

The Early Church Fathers Writings

Volume 20

THE EARLY CHURCH FATHERS WRITINGS

Volume 20

Eusebius of Caesarea: Theophania, the Chronicle, Place
Names and Shorter Writings

c. AD 303 – 335

S E R M O N I N D E X

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INTRODUCTION TO THIS VOLUME

How this book is arranged

This is the twentieth volume of a series that gathers the writings of the early Church in order of date, from the generation after the apostles down to the eighth century. This volume holds Eusebius of Caesarea, Theophania, the Chronicle, Place Names and Shorter Writings, from the period about AD 303 – 335.

Within each work the text is divided into chapters and numbered sections, so that any passage can be found again and cited. The small bold figures in the text are the section numbers.

The translations

The text is in English only. Wherever a modern English version has been prepared for SermonIndex it is used here; otherwise the book prints an older public-domain translation. In both cases the wording is the translator's own: older translations have not been altered beyond dividing them into sections. The sources for every work are listed at the back of the book, together with the licence under which each text is released. All the works in this volume are printed in older public-domain translations.

In this volume

Eusebius was bishop of Caesarea in Palestine from about AD 314 until his death about AD 339. He is called the father of church history, and he was a scholar, an apologist and a biographer of the emperor Constantine.

The Theophania survives complete only in a Syriac translation. The Chronicle sets the histories of the nations side by side and is a main source for the dates of the ancient world, and the work on place names is a list of the places named in the Bible, with their location in Eusebius's own day.

Dates and authorship

Dates are approximate and are debated by scholars. Each work begins with a short introduction that states what is known about its author and its date, and what is uncertain.

P A R T O N E

Theophania

Eusebius's defence of the Christian faith, surviving in a Syriac translation.

Theophania

EUSEBIUS OF CAESAREA

c. AD 260–339

Bishop of Caesarea and the first church historian.

BOOK 1

¹ THEOPHANIA. THE FIRST BOOK OF EUSEBIUS OF CAESAREA ON THE DIVINE MANIFESTATION. 1. THOSE who say on the constitution of the whole of this great and beautiful world, and on the diversified subsistence and manifold structure of the heavens and the earth, that it has neither beginning nor governour; and that there is no Lord, and no Providential care (existing); but that it has arisen of itself, casually, undesignedly, and by blind (lit. foolish) accident, however this may have, happened, are altogether impious and godless¹: on which account they are excluded from the divine assemblies, and with propriety shut out from our holy temples. Because, neither can they themselves possess a house without contrivance and care; nor can a ship be well constructed with its appurtenances, without a shipwright; nor a garment be woven, without the art of weaving; nor a city ² be built, when the science of the architect is wanting. And, as they themselves confess these things, I know not by what estrangement of the intellect it is, that they do not consider the courses of the sun (as being) according to their manner; the changes of the moon, according to their appointments; the (several) orders of the stars, as in their due course; and the revolutions of the curvatures of the heavens, and the recurrence and changes of times and seasons². And again with these, that (they do not consider) the weight of the mountains (as regulated) by the balance³; the equalization of days and nights; the unimpeded production of the animals;

² the traditionary and unchanging succession of life of long duration; the herbs of every sort of flower which spring out of the earth; the provisions for all the animals, as suitable for each; their several senses; the members of the

body; their properties of excellence, and as located in their (several) situations, so that (men) see with their eyes, and feel with their hands: which they also say, is obvious to the blind. So that with atheistical affirmations, and injurious wickedness of mind, |3 (they assert) that there is no work either of wisdom, of the WORD OF GOD, or of Providence (evinced in all this); but they imagine on the contrary, that (all) is of blind fortune, and happens just as it may be, without object or end. These same therefore are, as being atheistical, driven far away from the Divine hearing (of the Word), and entirely from the society of those who fear God. 2. The company too of the Polytheists, on the other hand, set in order against the preceding, seems to me to be in extreme error;---that they err, as children in intellect, who change the worship of the Maker of the world, the Governour of all, the God who is over all, for (that) of the things which are of Him; and (hence) honour the sun, the moon, and the rest of the parts of the universe, the primary elements, the earth, water, air, and fire, with the name due to Him, who is their Maker and Creator; and call those Gods⁴ which never existed;

³ nor had existed, nor had been (so) named, had not the Maker⁵ of the universe, THE WORD OF GOD, willed that they should exist. Nor do they appear to me better than those who leave the chief Architect, to admire the excellency of workmanship (visible) in the houses of kings; the wrought ciellings⁷ and the walls; their many coloured and flowered pictures; their roofs variegated with gold and sculpture of precious stones; and attribute to these the praise and wisdom due to their Artificer; which they ought to ascribe, not to the things seen, but to Him alone who is their chief Architect; to confess Him to be the cause of their wonder, and of these many works |⁴ of wisdom. For He alone is wise who supplied the cause, that these many things should thus be. These differ, therefore, in no respect from mere infants. Nor do those whose admiration is expended on the lyre with its seven strings,---the (mere) instrument of music,---but not on him who is the inventor of its structure, nor on him who knows its use, nor yet on his wisdom. Nor (again) do those who leave him who is eminent in war, to adorn his spear and shield with the crowns of victory. Nor do those who honour the streets, squares, buildings, temples, gymnasia---things inanimate---with the admiration due to the great king, who caused the erection of such chief city of his kingdom:

4 when it was right they should admire, neither the pillars nor the stones, but the great maker and lawgiver⁶ of these instances of wisdom. 3. In⁷ conformity with these (considerations) also, we make this same (Being) the (efficient) cause of all which we see with the eyes of the body; not the sun, the moon, nor any other of the things in the heavens. It is becoming too, that we should confess them all to be the works of wisdom: but not, that we should honour or worship them by means of any similitude of Him, who is their Maker and Creator. From the contemplation of these too, we both praise and worship, with the whole affection of the soul, Him who again is known, not by means of the bodily eyes, but only by the mind which is pure and enlightened; |5 Him (I say) who is the King of all, THE WORD OF GOD. For no one ever graced the (mere) body of any wise and intelligent man, (or) his eyes⁸, head, hands, feet, or the rest of his flesh, much less his external clothing, with the title of wisdom; nor yet has termed the vessels in the houses, nor the service-vessels, of the philosophers, wise; while every thinking person has expressed his wonder at that concealed, and unseen, mind which is in man. 4.

5 Thus, and more particularly,----before these visible ornaments which are (but) the bodies of this whole universe, and which have been fabricated from one (species of) matter,----let us express our wonder at that unseen and invisible WORD, that Maker and Adorner of the exemplars⁹ of all things, who is the ONLY (begotten) WORD OF GOD: whom, the Maker of all, He who is beyond all, and above all being, generated of Himself as a ray of light from His own Godhead, and constituted Him both the Leader and Governour of this whole (world). |6 5. For it was impossible that this perishable being of bodies, and this Nature of reasonable creatures (such) as it now is, could be brought near to God the Governour of all, on account of its exceedingly great imperfection. For He is an Essence beyond and above all, which can neither be described, comprehended, nor approached; and (which) dwells in the glorious light, to which nothing can be compared,----as the Divine words declare¹⁰. For this had no existence, and out of nothing did He send it forth. And (hence) it was greatly different, and very far removed, from the nature of (His) Essence. Well therefore did He, the fulness of all good, the God of all, first appoint a Mediator¹¹, the Divine Power, His ONLY (begotten), who should be sufficient for all¹²;

6 who could accurately, abundantly, and as present, hold converse with His Father⁴, receive of His inward and secret (nature), and be meekly lowered to the form and manner of those who were (so) far removed from His princely state. In no ⁷ other way could it be either glorious or right, that He, who is beyond and above all, should be mixed up with matter that is perishable, and with a body. On this account, the DIVINE WORD entered by a (sort) of commixture into this whole, and bound together the bands (as it were) of all things, by means of the Divine power which is incorporeal: leading on and carrying forward, and governing (the whole) by every species of wisdom, as it seemed good to Him. 6. The proof then, of this conclusion is obvious. For, if those which we usually term the primary elements of all,---- the earth, water, air, and fire, were themselves the constituent portions of the universe, and are constituted of a mixed nature, which we even see with our eyes is the case,----and, if the essence of all were one, and that comprehending the whole, and were (as) the Mother and Nurse (of all these things), as those who are subtle in these matters love to term it; and were without figure and visibility, and wholly destitute of soul and of reason;---- Whence, one may ask, was it, that this world was made to consist of that of which it now does? Whence also the distinction of the (several) elements?

⁷ And whence the ⁸ concordant course of those things which were adverse to agreement? And, Who commanded this heavy element of earth, to ride over that of humid matter? 7. And, Who is He that has caused water, the nature of which is to run downwards, to take an opposite course, and to ascend to the clouds? 8. And, Who is He that has so constrained the power of fire, that it shall insinuate itself into wood? and has made it to mix itself up with things which are in their natures opposed to it? 9. And, Who has attempered this cold air with the power of heat; has released these from their (natural) contentions with one another, and has reconciled them (as it were) to love? 10. Who is He that has distinguished the race subject to mortality with the character of extension, and drawn it out to the length of the life which is immortal? 11. Who is He that has so formed the Male, fashioned the Female, and associated them both as one compound, and (thus) discovered one source of generation for all animal life? 12. Who is He that changes this fluent generating seed from its fluid, perishing, and senseless state, and makes it (that) of the generation of animal life? 13. Who is He that performs

even to this time all these things, and innumerable others beyond them, and which exceed all wonder and astonishment? 14.

8 Who is He that daily and hourly, secretly and by a power that is invisible, effects the generation and changes of these things? 15. But, the efficient Cause of all things is justly said to be that worker of miracles, THE WORD OF GOD. For THE WORD OF GOD who is Almighty, has in truth 9 extended himself into every thing: above into the heights, and beneath into the depths, has He drawn out His incorporeal soul. He also holds, as it were in His hands, the breadth and length of all in (its) extent. This whole has He brought, and bound up together; and has (thus) set up for himself this (immense) vessel filled with every sort of compound. He too, by every species of wisdom, and by means of the power which is rational, has made well to combine and to harmonize, according to their several measures, this essence of bodies destitute of reason, form, and visibility; governing by words unutterable, and directing for the advantage of all¹³, the Sun, the Moon, and those (other) luminaries that are in the heavens. 16. This selfsame WORD OF GOD too brought himself down also upon the earth, and (there) set up all the various kinds of animals, and every beautiful form of plant. 17. This selfsame WORD OF GOD also immersed even into the depths of the sea¹⁴, and determined those swimming natures: and here again he made the myriads of forms which are innumerable, with every various kind of living creature. 18.

9 The selfsame also completes, by the effectuating art of nature, those (beings) which are inwardly ¹⁰conceived in the womb, and forms (them) into animals. The same too makes to ascend to the heights as light, this humid, heavy, and naturally descending, matter (of sea-water¹⁵), and thus, completing the course of his government, changes it to sweetness, and brings it (again) in due measure, and at determined seasons, upon the earth: and, like the excellent husbandman who waters his land well, and attempers the wet with the dry, he changes (things) into every sort of form: at one time, into beautiful flowers; at another, into the forms peculiar to each species; at another, into delightful scents; at another, into different and diversified sorts of fruits; at another, into every kind of taste which gives pleasure. 19. But why need I take upon myself to discuss the powers of THE WORD OF GOD? or, venture upon a thing, the doing of which is impossible, and, it is clear, greatly surpasses all mortal mind? 20. Others indeed name this same (Being) Universal nature; others, the Universal soul; others, Fate; and others say, that

He is the God who is beyond all. But, I know not how they confound together the things, which are so greatly and widely different; and (thus) cast down to the earth, and mix up, that Governour of all, that Power of (eternal) existence which is above all, with bodies, (and) |11 with perishable matter;

¹⁰ affirm, that He is the medium both of irrational and rational animals, and is comprehended both in those that are mortal, and immortal. But these things they (do). 21. The Divine doctrine, however, declares that He who is above all that is good, the same is the (efficient) Cause of all, and is beyond all comprehension; and that on this account He cannot be described, enounced, or named: and, not only that He is elevated above all verbal description, but also above all mental apprehension; that He is neither contained in place, nor existing in body, neither in the heavens, nor in the aether, nor in any one portion of this whole. But that He is at once within, and independent of all, reserved in the unseen depth of (His own) knowledge. The Divine declarations teach us to recognize Him alone as the God of truth, who is far removed from all essence of body, and a stranger to all service of government. It has, therefore, been delivered to us, that all is of Him, but not that it is by (or through) Him¹⁶. 22. But He, as a king within the concealment and privacy in which He is incomprehensible, sits in the elevation of His own splendour, governing and ordering (all) solely by the power of His own will. For, by His will exists whatsoever does exist; and, had He not (so) willed, neither had it (so) existed. He wills, however, every good thing, because He is also good in His own essential being. |12 23.

¹¹ He therefore, by whom are all things, THE WORD OF GOD, proceeded forth from above, from His good Father, as a river ever flowing from an unlimited fountain, and distilling as rain, in words unutterable, to those who were perishing, completely furnished for the common salvation of all. And, as in the case with ourselves, that secret and invisible mind which is within us, no man ever knew, either how, or why, it exists in its own essential character, but (which) sits as a king within the secrecy of its chambers, and considers of the things to be done; so the only word then proceeding from it, begotten as it were of a Father in the privacy of retirement, and being the primary angel (messenger) to all, of the mind of its Father, openly publishes those things which its father considered in secret; and, passing on into the hearing of all, brings to full effect the will (so made known). These (hearers) then receive the benefit of the word, while the secret and invisible

mind, this father of (such) word, no one had ever seen with the eyes. So also,---that is, (in a manner) surpassing all examples and comparisons, that completing WORD OF GOD, the King of all,----was, as being the only (begotten) Son of His Father, established, not by any mere emanating virtue; nor constituted in his nature by the enunciation of names and words; nor designated by any sound produced by the percussion of the air:

12 but THE WORD is living, and is the minister of God who is |13 over all, and in His essence, He is "the Power of God, and the Wisdom of God. He proceeds moreover from the Godhead and rule of His Father; and is the17 good offspring of the good Father, and the common Saviour of all. He also waters all, pouring out from his own fulness upon all, life, and reason, and wisdom, and light, and every good thing. He waters too, not only the things that are before Him and near Him, but those also that are removed far away on the earth, and in the sea; and if there be any other creature, in any thing that exists. He too keeps in order, by His justice and the power of His rule, every border, place, law, and possession: to each and every thing does He distribute and give that which is suitable: apportioning (this) to some who are in the sphere above the world; to others, who reside in the heavens; to others, whose habitation is the aether; to others, that are in the air; and to others, on the earth. Then passing on from these, He again well distinguishes, in other quarters, the lives of all; carrying forward with due discrimination, their customs and various observances. He also provides the food for the animals, not only for those that are rational, but also for those that are not so: (and this) for the advantage of those that are. 24.

13 To some he gives the comforts of a mortal and temporary life; to others, that they may partake of immortality: and of every thing, as THE WORD OF GOD, is He the Doer. And, being near to every thing, and |14 pervading all with a power which is rational, and, looking up to His Father, He governs the things that are below according to His intimations, and after Him accordingly as the Saviour of all. And thus, mediating and bringing near to the (eternal) Being this essence of things, He constitutes the bond which cannot be severed. THE WORD OF GOD (I say), which is in the midst, which binds together those which are diverse, and suffers them not to fall off (and) away, He is the Providential care which is watchful over all, He is the Director of all: He is "the Power of God, and the wisdom of God": He is the only (begotten) Son of God; the God which is begotten of God, THE

WORD. For, "In the beginning was THE WORD, and THE WORD was with God, and THE WORD was God. Every thing was by Him, and without Him was not any thing:"---- the glorious words of the divine men (so) teaching. 25. This is the common Saviour of all, on whose account this universal essence is productive, and rejoices that it ever drinks from his dewdrops; is always youthful in its stature, and ever presents the appearance of beauty.

¹⁴ He therefore holds its reins, and, at the intimations of His Father, rightly guides the mighty ship of this universe, ¹⁵ (and) with His own helm He governs it. This (Being) excellent of art, did He who is God above all, as a good Father beget as good Fruit, the ONLY (begotten) SON, and give (him) to this world (as) a most excellent gift; did cast as a Soul into a body destitute of soul, and into the nature of irrational bodies, His own rational WOHD: and (so), by virtue of the DIVINE WORD, did He both enlighten and enliven this (otherwise) shapeless, unsightly and colourless, being ----by Him, (I say) whom we ought, both to know and to worship, as being ever near to the matter and elements, of (all) bodies. Thus, that which was immaterial, bodiless, and unconscious (lit. unwise), became, as from others, endued with consciousness (lit. became wise). But He is THE LIFE, and He is THE LIGHT; the intelligent offspring of THE LIGHT which cannot be described. He too, is ONE in His Essence, even as He is ¹⁶ from ONE Father. He possesses however many powers (virtues) within His own person. For, we should not suppose that, because the (constituent) parts of the world are many, they therefore constitute many powers¹ (Demons): nor, because the operations are many, we ought therefore, to set up for ourselves many Gods. 26.

¹⁵ Those therefore who follow many Gods, commit, as children in soul, a grievous mistake when they make into Gods the (constituent) parts of the Universe, and (virtually) divide the one world into many¹⁸. As if one should take from the person of a man the eyes only, and then affirm that these were the man; and again, that the ears were another; and so again, the head (another); or, should gradually sever the neck, the breast, the shoulders, the feet, the hands, or the rest of the members; or, that he should (so) divide the faculty of sense by ¹⁷ process of reasoning, and then affirm on this one man, that these (portions) really were many men: he would deserve nothing better of the wise, than the ridicule due to folly. Such as this man would be, would he likewise be who fabricated for himself many Gods out of the (constituent)

parts of the one Universe, and would sever into many sections those Bodies of all, whose nature is fleeting and dispersive, and which are fabricated out of one primary material; and then again, would by an effort of reason make these his Gods?. 27. Much worse than this would he be, who would also imagine that this entirely made world,----constituted as it is wholly and altogether of many parts,----is God: not considering that the Divine nature could never subsist of parts or be complex, or could stand in need of some other to compound it: nor again, that if it consisted of parts, could it be Divine.

16 For, How can it consist of things different and dissimilar, faulty and excellent? Because that which is compounded, must also be dissoluble; and that which consists of many parts, is of necessity dissimilar¹⁹: while that which is equal in all and unchanging in all, is simple and incomplex. That too which is complex, is compounded of things dissimilar. And that which is dissimilar has in itself something faulty, opposed to that which is excellent. For if the whole were excellent, it would (then) be equal and similar. And, if it were so in the whole, it would in the whole be consistent with itself: and thus would it be in essence simple, ¹⁸ and without parts. But this nature (of things) does not shew itself to be such, since this world is viewed as wholly subject to sense: for it is constituted of many parts, and is (therefore) compounded; it is too, in many of its parts, changing. And where it is thus, there is also the capability of a nature of an opposite description. And hence this world associates beings, at once both mortal and immortal, rational and irrational; in matter too, both cold and hot; wet and dry. From all which, God is (necessarily) free. For, if the nature of God be simple, it is also without parts, and is uncompounded; (placed) beyond, and far removed from, every ordinance of this visible world. On this account the Preacher of Truth thus openly says:

17 "The Word of God proclaimed, He who is before all, is alone the Saviour of all rational beings." But God who is beyond all, is the head (source) of the generation of THE WORD. He alone is the Cause of all; and, of His ONLY (begotten) WORD, He is truly styled THE FATHER. Above Him therefore, no other Cause can be assigned. He therefore is God alone²⁰; and from Him proceeded forth, by (virtue of) His own secret will which is unutterable, the ONLY (begotten), the Saviour of all, the one WORD of God, who (is) through all. 28. This sensible world is therefore, not unlike the lyre

of many strings, consisting of many dissimilar portions;19----of acute and grave, lax and intense; and of others between these, all well combined together by the art of the Musician. Such then is also this (universe), collected (as it is) into one compound, consisting of many parts, and many compositions; of cold at once, and warm its opposite; and of matter, wet and dry. It is moreover a mighty vessel, and is the work of the God of all. 29. But the DIVINE WORD has not been constituted of parts, nor has it been compounded of any opposing (nature), nor does it consist of (either) part or compound; but both wisely and well does He in every thing resemble His Father; and to the King of all does He give back the praise, which to Him is both suitable and due.

18 (And) as in one body there are many parts, members, viscera, and bowels, collected together, and one invisible soul (only) is diffused through all; and one is the mind which (consists) of neither body nor parts; so also (we say) of this one world, which is constituted of many parts. So also the WORD OF GOD, manifold in power and Almighty, is one extended into all things, and is invisibly diffused throughout them: and of all, in which He (thus) subsists, He is the (efficient) Cause. 30. Do you not see with your eyes, that one heaven surrounds the whole world? and that many orders of stars revolve in this? And again, (that) there is one sun, not many? and that this eclipses the splendour of them all by its superior light? So likewise is there one Father, the WORD of whom also is one, who must be the good [20 offspring of the good Father. If therefore any one complain, that there are not many Sons; so should he also complain, that many suns, moons, and worlds, are not established, and at many other things, after the manner of madmen, who endeavour to subvert those of nature which are right and good. But, as in things visible, one sun gives light to the whole sensible world; so also in things intellectual, the one WORD OF GOD, filled with all power, secretly and (in a manner) imperceptible to us, gives light to all. For Why should many suns be required, when one is sufficient to effect every thing?

19 And again, What need can there be of many Sons of God, when the ONE, the only (begotten), is sufficient to effect the will of His Father? For, if there were many, then would they be either similar, or dissimilar21. And if they were similar, then would their multiplicity be in vain; because one Effectuator, and this Almighty, would be sufficient for the performance and due ordering of all. But the WORD OF GOD, and the WISDOM OF GOD,

which is ONE in its essence, brings along with it the light, and the life, and (indeed) all the fulness of goodness. The multitude (then) of those who were (thus) vainly, and not well joined together in a power that were similar, could have no advantage. But, if it were necessary they should be dissimilar, How then could that which were dissimilar, or incomplete and defective in its nature, be on the |21 other hand an Effectuator, and that sufficient for all? But nothing which is horn of God is incomplete. The only (begotten) of God is therefore complete (the Efficient). Nor are there many WORDS OF GOD. On the contrary, THE GOD who is OF GOD is sufficient for all, and is Almighty; is the one Image of the light of His Essence, as the divine words declare; who, for the convenience of governing and healing all existing beings, was necessarily appointed; who is also in His essence one, but in His powers manifold. And Him alone do we declare to be sufficient for the adorning of all things. 31.

20 Because too, there is in man (but) one Soul and one reasoning faculty, and this at the same time capable of comprehending many things; whether (for example), it cultivate the earth, or fit up a ship, or guide it, or build (a house), still it is one and the same: or, whether it learn and do many things, still there is but one mind and cogitative faculty in man. It is moreover capable at once of many sorts of knowledge: the same man will be the geometriician, or will be skilled in the courses of the stars, or be perfect in the precepts of the grammarians and rhetoricians; or, he will become a leader in the science of healing, or in its manual operations. Nor has any one ever yet imagined, that there are many souls in (any) one body: neither has it been made matter of wonder, that there exists many essences in man, because of his |22 capability of many sorts of knowledge. For, should a man find a shapeless piece of clay, and afterwards so model it with his hands, as to impress upon it the forms of certain animals; on one figure, the head; on another, the hands, the feet, or the eyes (of a man); and again, that he otherwise imitate by the art of the modeller, the cheeks, ears, mouth, nostrils, breast, and shoulders, Would it be right also to suppose that, because many forms and members had been (so) wrought in this one body, many were therefore their makers?

21 We ought rather to bestow the full meed of praise on the one artificer of the whole, who had by one train of thought, and the exertion of one executive power, (so) disposed the whole:---- 32. So also, of this universal world which is one, consisting nevertheless of many parts, it cannot be right to

erect the many powers (visible within it) into makers; nor again to call these many Gods: but rather, to bless the ONE who abounds in every species of wisdom, and every sort of compounding (power): Him (I say) who is in truth "THE POWER or GOD, and THE WISDOM OF GOD; who, by means of one (almighty) power and virtue, pervades, and remains in, the universal whole; who also gives establishment and life to all: and who, for the whole and singular of²³ these bodies and elements, in their several situations, produced at once from himself, the several and various means of subsistence. 33. So also the light of the Sun is one; yet, by its one incidence, it at once illuminates the air, affords light to the eyes, warmth to the touch, ripens the (produce of) the earth, gives growth to the plant, and fixes the several periods of time. It also precedes the stars (in its course), makes the circuit of the heavens, rises upon the world, and clearly establishes the power of God with respect to all things²². All these things it completes in a momentary period of nature.

²² Thus too, the nature of fire (is such) as to purify gold, to melt lead, to dissolve wax, to dry (wet) clay, and to consume dense (bodies): by means of one burning power, it effects all these things. 34. So likewise THE WORD OF GOD, the King of all, He who is extended throughout all, is in and pervades all, that is both in the heavens and the earth; He is the governour of the things which are invisible and visible, and He directs by powers unspeakable", the Sun, the Heavens, ²⁴ and the whole Universe. He is present to all things in His effectuating power; and He remains throughout all. He also makes to distil as rain, from His own resources, the never-failing light to the Sun, the Moon, and the Stars. He has established, and perpetually holds fast, the heavens (as) an image of his own greatness. He also fills from the treasury that is with Him, those hosts of Angels and Powers of intelligent and rational spirits, at once with life, light, wisdom, and all the abundance of every species of beauty and of goodness. And by one and the same effectuating art, He never fails to supply substance to the material elements, and to Bodies (their) commixture and concurrence; (their) forms, appearances, and characters. He otherwise varies also and time after time, (His) innumerable operations, (whether) in the animals, the plants, or in the beings rational or irrational: at once He provides every thing for all, by (His) one power;

²³ and clearly shews, (that this) is not a mere Lyre (as it were) of seven or many strings, but is the one universe of manifold composition, the work-

manship of the ONE WORD, the Maker of the world²³. 35. Such therefore, is the common Saviour of all, THE WORD or the GOD of all, of whom one discoursing on God²⁴ thus mysteriously speaks: "He²⁵ was in the world, and the world was (made) by Him; and the world knew Him not" For, from ancient times (and) hitherto, it knew Him not, until He manifested Himself, in the latter times, to those who were holden in the darkness of vice. But He, the Maker of the whole world, He, who is the common Saviour of all, has been directly made known to us, as thus existing; and as affording to this whole, all this assistance. But, as to this whole world which is |²⁵ governed by one Ruler, (and) which consists of the heavens, the earth, and of the things therein, it is now necessary we should shew in a few words, what the nature of the being is which He has assigned to it. 36. This (universe) then, partakes of two natures; of the essence which is more excellent and is allied to THE DIVINE WORD; which, being intellectual and rational, is perceived by the mind, and apprehended by the reason: and to this is possible all that is superior to (material) Bodies. (It partakes) also of that which was necessarily brought forth for the use of this;

²⁴ which is matter,----is the offspring of Bodies, and is understood by the sense of reason, both to exist and to be perishable: and which, as I think, has been well said never to have had any (independent) being²⁶. But this, which is visible to the bodily sense, designates the one Universe. This same (too), the whole of which is visible, as well as that which is invisible, may thus be well said to constitute one family of rational beings; just as in the things that are visible, the nature of bodies is one; while of tin's, some are in the heavens and the aether²⁷,----those among these being distinct, and different;----some in the air and on the earth; and of which, the things visible are the animals and plants. So also, in the essence which is intelligent and invisible, the common kind of them all is one. One also is the nature of the generation of the rational and intelligent faculties, while many and various are the distinctions existing in this²⁸. 37. This same therefore, which has been fabricated out of matter, and (material) bodies; this, which we usually |²⁶ name the sensible world, which consists of the heavens the earth and of the things therein, may be likened to an imperial city in which there are many citizens, the houses of some of which have been distinguished (as) apartments of the state. Of these, the inner ones are neither entered into, nor trodden, by the many.

25 Some again are for stations without, (set apart) for the keepers of the middle portions. Others again, are far distant from the court, and are left for the inhabitants (generally) and their various assemblies²⁹. Many are (thus) the stations in the heavens, and many are those inferior to these in the sether, and in the air above the earth. The habitable |27 part of the earth, (assigned) to those who walk upon it, is this broad space known to us all. Those (places) however which are beyond the heavens, are (exalted) above all mental apprehension, as are those also which are distinguished as inner apartments of the divine house of rule. But those (beings) who surround the King of all, and exult at the side of THE DIVINE WORD, are both enlightened and upholden by means of the rays which are drawn forth from Him, as from unfailing fountains of light; and are established in the fulness of light. (Thus) too all the enlightened, with the incorporeal assemblies of light, hold that rank of station which is beyond the heavens, and honour with the highest praises, (and) which are worthy of God, the God who is King of all. 30 In the midst moreover, has He cast (spread) forth the vast heavens, the curtains (as it were) of the azure threshold, which exclude those who are without from the mansion of rule;

26 while the keepers of the intermediate part perform (their) rounds in this, as being without the gate, with those who in the heavens are |28 invested with light and holding lamps, as the sun and the moon, honouring Him who is beyond all, the King of all. And, at his intimation and word, these supply light by means of lamps which cannot be extinguished, to those whose lot it is to be in the place of darkness, and without the heavens. Thus are brought near to Him the powers of the air, which are invisible to bodily eyes, as also the animals and other earthly things (which are visible): so is man also the chief of them all, whose race was no stranger to that intelligent and rational Essence which is invisible, and who was created on the earth to render praise to the Godhead and rule of Him who is the Cause of all things. Like as on earth therefore, there is spread over the whole world but one, and that the same human nature; and, as many nations have arisen out of this, and the manner of life of every race, its fashions, modes, and governments, are different, not only of the barbarians and wild, but also of the peaceable, fashionable, and wise; and, (as) there are among these both slaves and freemen, poor and rich; those also who differ in colour, as the Scythians, and those whose lot it is to dwell without, in the west;

27 the Hindoos also, at the rising of the sun, and the Ethiopians at its setting; Greeks, too, and others whose destiny it is to reside among princes; and, among all these again, some bear rule over portions of the nations, and others are wholly subject: with the great king of all moreover, some are considered as in the place of friends, some are elevated to the greatest honours, others are more especially ennobled for their virtuous deeds: some, again, fill the rank of slaves; and others, bearing spears and shields, surround the sovereign: others again, are military officers in the cities, while others fill the situation of rule in these: others too, have met the fate of the |29 vulgar; and others are considered as in the place of enemies and haters: still, the whole of these are men, and one is the common species of them all. Over them all too, is there one king, one only power, vested with his own authority which is all-supreme. And to this same, according to the law and edict of the state,----to him alone, the Father and Lawgiver,----is (the title of) great king ascribed: while He (the WORD) descending from above, and running (as it were) throughout the whole of the governours and governed, subjects to the one yoke of rule every race (placed) under his hand; elevating some to the highest honour, and to others rendering that which is their due³¹. 38. As it is with these things, (so) one is the generating, intelligent, and rational Essence which is over all.

28 And well might it be said, that one is the kind (genus) even of these, and that they all are nothing more than brethren (derived) from one, as made of Him who is the Father of THE WORD OF GOD³². There are then, multitudes of nations, and of kinds (of these); and there is a portion the more virtuous, and the contrary. The differences too of these, as to mind (opinion) are innumerable, as are the fashions, modes of life, constitutions, and the contrary; but not as to their natures, for the nature of them all is one, and the kind is one. It is of the variety of their wills, that they have found out many and different fashions and modes of life. Hence, are the companies of angels, of spirits, and of incorporeal and invisible powers; some of which are resplendent and glorious, as enlightened by the splendour of THE DIVINE WORD; others are dark, blacker than any Ethiopian, and |30 destitute of all rational light. This kind is quite deserving of the middle place, as capable at once of both the excellent and the base. But the King is one, that ONLY power which is God above all, both of those who are in the heavens, and above the heavens. And He it is who holds by the law and edict

of sovereign rule, the things that are in the air, on the earth, and under the earth, and which are of all, and in all. This law and edict is moreover one, (viz.

