened in the 480th year" because the Jewish teachers, by a careful calculation, decided that the total came to 480 years. They did not count separately the years in which the foreigners are said to have ruled over the people [of Israel], but counted just the time that the judges ruled them, and included within this the periods of foreign domination. And this must be how it is done, because it is the only way that the total can be made to be 480 years. I believe that when the holy Apostle stated the number of years, which was mentioned before, he was not speaking in the manner of a chronographer, or of someone who was making an exact calculation. It would have been superfluous to introduce a discussion of chronology into his declaration of the message of salvation, and so he followed the common interpretation of the book of Judges.

The book of Kings expressly states that there were 440 (or 480) years from the exodus until Solomon. But if we look at the dates of each of the judges, and also count separately the times of foreign rule which are mentioned in the book of Judges, there is a total of 600 years between Moses and Solomon. This total of 600 years is divided up as follows: Moses in the wilderness - 40 years Joshua - 27 years Judges and foreigners - 450 years (as the Apostle states, in accordance with the book of Judges) Samuel and Saul - 40 years David - 40 years Solomon (until the building of the temple) - 4 years Therefore the men in each of the five generations, which we mentioned previously, must have lived for 120 years before their sons were born; which is wholly incredible.

However, if we follow the account in the book of Kings, we will have a total of 480 years, because the 120 years, during which the Hebrews were ruled by foreigners, have been removed. [p107] Instead, the years of their enslavement will have been combined with the years of their freedom in a single total, which is how the Hebrews themselves count it. That is how we will calculate the dates here, by assuming that the times of foreign rule are included in the number of years assigned to each of the judges. We have been particularly persuaded to use this method of calculation, by considering how long is allowed for the five generations from Nahshon to David. If we subtract the 40 years of Moses in the wilderness and the four years of Solomon from the total of 480 years, there are 436 years left, up until the death of

David. If these years are divided equally between the five generations, there are 87 years for each generation. If anyone investigates this, he will find that it is a plausible account, starting from the birth of David. David was the eighth son of Jesse, and was born after his seven elder brothers when his father was an old man; and so we can reckon that something similar may have happened to his ancestors.

Therefore we will follow here the account in the book of Kings, that there were 480 years from the exodus out of Egypt until Solomon and the building of the temple. We will include the periods of foreign rule in the number of years assigned to each of the judges who ruled in succession. The book of Judges supports this decision in another way, by the words of Jephthah, who was one of the judges of the people. When the Ammonites, who lived on the other side of the river Jordan, made war on Jephthah, he sent an embassy to the enemy, with this message [Judges 11:25-26]: ”Are you better than Balak son of Zippor, king of Moab? Did he ever quarrel with Israel, or fight with them? For three hundred years Israel occupied Heshbon, Aroer, the surrounding settlements and all the towns along the Jordan. Why did he not retake them during that time?” His message tells them that Moses and Balaam the son of Beor lived 300 years before their own time. [p109] The only way to produce this total of 300 years is to reckon that the periods when foreigners ruled [the people of Israel] are included in the number of years assigned to the judges who ruled them. If anyone counts the periods of the people’s enslavement, when they were ruled by foreigners, separately [from the judges], he will produce a total which far exceeds the 300 years. But if he counts only the years which are assigned to the judges who ruled the people, he will find that there are 300 years from Moses until Jephthah, as Jepththah’s message stated.

Therefore, the chronology which we use for this period will be as follows: From Moses to Solomon Moses - 40 years Joshua - 27 years foreigners and Othniel the judge - 40 years foreigners and Ehud the judge - 80 years foreigners and Deborah and Barak - 40 years foreigners and Gideon - 40 years Abimelech - 3 years Tola - 23 years Jair - 22 years foreigners and Jephthah the judge - 6 years Ibzan - 7 years Abdon - 8 years foreigners and Samson - 20 years In his time, the Trojan war was fought. Eli - 40 years Samuel and Saul - 40 years David - 40 years Solomon (until the building of the temple) - 4 years In total, from Moses and the exodus out of Egypt until the building of the temple, 480 years. About Joshua, the book which bears his name tells us nothing more than that [p111] he died at the age of 110 years. But the Hebrews say that he was leader for 27 years; and so he was 43 years old when Moses went out of Egypt.

About Samuel, because Scripture does not explicitly assign a number of years to him, I think that the length of Saul’s reign which is mentioned by the holy Apostle should belong jointly to Saul and to Samuel. It is clear that Samuel was leader of the people for many years; but Scripture states that Saul reigned for just two years. In the first book of Kings, it says [1 Samuel 13:1]: ”Saul was the son of a year in his reigning; and he ruled over Israel for two years”. Symmachus makes this clearer in his translation: ”Saul was like a year-old child in his reigning”, meaning that Saul was pure and faultless at the beginning of his

reign. He kept that nature for two years, but when he turned to evil ways, he was rejected by God and suffered divine punishment. Therefore the remaining years have been assigned to Samuel, and 40 years is the joint total for Saul and Samuel. It is clear that Saul [or Samuel] ruled for this length of time, not only from the evidence of the Apostle, but also from a careful investigation of Scripture, which says [2 Samuel, 2:10] that after the death of Saul, "Ish-Bostheth son of Saul was 40 years old when he became king over Israel, and he reigned two years. The house of Judah, however, followed David." Ish-Bostheth must have been born after Saul became king, because Scripture [1 Samuel, 14:49], when talking of the beginning of Saul's reign, mentions three sons of Saul, but not this one. Therefore we think that Ish-Bosheth was born later, and the length of Saul's reign was about the same as the age of his son after his death.

In summary, the third book of Kings [1 Kings, 6:1] says that there were 480 years from the exodus out of Egypt until Solomon and the building of the temple; there were 505 years from Abraham until Moses and the exodus; [p113] there were 942 years from the flood until the first year of Abraham; and there were 2,242 years from Adam until the flood. Altogether there were 4,170 years from Adam until Solomon and the building of the temple. The historian Josephus, in the first book of his Jewish Antiquities, produced some Phoenicians as witnesses to the date of Solomon and to his building of the temple, and the evidence of the men whom he mentions seems useful to me. In that book, he writes as follows [Against Apion, 1:106(17)]: The evidence of the Phoenicians about the temple at Jerusalem, from Josephus I will now, therefore, pass from these records, and come to those that belong to the Phoenicians, and concern our nation, and shall produce proof of what I have said out of them. There are then records among the Tyrians that take in the history of many years, and these are public writings, and are kept with great exactness, and include accounts of the facts done among them, and such as concern their transactions with other nations also, those I mean which were worth remembering. Therein it was recorded that the temple was built by king Solomon at Jerusalem, one hundred forty-three years and eight months before the Tyrians built Carthage.

In their annals the building of our temple is related; for Hirom, the king of Tyre, was the friend of Solomon our king, and had such friendship transmitted down to him from his forefathers. He thereupon was ambitious to contribute to the splendour of this edifice of Solomon, and made him a present of one hundred and twenty talent talents of gold. [p115] He also cut down the most excellent timber out of that mountain which is called Libanus, and sent it to him for adorning its roof. Solomon also not only made him many other presents, by way of requital, but gave him a country in Galilee also, that was called Chabulon. But there was another passion, a philosophic inclination of theirs, which cemented the friendship that was between them; for they sent mutual problems to one another, with a desire to have them resolved by each other; wherein Solomon was superior to Hirom, as he was wiser than he in other respects: and many of the letters that passed between them are still preserved among the Tyrians. Now, that this may not depend on my bare word, I will

produce for a witness Dius, one that is believed to have written the Phoenician History after an accurate manner. This Dius, therefore, writes thus, in his Histories of the Phoenicians:

"Upon the death of Abibalus, his son Hirom took the kingdom. This king raised banks at the eastern parts of the city, and enlarged it; he also joined the temple of Olympian Zeus, which stood before in an island by itself, to the city, by raising a causeway between them, and adorned that temple with donations of gold. He moreover went up to Libanus, and had timber cut down for the building of temples. They say further, that Solomon, when he was king of Jerusalem, sent problems to Hirom to be solved, and desired he would send others back for him to solve, and that he who could not solve the problems proposed to him should pay money to him that solved them. And when Hirom had agreed to the proposals, but was not able to solve the problems, he was obliged to pay a great deal of money, as a penalty for the same. As also they relate, that one Abdemon, a man of Tyre, did solve the problems, and propose others which Solomon could not solve, upon which he was obliged to repay a great deal of money to Hirom."

These things are attested to by Dius, and confirm what we have said upon the same subjects before. [p117] And now I shall add Menander the Ephesian, as an additional witness. This Menander wrote the Acts that were done both by the Greeks and Barbarians, under every one of the Tyrian kings, and had taken much pains to learn their history out of their own records. Now when he was writing about those kings that had reigned at Tyre, he came to Hirom, and says thus: "Upon the death of Abibalus, his son Hirom took the kingdom; he lived fifty-three years, and reigned thirty-four. He raised a bank on that called the Broad Place, and dedicated that golden pillar which is in Zeus' temple; he also went and cut down timber from the mountain called Libanus, and got timber of cedar for the roofs of the temples. He also pulled down the old temples, and built new ones; besides this, he consecrated the temples of Heracles and of Astarte. He first built Heracles' temple in the month Peritius, and that of Astarte when he made his expedition against the Tityans [(?) inhabitants of Utica], who would not pay him their tribute; and when he had brought them under his control, he returned home. Under this king there was a younger son of Abdemon, who mastered the problems which Solomon king of Jerusalem had recommended to be solved." Now the time from this king to the building of Carthage is thus calculated.

"Upon the death of Hirom, Baalbazerus his son took the kingdom; he lived forty-three years, and reigned seventeen years: after him succeeded his son Abdastartus; he lived thirty-nine years, and reigned nine years. Now four sons of his nurse plotted against him and slew him, the eldest of whom reigned twelve years: after them came Astartus, the son of Eleastartus; he lived fifty-four years, and reigned twelve years: after him came his brother Astharymus; he lived fifty-eight years, and reigned nine years: he was slain by his brother Phelles, who took the kingdom and reigned but eight months, though he lived fifty years: he was slain by Eithobalus, the (?) son of king Astartus, who reigned thirty-two years, and lived forty-eight years: [p119] he was succeeded by his son Balezorus, who lived forty-five years, and reigned eight years: he was succeeded by Metenus his son; he lived thirty-two years, and reigned

twenty-nine years: Physmalion succeeded him; he lived fifty-eight years, and reigned forty-seven years. Now in the seventh year of his reign, his sister fled away from him, and built the city Carthage in Libya. So the whole time from the reign of Hirom, till the building of Carthage, amounts to the sum of one hundred fifty-five years and eight months."

Since then the temple was built at Jerusalem in the twelfth year of the reign of Hirom, there were from the building of the temple, until the building of Carthage, one hundred forty-three years and eight months. Therefore, what occasion is there for quoting any more evidence out of the Phoenician histories [on the behalf of our nation], since what I have said is so thoroughly confirmed already? To be sure, our ancestors came into this country long before the building of the temple; for it was not till we had gained possession of the whole land by war that we built our temple. And this is the point that I have clearly proved out of our sacred writings in my Antiquities. That is what Josephus says. The list of times [of reigns] which is shown here covers 432 years, from the building of the temple, in the fourth year of Solomon, until the destruction [of the temple] by the Babylonians. They are reckoned as follows:

Solomon - for 37 years (The rest of his reign except for the first three years) Rehoboam - for 16 years Abijah - for 3 years Asaph - for 41 years Jehoshaphat - for 25 years Jehoram - for 8 years Ahaziah - for 1 year Athaliah his mother - for 7 years Joash - for 40 years [p121] Amaziah - for 28 years Uzziah - for 52 years In his reign the Greeks established the first Olympic games [776 B.C.]. Jotham - for 16 years Ahaz - for 16 years Hezekiah - for 29 years Manasseh - for 55 years Amon - for 2 years Josiah - for 31 years Jehoahaz - for 3 months Jehoiakim - for 11 years Jehoiachin, also called Jekhoniah, his son - for 3 months Mattaniah, also called Zedekiah - for 11 years In total, 432 years. After this, the Babylonian captivity of the Jews and the abandonment of their country lasted for 70 years, which came to an end in the 65th Olympiad [520-517 B.C.], in the second year of Dareius the king of the Persians, as the Holy Scriptures say.

Clemens agrees with our account, when he writes in the first book of his Miscellany as follows [Stromata, 1'21]: "The captivity lasted for seventy years, and ended in the second year of Darius Hystaspes, who had become king of the Persians, Assyrians, and Egyptians; in whose reign, as I said above, Haggai and Zechariah and the angel of the twelve [Malachi] prophesied. And the high priest was Joshua the son of Josedec." That is what Clemens says. More evidence that there was a period of 70 years from the destruction of the temple until the second year of Dareius is provided by the prophet Zechariah, who said in the second year of Dareius [Zechariah 1:12] : "Almighty Lord, how long will you not pity Jerusalem and the cities of Judah, which you have despised? This is the seventieth year." But the acute observer may say: "But why is it said at the beginning of the book of Ezra [Ezra 1:1], that in the first year of Cyrus the king of the Persians, to fulfil the word of God which was spoken through the prophet Jeremiah, the Lord aroused the spirit of Cyrus the king of the Persians, and he gave an order throughout his kingdom in a written decree." And then, adding what follows in that book, [p123] he will show that it refers to the release of the

Jews, and how Cyrus ordered the temple to be rebuilt. From this you would assume that the 70 years of the captivity came to an end in the reign of Cyrus, and not in the reign of Dareius.

To this I reply, that the words of the prophets refer to two different periods of 70 years. The one is reckoned from the destruction of the temple, and came to an end in the second year of Dareius, as the statement of Zechariah makes clear. The second is from the enslavement of the Jews, up until the capture of Babylon and the destruction of the kingdom of the Chaldaeans. This is reckoned from the time of the prophecy, and came to an end in the reign of Cyrus, and not in the reign of the Dareius, in accordance with the word of Jeremiah, in which he foretells what will happen [Jeremiah 29:10]: ”Thus says the Lord. When the 70th year has been completed, I will come to you, and I will fulfil my promise to you, that I will lead you back to this place.” And again, he prophesies as follows [Jeremiah 25:11-12]: ”All this land will be deserted and ruined, and they will serve the king of the Babylonians amongst the foreigners; and the Lord says about that nation, and about the land of the Chaldaeans, that I will bring them to ruin.”

All this was fulfilled in the reign of Cyrus, by counting the years, not from the destruction of the temple, but earlier, from the second year of Jehoiakim, king of the Jews, because it was in this year that Nebuchadnezzar the king of the Babylonians first enslaved the Jews; or even earlier, from when the prophet Jeremiah first began to prophesy. From that time, there were 40 years until the siege of Jerusalem and the burning of the temple, and 70 years until the first year of the reign of Cyrus. The one period of 70 years lasted from the beginning of Jeremiah’s prophecy until the reign of Cyrus; but there were 30 years from the destruction of the temple until the reign of Cyrus, and [the other period of] 70 years was completed in the second year of the reign of Dareius. The temple was restored in the eighth year of Dareius.

From that time onwards, the Jews remained without their own kings. They had their own high priests as leaders, but were subject first to the kings of the Assyrians, then to the kings of the Persians, and after them to the Macedonians who ruled after Alexander, up until the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, who as king of Syria forced the Jews to adopt Greek customs. At that time, Mattathias the son of Asamonaeus, who was a priest at Jerusalem, his son Judas, who [p125] was surnamed Maccabaeus, and their successors re-established the Jewish state, and ruled it continuously until the time of Augustus. In Augustus’ time, Herodes was the first foreigner to become king of the Jews, with the support of the Romans; during his reign, our Saviour Jesus Christ was born. This was the fulfilment of the prophecy spoken by Moses [Genesis 49:10]: ”The sceptre will not depart from Judah, nor the ruler’s staff from between his feet, until he comes to whom it belongs and the obedience of the nations is his”. These are the words of the prophecy.

But the total length of time, from Solomon and the first building of the temple until the second year of Dareius and the rebuilding of the temple, is 502 years. And from Moses and the exodus from Egypt until Solomon and the first building of the temple, is 480 years. And

from the first year of Abraham until the exodus, is 505 years. And from the flood until the first year of Abraham, is 942 years. And from Adam to the flood, is 2242 years. So the overall total, from Adam until the second year of Dareius and the second building of [the temple in] Jerusalem, is 4680 years. And from the second year of Dareius which was the first year of the 65th Olympiad [520 B.C.] [until the ministry of Christ], is 137 Olympiads and 548 years. To show this in more detail, the kings of the Persians are listed here, along with the lengths of their reigns:

Cyrus reigned for 30 years Then Cambyses - for 6 years Dareius reigned for 36 years In Dareius' second year, the temple in Jerusalem was restored. Dareius reigned for a further 34 years. Then Xerxes the son of Dareius - for 20 years In his reign, the story of Esther took place. Artabanus - for 6 months Artaxerxes "Macrocheir" - for 41 years In his reign lived Ezra, the sacred scribe of the Hebrews, who is said to have memorised the whole of Holy Scripture, and who transmitted it to the Jews in the new Hebrew script, because they were living in enemy lands. Nehemiah the head cupbearer also lived at this time; with the approval of the king, he returned to Judaea [p127] and rebuilt Jerusalem, and surrounded the city with a wall; for up until then the city had been deserted, except for the temple which was rebuilt under Dareius. After Artaxerxes there were the following kings of the Persians:

Xerxes the second - for 2 months Sogdianus - for 6 months Dareius "Nothus" - for 19 years Artaxerxes "Mnemon" - for 40 years Artaxerxes, also called Ochus - for 26 years Arses the son of Ochus - for 4 years Dareius the son of Arsames - for 6 years Alexander, the king of the Macedonians, killed Dareius and ruled over the Persian empire for 6 years; he had ruled over the land for 6 years before killing Dareius. The empire of the Persians lasted for 234 years. Beginning in the 55th Olympiad [560-557 B.C.], it ended in the 113th Olympiad [328-325 B.C.]. And from the second year of Dareius until the death of Alexander, who died in the first year of the 114th Olympiad [324 B.C.], is 197 years. After the death of Alexander, there were the following kings of Egypt and Alexandria: 1. Ptolemaeus the son of Lagus - for 40 years

2. Ptolemaeus Philadelphus - for 38 years 3. Ptolemaeus Euergetes - for 24 years 4. Ptolemaeus Philopator - for 21 years 5. Ptolemaeus Epiphanes - for 22 years 6. Ptolemaeus Philometor - for 34 years In his time, Antiochus Epiphanes was king of Syria; and in Antiochus' reign occurred the events which [are related] in the books of Maccabees. These books tell how Antiochus tried to convert the Jews to Greek customs; he defiled the temple by putting up sacred images there, and carried off the sacred vessels of the temple in the 151st Olympiad [176-173 B.C.]. So from the death of Alexander of Macedonia to the first year of Antiochus Epiphanes, is 150 years. And from the second year of Dareius until Antiochus, is 347 years. In the reign of Antiochus, Mattathias the son of Asamonaeus [p129] showed great devotion to his country's religion, and became leader of the Jews. After his death, his son Judas Maccabaeus [became leader]; and after him, his brother Jonathan [was leader]; and after him, his brother Simon [was leader].