²⁹ He who lives in all, THE WORD OF GOD, the minister, (lit. agent): not as that dying (utterance) which is sent forth from the mouth of mortals into the air³³; but is,----as it has now been made known to us (by the Gospel)----of things (in their nature) possible, the Governour of all in all wisdom and power. He (I say) who, as THE WORD OF GOD, distributes fully and in justice to all, the things which are most suitable to them; and gives to each, and to every one of them, the stations which are suitable: to those which are near, (those) of happiness; but those of the contrary, to them who have fallen from virtue, as they may have (severally) deserved. He at once gives to all---- like those who are on the earth,----to reside in different localities; to some, to exult at the side of the heavenly sovereignty; to others, to keep watch without; to others, to dwell beyond (these), and at a distance: while all with one mouth, and according to the doctrine and instruction of each, celebrate the praise of the King and God of all: ----(all I say) who bear this law in their hearts and in the mind of their nature, that they should confess that ONE, who is the likeness of the image of sovereign rule, who is the only (begotten) WORD,----Him " who is the Image of the invisible God, the firstborn of every creature³⁴,"----as the divine words mysteriously teach. ³⁹.

³⁰ And to the honouring of Him are all, whether the rulers or the ruled in every house and city, at once devoted: not, with inanimate colours variously set forth in pictures (or images,), but within, on the hearts of their ³¹ intellectual faculties as upon intelligent tablets, is the worship of His Godhead inscribed. Thus do all those, who are subject to His power, tender their worship, irrespective of those vicious Demons, and wicked Spirits, and "Rulers of this world," who consider themselves as in the situation of enemies and haters; those who have assimilated themselves to the image of fraudulent rule³⁵, and put forth various books in the place of others³⁶; that is, innumerable false scriptures (ascribed) to that fearful name, and to that expressed name, which governs the Law. But far superior to the Law is the name (which) they have surreptitiously assumed to themselves. Thus do they succeed in casting down to the earth among bodies, elements, and the portions of the world, the (whole) race of mortal men. Hence have men feared and

served the creatures, more than the Creator of these³⁷. 40. And again, they named (as gods) for themselves, these very powers, contenders and rebels against God, which in their perverseness so became gods; these (I say) which never existed (as such).

³¹ And well may those be considered as enemies and haters, from whom the law of truth has commanded us to flee, and to take refuge in Him alone who is the WORD, the Saviour of all;---Him, who has cast forth the seed which is of Himself, in order that it may produce, not only in the heavenly places, but also on the earth; and has assigned both to those that are in the heavens, and to those that are in the elements of ³² the earth, one and the same portion of kind. So that the rational mind which is in man, (and) is of that incorporeal intelligent essence, and of the kind of the DIVINE WORD which pervades all that has hitherto been generated, is nourished on earth by its meditations on Him, and previously trained for its transition (conversion) to virtue. Hence too, is it previously instructed and taught, to provide for its passing to the children of its own kind. Wholly therefore is this alone, of those that are on the earth, through its participation with THE DIVINE WORD, worthy of the name of rational. He has then, necessarily assigned a place on earth (to) the mind and rational soul; so that a small image of the great City of God, mentioned in the example a little while ago (given), has been set up on earth: nor is there in the whole empire of God, nor even a place on the earth, exempt from this lot.

³² And it was right, that praise should be ascribed in every part of the universe to THE WORD, the common Father of all, by those who had been generated of Himself. Hence, even the element of earth is not exempt from being entrusted with this rational portion. Not only by those who are beyond the world, and in the heavens, and the rational (beings) that are in the air; but also by those that dwell on the earth, is that just praise sent up to the Maker and Father of all: which indeed the Divine Word teaches, when it thus commands every man to sing the praise which is due to God³⁸: "Praise ye God from the heavens; praise ye him in the heights. Praise him all ye his angels; praise him all ye his hosts. Praise him sun and moon; praise him all ye stars and light. Praise him ye heavens of heavens. After the things which are upon the earth, he (the Sacred Writer) reasons thus: "Praise ye God from the earth (all)" other things. He then also (reasons upon) this rational family of man,----this (I say) which divides itself from every thing else into various

companies and orders of rank,----in this manner:----" Praise him, ye Icings of the earth, and all |33 people: ye great, and all ye judges of the earth: young men and maidens: old men with children. Let them praise the name of the Lord; for great is his name alone; and his praise is in the earth, and in the "heavens."39 41.

33 With these (words) therefore, he leads over against and along with the companies that are in the heavens, those also that are on the earth, to the praise of the King of all. For to Him alone in truth, and to no other God,---- (to) Him who is beyond all the heavens above,---- do the companies that are above the curvatures of the heavens ascribe honour and praise. To Him (as) their Father do the hosts of angels and spirits, the offspring of the light which is intelligent, render the praises which are unutterable. To Him also the sun, the moon, and the stars which are in the circuits of distant worlds, and run their lengthened courses in the spaces of aether, and form a crown (as it were) to Him;----the invisible powers also, which wing their way in the free expanse of air,----proclaim the meed of praise and blessing which is (both) due and becoming. 42. How then, after (the detail of) these things could it be becoming, that the element of earth alone should be wanting in the provision which (prevails) in all? Or, that this nature which is generative of all these fruits, |34 should stand alone, in withholding its meed of praise? Or, that the life which is (passed) on the earth, bearing every sort of fruit, should be barren as to (that of) the intelligent creature?

34 Would it not rather appear that this would seem good to Him,----who is the fulness of all wisdom, the Maker of all,----that He should for His own sake, sow this locality of earth with beings intelligent and rational? and should, for the use of these, provide the rest of the creatures, as also that which is generative of fruits and flowers? And that He should here also join the praise of men, to that which is rendered by the companies of all (else), to His own Father? And this was so done in former times:----this, that man, who had been made in the image of God40, honoured with hymns and songs THE WORD, his Father, together with the divine and rational assemblies, and with the several orders of angels. His mind had not then erred in the setting up of inanimate images under the phantasms of demoniacal deception, nor under the stories of error common to polytheism: for these things recently, and after a time, became known through the vain babblings of the poets. Those primitive chiefs of our race, who hitherto had not

learned the arts of modelling, hewing, and carving, and had made no use of this extreme metal-working art of evil deeds, called upon the Maker of the whole universe and their Lord, in the simplicity of their souls, and in the mind of their (unsophisticated) nature: and Him alone did they confess, in their instruction which was mental⁴¹, to be the Lord and God of all.

³⁵ And as these did, so did the chief of our nature (Adam), as also did the Hebrew race, which was in ancient times beloved of God, and received, [³⁵ as a son from his father, the good inheritance of the observances of the fear of God. But these honoured nothing with purity of life, and with the observances of the fear of God, except the one God, the King who is above all, and His WORD who is the Saviour of all. On this account, they were considered worthy of the revelation of the Word of God, of prophecy, and of the doctrines of righteousness. ⁴³. Thus therefore, THE WORD OF GOD, the Maker of all things, fills, with His seed of intelligent and rational being, all parts and places that are above the world, that are in the heavens, and on this element of earth. That seed then, which falls upon the earth, constituting the intelligent and rational plant, is itself the knowledge which belongs to man, (and) which is now contained in the multifarious stem and herbage (as it were) of an earthly and perishable body: many stars of the life which is mortal surrounding it. If then, an enlightened cultivation meet it, so that it be cleansed from the obstinacy of matter, and recognize the Sower, THE WORD, who is above the heavens, and henceforth render praise to Him, meditating as a child on His primitive teaching, and in due time rendering the corn-ears of its superiority, the complete fruit of its rational nature;

³⁶ it shall as in the time of harvest lay down, by the death of the life which is mortal, those luxuriations of the stem that are without, together with the earthly and corruptible clothing of the body, which it shall have now well employed for the growth and perfection of the fruit. And happily shall it put off this in due time. The same too, as he becomes more excellent, and collects the powers of his superiority into the treasury of things that are good, is preserved (as) the perfect, that with the perfect he may be led on. To Him also, who is the Sower and the Cultivator of all, he renders the perfect fruit of that praise which is due to God. And, because he has in this- life recognized Him alone as his Father, King, and Lord, and has, together with his relative and sister beings (already mentioned), confessed Him alone to be God, his Maker and Creator; He will,----that he also may (as) in the place of

the society which is more excellent, exalt and honour Him with the [36 honour that is becoming and just,----not name any other thing God, which it is not right should be called God, but Him alone to whom all things give (a similar) testimony; Him, whom all creation, visible and invisible,----even as He alone is the efficient Cause of all,----names its God, and whom it worships. 44. These things then being such, let us now again approach our subject afresh, as already laid down.

³⁷ These heavens then, and places in the heavens which are viewed by the bodily senses; this earth also, and air, as well as this whole constitution (of things) which is of them, (and) which may be likened to a great city, differ in no respect in their nature from those inanimate elements which are in its portions, the earth, the waters, the air, and fire. But it is not necessary, that the denizens of this great city should be considered as of the same material; nor is it, that we should affirm the seed of the rational soul, and of the perishable body, to be one and the same. For the mind, the reason, the rational soul, and the whole of the nature which is intelligent, may accurately and well be affirmed to be the seed of THE WORD OF GOD, the Creator of all. Nor were these any part of the earth, or of the air; nor, of any essence cold or hot; but, of those superior faculties, by which they were made worthy to partake in things most excellent. Because things prior in order, are the causes of those which succeed them. And the first things were those generated of THE WORD: after these, those that are irrational. After the primary essences therefore, were those latter ones, which followed (these as) causes. But these primitive ones,----the origin of production,----exist (only) in intelligent souls; on whose account it was, that the seed of passive bodies was also prepared.

³⁸ For it was necessary, that a sufficient house or residence should be prepared for these. Hence the primary heavens appeared to be a place suitable to the people of this city, who were both above it and in it; and the curvatures⁴² within the heavens, for those [37 inhabitants who should be distinguished accordingly. But thou (reasonable soul), wouldest never designate as denizens of the city on earth, either the sensitive being of the fierce animals, or any kind of reptile refusing instruction; or indeed, any of all those that partake in the nature and name of irrational. For these are thy slaves, which have been subjected by the law of nature; and they necessarily render the service which is due to rational beings, as to their lords. For the

agricultural ox places his neck willingly in the yoke, for the purposes of agriculture for man; the carrying ass too, confesses his own nature; the horse also, on which his lord rides, exults⁴³; and the hunting dog fondles on him who feeds him. 45. The flocks too, and herds, (and) again, all sorts of possession (in animals), are given to men; even the fierce beasts are (at his ready) service. These same too, we kill and reduce to subjection. We also take, by means of reason, the bird that flies in the heights. We also bring up those (beings) which are beneath in the depths of the sea, and (otherwise) within it. And nature plainly teaches, that all these things have been established for the sake of man.

³⁹ Man is therefore the progeny of the DIVINE WORD; not for the sake of any other thing, but ³⁸ for that (only) of his Father, THE WORD; in order that he might see, and by his knowledge distinguish, all the wisdom of his Father, which (consists) in the workmanship visible throughout all creation; and that he should assimilate himself to this same, while hitherto youthful, and should in every thing emulate his Father, as to law, reason, knowledge, and wisdom; should live as taught, (that he is) the image of excellence; and should learn that, together with the companies that are in heaven, he should, as a prophet and priest, send up from the earth those praises which are due to the King of all, and to God who is the Cause of all. 46. In representations not unlike these therefore, does THE WORD, the instructor of all nature,----wondering at the various excellency of the nature that is in man,----cry out, and say in the divine praises, " What⁴⁴ is man that Thou art mindful of him? and the son of man that Thou visitest him? Thou hast made him a little less than the Angels: with honour and glory hast Thou clothed him, and hast given him dominion over the work of thy hands, and hast placed all beneath his feet: all flocks and herds; even the wild beasts of the desert, and the birds that are in the heavens, and the fishes of the sea, which dwell in the paths of the sea." 47.

⁴⁰ It is this rational species alone, beloved of God, of those that are on earth, respecting which another prophet speaking of God, teaches, thus plainly (but) mysteriously, that in his essence he is in the image of God: " And God said, Let us make man in our Image, according to our likeness; and let them have dominion over the fishes that are in the sea, and over the fowl of the heavens, and over the beasts, and over all the earth, and over every creeping thing that creepeth upon the earth. And to the word He also added

the deed: " So God made man," and said that He made him in the image of God. And again more particularly, He established (the fact) that the image was in the likeness of God, from |39 the Divine inbreathing, when He said, " And he breathed into his nostrils the breath of life, and the man became a living soul⁴⁵. He also teaches, that He gave to him the more excellent authority and rule, in these words when saying, Let them have dominion over all that is on the earth, over the beasts, the fowls, the creeping things, (and) the animals. And, to all these words does that nature give (its) testimony, which has put every thing under his hand, and has subjected all (things) to this rational creature.

⁴¹ But, if the Divine words can obtain no hearing with thee, still, I cannot think that thy mind is so entirely darkened, that thou canst not think within thyself, How it is, that bodies and bodily substances,----or, whatever other divine thing it is which moves the body,----should consist of this possible excellence,----this, I say,----that (such body) should know how to avail itself of a discriminating reason, as to what its own essence is?----this, that it should deliver instruction by memory?----this, that it should extend itself to the contemplation of all things? But, be thyself and ask, whether the nature of the body can understand the constitution of the world; the operations of the primary elements; the beginning, the end, the middle portion, enumeration, and succession of the seasons; the changes of times; the revolutions of the year; the appointed order of the stars; and (I know not) how many other things, which men have by the experiments of geometry, computation, and enumeration, pointed out. For these (results) are incorporeal, and the contemplation of them is (purely) rational: that any one should make them adjuncts of the bones, the flesh, or the blood, would be folly infinitely great. And, well might they be asked, who thus think of these things, since these five senses comprehend all the faculties of the body, Which of them is it that can teach man the contemplation of any doctrine? Is it the sight of the eyes? But this distinguishes between colours and forms only. If you say, The hearing;

⁴² you (only) name the recipient of sounds acute and grave, but not of any rational perception. And again, in like manner, the taste is the sense discriminative of sweetness, or of food, as it might |40 be. The smell too, is the trier of scents, but not of doctrines. And again, this sense which is extended over the whole body, will touch (and discriminate) things cold and hot, hard

and soft; but not virtue, nor (yet) that wisdom which is much more excellent. And, How is it with the irrational animals? Have they not eyes, ears, and nostrils? the sense of taste, and of touch? But nothing of these can be brought near to the efficiency of reason: because the doctrines, which philosophy alone can apprehend, are not of the body, nor of the sense that is irrational: they belong solely to that superiority which attends the rational soul; which is superior to the nature of the body, and which takes up its abode in mankind alone. If however, any one wish impudently to persist by way of reasoning, and affirm, That we possess nothing beyond these irrational animals; that like these we are born, and are subject to corruption; because the one provision of us all, is of the earth: the passive nature of the body is the same; the sense is in nothing superior; the labour again, and rest is, in the same manner, one; as is the blood of us all, the corruption of the body, and (its) dissolution into the primitive elements.

⁴³ Hitherto however, you do not say, that any one of these can, like the rational animal, be brought near to the contemplation of things incorporeal; can bear about it any rational instruction, or lay up learning in its memory; can consider discourses about virtue and vice; and, as to philosophy, that it ever even entered its mind. But all these things I might omit, because all men do not possess them. I (only) ask your reason these things: Was there a city ever (yet) constructed by beings destitute of reason? Or, is there in these the mind of the Artificer, of the Builder, of the Weaver, or, of the Agriculturist? Or, has a ship ever been fitted up by them? Or, has the astonishing art of governing (such vessel) so much as even entered their minds? When, |41 behold! the things which are bodily (only) are with them, far more excellent than with us: because, of all animals, man is the most defective, and, as the Poets sing, "The human race is infirm"⁴⁴, Nor can we say how much he is inferior, in magnitude of body, to the Elephant; or, to be thought of, as to strength and abundance, with the Camel species. And, to many other animals must he cede the victory, both as to power, and swiftness of foot. What can they scent better than the tracing dogs, which are taught to course by the smell? or, be said to see better than any Antelope; which, because they see (well) are, in the Greek, named "the Seers?

⁴⁴ And, is it necessary we should hence say, how much weaker the body of man naturally is, than that of the Bear, the Lion, the Panther, and of many other animals? or, how quickly or easily he is deceived and overcome by

those that attack him? Nevertheless, this diminutive (creature) will, whenever he pleases, subdue any of those already mentioned; not by bodily or corporeal ⁴² strength, for (in this respect) he is greatly the inferior, and is insufficient to fill the stomach of even one Bear. But there is a certain nature within him, more excellent than the body, the power of the mind, and of the intelligent soul. And it is by the superiority of wisdom that he effects these astonishing things. By means of these (things) hast thou, as a dear child, been honoured of God. Why (so) despisest thou thy greatness as to think, that this thy whole is (mere) flesh? and likenest this body, with the divine and rational knowledge which is within thee, to these irrational beings, the whole of which is perishable? Will then, neither the irrational nature of the animals, nor this common name irrational, nor (yet) the openly apparent useful servitude, under which these have never sought excuse from the bearing of burdens or of labour, suffice to persuade thee, (that all is thus) because God has given to thee the dominion and sovereignty over them all⁴⁷ 48.

⁴⁵ Man alone therefore, of those that are on the earth,---he who is in the image of God, carries on and introduces (his matters) wherever he pleases: at one time, he trains the animals that are suited to the chase; at another, he pastures the flocks that are adapted to this: at another, he avails himself of the tame animals for (his) service; reducing (their) fierce nature to peaceable subjection: at another, having so reduced them, he brings them into peaceable proximity with himself: at another, having brought them together by the multifarious means of reason, he confines them to the house. And not (this) alone, but he will also take into his hands the injurious reptiles, and play with them: and of those that breathe out death, and reject instruction, will he make his sport. 49. Man alone, of those that are on the earth, is not to be persuaded to take up his residence in the caves that are in the deserts, or in the heights. He accordingly builds cities with walls, and adorns (these) with streets, palaces, mansions, and other edifices. 50. Man alone, of those that are on the earth, considers not of (his) provision after the unchangeable manner and ⁴³ usages of the irrational animals. For these, destitute (as they are) of knowledge, avail themselves of the aid of nature alone, and receive their provision from the stem, unprepared by agriculture, and uncleansed from the weed. He however, by his knowledge cleanses (this);

⁴⁶ thus too does he pulverize, fully season, and make it well to pass the fire. Of the wheat also he will, whenever he pleases, make bread. He is moreover, careful so to provide, that a healthy provision of food may be secured. And every profitable commodity, either of the vine, the olive, or of the fruit tree of every flavour, does he appropriate; and these does he alone apply to the sanative uses of the body. 51. This (being) alone, of those that are on the earth, has, by means of rule and reason, discovered that mode of life which is regular and orderly:----has become a leader of armies; has engaged in the public conflicts, and in the subsidiary arts: and these very many (things), pertaining to doctrine, has he, by his rational superiority, put forth. 52. This (being) alone, of those that are on the earth, preserving (in himself) the model of excellence, has determined the measure, the weights, the extents, and several sorts, of justice. He too, distinguishes,----governing (all) by reason,----the things which should, and should not, be done: and (hence) he knows, how to give to every one, as it shall be right. The fishes however, the birds, and the animals, will devour one another: because no law (prevails) among them. But to men has (God) given justice, which is their supreme excellence, as says one of the poets⁴⁸, (and) according to my opinion, extremely well. |44 53.

⁴⁷ This (being) alone, of those that are on the earth, evincing within himself the image of THE WORD OF GOD, erects on high a house of judgment; and, acting after the manner of God's just Judge⁴⁹, duly determines (the award) of life and of death; apportioning life to some, and assigning death to others. 54. This (being) alone, of those that are on the earth, will confide his life to the small section of a tree⁵⁰. He has also discovered the science of ship-building. He too will guide the ship on the back of the sea; will commit his person to the depths of the humid element, and beat back the death that stands at his side. He (alone) looks up to the heavens, and to that Governour of all, who binds together all distances, as to the safety of those who navigate (the seas). 55. Man alone, of those that are on the earth, has discovered the doctrines of astronomy: has, while moving below in the body, and clothed with the weight of mortality, ascended up in his mind on high; and, making the circuit of the sun, the moon, and the stars, foretells¹ what shall come to pass, as he also does the eclipses of the moon, the vicissitudes of the seasons, and the changes of times. |45 56. Man alone, of those that are on

the earth, is viewed (as) the assistant of nature; has discovered the means of healing;

48 and has, by his understanding, applied (to this) the powers of roots, and of drugs, with their combination and mixture by weight and due proportion. He too has become skilful in the healing of infirm bodies, and the helps of the life of man. 57. This (being) alone, of those that are on the earth, not having arrived at the manner of life of the gramnivorous (animals), has well applied (himself) to (the requirements of his own) nature. In the winter season he accordingly casts the seed into the earth; and, applying the sweat of his labour to agriculture, is repaid in the autumn with the fruits consequent upon his toil. 58. This (being) alone, of those that are on the earth, collects together, by (his) rational knowledge, the doctrines relating to all (things); the science and composition of music, as well as (that of) investigation by discussion. He also proceeds on to the manner of life, and to the fame attendant on philosophy; and (thus) he hastens forward the love of that superiority, which is vested within him: availing himself, not of the bodily sense, but of the faculty of knowledge, and of the stimulating power of reason. 59. Man alone, of those that are on the earth, bears about him, by means of his memory, the histories of things done in former times; converses with those who are (now) no more, as with those who are at hand: examines the opinions of the wise who have existed at any period;

49 and from these, rather than from those who are his contemporaries, does he receive profit. And (thus) by the faculty of reason,----cognate with that of thought,----does he exist with those who have long ceased to be. 60. This (being) alone, of those that are on the earth, duly regulates the voice of the chant, by the divisions |46 of the chord. He also has divided the primary letters (of the alphabet) by the grammatical art, and has discovered the powers and province of reason. He too, has determined the combination of verbs and of nouns, as well as the precepts of rhetoric and grammar. All these moreover, does he bring together, preserve in his memory, and bring forward, as stores filled with every sort of treasure. In one mind too, does he comprehend both the events and histories of former times; and these will he bring forth whenever he pleases, as a river from an unfailing source, and inundate (therewith) the hearing of all present. 61. Man alone, of those that are on the earth, is, in his works, like unto God who is over all. Any thing which he pleases will he form into animals; even this inanimate matter will he

change into the form, figure, and fashion, of every sort of creature. By means of this instructive nature, (and) the reasoning faculty, will he set about emulating (even) the Maker of all things; and man will make man, at one time in stone; at another, in wood; at another, in flowers of (many) colours;

⁵⁰ as well as in the forms that are impervious to change: and (indeed) every sort of animal and of plant, will he, by the same means, imitate: shewing forth fully, by his works, the power (vested within him) of the image of God. 62. This (being) alone, of those that are on the earth, will imitate on the earth whereon he walks, the celestial sphere, and will engrave on the matter of brass the likeness of the very heavens, and on this will he impress a copy of the stars, both wandering and fixed. He will also appoint, by the modeller's art, the limits both of times and of seasons; and will surround the exterior (of his sphere) with the images of (various) animals. By the abundance of (his) knowledge moreover, and the means of (many) observations, will he imitate the heavenly sphere; and,----like God,----will allow the heavens whose revolutions |47 are above the earth, and with the universal whole,---- and whose revolving is an unceasing miracle,----to revolve with the things that are on the earth, (in) the similitude which is of earthly material. The angel of the seasons too, will shout (as it were) with a loud voice, and all, at once and in a moment, are in motion; the doors, too, at the coming in of the seasons⁵¹, throw themselves open (as it were) of their own accord, and the inanimate images of the birds, placed round about it (the sphere), speak out in chirpings⁵².

⁵¹ The moon also which is on the earth, runs its course with that in the heavens; and the (mere) brass of itself, changes its fashions, after the manner of the moon; shewing itself now dichotomized, now on the wane, and now in its full light. Thus the images of the seasons follow the analogy of those in nature, and the human-made world contends with (that of) the workmanship of THE WORD OF GOD! 63. Man alone, of those that are on the earth, can, by means of words not to be uttered, of prayers acceptable to God, and by virtue of the fear of God, (evinced) both in word and life, drive far away the invisible nature of concealed demons⁵³. But further, when he had even departed |48 from the right way, he could effect all this by a power, such as would, by songs and incantations, subject the kind of these which flies in the air; and, again, would seize, by means of force, and the appetencies restrictive⁵⁴ of nature, those unembodied powers which fly over any part of the

earth, just as they would the flying sparrows. He would lead on, or bind, (these), whenever he chose: and, sitting upon the images of fabricated gods, would shew by these his doings, that his own power was far superior to that of the fabricated deity of such. 64.

⁵² Man alone shews of what kind the superiority of (his) intellectual and incorporeal being is, and establishes (the fact) that (this) his power is impervious either to subjugation or deterioration by calamity. For, he will prepare his body for the fire, the sword, the fierce beasts, (and) the depths of the sea; and he will approach every species of torment. He knows too, this his nature, that it is perishable and fleeting, transient and dissoluble. But that which resides within, is unyielding; and, that this is different from that which perishes, he proved who cried |49 out, "Bruise, bruise the form⁵⁵; but me thou wilt not bruise. And again another, proclaiming with freedom of speech: " Burn or roast the body, and be satisfied with me when thou hast drunk my blackened blood; but, before the stars descend to the earth, and the earth ascends to the heavens, I will present to thee no one conciliating perturbed expression. One of the friends of God moreover, when suffering evils, put forth these words: " What shall separate me from the love of God? (shall) tribulation, or distress, or persecution, or hunger, |50 or nakedness, or cold, or the sword ⁵⁶ I myself too have seen, in these times, some whose eyes were digged out; others, who were deprived of their legs by the cautery; and others who were crucified; their whole bodies hastening to dissolution, and their mortal nature subject to rebuke;

⁵³ while the conscious mind residing within them, attached to God, was immoveable, impervious to subjection, and unyielding to these hardships³; clearly proving to those of sound minds, that their faculty of excellence was a thing altogether different from that which was perishable. 65. This alone, of the animals that are on the earth, partaking of the divine inbreathing⁵⁷, is worthy of the favour⁵⁷ of the Deity. He too, will hold converse with the Angels of God, and will apprehend the foreknowledge of things to come to pass; at one time, by means of dreams; at another, when so invested by the power of God with the Spirit, that he will even enounce the prophecy of things future; and, by the manifestation of deeds such as these, he will confirm (the fact of) his fellowship with Deity. 66. This (animal) alone recognizes in every thing, something greater and more excellent than any that is visible;---Him who is invisible to the eyes, and imperceptible to the touch,

as well as to every faculty of bodily sense; but is visible to the mind and understanding alone. Him does he, by His (special) teaching, and the learning of which his nature is capable, confess; and Him does he call God: to Him also does he render praise; and shews, by means of this (his) knowledge, his relationship with the Deity. 67.

⁵⁴ This (being) alone has arisen (to be) the spectator of the great works of THE WORD OF GOD, and is ⁵¹ fitted to worship his Father----Him (I say) who is higher than the heavens,----with the praises which are proper for the Deity; and to be assimilated to the company of the Angels in heaven. Because to him alone, of the animals that are on the earth, has this superiority been assigned. By means of this he recognizes, from the mind of his nature, Him who is the cause of every good; and is enjoined to render, as the return due to a Father, the praises of thanksgiving and blessing which are becoming. 68. The testimonies to all these things, does that word of the doctrine and erudition which is divine, confirm: (viz. that of this undying nature, and equal of the citizens that are in heaven, is this (being) alone of those that are on the earth; this intelligent and rational essence (I say) which is in man: and, that he is the dear child of THE DIVINE WORD, the common Saviour of all; and that in his nature, he agrees both as to image and form with (this) his Father. 69. For if this rational animal,----this, who has become partaker in all this superiority; this, which alone of those that are on the earth, is in the image of God;

⁵⁵ this Brother of the divine hosts, and of the Angels, which are in heaven,----had been duly led by his nature, and had from ancient time adhered to the divine law; he would indeed have been freed from this earthly and corruptible (mode of) life⁴, and would have continued in his conversation on earth, as in a state of migration. Had he first (of all) studied divine things (only), he would indeed have effected his departure hence to those things which belonged to him; and would have been registered (as) among those that were perfect, apart from this his state of defect, and of infantine constitution. Thus therefore has man, of necessity, put on a corruptible and dissoluble body, (and this) through the mercy of his Father, that calamity may not be his permanent lot, and that he may not be tied interminably to corruption. Soon therefore, shall this corruptible be ⁵² dissolved, and shall receive a participation with those who are incorruptible. For, just as that which is conceived in the womb, puts on the clothing of its locality; and the infant to

be born, when the period of its destined months has arrived, casts this off, and accordingly comes forth into the light, inhales the purer air, and henceforward is considered as of the nature of man; so also is this perfectible species, (as) believed to be among men, (and as) opposed to the (still) superior one,----a mere infant, and as yet a foetus (only) conceived on earth,----clothed in this corruptible skin;

⁵⁶ which, by the mercy of the great gift of God, it is necessary it should cast off, in order that it should not be for ever harassed with these defective things, but should, in due time, go forth into the light, and pass on to the life, which is impervious to corruption. On this account, well have the companies of the wise, the attached to God, pressed (as) they have been by a participation in these corruptible bodies, desired their change for the better, and followed after their equals, the children of their city which is above, even as he was (circumstanced) who said in the divine word, "Wretched⁵⁸ man that I am! Who shall deliver me from this body of death? And again, "Even⁵⁹ if we live in the body, still we labour not in the flesh. He adduces his reason too, and says, "For our labour (of culture) is in heaven⁶⁰; and we⁶¹ draw near to the city of the living God which is in heaven, and to the assembly of myriads of angels, and to the church of the firstborn who are written in heaven."---- These are the words of a notable man, and of (all) those who love God. ⁷⁰ If however, many are so foolish as to be attached to the lusts that are here, that they are to the present time but infants in intellect; What has this to do with right reason?

⁵⁷ For, that which is conceived in the womb, exults in this its usual locality, fears its departure from it, and lest it should be extracted from internal | ⁵³ darkness, and weeps when it comes forth to the light. Still even these, did but those things which happen to their natural birth duly take place with them, would come forth from darkness to light, well and elegantly born. Thus would they, at the due time and season, be brought forth, (each) receive the natural air and breath, and bear about him the healthy vigour of man. Thus would (each) be delighted with the provisions of the breast, and of infancy; then be placed under the hands of a nurse, and be delivered over to instructors, teachers, and doctors, until he came forth a man complete. Thus too would he pass a virtuous and honourable life, great in wealth, in the abundance of possessions, in power, rule, and the other stages (of distinction), in the increase of (all) those things which result from a happy birth; of

those which multiply by means of instruction, and of those other innumerable things, which conduce to the experience of a happy life. 71. But, if any unnatural contortion should happen to that which is conceived in the womb, so that it affect such an one at his coming forth in birth; What need can there be for my saying, that the infant was distorted within (the womb)? and refused to come forth to the light?