The account of the book of Maccabees ends in the reign of Simon; it covers a period of 40 years, up until the end of the 161st Olympiad [136-133 B.C.]. And from this time until Augustus the Roman emperor, is 88 years. After Simon, according to Africanus and Josephus, Jonathan, also called Hyrcanus, was leader of the Jews for 26 years. After him, Aristobulus [was leader] for one year. Aristobulus was the first to wear the royal diadem, acting as king and high priest of the Jewish race; this was 484 years after the Babylonian captivity. After him, Alexander, also called Jannaeus, was king for 25 years. After him, his widow Alexandra, also called Sallina, [was queen] for 9 years. And after her, Aristobulus and Hyrcanus [were kings]. In their reign, Pompeius the Roman general forced the Jews to pay tribute to the Romans. He set up Hyrcanus as their king, but led off Aristobulus as a prisoner to Rome.

In Hyrcanus' reign, in the (?) 184th Olympiad [44 B.C.], Julius Caesar became emperor of the Romans, for 4 years and 7 months. And after him, Augustus (Sebastos in Greek) was emperor for 56 years and 6 months. In his reign, Herodes was the first foreigner to be made king of the Jews by the Romans; his family came from Ascalon, and he had no right to the throne. In Herodes' reign, Christ the Son of God was born in Bethlehem of Judaea. After Augustus, Tiberius became emperor. In his 15th year, the fourth year of the 201st Olympiad [28 A.D.], our Saviour and Lord, Jesus Christ the Son of God, appeared amongst men. So from Antiochus Epiphanes until the 15th year of Tiberius, is 201 years. And from Alexander of Macedonia until the same year of Tiberius, is 352 years. And from the second year of Dareius [until the same year of Tiberius], is 548 years. [p131] And from the 15th year of Tiberius until the final siege of Jerusalem in the second year of Vespasianus, is 42 years.

From Adam until the second year of Dareius, is 4680 years. And from the second year of Dareius until the 15th year of Tiberius, is 548 years. So the total, from Adam until the 15th year of Tiberius, is 5228 years. From the 15th year of Tiberius until the 20th anniversary of Constantinus Victor Augustus, is 300 years. So the overall total, according to the Hebrews in the Septuagint version, is (?) 5518 years. According to the Jews' Hebrew text, it is 1237 years less; and according to the Samaritans' Hebrew text, it is 935 years less. This is the way in which the numbers of years are calculated, according to the Hebrews. [p131] THE EGYPTIANS How [the history of] the Ethiopians is included in the chronology of the Egyptians, and [the times when] the Ptolemaei ruled over Egypt and Alexandria. How the Egyptians have kept records of their dates.

After the chronology of the Chaldaeans, the Assyrians and the Hebrews, it it time to move on to the records of the Egyptians. Diodorus, in the first book of his historical library [1.44], writes as follows: "Some of them tell the story that the first rulers in Egypt were gods and heroes, who ruled for slightly less than sixteen thousand years; the last of the gods who ruled there was Horus the son of Isis. Then men became kings of the country, in the time of Myris, and have continued for slightly less than five thousand years, until the 180th Olympiad [60-57 B.C.], when I visited Egypt, in the reign of Ptolemaeus, who was called the New

Dionysus. [p133] "For the great majority of that time, the country has been ruled by native kings; but for short periods it was ruled by Ethiopians, by Persians and by Macedonians. There were only four Ethiopian kings, and they did not rule in a single sequence, but at separate times; in total, they ruled for slightly less than 36 years. During the supremacy of the Persians, which was established when Cambyses conquered the [Egyptian] people by force, and which lasted for 135 years, the Egyptians rose in revolt, because they could not endure the harsh government and the impiety [of the Persians] towards the native gods. Then the Macedonians and their descendants became kings, for 276 years. For the whole of the rest of the time, [Egypt] was governed by native rulers, who consisted of 470 kings and 5 queens.

"Records about all of these rulers have been kept by the priests in their sacred books, which have been continuously handed down from one [generation] to another, since the most ancient times. These books tell about the character of each king, their virtue and their bravery, their spirit and their nobility, as well as the achievements of each of them in their reigns. However it is unnecessary, and moreover worthless, for us to write down the deeds of each of them; especially since many of them were judged to be insignificant even in their own times." That is what Diodorus says. And now it is right and fitting for us to add to this Manetho's account of the Egyptians, which seems to be a reliable history. From the Egyptian records of Manetho, who composed in three books commentaries about the gods, demi-gods, spirits, and the mortal kings who ruled over the Egyptians, up until the time of Dareius the king of the Persians.

The first man amongst the Egyptians was Hephaestus, who discovered fire for them; he was the father of Sol [the Sun]. After him came [(?)Agathodaemon; then] Cronus; then Osiris; then Typhon the brother of Osiris; and then Horus the son of Osiris and Isis. These were the first rulers of the Egyptians. [p135] After them, one king succeeded another until the time of Bidis, for a total of 13,900 years - calculated by lunar years, which lasted for 30 days. That is the period which we now call a month, but the men of that time called it a year. After the gods, a race of demi-gods ruled for 1,255 years. After them, other kings ruled [the country] for 1,817 years. After them, 30 kings from Memphis [ruled] for 1,790 years; and then another ten kings from Thinis ruled for 350 years. And then the shades and demi-gods were kings, for 5,813 years. The total for all of these is 11,000 years - which are lunar years, or months.

The total time, which the Egyptians assign to the gods and demi-gods and spirits is 24,900 lunar years - which is the equivalent of 2,206 solar years. If you compare this figure with the chronology of the Hebrews, you will find almost the same number of years. For Aegyptus is called Mizraim by the Hebrews; and he was born many years after the time of the flood. It was after the time of the flood that Ham the son of Noah became the father of Mizraim, who was also called Aegyptus; and when the nations were scattered around the earth, Mizraim set off for Egypt to live there. According to the Hebrews, there were 2,242 years in all from Adam until the flood. So let the Egyptians boast of their antiquity, in the ancient times

which preceded the flood. They say that they had some gods, demi-gods and shades. If the years which are recorded by the Hebrews are converted to months, the total is over 20,000 lunar years, so that there are about the same number of months as are contained in the years recorded by the Hebrews, when we count the years from the first-born man up until Mizraim. Mizraim was the patriarch of the Egyptians, and the first dynasty of the Egyptians was descended from him.

But if, even so, the number of years is found to be too large, then we must investigate the reason for this. Perhaps it happened that there were many kings in Egypt at the same time. They say that some of them were kings of Thinis, some of Memphis, some of Sais, and some of Ethiopia; and there were yet others in other places. [p137] And as it seems that these dynasties ruled each in its own (?) nome, it is very unlikely that they ruled in succession to each other. Rather, some of them ruled in one place, and others in another place. Therefore the increase in the number of years can be explained in that way. But we will leave this matter, and proceed to the details of the chronology of the Egyptians. After the demi-gods and spirits, they reckon that the first dynasty consisted of 8 kings. The first of these kings was Menes, who was an outstanding ruler. Starting from him, we will list the rulers of each generation. The succession of rulers was as follows.

1st Dynasty. Menes and his seven descendants: Menes of Thinis, whom Herodotus [2.4] calls Min, ruled for (?) 60 years. - He led his armies beyond the borders of his kingdom, and he was held in high esteem. He was seized by a hippopotamus. His son Athotis ruled for 27 years. - He built a palace in the city of Memphis. He was skilled in medicine, and wrote books about anatomy. His son Cenchenes, 39 years Venephes, 42 years - In his reign there was a severe famine. He built the pyramids near Cocome. Usaphais, 20 years Niebais, 26 years Semempses, 18 years - In his reign there were many prodigies, and a great pestilence. Ubienthis, 26 years. In total: 252 years 2nd Dynasty. 9 kings: Firstly, Bochus, in whose reign a chasm appeared in the ground at Bubastis, and many were killed. Then Caechōus, in whose reign Apis and Mnevis and the goat of Mendes were honoured as gods.

[p139] Biophis, in whose reign it was decided that women too could reign as monarchs. After him, there were three other kings, but nothing significant happened in their reigns. In the reign of the seventh king, there is a legend that the river Nile flowed for eleven days with honey mixed in its water. Then Sesochris [ruled] for 48 years. He is said to have been 5 cubits and 3 palms tall. Nothing worthy of mention happened in the reign of the ninth king. In total: 297 years 3rd Dynasty. 8 kings of Memphis: Necherochis - In his reign the Libyans revolted from the Egyptians, but when the moon unexpectedly grew in size, they were moved by fear and surrendered again. Sesorthus - He was called Asclepius by the Egyptians because of his skill in medicine. He discovered how to make buildings out of hewn stone, and also gave some attention to writing.

The other six kings achieved nothing worthy of mention. In total: 197 years 4th Dynasty. 17 kings of Memphis, from another family: The third king was Suphis - He built the largest pyramid, which Herodotus [2.124] says was built by Cheops. He was disdainful towards

the gods, but later he repented and wrote the sacred book, which the Egyptians hold in the highest regard. Nothing worthy of mention is recorded about the other kings. In total: 448 years 5th Dynasty. 31 kings of Elephantine: The first king was Othoēs, who was assassinated by his bodyguards. The fourth king was Phiops, who became king at the age of six, and reigned until 100 years [old]. [Eusebius does not give a total number of years for this dynasty] 6th Dynasty. Queen Nitocris, who was the noblest and most beautiful woman of her time, with a fair complexion. She is said to have built the third pyramid. In total: [they ruled for] 203 years

[p141] 7th Dynasty. 5 kings of Memphis, who ruled for 75 (?) days. 8th Dynasty. 5 kings of Memphis, who ruled for 100 years. 9th Dynasty. 4 kings of Heracleopolis, who ruled for 100 years. The first king was Achthoēs, who was the most terrible of all the kings up to his time. He cruelly maltreated the inhabitants throughout Egypt, but later he fell into madness and was killed by a crocodile. 10th Dynasty. 19 kings of Heracleopolis, who ruled for 185 years. 11th Dynasty. 16 kings of Diospolis, who ruled for 43 years. After them, Ammenemes reigned for 16 years. At this point, Manetho finishes his first book, which contains 192 kings who reigned in total for 2,300 years [and 75 days]. From the second book of Manetho: 12th Dynasty. 7 kings of Diospolis: Firstly, Sesonchosis the son of Ammenemes, for 46 years Ammanemes, for 38 years - He was killed by his own eunuchs.

Sesostris, for 48 years - He is said to have been 4 cubits, 3 palms and 2 digits tall. He conquered the whole of Asia in nine years, as well as Europe as far as Thrace. Everywhere he erected monuments to show his control over the nations; he depicted men's genitals on the columns for brave nations, and women's genitals for cowardly nations. Therefore the Egyptians gave him the first place of honour after Osiris. Lamares, for 8 years - He built the labyrinth in the Arsinoite [nome], as his own tomb. [p143] His successors ruled for 42 years. In total: they ruled for 245 years 13th Dynasty. 60 kings of Diospolis, who ruled for 453 years. 14th Dynasty. 76 kings of Xois, who ruled for 484 years. 15th Dynasty. [? 17] kings of Diospolis, who ruled for 250 years. 16th Dynasty. 5 kings of Thebes, who ruled for 190 years.

17th Dynasty. Shepherds. Phoenician brothers and foreign kings, who captured Memphis: Firstly, Saites, for 19 years - The Saite nome was named after him. They established a city in the Sethroite nome, and from there they advanced and conquered the Egyptians. Secondly, Bnon, for 40 years Archles, for 30 years Apophis, for 14 years In total: 103 years. Joseph seems to have (?) lived at the time of these kings. 18th Dynasty. 14 kings of Diospolis: Amosis, 25 years Chebron, 13 years Ammenophis, 21 years Misphres, 12 years Misphragmuthosis, 26 years [p145] Tuthmosis, 9 years Amenophis, 31 years - He is the one who is thought to be Memnon, the "singing" statue. Orus, 38 years Achencherses, 16 years - In his reign, Moses led the exodus of the Jews out of Egypt. Acherres, 8 years Cherres, 15 years Armaïs, who was also [called] Danaus, 5 years - After 5 years he was expelled from Egypt, and fled from his brother Aegyptus to Greece, where he captured Argos and became the king of the Argives.

Rhamesses, who was also called Aegyptus, 68 years Amenophis, 40 years In total: 348 years 19th Dynasty. 5 kings of Diospolis: Sethos, 55 years Rhampses, 66 years Amenephthis, (?) 40 years Ammenemes, 26 years Thuōris, 7 years - Homer [Od_4'126] calls him Polybus, the husband of Alcandra, and in his reign Troy was captured. In total: 194 years This is [the end] of the second book of Manetho, which contains (?) 92 kings who reigned in total for 2,121 years. From the third book of Manetho: 20th Dynasty. 12 kings of Diospolis, who ruled for 172 years. 21st Dynasty. 7 kings of Tanis: Smendis, 26 years Psusennes, 41 years Nephercheres, 4 years Amenophthis, 9 years [p147] Osochor, 6 years Psinaches, 9 years Psusennes, 35 years In total : 130 years 22nd Dynasty. 3 kings of Bubastis: Sesonchosis, 21 years Osorthon, 15 years Tacelothis, 13 years In total : 49 years

23rd Dynasty. 3 kings of Tanis: Petubastis, 25 years Osorthon, whom the Egyptians called Heracles, 9 years Psammūs, 10 years In total : 44 years 24th Dynasty. Bocchoris of Sais, 44 years. In his reign, a lamb spoke. 25th Dynasty. 3 Ethiopian kings: Sabacon, who captured Bocchoris and burnt him alive, ruled for 12 years Sebichos, his son, 12 years Taracus, 20 years In total : 44 years 26th Dynasty. 9 kings of Sais: Ammeres the Ethiopian, (?) 12 years Stephinathis, 7 years Nechepsos, 6 years Nechao, 8 years Psammetichus, 44 years Nechao II, 6 years - He captured Jerusalem, and took king Jehoahaz back as a prisoner to Egypt. Psammuthes (Psammetichus) II, 17 years Vaphres, 25 years - The remaining Jews fled to him after Jerusalem had been captured by the Assyrians. Amosis, 42 years In total : 167 years 27th Dynasty. 8 Persian kings: [p149] Cambyses, in the 5th year of his reign, ruled the Egyptians for 3 years

the magi, 7 months Dareius, 36 years Xerxes, the son of Dareius, 21 years Artaxerxes, 40 years Xerxes II, 2 months Sogdianus, 7 months Dareius, the son of Xerxes, 19 years In total : 120 years and 4 months 28th Dynasty. Amyrtaeus of Sais, 6 years. 29th Dynasty. 4 kings of Mendes: Nepheretes, 6 years Achoris, 13 years Psammuthes, 1 year Muthes, 1 year Nepherites, 4 months In total : 21 years and 4 months 30th Dynasty. 3 kings of Sebennytus: Nectanebis, 10 years Teōs, 2 years Nectanebus, 8 years In total : 20 years 31st Dynasty. 3 Persian kings: Ochus, in the 20th year of his reign, ruled over Egypt for 6 years Arses, the son of Ochus, 4 years Dareius, who was killed by Alexander the Macedonian, 6 years All of the above is contained in the third book of Manetho. What follows will be taken from Greek writers, because the kingdom of the Egyptians came to an end at this point. But as Flavius Josephus has produced evidence from the books of Manetho, in his history of the ancestors of the Hebrews, I think that it is right to record his words, which appear in the first [book of] his Antiquity of the Jews, as follows.

[p151] Josephus, [quoting] from the books of Manetho

I shall begin with the writings of the Egyptians; not indeed of those that have written in the Egyptian language, which it is impossible for me to do. But Manetho, who was by birth an Egyptian, had some knowledge of Greek learning, as is very evident; for he wrote the history of his own country in the Greek language, by translating it, as he says himself, out of their sacred records; he also finds great fault with Herodotus for his ignorance and

inaccuracy about Egyptian history. Now this Manetho, in the second book of his Egyptian History, writes concerning us in the following manner. I will set down his very words, as if I were to bring the very man himself into a court as a witness: "Tutimaeus. In his reign it happened, I know not why, that God was angry with us, and there came, unexpectedly, men of ignoble birth from the east, and they were bold enough to make an expedition into our country, and easily subdued it by force, because we did not even hazard a battle with them. So when they had overpowered our rulers, they afterwards burnt down our cities, and demolished the temples of the gods, and treated all the inhabitants in the most barbarous manner. Some of them they slew, and led their children and their wives into slavery. At length they made one of themselves king, whose name was Salitis;

he also lived at Memphis, and he made both the upper and lower regions pay tribute, and left garrisons in places that were the most suitable for them. He chiefly aimed to secure the eastern parts, because he foresaw that the Assyrians, who were the most powerful people of that time, would want to seize his kingdom, and invade it. He found in the Sethroite nome a city very suitable for this purpose, on the east side of the Bubastic channel of the river, which for theological reasons was called Avaris. He rebuilt it, and made it very strong by the walls he built around it, and put in a very large garrison of two hundred and forty thousand armed men, to guard it. [p153] Salitis came there in summer time, partly to gather his corn, and pay his soldiers their wages, and partly to exercise his armed men, and thereby to intimidate foreigners. After this man had reigned nineteen years, another, whose name was Bnon, reigned for forty-four years; after him reigned another, called Apachnas, thirty-six years and seven months; after him Apophis reigned sixty-one years, and then Jannas fifty years and one month; after all these, Assis reigned for forty-nine years and two months. And these six were the first rulers among them, who were all along making war with the Egyptians, and wanted gradually to eradicate them. This whole nation was styled Hyksos, that is, 'shepherd-kings':

for the first syllable hyk, according to the sacred dialect, denotes 'a king', and sos is 'a shepherd', according to the ordinary dialect; and of these is compounded Hyksos: but some say that these people were Arabians. Now in another copy it is said that this word does not denote 'kings', but, on the contrary, denotes that the shepherds were 'captives'. For hyk, as well as hak with an aspirate, in the Egyptian language expressly denotes 'captives'; and this to me seems the more probable opinion, and more in accordance with ancient history.

"These people, whom we have before named kings, and called shepherds also, and their descendants," as he says, "kept control of Egypt for five hundred and eleven years. After this, he says, "The kings of Thebais and the other parts of Egypt rebelled against the shepherds, and a terrible and long war was fought between them. A king, whose name was Misphragmuthosis, subdued the shepherds, and after driving them out of the other parts of Egypt, he shut them up in a place [p155] that contained ten thousand arourai; this place was named Avaris. Manetho adds, "The shepherds built a large and strong wall round all this place, in order to keep all their possessions and their prey within a place of strength, but Thummosis

the son of Misphragmuthosis made an attempt to take them by force and by siege, surrounding them with an army of four hundred and eighty thousand men. But, despairing of taking the place by siege, he came to an agreement with them, that they should leave Egypt, and go, without suffering any harm, wherever they chose; and, after this agreement was made, they went away with all their families and possessions, not fewer in number than two hundred and forty thousand, and travelled out of Egypt, through the wilderness, towards Syria. But as they were in fear of the Assyrians, who were then the rulers of Asia, they built a city in that country which is now called Judaea;

the city was large enough to contain this great number of men, and they called it Jerusalem. Now Manetho, in another book of his, says that this nation, thus called 'shepherds', were also called 'captives', in the sacred books of his country. And this account of his is true; for feeding of sheep was the employment of our forefathers in the most ancient ages, and as they led such a wandering life in feeding sheep, they were called 'shepherds'. Nor was it without reason that they were called 'captives' by the Egyptians, since one of our ancestors, Joseph, told the king of Egypt that he was a captive, and afterwards brought his brothers into Egypt with the king's permission. But as for these matters, I shall give a more detailed account of them elsewhere.

But now I shall produce the Egyptians as witnesses to the antiquity of our nation. I shall therefore bring in Manetho again, and what he writes about the sequence of dates. He says: "When this people or shepherds left Egypt and went to Jerusalem, Tethmosis the king of Egypt, who drove them out, reigned for another twenty-five years and four months, and then he died; [p157] after him his son Chebron took the kingdom for thirteen years; after whom came Amenophis, for twenty years and seven months; then came his sister Amesses, for twenty-one years and nine months; then came her son Mephres, for twelve years and nine months; after him was Mephramuthosis, for twenty-five years and ten months; after him was Thmosis, for nine years and eight months; after him came Amenophis, for thirty years and ten months; after him came Orus, for thirty-six years and five months; then came his daughter Acenchres, for twelve years and one month; then was her brother Rathotis, for nine years; then came his son Acencheres, for twelve years and five months; then came another Acencheres, for twelve years and three months; after him Armais, for four years and one month; after him was Ramesses, for one year and four months; after him came Armesses Miamūn, for sixty-six years and two months; after him Amenophis, for nineteen years and six months; after him came Sethosis, also called Ramesses, who had an army of cavalry, and a strong navy. This king appointed his brother, Armais, to be his deputy over Egypt.

He also gave him all the other authority of a king, except that he instructed him, that he should not wear the diadem, nor do any harm to the queen, the mother of his children, and that he should not meddle with the other concubines of the king. Then he made an expedition against Cyprus, and Phoenicia, and besides against the Assyrians and the Medes. He subdued them all, some by his arms, some without fighting, and some by the terror of

his great army; and being puffed up by the great successes he had had, he went on still more boldly, and overthrew the cities and countries that lay in the east. But after some considerable time, Armais, who was left in Egypt, recklessly did all those very things, which his brother had forbidden him to do. He used violence against the queen, and continued to make use of the rest of the concubines, without sparing any of them. At the persuasion of his friends he put on the diadem, and set up in opposition to his brother. But then the chief of the priests in Egypt wrote letters to Sethosis, and informed him of all that had happened, and how his brother had set up in opposition to him. Sethosis therefore returned back to Pelusium immediately, and recovered his kingdom again. The country was called Egypt from his name; for Manetho says, that Sethosis was himself called Aegyptus, [p159] and his brother Armais was called Danaus.

This is Manetho's account. And it is clear from the number of years allocated by him to this interval, if they are all added together, that these shepherds, as they are here called, were no other than our forefathers, who were delivered out of Egypt, and came from there to inhabit this country, three hundred and ninety-three years before Danaus came to Argos; although the Argives look upon Danaus as their most ancient king. Manetho, therefore, provides evidence from the Egyptians records for two points which are of the greatest consequence to our purpose. In the first place, that we came out of another country into Egypt; and secondly, that our departure from Egypt was so ancient in time as to have preceded the siege of Troy by almost a thousand years. As to those things which Manetho adds, not from the Egyptian records, but, as he confesses himself, from some stories of an uncertain origin, I will disprove them later in detail, and shall demonstrate that they are no better than incredible fables.

That is what Josephus says in the book which we referred to. He [? Manetho] describes the kings of the Egyptians from the beginning until the end, up until one of the kings that they appointed, called Nectanebus. I have already mentioned Nectanebus earlier on, at the appropriate point in the list of kings. After Nectanebus, Ochus the king of the Persians gained control of Egypt, and ruled over it for 6 years. After him, his son Arses [was king] for 4 years. After him, Dareius [was king] for 6 years. Then Alexander the Macedonian killed Dareius the Persian, and ruled over both the Asians and the Egyptians. Alexander founded the city of Alexandria in Egypt in the sixth year of his reign. After the death of Alexander, his empire was divided between many different rulers, and the Ptolemaei became kings of Egypt and Alexandria. The dates of these kings are as follows.

The kings of Egypt and the city of Alexandria after the death of Alexander of Macedonia, from the writings of Porphyrius: Alexander of Macedonia died in the 114th Olympiad [324 B.C.], after reigning for a total of 12 years. He was succeeded by Aridaeus, also called Philippus, who was a brother of Alexander, but by a different mother; for he was the son of Philippus and Philinna of Larissa. Aridaeus ruled for 7 years, before he was killed in Macedonia by Polysperchon the son of Antipater. [p161] A year after Philippus became king, Ptolemaeus the son of Arsinoe and Lagus was sent to be satrap of Egypt. He was

satrap for 17 years, and then he was king for 23 years; so altogether he ruled for 40 years, until his death. However, while still alive he abdicated in favour of his son Ptolemaeus, called Philadelphus, and he lived for a further two years after his son had taken over as king; so we reckon the reign of this first Ptolemaeus, called Soter, to be 38 rather than 40 years long.

He was succeeded by his son Ptolemaeus, who as we said was called Philadelphus. The son reigned for two years while his father was still alive, and then for a further 36 years after his death, so that we reckon the length of his reign to be 38 years, the same as for his father. After him, the third Ptolemaeus, called Euergetes, reigned for 25 years. After him, the fourth Ptolemaeus, called Philopator, reigned for 17 years. After him, the fifth Ptolemaeus, called Epiphanes, reigned for 24 years. This Ptolemaeus had two sons, the elder called Philometor and the younger called the second Euergetes, who ruled after him for a combined total of 64 years. We have counted their years together, because they were constantly fighting against each other and alternately gained and lost control of the kingdom, which makes it difficult to calculate their years separately. Philometor first ruled on his own for 11 years; but when Antiochus invaded Egypt and removed him from the throne, the inhabitants of Alexandria put the younger brother in charge. Then they forced Antiochus out of Egypt, and freed Philometor. They called that the 12th year of Philometor, and the first year of Euergetes. After that the two kings ruled jointly until the 17th year, but from the 18th year onwards Philometor ruled on his own.

At that time the elder brother, who had been deposed by the younger brother, was restored by the Romans. [p163] So he ruled in Egypt, and made his brother ruler of Libya instead, and after that Philometor ruled as sole king of Egypt for 18 years. When he died in Syria, which was also under his control, Euergetes was called back from Cyrene and proclaimed king. Euergetes counted his years from the time when he first became king, so that he seems to have reigned for 25 [29?] years after his brother's death, but officially he reigned for 54 years. The 36th year of Philometor should have been called the first year of his reign, but instead he ordered it to be written as the 25th year of his reign. So the combined length of both their reigns is 64 years, 35 years under Philometor and the rest under Euergetes; but to split it up into separate reigns would lead to confusion.

Ptolemaeus the second Euergetes had two sons by Cleopatra, the elder called Ptolemaeus Soter and the younger called Ptolemaeus Alexander. The elder son was appointed by his mother to reign first; she thought he would obey her, so favoured him for a time. But in the tenth year of his reign he murdered his parents' friends, and was deposed by his mother because of his cruelty, and fled to Cyprus. His mother summoned her younger son from Pelusium, and appointed him to be king along with her. So the younger son ruled jointly with his mother, and the country was governed in both their names; this year was called the 11th year of Cleopatra and the 8th year of Alexander, because Alexander counted his years from the 4th year of his brother's reign, which was when he started to rule over Cyprus. This state of affairs continued until the death of Cleopatra; after she died, Alexander ruled on

his own, and he reigned for 18 years in all after he returned to Alexandria, though officially he reigned for 26 years. In the 19th year, after a dispute with his soldiers, he went away to collect an army to bring to Egypt against them. However they followed him, and under the leadership of a relative of the kings called Tyrrus, [p165] they defeated him in a naval battle. Alexander was forced to take refuge with his wife and daughter in Myra, a city of Lycia; from there, he crossed over to Cyprus, where he was defeated by the admiral Chaereas, and died.

After his expulsion, the inhabitants of Alexandria sent envoys to the elder brother, Ptolemaeus Soter, and established him as king again, when he had sailed back from Cyprus. Soter lived for another 7 years and 6 months after his return, and the whole period after the death of the brothers' father was counted in his name, which was a total of 35 years and 6 months. But if we split the period up according to the actual course of events, Ptolemaeus Soter ruled at two different times for a total of 17 years and 6 months, and in between the younger brother, Ptolemaeus Alexander, ruled for 18 years. The inhabitants of Alexandria were unable to completely delete Alexander's reign from the records, but as far as was in their power they erased all mention of it, because Alexander had assaulted them with the help of some Jews. So they do not count the years of his reign, but attribute the whole 36 years to the elder brother.

Similarly, they do not attribute the next 6 months after the death of the elder brother, which make up the complete 36 years, to Cleopatra, the daughter of the elder brother and wife of the younger brother, who took over control of the kingdom after the death of her father. Nor do they formally attribute to Alexander the 19 days in which he jointly reigned with her. This Alexander was the son of the younger Ptolemaeus, who was also called Alexander, and the stepson of Cleopatra. He was staying in Rome, when he was summoned back to Alexandria because there were no men of the royal family left in Egypt. He married the aforesaid Cleopatra, and when she had willingly handed over power to him, after an interval of 19 days he murdered her. Then he himself was seized and killed by the armed men in the gymnasium, because of the foul murder which he had committed.

[p167] This Alexander was succeeded by Ptolemaeus, called the new Dionysus, who was the son of Ptolemaeus Soter and the brother of the aforesaid Cleopatra. He reigned for 29 years. His daughter Cleopatra was the last of the dynasty of the Ptolemaei. She reigned for 22 years. These reigns also did not follow an continuous sequence from start to finish, as laid out in the records, but each of them had some interruptions in the middle of it. In the reign of the new Dionysus, a three year period was ascribed to the rule of his daughters Cleopatra Tryphaena and Berenice, one year as a joint reign and the following two years, after the death of Cleopatra Tryphaena, as the reign of Berenice on her own. Because Ptolemaeus had gone off to Rome, and was spending a long time there, his daughters took over the rule of the kingdom, as if he was not going to return, and Berenice took on some men of the royal family as co-rulers. But when Ptolemaeus returned from Rome, he forget all affection towards his daughter, and in his anger at what she had done, he put her to death.

In the first years of Cleopatra's reign, she shared power with her elder brother Ptolemaeus and then with others, for the following reasons. When the new Dionysus died, he left four children, two sons called Ptolemaeus and daughters called Cleopatra and Arsinoe. He handed over power to the two eldest children, Ptolemaeus and Cleopatra, who reigned jointly for 4 years. And this state of affairs would have continued, if Ptolemaeus had not wanted to seize sole power for himself, in contravention of his father's orders. However he was fated to die soon afterwards, after being defeated in a naval battle by Julius Caesar, who intervened on behalf of Cleopatra. After Ptolemaeus' death, Cleopatra's younger brother, who was also called Ptolemaeus, became joint ruler with his sister, as proposed by Caesar. The next year was called the fifth year of Cleopatra and the first year of Ptolemaeus, and so it continued for the following two years, [p169] until he died. He was plotted against and killed by Cleopatra, in his 4th year, which was Cleopatra's 8th year. From then onwards Cleopatra ruled on her own, up until her 15th year. However, her 16th year was also called the first year, because after the death of Lysimachus the king of Chalcis in Syria, the Roman general Marcus Antonius gave Chalcis and the surrounding regions to Cleopatra. And from then onwards for the remaining years up until the 22nd year, which was the last of Cleopatra's reign, the years were counted in the same way, so that the 22nd year was also called the 7th year.

Octavius Caesar, also called Augustus, conquered Egypt in the battle of Actium, and succeeded Cleopatra as ruler of Egypt in the second year of the 184th Olympiad [43 B.C.]. From the first year of the 111th Olympiad [336 B.C.], when Aridaeus Philippus became king, until the second year of the 184th Olympiad [43 B.C.], is 73 Olympiads and one additional year. So the total duration of the rule of all the kings of Alexandria, down to the death of Cleopatra, is 293 years. So the reign-lengths of the Ptolemaei are as follows: Alexander the Macedonian began his reign in the first year of the 111th Olympiad [336 B.C.]. He founded the city of Alexandria in Egypt, and ruled for 12 years and 7 months. After him, the kings of the city of Alexandria and the whole of Egypt were: Ptolemaeus the son of Lagus - for 40 years Ptolemaeus Philadelphus - for 38 years

Ptolemaeus Euergetes - for 24 years Ptolemaeus Philopator - for 21 years Ptolemaeus Epiphanes - for 24 years Ptolemaeus Philometor - for 31 years [p171] Ptolemaeus the second Euergetes - for 29 years Ptolemaeus Physcon, or Soter - for 17 years and 6 months Ptolemaeus Alexander, after the expulsion of [Soter], his predecessor - for [10] years Ptolemaeus Philadelphus, returning from exile after the expulsion of Alexander - for 8 years Ptolemaeus Dionysus, called Philadelphus - for 30 years Cleopatra the daughter of Ptolemaeus - for 22 years In her reign, Gaius Julius Caesar became the first Roman emperor. The next emperor, Octavius Caesar Augustus, called Sebastos in Greek, killed Cleopatra and put an end to the dynasty of the Ptolemaei, who had ruled for 295 years. THE GREEKS According to the historians of their ancient times. The kings of the Athenians The kings of the Argives The kings of the Sicyonians

The kings of the Lacedaemonians The kings of the Corinthians Who ruled the sea, and for how long The individual Olympiads of the Greeks The early kings of the Macedonians The kings of the (?) Macedonians, Thessalians, Syrians and Asians after Alexander Dates of the Greeks The Sicyonians and their kings are said to be the most ancient of the Greeks. The first king to rule Sicyon was Aegialeus, at the same time as Ninus and Belus, who are the first recorded kings of the Assyrians and of Asia. The Peloponnese was originally called Aegialeia, after this Aegialeus. Inachus is said to have been the first king of the Argives, 235 years after the start of the Sicyonian kingdom. [p173] Cecrops, called Diphyes ("two-formed") was the first king of the Athenians, about 300 years after the start of the Argive kingdom, and 533 years after the start of the Sicyonian kingdom.

This chronicle will start with the earliest rulers, and first it will give a full list of the kings of the Sicyonians. There is considerable disagreement amongst the older writers who composed chronicles of Greek history; but, as far as possible, we will copy the accounts which are agreed by most writers. The chronographer Castor lists the dates of the Sicyonian kings in his chronicle; and then he provides a summary of them, as follows: "We will provide a list of the kings of Sicyon, starting with Aegialeus, the first king, and ending with Zeuxippus. These kings reigned for a total of 959 years. After the kings, six priests of [Apollo] Carneius were appointed; this priesthood lasted for 33 years. Then Charidemus was appointed priest; but he could not bear the expense, and went into exile." That is what Castor wrote. The exact succession of the Sicyonian kings is reckoned as follows.

The kings of the Sicyonians Aegialeus, for 52 years. The Peloponnese was originally called Aegialeia, after this Aegialeus. He is said to have started to rule Sicyon in the 15th year of Belus, the first king of the Assyrians. According to legend, [Belus] was the son of Poseidon and Libya. Europs, for 45 years. He reigned at the same time as Ninus, the son of Belus. Telchin, for 20 years. He reigned at the same time as Semiramis. Apis, for 25 years. The Peloponnese was then called Apia, after this Apis. Thelxion, for 52 years. Aegydrus, for 34 years. Thurimachus, for 45 years. During his reign, Inachus became the first king of the Argives. [p175] Leucippus, for 53 years. Messapus, for 47 years. During his reign Egypt was ruled by Joseph, as the Hebrews record. Eratus, for 46 years. Plemnaeus, for 48 years. Orthopolis, for 63 years. Marathonius, for 30 years. During his reign, Cecrops Diphyes became the first king of Attica.

Marathus, for 20 years. During his reign, Moses led the Hebrews out of Egypt, as will be shown in due course. Echyreus, for 55 years. During his reign, Danaus became king of the Argives. Corax, for 30 years. Epopeus, for 35 years. Laomedon, for 40 years. Sicyon, for 45 years. During his reign, the kingdom of the Argives came to an end, after lasting for 540 years. Polybus, for 40 years. Inachus, for 40 years. Phaestus, for 8 years. Adrastus, for 4 years. Polypheides, for 31 years. During his reign, Troy was captured. Pelasgus, for 20 years. During his reign, Aeneias was king of the Latins. Zeuxippus, for 31 years. In all, there were 26 kings of Sicyon, who reigned for 959 years. After Zeuxippus, there were

no more kings, and instead there were priests of [Apollo] Carneius. The first priest was Archelaus, for one year. Automedon, for one year.

Theoclytus, for four years. Euneus, for six years. Theonomus, for nine years. [p177] Amphigyes, for (?) twelve years. Lastly, Charidemus for one year. He could not bear the expense, and went into exile. He was priest (?) 352 years before the first Olympiad [i.e. 1128 B.C.]. The total duration of the kings and priests of the Sicyonians was 998 years. After the rulers of the Sicyonians, it will be fitting to give a summary of the kings of the Argives, as far as can be established from the ancient histories. Castor mentions them in these words. Castor, about the kings of the Argives: Next we will list the kings of the Argives, starting with Inachus and ending with Sthenelus the son of Crotopus. These kings reigned for a total of 382 years, until Sthenelus was driven out by Danaus, who seized control of Argos. The descendants of Danaus ruled Argos for 162 years, ending with Eurysthenes, the son of Sthenelus, the son of Perseus. After Eurysthenes, the descendants of Pelops ruled Argos for (?) 105 years, starting with Atreus, and ending with Penthilus, Tisamenus and Cometes (?) the son of Orestes, in whose time occurred the invasion of the Heracleidae. The dates of each of the Argive kings are as follows.

The kings of the Argives Inachus, for 50 years. The country was called Inachia, after this Inachus. He began to rule the Argives at the time of Thurimachus, who was the seventh king of the Sicyonians. Phoroneus, for 60 years. In his reign, Ogygus founded Eleusis. Apis, for 35 years. The country was then called Apia, after this Apis. During his reign, Joseph governed the Egyptians, as recorded by the Hebrews. Argus, the son of Zeus and Niobe, for 70 years. The name of the country was changed to Argeia, after this Argus. Criasus, for 54 years. Phorbas, for 35 years. During his reign, Cecrops Diphyes became king of the Athenians. [p179] Triopas, for 46 years. During his reign, Moses led the Hebrews out of Egypt. Crotopus, for 21 years. Sthenelus, for 11 years. In all, these kings reigned for 382 years. Danaus drove out Sthenelus, and ruled Argos, as did his descendants after him. The succession of kings, and their dates, are as follows.