⁵⁸and that it must suffer,----by the iron instruments prepared for parturition, which shall violently and painfully be placed upon it,----the revulsion which is also unnatural? Nor would it be worthy even of the one birth,----even of the life of man,----or of the things belonging to this: but, on the contrary, that it should go forth from darkness to darkness, and not only be deprived of the life of man, but also of the name. 72. As are these things, so is he who passes the life which is human on earth, differing in nothing from the irrational and ignorant infant, or, from that ⁵⁴ which is yet, but a foetus in the womb. Nor can he be compared with those bodies which are without, the Angels and Divine spirits. He is even (as) an ignorant child; and, because of the excess of his childishness, he exults in the clothing of the body which is about him; loves the womb his (place of concealment), and knows not the locality which surrounds him, where murder, darkness, and (all) the other species of mishap, feed, as it were, in the pastures of wickedness. One of the ancients says,----when shewing that the air, which is on the earth, is humid and unclear,----that "it consists of many compounds, (resulting) from the innumerable vapours which (arise) from the earth⁶². One would think too that (man were such), although as an infant good.

⁵⁹Nevertheless, if he pass the present life as it is becoming to his nature, and evince accordingly the conduct which is suitable to its law, " that he think not beyond the measure of his stature," nor spurn the nature which has borne him as a mother; nor again, remain ignorant of his Father, but recognize his Father who is in heaven, the common Saviour of all, and render to him the service of thanksgiving, because he has made him to partake in the things which are good;----be brought up in the instruction of righteousness, and previously study in his conversation which is on the earth, the life of heaven; well shall such an one, when he shall depart this mortal life, and shall put off the body, have the Angels of God for his obstetricators;----when he is to be born to the life to come, then shall both the good Powers receive him as the nurse, and the Divine assemblies teach him; that WORD

OF GOD too, that teacher of the conversation which is in heaven, shall lead him on, as a dear child, to the completion of every thing that is good, and shall instruct him in the doctrine of the kingdom of heaven. And, when He shall have made him complete and wise, He shall give him up to His Father, the King of all:

⁶⁰ and shall clothe him, both in body and soul which are (now) incorruptible, with a vesture of light exceeding description. ⁵⁵ So that henceforth, he shall be even for the common advantage of all. Such is the last state of such an one.---- But he who exults against the course of his nature, participates in the perversion which is not good, and despises the earth, the mother that bore him; and again, impiously recognizes not THE WORD OF GOD, the common Saviour of all, but subscribes to a multitude of fathers who have no existence, instead of that one who is; and calls those gods which never had any being, instead of that one who alone is true; and again, wholly plunges in pursuit of the things of this moist, humid and corruptible being, into the filthy and lawless lusts; and this not as the infant, involuntarily; but willingly, and of his free counsel, chooses to himself these vices, and so acts; his latter state shall clearly be but the counterpart of that pointed out by the example (above given). For no happy countenance, or smiling of good Angels, shall greet him; nor, when he goes forth into light, shall the Divine Powers receive him as fosterfathers.

⁶¹ On the contrary, endeavouring in his extreme state to escape egress, and to hide himself within, in the concealment of the body and members:----when the dissolution of the body draws near, and he would assume the perversion which is out of nature;----(then) shall those who are appointed to this, forcibly attach themselves to him, and drag him forth. Then too, after his departure hence,----his miserable soul being reduced to sighing and lamentation,----shall he not have the light and life which is good, for his receptacle; but, on the contrary, darkness and the place of corruption. The judgment of God moreover, shall consign him (thus) impure and unclean, as filthy and abominable to the purification⁶³ and punishment which is by fire: because he would not be instructed by THE WORD (or Reason), nor ⁵⁶ adhere to the Divine law, when it was in his power to do so. ⁷³ He therefore, who, in the example (above) was, as an infant conceived in the womb, in every thing so defective, and in every respect so destitute of power, that hitherto he could make no use either of the thoughts of his soul, or the

senses of his body;----that mind, indeed, which is hitherto but (as) an infant in man;----may well be said, by way as it were, of experimental comparison with those incorporeal and Divine rational (beings) that are in heaven, to be altogether a child. Even, if (such) were the wisest of men, or even more perfect than those that are on the earth;

⁶²still he would, when compared in himself, with his (future) perfect state, be nothing better than an infant. For, what his state of excellence shall be when he arrives at manhood, it will be easy thus to shew:---- For if, when hitherto (as) an infant, and confined within this unyielding wall of earthly and corruptible being, he bears about him such a faculty of excellence, that he knows, not only the things that are on earth, and fabricates them by art, but also anticipates the life which is in heaven, |⁵⁷ and becomes like to God himself; makes too, whenever he pleases, likenesses of the things in the heavens, and of those on the earth;----can do all these things, just as those which have already been recounted⁶⁴:----these (I say), when immersed (as he is) in all this refuse of the body and blood; What then, ought we to suppose he will do, when he shall have proceeded to the perfect measure of man's estate, and shall have been liberated from these injurious bonds of corruption?----these humid and wasting properties of the body? and is made a partaker of the life which is incorruptible, and of a body which is impervious to death? For, if this seed alone of the reasoning faculty be thus all-able and powerful on earth, when as yet it is incapable of rendering the full return (of fruit), but has even been cast forth into the moist locality of the refuse of a corruptible body;

⁶³it shall henceforth be able (fully) to know, of what sort the return of perfect fruit of this seed shall be as (sown) in the soul, when it shall have been made to partake of an adequate culture; shall have been removed hence, and have been planted in a superior locality, in land good and fertile; where that heavenly WORD, that Sower of all things, and Planter of every good thing, shall receive (back) his own seed, and shall, in the pastures of incorporeal and unembodied souls, as in the Paradise of them who love God, Himself water his own plant, shall nourish it to perfection, and make it arrive at the increase of goods innumerable. ⁷⁴. You will perceive therefore, the greatness of the complete state of man's superiority, from his changes and increments here, if you will consider, that the infant just born is in no respect superior to the worm; that it cannot, after the manner of the irrational animal, even

make use of the bodily senses. Nevertheless this defective, lame, infirm, and thoughtless being, will, when grown in his stature, arrive at all this change and variation in the course of time, ---- will receive all this superiority, power, and beauty both of body and soul,----so, that should those who begat him see him, they could not distinguish whether this |58 were he, who was sown (by them) in the womb, and conceived in darkness:----whether this were he, who came forth out of (this) darkness, to be brought up with milk and the swaddling bands;

64 this,----who is now the man, who in wisdom and knowledge contemplates the whole world;----this, who subjugates every thing that is on the earth. And should any one by comparison, as it were, of the Divine faculty and of the Angels, and of the child just now born, place the complete man in the midst; he would not find a perfect equality as to the child, with respect to the perfect man; and of the perfect man, with respect to the superior power; but, the inferiority of the person of the child to the man, to be much greater, than is the inferiority of the man to the faculty of the Angels. For, the human infant lately born, cannot be compared in its being even with those irrational animals, which may just now be brought forth. But he, who has come out the perfect man, and is contemplated as the friend of God, will henceforward become a partaker in the divine Spirit, and will hold converse with the Angels: will arrive at a love and attachment to the conversation which is in heaven, and will previously prepare himself by purity of life, and the fear of God,----not (placed) at any great distance of limit,----for an equality with the Angels, and will be made a partaker both of (their) life, and superiority: which the Divine Word also shewed, when it said, "What65 is man that thou art mindful of him? and the son of man that thou visitest him? Thou hast made him a little lower than the Angels:

65 with honour and glory hast thou crowned him. is man that thou art mindful of him? and the son of man that thou visitest him? Thou hast made him a little lower than the Angels: with honour and glory hast thou crowned him." 75. If then the child, when brought up to the (full) stature of his nature, and supplied with the provision and instruction proper for it, receives all this change and variety;----and no one can disbelieve (this) his change, on account of the openness of the experiment;---- Why need we wonder, if even this perfectible mind which is in man, such as it is when still in |59 childhood, with respect to its more complete and perfect growth,

should, when it comes forth to the full growth of its stature, be in dignity as the Angels? We do see however, that the nature of man undergoes dissolution by death. But, What of this? Is it not that we are the more convinced by it, that the soul is immortal? For if, when immersed in a corruptible and mortal body, it evince all this force of superiority, which we have already shewn; How shall it not, when it shall have separated itself from its participation in corruption, and shall have laid down mortality as a bandage, then act in its own power, in a manner less impeded than it now does? Do you not perceive, that so long as it entertains an attachment to the body⁶⁶, it thence acts basely?

⁶⁶ But, if it refuse participation (with the body), it (then) subsists within itself. And hence, is its essence clearly known to be incorporeal. For, How can that which is opposed to the body, be of (its) nature? The thoughts too of the soul are healthy, so long as the bodily passions are infirm, but the same will be dark and obscure when the body labours under the lusts. Hence, so long as the soul is infatuated, its whole attachment will be to the body; and, when attached to the body, it will be shorn of its excellence. When however, it becomes strong in opposition to the body, and flies from the lustful passions, it (then) becomes wise; and, when it has become wise, it turns away its face from a participation in mortality, and forthwith gives up itself to the knowledge which is pure, and, in a small degree, withdraws itself from the stimulating nature of the body. When moreover, it is powerful with respect to the riches which are its own, it (then) happily becomes more abundantly enlightened, directed, and stirred up. Then too, will it partake in knowledge, wisdom, and every sort of excellence, when it has ceased to countenance the motions of the bodily passions. And, so long as it counts upon (this) ⁶⁰ excellence, it deigns not to draw near with the eyes of the body; nor will it act by any other of its senses.

⁶⁷ When moreover, it (thus) vigorously shuts itself up, carries itself within, and withdraws to a distance from the things which affect the senses, and are visible; and (when) near only to the body, still turns with the eye of the soul to another quarter, and is itself united with itself; then again, will it avail itself of the mind that is enlightened, and of the recollection which is pure; and will put forth, and nourish for itself, the reason which is imperturbed: and (thus) will every reasoning power exert itself without controul. But, should any of the things which are hurtful suddenly happen to the body,

so that a mote should injure the sight of the eyes⁶⁷; immediately would the sight of the soul be disturbed: and, should remissness be given to the body, and the soul partake in the drunkenness, gluttony, lusts, and the rest of its pleasures; (thus) reduced in itself to vice----the corruptible body too domineering over it like a wild and fierce beast, and itself remaining below (as it were) in the depths,----will be filled with error, folly, and every sort of infatuation. What necessity then is there, that we should fear death, which is (only) the determination of the freedom of the soul from the body⁶⁸? And, for What (purpose) is the laying down of that which is faulty? Is it not for receiving the aid of that, which is more excellent?

⁶⁸and, that we should confess the lives of those who loved God, then to be in truth, holy and happy, when nothing of an adverse nature shall controul them? If then, while this rational nature continues in this locality,----and resides in this vessel (as it were) on the earth, clothed with a dense and earthly body, not unlike some earthen⁶⁹ vessel, |⁶¹ (and) wholly compressed within this its vesture,----it be such that it will mount on high in thought, will mortify the members of the body together with their lusts, by means of patience, and the restraint of the desires; will be hastened, and hastening on, to the life of those that are incorporeal; will separate and deliver itself at all times, by the precepts of wisdom from an admixture with that which is vile; and will ever delight itself beforehand (with the thoughts) that it shall soon submit to death:----if indeed (such) be, at any time, released from the bonds and agitation of wing (common to) the cares and anxieties that are here, and thus fly away in his departure, and change the place on earth, and meet with that which he loved:---- how he will then be circumstanced, ask not. For, when he shall receive his body, and shall have changed his nature from corruption to incorruption; his shall be a conversation which is equal to that of the Angels in heaven: in the semblance of light, and of the sun-beam, shall he be; and of the form, in which even the Angels of God live;

⁶⁹and, as reason with probability holds, he shall partake at once in their superiority and immortality⁷⁰. 76. For, just as the form (assigned) to the seed which falls upon the earth, is given for many: the WORD, which is called the seed, now secretly exerting itself within the same seed, but silently after the manner of a spark confined within some dense body;----and (as) this same seed, when it shall fall to the earth, and its dense clothing which encircles |⁶² it from without shall dissolve through corruption;----then will it

shew itself to be lively (vigorous), put in motion the power that is vested within it, and take of the material which is beneath it: then too will it begin to act, and assume its lively (energetic) nature: its old dense clothing, which is without, will it also cast off, and put on the new, which is greatly its superior;---- 77. So also is the nature of the rational faculty, which is in man, (circumstanced), that it is now bound up in a corruptible body, and of its own power acts but feebly.

⁷⁰ But, should it be freed from the corruption which surrounds it, and receive (as a possession) the locality which is in heaven, and henceforth be sown and planted (as it were) in the society which (is far) beyond it, and be fitted for the clothing of heaven and of the Angels;----of what sort it shall be, when it shall partake of the life that is pure, and shall be freed from a participation in mortality, it is neither becoming in me, nor necessary for me, to say: for this will be obvious to all who can see, from the example (given). For the whole of the wheat (seed) is not subject to corruption: it is only the part that is without which perishes, when it falls to the earth: while that concealed WORD and living power which is within it, lives and remains; and the excellence which is of this is such, that it will give forth vigorous corn-ears. Of plants too, the same is the WORD (invigorating cause), and so it is with every sort of seed. And, Shall man alone be wholly and in every thing subject to corruption, when released by death⁷¹? And, Shall the clothing which is without, at once and together with that WORD which resides within him, cede to corruption? And, as to the knowledge which is incorporeal,----that which partakes in all these powers; that, which on account of its superiority, is likened to God himself;----Shall it not be (considered) even as one of those seeds which fall to the earth? or:

⁷¹ rather greatly (their) superior? for it is not the beard, nor yet the blade, but those mature and fat corn-ears of his superiority, which he shall give forth. Then, when he shall be taken away ⁶³ from the corruption which is of the earth, and shall have been delivered as from bonds, and shall not imprudently have bartered the conversation which is in heaven, for that on the earth; and, when he shall be at the side of God; (then) shall he in truth render as the Angels do, the fruits which are acceptable to God: those (I say), the seed and power of which he possessed from ancient times in a mortal body, and contained as it were in an oven⁷². 78. All these things having been said for the purpose of shewing, that the essence which is in man is in-

telligent and rational; let us now proceed in our discourse to those consequent upon them. Had man then, brought up as he is in the conversation that is on earth, (but) known his own greatness, and continued careful of the teaching which is of God; there could have no impediment happened to him, that when taken hence, he should not delight himself in a conversation like that of the Angels, and take part in the life which is in the kingdom of his Father who is in heaven.

72 But, because it is not one man, nor two, nor is the multitude small;--- on the contrary, it is the whole rational family on earth which has received the power to govern self---(and) because his nature, which has received the seed of the kingdom from the DIVINE WORD the King, is free; (nevertheless) he has not well availed himself of his power; but has, by means of the subsidiary arts, laboured in all vain glory, |64 after those other things, which impel men to the bodily desires, and are advantageous to life; has become skilful in agriculture, in the building of ships, in merchandise, and in the purchasing of possessions: nor (this) only, but he has also become great from every quarter, in the abundant increase of the wealth which puts forth no zeal against any kind of lust. All these things however, which conduce to the salvation of the soul, and to that life of righteousness which is well-pleasing to God; all these, (I say,) has he annihilated in his mind from their very roots; has disregarded his own excellency, and that of the race of his brethren who are in heaven, and has honoured, through the freedom of his will, those abominable bodily lusts, more than (this) his own greatness: of the righteousness of his Father who is in heaven, and of His praise, he has also been unmindful. These irrational itchings and delusions of childhood has he chosen:

73 these which the fools of childhood usually do, who fly from the instruction and careful training of those who would enlarge their minds; extravagantly to honour the things which are sweet for the present, but which corrupt at once both the body and soul; and to hunt out for themselves the error and foolish knowledge of that voluptuousness, which is too vain to be conceived. All mankind being then, thus (circumstanced), the Increment of wickedness, that envious (being), the hater of every good, and deceiver as to every thing lovely, in conjunction with the wicked Demons, became their waylayer: this same, in his wicked zeal, prepared the nets, and snares, and riches,----the abundant means of every sort (of sin,)----against the salvation

of all; and so drove them down from above into the depths of evil, that none on earth could see, but transgressed the law of their nature: and (thus), the germ of wickedness, instead of the seed of excellence, sprung up within them; and he that was more peaceful, more wise, and more rational, than all that were on the earth, so fell into the last stage of brutality and irrationality, that one of those beloved of God |65 wept over this overthrow of their fall, and cried out saying; "Man understood not his own honour; but was given up to be as the brute⁷³, and became assimilated to it." ⁷⁹. On these accounts therefore, a mighty Saviour, greater than any son of man, was evidently needful to them.

⁷⁴ And such is He who anxiously undertook to provide for all, THE WORD OF GOD: He who has, like a good and loving Father, shewn by deeds His providential care over the rational souls that are on the earth; and who hastened, in the mission of Himself, to the call, and for the healing, of those who were thus fallen and perishing. The End of the First Discussion (Book) of (Eusebius) of Caesarea. [Selected footnotes. Notes concerned only with points of the Syriac have been omitted] ⁷⁵ 1. 2 "Cujus sententiae," says Lactantius, *de falsa religione*, Lib. i. cap. ii., "auctor est Democritus, confirmator Epicurus, sed et antea Protagoras, qui Deos in dubium vocavit; et postea Diagoras, qui exclusit," &c. These are the Atheists, ἄθεοι, of the ancients, on whom some excellent remarks from Plato's xth Book of Laws will be found quoted, Pref. Evang. Lib. xii. cap. 1. p. 621. Edit. 1628. ---- But more on this subject when we come to our second Book. It does not appear that this exclusion took place, except at the celebration of the Lord's supper.

⁷⁶ 2. 1 This argument is also used by Athenagoras. *Legat. pro Christ.* p. 60. seq. and by Theodoret in the place just cited. 3. 2 Alluding to Isai. xl. 12. Theodoret's comment on the place is, [Greek]: "nihil enim otiosum, nihil redundans, in lucem productum est. The Mohammedans----who borrowed most of their early notions from the Christians, (see my *Persian Controversies*, p. 124. seq.),----tell us, moreover, that the mountains are placed as studs on the earth, for the purpose of giving it stability, and of restraining one part from moving off to another. See M. de Sacy's *Notes on the Pandnamah of Attar*, p. 35. sen. Some beautiful remarks on this subject generally, will be found in Theophilus of Antioch, addressed to Autolycus, near the beginning. Among our own writers, Paley, Tucker on the *Light of Nature*, and the authors of the *Bridgewater Treatises*, will be read with interest. 4. 5 Not un-

like this, our Author in his "Oratio de laudibus Constantini," cap. vii. p. 512. D. Edit. 1695: and particularly cap. xi. p. 524. A. seq. which is identical with it. 5. 6 It is common with our Author to consider Christ as the Maker of the World, and Father of the intelligent creature man. 6. 1 Syr. [Syriac] which is an error, for [Syriac]. And here I may inform the reader, that where I have supposed an error to exist in the Syriac text, I have generally proposed its emendation in brackets thus []. 7. 2 See Orat. de laudd. Constant, ib. p. 524. C. D.

⁷⁷ from which our text slightly differs. 8. Imitated apparently by Theodoret,----Graec. affect. curat. Edit. Gaisford, p. 183, &c.:----who, it may be remarked, is a very constant imitator of our Author. 9. 4 The Greek text (I.e. of the Orat. de laudd. Constant, (p. 525. A. has no term corresponding to this. Syr. [Syriac]. 10. 1 Alluding to 1 Tim. vi. 16. 11. 2 Our Author argues in his tract against Marcellus, pp. 8, 9, that even before the incarnation, Christ was a Mediator between God and the angels, and this he grounds on Gal. iii. 19,----"ordained by angels in the hand of a Mediator. His words are: "[Greek] . He has misunderstood the Scripture here. 12. 3 This sentence is not found in the Greek, Orat. de laudd. Constant, ib. p. 525. B. See the note of Valesius on this place. It is, however, in the Demonstr. Evang. Lib. iv. cap. vi. p. 155. 13. 6 Alluding to Job xxxvii. 7. See my Translation and Notes. 14. 9 Alluding to Job xxxviii. 10. 15. 1 It is evident, from what follows here, that the sea-water is meant: for, in no other case, can we suppose the water spoken of to be changed into sweetness. Syr. [Syriac] This argument is also beautifully and powerfully urged by Theodoret. Sermon. de Provid. i. Tom. iv. p. 330. C. 16. 10 By this is meant, that all is OF the Father as the great source of Divinity;

⁷⁸ but is BY the Son as the Creator, Upholder, and Governour of all things. 17. 5 So Didymus on the Holy Spirit, as preserved in the works of Jerome: " Bonus Dominus uoster Jesus Christus ex bono Patre generatus est." 18. 2 This place may be adduced to shew how literal our Syrian translator has endeavoured to be, and how very greatly he has distorted the order of his Syriac, in order to suit it to that of his Greek original. The Syriac stands thus: [Syriac]. Than which nothing can be more preposterous. The Greek is this: [Greek] Which is not a bad specimen of Eusebius's want of simplicity. ---- This argument is also given in the Demonstr. Evang. Lib. iv. cap. v. p. 150. D. seq. 19. 5 Anaxagoras imagined that the origin of all things consisted of similar parts. (Plutarch, p. 876. Vol. ii. Edit. 1620.). His theory is manifestly

taken from the Bible. He says, [Greek] All things were (confused) together: but MIND divided and adorned them: i. e. the " Spirit" of the Bible. Zeno too, according to Aristotle, argued thus, (cited at § 30. infra.) 20. 3 It may perhaps be supposed that our author shews his Arian propensity here. But the same might be said of Justin Martyr, and, indeed, of the Fathers generally, if this were allowed. See Whitby on Eph. iv. 6. and the note on Book ii. sect. 3. below. 21. 1 There is much reasoning of this sort in Aristotle's Tract on Xenophanes, Zeno, and Gorgias;

79 and which cannot but be read with interest here, particularly the part on Zeno. See also Diog. Laert. Life of Plato near the end. This same argument is also urged by Lac-tantius, Lib. i. cap. iii. A little lower down, cap. v., he shews how some of the greatest poets and philosophers taught, that ONE supreme God formed and governed all things. Among the poets, Orpheus, Virgil, Ovid, &c.: among the philosophers, Thales, Pythagoras, Anaxagoras, Antisthenes, &c. See also Prep. Evan. Lib. ix. capp. ix.----xiii. Ib. Lib. in. capp. ix. xii. xiii. &c. 22. 7 Alluding to Ps. xix. 4----6. 23. 2 Our Greek (Orat. de laudd. Constant. leaves us here, and does not join us again till we come to Book 11. Sect. 3. 24. 3 Syr. [Syriac], a paraphrase for Theologian: a title very applicable to St John, who spoke much of the ⁸⁰ Λόγος τοῦ Θεοῦ. 25. 4 John i. 10. with the Peschito. 26. 6 Alluding to the reasoning of Plato, see Book ii. § 33. seq. 27. 7 See the Note to sect. 41. below. 28. 8 So also Aristotle, Lib. de Juventute et Senectute, cap. ii. "Necesse autem est, ut anima vegetatrix in haben-tibus, actu simplex unaque sit, potentia multiplex ac plures." 29. 2 Our Author knew how to accommodate his reasoning to the class of readers whom he was addressing, who were the classical scholars of his day.----Homer's councils of the Gods gave the first outline perhaps of the sketch given here: so Ovid---- Mac iter est superis ad magni tecta Tonantis, Regalem-que domum; Dextra laeva-que Deorum Atria nobilium valvis celebrantur apertis. Plebs habitant diversa locis: a fronte potentes Coelicolae, clarique suos posuere Penates. Hic locus est; quem, si verbis audacia detur, Haud timeam magni dixisse Palatia coeli. Metam. i. 1. 170. seq. The Stoics in like manner affirm, that the world is a sort of city, consisting both of Gods and men: the Gods being the rulers, men the subjects, &c. [Greek]. From the epitome of Arius Didymus. Prep. Evang. Lib. xv. cap. xv. so also Philo, ib. Lib. xiii. cap. xviii. Ed. Viger. p. 704. making the heavenly bodies, the sun, moon, &c. a sort of ministry to the whole. A passage similar to this is also to be

found in the Oration of our Author, "de laudibus Constantini," cap. i. near the beginning. The most complete discussion on this subject is, perhaps, cap. vi.

⁸¹ of Aristotle's *Liber de mundo*. See also Plato's heavenly earth. *Prep. Evang.* Lib. xi. cap. xxxvii. 30. 3 This passage has been introduced into the *Oratio de laudibus Constantini*. cap. i. p. 409. C. D. And, as it is extraordinary, and not very clear, I give both the Syriac and Greek of it: [Syriac, Greek] Matt, xxvii. 51. &c. The place is apparently an imitation of Job xxvi. 9. See my Translation and Notes, and the Greek of the LXX. 31. 2 Much to the same effect though not so full, Clemens Alexand. *Strom.* Lib. vii. p. 704. who compares the all-pervading power of Christ to that of a magnet acting upon a series of iron rings, and affecting at once both the least and the greatest. 32. 3 The Syriac is ambiguous here [Syriac], which may mean, either as given in the text, or, as being made by its Father, who is the Word of God: ascribing the creation of all, as is frequently the case in this work, to Christ. I think the former, however, more likely to be the true meaning. 33. 1 To the same effect, our Author in his work against Marcellus, Lib. i. cap. i. p. 4. C. seq. 34. 2 Col. i. 15. 35. 3 Syr. lit. who have assimilated to themselves the Image of fraudulent rule. [Syriac], which is only a peculiar way of making the comparison: the Person meant is Satan, as opposed to Christ. 36. 4 The Syriac is peculiar here, and stands thus: [Syriac]:

⁸² a practice common to many of the early heretics. 37. 6 Alluding to Rom. i. 25. 38. 1 Cited from the cxlviiith Psalm, with a few variations from the text of the *Peschito*. 39. 1 Syr. [Syriac], lit. In the *Stadia*: i. e. places appointed for racing. The aether has been usually supposed to constitute that portion of the upper regions which approximates to that of the fixed stars: by some it has been thought to consist of fire, by others of a very subtile fluid. Aristotle's opinion may perhaps, be taken here as the most authoritative. He says, then, (*Lib. de Mundo*, cap. ii.), [Greek] "Coeli porro siderumque substantiam appellamus setherem: non quidem ideo quod ignita flagret ipsa, ut aliqui censuerunt, plurimum utique aberrantes circa potentiam illam maxime ab ignea natura abhorrentem: origine vero hujus vocabuli inducta, quod semper aether currat motu circumductili: cum sit illud elementum a quatuor illis diversum: tum divinum, tum interitus experts." 40. 1 Gen. i. 27, 1 Cor. xi. 7. The argument shewing that revealed religion is much more ancient than the vanities of idolatry is admirably prosecuted in the

Prep. Evang. Lib. x. cap. iv. Clemens Alexand. Strom. Lib. I. p. 302. A. seq. 41. 3 Syr. [Syriac], lit, in the doctrine of their mind:

⁸³ which, as it is intended to be opposed to image worship, seems to me to imply doctrine mentally received and applied. 42. 1 This expression will be understood, when it is considered that the ancients supposed the heavens to consist of sphere upon sphere, encircling each other, like the coats of an onion. 43. 3 " Shares with his lord the pleasure and the rifle."----POPE. This argument is similarly urged by Plutarch, (De Fortuna,) p. 98. Edit. 1620. [Greek, Latin] 44. 1 Ps. viii. 5. varying in some respects from the text of the Peschito. 45. 3 Gen. ii. 7. 46. 2 Syr. [Syriac]. Similar, though not identical, sentiments will be found in extracts given by Clemens Alexand. Strom. Lib. v. p. 492. Edit. 1029; by Theodoret, Gr. Affect, curat. Sermon, i. p. 477. Edit. 1642. Ib. Edit. Gaisford, p. 193. The nearest is, perhaps, to be found in a Fragment of Menander preserved by Plutarch, (De consol. ad Apoll. p. 103. Edit. 1620.) "ἀσθενέστατον γὰρ ὄν (ζῶον)

⁸⁴ Φύσει." "cum sit infirmissimum (animal) Natura. Another not unlike it is (ib. p. 104) cited from Homer: " Οὐδὲν ἀκιδνότερον γαῖα τρέφει ἀνθρωπίοιο . " Nil homine in terris infirmius aetheris aura vescitur." 47. 1 Matter, in some respects similar to this, will be found in the Orat. de laudd. Constant. Cap. v. p. 509. B. seq. and Prep. Evang. Lib. xi. cap. xxviii. p. 556. seq. 48. 3 There is a passage in Plutarch very nearly allied to this, who probably has in view the same poet (Pindar), it is as follows: [Greek] "Medicinam enim animae, quae Justitia cognominatur, omnium esse artium maximam, praeter sexcentos alios etiam Pindarus testatur, principem et dominum omnium deum appellans Aristotechnam, id est, artificum praestantissimum: quippe justitiae administratorem, quae jus habet determinandi quando, quomodo, et quatenus quilibet malorum sit puniendus. It is not improbable, I think, that our author had this place in his eye when he wrote the above paragraph. Clemens Alexand. also cites the place in Pindar, Strom. Lib. v. p. 598. B. but in a different sense. Plutarch, de his qui sero, &c. ib. p. 550. A. 49. 1 That is, considering Christ as appointed the final Judge of all, man here acts like him. 50. 2 i. e. the section of a tree formed into a boat, as was much the case in former times. See the Prep. Evang. Lib. i. cap. x. p. 35. A. 51. 2 Syr. [Syriac]. lit.

⁸⁵ hours, a literal translation, in all probability, of the Greek w[ra]i, signifying seasons. 52. 3 One would think from this, that the ancient Astrolabes

were furnished with an apparatus for the purpose of exhibiting animated nature, while they presented the places and groups of the stars; not unlike, perhaps, our modern Orreries, supposing them accompanied by a sort of cuckoo-clock. Lactantius thus describes the sphere of Archimedes, Lib. n. cap. v. p. 115. Ed. 1698. "An Archimedes sculus concave sere similitudinem mundi ac figuram potuit machinari, in quo ita solem, ac lunam composuit, ut inaequales motus et coelestibus similes, conversionibus singulis quasi diebus efficerent: et non modo accessus solis, et recessus, vel incrementa, diminutionesque lunae, vel etiam stellarum, vel inerrantium vel vagarum, dispares cursus, orbis ille dum vertitur exhiberet," &c. According to the Greeks the sphere was invented by Anaximander: Diog. Laert. in the life of this philosopher. 53. 4 So Porphyry, Prep. Evang. Lib. iv. cap. xxii. [Greek] "Qui...nec oculis, nec alio quovis humano sensu attingi omnino possunt. Eusebius, perhaps, first alludes here to the practice of Exorcism, as had recourse to in the primitive Church: see Suiceri Thesaurus, sub voce, *Ἐξορκισμός* -- There was moreover, a very general belief that a sort of magic virtue consisted in the pronounciation of certain words. Origen (contra Cels. Lib. v. pp. 261----2) tells us that any name, or word, having effect in incantations, if changed or translated into any other language, immediately lost its whole magical efficacy. His instances are, The God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob:

⁸⁶ the names Israel, Adonai, Sabaoth, &c. Nor does he restrict these usages to the professors of the true religion. See also ib. p. 374, and Spencer's very curious note on pp. 17. C. 41: notes, p. 16----19, where we have every thing we can require on this subject. 54. 1 This is perhaps, an instance of hypallage, as occasionally met with in the Scriptures (see the note to §. 57 above. So Rom. vii. 24. [Greek] Syr. [Syriac]. Here, the [Syriac], by the desires of the bonds (the lusts) of nature. Our author probably means, (by hypallage) the mortifications to which persons of this sort usually submitted, just as it is the case with the devotees of Hindustan at this day; all of whom generally hold, that they have power over demoniacal agents. A belief however, in these things as expressed here, must be classed among those, which more enlightened times have very properly rejected. Our author might, however, have intended this as a sort of argumentum ad hominem, it being religiously held by the heathen of his times, as may be seen Prep. Evang. Lib. iv. C. xxii. seq. Where (p. 173. D. he tells us that in this ease he used not the testimony of Christians, but of the heathen Philosophers themselves, [Greek]. See ib. cap.

xxiii. on the means used for expelling and opposing these Demons, from Porphyry. See also Sect. 12. Book ii. below. 55. 2 According to Celsus (Origen contra Cels. Lib. vii.