Danaus, for 50 years. Lynceus, for 41 years. Abas, for 23 years. Proetus, for 17 years. Acrisius, for 31 years. In all, there were rulers of Argos for a period of 544 years, until the end of Danaidae. After Acrisius, the Argives began to be ruled from Mycenaae, when the descendants of Pelops took over the kingdom, in the time of Eurysthenes the son of Sthenelus. Pelops was the first ruler of the Peloponnese, and he organised the Olympic games. After Acrisius, when the Argives began to be ruled from Mycenae: Eurysthenes was king for 45 years. Then the sons of Pelops, Atreus and Thyestes, for 65 years. After them, Agamemnon, for 30 years. In the 18th year of his reign, Troy was captured. Aegisthus, for 17 years. Orestes, Tisamenus, Penthilus and Cometes for 58 years, until the return of the Heracleidae, when they conquered the Peloponnese. From the return of the Heracleidae until the migration of the Ionians, there are (?) 60 years. From the migration of the Ionians until the first Olympiad [776 B.C.], there are 267 years.

Next it will be fitting to provide a list of the kings of Athenians, by summarising the accounts of some of the ancient historians. Ogygus is said to have been the first [king] of the Athenians; [p181] the Greeks relate that their great ancient flood happened in his reign. Phoroneus the son of Inachus, king of the Argives, is said to have lived at the same time. Plato mentions this in the Timaeus [22], as follows: "When he wished to introduce them to ancient history, so that they could discuss the antiquity of this city, he started his account with the old stories about Phoroneus and Niobe, and then what happened after the flood." Ogygus lived in the time of Messapus, the ninth king of Sicyon, and Belochus, the eighth king of the Assyrians. After Ogygus, because of the great destruction caused by the flood, Attica remained without a king for 190 years, until the time of Cecrops. The number of years is reckoned from the kings of the Argives, who began before Ogygus. From the end of the reign of Phoroneus, king of the Argives, in whose time Ogygus' flood is said to have happened, until Phorbas, in whose time Cecrops became king of Attica, is a period of 190 years. From Cecrops until the first Olympiad, there are counted seventeen kings, and twelve archons for life; in this time, the marvellous myths of the Greeks are said to have occurred. The Greeks count the kings of Attica from [Cecrops], because they do not know for certain the dates of any earlier kings. Castor explained this in the summary of this history, as follows.

Castor, about the kings of the Athenians: We will now list the kings of the Athenians, starting with Cecrops, called Diphyes, and ending with Thymoetes. The total duration of the reigns of all these kings, called Erechtheidae, was 450 years. After them, Melanthus of Pylus, son of Andropompus, became king, [p183] followed by his son Codrus. The total duration of their two reigns was (?) 58 years. [When the kings came to an end, they were replaced by archons who ruled for life], starting with (?) Medon son of Codrus, and ending with Alcmaeon son of Aeschylus. The total duration of the rule of the archons for life was 209 years. The next archons held power for 10 years each; there were seven of these archons, and altogether they ruled for 70 years. Then the archons started to hold power for one year each, starting with Creon and ending with Theophemus, in whose time the history and glorious achievements of our country came to a complete end.

That is what Castor wrote. Now we will provide a list of each of the kings. The kings of the Athenians Cecrops Diphyes, for 50 years. In his reign lived Prometheus, Epimetheus and Atlas. He started to rule the Athenians in the time of Triopas, the seventh king of the Argives, and Marathonius, the thirteenth king of Sicyon. At this time, Moses was prominent amongst the Hebrews, as we will show in due course. Also in his reign, the flood of Deucalion is said to have engulfed Thessaly, just as fire devastated the land of Ethiopia in the time of Phaethon. Cranaus, an aboriginal, for 9 years. Amphictyon, the son of Deucalion and son-in-law of Cranaus, for (?) 10 years. The deeds of the Danaidae are said to have occurred in his reign. Erichthonius, the son of Hephaestus, who is called Erechtheus by Homerus, for 50 years. The Idaean Dactyls lived in his reign.

Pandion, the son of Erichthonius, for 40 years. The rape of Core [Persephone], and what is related about Triptolemus, occurred in his reign. [p185] Erechtheus the son of Pandion, for 50 years. The deeds of Perseus occurred in his reign. Cecrops, the brother of Erechtheus, for 40 years. The deeds of Dionysus occurred in his reign. Pandion, the son of Erechtheus, for 25 years. Afterwards Pandion went into exile, and became king of Megara. The deeds of Europa, Cadmus and the Sparti occurred in his reign. Aegeus, the son of Pandion, for 48 years. The deeds of the Argonauts and the Centaurs occurred in his reign; and Heracles held the athletic games. Theseus, the son of Aegeus, for 30 years. In his reign, Minos established laws. Menestheus, the son of Peteus, son of Orneus son of Erechtheus, for 23 years. In his reign, Troy was captured. Demophon, the son of Theseus, for 33 years. The deeds of Odysseus and Orestes occurred in his reign; and Aeneias was king of Lavinium.

Oxyntes, the son of Demophon, for 12 years. In his reign, the Amazons burnt down the temple at Ephesus. Apheidas, the son of Oxyntes, for one year. Thymoetes, the brother of Apheidas, for 8 years. Melanthus of Pylus, the son of Andropompus, for 37 years. In his reign the Heracleidae returned and occupied the Peloponnese. Codrus, the son of Melanthus, for 21 years. In his reign, the Ionians were driven out of Achaea, and took refuge in Athens. Archons of the Athenians, who held power for life Medon, the son of Codrus, for 20 years. Acastus, the son of Medon, for 36 years. In his reign occurred the migration of the Ionians, [p187] including Homerus, so they say. At the same time, Solomon built the temple at Jerusalem, as will be shown in due course. Archippus, the son of Acastus, for 19 years. Thersippus, the son of Archippus, for 41 years.

Phorbas, the son of Thersippus, for 30 years. Megacles, the son of Phorbas, for 30 years. Diognetus, the son of Megacles, for 28 years. At this time, Lycurgus was in his prime. Pherecles, the son of Diognetus, for 19 years. Ariphron, the son of Pherecles, for 20 years. At this time, the kingdom of the Assyrians came to an end, and Sardanapalus was killed. Thespieus, the son of Ariphron, for 27 years. At this time, Lycurgus established laws for the Spartans. Agamestor, the son of Thespieus, for 17 years. Aeschylus, the son of Agamestor, for 23 years. In his twelfth year, the first Olympiad was held, in which Coroebus won the stadion contest. The total duration of the Athenian rulers, from Cecrops down to the first Olympiad [776 B.C.], was 780 years; from Ogygus to the first Olympiad, there were 970 years. From this time onwards, it is convenient to calculate dates according to the Olympiads.

After Aeschylus, Alcmaeon ruled the Athenians, for 2 years. [p189] After Alcmaeon, the Athenians decided to appoint archons for ten years each: Charops, for ten years. Aesimides, for ten years. Cleidicus, for ten years. Hippomenes, for ten years. Leocrates, for ten years. Apsander, for ten years. Eryxias, for ten years. After this, they decided to appoint archons for one year each. The first annual archon was Creon, in the 24th Olympiad [684-681 B.C.]. From that time onwards, an archon was appointed for each year; but it is not necessary to list their names. This concludes the summary of the dates of the ancient rulers of the Athenians, as related by the older and more reliable historians. We have set down the dates and events before the capture of Troy, which are not reliably recorded, as well as we can

from the different accounts. Nor are the events from the capture of Troy until the first Olympiad accurately recorded. However Porphyrius, in the first book of his Philosophical History, gives a summary in the following words:

"Apollodorus says that there are 80 years from the capture of Troy [1183 B.C.] until the expedition of the Heracleidae to the Peloponnese [1103 B.C.]; there are 60 years from the return of the Heracleidae until the settling of Ionia [1043 B.C.]; there are 159 years from then until Lycurgus [884 B.C.]; and there are 108 years from Lycurgus until the first Olympiad [776 B.C.]. Altogether, there are 407 years from the capture of Troy until the first Olympiad." Next, it will be fitting to give an account of the Olympiads as they are recorded by the Greeks. [p191]Olympiads of the Greeks First Olympiad: in which Coroebus of Elis won the stadion race. From this time onwards, the dates of the Greeks seem to have been accurately recorded; before then, the dates are supplied according to the whim of each writer. About the institution of the Olympic Games It is necessary to say a little about the origin of the games. Some writers, who trace back the institution of the games to the earliest times, say that they had been held before Heracles, by one of the Idaean Dactyls; and then by Aethlius, as a challenge for his sons (from his name, the competitors were called athletes); and then by his son Epeius; and then Endymion, Alexinus and Oenomaus were each in charge of the sacred festival. Then Pelops held the games in honour of his father Zeus; and next, Heracles the son of Alcmene. There were ten generations (or, according to some, only three complete festivals) from Heracles until the time of Iphitus.

Iphitus was a citizen of Elis, who was concerned about the condition of Greece, and wished to rid the cities of their wars. He sent envoys from the whole of the Peloponnese to consult [the god] about release from the wars which gripped them. The god gave this response to the Peloponnesians: You who dwell in the Peloponnese, gather round the altar; Make sacrifice, and obey the instructions of the prophets. He added these words to the Eleians: Eleian servants of the gods, who maintain your ancestral rites, Protect your homeland, and desist from war. Lead the Greeks in mutually just friendship, Until the gathering comes in the year of good will. [p193] As a result of this, Iphitus proclaimed the truce [which had been fixed by Heracles at the summer solstice; they no longer fought against each other,] and he organised the games together with Lycurgus, who happened to be his relative because they were both descended from Heracles. On this occasion, the only contest was the stadion race; later the other contests were added in their turn.

Aristodemus of Elis relates that the victors in the athletic contests began to be registered in the 27th Olympiad after Iphitus. Before then, no-one had thought to record the athletes' names. In the 28th Olympiad Coroebus of Elis won the stadion race, and he was the first victor to be registered. This was then established as the first Olympiad, from which the Greeks calculate their dates. Polybius says the same as Aristodemus; but Callimachus says that thirteen Olympiads passed after Iphitus without victors being registered; and Coroebus was the victor in the 14th Olympiad. Many writers state that the institution of the games by Heracles the son of Alcmene occurred (?) 419 years before what is counted as

the first Olympiad. The Eleians hold the games every fifth year, with a gap of four years in between them. The Greek Olympiads, from the first Olympiad up until the 247th, when Antoninus the son of Severus was emperor of the Romans:

1st Olympiad [776 B.C.] - Coroebus of Elis was the victor in the stadion race. The stadion race was the only contest for the first thirteen Olympiads. 2nd [772 B.C.] - Antimachus of Elis, stadion race 3rd [768 B.C.] - Androclus of Messenia, stadion race [At this time] Romulus and Remus were born. [p195] 4th [764 B.C.] - Polychares of Messenia, stadion race 5th [760 B.C.] - Aeschines of Elis, stadion race 6th [756 B.C.] - Oebotas of Dyme, stadion race 7th [752 B.C.] - Diocles of Messenia, stadion race 8th [748 B.C.] - Anticles of Messenia, stadion race 9th [744 B.C.] - Xenocles of Messenia, stadion race 10th [740 B.C.] - Dotades of Messenia, stadion race 11th [736 B.C.] - Leochares of Messenia, stadion race 12th [732 B.C.] - Oxythemis of Coroneia, stadion race 13th [728 B.C.] - Diocles of Corinth, stadion race 14th [724 B.C.] - Desmon of Corinth, stadion race A double race was added, which was won by Hypenus of Elis.

15th [720 B.C.] - Orsippus of Megara, stadion race A long race was added, and the runners were naked; the winner was Acanthus of Laconia. 16th [716 B.C.] - Pythagoras of Laconia, stadion race 17th [712 B.C.] - Polus of Epidaurus, stadion race 18th [708 B.C.] - Tellis of Sicyon, stadion race A wresting contest was added, and the winner was Eurybatus of Laconia. A pentathlon contest was also added, and the winner was Lampis of Laconia. 19th [704 B.C.] - Menus of Megara, stadion race 20th [700 B.C.] - Atheradas of Laconia, stadion race 21st [696 B.C.] - Pantacles of Athens, stadion race 22nd [692 B.C.] - Pantacles for a second time 23rd [688 B.C.] - Icarius of Hyperesia, stadion race A boxing contest was added, and the winner was Onomastus of Smyrna. It was Onomastus who established the rules of boxing. 24th [684 B.C.] - Cleoptolemus of Laconia, stadion race

25th [680 B.C.] - Thalpis of Laconia, stadion race A race was added for chariots drawn by four horses, and the winner was Pagon of Thebes. [p197] 26th [676 B.C.] - Callisthenes of Laconia, stadion race Philombrotus of Laconia won the pentathlon at three Olympic games. The Carneia, a contest for citharodes, was held for the first time at Sparta. 27th [672 B.C.] - Eurybus of Athens, stadion race 28th [668 B.C.] - Charmis of Laconia, stadion race Charmis trained on a diet of dried figs. These games were held by the inhabitants of Pisa, because Elis was preoccupied by a war against Dyme. 29th [664 B.C.] - Chionis of Laconia, stadion race Chionis could leap a distance of 22 feet. 30th [660 B.C.] - Chionis for a second time The inhabitants of Pisa defected from Elis, and supervised these and the following 22 games. 31st [656 B.C.] - Chionis of Laconia for a third time, stadion race

32nd [652 B.C.] - Cratinus of Megara, stadion race At these games, Comaeus was the third of his brothers to win the boxing contest. 33rd [648 B.C.] - Gylis of Laconia, stadion race At these games, a pancratium contest was added, and the winner was Lygdamis of Syracuse. Lygdamis was massive; he measured out the stadion with his feet, in only six hundred paces. A horse race was added, and the winner was Craxilas of Thessaly. 34th [644 B.C.] - Stomas of Athens, stadion race 35th [640 B.C.] - Sphaerus of Laconia, stadion race The double

race was won by Cylon of Athens, who later attempted to set himself up as tyrant. [p199] 36th [636 B.C.] - Phrynon of Athens, stadion race Phrynon was killed in single combat with Pittacus. 37th [632 B.C.] - Eurycleidas of Laconia, stadion race A stadion race for boys was added, and the winner was Polynices of Elis. A wrestling contest for boys was added, and the winner was Hipposthenes of Laconia, who won the men's wrestling contest five times in a row, starting from the next-but-one Olympic games.

38th [628 B.C.] - Olyntheus of Laconia, stadion race A pancratium contest for boys was added, but only on this one occasion. The winner was Deutelidas of Laconia. 39th [624 B.C.] - Rhipsolaus of Laconia, stadion race 40th [620 B.C.] - Olyntheus of Laconia for a second time, stadion race 41st [616 B.C.] - Cleondas of Thebes, stadion race A boxing contest for boys was added, and the winner was Philotas of Sybaris. 42nd [612 B.C.] - Lycotas of Laconia, stadion race 43rd [608 B.C.] - Cleon of Epidaurus, stadion race 44th [604 B.C.] - Gelon of Laconia, stadion race 45th [600 B.C.] - Anticrates of Epidaurus, stadion race 46th [596 B.C.] - Chrysamaxus of Laconia, stadion race The boys' stadion race was won by Polymnestor of Miletus, who chased and caught a hare while he was tending goats. 47th [592 B.C.] - Eurycles of Laconia, stadion race 48th [588 B.C.] - Glycon of Croton, stadion race Pythagoras of Samos was excluded from the boys' boxing contest and was mocked for being effeminate, but he went on to the men's contest and defeated all his opponents.

49th [584 B.C.] - Lycinus of Croton, stadion race [p201] 50th [580 B.C.] - Epitelidas of Laconia, stadion race [At this time] the seven wise men were identified. 51st [576 B.C.] - Eratosthenes of Croton, stadion race 52nd [572 B.C.] - Agis of Elis, stadion race 53rd [568 B.C.] - Hagnon of Peparethus, stadion race 54th [564 B.C.] - Hippostratus of Croton, stadion race Arichion of Phigaleia was (?) strangled and died, while winning the pancratium contest for the third time, and though dead he was crowned as victor, because his opponent had already conceded defeat, after his leg was broken by Arichion. 55th [560 B.C.] - Hippostratus for a second time [At this time] Cyrus became king of the Persians. 56th [556 B.C.] - Phaedrus of Pharsalus, stadion race 57th [552 B.C.] - Ladromus of Laconia, stadion race 58th [548 B.C.] - Diognetus of Croton, stadion race 59th [544 B.C.] - Archilochus of Corcyra, stadion race

60th [540 B.C.] - Apellaeus of Elis, stadion race 61st [536 B.C.] - Agatharchus of Corcyra, stadion race 62nd [532 B.C.] - Eryxias of Chalcis, stadion race Milon of Croton won the wrestling contest. He won six times at the Olympic games, six times at the Pythian games, ten times at the Isthmian games, and nine times at the Nemean games. 63rd [528 B.C.] - Parmenides of Camarina, stadion race 64th [524 B.C.] - Menander of Thessaly, stadion race 65th [520 B.C.] - Anochas of Tarentum, stadion race A race in full armour was added, and the winner was Damaretus of Heraea. 66th [516 B.C.] - Ischyrus of Himera, stadion race 67th [512 B.C.] - Phanas of Pellene, stadion race Phanas was the first to win all three races, the stadion race, the double race and the race in full armour. 68th [508 B.C.] - Isomachus of Croton, stadion race

69th [504 B.C.] - Isomachus for a second time [p203] 70th [500 B.C.] - Nicasias of Opus, stadion race 71st [496 B.C.] - Tisicrates of Croton, stadion race 72nd [492 B.C.] - Tisicrates for a second time 73rd [488 B.C.] - Astyalus of Croton, stadion race 74th [484 B.C.] - Astyalus for a second time 75th [480 B.C.] - Astyalus for a third time 76th [476 B.C.] - Scamander of Mytilene, stadion race 77th [472 B.C.] - Dandes of Argos, stadion race 78th [468 B.C.] - Parmenides of Poseidonia, stadion race 79th [464 B.C.] - Xenophon of Corinth, stadion race 80th [460 B.C.] - Torymmas of Thessaly, stadion race The wrestling contest was won by Amesinas of Barce, who trained by wrestling with a bull while he was tending cattle. He even brought the bull to Pisa to help his training. 81st [456 B.C.] - Polymnastus of Cyrene, stadion race

82nd [452 B.C.] - Lycus of Larissa, stadion race 83rd [448 B.C.] - Crisson of Himera, stadion race 84th [444 B.C.] - Crisson for a second time 85th [440 B.C.] - Crisson for a third time 86th [436 B.C.] - Theopompus of Thessaly, stadion race 87th [432 B.C.] - Sophron of Ambracia, stadion race During this [Olympiad], the Peloponnesian war began. 88th [428 B.C.] - Symmachus of Messenia, stadion race 89th [424 B.C.] - Symmachus for a second time 90th [420 B.C.] - Hyperbius of Syracuse, stadion race 91st [416 B.C.] - Exagentus of Acragas, stadion race 92nd [412 B.C.] - Exagentus for a second time 93rd [408 B.C.] - Eubatus of Cyrene, stadion race The pancratium contest was won by Polydamas of Scotussa, a massive man who, when he was with Ochus amongst the Persians, killed lions and fought without weapons against armed men; he even brought chariots charging at full speed to a halt. A race was added for chariots drawn by a pair of horses, and the winner was Euagoras of Elis.