⁸⁷ p. 367,) Anaxarchus was thrown into a mortar, and, when beaten there, uttered these remarkable words. The tyrant who reduced him to this, was Aristocreon of Cyprus (ib. p. 368.). Epictetus is here also celebrated for a similar act of fortitude. This account, moreover, of Anaxarchus will be found at length in Diogenes Laertius, under his life. 56. 1 Rom. viii. 35. differing considerably from the text of the Peschito and Philoxenian Versions. 57. 3 See §. 47, above. 58. 1 Rom. vii. 24, as in the Peschito. 59. 2 2 Cor. x. 3, differing considerably from the Peschito. 60. 3 Phil. iii. 20, as before. 61. 4 Heb. xii. 22, cited from memory, apparently. 62. 1 Several passages similar to this, though not identical with it, are to be found in Plutarch, and other writers. 63. 2 The views of some of the Fathers on this subject were extremely dark and perplexed, out of which evidently grew the Purgatory of the Roman Catholics. How far our author partook of this, I have not been able to ascertain. Origen tells us in his 24th Hom, on Luke, that, as John baptized with water, so shall Christ baptize in a river of fire all who shall pass to Paradise; but here, the baptism by water must first have taken place. In this case all must submit to this second purifying baptism. Again, near the end of his 8th book of explanations of the Epist.

⁸⁸ to the Romans, he says, that he who spurns the purifications of the Word of God, and of the Gospel-teaching, will reserve himself to the sad and penal purifications of the fire of hell: in conformity with the Scripture, "I will purify thee with fire even to purification. (Is. i. 25. Sept. He goes on to tell us, that, how long this purifying by fire with sinners shall continue, He only, to whom the Father hath delivered all judgment, can know: evidently inclining to the notion that it is not eternal. This is however, according to him, one of those things which the Apostle considered as a mystery, and to be held as such by the faithful, secretly within themselves: and, for this he cites "Mysterium Regis (ut ait Scriptura) celare bonum est. (Prov. xxv. 2?). But, who does not see that all this is a miserable perversion of Scripture? See Spencer's Notes on Origen contra Cels. pp. 47-50: it. p. 77. The Bishop of Lincoln's Eccl. Hist, illustrated from Tertullian, p. 342. seq. Camb. 1826. Out of this also grew the Mohammedan purgatory, styled [Arabic]. Elaraf. They have also a Bason (pond), styled [Arabic] out of which all the faithful are to drink

before they enter Paradise. Our author however, does speak also of earthly plagues sent as purifiers. See Book ii. §. 80, below: and so does Origen contra Cels. Lib. iv. p. 173, where Plato is cited as using similar phraseology. 64. 1 See §. 62, seq. above. 65. 1 Ps.

⁸⁹ viii. 5, 6, differing slightly from the Peschito. 66. 2 Similar reasoning will be found in the *Phaedo* of Plato, Edit. Lond. p. 170; and in Plutarch *de consolat. ad Apollonium*. (p. 107. seq. Edit. 1620) beginning with, [Greek] 67. 1 Alluding to Matt. vii. 3, 4, 5: and meaning apparently that, should light be impeded by any means from passing through the natural inlets to the soul, so far must the soul remain unenlightened, and in intellectual darkness. 68. 2 Plato's [Greek] *Phaedo*. Edit. Lond. p. 183. And so a Poet cited by Plutarch, (*de consolat. ad. Apoll.* 108. E. [Greek] 69. 3 Alluding to 2 Cor. iv. 7. 70. 4 Much to the same effect Plato, *Phaedo*. Edit. Lond. p. 178. seq. So also Clemens Alexand. (*Strom. Lib. v. p. 740.*)... [Greek] ... "Quinetiam precatur cum Angelis, ut qui jam sit etiam aequalis Angelis, neque est unquam extra sanctam custodiam, et licet oret solus, habet chorum Angelorum una assistentem." 71. 1 It was one of the errors of Tatian, that he believed the soul partook of the matter of the body: *Orat. contra Graecos*, p. 169. B. seq. Edit. 72. 2 Syr. [Syriac]. Ovens in the East are not unlike large stone jars, as may be seen in Mr. Taylor's *Fragments to his Edition of Calmet's Dictionary*, No. cix. Plate 38. fig. 5. Edit. 1838.

⁹⁰ The allusion, made to the spark of fire, in the last section, is perhaps intended to be kept up here, with the notion of a silent process going on, as in baking any thing in an oven. 73. 2 Ps. xlix. 21. according to the Peschito, except that we have [Syriac] instead of [Syriac]: but differing slightly from the Septuagint, as it also does from the sense of the Hebrew.

BOOK 2

BOOK II. THE SECOND BOOK AGAINST THE PHILOSOPHERS. 1. THE human race, O my friends, stood (thus) in need of God the Saviour : and God alone was the helper, who, could give abundance to those who had suffered loss, and life to them who had become subject to death. The advent therefore of God, and the divine manifestation of the common Saviour of all;---of him who arose (as the sun) upon mankind was necessary, because all that was upon the earth, had, through the insanity (inculcating) a plurality of gods, and the envy and solicitation of demons, become corrupted to the last stage of vice, and (immersed) in the depth of ungodly error. 2. But again, that the

cause of the Divine manifestation of the common Saviour of all among men, might the better be known, let us first of all speak on the great fall of the human race, on their lawless wickedness and iniquity : and then let us pass on to the hidden mysteries of the doctrine of this divine Revelation.

3. For, it was not as some disease which (lay) on man, and was mighty as opposed to every other; but it was, that the evil Demon so led, and ruled over, the whole human race, like a pestilence that is mortal, (and) far surpassing every thing that is (generally) evil and hateful, that he drove him who was more peaceful than any other being, to the last stage of brutality; and him who was rational, to that of being the most irrational of all. Hence it was that men, in the blindness of their souls, recognized not the God who is over all; The Cause and Maker of all; The Reverend Name of that nature of the ONLY (Begotten) which had no beginning, Him who was before all, THE WORD OF GOD; The Father of the essence which is intelligent and rational; Him who rules both in heaven and earth ; Him who is at all times present to this world, and is in it, and is the (efficient) Cause of every good to all; That providential care ; That Saviour; That Upholder; That Giver of rain, and Dispenser of light, and Prince of life; That Creator of this whole (they recognised not, I say), but gave that Reverend Name to the Sun, the Moon, the very Heavens, and the stars; nor did they confine themselves to these,----

4. But also, to matter warm and cold, wet and dry, to the very waters, the earth, the air and fire;----things which we perceive with our eyes, have neither soul nor reason ;----and to the rest of the (constituent) portions of the world, they likewise gave the names of Neptune, Vulcan, Jupiter, Juno, and of others, and honoured them with the title of god: nor did they confine themselves to these,---- 5. But, they also made Gods of the earthy nature of the fruits of the earth, and of the provisions intended for the bodies of every kind (of animal, and named them) Ceres, Proserpine, Bacchus : and, of other things allied to these, they made Idols: nor did they confine themselves to these,---- 6. But, they hesitated not to call the cogitative faculty of their minds, and their reason, which is the interpreter of of these, also Gods. Their faculty of thought they named Minerva, and their speech Mercury. The powers inventive of moral doctrines, they called Memory, and the Muses : nor did they confine themselves to these things,----

7. But, increasing in manifold impiety and the excess of wickedness, they made themselves Gods of their own passions; which it was becoming they

should have put away, and have cured by the effort of pure reason :----of their lust, their baser infirmities and passions; of their grosser members also fitted for corrupt acts, and of the different parts of the body. And again , the appetency to the intemperate lusts, they named Cupid, Priapus, Venus, and other things allied to these: nor did they confine themselves to these,---- 8. But, they also prostrated themselves to that which was born of the human body, and to the life which is subject to death; they made men into Gods; and published of these, after undergoing a common mortality, that they were Gods and Demigods; imagining that the divine and immortal essence moved about the sides of graves, and among the monuments of the dead: nor did they confine themselves to these things,----

9. But, they also honoured with the Reverend name, every species of irrational animal, and noxious reptile! nor did they confine themselves to these ",---- 10. But, they also cut down trees, and hewed the rocks: the metals too of the earth, brass, iron, and other matter, they sought out, and formed into the appearances of women, forms of men, and into the likenesses of wild beasts, and of reptiles; and to these again they gave the name of Gods! nor did they confine themselves to these,---- 11. But, they also ministered, by means of libations and the fumes of sacrifices, to the evil demons which had insinuated themselves into these same images, which had been set up in the innermost recesses of darkness; and to them they gave the name of Gods! nor did they confine themselves to these,---- 12. But, they also drew over to themselves, by means of the ties of those who used abominable incantations, by songs and other forcible and lawless enchantments, those invisible Demons and Powers which fly in the air: and again, they availed themselves of these, as abettors of the error of the deities, which they had (so) fabricated. And thus did they set up mortal men, as the Gods of Others. For the Greeks honoured Bacchus, Hercules, Aesculapius, Apollo, and other men, with the names of Gods and Demigods ; while the Egyptians imagined of Horus, Isis, Osiris, and again of other men such as these, that they were Gods. Nor did their wise men, who are boasted of for their excessive wisdom, and the invention of Geometry, Astrology, and Arithmetic, know or understand how to weigh or to discriminate in their minds, between the distinguishing measure of the Divine power, and that of irrational mortal nature. On this account, they hesitated not to give the name of Gods, to every frightful image of the animals ; to every sort of untamed beast, and reptile; and to the

fiercest animals. The Phoenicians too, named Malkuthrudun, Ousurun, and other mortal men more contemptible than these, Gods ; while the Arabians did the same to Dusarin, and Oubadon; the Getas (Goths), to Zalmacusin : the Cilicians, to Mopsus ; the Thebans, to Amphiaras. And with others, again, others,----who differed in no respect from mortals, but were in truth men only,----they also honoured with the name of Gods.

13. The whole of the Egyptians, therefore, at once with the Phoenicians and the Greeks, (thus) availed themselves, contrary to humanity, of every mortal species,----even as the rising of the sun illuminates (all) the portions of the universe,----of the very elements, of the fruits which grow out of the earth, even of their own passions; and again, even of the madness of demons, and (other) delusions; and before these, of mortal men! Nor did they set up, during their lifetimes, the doctrine which is excellent; nor did they point out to men, the instruction which attends purity of life; nor did they shew forth the requirements of (true) philosophy, or discover the practices favourable (to this) : nor did they leave behind themselves any disciples of their superiority, or deliver either precepts or writings conducing to happiness of life. On the contrary, they busied themselves with women, and the baser lusts ; and, as it happened,----I know not by what error of the participation in the deeds of Demons,----they named (these) Gods and Demigods, and honoured (them) with sacrifices, and services (connected) with the error of enchanters! They also built Fanes and Temples (to these) both in the cities and villages: but Him who alone is beyond the universe, THE WORD OF GOD in verity, the King of all, and Maker of all, they set at nought! These same multiplied all this, in the madness and corruption of (their) mind, to such an extent, that they forthwith called any men, with whom they happened to meet, Gods;

and immediately attached themselves to these same passions of mortals! And to these did they ascribe lawless adulteries, abominable deeds, and perverse lives and deaths. Nor did these things come from others, so that they could say these were their calumniators; but they themselves are the witnesses of these things, confessing the error, the sorrows, the deaths; and prior to these, the adulteries, the corruptions, of men (with men), and the rapes of women. Nevertheless, they filled all their cities, villages, and (other) places, with the Fanes, Images, and Temples (of these)! 14. Nor was it this only, but also, from the speeches which they made about their Gods, they received every provision for the life which was lawless and base; and, in the first place,

corrupted by every sort of abomination, at once both their souls and bodies. And, that such were the things which they did, when assimilating themselves to their Deities, we can readily shew from this, that the Phoenicians our neighbours, as we ourselves have seen, are busied with these things, even now, in Baalbeck; the ancient injurious excesses and corrupting paths of vice, being persevered in there, even to this time; so, that the women there enter not into the bands of lawful marriage, until they have been first corrupted in a way contrary to law, and have been made to partake in the lawless services of the mysteries of Venus. Now indeed, this city alone remains in this sickly state of folly, by way of proof of these ancient vices; when, from ancient times, many thus suffered while the disease inflicted by Demons had more abundant hold.

15. Nor was it this only, but also, the very men who rejected the gods mentioned (above), preached up, by means of hymns, elegies, sacrifices, mysteries, books, and votive offerings to Idols, that Father and Leader of all the Gods, who was overcome by bodily lust, and fell in love with Ganymede: and, as it were in emulation of their Gods, they transgressed the bounds of nature, and remained in this excess, at a distance not to be described, or (received) as real into the hearing. They fearlessly abused each other, as the Divine declarations affirm : "Man with man working that which was shameful, and receiving in themselves the return of reward, which was due to their error". 16. Nor was it this alone, but they also subverted the common mind of all, placing under an irrational Fate, and natural necessity, the constitution and essence of every thing. They led too, the lives of beasts, even the life which was no life. Nor did they enquire into the essence of the soul, or think on the righteous judgments of God. The victory attendant on virtue, they never called to mind, nor again, the punishment due to a wicked life.

17. Nor was it this alone, but they also ran as herds into the midst of the theatres, old and young together ; mothers with their sons and daughters; and, conformably with the doings (there), they contracted every base and intemperate disposition. Men and women too, being (thus) congregated together, became at once filled with intoxication (as it were) and lasciviousness! How then, could they do that which was good, when they stored not their hearing by listening to words that were pure, inculcating the fear of God? and applied not their eyes for the advantage of their souls? but (the hearing), to the instruction of sentiments that were base; and the sight, to the repres-

entation of every (sort) of lascivious-ness? For, things such as these, were those which (were presented) to the sight; (and), on which whole multitudes so fixed their attention, that in them (was evinced) the maddened excitement of the stallion, the vile pleasure (felt) over those devoured by wild beasts; (the excitement) of grains of corn parched (by the fire); (or over) those killed in the lion-hunt; but not (any feeling) belonging to human beings! And again, the impudent laugh (set up) at the vilest things; the intense and foolish desire excited by the music; the lascivious shows personating women; and the loud uproar set up at the songs! For these, indeed, and such like things, were immense multitudes of the ignorant inhabitants brought together, with those who were their Princes, their Generals, and their Governours, and became saturated (as it were) with the corruptions which debase the soul.

18. Nor was it this only, but they also built seminaries of the precepts of ungodliness both among the (country) people, and in the cities. Instead of the precepts of righteousness, and those which were advantageous to the world ; and, instead of the doctrine which was pure, and the love of God; they received into the memory,----through the impious babblings of the poets, in which there were corrupt recitations, and stories about their male and female deities,----passions filled with every thing shameful, as well as hard sufferings, differing in nothing from (those of) mortal nature; (I say), through the instruction and study of the lying writings of the Dramatists, both tragic and comic, these things, corrupting and injurious (as they were) of life, they first sowed in their own souls, and afterwards in those of the young. And accordingly, (through) the iniquity, which was the first and last of every other,----which was, at once and entirely, that of all men, of Princes and Subjects, of the Sovereigns of nations, of Lawgivers, of Armies, of the Inhabitants both of villages and cities, among both Greeks and Barbarians;----the praise which was due, and was suitable to Him alone who is King of all, they perversely gave to that which was adverse (to Him), and called the demons that had corrupted them, (their) Gods! They sang hymns moreover, to earthly and wicked spirits, to the inanimate elements, and to the sensible portions of the universe!

And (thus), the companies of the rational animals which were on the earth, rendered not the praise of the officiating priest; nor, with their brethren who are in heaven, the holy Angels and Divine Spirits,---- those

who praise the King of all,----did they render praise, the praise (I say) which is proper for such : but, on the contrary, they sang, both in their feasts and festivals, that which was foreign to propriety, and was unsuitable, to those seducing Spirits which had led the world astray! To them, too they gave the honour of worship; insomuch, that henceforth, the whole element of the earth, uniformly with all nations throughout the whole of creation, became nothing better than the vessel in the storm, whose entire and violent wreck in the extreme depths of perdition, is momentarily threatened! 19. Much therefore, on account of all these things, was God the Saviour and (only) helper, needed by mankind. Had some societies only been led to this state of error, the evil would indeed have been (but) small. But now, the Princes of cities, the Leaders of the nations, the Kings of countries, the Heads of territories, and the Honourable of the nations, had at once become fully, and completely, diseased in this same error of Demons, and of a plurality of Gods. And behold! again, even those,---- who boasted themselves among the Greeks of (their) philosophy, and made the profession, that in them was knowledge superior to any that was in the many ; were pompous in the streets, swelling with pride, and casting their mantles loosely about them ; had wandered in the great and wide earth; had freely taken from other nations this magnificence of doctrine about things; from this place, geometry; from another quarter, arithmetic; and again from another place, music, the art of healing, and those other things, which have their being in rational experiment: for, these things, and others like them, they got together from every place:----these fell (nevertheless), into a deadly and ungodly state of mind! By the mere discovery of persuasive words moreover, some of these set it up,----as if they would make no experiments even after the truth,----that indivisible bodies (atoms), having no extent, or having projecting parts, and infinite, were, forsooth, the origin of all things! These same too, determined Rest to be the extreme good :

that which is, and evidently (so), a greater corruption than all the (other) vices. For, What could be more worthy of honour than Rest, with those who laid it down, that there is in this something which exists, neither Providence, nor God, nor soul that is immortal, nor intelligent essence, nor WORD OF GOD which is above all, nor (yet) beginning, nor end? and, that the things alone that are irrational and inanimate, which are indivisible and subtile bodies (atoms), and fall not, on account of their excessive smallness,

under the (observation of the) senses;----that they should predetermine these very things, which are inanimate, irrational, as being without beginning, ungenerated, and in their multitude infinite, and as having, from times not to be comprehended, been dispersed just as it has happened?----still, things being thus, have affirmed, that these were the cause of this universal order; and, that there was neither God, nor Providence, nor Reason which viewed, or which governed, the whole? But, even if there were, that He would not possess the being of any one thing; neither would He give it to others! And, as my judgment is, the "Rest" which was (so) lovely to them, and which they also attributed to God Himself,----just as the doings of those were who arose as Philosophers of the school of Epicurus and Democritus, and as was the whole traditionary (doctrine) of those amongst the Greeks,----was that of (this) life. And, being thus eminent, they approached the multitudes; at one time, walking to the temples with the inhabitants (generally);

at another, shewing themselves to be those who feared the Gods; because of the fear of punishment (otherwise to be expected) from the law. But such were these, who contended for Rest (as the extreme good). 20. Others too, fixed the limits of Providence as far off as the moon; the company of those too, who were of the school of Aristotle, excluded it from every other portion of the world: which same also, determined the extreme good to be, neither Virtue, nor Philosophy, unless indeed, it happened to be attended by wealth of possession, abundance of gold and of silver, Family, and and the glory which takes with the many! And, What could hinder such from boasting themselves in these things? ---- men, who had shut up, as with bolts and doors at the distance of the moon, the Providence which is over all? or, that they should affirm, that the intelligent and rational soul which is in man, is mortal; and, that it is nothing, but even as the body, or as its colour, or its form? They usually term it moreover, *Entelechia*. Nor did they, by any means, place in apposition with the chief good, either the life of Philosophy, or the superiority of rule: on the contrary, they lapsed into the things of accident, riches, greatness, and family: (affirming), that with these existed the superiority that was worthy of reason; and that, without these things, it was nothing! Nor had the wise man any thing superior, unless he were also rich: nor had he, who was careful about purity of life, any thing good about him, unless he were a person of family!

nor, would justice itself, or the complete beauty of virtue in the person of any one, be sufficient for the life of happiness, unless he happened to have a complete symmetry of bodily limbs! These men then, considered these things as being apart, in a place (removed) from the things pertaining to men, (and) higher than the moon : that a Godhead existed; but affirmed, that the providence of God looked not to the things on earth. Nor did they recognize the common Saviour of all, THE WORD OF GOD, the Preserver of all things; but drew near for the purpose of reverencing those Deities, that were in certain places, and in the cities: professing themselves to be wise in some things, with those who knew them ; but performing others in their deeds. In their writings and common conversation, they made the oaths of their Gods: but, in their minds, no such thing existed. On the contrary, they submitted to this for the sake of the applause of the many. So that hence these same were Demons, rather than men, (and) to be despised by every sort of sound Philosophy.

21. Others also, besides these who boasted themselves (as being) the best of Philosophers, dared with ungodly mouth to affirm, that God is a body; and, that His nature differs in no respect from fire. And this is the extreme error of the Stoics, who say of this sensible world, that it is God : and (so) set up a doctrine, which is impious and all-corrupting. For (they affirm), that the operative Cause, and the passiveness of matter, are of one and the same essence; and, that the maker and the made, are both bodies : and also, that the King of all, God who is above all, differs in nothing from sensible fire; but, that he mixes Himself up at once, with every thing,----just as fire does in (its) progress,----at the appointed times. But great is the sin (to affirm), that God is subject to change; and again, to combustion! This therefore, is the doctrine of the Stoic Philosophers, that all being, even the whole world, shall in time be mixed up with God in fire: and, (that) the whole shall effect a change, as in seed; and, that out of this, universal order shall again be produced, just as it was at the first: and that all these are Gods, as are all the portions of the world; and, because the whole consists of all its parts, the entire universe itself wholly constitutes the Deity! These same again affirm, that this intelligent and reasonable soul which is in man, is corruptible, just as it is corporeal.

What then, could hinder such from daring to speak against God, the King of all? or again, from determining, that these souls (consist) of matter,

and body? and, that they are nothing else but the dense smoke, and fumes of bodies? and again, that after the close of life, they shall continue, during the times destined for them? and (this) not of all, but only of the souls of the Philosophers ? and, that at last, with the general conflagration, these also shall burn together with God, and the whole universe? and, that at the same time, the souls of the wicked and of the just shall be dissolved ; the thing's also of the just, together with those of the atheists, shall be fused, as it were, by one and the same fire? and again, that the worlds shall be reborn from this consumption of universal fire, differing in nothing, but in every thing, similar to the former; so that again, as from a beginning, these (worlds) shall in those be reproduced; as shall this same traditionary (life). Modes of life again, such as shall in all respects be similar, and not differing: the same fashions too, customs, regulations, and passions, shall exist within these. In the same manner also, the same sorrows, honours, recreations, oppressions, shall subsist among these, and happen to the same individuals. So that Helen, and the calamities of Ilium, (Troy) may again be expected: and again, Anytus , and Melitus, and the deadly poison of Socrates: again too, the contentions of the Philosophers themselves:

the same divisions on the same subjects; and, at last again, shall the whole be consumed by fire ; and again, after it has been burnt, again shall it be restored anew: and again shall consist of the same reducible materials. And indeed these, adhered thus violently to their error! 22. The descendants however, of the Philosophers, who were named the "primitive (students of) Physics", (and) who preceded all (others), laid the origin of all upon the inanimate Elements, and recognized neither God, nor Providence, nor Creator, nor Maker of any thing; but vainly, emptily and falsely, arrogated to themselves the name and show of Philosophers: some of them affirming the earth, and dry substance, to be the origin of all; others the ocean, the Parent of all ; for thus they named the humid substance and waters : others, fire; others, the air; and others, a compound of these. They also introduced many male, as they likewise did, female Deities. Marriage too, and the bringing forth of children, they perverted by natural metaphors, and the specious diction of the fictitious stories of the Poets, to the adorning of (this their) vain glory. So that these also, fell down again, as it were by perverseness, from the heights above, upon the material elements and sensible portions of the universe!

23. Others however, exclusive of these, determined the reverse of all those mentioned ;----that there was nothing divine in (all) this which exists; neither God that was over all; nor the (Deities) which were in certain places, nor that superior name, nor the imposition of (plastic) hand upon matter, were things really existing: so that they proceeded to the greatest extent of impiety. 24. Plato alone, of all the Greeks, (as) it seems to me, adhered more eminently to (the true) Philosophy ; and held correctly, respecting that good Being who is the First, and Cause of all; and became truly wise, respecting the Second (Cause), who is the Creator of all. 25. He also established (it) justly and well, that the heavens, the sun, the moon, the stars, and wholly and at once, the whole world, were made by the God of all. 26. He also affirmed of the essence of the soul, that it is incorporeal and foreign to corruption. He was also cognizant of the intelligent Essences; and confessed, that the mind which is over all, (and) which we call THE WORD OF GOD, is King of all. To the same he gave the Rule over all, after the manner of a ship-master, who well and duly provides for all: Him he also shewed was Governour. This man alone, of all the Greeks, confessed----just as we do,----of THE WORD OF GOD the Creator of the world. But, he is at hand, and we may hear (this) from himself, when discoursing of God thus :----

27. " Let us render honour, neither to that (heavenly body) which is of the year, nor to that of the month. Nor let us cut off to these indeed, any portion : neither the time in which it proceeds in its orbit, and completes the visible world, which THE WORD OF GOD has set in order. Of all who are in it, he who is happy will have wondered (at Him), and afterwards acquired such love, as to investigate (Him) as far as mortal nature is able. 28. This man moreover, now calls THE DIVINE WORD, the Father, the Lord of all, and also Governour of all, in the very same words, and names Him just as we do ; expressing himself thus :---- 29. "This Epistle, all you who consist of three should read, particularly in society: but, if not, between two in common, as each may be able. As often as ye shall be able, avail yourselves of compact (together), and of the Law; and, by that Lord, who is justice (itself) swear ye, at once with care ;----not without wisdom,----and with erudition the sister of care; and, by that Governour of all, of the things that are, and of those that shall be; and, by the Father of the Governour and of the (efficient) Cause, the Lord, swear ye:----Him, whom, if we are truly Philosophers, we shall all clearly know, as our power (may be, being) of those who are happy men."

30. This (philosopher) also taught, that there was a just Judgment of God, and that He would render to every man as he should deserve: he very divinely shewed too, that the extreme good was this, that (men) be like to the God-head; be attached, and made (as it were) twin brothers, to virtue. Nevertheless, he also fell justly⁴, (and as it was) likely, more than they all under reprehension. Why? Because he knew God as He was; but honoured Him not as God. He concealed the truth too, and put forth falsehood to the many. To those whom he loved, he spoke openly and well, as a Philosopher, of the Father and Creator of this whole. But, with the inhabitants of Athens, he conducted himself as no Philosopher; and went down to the Piraeus to Socrates, at his word, to pray to the Goddess, and, at once, to complete the festival of Bendis, together with all the inhabitants. And again, he himself said of his master, that, when the end of his life drew near, he commanded them to sacrifice a cock! Nor did the best of Philosophers blush;----nor was it concealed :----that, the Father of his philosophy commanded them to propitiate the Deity, by means of fabricated earthly matter, and a little blood ;----the body of a dead bird! And again, he called those (Deities) that were honoured in the cities, Demons: and this he did well. But, he further confessed, that these same were, and that they were formerly known as being, mortal men. And (here) he spoke the truth. Nevertheless, he advised that (men) should worship these same as Gods! And, because he submitted himself, with the multitudes, to the error of these, he may well have been memorialized as (implicated) in their pretences, because he concealed the word of truth under the show of Philosophy, and attached himself to falsehood. Hear therefore, the things that he has said in the *Timaeus*:----

31. " To speak of the other Demons, and to know their power, is too great for us. We assent however, to those who have said before us, that they were the sons of the gods, even as they have affirmed : and they well knew their own fathers. It is impossible therefore, we should not approve of the sons of the gods, when behold, they advance neither probabilities nor strong proofs. But, as they affirmed, that they narrated respecting those who were their own (fathers) ; (so) we, adhering to the law, believe. Thus therefore, as these affirmed a generation respecting these gods, (so) let it be; and be affirmed, that the Ocean and Tethys were the sons of the Earth and the Heavens; and of these same, Phorcys, Saturn, and Rhea (Ops): and of Saturn and Rhea, Jupiter

and Juno: and those others, whom we know were all of them brothers of those mentioned: and others again, the children of these."

32. You (now) view the very Philosopher----who is from above, and of the exemplars that are above the world, and of the intelligent essences which are incorporeal,----beneath on the earth and on the ocean, immersed as it were in the depths of error! He has moreover, introduced a generation of the gods,----him who could himself alone, say with a mind, the voice of which was more elevated than that of man,---- "What is that which always is, but that it might exist, has no being? And it is this same which is apprehended by knowledge together with reason, and exists in all time according to itself. But, that which is to be considered by the sense that is irrational, and was, and is corruptible; that it might fully exist, it never had even being." 34. This selfsame Combatant therefore, now honours this identical (something,)----this which was, and is corruptible, but never fully existed, on account of its elemental and dissoluble character,----with the name of gods! And again the very same, (virtually) reprehending the expositors of this story of the gods, says of them, that it was neither from probabilities nor from strong proofs, that they spoke and put forth the error of these Deities. And, having accused them in this manner, he afterwards says, "We give our assent to them, and approve ;" when, behold! they had said nothing truly! Besides, when he called them the sons of the gods, he clearly knew, that he was introducing their fathers who were, like all (other) men, subject to mortality! And again, he memorializes mortal gods, and mortal sons, who were like to their fathers, and who plainly said that they knew their own fathers. Nor does he conceal himself when he says, "It is impossible therefore, that we should not believe the sons of Gods;" still, he immediately accuses them, that they had advanced neither probabilities, nor strong proofs, and adds, "We approve of them, as saying that they narrated respecting their own" (fathers.) He says not----and (this) fully and carefully,----that they narrated; but, as "they said that they narrated;" and, we "assent to them as saying, that they were the sons of the gods." And, Whence had he learned this, that he should affirm just as they had said? For (says he) they said this: It was not I. That is; Still to them, when speaking of themselves, and unable to establish (the assertion) respecting themselves, either by probabilities or strong proofs, we nevertheless give our credence! He says too after this: " Thus therefore, as these affirmed the generation of the gods, (so) let it be;" necessarily, says he, just as

these say! Not indeed as my opinion is, but as theirs (was,) let these things be affirmed!

35. You perceive therefore, that he advises it as proper, that we should adhere to error! And, For what cause does he set this up? Not because of any other thing, except the Law : that is, because of the death that was suspended on the Law! And this he openly acknowledges when he says, " We, adhering to the Law, believe." The fear then of man, and of the Law, dismissed from the Philosophers, that Fear, and Law, which (were) of the truth! Where then, are those excellent and wise things, which the same elegant tongue,----(and) wholly for the sake of which,----said in astonishing language, and thus magnificently?---- 36. " For there is neither law, nor any one ordinance superior to erudition; nor is it just, that the mind be subservient or subjected to any thing: it is, on the contrary, Prince of all, if indeed it be free in its nature." This same too, is he who said, that "Wheresoever a man places himself, thinking it to be best, there he ought, as I think, to remain, (even) in the storm; making no account of any thing, neither of death, nor of any other thing, before things hateful." He also said afterwards; "For this, that one should fear death, O men, would be nothing else, but that we should suppose him to be wise when he is not so."