94th [404 B.C.] - Crocinas of Larissa, stadion race 95th [400 B.C.] - Minon of Athens, stadion race 96th [396 B.C.] - Eupolemus of Elis, stadion race A contest for trumpeters was added, and the winner was Timaeus of Elis. [p205] A contest for heralds was added, and the winner was Crates of Elis. 97th [392 B.C.] - Terinaeus [of ...], stadion race 98th [388 B.C.] - Sosippus of Delphi, stadion race The wrestling contest was won by Aristodemus of Elis, whom no-one could grasp round the middle. 99th [384 B.C.] - Dicon of Syracuse, stadion race A race was added for chariots drawn by four foals, and the winner was Eurybatus of Laconia. 100th [380 B.C.] - Dionysodorus of Tarentum, stadion race 101st [376 B.C.] - Damon of Thurii, stadion race 102nd [372 B.C.] - Damon for a second time 103rd [368 B.C.] - Pythostratus of Ephesus, stadion race

104th [364 B.C.] - Phocides of Athens, wrestling These games were held by the inhabitants of Pisa. 105th [360 B.C.] - Porus of Cyrene, stadion race 106th [356 B.C.] - Porus for a second time 107th [352 B.C.] - Micrinas of Tarentum, stadion race 108th [348 B.C.] - Polycles of Cyrene, stadion race 109th [344 B.C.] - Aristolochus of Athens, stadion race 110th [340 B.C.] - (?) Anticles of Athens, stadion race 111th [336 B.C.] - Cleomantis of Cleitor, stadion race 112th [332 B.C.] - Eurylas of Chalcis, stadion race [At this time] Alexander captured Babylon, and killed Dareius. 113th [328 B.C.] - Cliton of Macedonia, stadion race Ageus of Argos, [victor in] the long race, returned to Argos and announced his own victory on the same day. 114th [324 B.C.] - Micinas of Rhodes, stadion race [At this time] Alexander

died, and his empire was split between many rulers; Ptolemaeus became king of Egypt and Alexandria.

115th [320 B.C.] - Damasias of Amphipolis, stadion race 116th [316 B.C.] - Demosthenes of Laconia, stadion race 117th [312 B.C.] - Parmenides of Mytilene, stadion race 118th [308 B.C.] - Andromenes of Corinth, stadion race Antenor of Athens or Miletus, undisputed [victor in] the pancratium, was victor at all the major games, undefeated in each of three age [p207] groups. 119th [304 B.C.] - Andromenes of Corinth, stadion race 120th [300 B.C.] - Pythagoras of Magnesia-on-Maeander, stadion race Ceras of Argos, [victor in] wrestling, tore the hooves off a cow. 121st [296 B.C.] - Pythagoras for a second time 122nd [292 B.C.] - Antigonus of Macedonia, stadion race 123rd [288 B.C.] - Antigonus for a second time 124th [284 B.C.] - Philomelus of Pharsalus, stadion race 125th [280 B.C.] - Ladas of Aegium, stadion race 126th [276 B.C.] - Idaeus or Nicator of Cyrene, stadion race 127th [272 B.C.] - Perigenes of Alexandria, stadion race

128th [268 B.C.] - Seleucus of Macedonia, stadion race 129th [264 B.C.] - Philinus of Cos, stadion race A new race for two-foal chariots was introduced, and the first winner was Philistiachus [Bilistiche of Macedonia]. 130th [260 B.C.] - Philinus for a second time 131st [256 B.C.] - Ammonius of Alexandria, stadion race A one-foal race was introduced, and the first winner was Hippocrates [of Thessaly]. 132nd [252 B.C.] - Xenophanes of Amphissa in Aetolia, stadion race 133rd [248 B.C.] - Simylus of Neapolis, stadion race [At this time] the Parthians revolted against the Macedonians; their first king was Arsaces, from whom the kings are called the Arsacids. 134th [244 B.C.] - Alcides of Laconia, stadion race 135th [240 B.C.] - Eraton of Aetolia, stadion race Cleoxenus of Alexandria, [victor in] boxing, won without injury at all the major games. 136th [236 B.C.] - Pythocles of Sicyon, stadion race 137th [232 B.C.] - Menestheus of [?] Barcyla, stadion race

138th [228 B.C.] - Demetrius of Alexandria, stadion race 139th [224 B.C.] - Iolaidas of Argos, stadion race 140th [220 B.C.] - Zopyrus of Syracuse, stadion race 141st [216 B.C.] - Dorotheus of Rhodes, stadion race 142nd [212 B.C.] - Crates of Alexandria, stadion race [p209] Caprus of Elis won both the wrestling and the pancratium competitions, like Heracles; so he was acclaimed as "second after Heracles". 143rd [208 B.C.] - Heracleitus of Samos, stadion race 144th [204 B.C.] - Heracleides of Salamis in Cyprus, stadion race 145th [200 B.C.] - Pyrrhias of Aetolia, stadion race Moschus of Colophon, [victor in] boys' boxing, was the only boy to have won the boxing competition at all the major games. A boys' pancratium competition was introduced, and the first winner was Phaedimus of Alexandria. 146th [196 B.C.] - Micion of Boeotia, stadion race 147th [192 B.C.] - Agemachus of Cyzicus, stadion race Cleitostratus of Rhodes, [victor in] wrestling, overcame his opponents by grasping their necks.

148th [188 B.C.] - Arcesilaus of Megalopolis, stadion race 149th [184 B.C.] - Hippostratus of Seleucia in Pieria, stadion race 150th [180 B.C.] - Onesicritus of Salamis, stadion race 151st [176 B.C.] - Thymilus of Aspendus, stadion race 152nd [172 B.C.] - Democritus of Megara, stadion race 153rd [168 B.C.] - Aristander of Antissa in Lesbos, stadion race 154th [164 B.C.]

- Leonidas of Rhodes, three times victor in the stadion race 155th [160 B.C.] - Leonidas for a second time 156th [156 B.C.] - Leonidas for a third time Aristomenes of Rhodes was the third after Heracles to win both the wrestling and the pancratium competitions. 157th [152 B.C.] - Leonidas, victor in the stadion race for a fourth time, was the first and only man to win 12 Olympic crowns over four Olympiads. 158th [148 B.C.] - Othon of Syracuse, stadion race 159th [144 B.C.] - Alcimus of Cyzicus, stadion race

160th [140 B.C.] - Agnodorus of Cyzicus, stadion race 161st [136 B.C.] - Antipater of Epirus, stadion race 162nd [132 B.C.] - Damon of Delphi, stadion race 163rd [128 B.C.] - Timotheus of Tralles, stadion race 164th [124 B.C.] - Boeotus of Sicyon, stadion race [p211] 165th [120 B.C.] - Acusilaus of Cyrene, stadion race 166th [116 B.C.] - Chrysogonus of Nicaea, stadion race 167th [112 B.C.] - Chrysogonus for a second time 168th [108 B.C.] - Nicomachus of Philadelphia, stadion race 169th [104 B.C.] - Nicodemus of Lacedaemon, stadion race 170th [100 B.C.] - Simmias of Seleuceia-on-Tigris, stadion race 171st [96 B.C.] - Parmeniscus of Corcyra, stadion race 172nd [92 B.C.] - Eudamus of Cos, stadion race Protophanes of Magnesia-on-Maeander was the fourth after Heracles to win both the wrestling and the pancratium competitions. 173rd [88 B.C.] - Parmeniscus of Corcyra again, stadion race 174th [84 B.C.] - Demostratus of Larissa, stadion race

175th [80 B.C.] - Epaenetus of Argos, boys' stadion race There was no stadion race for adults this year, because Sulla had summoned all the athletes to Rome. 176th [76 B.C.] - Dion of Cyparissus, stadion race 177th [72 B.C.] - Hecatomnos of Elis, stadion race 178th [68 B.C.] - Diocles [?] Hypopenus, stadion race Stratonicus of Alexandria, son of Corragus, was the fifth after Heracles to win both the wrestling and the pancratium competitions; at the Nemean games, he won four crowns on the same day in the boys' and youths' competitions, [though he attended the competitions without a horse. He achieved this through the favour of his friends or the kings, and therefore he was regarded as disqualified]. 179th [64 B.C.] - Andreas of Lacedaemon, stadion race 180th [60 B.C.] - Andromachus of Ambracia, stadion race 181st [56 B.C.] - Lamachus of Tauromenium, stadion race 182nd [52 B.C.] - Anthestion of Argos, stadion race [p213] Marion of Alexandria, son of Marion, was the sixth after Heracles to win both the wrestling and the pancratium competitions.

183rd [48 B.C.] - Theodorus of Messene, stadion race [At this time] Julius Caesar was emperor of the Romans. 184th [44 B.C.] - Theodorus for a second time [At this time] Augustus became emperor of the Romans. 185th [40 B.C.] - Ariston of Thurii, stadion race 186th [36 B.C.] - Scamander of Alexandria Troas, stadion race 187th [32 B.C.] - Ariston of Thurii again, stadion race 188th [28 B.C.] - Sopater of Argos, stadion race 189th [24 B.C.] - Asclepiades of Sidon, stadion race 190th [20 B.C.] - Auphidius of Patrae, stadion race 191st [16 B.C.] - Diodotus of Tyana, stadion race 192nd [12 B.C.] - Diophanes of Aeolis, stadion race 193rd [8 B.C.] - Artemidorus of Thyateira, stadion race 194th [4 B.C.] - Demaratus of Ephesus, stadion race 195th [1 A.D.] - Demaratus for a second time 196th [5 A.D.] - Pammenes of Magnesia-on-Maeander, stadion race 197th [9 A.D.] - Asiaticus of Halicarnassus, stadion race

198th [13 A.D.] - Diophanes of Prusa [by Mt. Olympus], stadion race Aristeas of Stratoniceia or (?) Maeander was the seventh after Heracles to win both the wrestling and the pancratium competitions. [At this time] Tiberius became emperor of the Romans. 199th [17 A.D.] - Aeschines Glaucias of Miletus, stadion race The four-horse race which had been stopped a long time ago was reinstated, and the winner was Tiberius Caesar. 200th [21 A.D.] - Polemon of Petra, stadion race 201st [25 A.D.] - Damasias of Cydonia, stadion race 202nd [29 A.D.] - Hermogenes of Pergamum, stadion race 203rd [33 A.D.] - Apollonius of Epidaurus, stadion race 204th [37 A.D.] - Sarapion of Alexandria, stadion race Neicostratus of Aegae was the eighth and last after Heracles to win both the wrestling and the pancratium competitions. [p215] Only eight men between Heracles and our times have achieved this, because after these games the inhabitants of Elis would not award the crown even to those who were capable of it. [At this time] Gaius became emperor of the Romans.

205th [41 A.D.] - Eubulidas of Laodiceia, stadion race [At this time] Claudius became emperor of the Romans. 206th [45 A.D.] - Valerius of Mytilene, stadion race 207th [49 A.D.] - Athenodorus of Aegium, stadion race 208th [53 A.D.] - Athenodorus for a second time [At this time] Nero became emperor of the Romans. 209th [57 A.D.] - Callicles of Sidon, stadion race 210th [61 A.D.] - Athenodorus of Aegium [(?) for a third time], stadion race 211th [65 A.D.] - These games were not held [at the usual time] because Nero postponed them until his visit to Greece. They were held two years later, and Tryphon of Philadelphia won the stadion race. Nero was awarded the crown in the contests for heralds, performers of tragedy and citharodes; and also in the races for chariots drawn by foals, full-grown horses and ten foals. 212th [69 A.D.] - Polites of Ceramus, stadion race [At this time] Vespasianus became emperor of the Romans.

213th [73 A.D.] - Rhodon of Cyme, or Theodotus, stadion race 214th [77 A.D.] - Straton of Alexandria, stadion race [At this time] Titus became emperor of the Romans. 215th [81 A.D.] - Hermogenes of Xanthus, stadion race [At this time] Domitianus became emperor of the Romans. 216th [85 A.D.] - Apollophanes Papis of Tarsus, stadion race 217th [89 A.D.] - Hermogenes of Xanthus for a second time, stadion race 218th [93 A.D.] - Apollonius of Alexandria, or Heliodorus, stadion race 219th [97 A.D.] - Stephanus of Cappadocia, stadion race [At this time] Nerva became emperor of the Romans, and after him Trajanus [became emperor]. 220th [101 A.D.] - Achilleus of Alexandria, stadion race 221st [105 A.D.] - Theonas Smaragdus of Alexandria, stadion race 222nd [109 A.D.] - Callistus of Side, stadion race The horse races were reintroduced. [p217] 223rd [113 A.D.] - Eustolus of Side, stadion race 224th [117 A.D.] - Isarion of Alexandria, stadion race [At this time] Hadrianus became emperor of the Romans.

225th [121 A.D.] - Aristeas of Miletus, stadion race 226th [125 A.D.] - Dionysius Sameumys of Alexandria, stadion race 227th [129 A.D.] - Dionysius for a second time 228th [133 A.D.] - Lucas of Alexandria, stadion race 229th [137 A.D.] - Epidaurus Ammonius of Alexandria, stadion race [At this time] Antoninus Pius became emperor of the Romans. 230th [141 A.D.] - Didymus (?) Clydeus of Alexandria, stadion race 231st [145 A.D.] - Cranaus of Sicyon,

stadion race 232nd [149 A.D.] - Atticus of Sardis, stadion race Socrates entered both the wrestling and the citharode competitions, but he was banned by the inhabitants of Elis, in favour of Dionysius of Seleuceia. 233rd [153 A.D.] - Demetrius of Chios, stadion race 234th [157 A.D.] - Eras of Chios, stadion race 235th [161 A.D.] - Mnasibulus of Elateia, stadion race [At this time] Marcus Antoninus Pius and Lucius Verus became emperors of the Romans.

236th [165 A.D.] - Aeithales of Alexandria, stadion race 237th [169 A.D.] - Eudaemon of Alexandria, stadion race 238th [173 A.D.] - Agathopus of Aegina, stadion race 239th [177 A.D.] - Agathopus for a second time [At this time] Commodus became emperor of the Romans. 240th [181 A.D.] - Anubion Pheidus of Alexandria, stadion race 241st [185 A.D.] - Heron of Alexandria, stadion race 242nd [189 A.D.] - Magnus [Libycus] of Cyrene, stadion race 243rd [193 A.D.] - Isidorus [Artemidorus] of Alexandria, stadion race [At this time] Pertinax, and then Severus, became emperors of the Romans. 244th [197 A.D.] - Isidorus for a second time 245th [201 A.D.] - Alexander of Alexandria, stadion race 246th [205 A.D.] - Epinicus Cynas of Cyzicus, stadion race [p219] 247th [209 A.D.] - Satornilus of Gortyn in Crete, stadion race [At this time] Antoninus, called Caracalla, became emperor of the Romans. 248th [213 A.D.] - Heliodorus Trosidamas of Alexandria, stadion race

249th [217 A.D.] - Heliodorus for a second time The record of the Olympiads which we have found ends at this point. It will be fitting to add here lists of the kings of the Corinthians, kings of the Spartans, rulers of the sea and the early kings of the Macedonians. I will set down in order their names and their dates, taking them from the Historical Library of Diodorus, who gives a very accurate account of them. The kings of the Corinthians - from the books of Diodorus After thoroughly investigating that, it remains to tell how Corinth and Sicyon were settled by the Dorians. Almost all the nations in the Peloponnese, except the Arcadians, were uprooted by the return of the Heracleidae. In their division of the land, the Heracleidae picked out Corinth and the surrounding area; they sent for Aletes, and awarded the territory to him. Aletes became a distinguished king and increased the power of Corinth; he reigned for 38 years.

After the death of Aletes, his descendants ruled the land, the eldest son succeeding in every case, until the tyrant Cypselus, who [came to power] 447 years after the return of the Heracleidae. The first of them to become king was Ixion, for 38 years. [p221] Then Agelas was king for 37 years. Then Prymnis, for 35 years. Then Bacchis, also for 35 years. Bacchis was the most distinguished of the kings up to his time; so that the kings after him called themselves Bacchidae instead of Heracleidae. Then Agelas, for 30 years. Eudemus, for 25 years. Aristomedes, for 35 years. When Aristomedes died, his son Telestes was still a child; and so the direct succession was interrupted by his uncle and guardian Agemon, for 16 years. Then Alexander was king, for 25 years. Telestes, who earlier had been deprived of his father's kingdom, killed Alexander, and ruled for 12 years. Automenes ruled for one year, after Telestes was killed by his relatives.

The Bacchidae, descendants of Heracles who were more than 200 in number, seized power and jointly governed the city; each year they chose one of their number to be president, in place of the king. They governed the city for 90 years, until they were suppressed by the tyrant Cypselus. The kings of the Corinthians are as follows: Aletes - for 35 years Ixion - for 37 years Agelas - for 37 years Prymnis - for 35 years Bacchis - for 35 years Agelas - for 30 years Eudemus - for 25 years Aristomedes - for 35 years Agemon - for 16 years Alexander - for 25 years Teletes - for 12 years Automenes - for one year After which there were annual presidents. The kings of the Spartans - from the books of Diodorus It happens that it is difficult to establish the dates between the Trojan war and the first Olympiad, because at that time there were no annual magistrates either at Athens or at any other city. Therefore we will take the kings of the Spartans as an example.

According to Apollodorus of Athens, there were 308 years from the destruction of Troy [1183 B.C.] until the first Olympiad [776 B.C.]. 80 of those years passed before the expedition of the Heracleidae [1103 B.C.]; [p223] the rest are covered by the reigns of the kings of the Spartans - Procles, Eurysthenes and their descendants. We will set down the order of [the kings of] each family up until the first Olympiad. Eurysthenes began his reign in the 80th year after the Trojan war, and he was king for 42 years. After him, Agis reigned for one year. Echestratus for 31 years. After him, Labotas reigned for 37 years. Dorystus for 29 years. They were followed by Agesilaus, who reigned for 44 years. Archelaus for 60 years. Teleclus for 40 years. Alcamenes for 38 years. In the tenth year of his reign, the first Olympiad was established, in which Coroebus of Elis won the stadion race.

Procles was the first king of the other family, for (?) 49 years. After him, Prytanis reigned for 49 years. Eunomius for 45 years. And then Chariclus reigned for 60 years. Nicander for 38 years. Theopompus for 47 years. The first Olympiad occurred in the tenth year of this reign. In summary, there were 80 years from the capture of Troy until the expedition of the Heracleidae, and then these kings of the Spartans: Eurysthenes - for 42 years Agis - for one year Echestrates - for 37 years Labotas - for 37 years Dorystus - for 29 years [p225] Agesilaus - for 44 years. Archelaus - for 60 years Teleclus - for 40 years Alcamenes - for 37 years. In his tenth year, the first Olympiad was established. In total, 325 years. The kings from the other family were: Procles - for 51 years Prytanis - for 49 years

Eunomius - for 45 years Charicles - for 60 years Nicander - for 38 years Theopompus - for 47 years. In his tenth year, the first Olympiad was established. In total, 290 years. The Thalassocracies, who ruled the sea - in brief, from the writings of Diodorus After the Trojan war, the sea was controlled by: The Lydians and Maeones - for 92 years The Pelasgians - for 85 years The Thracians - for 79 years The Rhodians - for 23 years The Phrygians - for 25 years The Cypriots - for 33 years The Phoenicians - for 45 years The Egyptians - for [..] years The Milesians - for [..] years [The Carians - for .. years] The Lesbians - for [..] years The Phocaeans - for 44 years The Samians for [..] years The Spartans - for 2 years The Naxians - for 10 years The Eretrians - for 15 years

The Aeginetans - for 10 years Up until the time when (?) Alexander crossed over the sea. After this, it will be fitting to move on to the kingdom of the Macedonians. [p227]The kings of the Macedonians The end of the Assyrian empire, after the death of Sardanapallus the last king of the Assyrians, was followed by the Macedonian age. Before the first Olympiad, Caranus was moved by ambition to collect forces from the Argives and from the rest of the Peloponnese, in order to lead an army into the territory of the Macedonians. At that time the king of the Orestae was at war with his neighbours, the Eordaei, and he called on Caranus to come to his aid, promising to give him half of his territory in return, if the Orestae were successful. The king kept his promise, and Caranus took possession of the territory; he reigned there for 30 years, until he died in old age. He was succeeded by his son Coenus, who was king for 28 years. After him, Tyrimias reigned for 43 years. Perdiccas for 42 years. He wanted to expand his kingdom; so he sent [a mission] to Delphi.

A little further on, [Diodorus] says: Perdiccas reigned for 48 years, and left his kingdom to Argaeus, who reigned for 31 years. The next king was Philippus, who reigned for 33 years. Aeropus for 20 years. Alcetas for 18 years. Amyntas for 49 years. He was followed by Alexander, who reigned for 44 years. Then Perdiccas was king for 22 years. Archelaus for 17 years. Aeropus for 6 years. Then Pausanias was king for one year. Ptolemaeus for 3 years. Perdiccas for 5 years. Philippus for 24 years. Alexander, [who] fought against the Persians, for more than 12 years. In this way the most reliable historians trace the ancestry of the Macedonian kings back to Heracles. From Caranus, who was the first to rule all the Macedonians, until Alexander, who conquered Asia, there were 24 kings who reigned for a total of 453 years. [p229] The individual [kings] are as follows:

Caranus reigned for 30 years Coenus - for 28 years Tyrimias - for 43 years Perdiccas - for 48 years Argaeus - for 38 years Philippus - for 33 years Aeropus - for 20 years Alcetas - for 18 years. In his time, Cyrus was king of the Persians. Amyntas - for 42 years Alexander - for 44 years Perdiccas - for 23 years Archelaus - for 24 years Orestes - for 3 years Archelaus - for 4 years Amyntas - for one year Pausanias - for one year Amyntas - for 6 years Argaeus - for 2 years Amyntas - for 18 years Alexander - for one year Ptolemaeus of Alorus - for 3 years Perdiccas - for 6 years Philippus - for 27 years Alexander the son of Philippus - for 12 years The kings of the Macedonians, from the writings of our enemy, the philosopher Porphyrius: These were the kings of Macedonia and Greece after Alexander the son of Philippus; and the Macedonian kingdom continued until its dissolution as follows.

The Macedonians appointed Aridaeus, the son of Philippus and Philinna of Thessaly, to be king after Alexander because of their affection for the family of Philippus, although they knew that Aridaeus was the son a courtesan and he was feeble-minded. He began to reign, as we said, in the second year of the 114th Olympiad [323 B.C.]. He is reckoned to have reigned for 7 years, because he lived up until the fourth year of the 115th Olympiad [317 B.C.]. [p231] Alexander left two sons, Heracles the son of Barsine the daughter of Pharnabazus, and Alexander the son of Roxane the daughter of Oxyartes the Bactrian; this Alexander was born about the time of his father's death, at the start of Philippus' reign.

Olympias the mother of Alexander killed Aridaeus, but then Cassander the son of Antipater executed her and both the sons of Alexander, the one by himself and the other (the son of Barsine) by prompting Polysperchon. Cassander cast away Olympias' body without a burial, and proclaimed himself king; and from then onwards, all the other satraps acted as kings, because the family of Alexander had been destroyed. Cassander married Thessalonice the daughter of Philippus, and survived as king for another 19 years as king, until he died of a wasting disease. His reign, including the year in which Olympias ruled after the death of Aridaeus, lasted from the first year of the 116th Olympiad [316 B.C.] until the third year of the 120th Olympiad [298 B.C.].

Cassander was succeeded by his sons, Philippus and Alexander and Antipater, who reigned for 3 years and 6 months after the death of their father. The first to rule was Philippus, who died at Elateia. Then Antipater murdered his mother Thessalonice, who favoured her other son Alexander, and fled to Lysimachus. But Lysimachus put him to death, even though he had married one of Lysimachus' daughters. Alexander married Lysandra, the daughter of Ptolemaeus, and in the war against his younger brother called on the aid of Demetrius the son of Antigonus, who was called Poliorcetes. But Demetrius killed Alexander, and made himself the king of the Macedonians. The reign of the sons of Cassander is reckoned to last from the fourth year [p233] of the 120th Olympiad [297 B.C.] until the third year of the 121st Olympiad [294 B.C.]. Demetrius reigned for 6 years, from the [fourth year of the] 121st Olympiad [293 B.C.]until the first year of the 123rd Olympiad [288 B.C.], when he was deposed by Pyrrhus the king of Epirus, the 23rd in line from Achilleus the son of Thetis. Pyrrhus claimed the kingdom belonged to him after the extinction of Philippus' family, through his connection with Olympias the mother of Alexander, who was also a descendant of Pyrrhus the son of Neoptolemus.

Pyrrhus ruled the Macedonians for seven months in the second year of the 123rd Olympiad [287 B.C.]. In the eighth month, he was replaced by Lysimachus the son of son of Agathocles, a Thessalian from Crannon who had been a bodyguard of Alexander. Lysimachus was king of Thrace and the Chersonese, and now overran the neighbouring country of Macedonia. Lysimachus was persuaded by his wife Arsinoe to kill his own son. He ruled Macedonia for 5 years and 6 months, from the second year of the 123rd Olympiad [287 B.C.] until the third year of the 124th Olympiad [282 B.C.]. [p235] He was defeated by Seleucus Nicator, the king of Asia, at the battle of Corupedium, and lost his life in the battle. But straight after his victory, Seleucus was murdered by Ptolemaeus Ceraunus, the son of Lagus and Eurydice the daughter of Antipater, even though Seleucus was his benefactor and had received him when he fled [from Lysimachus].

Then Ptolemaeus ruled over the Macedonians, until he was killed in battle against the Galatians. He reigned for one year and five months, which lasted from the fourth year of the 124th Olympiad [281 B.C.] until the fifth month of the first year of the 125th Olympiad [280 B.C.]. Ptolemaeus was succeeded by his brother Meleager, but the Macedonians deposed Meleager after only two months, because they considered him unfit to rule. In his place,

since no-one was left from the royal family, they appointed as king Antipater, who was the nephew of Cassander and the son of Philippus. But he too was deposed after ruling for 45 days by Sosthenes, a commoner who considered him to be too poor a general to face the dangerous invasion of Brennus the Galatian. The Macedonians gave Antipater the name Etesias, because the Etesian winds blow at about the time when he was king. Sosthenes repelled Brennus, and died after being in charge of the state for two complete years.

After Sosthenes, there was anarchy in Macedonia, because the followers of Antipater and Ptolemaeus and Aridaeus were competing for control of the state, but no-one was completely in charge. In the period from Ptolemaeus until the end of the anarchy, that is from the fourth year of the 124th Olympiad [281 B.C.] until the [first year of the] 126th Olympiad [276 B.C.], Ptolemaeus Ceraunus reigned for one year and five months, [p237] Meleager for two months, Antipater for 45 days, Sosthenes for two years, and the rest is reckoned to have been a time of anarchy. While Antipater was plotting to take over the state, Antigonus set himself up as king; he was the son of Demetrius Poliorcetes and Phila the daughter of Antipater, and was called Gonatas because he had been born and brought up at Gonni in Thessaly. Antigonus reigned in total for 44 years; before he gained control of Macedonia, he had already been king for 10 whole years. He was proclaimed king in the second year of the 123rd Olympiad [287 B.C.], and became king of the Macedonians in the first year of the 126th Olympiad [276 B.C.]. Antigonus subdued Greece by force; he lived for 83 years in all, and died in the first year of the 135th Olympiad [240 B.C.].

Antigonus was succeeded by his son Demetrius, who conquered the whole of Libya and captured Cyrene. Eventually he gained absolute control of all his father's possessions, and ruled over them for 10 years. He married a captive girl whom he called Chryseis, and by her he had a son Philippus, who was the first of the kings to fight against the Romans and caused the Macedonians much woe. When Demetrius died, Philippus was left as a [young] orphan, and a member of the royal family, Antigonus called Phuscus, became his guardian. Seeing that Phuscus acted honourably in his role of guardian, the Macedonians made him king, and gave him Chryseis to be his wife. Chryeis bore him sons, but he did not bring them up, because he was holding the kingdom in trust for Philippus. And indeed he was succeeded by Philippus, when he died. Demetrius, called the Fair, died in the second year of the [?] 130th Olympiad. Philippus then became king, [p239] with the aforesaid Antigonus as his guardian. Antigonus died in the fourth year of the 139th Olympiad [221 B.C.]; he had been guardian for 12 years, and lived for 42 years in all. Philippus began to rule without a guardian in the 140th Olympiad [220 B.C.]; he reigned for 42 complete years, and died in the second year of the 150th Olympiad [179 B.C.], aged 58 years.

Perseus the son of Philippus caused the death of his brother Demetrius by making accusations against him to his father. Perseus was king for 10 years and 8 months, until the fourth years of the 152nd Olympiad [169 B.C.], when Lucius Aemilius defeated and conquered the Macedonians at Pydna. Perseus fled to Samothrace, but then agreed to surrender to the enemy, who transferred him to Alba, where he was imprisoned and died five years later. He

was the last king of the Macedonians. At that time the Romans allowed the Macedonians to remain autonomous, out of respect for their glorious reputation and the greatness of their [former] empire. But 19 years later, in the third year of the 157th Olympiad [150 B.C.], a certain Andriscus falsely claimed to be the son of Perseus, and took on the name of Philippus, from which he came to be called the false Philippus. With the help of the Thracians he conquered Macedonia, but after ruling for a year he was defeated and fled to the Thracians, who handed him over, to be sent as a prisoner to Rome.

Because the Macedonians had been ungrateful, and had co-operated with the false Philippus, the Romans made them tributary in the fourth year of the 157th Olympiad [149 B.C.]. So from Alexander until the end, when they became tributary to the Romans, that is from the second year of 114th Olympiad [323 B.C.] [p241] until the fourth year of the 157th Olympiad [149 B.C.], the kingdom of the Macedonians lasted for 43 Olympiads and two extra years, which is a total of 174 years. These are the kings of the Macedonians after Alexander the son of Philippus: Aridaeus, also called Philippus - for 7 years Cassander - for 19 years The sons of Cassander - for 3 years and 6 months Demetrius Poliorcetes - for 6 years Pyrrhus - for 7 months Lysimachus - for 5 years and 5 months Ptolemaeus Ceraunus - for 1 year and 5 months Meleager - for 2 months

Antipater son of Lysimachus - for 45 days Sosthenes - for 2 years (Anarchy) - for 2 years Antigonus Gonatas - for 34 years Demetrius the Fair - for 10 years Antigonus Phuscus - for 12 years Philippus - for 42 years Perseus - for 10 years and 8 months (Autonomy) - for 19 years The false Philippus - for 1 year After that, they were subject to the Romans. The kings of the Thessalians: For a long time, the Thessalians and Epirus had the same rulers as the Macedonians. They were granted independence by the Romans after Philippus was defeated by the Roman general Titus in Thessaly. But eventually, for the same reason as the Macedonians, they were made tributary to the Romans. Like the Macedonians, they were ruled by Aridaeus, also called Philippus, for seven years after the death of Alexander. Then his successor Cassander ruled over Epirus and the Thessalians for 19 years. After him, his son Philippus [ruled] for 4 months. Then his brothers Antipater and Alexander [ruled] for 2 years and 6 months. And then Demetrius the son of [Antigonus ruled] for 6 years and 6 months. After him, Pyrrhus [ruled] for 4 years and 4 months. Then Lysimachus the son of Agathocles [ruled] for 6 years. [p243] And Ptolemaeus, who was called Ceraunus, [ruled] for one year and 5 months. Then Meleager [ruled] for 2 months. After him, Antipater the son of Lysimachus [ruled] for 45 days. After him, Sosthenes [ruled] for one year. Then there was anarchy for 2 years and 2 months, after which Antigonus the son of Demetrius [ruled] for 34 years and 2 months.

During this time, Pyrrhus won over Antigonus' army and ruled over a few regions, but he lost control of them when he was defeated by Demetrius the son of Antigonus in a battle at Derdia. Shortly afterwards Antigonus died, and his son Demetrius reigned for 10 years. After him, Antigonus, the son of Demetrius who went off to Cyrene and of Olympias the daughter of Pauliclitus of Larisa, [ruled] for 9 years. Antigonus came to the aid of the

Achaeans, defeated Cleomenes the king of the Spartans in battle, and liberated Sparta. Therefore the Achaean people honoured him like a god. After him, Philippus the son of Demetrius reigned for 23 years and 9 months, until he was defeated in a battle in Thessaly by Titus the Roman general. Then the Romans allowed the Thessalians to be autonomous, along with the rest of the Ionians [? Greeks] who had been subject to Philippus. For the first year there was anarchy in Thessaly, but then they started to elect annual leaders from amongst the people.

The first to be elected was Pausanias the son of Echecrates, from Pherae. Then Amyntas the son of Crates, from [?] Pieria; in his year, Titus returned to Rome. Then Aeacides the son of Callas, from Metropolis. Then Epidromas the son of Andromachus, from Larisa, for 8 months only; for the remaining 4 months of the year, the leader was Eunomus the son of Polyclitus, from Larisa. Eunomus was leader again for the whole of the following year. Then Aeacides the son of Callas, from Metropolis, for a second time. Then Pravilus the son of Phaxas, from Scotussa. Then Eunomus [p245] the son of Polyclitus, from Larisa, for a second time. Then Androsthenes the son of Italas, from Gortona. Then Thrasymachus the son of Alexander, from [?] Atrax. Then Laontomenes the son of Damothon, from Pherae. Then Pausanias the son of Damothon. Then Theodorus the son of Alexander, from Argos. Then Nicocrates the son of Paxinas, from [?] Scotussa. Then Hippolochus the son of Alexippus, from Larisa. Then Cleomachides the son of Aeneus, from Larisa. Then Phyrinus the son of Aristomenes, from Gomphi.

In his year, Philippus the king of Macedonia died, and was succeeded by his son Perseus. As we said, Philippus reigned over the Thessalians for 3 years and 9 months, but in all he reigned over the Macedonians for 42 years and 9 months. From the start of the reign of Philippus [Aridaeus] until the death of Philippus the son of Demetrius, that is from the second year of the 114th Olympiad [323 B.C.] until the fifth month of the second year of the 150th Olympiad [179 B.C.], is a total of 144 years and five months. A summary of the kings of the Thessalians: Aridaeus, also called Philippus - for 7 years Cassander - for 19 years Philippus - for 4 months Antigonus and Alexander - for 2 years and 6 months Demetrius - for 6 years and 6 months Pyrrhus - for 3 years and 6 months Lysimachus - for 6 years

Ptolemaeus, also called Ceraunus - for 1 year and 5 months Meleager - for 2 months Antipater - for 45 days Sosthenes - for 1 year (Anarchy) - for 2 years and 2 months Antigonus - for 33 years and 2 months [p247] Demetrius - for 10 years Antigonus - for 9 years Philippus - for 23 years and 9 months And then the following [annual] leaders: Pausanias, Amyntas, Aeacides, Epidromus, Eunomus, Aeacides again, Praviles, Eunomus again, Androsthenes, Thrasymachus, Laontomenes, Pausanias, Theodorus, Nicocrates, Hippolochus, Cleomachides, Phyrinus, and Philippus. [p247] The kings of Asia and Syria after the death of Alexander the Great: In the 6th year of Philippus Aridaeus, which was the third year of the 115th Olympiad [318 B.C.], Antigonus became the first king of Asia. He reigned for 18 years, and lived in all for 86 years. He was the most formidable of the

kings of that period, and died in Phrygia after all the other rulers attacked him out of fear of him, in the fourth year of the 119th Olympiad [301 B.C.].

His son Demetrius escaped to Ephesus, and lost control of all of Asia; he was considered to be the most resourceful of the kings in siege warfare, and so was given the name Poliorcetes ["the besieger"]. Demetrius reigned for 17 years, and lived in all for 54 years. Starting from the first year of the 120th Olympiad [300 B.C.], he ruled jointly with his father for 2 years, which were included in the 17 years of his reign. In the fourth year of the [123rd] Olympiad [285 B.C.] he was captured by Seleucus; after his capture, he was sent to Cilicia, and was kept in royal style as a prisoner of Seleucus until he died, in the fourth year of the 124th Olympiad [281 B.C.]. The reigns of Antigonus and Demetrius passed in this way. Meanwhile, Lysimachus was ruling in Lydia opposite Thrace and Seleucus was ruling in the eastern regions and Syria. [p249] Both of them started to reign in the first year of the 114th Olympiad [324 B.C.]. No account will be given of Lysimachus' reign, but the events of Seleucus' reign will be described here.

After Ptolemaeus, the first king of the Egyptians, had marched to Old Gaza and had defeated Demetrius the son of Antigonus in battle, he set up Seleucus as king of Syria and the eastern regions. Seleucus went up to Babylonia and defeated the barbarians there; so he was given the name Nicanor ["victor"]. He reigned for 32 years, from the first year of the 117th Olympiad [312 B.C.] until the fourth year of the 124th Olympiad [281 B.C.], and lived in all for 75 years. Eventually, he was ambushed and killed by his friend Ptolemaeus, called Ceraunus. Seleucus was succeeded by Antiochus, his son by Apame the Persian. Antiochus was called Soter, and died in the [third] year of the 129th Olympiad [262 B.C.] after he had lived in all for 54 years and had reigned for 19 years, from the first year of the 125th Olympiad [280 B.C.] until the third year of the 129th Olympiad [262 B.C.].