37. How then can you, O Philosopher! be moved by death after these expressions? or, draw near to honour" mortal Gods, on account of the Law? And, How can you dignify these, as sons of the Gods, in order that we might approve, and give (our) assent to them? In your own words you both reproach, and chastise (them), as having said nothing soundly, or by way of proof, respecting (these) their own Fathers. How then, having thus accused them, can you now advise men to approve of them? But, of these their Fathers, let us make inquiry :---- 38. Of the Earth, you say, and the Heavens, the Ocean and Tethys were the progeny: and again, Phorcys, Saturn, and Rhea. And so after all these, Jupiter and Juno! Jupiter, after the Earth and Heavens! Jupiter, after Saturn! and Rhea, after the whole of these! What say you, O Combatant?----Where is the great Jupiter, who drove the flying chariot in the Heavens? Or, Is not that a sentiment of thine, over which every body cries out and wonders, when thou thus sayest:----

39. " The same great Jupiter therefore, drove and guided the flying chariot in the heavens, and to the same adhered the hosts (both) of the Gods and of the Demons?" 40. But, I know not whence Jupiter is to be viewed, after these

(viz.) the Earth, the Sea, the Ocean, Rhea, and Saturn, mortals! or How, according to this sentiment of thine, we can give our assent to that of those who said before us, that " they are the sons of the Gods, just as they affirmed; as they clearly knew their own Fathers. It is impossible therefore, we should not approve of the sons of the Gods, when, behold! they advance neither probabilities nor strong proofs." And he adds; "Thus therefore just as they affirmed a generation, respecting these Gods (so) let it be, and be affirmed." After this he makes a long story, which is that of the generation of the Gods, (as) related by the Poets. And, upon this He assures us and says, that from Saturn and Rhea were Jupiter and Juno, and all those whom we know ; and the brothers of these, are they all said to be; and others again, who were the children of these.

41. Do you observe then, how this man goes on stating, ---- stating too not things that are not difficult, but impious, and those which are directly opposed to his own Philosophy? For this is he who in the Republics, drives away contemptuously (and) entirely from his commonwealth, those whom he here calls the sons of the Gods! ----those ancients (I say) who spoke of the Divinity of these; Homer himself, Hesiod, and prior to these, Orpheus! But now, the same Philosopher advises, that we give credence to these; calling them the sons of the Gods! He supplicates too,----subsequently to the earth and the heavens, and to that humid substance which he names the Ocean, (implicated) in generation and corruption!----that Father of all, both of men and Gods; and Juno, with those others succeeding them, who----as he affirms----are said to be their brothers; and confesses, that they are the sons of those who are of the Earth, and of the Ocean: and he afterwards advises, that we should worship these as Gods! Where then is that multitude of intellectual Essences? And, Where that incorporeal Form which is beyond the world? or, that Divine story about the nature that has neither colour nor form? And, if indeed every soul be immortal, Why dost thou subject to mortal beings, those that are immortal? And, to the bodies of Demons, that which is Incorporeal? The intelligent and rational Essence too, to those that are of sense, and subject to corruption?

It seems right to me therefore, to consider this man more reprehensible than (all) the rest; since an attachment, on account of the kindred character of his doctrines, drew me to him. For, as it appears to me, this man alone of all the Greeks, attached himself to the outward portals of the truth, and

shewed, in many (of his) sentiments, a relationship with us. Nevertheless, such cannot be honoured by the truth; because he is, as it appears to me, more reprehensible by it than all others. For he,----whose (main) desire was to live, while those things which attached themselves to his doctrine (virtually) effected his condemnation to death; and, while his opinion was that, (these) were no Gods;----he did nevertheless submit himself (to them), as if he recognized no other life, but that only which was present. 42. The Peripatetics too, so attached themselves to a belief, similar to that of the Originator of this Philosophy, that they supposed the soul which is in man to be mortal; and affirmed, that its form and body, was (what they termed) the *Entelechia*. For the sake of the present life,----which alone they acknowledged,----they submitted to the many. They believed too, that those were never Gods, which were (made) such by the law of the commonwealth: they submitted themselves (nevertheless to these) through the fear of death, and of the punishment of the Law. 43. The Stoics again, who taught that all was body, and that this sensible world alone was God, and that the (constituent) portions of this were Gods, persuaded themselves to do the things----although these might be odious,---- which were conformable to these their precepts! And, because they called the (constituent) portions of the world Gods, and worshipped the earthy substance, How could they escape severe reprehension? These too, as they determined that the Elements were the origin of all things, worshipped the Elements accordingly.

44. He however (i. e. Plato) determined, as by divine revelation, what that is "which exists in all time, but which could not be (of itself) ; and what that is "which is apprehended by knowledge together with reason, and (is) in all time according to itself. He also said, in what way it exists; stating openly, well, and wisely, (and) in plain terms, the true account of the Deity, as (its) nature is, in these words: "God therefore, according to our former discourse, holds the beginning, middle, and end, of this all which exists: and, proceeding according to nature, He rightly disposes (it). And to Him does justice ever adhere, awarding punishment to those who swerve from the Divine Law. But, How came he to swerve from the Divine Law, and to think defectively of the justice which is over all? and to put forth for us, these laws of mortal men? this Philosopher too,----this (I say), who could send the soul above the curvature of the heavens,----to fear Death? Besides, I cannot think that this same man held soundly of the immortality of the soul, because he

made the notion of the vulgar his own. For, it was not (according to this) that the souls of men only were immortal; but also, (those) of dogs, hedge-hogs, ants, horses, asses, and of the rest of the irrational animals ; and, that (these) differed in nothing, as to their essence, from the souls of the Philosophers!

He (also) affirmed after the Egyptian manner, that these same effected a change into every sort of body ; those of men being transfusable into the beastly nature. On these accounts, he is as worthy of reprobation in this case, as in that in which he gave his approval, but lied on the other side! And, although this was (such) an astonishing man, that he could apprehend the Maker and Creator of this whole; nevertheless, as he put not forth the word of righteousness, he is particularly deserving of the reprehension of every man : because " he knew God, but honoured Him not as God; but worshipped and served the creature, exclusive of the Creator. He also named those Gods, and worshipped them (as such), which were (supposed to be) fixed in visible bodies; the Sun, the Moon, and the Stars, confessing at once, and at the same time, that they were made, were perishable, and compounded in their nature of fire, earth, and at the same time, of the rest of the elements! And these same he worshipped, he honoured, and called them Gods! And then again, he afterwards confessed that these very same (Deities) were both dissoluble, and subject to corruption! But we may hear him,----as the thing said is at hand,----saying in the *Timæus*:----

45. "Gods of the Gods, of whom I am the Creator: every thing therefore, that has been bound together, is dissoluble; hence, because you came into being, in order to exist, you are not immortal: neither (are you) wholly indissoluble." And again (speaking) on their being, whence this is, and how to be determined, he says: "What fire is to air; such the air is to the water; and the water to the earth : out of which He bound up and established the visible and sensible heavens. And, by means of these things, and out of them, which are thus and the number of which is four, the body of the world came into being." After this he says : "And, as to the existence of time, in order that time might be, the Sun, the Moon, and the five other Stars, which have the title of wandering (planetary), came into existence; (and this) for its determination, preservation, and calculation. So God made each one of these bodies, and placed them (each) in (its) course." And again, he says of the heavens, how they existed in all time; there being no beginning of the essence (of these)

not even one: or being, of what sort this was in its primitive commencement. He then turns his discourse to his soul, and says, "it became existent, is visible, is subject, to sense, and has a body: and, that all such things are thus subject to sense, and, that those which are subject to sense, are apprehended by thought, and (so) perceived to be existences".

46. Was it not therefore, lapsing far from soundness of mind, that he, who spoke so orderly and well of these things, should call them Gods? that he should confess also, that they were made out of the perishable and corporeal matter of fire, water, air, and earth? and affirm that they were subject to dissolution, and in their nature corruptible? and, again, should name these selfsame beings Gods to be honoured? For, What participation can that Name and Honour have, which is the Cause of all things, with bodies that are subject to sense, and to dissolution? Or, What sort of companionship of the WORD, inseparable from Him who is in all time, but cannot be, (i. e. as we are, subject to corruption), with that which always was, but never had an existence (of its own), so that he should call these Deities God? For, if He is truly God, He who exists in all time, but has not that he might be (as we are) ; so far as He existed not thus, He was no God. But if he be God, who was at all times, but never existed (of himself): whatever he might otherwise be, he is no God. And, What sentiment can be more impious than this? For, the two things are opposed in their natures ;----this, which is apprehended by reason and knowledge; and that, which is to be considered by irrational sense:----this too, which is capable of action : and that, which is passive.

How (I ask) can such opposites deserve one (and the same) name? For, this would be, as though a man should wonder at the science of the architect, but should attach the honour (due to him) to the work that was by him ; and (so) invert the order (of things)! And, should any one name the ship, the ship-master; or the coachman, the chariot with its horses; so likewise, would he act most foolishly, who should dare to name the Creation of God, Gods; when behold! it had not escaped him,----but he had openly confessed,----that they were bound up in the bands of God the Creator of all, and (affirmed, that they) were constituted out of the inanimate elements, fire, water, air, and earth! Nevertheless even this man thus (taught)! 47. But, What necessity can there now be, that I should bring to light, how the wise men collected themselves together in ranks, as it were, sectioned themselves off, separated, and mightily armed themselves against one another, just as in

battle array, and met with shields, spears, and hosts,----as one of the Poets says, "Behold the abundance of the uproar thickened----of the destroying and the perishing;"----for Plato termed their warfare with one another, the conflict of Giants when he thus spoke,---- 48. "And behold! the conflict between them might be assimilated to that of Giants, because of the contention they had with one another about matter."

49. Nevertheless, Plato himself said these things either against the Philosophers who were before him, or against those who were his contemporaries: and, that these also,----(as) he also afterwards cries out,----were those who took up arms against him, the evidence is clear. For Aristotle, who arranged himself against Plato, went off with his whole school from his doctrines. Others again, the Juniors afterwards arose, who attacked the philosophical notions of Aristotle; and, on the other hand, animadverted on the Stoics. Others, the Sceptics, put forth Pyrrho and the reserve: and, at once, ridiculed every body! For, they all fully equipped themselves for a mighty war of soul against one another: and (this) by means of words, fell moreover, but little short of arming themselves, fighting, and attacking one another, with spears and shields! Where it was any thing but right, they divided: but, where it was necessary they should contend with all their power,----I know not how it was,----they agreed; and particularly in the error of a multiplicity of Gods! They agreed (I say) in that, which before all men, and more than all men, they knew was a non-entity! That is to say, the Epicureans, (agreeing) with the Stoics: the followers of Aristotle, with those of Plato: the professors of Physics, with the Sceptics; (these) one and all, together with their wives, their daughters, and the ignorant crowd, going to the Temples, and presenting themselves for the purpose of worshipping with (their) vows, as Gods, the inanimate Idols, (formed) in the likeness of men:

and these they honoured with libations, fumes, blood, and the sacrifices of irrational animals: shewing by this means,----and in this one thing only did they relax their enmity towards one another,---- that they all studiously gave their assent to this their error. And (again), when the truth was laid open to them, they opposed it! For it was right, that where their knowledge was correct, there should they have shewn their character to be firm: that they should have contended and warred for the truth; and, had it been necessary, they should have even died for it: (and) should have received it readily in the love (thereof), as men boasting themselves that they were Philo-

sophers. These same persons were therefore, friendly to one another in this, that they brought themselves together for the sake of falsehood: and, about those things, on which it was unbecoming they should contend,----because of the hidden and unknown properties of these,----they contended as if it had been for the truth; readily too was their contention carried on about shadows, while they attacked and reproached one another, with innumerable wounding expressions. But, What need can there be, that (I should record) the contentions of the Philosophers against one another, their controversial expressions, and the common warfare which they set up, and in which they fell; since they availed themselves of human wisdom (only), and of the reasoning of the mortal mind: God the Teacher not having presented himself to them?

50. How was it then?----How, that those who contended about these things, had no God; when, behold! there was a multitude of Deities among them?----since that of Delphos, and that of Lebadia, was (each) a Diviner?----that of Colophon gave responses?----'that of Miletus was also a Diviner?----and another was crying out from another quarter? Nevertheless, not even one of these could so teach these wise men, that they could apprehend the truth! All of them too worshipped these, as did their Fathers; and all the Greeks confessed, that they were gods: yet, they were not the more assisted in the discovery of the doctrines which are divine; when, behold! there was nothing hindering them from being forthwith (so) instructed in the truth, (or) from availing themselves of the Gods, who were on the earth and at hand, as (their) Teachers. Nor should they have injured, and reviled one another ; but, should have ceased from dispute, and have enquired of the Gods about the matters of contention; and so have learned the truth, as it were from Physicians, and (thence) have received advantage. And first, it was the duty of the school of Epicurus to have learned not to be godless, and not to have subjected themselves to "Rest" (as the chief good) : nor so to have infatuated themselves with ridiculous (notions), as to ascribe to subtile and indivisible bodies the power of making the universe; but to have persuaded themselves from the Gods, when (so) taught of the things respecting them.

It was also the duty of the school of Aristotle,----who saw with their own eyes the Temples, Fanes, and Idols (that were) on earth : not one (only) but myriads (of these), in every city and place,----to have examined them as to their power: and, from the fact, no more to have confined their discussions

about Providence, either to the (regions) above the heavens, or even to (those) above the moon; but, to have persuaded themselves, that there were Gods also on the earth, and that they exercised a providential care over the men among whom they resided. And, as it was in their power to learn from these same their own (Deities), they should no more have contended with those that were arrayed against them, as to whether the soul was mortal, or immortal. They should therefore, have asked the God who was at hand, and (so) have received, as from the Gods, the true decision (of this question). Thus also, (it was the duty) of the Stoics; and thus too, of the Platonists: thus also, of the Sceptics who are termed Pyrrhonists : and thus also, of those who were in former times styled the Philosophers of Physics, that they should not have desisted from inquiry as to the truth, nor have supposed, as those do who play at chess, that every thing coming into their mind was truth. They should, on the contrary, have asked the Gods who were residing among them about every thing that was unknown:

but not even one of the Wise Men has done this, nor did it even enter his mind! Was it then, that they were godless, and evil-minded towards the Gods, that (the task) was unwelcome to them, and (that) they acted thus? But, thus were they all at once godless; and the Philosophers appear to have been particularly so, and much more wicked than those who were unintellectual: those (I say), who made it no unwelcome task to enquire of the Gods about the taking of wives; the taking of a journey; blindness, or the infirmity of the body :----these too, were readily heard: and to those, who so sought did (the Gods), not invidiously, give their divinations. But, behold! it was any thing but becoming in the wise, to have enquired of those Gods who were among them, and to whom they rendered worship and honour, respecting their bodies (only) ; but not about the healing of their souls. And, as not even one of these marvellous Philosophers did this ; it remains, that we assure ourselves of one of two things; (viz. Either, that these men were no Philosophers; or, that those (Deities) were no Gods. For if, when (these) were really Gods, they set them at nought; they were no Philosophers, but were fools and ignorant men: but, if they had in truth made any approach to the love of wisdom, and abounded in knowledge more than the many; it is clear that they would, with pure conscience, have laughed at the folly of the many ;

and it is likely (they did so). 51. But, if those who have been mentioned, were really Gods; Why was it, that the conversation which is on earth, happened to be that of their lives? Was it for the common advantage of all? If indeed this was the case; Why did they not give up those (their) vain stories, and preach to all men the things, that would aid in the acquirement of virtue? And, Why did they not give themselves to the enacting of laws for man, corrective of the common conduct? and (to the performance) of deeds, pointing out the life of virtue to all? And, Why was not their care more particularly exerted for healing the passions of the soul, than (the sufferings) of the body?----rather to deliver those who fled to them, from foolishness and ignorance, than from the loss of possessions, when they saw that men desired wisdom ; that they were labouring night and day for the discovery of the truth ; and were seeking (both) by labour and contention, for a decision as to the reverence due to these same Gods? And again, (these) went in among the Diviners, and offered sacrifices just as their Fathers had done; and honoured those (Gods) with the honours which they had by custom retained. Why then, did they not receive these with terms of affection? praise them for their labours?

and, so delivering them from the contention which they had with one another, give them such aid from their labours, that they should become truly wise in God, and be (real) Philosophers?----and (thus) teach them the science of that true Philosophy, which is free from falsehood? But, as they did not this, they made it plain to every man's perception, that they were no Gods: and, that those who boasted that they were Philosophers, were unworthy of that name! For, had they been truly wise, they never could have supposed that these were Gods: inasmuch as they had afforded to them nothing worthy of Deity, nor had it in their power to teach those, who were anxiously careful about the knowledge respecting them, the things pertaining to Deity. 52. Thus these (Philosophers) became in (appearance) what they (really) were not: besides, they presented themselves to the many, and called those Gods, which they knew more accurately than all (other) men, were no such things! What sort of name these deserve, it is not necessary for me further to say, except, that those who made their locks to flow down, frequented the Temples together with tavern-keepers, with men the refuse (of society), and harlots! And, Did these wise men (then) ask of the Gods the things advantageous to the Philosophers? There is no one who will say this of

them!----nor, in like manner, how it was, that no instructing Deity presented himself to afford the erudition which would aid them. But (the things asked) were,----as the Diviners (themselves) say,----the commodities and helps of life generally; the discovery of a slave, if one had happened to run away; of a broken vessel; the purchasing of an estate; merchandise; the taking of a wife; or, other things similar to these. About these it was, that their admiration and reverence were called forth to their Gods; (and this) in the little blood of a cock, the immolation of a ram or of a bull; the (offering of) cups and bowls, or of a little wheat flower, or of purchased crowns! And, Had they any truth----teaching Deity, as to the things (comporting) with virtue, or to those which respected the healing of the soul? No, not (even) one!

On this account, these Philosophers appear to me, to have laboured insolently in (their) warfare against one another, greatly to have aggravated their mutual differences, and to have departed (willingly) from the real knowledge of God : and accordingly, one might hear from them in words, of the Gods, the sons of the Gods, of Demigods, and of good Demons : but in deeds, every thing was adverse: and in opposing, they boasted themselves of opposition! Just as if one should be willing to point out the sun, with the luminaries that are in the heavens; but be unwilling to lift up his eyes to Him who is above (these): should cast down both his hands and soul to the earth, and seek among the clay and mud, the Powers that are in the heavens! In this manner therefore, had the whole race of men persuaded themselves, together with their Philosophers, and Kings,----through an estrangement of the intellect, and the error of wicked Demons,----that the rational and Divine Essence which is above the heavens, and beyond the universe, existed in place, below, among material bodies, and subject to the passions of both mortals, and immortals! And, since this entire estrangement of mind had infected the whole human race, Have we not soundly affirmed that God the Saviour, a Divine Revelation, and a common Helper of all, was required for this our state of life?

53. And again, all had been led to such a state of insanity, that they even sacrificed their friends to those who were thought to be Gods: nor did they spare their own nature; on the contrary, they put to death, through the madness and bondage of their minds, even their only children, and the friends of their children! And, What madness can be greater than this, that (men) should sacrifice human beings, and pollute all their cities and houses with

their own blood? And, behold! Do not all the Greeks bear testimony to these same things? And, Is not the whole of their histories filled with the records of them? 54. For, the Phoenicians annually sacrificed (some of) their friends, and their only children to Saturn! To the same again, was a man also sacrificed in Rhodes on the sixth of the month Conun (March)! This same custom too greatly obtained, and was thus changed : They kept one of those, who had been publicly condemned to death, until the feast of Saturn; and, when the feast arrived, they brought the man out beyond the gate, over against the Image of Aristobule (Diana): they then gave him wine, and put him to death.

55. In the (place) also which is now called Salamis, but formerly Coronea, was a man sacrificed in the month named among the Cypriots Aphrodisius, to Argaula the daughter of Cecrops and daughter-in-law of Argaulis! And this custom continued to the time of Diomedes; and was (then) so changed, that they sacrificed the man to Diomedes! And in one (and the same) inclosure was the Temple of Minerva, of Argaula, and of Diomedes. He then, who was to be sacrificed, was accordingly----when his equals in age had led him three times round the altar, ----stricken on the stomach with a lance by the priest. He was then wholly burnt on a fire that had been got together. This law however, Diphilus,----who was king of Cyprus in the times of Seleucus the Theologian,----abrogated: He also changed this custom for that of sacrificing a bull. 56. The law too, whereby men were sacrificed in Heliopolis (a city) of Egypt, was abrogated by Amosis, as Manetho attests in what he wrote about primitive justice.

57. Men were also sacrificed to Juno, and were chosen just as immaculate calves were sought after, and were slain! There were three moreover, sacrificed in one day! But Amosis commanded that equivalents of wax, resembling these, should be substituted for them. 58. They also sacrificed a man to the Omadian Bacchus in Chios, when they had torn him (to pieces)! and also in Tenedos, as Euelpis the Carystian affirms! 59. The Lacedemonians also, as Apollodorus affirms, sacrificed a man to Mars! The Phoenicians too, in their greater calamities, whether wars, pestilences, or famines, sacrificed one of their friends, who was selected (for this purpose), to Saturn. The history too of the Phoenicians ----composed by Sanchoniatho in the language of the Phoenicians, and (which) Philo Biblius translated into the Greek, in Eight Books,----is full of this, (viz.) as to those who were (so) sacrificed. 60. Ister

also says, in (the) collection of select sacrifices, that the Curetes formerly sacrificed boys! And Pallas, who collected abundantly on the mysteries of Mithra, affirms, that the sacrifices of men entirely ceased every where, in the days of Hadrian the Emperour.

61. A Virgin was also annually sacrificed to Minerva, in Laodicea of Syria; but now a hart is. 62. The Carthaginians also, who were of Libya, made the same sacrifice ; which Iphicrates caused to cease. The Dumatians too, of Arabia, sacrificed a boy annually: him they buried beneath the altar, and this they used as an Idol! 63. Philarchus too has left it on record, that all the Greeks commonly sacrificed men, before they went out to battle! 64. But I omit the Thracians and Scythians; and also the Athenians, who put to death the daughter of Erectheus and Praxithia. But, Whom has it escaped, that even to this time, a man is sacrificed in the Great City (Megalopolis) at the feast of Jupiter Latiaris? For even up to this time, it was not only to Jupiter in Arcadia, nor to Saturn in Carthage, that they all commonly sacrifice men ; but, through the remembrance of the law, they shed their own blood upon the altars every year! The most select Philosophers also attest, that things were thus: for Diodorus who abridged the Bibliotheca has affirmed, that the Libyans publicly sacrificed two hundred of the sons of the nobles to Saturn! Nor did they add to the sacrifices, fewer than three hundred others! He too, who wrote the history of the Romans, whose name is Dionysius (of Halicarnassus) has said, that Jupiter and Apollo required upon a time, human sacrifices from those in Italy who were called the Aborigines. These however, had sacrificed to the Gods that select part (Tithes) both of their fruits and flowers, which was required of them. But, as they had offered no human sacrifices, they fell into every sort of calamity. Nor did they obtain any relief from these evils, until they had decimated themselves! Thus therefore, having selected a tithe of the men, and sacrificed them to Jupiter and Apollo, they became the cause of (their) country's ruin! And, so far had this entire corruption of soul destroyed human life, that no other hope of salvation could be prescribed, except that which was from God the Saviour: this alone, and no other, was wanting to the race that is mortal.

65. And thus, in these (distresses) of soul were all men, in every place : nor, was it enough for them, after these things, to act basely ; but, they were also harassed by innumerable other incurable calamities from without, in every place and city. For, all nations at once, throughout the whole creation, Bar-

barians and Greeks, were so inflamed by means of the maddening deeds of Demons,---- were so stirred up by the grievous and calamitous disease (of these), that neither intercourse nor agreement existed among men,----that so far,----and farther,----was the great body of (our) common nature forcibly urged on, that, in every corner of the earth in which men lived, they were, both from their usages and laws, in a state of warfare with one another. Nor was it this only, but they were also so fierce in the commotions and wars, in which they opposed each other, that, always and throughout their whole lives, they so engaged themselves that no one who desired (this), could take a voyage for the purpose of merchandize to any place, unless he (first) armed himself as for war. In the villages and fields too, the Agriculturists put on swords, and furnished themselves with an excess of equipment, over and above that of the implements necessary for the cultivation of the earth. Men considered it (also) a virtue to rob, and steal from, their neighbours: and, to our affirmation do all the writings, both of the Greeks and Barbarians, give testimony. The Books also, which are among the Jews, teach (us), that, from times prior to Augustus and Tiberius,----in whose days our Saviour appeared,----there were in the world, in every city and village, kings and Topparchs fully (established) from the earliest times.

66. The Jews therefore, immediately after the egress from Egypt by Moses, when they had come into Palestine, expelled the Kings, thirty in number, from their cities. Those however, who were not extirpated, remained and availed themselves of their population, local residences, and kings: those (I say), who resided apart in Gaza, Ashkelon, Joppa, and Azotus, again rebelled among themselves. Scythopolis too, and the cities about it, were accordingly so governed, that hence it happened, that their study was in contention and wars with their neighbours. And also, when in Jerusalem the wonderful Temple was built, (and) which Solomon erected, What necessity can there be for saying, how many subsequent wars (happened) and dealt vengeance even on the Jews, on account of their dissimulation in the worship of their God; and on which account, they became divided from each other? They also arose against themselves, and availed themselves of (the aid of) various Kings and enemies ; some of whom took the metropolis formerly called Samaria, but now Sabastia; others again, resided in Jerusalem, and were always engaged in wars with their own people, and these with them.

67. Not unlike these too, did those suffer who resided in Arabia : for, among these also, there was a multitude of local Princes. The same also was the case with the Syrians, who were in subjection to their (many) kings. The Phoenicians again, so guarded their territories, that no one could mix himself with them, or pass through them: while they were continually desolating the lands of those who resided on their borders, and were constantly engaged in the reduction of cities, and in making captives of one another. Nor was it this only, but also the whole of Libya and of Egypt, subjected themselves to all these Princes and Kings, as if they had been Gods! They had too, thousands of different Gods, both in the villages and cities, as they also had of kings, who enacted laws adverse to them, and were the inventors of every form of Deity. These were they, from whom many places in Egypt received their names, as well as laws; which they still retain. These Deities moreover, and Laws, so affected those who were subject to them, that they made them at once, both enemies and haters to those who were in their neighbourhood; and that hence, they gave up the whole period of their lives to contention! And they were as much excited against one another, as if they had employed the many princes of the vilest Demons!

Hence also, the error of a multiplicity of Gods began and obtained dominion,----like some evil and destructive disease of soul,----over the rest of the countries of the heathen! The Egyptians were moreover, (occupied) more than all other men in the worship of the Gods; and more able were they than all others, scientifically to honour them. But, that such fruits were the recompence of their worship, Do not thou (now) enquire. For, the causes of peace and mutual agreement, now so visible to the eyes, had no existence in former times; on the contrary, every thing opposed to these. On this account they were, during the whole period of their lives, harassed with wars and contentions against one another; and (hence), they filled their lands with their own blood, and with the slaughter of themselves; these very Deities apportioning to them, as a recompence for their worship, these and similar doings!

68. If however, these things are not known to all; yet Who, of those that are fond of reading of the affairs of the Greeks, can be ignorant of them?----of the war (for example) of the Peloponnesians and Athenians, of which Thucydides is the writer?----how Greeks warred with Greeks?----how they subdued the Potidaeans?----how they trampled on the Thebans and Platae-

ans?----how the Thracians and Macedonians at one time assisted the Athenians, and at another became their enemies?----how the Athenians reduced Corinth, and desolated the country of the Epirotæ and Traezenii?----how they wasted the Lacedemonians; and these again, suffered in like manner from the Lacedemonians when they invaded Attica, and depopulated the country of the Athenians? At another time, the Olynthians made war on the Athenians; and these again, on others: and these, on their neighbours! Every species of warfare moreover, abounded among them: fights in ships (by sea), fights by land, and fights with cavalry! All these innumerable things did the Gods,----as one may affirm,----fully bring to pass at that time among the Greeks! Nor was it (this) only, but they were also conversant among men; they were honoured, and they were served : not as is now the case; but,----as (all) affirm, ---- as their fathers worshipped those ancient (Deities), and gave themselves up to them, so as to be their friends and to converse with them, as being Gods (present) with them, and residing with them on the earth. And in many things, both by divinations and revelations, did these assist them. Nevertheless, the fruits of honouring these Gods were these; wars, contentions, desolations, and captivities!

69. But, if you wish to investigate things more ancient than these, contemplate with your mind him who was in Delphos, and held his seat (there) in the presence of the Greeks. I speak of the Pythian ; of him who was preached to all the Greeks, and who proclaimed to the Lydian (Croesus),----but was infirm when he did so,----" I know the number of the sand, and the measure of the sea: the deaf I understand, and the dumb I hear. He therefore, sent to this same (as) a reward for this song, the bricks of gold of two talents (weight), the phials of gold, and bowls in like manner. Nevertheless, Croesus was, with this his declaration, all infirmity : nor did this Deity in any way help those descendants of his house, so that they might live happily and soberly. On the contrary, Pisistratus became embittered against the Athenians, while this Pythian was seer among the Greeks, and the rest of the Gods had dominion over them, and were even partakers in (their) wars! The people of Argus accordingly, fought against the Corinthians; the Lacedemonians, against the Traezenians; the Locrians again, waged war with the other Greeks, and the Corcyreans with others. Messena too, was taken four times by the Lacedemonians; and the Arcadians were reduced! The walls of the Orchomenians were also rased to the foundations, and the Athenians: over-

came the people of Aegina: and again, the Megarians, the Corinthians; the Lacedemonians, the Athenians; the Athenians, the Boeotians; and the Locrians, the people of Phocis!

These things therefore, (did) all the Greeks to the Greeks; the Gods nevertheless, sitting at the side of Jupiter while all these came to pass! The Clarion Pythius; that of Dodona, which was in Epirus, did----since they were Demons filled with fumes,---- very gladly receive the sacrifices which were of Demons, both the sacrificial bestial hecatombs of bulls, and those human sacrifices, which were of their own friends! And, while they were inflamed with this vile delirium and love of war, and were (even) rabid against one another; these Grecian Gods,----behold! when with them; these friends, (I say) and provident beings, these lovers and guardians of the Greeks,----restrained them not! But, if we must speak truly, these were the friends of war; these the haters of mankind; these the contenders with God! For, they were the cause of all these things, because they delighted in the slaughter of mankind. And when they had it not in their power to delight in war, they forthwith did so in human sacrifices, and in the libations of human blood, with which they glutted themselves in every city!

70. One of two things is, therefore (the case) : Either, they were nothing; and it was grievous error that had then so taken hold of mankind, as to induce them to honour inanimate images as Gods, and vainly, emptily, and by a sort of madness, to sacrifice their own friends (to them) : or, if they were possessed of power, it is likely that this would be fully effective, either of good, or of evil. Now, if they were in their nature beneficent Deities, remaining too on the earth, and occupying the middle part of the cities; they would not have evinced this sufficiently, unless for the advantage and safety of those among whom they lived. But, if they were wicked Demons, they would be engaged in every thing opposed to goodness. What then, can constitute a surer proof as to these things, than the fruits which (grew) out of their government; for, "from its fruits is the tree known."