Antiochus Soter had [three] children by Stratonice the daughter of Demetrius; a son Antiochus, and two daughters Stratonice and Apame, of whom the former was married to Demetrius the king of the Macedonians, and the latter [to Magas?]. When he died, he was succeeded by Antiochus called Theos, in the fourth year of the 129th Olympiad [261 B.C.]. After 19 years, Antiochus Theos fell ill, [p251] and died at Ephesus in the third year of the [133rd] Olympiad [246 B.C.], after living in all for 40 years. He had two sons, Seleucus called Callinicus and Antigonus, and two daughters by Laodice the daughter of Achaeus, of whom one was married to Mithridates and the other to Ariathes. The elder son Seleucus, who as we said was called Callinicus, succeeded Antiochus and reigned for 21 years, from the third year of the 133rd Olympiad [246 B.C.] until the second year of the 138th Olympiad [227 B.C.].

When he died, Seleucus was succeeded by his son, Seleucus called Ceraunus, but while he was still alive it happened that his younger brother Antigonus refused to accept his position and sought power for himself. Antigonus had help and assistance from [Alexander], the brother of his mother Laodice, who was in charge of the city of Sardis; he also had the Galatians as allies in two battles. Seleucus won a battle in Lydia, but he was unable to capture

Sardis or Ephesus, which was held by Ptolemaeus. Then Seleucus fought a second battle against Mithridates in Cappadocia, where 20,000 of his men were killed by the barbarians, and he himself lost his life. Meanwhile Ptolemaeus called Tryphon seized part of Syria, but his siege of Damascus and Orthosia was stopped in the third year of the 134th Olympiad [242 B.C.], when Seleucus advanced to that region. Antigonus the brother of Callinicus crossed greater Phrygia, forced the inhabitants to pay tribute, and sent his generals with an army against Seleucus. But he was handed over by his own followers to the barbarians, and after escaping with a few men, set off for Magnesia. The next day he offered battle, and with the assistance of soldiers sent by Ptolemaeus, amongst others, he won a victory, and married the daughter of Zielas. [p253] However, in the fourth year of the 137th Olympiad [229 B.C.] he fought twice in the country of Lydia and was defeated, and he joined battle with Attalus in the region of Lake Coloe. In the first year of the 138th Olympiad [228 B.C.], after a battle in Caria he was forced by Attalus to flee to Thrace, where he died.

Seleucus Callinicus, the brother of Antigonus, died in the next year, and was succeeded by his son Alexander, who adopted the name Seleucus, and was called Ceraunus by his army. Seleucus had a brother called Antiochus. After reigning for three years, Seleucus was treacherously attacked and killed by a Galatian called Nicanor, in about the first year of the 139th Olympiad [224 B.C.]. He was succeeded by his brother Antiochus, whom the army summoned from Babylon. Antiochus was called [the Great] and reigned for 36 years, from the second year of the 139th Olympiad [223 B.C.] until the second year of the 148th Olympiad [187 B.C.]. In the latter year, he made an expedition to Susa and the eastern provinces, but was killed with all [his men] in battle with the Elymaeans; he left behind two sons, Seleucus and Antiochus.

Seleucus succeeded his father in the third year of the 148th Olympiad [186 B.C.], and reigned for 12 years, until the [?] first year of the 151st Olympiad [176 B.C.]; he lived in all for 60 years. When Seleucus died, he was succeeded by his brother Antiochus called Epiphanes, who reigned for 11 years, from the third year of the 151st Olympiad [174 B.C.] until the first year of the 154th Olympiad [164 B.C.]. While Antiochus Epiphanes was still alive, his son Antiochus called Eupator was made king, when he was only twelve years old, after which his father lived for a further one year and six months. Then Demetrius, who had been given to the Romans by his father Seleucus as a hostage, escaped from Rome to Phoenicia, and came to the city of Tripolis. Demetrius killed the young Antiochus along with his guardian Lysias, and made himself king in the fourth year of the 154th Olympiad [161 B.C.]; [p255] he was called Soter, and reigned for 12 years, until the [?] fourth year of the 157th Olympiad [149 B.C.]. He was forced to fight for his kingdom against Alexander, who brought an army from outside with the assistance of Ptolemaeus and Attalus, and he was killed in a battle.

Alexander gained control of Syria in the [?] third year of the 157th Olympiad [150 B.C.], and ruled for 5 years. He died in the fourth year of the 158th Olympiad [145 B.C.], in a battle near the city of Antioch against Ptolemaeus, who had come to the aid of Demetrius the son

of Demetrius. Ptolemaeus also was wounded and died in the same battle. The war was carried on by this Demetrius, the son of Demetrius. Setting out from Seleuceia, he defeated Antiochus the son of Alexander, who was based in Syria and the city of Antioch, and started to reign in the first year of the 160th Olympiad [140 B.C.]. In his second year, he collected an army and set off for Babylon and the eastern regions, to fight against Arsaces. In the next year, which was the third year of the 160th Olympiad [138 B.C.], he was captured by Arsaces, who sent him to be held prisoner in Parthia; so he was called Nicanor [”victor”] because he had defeated Antiochus the son of Alexander, and also [?] Seripides because he was kept as a prisoner in chains. The younger brother of Demetrius, called Antiochus, was brought up in the city of Side, from which he was given the name Sidetes. When he heard that Demetrius had been defeated and made a prisoner, he left Side and in the fourth year of the 160th Olympiad [137 B.C.] gained control of Syria, which he ruled for nine years. In the third year of the 162nd Olympiad [130 B.C.] he conquered the Jews, pulled down the walls of [Jerusalem] after a siege, and put their leaders to death.

In the fourth year of the 162nd Olympiad [129 B.C.], Arsaces attacked him with an army of 120,000 men, and schemed against him by sending his brother Demetrius, who had been kept as a prisoner, back to Syria. But at the onset of winter Antiochus met the barbarians in a confined space; bravely attacking them, he was injured and killed, in the 35th year of his life. [p257] His young son Seleucus, who had accompanied him, was captured by king Arsaces and was kept in royal style as a prisoner. Antiochus the fifth had three sons and two daughters; the first two, the daughters, were both called Laodice. The third, called Antiochus, fell ill and died, like his sisters. The fourth was Seleucus, who was captured by Arsaces. The fifth was another Antiochus, who was brought up by Craterus the eunuch at Cyzicus, where he had fled with Craterus and the rest of the household of Antiochus, through fear of Demetrius. One of the brothers had already died, along with his sister, so only Antiochus was left, the youngest of the brothers, and because of his residence at Cyzicus he was called Cyzicenus.

Demetrius returned [to Syria] and started his second reign in the second year of the (?) 163rd Olympiad [127 B.C.], after having been held captive for the intervening 10 years. As soon as he returned from captivity, he turned his attention to Egypt; he advanced as far as Pelusium, but when Ptolemaeus Physcon confronted him Demetrius had to retreat, because his soldiers hated him and refused to obey his orders. Angered by this, Ptolemaeus set up Alexander, a pretended son of Alexander, to be king of Asia; Alexander was called Zabinas by the Syrians, because he was thought to have been bought by Ptolemaeus to take on this role. Demetrius was defeated in a battle at Damascus, and fled to Tyre, but was refused entry into the city. While trying to escape by boat, he was seized and killed, in the first year of the 164th Olympiad [124 B.C.]; he had reigned for 3 years before his captivity, and for another 4 years after his return.

Demetrius was succeeded by his son Seleucus, who died soon afterwards as a result of his mother’s accusations. His younger brother Antiochus came to power in the second year of

the 164th Olympiad [123 B.C.], and in the third year he defeated Zabinas, who killed himself with poison because he could not endure the defeat. Antiochus reigned for 11 years, until the fourth year of the 166th Olympiad [113 B.C.]; the one year of his brother Seleucus' reign is also included in this total. [p259] He was given the names Grypus ["hook-nose"] and Philometor. But when faced with an attack by Antiochus Cyzicenus whom we mentioned earlier, who was his half-brother by the same mother as well as his nephew on his father's side, Grypus gave up his kingdom and retired to Aspendus; from which he was given the name Aspendius, as well as Grypus and Philometor. Antiochus Cyzicenus started to reign in the first year of the 167th Olympiad [112 B.C.], after Antiochus [Grypus] retired to Aspendus. But in the second year of the same Olympiad [111 B.C.], Antiochus returned from Aspendus, and took control of Syria, while Cyzicenus remained in control of Coele [Syria]. After the kingdom had been split between them in this way, Grypus remained as king until the fourth year of the 170th Olympiad [97 B.C.]. He lived for another 15 years after his return, so that his reign lasted in all for 26 years: 11 years on his own, and 15 years after the kingdom had been split in two.

Cyzicenus ruled from the first year of the 167th Olympiad [112 B.C.], and died in the first year of the 171st Olympiad [96 B.C.], after reigning for 18 years and living in all for 50 years. The manner of his death was as follows. After Antiochus Grypus died at the time which was stated above, his son Seleucus came with an army and captured many cities. Antiochus Cyzicenus brought an army from Antioch, but was defeated in a battle; his horse carried him off towards the enemy, and when they were about to capture him, he drew his sword and killed himself. So Seleucus gained control of the whole kingdom, and captured Antioch. But the surviving son of Cyzicenus began a war against Seleucus. When their armies met at the city called Mopsuestia in Cilicia, the victory went to Antiochus. Seleucus fled to the city, but when he learnt that the inhabitants intended to burn him alive, [p261] he hastened to commit suicide. His two brothers Antiochus and Philippus who were called the Didymi ["twins"], appeared with an army and captured the city by force; then they avenged their brother's death by destroying the city. However they were confronted by the son of Cyzicenus, and defeated in a battle; while escaping from the battle, Antiochus the brother of Seleucus rode his horse recklessly and fell headlong into the river Orontes, where he was caught by the current and died.

And then two others began to fight over the kingdom: Philippus, the brother of Seleucus and son of Antiochus Grypus, and Antiochus, the son of Antiochus Cyzicenus. Starting from the (?) third year of the 171st Olympiad [94 B.C.], they fought against each other for possession of Syria with substantial armies, each controlling part of the country. Antiochus was defeated and fled to the Parthians. Later he surrendered to Pompeius, in the hope of being restored to Syria. But Pompeius, who had received a gift of money from the inhabitants of Antioch, ignored Antiochus and allowed to city to be autonomous. Then the inhabitants of Alexandria sent Menelaus and Lampon and Callimander to ask Antiochus to come and rule in Egypt together with the daughters of Ptolemaeus, when Ptolemaeus Dionysus had been driven out of Alexandria. But Antiochus fell ill, and died. Philippus whom we men-

tioned before, the son of Grypus and of Tryphaena the daughter of Ptolemaeus VIII, was also deposed. He wanted to go to Egypt, because he too had been invited by the inhabitants of Alexandria to rule there, but Gabinius, an officer of Pompeius who was the Roman governor of Syria, stopped him from going. And so the royal dynasty in Syria came to an end with Antiochus and Philippus.

So the kings of Asia and Syria are as follows: Antigonus was king of Asia - for 18 years Demetrius Poliorcetes, king of Syria and the east - for 17 years [p263] Seleucus Nicator [or "Nicanor"] - for 32 years Antiochus Soter - for 19 years Antiochus Theos - for 15 years Seleucus Callinicus - for 21 years Seleucus Ceraunus - for 3 years Antiochus the Great - for 36 years Seleucus Philopator - for 12 years Antiochus Epiphanes - for 11 years Antiochus Eupator - for 1 year and 6 months Demetrius Soter - for 12 years Alexander - for 15 years Demetrius the son of Demetrius - for 3 years Antiochus Sidetes - for 9 years Demetrius again - for 4 years Antiochus Grypus - for 26 years Antiochus Cyzicenus - for 17 years Philippus the son of Grypus, with whom the kings of Syria came to an end [- for 2 years]

[The total duration of the Macedonian rule in Syria, starting from Antigonus, was 274 years; or, starting from Seleucus Nicator, 239 years.] THE ROMANS The kings of the Romans, starting with Romulus The emperors of the Romans, from Augustus to our time The consuls of the Romans, from Julius Caesar to our time Taken from all the previous historians, as listed here: from Alexander Polyhistor from Abydenus, who wrote books about the Assyrians and Medes from the three books of Manetho, about the monuments of Egypt from Cephalion's nine books of the Muses from the forty books of Diodorus' [Historical] Library, containing a brief history of events up until Gaius Caesar from the eighteen books of Cassius Longinus, containing a summary of 228 Olympiads [p265] from the fourteen books of Phlegon, the freedman of [Hadrianus] Caesar, containing a summary of 229 Olympiads from the six books of Castor, containing an account of history from Ninus up until the 181st Olympiad

from the three books of (?) Thallus, containing an account of events from the capture of Troy up until the (?) 167th Olympiad [112 B.C.] from [the books of] Porphyrius, the philosopher who lived in our time, [containing events] from the capture of Troy up until the reign of Claudius [The kings] of the Romans, and their dates It is now time to list the dates of the kings of the Romans. They first acquired this title in the seventh Olympiad [752-749 B.C.], when Romulus founded the city of the Romans, and gave his name to the city, and to all the people who were ruled by the kings [of the city]. Before this time they had been called sometimes Latins, and sometimes Aborigines, having different names at different times. After the capture of Troy, they submitted to Aeneias the son of Anchises, and his successors ruled over the people until the foundation of the city. The history of these kings has been related by many different writers, not only native Romans but also Greeks. It will be sufficient to quote just two of them, as reliable witnesses to the events which we are considering. Firstly, I will quote Dionysius, who provides a brief description of the history of the Romans; as well as other books, he wrote an Ancient History of the Romans. In the

first book, he gives an account of Aeneias and the kings after him, (?) up until the capture of Troy. From this book I will summarise what is essential, and what is related to the matters which we are considering here, as follows [DionHal_1.9].

From the first book of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, about the history of the Romans "This city, mistress of the whole earth and sea, which the Romans now inhabit, is said to have had as its earliest occupants the barbarian Sicels, a native race. As to the condition of the place before their time, whether it was occupied by others or uninhabited, none can certainly say. [p267] But some time later the Aborigines gained possession of it, having taken it from the occupants after a long war. These people had previously lived on the mountains in unwalled villages and scattered groups. They say that after them, the Pelasgians and some of the Greeks conquered that region. At first they were called Aborigines; but under Latinus, their king, who reigned at the time of the Trojan war, they began to be called Latins. Sixteen generations later, Romulus founded the city, and expanded it, and raised its affairs to greater prosperity."

And then Dionysius continues his narrative, in these very words [DionHal_1.10]: "There are some who affirm that the Aborigines, from whom the Romans are originally descended, were natives of Italy, a stock which came into being spontaneously (I call Italy all that peninsula which is bounded by the Ionian Gulf and the Tyrrhenian Sea and, thirdly, by the region where the Latins live). The Aborigines were called "founders of families" or "ancestors"; but others claim that they were called "vagabonds", coming together out of many places. Still others have a story to the effect that they were foreigners who came there from Libya. But some of the Roman historians say that they were Greeks, part of those who once dwelt in Achaea, and that they migrated to there many generations before the Trojan war." Then he adds: "It is uncertain, therefore, what the truth of the matter is. But in my opinion, the Aborigines can be a colony of no other people but of those who are now called Arcadians; for these were the first of all the Greeks to cross the Ionian Gulf, under the leadership of Oenotrus, the son of Lycaon, and to settle in Italy; this Oenotrus was the fifth from (?) Aezeius and Phoroneus, seventeen generations before the Trojan war. Oenotrus settled in the mountains, and called the region Oenotria, and its inhabitants Oenotrians. Later they were called Italians, from king Italus, who also gave the name of Italy to the whole country. [p269] Italus was succeeded by Morges, from whose name they were called Morgetes. And at the same time as Oenotrus, his brother Peucetius came as a colonist from Arcadia, and settled by the Junian bay, and from his name the people were called Peucetii."

After giving his own opinion about all of this, he then says that the Pelasgian colonists migrated from Greece, and settled in the country of the Italians among the Aborigines. The Pelasgians were also called Tyrrheni [Etruscans] and the whole region was called Tyrrhenia, from the name of one of their leaders, who was called Tyrrhenus. Later, Euander arrived with a fleet from Greece, from the city of Pallantium in Arcadia, and he settled in the region of Italy around the site of the future city of Rome. [Dionysius] says that the Arcadians brought the Greek alphabet to Italy, along with the musical instruments called nablia, or

lyres, and a set of laws. After them, Heracles arrived with a Greek fleet and settled in the same region. At first, he was called Saturnius, and from his name the whole region was called Saturnia. Heracles had a son called Latinus, and he too ruled over the land of the Aborigines; from his name, they were called Latins. When Latinus died without any sons, Aeneias the son of Anchises succeeded him as king.

He summarises all this again in the following words [DionHal_1.60]: ”The people who came together there, and mingled with the native population of the land, from whom the Roman race was sprung, before the present inhabitants of the city, were as follows. Firstly, the Aborigines, who drove the Sicels out of this region; they were Greeks, originally from the Peloponnese, who came as colonists with Oenotrus, from the region which is now called Arcadia, in my opinion. Secondly, the Thessalians migrated there, from the country which used to be called Haemonia, and is now called Thessaly. Thirdly, the Pelasgians, who arrived with Euander from the city of Pallantium in Arcadia. Then another group arrived, who were part of the Peloponnesian army commanded by Heracles. Lastly, the Trojans who escaped with Aeneias from Ilium, Dardanus and the other Trojan towns.” [p271] From the same book, about the date of Aeneias’ arrival in Italy

He says [DionHal_1.63]: ”Ilium was taken at the end of the summer, seventeen days before the winter solstice, and in the month of Elaphebolion, according to the calendar of the Athenians; and there still remained five days after the solstice to complete that year. During the thirty-seven days that followed the taking of the city I imagine the Achaeans were employed in regulating the affairs of the city, in receiving embassies from those who had withdrawn themselves, and in concluding a treaty with them. In the following year, which was the first after the taking of the city, the Trojans set sail after the autumnal equinox, crossed the Hellespont, and landing in Thrace, passed the winter season there, during which they received the fugitives who kept flocking to them and made the necessary preparations for their voyage. And leaving Thrace at the beginning of spring, they sailed as far as Sicily; when they had landed there that year came to an end, and they passed the second winter dwelling with the Elymians in their cities in Sicily. But as soon as conditions were favourable for navigation they set sail from the island, and crossing the Tyrrhenian sea, arrived at last at Laurentum on the coast of the Aborigines in the middle of the summer. And having taken possession of the region, they founded Lavinium, thus bringing to an end the second year from the taking of Troy. With regard to these matters, then, I have thus shown my opinion.