71. It is time therefore, that we enquire whether the wars and contentions----not of enemies, nor yet of Barbarians who arose against the Greeks, but of the Greeks themselves, who subscribed to the Gods of their fathers, and were infuriated against one another; ---- were these fruits: the Gods too being within (their cities), and nearer than the (very) gates, and daily honoured by their citizens. What (then) did they give, worthy of this worship, to

those who so worshipped them? Was it, first of all, peace? that they might live a life of ease and comfort? ---- and thence, laws that were efficient, arid preservative of every thing good? If indeed, the things just now said were of this sort; there is no necessity we should doubt of the existence of good governors. But, if the extreme of evils had taken hold of the whole family of the Greeks:----the Gods being more numerous than the inhabitants: nor was it, that they were honoured in every city only, but also in every house:----and, (if) when they were (so) honoured, they supplied nothing more to those who honoured them, than the slaughter of wars, the desolation of villages, the rasing of cities, captivity, and spoil; the Greeks being inflamed against the Greeks by these things:----What can there be wanting to our knowing, and (thence) affirming, one of the two things supposed (above)? For, either these Gods could do nothing, because they were nothing: and thus, were far from being the cause of the evils :

or, they possessed some power, and were the cause of these: or, that they permitted these things to be so: or, that they themselves did them. If then, they were the doers of these evils, it would thus seem, that they should be styled the Princes of evil. But if, when these evils were done by others, they connived (at them), they were again, the betrayers of their Friends: they were not (their) helpers: but (their) deceivers; and were therefore, vicious. 72. For, if they were no Gods, and in their nature by no means superior to ourselves, but, were otherwise men who had realized sincerity through their excellency and wisdom ; Would they not have interposed themselves, and have relieved their Friends from contention?---- either persuading them by reason, or, saving them by power, and severing them to a distance from each other? counselling them also in the things which were becoming?---- when acting (I say only) as good men; and, as being their Friends, relieving them from their (mutual) enmity, and bringing them together for peace? 73. How then ;----for good men would have done this, had they happened (to be circumstanced as just mentioned): ---- did the Gods (act), being present with the Greeks and conversant among them, and honoured by all? Did they neglect their Friends, giving them up to bloodshed, desolation, and mutual slaughter? and, Why? Because they were unable to help them? or, being able, were unwilling? For if, when able, they were unwilling; it was no office of helpers which they performed for those who honoured them, but of enemies and deceivers! For those, who can deliver from calamities, but do it not, are

in nothing better than enemies. But if, when willing, they were unable ; they merited desertion on account of their weakness. And, if they were thus circumstanced, the reputation of their being Gods was superfluous: nor did men truly ascribe to these the title of helpers; inasmuch as they did not help them to salvation, because of the weakness of their own nature.

74. But, if they advance a superintending fate, such as to take hold of every thing, and even of the Gods themselves, and (affirm), that this was the cause of the wars, and of every thing which came to pass among men ; this will overthrow the whole course of our life, as it will make every thing that is (virtuous) among us, vain ; and a doctrine false and vicious will, instead of this, make its ingress among us. And thus also, will the purposes of the Gods themselves be rendered vain, since they can do nothing hut that which has been fated. The things, which this makes it necessary should happen, (shall happen) even when the Gods will (them) not! And thus again, will the anxiety of those who reverence these Gods become vain and empty, since they render honour to beings who can effect nothing. 75. But in this were these astonishing (Deities) caught, that they had not the power to help against the evils of mankind ; that they were openly seen delighting in base and abominable stories about their own divinity, and in the wicked and unlawful sacrifices of men. From these things therefore, it becomes us to judge of these same Gods, as doing such things among the men of those times ; because, as their nature was attached to evils and to wars, they were convicted by their own deeds.

76. But now in our times, every anxiety about the Beings just mentioned has suddenly lost its power ; and the things belonging to this ancient disease have been cut off: every city, region, and locality, among the heathen, now remaining in the profoundest peace! The whole of Asia, Europe, Lybia, and Egypt, which were formerly not better than a ship in a storm, on which the violent winds and tempests had fastened from every quarter, and had thus far, ---- and still farther by the northern blast, ---- contributed to her immersion ; are now so righted by the happy guidance of the helm of peace, in a serenity that is peaceful and a calm that is resplendent, that they subscribe to the ONE Ship-governour of all things. Such are all things now, since he that was in Delphos has been desolated; since that Pythian, (I say) has been extinguished, and since the recollection of the rest of the Gods has been wholly withholden from the hearing of mankind. Nor have such things as

that necessity of fate, or (those) war-loving Demons, agitated the cities. For, since the doctrine of our Saviour has obtained throughout the whole creation of man, in every city, village, and place ; and again, since no race of Demons, but He alone who is the King of all, God, and that Creator of the whole world, THE WORD OF GOD, has been made known and honoured by all men, Barbarians and Greeks; every word about fate has been rendered unavailing:

every war-making necessity too has been removed far away: the Divine peace-making WORD is hymned throughout the whole earth: the race of man is reconciled to God its Father ; and peace and love have been restored to all nations! The things, which pertained to the Gods, are now no more done; ----nor are those which set up the system of warfare (that men carried on) against one another, when those (their) ancient temples occupied the highest positions throughout the whole earth,----(now that these) have fallen under the extremity of desolation, and all those Gods, which formerly uttered their cry in every place, have either from shame or fear, been reduced to silence: every city too, nation, and region, have by means of the right hand of love, been made at once to enjoy peace, and are delighting themselves under one government in the deepest established order and agreement. In what manner of life all, both among the Greeks and the Barbarians, existed formerly, when they honoured the Gods far more than their own friends, there is now no need we should shew at length, having shortly laid these things open already, except (to say) that these ancient things are, as such, matters of record.

77. But, Why should any one say that these are things of recent occurrence? since, as far back as (the death) of Alexander of Macedon, not long before the manifestation of our Saviour, many governments arose. For Arridaeus, the brother of Alexander, received the Kingdom of Macedon: of those that were in Europe, Antipater took possession ; Ptolemy, of Egypt and Alexandria ; Seleucus became Governor of Phoenicia and Coelo-Syria: Philotos, of Cilicia; Antigonus, of Asia ; Casander, of Caria ; Leonatus, of the Hellespont ; Eumenes, of Paphlagonia ; and Lysimachus, of those parts that bordered upon Thrace. From this time these, with those who had received their governments, poured forth as rivers against one another in war. For, Ptolemy the son of Lagos, marched fifteen times out of Egypt. Seleucus too, met Ptolemy King of the Macedonians, and was killed. Perdiccas also,

entered Egypt with an army. Ptolemy took Cyprus, and Demetrius seized upon Syria. Another too, went forth to another place, and, with the violence usually attendant on robbery, seized upon those who resided on his borders.

78. Thus therefore, during this same time, were things brought to pass one after another in every quarter of the world. When the worship of many Gods prevailed, there was neither peace nor agreement ; while mutual enmity abounded. Sacred places, Fanes, and Temples too, were abundantly appropriated to these in every city. With many votive offerings were these temples adorned. Much talk too was engaged in respecting these Gods, by the kings of those times, as was also by the people, the inhabitants of villages, and of every (other) place; so that they honoured with images and altars these (Deities) of their fathers, in their houses, their very treasuries, and inner chambers. Nevertheless, when thus circumstanced, they were no better than demoniacs whose souls had been perverted by madness, (and) that during their whole lives, they polluted themselves with the blood of their own countrymen! And truly demoniacal were they in their wars with one another, and in their pertinacity in the reduction of cities: the demons, the leaders astray of the world, being their helpers in these matters!

79. Those too who were thought to be Gods, who gave out divinations, and foreknowledge (of things to come) to their worshippers, were not so discerning as to foreknow, or to foretel, their own destruction: which happened to them all, at the manifestation of our Saviour among mankind! This too is a mighty proof of their inferiority, as it is a well grounded reproach on the divinations which were formerly published among all the Greeks. Nor did any one of the Diviners indeed, foretel that manifestation of our Saviour, which (has taken place) among men ; nor yet, the new doctrine which has been given by Him to all the nations. Neither did that Pythian (Apollo), nor any other of the great Demons, foreknow his own destruction; nor did he prophesy respecting Him who was to come (to be) the destroyer and uprooter of them all; nor yet, did he foresee respecting all those of the nations, both Greeks and Barbarians, who should leave the error of a plurality of Gods, and acknowledge the God who is over all.

80. What Diviner then, or Enchanter? What Demi-god, Demon, or God, has foreshewn by divination, that these their beauties should be extinguished, when He should be manifested, who was to be a new thing in the life of man, and (is) the "knowledge of God" who is above and over all, and

whose worship has now been communicated to all nations? Who is he (I ask), that has prophesied of the destruction of their Temples, and of their own utter ruin? and, Who,----supposing of these Images of gold and silver which are every where, whose fusion was by fire, and whose change as to appearance was quite useless, were supremely serviceable to man;----that, as (these) their Gods were (but) molten, they should, by way of contempt and derision, be afflictively cut to pieces? Which (I ask) of the Gods has ever put (this) on record? And, How was it with their supporters, that they lent no aid to their Temples, when these were rased to the ground by men? And, How were those circumstanced who, in former times were engaged in creating wars, that in their own calamities they should look with complacency on their uprooters, who were in the profoundest peace? But, the wonder of the matter is this, that, when their Temples were subjected to destruction, a peace, administering increase to every excellency and good, had taken firm hold on the life of men: every thing happening to the contrary, when the Gods were in peace!

For, during their prosperity, wars, conflicts, commotions, and the reducing of cities,----as shewn in history, and as we have already said,----(prevailed) among men: but, in their desolation, an entire peace with every good thing without drawback. Whence it must be evident to every one capable of reflection, that these were no Gods, as it also must, that they were not good Demons, but on the contrary, vicious ones. Those must also have been destroyers, whose prosperity was the cause of calamities to mankind, and whose ruin led the way to the bringing in of every good to all. But, how (all was) formerly in commotion among the Greeks, and how the nations throughout the whole earth were agitated, we now know, as to a few things:---- 81. And hence we may perceive why appointments, the character of which was varying, subverted the lives of all. For the Egyptians had a law, allowing them to take their own sisters as wives: the Persians, to hold shameful and sinful converse with their own mothers: others, to pollute their own daughters in unlawful wedlock: and of these, the extent was such, that ("the natural use of) the woman was interdicted. The wickedness too, of the Philosophers themselves, as also the intercourse with men which is out of nature, had reduced all the Greeks to insanity. Besides there were some, by whom it was thought right to conceal (their own while living) in the earth in Sepulchres; and by others, to deliver (these) to the flames! Others however, gave up these things as impious, and exposed their dead (only) to the dogs and birds of

prey. Others murdered those who came to them as guests! Others too, feasted themselves on human flesh! And again, there were those who, when their friends were in the agonies (of death), sacrificed them and feasted on them, before they expired! Others, who were approaching old age, they threw from rocks! Others they gave up to strangulation! Others they threw to the dogs, while still living; and others, while dying! Others they buried with these (alive)! while others put the living to death on the funeral pile; those (I say), whom those (now) dead had loved !

82. Thus therefore, had the whole human race been led on to the last stage of brutality, so that he, who was (once) rational, became the most irrational of all. Nor was there any other (being), of those that were on the earth, more vicious than man; who had been (so) led into every vile affection, and had (so) corrupted his mind with every species of wickedness, that he readily forsook even the reflection which belonged to his nature, and did nothing well, either of the things pertaining to the soul, the body, or of those, which were external to him; but, he every where became subject to vice upon vice!----For, the lives of men are divided among the things which are of the soul, of the body, and of those which are external (to both). But, the error of the Demons had (now) so possessed in every form, and had so corrupted, the lives of men, that the things of the soul were at war with them, through the madness of the Demon-worship which had (so) seized upon them, and through their foolishness and blindness as to the truth,----about which (truth) even the family of Philosophers was in a state of agitation. And, as to the things of the body, (they consisted) in the human sacrifices which (prevailed) throughout the whole earth ; and again, in the base, lawless, and corrupt practices, which were foreign to nature.

The things too, which were external (to both, consisted) in this, that in the cities, localities, and nations, all were, at one time, divided into parties ; at another,----when they were brought together,----they contended against each other, by means of the desolations and reductions of cities, in which they mutually laboured. And, the length of the day would be insufficient for me, were I to relate all the things pertaining to this ancient disease, which had (so) seized upon the whole race of man. And, on this account more particularly, was God the Saviour necessary to this our (mortal) life, as to those who had been cast down to the last extremity of evil: nor was there any other cure or aid (for this), except by means of the glorious and divine manifesta-

tion (of Christ). 83. What, then, was it right that THE WORD, the Father of rational beings, the Saviour of all, the Guardian, the providential Care, the Shepherd of the rational flock which is on the earth, should, after (the occurrence of) these things, do, in order to raise to great honour the rational and intelligent Essence which is in man, (and) which had (so) fallen into the vast depths of evil? And that he, who had with his own hands (so) dragged upon himself the cause of his ruin, might see (and know Him as) his friend? Would it have been well, that (even) a man should pass over the safety of his friends, and unpitiously neglect them when thus perishing, who had the highest claim to his providential care? No Captain indeed, would ever be termed wise, who should give up his ship with its crew to go down, having by him that which (would secure) the safety of those who sailed with him, but not applying it. Nor was there ever a General so merciless, as to give up, un-avenged, the soldiers of his army to their enemies. Nor is there any good Shepherd, who unfeelingly neglects the (single) sheep that has strayed from his flock; but, he leaves those that are not lost and in a secure place, and undergoes every thing for the discovery of that which has strayed ; and, should it be necessary, he will even engage with the wild beasts(in its defence).

The providential care, however, of THE WORD, the Saviour,----of Him who has provided every thing for (His) rational creatures,----was not put forth (merely) for a flock that is irrational. For, it is man (only) of the creatures that are on the earth, who is (thus) beloved of God; and it is man also, to whom He has, as a Father, given up every kind of irrational animal in subjection. It is to man too, to whom He has assigned the navigation of the seas; and for whom He has adorned the earth with every sort of plant. To him He has subjected both the (various) kinds of beings that swim in the unseen depths, and of the birds that fly in the heights. It is man moreover, to whom He has granted the faculty of knowledge for receiving every sort of learning. To him likewise, has He made plain the observation of things in the heavens, the (annual) courses of the sun, the (monthly) changes of the moon, and the progress of the stars both planetary and fixed.

84. How then, after (the occurrence) of these things, could it have been becoming, that the fatherly anxiety and providential care which is over all,----which had (so) rightly exerted its care for those other things of the body, and of this sensible world,----should be so crippled as to become inactive, as it respected the healing of the rational Essence vested in man? It

had afforded every sort of provision for man, every sort of remedy, and (means) of health, for the body, growth also, strength, beauty, riches, delights, and the increase of possession for (his) convenience. And, Would He put forth not so much as one effort of care, that they might become acquainted with the things which are most excellent in them, with their own souls, and the Essence which is intelligent? But thus, it is likely one would rather blame the imbecility (or) carelessness, not of the sheep wandering from the flock, but of the shepherd: and again, not the infirm of soul, or those calamitously circumstanced ; but the contempt or imbecility of the physician, if he gave not every sort of medicine for the healing and aid of those, who (so) needed (it). Every necessity would therefore call upon Him, who is the Guardian and Saviour of all, for the healing of his (rational) flock.

85. It is likely therefore, that the compassionate WORD OF GOD would, as a good Shepherd, Saviour, and Guardian, when His rational flock on earth was (thus) implicated in the greatest evils, deign openly to make a Divine manifestation of Himself; since, behold! He had never allowed even a period to pass, in which He did not fully exert His providential care, for the supply of every good thing to those who were in need. At every period therefore, in all ages of the world, He both looked, and engaged Himself, upon the things belonging to the earth; and gave freely in times of necessity, of the things which were (laid up) with Him: and so without upbraiding, evinced He the promptness of His providential care towards all men, that He even afforded instruction to those among mankind who were worthy (of this), by revelations of Angels, and by raising up holy Ministers of God : by Prophecy also, and familiar intercourse, He preached the Godhead of His Father, and the life that was most excellent, to those who were capable of being taught in the mysteries of the worship of God: at that period, too, he gave the instruction which was from Himself to our Fathers, as to those who were still infants, and inexperienced in evil.

86. Because then (men) had by a perversion which was not good (growing) out of their liberty, and from the will of their minds, set themselves up, and (hence) had fallen from the life that is excellent into (many) evils; it is likely, that the same WORD OF GOD, would again,----as the Physician of souls,----by adequate aids succour those who suffered this malady, and bring back by bitter medicines, those who had not benefited by these His gifts. On these grievous diseases of vice therefore, He took vengeance by pestilences,

famines, wars, conflagrations, and inundations (of waters); and thus turned back to Himself, those who stood in need of these things. At one time He purged the entire life of all, by destructions of waters: at another, He punished the wicked by excessive rains in (certain) places, by strokes of the lightning, by burnings, or by withholding the (necessary) rains. And again, in the abundance of His mercy, He made certain by these same deeds, both (his) rebukes and teachings against the errors of Demons. The Temples too, of those who were thought to be Gods, and (their) Fanes, together with the images and Gods themselves, did He desolate by destructive strokes of lightning; and thus He put to shame those follies. Nor was it (this) only, but He taught them to distinguish by their own reason, that these never were Gods, and, that it was not in their power even to help themselves:

and also, that they were neither of the household of God the King of all, nor friends of Him, who (thus) waged war against them. For, How could He who is the cause of every good thing, give up to destruction by fire, the Temples which (men) had built to His own honour; unless (indeed) He did this for a reproof of their error? For, if it was His will that the Demons which resided in these should be honoured, Why did He destroy their Temples together with their images? By means of the arrows which were sent from above from God, He drove far away from their eminences those who resided in these (Temples), and fully preached, in this way (and) by these doings, in the hearing of all men, crying out (as it were), Cease ye from the error of Demons, and (from affirming) that there are many Gods; and acknowledge that Lord of heaven and earth and of the whole universe, who is God (indeed): that Saviour, that Nourisher, that Preserver;---Him, who, (as) they may see with their own eyes, has openly shewn His providential care over them ; at one time, in the supply of seasonable rains, of fruits borne of all (that springs) out of the earth, of wealth, and of comforts, unsparingly : at another, by the chastisements sent from God, and by the modes of discipline which were from Himself, has He brought back as with a bridle, those who were insensible of the good things, with which He had furnished them.

Nor was it (this) only, but He also so cured the error of those who supposed these to be Gods, by a continuance of the lightnings and conflagrations which (came) upon them, that the Temples of the Gods were even burnt, together with those who had fabricated Gods for themselves, by ambushments of men: plainly exhibiting to those who could see, the rebuke

which was due to the error of these. Nevertheless, when these worshippers of the Gods witnessed these early (occurrences), they entertained no greater a disposition towards the correction of their impiety! 87. And again also, when they believed in these Gods, who had (virtually) confessed by their divinations, that they could effect nothing beyond what had been fated;----for Fate is the cause of all (in this acceptation);---- they understood not, nor did they consider, that, as (this) Fate took hold both of themselves and of the Gods, vain must be (every) trust put in these, as they could neither help, nor injure mankind in any thing. And, Only so? ----If it were right to honour Fate, as the cause of every thing; still this, as being a necessity impervious to change, could have no power even over itself! But, He has put forth the knowledge of Himself,----in order that (men) might know Him to be Lord of this (fate), and also of every (other) thing;----at one time, by the supply of every sort of good thing; at another, by chastising the error of a plurality of Gods in thunderings and in lightnings. And it has accordingly been made matter of history, that the Temple of Delphos,----of that Pythian (Apollo) who was (so much) preached of formerly,----underwent upon one occasion (an entire) conflagration; but these, remaining in their error, raised it up a second time; and God the second time destroyed it! They renewed it also a third time; and He again, expelled entirely from its place, not the Temple, but the Demon that resided within its chamber, by his Divine manifestation! so that now, this is no more a house of divination ; nor does he, who formerly led the Greeks astray, (any more) practise there.

88. The Temple of Diana too at Ephesus, came to (its) destruction three several times. On one occasion, the Amazons burnt it; on another, Herododotus (Herostratus), one of the inhabitants of Ephesus; and lastly, on another, (it was ruined) by God who is over all. So that now, after the manifestation of our Saviour, nothing more is visible even there, except the great (and) signal mark of the victory of (its) overthrow. 89. They have recorded moreover, that the Temple of Juno in Argus was destroyed on one occasion by fire; as was also that in Abas, in like manner, when the Thebans made an incursion and burnt it, and with it five hundred men! 90. It is also said, that on one occasion, lightning struck the statue of Jupiter in Olympia. 91. The Roman histories likewise inform us, that the Temple of Vesta which is in Rome, and which is called the Pantheon,----(all) the Gods being assembled together there, as it should seem,----was again, destroyed by lightning.

92. And again, on one occasion, lightning fell from heaven on that which is called by them the Capitol, and destroyed that house of every Temple. 93. With all these modes of discipline therefore, has the Providence which is over all, THE WORD OF GOD, put to shame from all time, those who worshipped Demons. Nor was it (this) only, but He also taught them, from ancient times by doctrines worthy of God, that they should worship His Father. He has likewise, cast forth (as seed) among mortal men, the doctrines conducive to life; divine laws, and precepts of righteousness, as herbs (productive) of things that are good, and as medicines for the salvation of reasonable souls. Thus (did He) in ancient times with the Hebrews through Prophets, men who partook of the Divine Spirit. And again, from a long extended antiquity, through other Friends of God: and again afterwards, through those who were vested with the Divinity, did He call those who had been cast off to death, to (the means of) recovery. He also sowed (as it were) in the souls of men, the rudiments of the Divine laws;---of various kinds of instructions ; of doctrines of every kind; of predictions, and of prophecies of things to come; as also the love of that life (which is devoted) to the worship of God. Hence poured forth as from a fountain, even in every part of the creation, the seed, (and thence) the rational observances (of life): and hence, laws and lawgivers were seen among all the nations; and the name of virtue and of philosophy became known among men. (Now) came into being the love of things most excellent;

and, the desire to discover the truth was in such active operation with the many, that the error of their forefathers came into utter contempt, and, with the intelligent, those things which belonged to the worship and love of God, into repute. The truth too had been wanting; and great had been the differences respecting this with the many, as had the contentions and divisions of those, who disputed about doctrines. And thus did these things shew, that the Providence (exerted) over mankind, was from all time great, (and) evincing the care for every man, which was both suitable and sufficient. 94. Because then, great would be the change for the better in every one, upon human life's becoming tranquillized, and the common conduct (of all) being changed from its former wildness to something approaching to benignity ; it is likely, that the common Saviour of all, the compassionate WORD OF GOD, would more particularly, and the more readily, make his Divine manifestation at a time that would be (most) suitable. He accordingly came

in by the mission of himself, and shewed forth to men,----who could by no other means arrive at the knowledge of the truth, by the instrumentality of a human vessel,----the God of truth. The God of truth did then, through the divine operations and astonishing miracles which were evident to all, shew forth the doctrine of heavenly teaching which respected His Kingdom ; in order that by these, He might henceforth,----even as He had formerly afforded aid by means of the things already mentioned,----instruct the whole human race in the doctrine which is heavenly. It was impossible indeed, in ancient times, to make those who had been driven to the last stage of vice, pure by words (only), inviting (them) to the perfect knowledge of God, and to the better life of purity and of righteousness. On this account, just as Physicians prescribe their remedies to those who are sick and debilitated by pains and sufferings, not the healthy food proper for the robust, but things that give uneasiness and pain; and, should it be necessary, do not excuse themselves from applying cauteries and bitter draughts, to coerce the disease:----not the aliments proper for the healthy, but those suitable to the sick: but, when they have become convalescent, they will henceforth allow them to partake of wholesome and strengthening food :----

95. So likewise the common Saviour of all, as the Shepherd and Physician of His rational flocks on earth, taught those----who had previous to His last divine manifestation entered into the many follies of a plurality of Gods, and had been maddened by the evils and fierceness attending (this) corruption of mind,----by bitter punishments, by pestilences, famines, and the continuance of wars against each other. And again, by excessive rains, by the withholding of the rains, and by calamitous strokes of lightning, did He annihilate these instances of obstinacy : besides, He afforded opportunity to the worshippers of the Demons to see, by the vengeance taken in the strokes of lightning sent upon the Idols, the reproach due to the error of a plurality of Gods. 96. He again as a good Father, thus also afforded instruction to the foolish; for He imparted to them ungrudgingly, the gifts which were from Himself, in the provision of every good and rich thing: rains in their seasons; the production of fruits; the changes of the seasons ; and the carrying forward of animal life. The rational means also of all kinds of art; the seeds of these, and the (due) consideration of them, He cast forth into the souls of men. Again also He sowed (as it were), by means of the Prophets who are preached of among the Hebrews, the rudiments of the Divine precepts; the

instruction pertaining to the fear of God; the entrance, the stages, and principal things, attending the Divine laws ; such (I say) as were suitable to the men of those times. He again from his providential care, (and) by means of many others, also gave the aid which was convenient for men as then (existing).

97. Because therefore, the life of man had henceforward undergone a change, by means of these things, to a state of peacefulness and rest, and was prepared to receive the perfect doctrine relating to God ; well again, did the common Saviour of all, the only (begotten) WORD OF GOD, the King of all, shew forth at a time that was suitable, and by these same operations, the Divine manifestation of Himself. But, as these things have been largely set forth already, it is (now) time we should proceed to those that (should) follow them. The End of the Second Book of (Eusebius) of Caesarea. [Selected footnotes. Notes concerned only with points of the Syriac and large chunks of Greek have been omitted]

BOOK 3

BOOK III. THE THIRD BOOK OF (EUSEBIUS) OF CAESAREA. 1. BECAUSE then, human life had undergone a change, through the things already mentioned, to a state henceforth of peace and rest, and had been prepared to receive the perfect doctrine relating to God; well again, did the common Saviour of all, the only (begotten) WORD OF GOD, the King of all, shew forth the divine revelation of Himself by very deeds, and at the time which was suitable. For, immediately and at once, when He appeared in the world, those things which appertained to the ancient service of Demons, were undone by the overthrow as it were, of (some ruinous) war-engine; tidings announcing good things were preached to all nations, and God who is over all, the Propitiator of the children of men, was announced. The whole error of a plurality of Gods was also overthrown, and all the operations of demons were forthwith cast aside. Men again were no more sacrificed ; nor were the slaughterings of human beings, which from former times had ruined the world, (persevered in). Nor again, were there multitudes of Rulers, Princes, Tyrants, and Governours of the people. Nor again, existed those things, on account of which wars, and the reduction of cities, had been set on foot in every city and place: on the contrary, one God was preached to all men : the one empire too of the Romans had extended itself over all : and

the peaceless and uncompromising enmity, which had so long been the portion of the nations, came to an entire end.

And, as the knowledge of the one God, and of one just and righteous conduct resulting therefrom, was, by the teaching of our Saviour, delivered to all men; so also one king, at one and the same time, was established over the whole Roman empire, and a profound peace prevailed in every thing. At once too, and at one period, as it were at the intimation of the one God, two singular advantages sprung up among mankind ; the Instruction that was in righteousness, and the Empire of the Romans. For formerly, this error of the Demons had grievously enslaved the nations: and, as the whole had been divided into many (parts), some taking Syria by way of portion; others bearing rule in Asia; others, in Macedonia; others cutting up and seizing upon Egypt; others, in like manner, upon the country of Arabia: the race of the Jews again, had possession of Palestine. And, in every village, city, and place, they were, as from madness (and) like marauders and demoniacs in reality, careful (only) about warfare and contention one against another;--of which enough has already been said.

2. But (now), two great Powers sprung fully up, as (it were) out of one stream; and they gave peace to all, and brought all together to a state of friendship : (namely) the Roman Empire, which, from that time, appeared (as) one kingdom ; and, the Power of the Saviour of all, whose aid was at once extended to, and established with, every one. For, the divine superiority of our Saviour swept away the authority of the many Demons, and many Gods; so that the one kingdom of God was preached to all men Greeks and Barbarians, and to those who (resided) in the extremities of the earth. The Roman Empire too,-- since those had been previously uprooted who had been the cause of the rule of many--soon subjugated all (others), and quickly brought together into one state of accord and agreement, the whole race of (man). And, behold ! it henceforth brought together such a multitude of nations, as soon to take possession (of all), even to the extremities of the earth; the teaching of our Saviour having, by the divine power, already prepared all parties, and established (all) in a state of equanimity. And this is indeed a great miracle to those, who set their minds on the love of truth, and are unwilling to be envious against that which is good. For at once, was the error of evil Demons put out of sight; and, at the same time, did the enmity and contention of the nations, which had always existed, lose its power:

and again, at the same time, was the one God and the one knowledge of Him, preached to all men through the teaching of our Saviour: at the same time too, was the empire of the Romans established among men; and, at once, was the (state or) the whole race of man changed to (that) of peace; and all, professing a common brotherhood, betook themselves to the instructing of their own nature. Forthwith too, they became born, as it were, of one (common) Father, and as the children of the one God ; of one Mother too, righteousness and truth; and so received they one another with the salutation of peace, that henceforward the whole creation was nothing less than as one household, and as a race governed by one law. It was (now) practicable too, that any desiring to send, for the purposes of merchandise, and to proceed, whithersoever he pleased, to do this with the greatest facility. Those of the West could come without danger to the East: and again, those who were here (in the East) could proceed thither as to the house of their own fathers, according to the words of ancient prophecy, and of many other burdens of the Prophets, which we have not now leisure to mention, excepting these respecting our Saviour, the WORD OF GOD, which proclaimed thus: " He shall have dominion from sea to sea, and from the rivers to the extremities of the earth: and again, "In his days shall righteousness spring forth, and abundance of peace : and again.

" They shall beat their swords into ploughshares, and their spears into reaping hooks, and nation shall not lift up the sword against nation; nor shall they learn war." 3. These things were foretold in the language of the Hebrews, (and) have been published a very long time ago: they are now in our times witnessed in their operation, confirming the testimonies of those ancient declarations. If then, thou desire other proofs of the excellency of the truth, (shewing) that it is not of mortal nature, but is the word of God in truth; and (that) the "power of God," the Saviour, has been revealed in the world, not by words (only), but by deeds; accept thou of them. Open the eyes of thy understanding, unbar the doors of thy mind; and let thy soul be wholly collected within thee. Consider and ask thyself, as if thou wert interrogated by another, and thus investigate the nature of the things (to be brought before thee). 4. Who, of those that ever existed, is the mortal man, King, Philosopher, Lawgiver, or Prophet, whether Greek or Barbarian, who bore all this pre-eminence,--not after his death, but while he was still alive, and drew breath;-- and could effect so much, that he should be preached

throughout the whole earth ? and, that his name should fill the hearing, and tongues of every people upon the face of the whole earth ? But this, no man has done excepting our Saviour alone, who said to his disciples by word, and fulfilled it by deed: " Go and teach all nations." He said (also) to them,--what He had foretold and previously revealed,--that it was necessary His Gospel should be preached throughout the whole creation, for a testimony to all nations. And, with the word, He brought the deed also to pass: for, immediately,--and not at a great distance of time,--the whole creation was filled with His words !

5. Now. What can he have to say on this matter, who dares to oppose the truth; since the testimony which is by means of the sight, is better than that which is by any sort of words? But, if thou give up this first (sort of proof), be-take (thyself) to the latter: and now consider with thyself,-- 6. What mortal nature has ever appeared, which appointed like Him, by word only and not in writing, laws that were just and pure, and sent these same forth by the hands of His disciples, from one extremity of the creation to another? and, Who so opened out His doctrines throughout the whole earth, that immediately and day by day, the instructions which it was becoming should be delivered by Him, were sufficiently preached in the hearing of all men, Barbarians at once, and Greeks? But, if thou seek, thou shalt find no other: for this is a work, resulting from the power of the Saviour of us all, alone.--Nor will this persuade him who is not to be persuaded. Let the same then say to us, for we are willing to learn--

7. Who, of those who have been praised for the wisdom of their observances, has ever so delivered the barbarous and brutal of barbarous nations, by his merciful laws, that those who became (His) disciples among the Scythians, feast (now) no more on human beings? nor, among the Persians, take their own mothers (as wives) ? others too cast not their dead to the dogs? nor do others deliver up those that are aged for strangulation ? nor are other brutal and beastly things allied to these, done with others? But these are only small proofs of the revelation of the Godhead of the Saviour of us all. Look now also at others, and consider with thyself:-- 8. What mortal man, of all the Princes at once, and Kings, and Armies, and Companies, and Inhabitants, and Nations, ever existed during all these periods, who added this also (to his exploits), that even those who were thought to be Gods by the many, should wage war with Him,--and who at all times did wage war with Him;--

but, that He shewed his pre-eminence so far to exceed that of man, that day after day there was exultation, and (that) His doctrine took effect throughout the whole world ?

9. And, Who is that other (person) who, since the life of man was set up, ever sought to constitute a people after his own name;--a thing never yet heard of:--and this, not in a corner, or obscurely in some part of the earth, but in the whole earth under the sun; (and) did so settle by the power of the rule of his Godhead, and so complete his wish, that he delivered the knowledge of the one God who is beyond the heavens, the King of the whole world, together with his fear, to all men on the face of the whole earth, to the nations both Barbarian and Greek ? 10. Who ever set about to teach, and, after he had so engaged himself, brought, as in this marked instance, the matter to its right effect ? and forthwith, through his own efforts, so made known his undertaking, that by the love of God, he closed rather the mouths than the doors of all; and proclaimed God who is over all ? He commanded moreover, that all nations should truly acknowledge Him alone ? And, because he willed that which was acceptable to God, He deigned to give His aid and assistance to him, who was his own ambassador ? The doctrines therefore, accompanying this preaching, were delivered; they were also received into the hearing of all men, and they were by deeds confirmed!--How they were, see thou, and consider;--

11. What other person ever arose (as the sun) with his rational light to the souls of men, and so prepared them to laugh at the error of the Demons of their forefathers, that they no more attached the divine name to wood, stone, and matter that is inanimate ? 12. What other, excepting our Saviour, persuaded the Egyptians,--more attached as they were to the fear of Demons than any other people, and from whom came the error of a multiplicity of Gods to the Greeks,--that henceforth they should be no more (so) infatuated, and no more give that venerable name to beasts, reptiles, noxious and irrational animals; but should acknowledge that one God alone who is above all, and contend for his righteousness in every sort of death ? 13. And Who invisibly, and by the powerful means and force of his doctrine which was every where preached, drove out as evil beasts, from among his own human flock, that injurious and destructive family of Demons, which from ancient time had ruled the whole race of man; and, by means of the exciting power of Idols, had put forth innumerable errors among them, so that these

Demons should no more give out their divinations at the springs and fountains ? Nor again, should any earthly spirits, leading the world astray, implicate mankind in error ? The fountain therefore, that was in Castalia became silent, as did the other which was in Colophon: other fountains of divinations also became silent; the Pythian, the Clarian, the Nemean; that in Delphos, and Miletus; that in Colophon, and in Lebadia, of which (last) so much was boasted from ancient times. To the doctrine of Christ did they all accede. Where are (now) Amphilocus and Mopsus? There is not a man in (either) place! Where are Amphiaraus and Aesculapius? Where is that (Image) of Ammon, and (which was) in the Desert of Lybia ? All these Gods have crept under the earth, being alarmed at the name of our Saviour! not unlike those their Princes who could not, when He went about among men, bear the rays of his Godhead, but grievously complained, crying out, " What have we to do with thee, Jesus " (thou) " Son of God," and saying, " Art thou come before the time to torment me?

We know thee who thou art, that thou art the Holy One of God. The Egyptian Demons therefore, when hearing that the doctrine of our Saviour was preached in the whole of their land, confessed that they themselves were nothing ! They gave up accordingly the places subject to their customs to be destroyed, together with (their) Fanes and Images, and betook themselves to flight and departure; driven away as they were by the Divine power. The divinations too of every place were destroyed ; and the Christ of God alone, and the one only God who was preached by him to all men, became the object of divine worship. 14. What other (person) moreover, has, like this our Saviour, given such power to those who have, in purity and sincerity, arrived at the life of excellence and of wisdom which has been delivered by Him, that they should by calling on Him, and by means of pure prayers offered up through Him to Almighty God, cast out that superabundance of evil Demons from the human body ? 15. What other too, except Him alone, has granted to those who draw near to Him. that they should perform the rational and unbloody services which are (offered) by means of prayer, and the secret (use of) the Divine announcements ? and, on which account He has appointed, throughout the whole creation of man, altars without fire, services worthy of God, the setting apart of Churches, and, that intellectual and rational sacrifices should, by means of rites becoming the Deity, be put forth to that one God alone, who is the King of all nations ?

16. Who moreover, tacitly, and by means of His invisible power, has abolished those sacrifices which were completed with blood, impurity, smoke, and fire ? -- those abominable shrines also for the slaughter of men ; and so provided, that human sacrifices should no more be offered, and these things be no more done ? -- that the writings of the Greeks also should attest, that it was not from ancient times, but (only) after the divine teaching of our Saviour, in the times of Hadrian, that human sacrifices ceased throughout the whole earth ? 17. Since then, all these are clear proofs confirming the divine power of the Saviour of us all, Who is he whose soul (partakes) so much of iron, as not to give his testimony to the truth ? and to confess His divine and living (active) power ? For it is of the living, and not of the dead, that these deeds are. For the visual perception of something distant is, they say, (the effect) of some thing (really) visible.

18. The Race therefore which contended with God, disturbed the life of man, and introduced, led on, and could effect much, has suddenly, lately, and but a short time ago--because driven out from among men,--been cast to the earth, as an object deserving of the utmost contempt, breathless, motionless, speechless, and again, bereft both of utterance and of remembrance ! 19. This mortal nature therefore, and again that which has no proper existence, is (as) nothing. And that which is (as) nothing, is likewise inoperative. But, (as to) Him who acts at all times, and is every moment operative, and is more potent than any living creature, How can He be supposed to have no proper existence, although not visible to the bodily eyes ? But, discrimination is not by the senses; nor do we try the terms of art, the perception of doctrines, nor yet the mind of man, by the bodily senses: much less can man ever see with the eyes the person, or the power, of God. Nevertheless, these things may be known from the effects of their (several) operations. On this account, it is our duty to inform ourselves respecting the unseen power of the Saviour of us all, to prove His works, and to distinguish, whether we ought to confess that the things which have hitherto been done by Him, are of one living; or, whether we are to affirm, that they are of some one, who had no proper existence; or, whether this same thing be foolish, and the question respecting it inconsistent. For, he who has no proper existence in all his parts, has, it is clear, no proper existence at all, and is unable either to act, or to effect any thing. Such is the nature which is dead ; while that opposed to it is living.-- But, it is now time we should investigate those works of our Saviour

which appertain to our days, and to take a view of the living (effective) works of the living God. For the living works of God are life indeed. Learn (then), what those things are about which thou enquirest, and Him (at the same time), who lives in His works.

20. Some of the contenders with God did, but a little while ago, rebelliously, forcibly, and with a mighty hand, so rase to the foundation and overthrow His houses of prayer, that the churches disappeared: by every means too, they made war with Him who is invisible to the eyes, attacking and reproaching (Him) with innumerable injurious expressions. But He, while unseen, secretly avenged Himself of them. And they again (felt this), not by one intimation from God (only). They (I say) who, but a short time before, were delighting themselves and happy;-- they who were worshipped by all men, as if they had been Gods, and who, during the revolutions of many years, gloriously administered the affairs of their rule: for before they made war with Him, they had the most perfect peace and friendship (with all) ; but when they became changed, and dared to contend with God, and arranged their Deities before them in battle array against Him who is our (God), in order that (these) might be their strength;-- (then), forthwith--in one moment--and at the intimation of God, and through the power of Him with whom they had contended, did all they who had been thus daring, suffer punishment, so that they gave in to Him on whom they had made war, turned their backs (in flight), and confessed His Godhead ! They allowed also, and persuaded, that (men) should boldly do the reverse of those things which were from ancient time.

He therefore quickly established throughout the whole earth the signal mark of victory, and adorned (it), as from the first, with Temples which were pure, and distinguished (set apart) as for the prayers of the whole creation; so that He consecrated holy and dedicated places, in every village, city, place, and even in the deserts of the Barbarians, to the One God (and) King of all; -- to Him who is the Lord of all;-- that He might hence dignify the things (so) set apart, with the name of Him who was their Lord. Nor was it of man, that (this) happy appellation fell to their lot; but it was of Him who is Lord of all, that hence they were each dignified with the name of "the House of the Lord. Let any one who wishes then, stand forth in the midst and learn, who it was that, after all this subversion and destruction, raised up on high from the earth, buildings such as these throughout the whole creation; and

who it was, that vouchsafed to afford to these things, of which every hope had been cut off, a renovation far better than they formerly had! Nor was the great miracle of THE WORD, which renewed these, delayed until after the death of those who contended with God, but (took place) during their stay in the world. Those very persons (I say) who rased (the churches), did by their words and writings preach the new birth, which directly opposed their own (former) darings :

and this they did, not when enjoying rest, so that any one should imagine that it was of the friendship of men; but when driven forth by the stroke of God. 21. He then, even after all these storms of persecution, did, by means of sharp calamities and His divine teaching, so enlighten and set up throughout the whole creation, men zealous of the life of wisdom, multitudes both of men and of ministering women, and of congregations of virgins, that they (all) were (thus) established throughout the whole of their lives in perfect holiness. 22. Who moreover persuaded women, multitudes of children, and of men, voluntarily to suffer the privation of food and of wine for many days ? to sleep on the earth ? to have recourse to a hard and robust discipline, coupled with chastity ? and made them exchange the food of the body, for those spiritual and rational provisions of the soul,--the one for the other,--which are obtained by the divine reading ? 23. And, Who taught men, barbarian and rustic, as well as women, children, and innumerable multitudes of heathen slaves, to despise death ? to be persuaded that their souls were immortal ? that the eye of justice was open, viewing the deeds of all men, just and unjust ? and to hope for the judgment of God ?--That it was, on account of these things, their duty to be careful as to the life of righteousness and temperance ? And, that if they were not so, they could not otherwise be brought under that yoke of righteousness, which hitherto had been brought into operation by Him alone whom we call God ?

24. But, let us dismiss these things, and let us otherwise approach him whose mind is (as) the rock; and let us interrogate him thus, with the questions (growing) out of these things (following):--O bring thou forth the word of reason, not from a heart implicated in error, but advancing (this) as the fruit of the intelligent and rational soul; and, having meditated much, say between thyself and thy soul,-- 25. What other, of those preached of from ancient times, ever did like Him who is called God by us, become known, established, and declared, by the enouncements from above of the

Prophets many ages ago, among those ancient friends of God, the Hebrew family ?--those (I say), who also previously delivered in writing, in the divine scriptures, the place of His manifestation, the time of His advent, the manner of His life, His power, His words, and His deeds?

26. Or, Who so suddenly appeared as an executor of vengeance against those who dared to oppose Him, that, upon the Jews acting (thus) impiously, He forthwith dealt out punishment by means of His unseen power on their whole nation ? and overthrew to the foundations, both their place and rule ?--For He at once levelled to the ground, both their Temple, and their sacred (things) ! 27. And Who, like this our Saviour, has clearly foretold the things that respected the impious (Jews), and respecting the Church which was established by Himself throughout the whole creation, and in the very things themselves? and has shewn their confirmation in their effects?--who said of the impious (Jews), "Behold, your house is left desolate; nor shall stone remain upon stone in this place, which shall not be thrown down." And of His Church He said; " Upon this rock I build my Church, and the gate-bars of Hell shall not prevail against it :"

28. And this also, that He should change men poor and rustic, from the occupation of fishing, to that of rule ? and, that He should make these into Lawgivers, and Teachers, of the whole creation of man ? How is it to be imagined by thee, that He then (so) made the promise by word, and brought it to pass in deed, that He made them "Fishers of men?" He gave them moreover, all this excellency and power, that they should compose and complete Books; and, that they should give such confirmation to these, that they should be received throughout the whole creation, in the languages of both the Greeks and Barbarians ? and, that in all nations they should be taught, and believed, as containing the written words of God? 29. And, How does it appear to thee, that He should foretel what was about to take place ? and should previously testify to His Disciples, that, because they should give their testimony to Him, they should come before Kings and Governours: and that they should be punished, and undergo grievous torments?--

30. And this also, that He should so prepare them, that they should voluntarily suffer ? and, that they should so firmly arm their souls with the armour of righteousness as with adamant, that they should be seen (engaged) in conflict against those who opposed them ;--How does not this surpass all description ? 31. Nor was it only, that He impressed on the souls of those who

(immediately) followed Him such power, that when, having clone nothing worthy of death, they willingly underwent every species of punishment and torment, for the sake of the righteousness of that God who is overall; but also, on those who received (it) from them; and so again, on those who came afterwards; and on those even to this present, and (who live) in our own times;--How does this not transcend every sort of miracle ? 32. Besides, Which of the kings ever remained prosperous in his rule, throughout all this length of time ? And, Who is he, who so conquered after his own death, and established the mark of victory over his enemies, that he subdued every region, place, and city, both of the Greeks and Barbarians? and beat down, by the hidden and invisible power of (his own) right hand, that which opposed him ?

33. But, the chief of all the things that have been mentioned, is that peace which was, by His power, supplied to the whole earth; of which we have already said what was proper. And, What mouth of the calumniator would not (the consideration) close, that love and concord so ran together with His doctrine in (effective) operation, into all nations ? and, that the peace which took place among the nations throughout all the world, and the word, which was sown (as seed) by Him among all nations, had formerly been so foretold by the Prophets of God ? But a (whole) day would be too short, were I to attempt to collect and shew within it, the open proofs of the divine power of the WORD OF GOD, the Saviour of all, which have been put forth up to this time. So that there never was a man at any time, no not among the Greeks, who has shewn forth such transcendent and divine power as He has, who has been preached to every man, and is the Saviour of all, and the only (begotten) WORD OF GOD who is above all. But, Why do I say "of men ? when behold! no such nature as His has appeared upon earth, even of those who have been named Gods by all nations? If (not so), let him who wishes shew (this):

let every existing Philosopher too come forward and tell us, What God or Hero has at any period, or ever, been heard of, who delivered the doctrine of eternal life, and of the kingdom of heaven, --a thing not of recent occurrence,--to mankind, as this our Saviour (has done) ? who has caused innumerable multitudes, throughout the whole creation, to be instructed in His own doctrines of wisdom ? and has persuaded them to follow after the life which is heavenly, and to despise that which is of time (only) ; and to hope

for the heavenly mansions, which are kept for the souls that love God? 34. What God or Hero is it, that has ever so fully arisen (like the sun) and given light from the East even to the West by the bright rays of his doctrine, that, immediately and with the swiftness as it were of the course of the Sun, all the nations of the earth (thence) rendered to the one God, one and the same service? 35. What God or Hero is it, who ever contended with all the gods and heroes both of the Greeks and Barbarians, and laid down a law, that not one of them should be thought a God ? and, having so legislated, persuaded (men of this) ? and who, when they all afterwards waged war against Him, being one and the same, overthrew every power opposed to Him; and shewed that He was superior to all, both gods and heroes, that ever existed, so as to be called throughout the whole creation of man, and by all people, the ONLY (begotten) WORD OF GOD ?

36. What God or Hero was it, who ever delivered to all nations dwelling on the great element of the whole earth,--to those on the land, and on the sea,--that they should make a feast in holiness, both of the body and the soul, on the day of every week which is called among the Greeks the Sun's day? And, that they should assemble themselves together, not that their bodies should hear-- but their souls--that it was by means of the divine teaching, they should live ? 37. What God or Hero was it who, when they so made war with him, set up, as our (Saviour) has done, such a mark of victory in opposition to his enemies ? For they ceased not to contend both with His doctrine, and His people, from first to last: while He, being invisible, secretly overthrew them, and advanced His own, together with the houses of God, to great glory ! But, Why should we wish to circumscribe by words, the divine powers of the Saviour of us all, which exceed all description ? When behold ! should we remain silent, the things themselves would cry out to those, whose souls have ears ?

38. This is strange indeed, and something not to be imagined; at any period too, it must be a singular thing (which) He brought to this world of mankind, and, that the only Son of God should in truth, ever have appeared to those that are on the earth:--and that the whole race of man should through Him, receive one who should in his own (human) nature, so introduce him to the righteousness which is true, that henceforth there should be set up throughout the whole creation of man, places for instruction in the Divine enouncements and teaching ; and that men, barbarous and fierce,

should so change their minds to peacefulness, that the rational disposition of their souls should receive of His virtue; and, by His means, acknowledge their Father who is in heaven, with the Saviour of all, the ONLY (begotten) WORD OF GOD, the King of all; and that to Him, and through Him who is the Cause of every good thing, they should so render the praises that are due, and the blessings and thanksgivings which are right, that henceforth the righteous praises and thanksgivings, which are suitable to the companies of the Angels that are in heaven, should also be put up, day and night, by the inhabitants of this element of earth !

39. These acts, therefore,--pertaining to salvation, and advantageous to the world, and to the Divine Manifestation of THE WORD OF GOD among men, as well as innumerable others like them, on account of which he came into the world of men--He performed not in His usual manner, that is, incorporeally; for, He had acted throughout the whole world secretly, and, by these his works, shewed both to them who are in the heavens, and to them who are on the earth, His innumerable operations. But recently, (he has done this) in a manner foreign to His own custom. For He has, by means of a mortal vessel,--not unlike the king, who (acts) through an Interpreter,--openly declared His edicts and methods of government among men; in order that He might evince His providential care for mortals, by that which was like to themselves, (and) that they might find life. But, as it has been seen that not one, but many were the causes, why the Saviour of all made His Divine manifestation among men; it becomes necessary, that we should also say in a few words, in their order, why He availed himself of this human vessel, and came for the purpose of ruling among men.

How then, could the Divine, concealed, invisible, and untangible, Essence,--that unembodied and incorporeal mind, THE WORD OF GOD,--otherwise exhibit himself to men immersed in the depths of evils, and the corporeal substances (of nature), seeking God upon earth, but otherwise not finding Him;--or, being unwilling to search after the Maker and Creator of the whole creation, --if not by means of (some) human compound, and in some form known to ourselves, and, as it were by an Interpreter ? For otherwise, How could the eyes of the body look upon the incorporeal nature of God ? And, How could mortal nature discover Him who is concealed, (and) invisible, whom they knew not from the multitude of His works ? On, this account therefore, He required a mortal vessel, a help which would comport

with the conversation (had) among men; because, this would be agreeable to them ; for they say, "Every thing loves its like . For, just as some great king might stand much in need of an Interpreter, who could enounce his words to the inhabitants of both countries and cities, whose understanding (of languages) was diverse; so also did THE WORD or GOD,--who was about to be for the healing of souls,--that He should exhibit himself in a body, and upon the earth. He would want a Mediator, not unlike an Interpreter, and a bodily compound. And this would be some human instrument, by means of which He could make known to men, what those concealed (properties) of the Godhead were.

Nor was it (this) alone, but also that He, the compassionate WORD OF GOD, should exhibit Himself to those who delighted in the sense of things seen, and were seeking God by means of inanimate Images, and carved Idols; and imagining, through (mere) material bodies, that there was a God; but, from the infirmity and deficiency of their minds were giving to men, mortal in their nature, the name of Gods. On this account, He prepared for himself a Temple more holy than all ; a bodily vessel, and sensible habitation, for the rational Power ; an Image pure, and in every thing excellent, and more honourable than the whole of inanimated images. For that which was of inanimate matter, and in the form of an Image of brass, iron, gold, ivory, stone, or wood, was fabricated by the hands of artificers of (mere) matter, altogether for the residence of Demons, and to administer to the error of fools. But the Divine Image, variously adorned by the wisdom of the Divine Power, partook of life and of the Essence which is intelligent: the Image, filled with every excellence,--the Divine Image, the habitation of THE WORD OF GOD, and the holy temple of the holy God,--was prepared by the power of the Holy Ghost, in order that He, who resided therein, might become known among mortal men by means of one who was their equal, as it were by an Interpreter;

but who should not fall after the manner of their passions, nor be bound in the body, as the manner is with the soul of man : nor yet, when appearing small (in reputation), should undergo any change on that account as to his Godhead. For, as the rays of the sun's light suffer nothing from their filling every thing, nor when they permeate the unclean bodies of mortals; so, in a far higher degree, the Power which is incorporeal, THE WORD OF GOD, suffers nothing in its own Essence, neither is it mutilated, nor is it ever di-

minished, when, incorporeal as it is, it permeates that which is corporeal. In the same manner therefore, the Saviour of all presented himself to every man (as) the helper and Saviour, by means of the human vessel which He put forth, just as the musician (does), who is willing to shew his skill by means of his lyre. History too among the Greeks teaches (us), that Orpheus moved by his song every sort of animal, and pacified their angry feelings by means of a hollow instrument, the strings of which he struck. This is moreover sung in the assemblies of the Greeks; and it is believed, that an inanimate lyre soothed both the animals and trees, and so changed even the oaks that they became imitators of music. This (personage) therefore, filled with all wisdom and all prudence, THE WORD OF GOD, put forth every sort of healing for the souls of men which had been reduced to all kinds of evil.

He took into His hands the instrument of the musician, the work of His own wisdom : this He struck with His hand, (producing) songs and sweet strains to rational man, not to animals that are irrational; and healed, by the medicines of His heavenly teaching, every kind of the fierce, both of the Greeks and Barbarians, as well as the rude and beastlike passions of the soul; and did, as a skilful physician, shew by the aid of one of their equals, and who was like to themselves,-- to the souls which were implicated in disease, and seeking God among bodies and substances which were elemental,--God in man ! Nor again, was He less careful as to the body, than He was as to the soul. For He provided, that the things which He did by means of the Body, should be apparent to men's bodily eyes; (that is) that they should see astonishing miracles, signs, and (other) divine powers. And again, He preached to the hearing of the body, these doctrines through a bodily tongue. All these things therefore, He delivered by means of the Body which he bore,--as it were by an Interpreter,--to those who otherwise could not,--except only in this way,--be made sensible of His Godhead. Thesethings too, were (thus) administered by the will of His Father: He still remaining with His Father, as He was before, immaterial, incorporeal, (and) unchanged as to His (eternal) Essence. Nor did he suffer corruption from His (former) nature; nor was He confined by the bonds of the body ;

nor was He here, only such as His human vessel was ; nor was He restrained from being in other places of (this) whole: on the contrary, even then, when He conversed among men, did He fill all things: was with His Father and was in Him; and then also, He fully and providentially took care

of all things, whether in heaven, or on the earth. Nor was He ever, as we are, withholden from being near to every thing; nor was He hindered from acting, after His own divine manner. On the contrary, the things that were of Himself He gave to man; but, those which were of man, He took not. Of His divine power too, He provided for mortals; while from His participation with the mortal, He received nothing. Neither was He who was incorporeal, polluted when born in the body. Nor again, did He who was impervious to passion, suffer in His (eternal) Essence, even when mortal nature had been assigned to Him. For, neither does he who strikes the lyre become in any thing subject to suffering, although the instrument should be broken, or the strings be cut: in like manner too, we do not say when punishment is inflicted on the person of a wise man, that the wisdom of the wise man, or the soul which is in his body, is either cut off, or consumed.

So, much less is it right we should affirm, that the Power of the Divine WORD can receive any thing like loss from the sufferings of the body. Nor, does any thing forbid our affirming that,-- since, in our example, the rays of the Sun sent down from heaven to earth, permeated the clay, mire, and every sort of impurity,--the light was therefore in no respect polluted, although these things received light from its splendour. For the light did not (thus) become clay, nor did the Sun become polluted, by its commixture with (such) body; because these things are not foreign in their nature to bodies. But He,--who is immaterial and incorporeal, THE WORD OF GOD, who is both the life, and intelligent light,--impels, by the divine power which is incorporeal, every thing He approaches, both to live and to remain in this rational light. In like manner also, the body to which this is near becomes sanctified; and quickly does He enlighten it: all diseases too, pains and sufferings, pass away (from it) ; and that which was defective is supplied from (His) fulness. On this account He gave up His whole life, at one time exhibiting His image under sufferings like those common to ourselves; at another, revealing himself, God THE WORD, in great and astonishing works and acts, as God. And, when He foretold something by His prophetic words which should come to pass, He likewise exhibited Him who was invisible to the many, THE WORD OF GOD, by works, and by astonishing deeds;

by signs, wonders, and extraordinary powers (put forth) : and again, instructing the souls of men by the divine doctrines, He prepared them to draw near to the heavenly city which is above, and to hasten to those their fellow-

citizens there, as to their own brothers and equals : also, to know their Father who is in heaven, and the excellency of their kind, which is of the Essence that is intellectual and rational: teaching them also, that they should no more err, but henceforth so live in all purity and holiness,--so (I say), that they might make their departure hence to that place easy, and without hindrance; and, that they should be prepared to receive forthwith, with the companies of the holy Angels, everlasting life with God the King of all, and the light which cannot be described, and the kingdom of heaven. 40. Thus therefore, the ONLY (begotten) WORD or GOD, who availed Himself of a human instrument, and set up His own Interpreter, administered every thing for the healing of men by the will of His Father; still remaining immaterial and incorporeal, just as He formerly was, with His Father. By means of a man also. He shewed forth God to man, through mighty acts and wonderful works. In the divine Power and in true Wisdom, He scattered His doctrine (as seed); and taught these things, with others allied to them. Nor became He inferior, from what He did: nor, (as so) doing, became He the less dignified from what He taught and delivered.--The doctrines of life and words of light, He laid not down in any book of paper, nor in the perishing skins of animals; but He inscribed on the very souls of His disciples, as upon intellectual tablets, the doctrines respecting the kingdom of God. In the whole of His instructions on heavenly things, hidden enouncements, and which had never before been heard, were delivered. It was also by means of these things, that He taught that the souls which were on the earth, were beloved of God; delivered the memorial of the life that is with God the Father, in heaven; and also, stirred (men) up to cry in prayer and to say, "Our Father who art in heaven," and, that they should be cognizant of their family which is above.

If then, thou art desirous of being a partaker in the contemplation of these things, there is no feeling of jealousy hindering thy approach to the hearing of the Scriptures of His Disciples, and to the knowing of His record in all its parts, both as to His deeds and words ; so that thou mayest in truth, view God, and THE WORD OF GOD ; and see, how He existed by means of an Interpreter with men, in the example of (His) sufferings ; how He, who was immortal, conversed with mortals; how the Image (of God), which is incorporeal, became vested with the nature which is human: and, how the Image of God, which was in Him, moved (Him): how He sent forth enouncements, and made public the Divine teaching; and (how) the Saviour of all,

healed every sort of disease and infirmity: and, how ready He was, in whom there was no sin, to good works; and, how those things which eyes had not seen, and which had not entered into the hearing of men, He delivered in mighty deeds; and thus made His Disciples to approach the very summit of excellency with God; made them wise through the power which cannot be described, and constituted them true preachers of His Godhead. Thus again He healed those, whose souls were corrupted by every sort of sin; at one time, inflicting the sufferings (which were) helpful and right;

at another, delivering a view of the mystery and doctrine of His Godhead to those who were able to receive it. And, What need is there we should say, how easily and well, and with (what) just rebuke, He received those who were enemies to the truth : at once healing and instructing even these, by the open enunciation of His words ? and, how meekly he presented His person to all as a helper, and as long suffering and passive ? as a Physician also, not of souls only, but also of bodies ? On this account, the name of JESUS was previously imposed on our Saviour;--which is a Hebrew word, designating JESUS as the Physician of all. Now, the (propriety of the) imposition of the name designating healing on Jesus, He evinced by the works (which He did); for He instructed the souls of men by the Heavenly doctrine, while he healed the Body of all sufferings, pains, and infirmities, by the power of the healing WORD. At one time, He cleansed the leprous in body: at another, He cast out by (His) command the Demons that (possessed) men: and, again at another, He freely healed those who had been reduced by disease ! At one time also, to him-- whose body was debilitated, and all his limbs powerless,-- He said by word only, "Arise, take up thy bed, and walk; and this (man) did what He commanded ! And again at another time, He gave the perception of light to the Blind!

And thus again, at another, a woman,--who had been afflicted with an issue of blood, and had during the revolution of many years been reduced by her complaint, seeing that great companies were round about Him, and not allowing her to kneel and pray that she might be healed of her complaint,--thought, that if she could but touch the border of His garment, (she should be healed) ; she accordingly pressed in, and touched the border of his garment; and at once, she was both healed of the evil, and immediately became healthy; bearing (away with her) a mighty proof of the power of THE WORD OF GOD ! Another man also, the servant of a king,--because his

child was grievously afflicted,--fell down before Him, and He forthwith took and healed him ! There was another again, the chief of a synagogue of the Jews, whose daughter (He restored) ; but this was after she was dead ! And, What need can there be, that we should tell how another arose by the power of the Saviour of all, who had been dead four days, hearing only the voice of the all life-giving WORD which called him ? Or, how He made His paths upon the sea as upon dry land, causing His Vessel to traverse the back of the waters? Or, how when His Disciples were sailing and the storm was against them, He rebuked the sea, the storm, and the winds;--gave the commandment by word;

and they were instantly silent, so that they were wrought upon, as by the voice of their Lord ? (How) He so filled and satisfied five thousand men,--when there was with them a company of many women and children,--with five loaves, that they took up an entire remainder which would suffice to fill twelve baskets ! To Whom is not this astonishing ? and Does it (not) likewise challenge the inquiry which relates to his unseen power ? 41. Let any one therefore who will, take up the true faith, together with the open proof of the revelation of our Saviour's Divinity, from many other great miracles; and particularly from this,--if he will also consider,--that He foreknew by the divine power what should come to pass, and openly foretold the great change to His better (doctrine) which should take place among men throughout the world; and also predicted, that He himself would be the doer of this: and from these very deeds, let such place faith in (this) His promise. Many other great and evident proofs of His Godhead moreover, (afforded) in many things similar to these, will any one, carefully enquiring, find from His predictions with their fulfilment: which we ourselves shall also examine in this work at the proper time. But, that which we now have before our eyes,--that our discourse may not lengthen itself greatly out, so as to detain thee upon all His mighty works--is the death, which (His) Interpreter,--the clothing of THE WORD OF GOD, and the Image that was openly revealed,--underwent, and which (event) every one acknowledges.

42. This His death therefore, which has been made public, was (so) accompanied by the miracle, that it was unlike that of the rest of mankind. For it was not, that He perished by disease, by strangulation, or by fire; or was, even on the cross itself, cut off by the sword, as a mark of victory, in the manner of others who are evil-doers; nor yet, did he suffer less than any one

of those whom they usually put to death; for He suffered a death of violence: but He himself alone, by his own will, delivered up His Vessel to those (his) accusers; and forthwith He raised Himself from the earth ;-- 43. For said (the Evangelist,) "He cried out greatly, and gave up His Spirit to His Father: and (so) effected a release from His soul, and made His departure from the body. On this account, He had previously delivered this same His death to his disciples, when teaching (them) and saying; "No man taketh my life from me;" and, "I have power to lay it down:" and again, "I have power to take it up: and again, "I am the good shepherd, and I know my own, and my own know me; and I lay down my life for my sheep." The cause of His death too, He establishes in a few words, when saying, that, "Unless the grain of wheat fall into the earth and die, it remaineth alone ; but, if it die, it bringeth forth much fruit."

44. Having then, delivered representations of this sort respecting His own death, He effected the release from his soul, and made (His) departure from the body. After this, His body was taken up by his acquaintances, and was consigned to (its) due interment. Again on the third day, He resumed that (being) from which He had before, by the exertion of His own will, departed. And again, He shewed to his Disciples the selfsame person, both in body and substance, just as it formerly was:-- to them (I say) with whom He conversed a little, and with whom He remained a short time. He was then taken up whither He was before : and, before their eyes, did He make his departure and ascension to heaven, in order that they, to whom He had delivered (His) pledge as to deeds, might be made the Teachers of the fear of God who is above, to all nations.