”But when Aeneias had sufficiently adorned the city with temples and other public buildings, of which the greatest part remained even to my day, in the next year, which was the third after his departure from Troy, he reigned over the Trojans only. But in the fourth year, Latinus having died, he succeeded to his kingdom also, because of his relationship to him by marriage, Lavinia being the heiress after the death of Latinus.” A little later he adds: ”War arose out of these complaints and in a sharp battle that ensued Latinus, Turnus and many others were slain; nevertheless, Aeneias and his people gained the victory. Thereupon

Aeneias succeeded to the kingdom because of his connection by marriage; [p273] but when he had reigned three years after the death of Latinus, in the fourth he lost his life in battle." A little later he says: "Aeneias having departed this life about the seventh year after the taking of Troy, Euryleon, who in the flight had been renamed Ascanius, succeeded to the rule over the Latins."

Then he adds [DionHal_1.70]: "Upon the death of the Ascanius in the thirty-eighth year of his reign, Silvius, his brother, succeeded to the rule. He was born of Lavinia, the daughter of Latinus, after the death of Aeneias."

Then he adds: "Silvius, after holding the sovereignty twenty-nine years, was succeeded by Aeneias, his son, who reigned one less than thirty years. After him, Latinus reigned fifty-one, then Alba, thirty-nine; after Alba, Capetus reigned twenty-six, then Capys twenty-eight, and after Capys, Capetus held the rule for thirteen years. Then Tiberinus reigned for a period of eight years. This king, it is said, was slain in a battle that was fought near a river, and being thrown by his horse into the stream, gave his name to the river, which had previously been called the Albula. Tiberinus' successor, Agrippa, reigned forty-one years. After Agrippa, Amulius, a tyrannical creature and odious to the gods, reigned nineteen years. Contemptuous of the divine powers, he had contrived imitations of lightning and sounds resembling thunder-claps, with which he proposed to terrify people as if he were a god. But rain and lightning descended upon his house, and the lake beside which it stood rose to an unusual height, so that he was overwhelmed and destroyed with his whole household. And even now when the lake is clear in a certain part, which happens whenever the flow of water subsides and the depths are undisturbed, the ruins of porticoes and other traces of a dwelling appear. Aventius, after whom was named one of the seven hills that are joined to make the city of Rome, succeeded him in the sovereignty and reigned thirty-seven years, [p275] and after him Procas twenty-eight years.

Then Amulius, having unjustly possessed himself of the kingdom which belonged to Numitor, his elder brother, reigned forty-two years. But when Amulius had been slain by Romulus and Remus, the sons of a noble maiden, as shall presently be related, Numitor, the maternal grandfather of the youths, after his brother's death resumed the sovereignty which by law belonged to him. In the next year of Numitor's reign, which was the three hundred and thirty-second after the taking of Troy, the Albans sent out a colony, under the leadership of Romulus and Remus, and founded Rome, in that year, which was the seventh Olympiad, when Daïcles of Messene was victor in the foot race [752 B.C.], and at Athens Charops was in the first year of his ten-year term as archon."

The same writer adds the following words, in which he relates the various accounts of the historians about [the foundation of] the city of Rome [DionHal_1.72]. About the foundation of the city of Rome "But as there is great dispute concerning both the time of the building of the city and the founders of it, and as in my opinion none [of the previous writers] has given a convincing account of them, [it is not possible] to give merely a cursory account of these things, as if they were universally agreed on. For Cephalon of Gergis, a very ancient

writer, says that the city was built in the second generation after the Trojan war by those who had escaped from Troy with Aeneias, and he names as the founder of it Romus, who was the leader of the colony and one of Aeneias' sons; he adds that Aeneias had four sons, Ascanius, Euryleon, Romulus and Remus. And Demagoras, Agathymus and many others agree with him as regards both the time and the leader of the colony. But the author of the history of the priestesses at Argos and of what happened in the days of each of them says that Aeneias came into Italy from the land of the Molossians with Odysseus and became the founder of the city, which he named after Romē, one of the Trojan women. He says that this woman, growing weary with wandering, [p277] stirred up the other Trojan women and together with them set fire to the ships. And Damastes of Sigeum and some others agree with him.

"But Aristotle, the philosopher, relates that some of the Achaeans, while they were doubling Cape Malea on their return from Troy, were overtaken by a violent storm, and being for some time driven out of their course by the winds, wandered over many parts of the sea, till at last they came to this place in the land of the Opicans which is called Latium, lying on the Tyrrhenian sea. And being pleased with the sight of land, they hauled up their ships, stayed there the winter season, and were preparing to sail at the beginning of spring; but when their ships were set on fire in the night and they were unable to sail away, they were compelled against their will to fix their abode in the place where they had landed. This fate, he says, was brought upon them by the captive women they were carrying with them from Troy, who burned the ships, fearing that the Achaeans in returning home would carry them into slavery. Callias, who wrote about the deeds of Agathocles, says that Romē, one of the Trojan women who came into Italy with the other Trojans, married Latinus, the king of the Aborigines. By Latinus she had two sons, Romus and Romulus and Telegonus, who built a city, gave it the name of their mother. Xenagoras, the historian, writes that Odysseus and Circe had three sons, Romus, Antias and Ardeias, who built three cities and called them after their own names. Dionysius of Chalcis names Romus as the founder of the city, [p279] but says that according to some this man was the son of Ascanius, and according to others the son of Emathion. There are others who declare that Rome was built by Romus, the son of Italus and Leucē, the daughter of Latinus.

"I could cite many other Greek historians who assign different founders to the city, but, not to appear prolix, I shall come to the Roman historians. The Romans, to be sure, have not so much as one single historian or chronicler who is ancient; however, each of their historians has taken something out of ancient accounts that are preserved on tablets in their temples. Some of these say that Romulus and Remus, the founders of Rome, were the sons of Aeneias, others say that they were the sons of a daughter of Aeneias, without going on to determine who was their father; that they were delivered as hostages by Aeneias to Latinus, the king of the Aborigines, when the treaty was made between the inhabitants and the new-comers, and that Latinus, after giving them a kindly welcome, not only looked after them carefully, but, upon dying without male issue, left them his successors to some part of his kingdom. Others say that after the death of Aeneias Ascanius, having succeeded

to the entire kingdom of Latinus, divided both the country and the forces of the Latins into three parts, two of which he gave to his brothers, Romulus and Remus. He himself, they say, built Alba and some other towns; Remus built cities which he named Capua, after Capys, his great-grandfather, Anchisa, after his grandfather Anchises, Aeneia (which was afterwards called Janiculum), after his father, and Rome, after himself.

This last city was for some time deserted, but upon the arrival of another colony, which the Albans sent out under the leadership of Romulus and Remus, it regained its original status. So that, according to this account, there were two settlements of Rome, one a little after the Trojan war, and the other fifteen generations after the first. And if anyone desires to look more carefully into the remote past, [p281] even a third foundation of Rome will be found, more ancient than these, one that happened before Aeneias and the Trojans came into Italy. This is related by no ordinary historian, but by Antiochus of Syracuse, whom I have mentioned before. He says that when Morges reigned in Latium (which at that time comprehended all of Italy from Tarentum to the coast of Poseidonia), a man came to him who had been banished from Rome. His words are these: 'When Italus was growing old, Morges reigned. In his reign there came a man who had been banished from Rome; his name was Sicelus.' According to the Syracusan historian, therefore, an ancient Rome is found even earlier than the Trojan war. However, as he has left it doubtful whether it was situated in the same region where the present city stands or whether some other place happened to be called by this name, I, too, cannot say for certain. But as regards the ancient settlements of Rome, I think that what has already been said is sufficient.

"As to the last settlement or founding of the city, or whatever we ought to call it, Timaeus of Sicily, following what reckoning I do not know, places it at the same time as the founding of Carthage, that is, in the thirty-eighth year before the first Olympiad [814 B.C.]; Lucius Cincius, a member of the senate, places it about the fourth year of the twelfth Olympiad [729 B.C.], and Quintus Fabius in the first year of the eighth Olympiad [748 B.C.]. Porcius Cato does not give the time according to Greek reckoning, but being as careful as any writer in gathering the date of ancient history, he places its founding four hundred and thirty-two years after the Trojan war; and this time, being compared with the Chronicles of Eratosthenes, corresponds to the first year of the seventh Olympiad [752 B.C.]. That the canons of Eratosthenes are sound I have shown in another treatise, where I have also shown how the Roman chronology is to be synchronized with that of the Greeks."

That is what Dionysius says in the first book of his Ancient History of Rome, in which he describes in sequence all the things which happened in the times following the capture of Troy: the escape of Aeneias from Troy, and his arrival in Italy his descendants and successors, who were kings of the Latins, up until Romulus and the foundation of Rome the various accounts of the ancient [p283] [historians] about the foundation of the city of Rome. Some writers say that Picus the son of Cronus was the first king in the territory of Laurentium, where Rome is now situated, and that he reigned for 37 years. After him Faunus the son of Picus [was king] for 44 years. In his reign, Heracles arrived from Spain and set up an altar

in the Forum Boarium, because he had killed Cacus the son of Vulcanus. Then Latinus was king for 36 years; the Latins derived their name from him. Troy was captured in the 33rd year of his reign. Then Aeneias fought against the Rutuli, and killed Turnus. After he married Lavinia, the daughter of Latinus, and founded the city of Lavinium, he was king for 3 years. That is a summary of what we have found in the books of other writers.

But now let us proceed to another narrator of these events - namely Diodorus, who combined and summarised [the contents of] all libraries in one collection; he records the history of the Romans in his seventh book, as follows. From the seventh book of Diodorus, about the ancient origins of the Romans Some historians have mistakenly supposed that Romulus [and Remus], who founded the city of Rome, were the sons of the daughter of Aeneias. But this is not true, because there were many kings in the period between Aeneias and Romulus. The foundation of Rome happened in the second year of the 7th Olympiad [751 B.C.], which was 433 years after the Trojan War. Aeneias became king of the Latins three years after the capture of Troy; and after ruling for three years, he disappeared from the sight of men, and was honoured as an immortal. He was succeeded as king by his son Ascanius, who founded the city of Alba Longa; this city was named [p285] after the river that flowed beside it, which was then called Alba, but is now called Tiber.

The Roman historian Fabius tells a different story about the name of this city. He says that it was foretold to Aeneias, that a four-footed animal would lead him to the site of the city. When he was preparing to sacrifice a pregnant white sow, the sow escaped from his grasp and was chased up a hill, where she gave birth to thirty piglets. Aeneias was amazed by this omen, and in accordance with the prophecy, he attempted to build on the site. But he was warned in a dream, that he should not found the city until thirty years had passed, the same number as the piglets which were born to the sow; and so he gave up the attempt. After the death of Aeneias, his son Ascanius became king and after thirty years he founded a settlement on the hill, which he called Alba, after the colour of the sow; for the Latin word for 'white' is alba. Ascanius also added another name, Longa, which translated means 'long', because the city was narrow in width and stretched for a long way.

And [Diodorus] goes on to say that that Ascanius made Alba the capital of his kingdom and subdued no small number of the inhabitants round about; he became a famous man and died after a reign of thirty-eight years. At the end of this period, there arose a division among the people, on account of two men who were contending with each other for the throne. For Julius, since he was the son of Ascanius, maintained that his father's kingdom belonged to him. But Silvius, the brother of Ascanius and, furthermore, a son of Aeneias by Lavinia, the daughter of Latinus (whereas Ascanius was a son of Aeneias by his first wife, who was a Trojan woman), maintained that the kingdom belonged to him. Indeed, after the death of Aeneias, Ascanius had plotted against the life of Silvius; and it was while the latter as a child was being reared by some herdsmen on a mountain, to avoid this plot, that he came to be called Silvius, after the name of the (?) mountain, which the Latins call Silva. In the struggle between the two groups, Silvius finally received the support of the people

and gained the throne. However Julius, although he did not acquire the supreme power, was made pontifex maximus and became a kind of second king; [p287] he was the ancestor, so we are told, of the Julian family, which survives in Rome even to this day.

Silvius achieved nothing worthy of mention in his reign, and died after ruling for 49 years. He was succeeded as king by his son Aeneias Silvius, who ruled for more than 30 years. He was a strong ruler, in government and in war. He subdued the neighbouring regions, and founded the eighteen ancient cities of the Latins, which were: Tibur, Praeneste, Gabii, Tusculum, Cora, Cometia, Lanuvium, Labicum, Scaptia, Satricum, Aricia, Tellenae, Crustumerium, Caenina, Fregellae, Cameria, Medullia, and Boilum (which some writers call Bola). When Latinus died, his son Alba Silvius was chosen to be king, and he ruled for 38 years. The next king was Epitus (?) Silvius, for 26 years. When he died, Capis was appointed king, and he ruled for 28 years. His son Calpetus was the next king, and ruled for 13 years. Then Tiberius Silvius ruled for 8 years. When this king was crossing the river Alba with an army, to fight against the Etruscans, he fell into a whirlpool and died. As a result, the name of the river was changed to Tiber.

After the death [of Tiberius], Agrippa became king of the Latins, for 41 years. The next king was Arramulius Silvius, who reigned for 19 years. They say that Arramulius was arrogant throughout his life, and became so proud that he claimed to rival the power of Jupiter. When there were continual heavy thunderstorms during autumn time, he ordered all the men in his army [p289] at a given command to strike their swords against their shields, supposing that by this noise he could surpass even thunder. Therefore he was killed by a bolt of lightning, and paid the penalty for his arrogance towards the gods. His whole house was swallowed up by the Alban lake. The Romans who live near the lake today still point out the remains of the royal palace under the lake: some columns which can be seen deep beneath the surface of the water. Aventius was chosen to be the next king, and he ruled for 37 years. During a battle against the people who lived around the city, he was trapped in a confined space and killed near a hill, which from his name was called the Aventine hill. After he died, his son Procas Silvius was appointed to be the next king, and ruled for 23 years. After his death, his younger son Amulius seized the throne by force, while his elder brother Numitor was away in a distant country. Amulius reigned for a little over 43 years, and was killed by Remus and Romulus, who founded the city of Rome.

The individual kings of the Romans are as follows: Aeneias became king of the Latins, in the fourth year after the capture of Troy - for 3 years Ascanius - for 38 years Silvius, the son of Aeneias - for 28 years Aeneias Silvius - for 31 years Latinus Silvius - for 50 years Alba Silvius - for 39 years Epitus Silvius - for 26 years Capis Silvius - for 28 years Calpetus Silvas - for 13 years Tiberius Silvius - for 8 years Agrippa Silvius - for 35 years [Arramulius Silvius - for 19 years] [Aventius - for 37 years] [p291] Procas Silvius - for 23 years Amulius Silvius - for 42 years Romulus founded Rome, and became its king in the seventh Olympiad [752-749 B.C.]. From Aeneias up until Romulus, there were (?) 427 years. From the capture of Troy

[up until Romulus], there were 431 years. The kings, after Romulus who founded Rome, are listed as follows:

Romulus - for 38 years Numa Pompilius - for 41 years Tullus Hostilius - for 33 years Ancius Marcus - for 33 years Tarquinius - for 37 years Servilius - for 44 years Tarquinius Superbus - for 24 years There were seven kings of the Romans, starting with Romulus, and they ceased after a period of 244 years. From the capture of Troy up until Romulus, there were were (?) 431 years. Altogether, [up until the end of the kings] there were 675 years. Dionysius of Halicarnassus gives a brief account of the dates of these kings, from Romulus to Tarquinius, around the time of the first Olympiad, as follows [DionHal_1.75]. Dionysius of Halicarnassus, about the kings of Rome after Romulus If from the expulsion of the kings the time is reckoned back to Romulus, the first ruler of the city, it amounts to two hundred and forty-four years. This is known from the order in which the kings succeeded one another and the number of years each of them ruled.

After the death of Romulus the city was a year without a king. Then Numa Pompilius, who was chosen by the army, reigned for forty-three years; after Numa, Tullus Hostilius thirty-three years; [p293] and his successor, Ancus Marcius, twenty-four years; after Marcius, Lucius Tarquinius, called Priscus, thirty-eight years; Servius Tullius, who succeeded him, forty-four years. And the slayer of Servius, Lucius Tarquinius, the tyrannical prince who, from his contempt of justice, was called Superbus, extended his reign to the twenty-fifth year. As the reigns, therefore, of the kings amount to two hundred and forty-four years or sixty-one Olympiads, it follows necessarily that Romulus, the first ruler of the city, began his reign in the first year of the seventh Olympiad [752 B.C.], when Charops at Athens was in the first year of his ten-year term as archon. For the count of the years requires this; and the number of years that each king reigned is shown in (?) that book. This, therefore, is the account given by those who lived before me and adopted by me concerning the time of the settlement of the city which now rules supreme.

That is what Dionysius says. However, after the death of Tarquinius the Romans no longer had kings to rule them. Instead of kings, first they appointed Brutus [and Collatinus] to be consuls; then [they appointed] tribunes of the plebs; then dictators, who were generals; and then consuls again. I think it would be superfluous to list the magistrates of each year here, because it would be an enormous number of names. And if I described their achievements in detail, my account would stretch to a great length. Such detail is unnecessary for my current purpose; and so I think it is appropriate to leave these magistrates, and everything connected with them, to another chronicle: that is, the consuls who came after Tarquinius, the tribunes of the plebs [p295] and the dictators who governed the city of Rome, during the years up until the time of Caesar. After these remarks, we will return to the reign of the first emperor. From the death of Tarquinius up until the time of Julius Caesar, there was an intervening period of 115 Olympiads, which is the equivalent of 460 years.

[This period is calculated as follows.] Tarquinius died at the end of the 67th Olympiad [509 B.C.]. Caesar became emperor at the start of the 183rd Olympiad [48 B.C.]. In between

them, there was an interval of 460 years. From the 7th Olympiad [752 B.C.], when the city of Rome was founded, [until the death of Tarquinius] there was a period of 244 years. Therefore, from the foundation of Rome until the time of Julius Caesar, there was a total of 704 years, which is the equivalent of 176 Olympiads. These totals are confirmed by the account in the chronicle of Castor, where he gives a summary of the dates, and writes as follows. [From the writings] of Castor, about the kings of Rome We have named the kings of the Romans one by one, starting from Aeneias son of Anchises, when he became king of the Latins, and finishing with Amulius Silvius, who was killed by Romulus, the son of his niece Rhea. To them we will add Romulus and the others, who ruled Rome after him up until Tarquinius Superbus, for a period of 244 years. After these kings, we will give a separate list of the consuls, starting from Lucius Junius Brutus, and finishing with Marcus Valerius Messalla and Marcus Piso, who were consuls when Theophemus was archon at Athens [61 B.C.]. Altogether, [these consuls governed] for 460 years.

That is what Castor says. Next it is appropriate to add a list of the emperors of the Romans, starting from Julius Caesar; and to mention the consuls for each year, attaching to them the numbers of the Olympiads.... [The Armenian manuscript breaks off at this point] Notes The page numbers are those of Petermann, from which the text has been translated.

Source. English translation: an older public-domain translation as collected in the Writings-Database (HistoricalChristianFaith), mostly from the Ante-Nicene, Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers and similar nineteenth-century editions. SermonIndex has only divided it into chapters and short sections; the wording is the translator's own. Square brackets, Greek or Latin words and footnote-free text are as the source file prints them, and a transcription error may remain. No Greek or Latin text is shown beside it yet, and no modern English version has been made.