45. Now, What can be wanting after these things, except that we should state the cause of THIS, which was the chief of all ? I (now) speak of the close of His life, which has been spoken of by all; of the manner of His passion, and of the great miracle of His resurrection after death. After viewing these things then, let us now come again to our proofs; and let us confirm these same by open testimonies. He availed Himself therefore, of a mortal Vessel,-- for the reasons already given,--as of an Image becoming the Deity; and this He both put forth into life, and by means of this, as some great king by means of an interpreter, He performed every thing that was worthy of the Divine Power. 46. For, if He had done otherwise,--after His dealings among men,--so as not to have been seen, and had suddenly taken flight, and

secretly stolen away His Interpreter; or had, in escaping, been careful to convey away His Image from death; or again, had led on that mortal (being) by means of His person, to corruption and perishing ; He would have seemed to the many (but) as a spectre.

47. Nor could He have done any thing, which it was right He should do, as being the LIFE, the WORD and the POWER of God; having given up His Interpreter to corruption and ruin. 48. Nor, could those things which He did against the Demons, (or) in His contention with death, have been worthy of completion. 49. Nor could it have been known, where He remained. 50. Nor could it have been believed by those, to whom He had not delivered (it) ;--nor had it been seen,--that His nature was superior to death. 51. Nor, could He have delivered mortality from its own (mortal) nature. 52. Nor, could He have persuaded His disciples to despise death. 53. Nor, could He have established a hope of the life that is with God after death, with those who drew near for (the reception of) His doctrine. 54. Nor, could He have fulfilled the promises of His own words; nor have given to the prophecies, which went before respecting Him, a due fulfilment.

55. Nor, could He have overcome in the last conflict of all, which was opposed to the death that exists in all these things. For it was above all things right, that this mortal vessel should, after it had completed the service which it rendered to THE WORD OF GOD, obtain to itself an end worthy of God, (and that this) be through this same ordinance of death. For, there were two things resting upon (this) consummation ; (viz. either, that He should deliver up (His vessel) to entire corruption and destruction, and (so) make His whole conflict, and egress from this world, matter of shame; or, that He should afford proof, that this same was superior to death; and (so), by the divine power, make immortal that which was mortal. The first however, was incompatible with the promise. For, it is not the property of fire, to be cold; nor, of light, that it be dark : neither is it of life, that it should die; nor, of THE WORD OF GoD, that He should act with impropriety. For, What cause could He have, who promised life to others, for being unmindful of His own vessel when subject to corruption:--for delivering up His Image to destruction, and for surrendering the Interpreter of His own Godhead, to the corruption of death ?--for Him to do so, who had previously promised to those, who should take refuge in Him, the life which is impervious death ?

This (one) then, of two things was necessary :--this, I say, that He should shew him (His Interpreter) to be superior to death. And, How was it, that it was necessary He should do this ? Secretly, and by stealth ? or, openly before all men, and manifestly? But, if this fact had taken place covertly and secretly; it would then have remained unknown, and unprofitable to man. But, as it was preached (to all), and heard of by all; it afforded to all, the advantage which (grew) out of the miracle. Well therefore,--because it was necessary He should shew His vessel to be superior to death,-- did He also do this, not secretly, but before the eyes of (all) men. He escaped not from death; for this would have been pusillanimous, and it would have been thought that He was inferior to death. But, by this contention with Death as with a contemporary, He established the immortality of that which was mortal; and, this last conflict which was for the salvation of all, secured (for all) the life which is immortal. For this was done, in the first place, against the Demons, for the destruction of the error of a multitude of Gods, when He began to be known among men.

It also appeared particularly necessary to Him, that, as He was to make His circuits among the flocks of men, He should immediately, (and) in the presence of all, drive out the enemies and haters of mankind,--as being the princes of wickedness, and like to cruel and fierce beasts, those (I say),--who had, from former times and falsely, been esteemed Gods. He therefore, THE WORD OF GOD, immediately led out His Vessel into the land of these enemies and haters,--that (land I say), which the words of mystery style "The Desert" as (being) destitute of every good thing; and there "forty days, and as many nights," He wrought and performed those things of which no mortal knew, and which the eyes of man did not see. The testimonies however of prophecy teach, that to these things the declarations of the prophetic Scriptures agree, where it is written, that "Jesus was led of the Holy Ghost into the desert, that he might be tempted of Satan. And He was there forty days and forty nights, and was with the wild beasts. And, What are these but the princes of the Demons, whom the Holy Ghost has said are,--and has named by way of figure,--"Serpents" "Adders" "Lions" and "Dragons" on account, of the similitude to the viciousness of each of these: (saying) "Thou shalt tread on the serpent and adder, and shalt trample on the lion and the dragon?"

The other things also which were done in the desert, this declaration intimates, saying thus in the person of the Vessel which He bore, " His truth shall gird thee (as) a weapon: neither shalt thou be afraid of the fear of the night, nor of the arrow that flieth by day; nor of the thing that walketh in darkness: nor of the wind that bloweth at noon. Thousands shall fall at thy side, and tens of thousands at thy right hand: but they shall not touch thee." 56. These things have been said in parables and mystically, on the conflict which (took place) in the desert between the Vessel of salvation, and the invisible spirits. During all these nights therefore, and days in like number, He contended with the whole race (of Demons) that was beneath the air. Nor was it tardily that THE WORD OF GOD drove these out, nor, that He pursued the whole congregation of the enemy; nor, that (He did this) as God in his abstract and unembodied power, but, by means of the body which He took. Because the whole race of man had, from ancient times, been subjected to these as to Gods: on this account therefore, principally, He subjected all the families of the Demons to this (His Vessel). For it was right, that He should make him who had been conquered, and iniquitously subdued to his enemies, not only (man's) Deliverer, but also the Conqueror of his enemies; and that He (THE WORD) should shew, that His Friend, whom He had made in His own Image and similitude, was, on account of his participation in THE WORD, superior to the Demons who were formerly thought to be Gods; just as it is written in the words of mystery (the Scriptures).

57. Because then, the Saviour of us all had completed the conflict which was opposed to these (spirits), He went up thence, clothed (as it were) with victory, entered upon the life common to men, and delivered their souls: having relieved them from the bonds of the Demons: and, having revealed to His Disciples those other secret things,--as well as these which he performed in opposition to the enemies that are unseen,--He thus spoke, and He established (it), "Be of good courage, I have overcome the world. The manner too of His victory, He taught by those things which He said to His Disciples in parables (viz.): "No man can enter the house of a strong man and spoil his goods, unless he first bind the strong man; and then he shall spoil his house. He therefore bound the strong man, and drove out the whole race of Demons. And forthwith, He (so) wrought on the souls of those who were His, that He freed them from the bitter state, slavery, and error, of a multiplicity of Gods. This His first conflict however against the Demons, was

completed at the outset of His manifestation among men. But the last (His crucifixion), was the commencement of His sovereignty over Death. For it was right that He,--who was superior to (that which was) no God, and to the error of Demons, and, had been attached to GOD THE WORD,--should receive the honour compatible with this His deed (viz. the victory over Death.

For the Demons, which had assembled together against Him, with their Head, and with the spirits residing above the earth in the air, (and) invisible to mortal eyes, turned their backs (in flight) in His first conflict (with them) ; directing their view to the second, and waiting for His last egress, and departure by death, from the world, which they expected would be like that of other men. For, they had no notion that the mortal nature could ever exist, which should be superior to death ; or, that Death was (not) the common king of all those, who had once experienced the birth of mortals. They thought too, that this was, of all evils, that which no man could either avoid, or evade. But, immediately after the signal mark of His first victory over the Demons, He engaged also in conflict with Death. And, just as one wishing to shew that some vessel was incombustible and its nature superior to fire, could in no other way establish this astonishing fact, except by placing the one which he held in his hand in the fire, and then taking it out of the fire, safe and sound; so also THE WORD OF GOD, the life-giver of all, willing to make it known that the mortal Vessel, of which He had availed Himself for the redemption of man, was superior to death, and, to shew that He made it to participate in His own life, conducted the matter both well and virtuously as it was most convenient.

He left the body for a short time, and consigned mortality to death, for the rebuking of its (sinful) nature ; and again, He soon raised up the same from death, for the purpose of proving that the Divine power, which was by Him,-- that eternal life, (I say) which was preached by Him,-- was superior to every kind of death. 58. This therefore was the first cause. The second was, to shew that the Divine power resided in the human body. Because men had formerly made gods for themselves of those who were men mortal in reality, had been overcome by death, (and) in whom the last common extremity had been witnessed ; and had named those heroes and gods, who had been taken away by death; on this account therefore, He happily shewed Himself; and for this cause, the same compassionate WORD OF GOD exhibited to men, the nature which was superior to death, and brought in mortality--after its

dissolution--to a second life. He also afforded to all, the means of viewing the signal victory of life immortal over mortality; and taught (them) by (His) death to confess Him alone to be the God of truth, who had (so) bound the crown of victory over death, about His own head.

59. The third cause of (His) death was, the redemption that is (taught) in hidden (mystical) terms, which are these in effect: He was the sacrifice which was consigned to death, for the souls of the whole race (of man) : the sacrifice (I say) which was slain for the whole flock of mankind: the sacrifice turning (men) back from the error of Demons. The sacrifice therefore,--the great offering, and that which was superior to all (other) sacrifices,--was the Body of our Saviour which was sacrificed as a Lamb, for the whole race of mankind: and it came up for the souls of all the nations that had been held in the impiety of their forefathers, the error of the Demons. And thence, the whole impure and unholy power of Demons was destroyed ; this whole vain and earthly system of error, was instantly dissolved and ruined by a superior power! He therefore who was, from among men, the sacrifice of Redemption,--the bodily Vessel of THE WORD OF GOD,-- was sacrificed for the flock of all mankind. And this is He, who was, by the accusation of men, delivered up as a sacrifice to death; of whom the Divine words exclaim, speaking at one time thus: "Behold! The Lamb of God: behold! He (it is) who taketh away the sins of the world. And at another, thus previously enouncing: "As a Lamb He was led to the slaughter; and, as a sheep before the shearer, He was silent. And the same (Divine word) teaches the cause, saying:

" Truly He underwent our sufferings, and bore our pains; but we considered Him bruised and stricken of God, and humiliated. He was slain because of our sins, and was humbled because of our iniquity. The chastisement of our peace was upon Him, and by His stripes are we healed. All we have strayed like sheep, and (each) man has turned to his part; and the Lord has made to meet in him the sins of us all. This bodily vessel therefore of THE WORD OF GOD, was, for these reasons, sacrificed. But He, the great High Priest who officiates as Priest to God, the King of all, and Lord of all, is another distinct from the sacrifice, (viz. THE WORD OF GOD, THE POWER OF GOD, and THE WISDOM OF GOD : He too, after no long time, raised mortality from death, making him (so raised) by participation, the beginning of the redemption of us all, and of that immortal life which is with God. Him too, (thus) vested with the mark of victory over death, and the

deeds of the Demons; of those human sacrifices which had been delivered down from ancient times, did He constitute the Destroyer, for the sake of all mankind. Hence also was the name of Messiah (Christ) given to Him; which, among the Hebrews, attaches in like manner to the chief priest. He therefore received the two names: the name of Jesus, implying the sacrifice of salvation;

and that of High Priest, the WORD OF GOD, who officiates as Priest for us all:--the custom of the Hebrews intimating (this) of the Messiah (Christ.) 60. After the things which have been said, the latter was the great cause of (His) death, viz. the Redemption spoken of: because, it was necessary to the disciples that they should see, with their own eyes, the life which was after death, He (thus) openly taught them to place their hope in this second birth. And, because He also encouraged them to be strong in the yoke of righteousness, He well delivered this, in order that they might, with their own eyes, see it. For it was necessary for these, who were about to be brought to the life of righteousness, that, first of all, they should receive this most necessary doctrine by means of open view; and much more, for those who were soon to preach it throughout the whole creation, and to cause the knowledge of God, (so) given by them, to arise (as the sun) in all nations, (and) among all men. It was necessary, that these men should receive the strongest persuasion of the life which is after death, so that they might accept fearlessly, and unmoved in their minds by death, the conflict against the error of many gods. For, if they had not been taught to despise death, neither would they have ever been prepared to approach afflictions. On this account, He the more particularly armed them against the power of death. Nor was it by precepts and words (only), that He delivered to them this doctrine: nor, in persuasive terms or similitudes, that He composed (his discourses) as men do, on the immortality of the soul; but He shewed them in the deed itself, the signal mark of the victory (obtained) over death.

61. For death had been, from ancient times, fearful to all men as the destroyer of our mortal race; its power being considered the undoing of the whole nature of man, both soul and body. Nor was there ever a man, who could relieve human nature from this fearful being. All were pierced, (as it were,) small and great, Princes and Subjects, Kings at once and People, as well as the Inhabitants and Societies of all nations and families, by the fear of death. Nor had mankind any solace for this evil, either in word, or form,

or manner of life, opinion of the wise, writing of the Ancients, prophecy of the Prophets, or revelation of Angels. He was superior to all, supreme over all, and victorious over all! Death, like an inflated boaster,--who had subjected to himself the whole mortal race,--was conversant with every species of iniquity, both the impurities of blood-shedding, and the deeds which were unrighteous; with the error also of every sort of vile (and) ungodly impiety. For, of all these things he was the Cause; and, as if there were again no existence after death, the many did in their conduct the things which deserved death, and as if unsubdued by (the fear of) any impending punishment. On account of this dissoluteness (resulting) from death, they lived a life which (in reality) was no life: they entertained not God in their thoughts, nor the righteous judgment of God : nor did they cherish the remembrance of the rational Essence of their own souls.

They were conversant (only) with the one hard Ruler, Death; and were reconciled to the corruption resulting from this, which was the undoing of their whole soul. On this account it was, that they gave the name of Pluto,--the god of riches,--to Death : and Death became their god ! And not he alone, but also those precious things which were in his presence, and contributed to a life of lust, became their Gods ! The very lust of the body therefore, became to them a God ! the common aliments, a God ! the seed which fell into the earth, a God ! the pleasant blossoms of this, a God ! the flowers of the apples, a God ! the pleasure that was in drunkenness, a God ! the love of the body, a God ! and the very lust of these things ! Hence, the mysteries of Demeter and of Proserpine: as also the rape of the Maid to Hell; and again, her return. Hence the feasts of Dionysus (Bacchus)--and of Hercules--who was overcome as by some great god by drunkenness ! Hence the mysteries of the adultery of Mars and Venus ! Hence the madness of Jupiter after women, and his love of Ganymede! the rambling stories about Gods lovers of lust, and attached to the vilest affections! And of all these, was Death the (originating) Cause: for they believed Death to be the end and conclusion of all, the dissolution and corruption both of bodies and souls;

and that there was no other life, except this of the body, and which is corporeal:--living a life worse than that of the whole irrational nature of beasts! On these accounts, it became the desire of the universal King, THE WORD OF GOD, at the intimation of His merciful Father, and for the purpose of affording help to these, to hasten,--as a king great in mercy,--and to under-

take the reprehension of Death, by means of human nature; being as He was, THE LIFE, THE WORD, and THE POWER. OF GOD. Nor was it but that help should be obtained, that He caused that fearful being among men to be reprov'd: on this account, He, who was incorporeal,--availing Himself of human armoury, and of a mortal body,--by means of mortality overcame mortality. Hence His primary mystery, that of His Body, was instituted; and hence, the signal mark of the victory of the Cross; hence too, the commemoration of the life which is eternal and immortall, He named His remembrance. Of the armoury which is mortal, He availed Himself, and exhibited that greatest of miracles to all men, the mark of victory of eternal life, which He established in opposition to Death. For, He gave up mortality to be food for the beasts; and He himself was forthwith affixed to the cross of crucifixion, in order that to all might become known the nature of mortality. Nor was that which was done concealed by any means; neither from men, nor from Demons, nor from the Powers which are superior.

For it was necessary, that all should take an accurate view of mortality, as in a great theatre, when He (thus) testified of the nature of His (human) person ; and afterwards (see) Death coming in like a fierce beast: and (also see), why it was that it slew Him : and (that) then, the Power of life came in after Death, and again established for all the victory which is over Death, when he had thus made that which was mortal, immortal. The Power therefore, which had taken hold of him, (viz. THE WORD OF GOD, left the Body for a short time; and it was suspended for a short space on the Cross, and became a corpse. But the WORD, which gives life to all, became not a corpse. He therefore (thus) attested the mortal nature of his Person. This corpse too, of which Death had (so) taken possession, was now borne by men ; and--being worthy of the usual care--was afterwards consigned, according to the laws of men, to burial. The grave itself was a cave which had recently been hewn out; a cave that had now been cut out in a rock, and which had experienced (the reception of) no other body. For it was necessary that it, which was itself a wonder, should have the care of that Corpse only. For it is astonishing to see even this rock, standing out erect and alone in a level land, and having only one cavern within it;

lest, had there been many, the miracle of Him who overcame Death should have been obscured. The Corpse was therefore laid there, the Vessel of the living WORD ; and a great stone held (the entrance of) the cave. And

much did Death exult in this, as if, behold ! he had (now) taken even this (Personage) under his power, together with those whom he had ever (so taken). But, when the period of three days had not yet passed, the same life shewed itself, after the rebuke which was sufficient against Death. For, if He had risen earlier (and) immediately, He would not then have been believed to have been dead. But, since He was (thus) in reality raised, He had also in reality died; and had, for a time, been in reality subject to Death ; then also did the all-life-giving WORD OF GOD evince the hope that is laid up for all men, by means of the second birth of this selfsame mortal (body) !

62. What things then came to pass after these, as to their being (actually) performed, it is not my intention henceforward to be thy teacher. Those who saw them will be the witnesses best fitted for the truth (in this respect); those (I say) who, from having seen the acts themselves, did, both by their blood and persons, attest their faith in Him; and who, by the power of Him, to whom they gave their testimony, filled the whole creation with the righteousness which was preached by them. Those therefore, who were spectators of the things then done, and who saw with their own eyes the Second Birth which became theirs , have delivered (this) by their own testimonies. It was not indeed, that the things done had been heard of by them, as far as word or enunciation (went); but, they had been seen, and accurately felt by those who testified respecting them: and on this account, these same, who had by open vision and in reality apprehended (these things), and had received the signal mark of victory over Death, learned well to be daring against Death; and taught this same thing to their Disciples, (viz.) that they had received from their Saviour, the truth pertaining to life immortal. And thus also, was the whole mortal race thence refreshed (as freed) from the fear of Death: because he, who had formerly been terrific, had suffered rebuke in the presence of all; and the life which was after death, bad (now) received certain credibility ; not from the artificial enouncements of Sophists, nor from the discovery of persuasive words; but, by the deeds which came forth to light. Nor again, did (men) as formerly tremble at death, but they laughed much and greatly in the hour of this fearful being; so much so that they even followed after death, on account of (their) desire of that immortal life, which should succeed it.

63. Hence indeed, originated the care of mankind for the life which is holy and pure, and the diligence to attain to every (sort of) excellency : the

(constant) recollection of God, and of the many enouncements respecting the righteousness of truth, and of the turning away from vice and ungodliness. Nor was it this only, but also the true notion of the life which is after death, was stirred up among all men, and (so was) the right and true state of mind, respecting the righteous judgment of God, the King of all. On this account did the whole race of man,--which had (now) been changed to a state of virtue by means of enouncements not to be described,--henceforward spit in the faces of the Idols, trample under foot the unjust laws of the Demons, and laugh at the ancient traditionary system of error of their forefathers. 64. Henceforward therefore, men became so instructed in the heavenly doctrine, and the enouncements respecting the knowledge of God, that they no more reverentially viewed this visible creation with the bodily eyes; nor, when looking upwards and seeing the Sun, Moon, and Stars, did they address their veneration to them: but they acknowledged Him who is beyond these;--Him who is secret and invisible,--Him who is the Creator of all, and the Maker of every thing: even as they had been taught to fear Him alone.

65. Nor did he, who had been instructed in the new doctrine, again imagine as formerly, that this nature of the body, which is fleeting and corruptible, inanimate (in itself,) and irrational;--nor, that the primitive elements, Earth, Water, Air, and Fire,--were Gods; since he had also been taught, that the superiority of his own soul greatly excelled these. 66. Nor is he as formerly, a slave to his own lusts; nor is he overcome by the baser desires: for he was then vanquished, and could not overcome: (nor) can he, who has been commanded to be careful to root up the sin (of idolatry) from his mind and soul, together with every evil desire and folly, again fabricate Gods to himself, or, even dare to look upon a woman lustfully. 67. Nor will he again as formerly, venerate the Interpreter of his own soul, or dare to call it a God: nor will he name his own mind Minerva; nor indeed, any of those other things, which are in like manner but for an hour; but Him alone who is beyond all, the WORD OF GOD, the Artificer of all, the WISDOM OF THE GOD OF ALL, will he recognize and bless, as his Saviour.

68. Nor again as in former times, does he,--who has subscribed to the one who alone is superior to Death; to the Conqueror, who has possessed himself of the signal mark of Victory over the power of Death ; to his Saviour ; --give the names and appellations of Heroes and Gods, to mortals who left this world in shame, and surrendered their lives to the dominion of Death. 69.

Nor again as in former times, will he revere inanimate Idols. Nor will he honour the nature which is irrational, and of Beasts, through that fear of Demons which is out of nature. But, he will laugh at the error of his forefathers, and will turn his face from their manner (of life), which was destitute both of the knowledge of God, and of the contemplation (of this). 70. Nor will he again as in former times, express terror at the images of evil Demons, nor at the vain and erroneous phantasms of earthly spirits:--he (I say) who is constrained by the prevailing power of THE ONE WORD the King of all, has been taught to undo through Him, the whole race of the accusers of men, and (so) to abolish and expel, both from souls and bodies, these (causes of) injuries.

71. Nor will he as formerly, again pollute himself with libations, fumes, blood, and sacrifices; nor yet with the sacrifices of irrational animals: much less will he delight himself with the slaughter of men, and with human sacrifices. He has been taught, that God stands in need of nothing.--Nor will he delight in bodily matter, nor in the fumes of earthly sacrifices; but only in the enlightened mind, in purity of soul, and in holiness of life; in the sacrifices also which are without smoke and blood: those which are in the words of the mysteries: those (I say) which the Saviour of all has appointed to be delivered throughout the whole creation of man, for a remembrance of Himself. 72. Nor again will he, who has been taught by the words of his Saviour, to "mortify his members that are on the earth" dare, as formerly, to give the title of gods to the aliments of the body, and to drunkenness; nor yet to the lusts and passions.

73. Nor again will he,--who has subscribed to the only One who is above all, the life-giving WORD OF God, who is his Saviour, and the Conqueror of Death,--be afraid of the solution of his soul, from the body which (now) accompanies it. Nor will he call Death, God. 74. With all these instructions of righteousness therefore, will he be armed who has been taught in the new doctrine. Nor will he, in opposition to the truth, give in to those who dare to contend with God; but will stand up, in the mind (so) confirmed, against fire and sword; will bear up in the presence of fierce beasts, of the depths of the sea, and of every other terror of death. Those too, who in their natures are (mere) children and women, will sport with that death which was formerly (so) grievous, and the hearing about which was (so) dreadful. Barbarians at once and Greeks, who have received the powerful persuasion respecting the

life which is immortal, by means of the resurrection of our Saviour, do follow after the life of that better wisdom, the fear of God, the signal mark of their victory over death, and of the eternal life which follows, having subscribed to their Saviour.

75. Hence it is, that this rational race of man,-- since it has been its lot to reside on the earth,--this same (I say) acts henceforth according to its nature; being taught to live in the remembrance of God, in the fulness of every good, and in accordance with the prediction of the prophets, who, many years ago (inspired) from above, thus previously preached : "All the ends of the earth shall remember themselves, and be turned to the Lord their God; and before Him shall worship all the families of the nations: because the kingdom is the Lord's, and He is Governour over the Gentiles." 76. Hence, places of instruction have been established throughout the whole creation of man ; so that the words of God, the doctrine of purity of life and of the fear of God, are preached in the hearing of all nations. 77. Hence, in every city and place, congregations (assembled) from among all, ascribe, in songs of victory, honour to the all-life-giving WORD of God.

78. Hence, the hymns which are suitable to the assemblies of Angels in heaven, even the race of mankind tenders to God the King of all. And henceforth,--together with those spirits, the intelligent and unembodied powers that are with God who is above all; those also, whose lot it is to reside below on this element of earth, as also the rational souls of the just,--do, by means of the body, as by an instrument of music, send forth the hymns which are becoming, and the blessings which are due, to their one Saviour, the cause of every good. And that, which never (before) existed, the fruit which is due to God the universal King, is now daily rendered (to Him) throughout the whole creation of man, by every race as by one general agreement, and at the same befitting hours and seasons. 79. Those genealogies of the Demons, and stories about the Gods, which are now superannuated, perished when (so) consigned to oblivion. But, the word of Christ is renewed, and in (vigorous) youth with all. Now are the Divine Laws and Lessons preached throughout the whole earth, and they succeed in purifying all men. The instruction too, of the fear of God in truth, has filled all places, both of the Barbarians and the Greeks. Now do those of foreign, as well as those of many, languages, send forth in one manner of life, and with one consent, the ascriptions of blessing which are becoming, to the Creator of

all:--one enouncement, the same Law, and one mystery, suitable to God: and to this same conduct do they adhere. Now has there been established, throughout the whole creation, one combination of souls, and one accordance of doctrine. And hence, at one moment of time do those whose lot it is to reside together in the east, along with those at the setting of the Sun, glorify, by means of the same doctrines, the One God who is beyond all, the Lord of the whole world. Nor do they subscribe to any other, except only to the Christ of God, who is the cause of their happiness. Those also, who have possession of the northern parts, together with those who are in the south, at once call Him THE SAVIOUR.

And, so do they honour God in the same (forms of) words, that no difference will again soon be made--although it might be imagined as to speech,--between the Barbarian and the Greek; nor, that the Greek be a person to be distinguished from the Barbarian; for with God "there is neither Barbarian nor Greek. For every one fearing God, is (here) a wise man. And now Egyptians, Syrians, Scythians, Italians, Moors, Persians, and Hindoos, all and at once, have be-become wise by the doctrines of Christ. In these things too are they all, at once made wise, and (so) instructed, as to be intrepid against Death; to despise the things of this life, and to put forth the one good hope, which is in the promise of the word of our Saviour. But they also learn, that they shall receive that life of the soul which is immortal, and which has henceforth been promised to them as a deposit, in the habitation of the circle of the heavens, and in the kingdom of God. This promise, their Saviour confirmed by deeds in His conflict with Death ; by which He proved to his Disciples, that Death which had (hitherto) been so fearful to all men, was nothing. The life moreover, which had been promised by Him, He established by open view to their very eyes; so that they should even see it;

and made this His Image (body), by its resurrection, the commencement of our hope,--of the imperishable life of our bodies, of the soul as being immortal, and of our greatness as like to that of the Angels. 80. The deeds therefore, pertaining to Redemption and affording aid to the world, as to the Revelation of THE WORD OF GOD among men, are these. If however, any one require a greater abundance, so as to be supplied with many other proofs of the Divine power (in this respect), personal leisure will be requisite, for the examination of the things which have been written respecting Him. Of these I will select a few from the writings of His Disciples,--which he pre-

viously preached as predicting the things which should be done by Him,--in proof of his Godhead: and will so lay before those, who do not acknowledge the conclusiveness of my former statements, this as the last (and greatest). The End of the Third Book (of Eusebius) of Caesarea. [Selected footnotes. Notes concerned only with points of the Syriac and large chunks of Greek have been omitted]

BOOK 4

BOOK IV. THE FOURTH BOOK OF (EUSEBIUS) OF CAESAREA. 1. IT is desirable then, that we should hear from the common Saviour of all himself, who, speaking with men after the manner of a good Parent, became as a child, and gave (his) answers, as the nature of mortals was able to hear, by means of the vessel which he assumed, as through an Interpreter. For, when he made his Divine manifestation among men, he gave many other proofs of the power of his Godhead, by means of deeds which any one who chooses may collect, from the Books (that have been written) about Him. Nor will that again, be a trifling conviction as to His truth, which takes its stand on the words which he uttered, and which it is necessary we should bring forward against those, who do not readily give credence to his astonishing Divine performances. Even in those other things which have been preached respecting Him,--which (consist) in the power of His words,--there is no small proof afforded to those who possess mind. For, as on many occasions, we know those whom we have never seen with our eyes, and whose words only we have heard ; and distinguish the speaker by what we hear, whether he be Greek, --as the case may be,--or Roman, or even Egyptian; or, whether in age old, or young; or, whether the strain be that of man, or woman ; or, the enunciation that of the wise and rational, or, on the contrary, of the foolish or ignorant;

so also, although we might not have happened to see with our eyes those Divine acts which THE WORD OF GOD performed, when He made His conversation on earth; still, from the teaching of His words, the enunciation of which was foreign, and surpassing general apprehension;--also, from the foreknowledge of things to come to pass which he predicted ;--and, from the things which he promised he would do in after times ;--as well as from the issue of the things (so) predicted, the fulfilment of which is now before our eyes, (and) brought about by his power;--there must result no mean proof, as to those (declarations) which bear testimony to His Godhead. For,

the miracles which were performed by Him may be divided into (two) periods; that, in which the conversations He made on earth are commemorated, and that which succeeded, and extends to our times. Those great acts then, which he formerly did when he was with the men who happened to exist at that time, it was in their power openly to view ; but to us, these were unseen ; and they are laid down, (as) having been unseen. And thus again also, the things which have been fulfilled in our times,--in the order in which His words foretold them, and are even to this present witnessed by us in the very facts,--could not, to those of the times in which they were foretold, have yet been known as to their results; and they were, no doubt, considered by them, who believed not, as impossible.

It is nevertheless likely that even then, those whose character was that of sound judgment,--although not witnessing the results of the predictions,--did still believe in them, on account of His other acts. For, Is it likely that they who saw with their eyes the evident powers of God, the miracles and astonishing acts and deeds which eclipsed all mortal nature, believed only the things which were then seen, but, (as) confirmed by these of his foreknowledge, did not (as) readily also believe those which were afterwards to come to pass ?--So that again, it is right that we should, from those miracles which we ourselves have seen, also give our credence to the things which were then witnessed by his Disciples. For, the very things which were delivered in the hearing only of (our) predecessors, are (now) visible to our own eyes: and, they are sufficient for those whose judgment is incorrupt, as proofs setting a seal on the things which have been recorded. And these are the things which then existed not; nor had they yet been set up; nor had they so much as ever entered into the minds of men: but they were foretold by Him, from His divine foreknowledge of the future ; and, in after times, they have been fulfilled, and are in (these) our times seen by us, even to this very day.--Of these, our means of knowledge are at hand.

2. A certain man, illustrious from (his) service to the rule and power of the Romans, was in a state of suspense, because his favourite boy had become paralytic in his limbs, and was laid (up) in his house; who, when he saw that our Saviour shewed forth such powers upon others,--healing the sick, and curing every pain and infirmity,--he perceived in his own mind, that this miracle was not of man. He approached Him accordingly as God;--not looking to the vessel of the Body which was visible, and by means of which He

carried on His discourses with men, but to that God who was unseen ; to Him, who by means of a mortal being, made known these His excellent doings;--he fell down and worshipped Him, praying and striving (with Him), that He would afford to him for his boy the aid which is from God. And, when our Saviour said to him, "I will come and heal him," the Chiliarch answered Him,--for he had been considered worthy of this rule among the Romans;--and said to him, " Lord, I am not worthy that thou shouldest come under my roof; but, speak the word only, and the child shall be healed. For, I am a man in authority, and there are soldiers under my hands; and I say to this, Go; and he goeth: and, to another, Come; and he cometh: and, to my servant I say, Do such a thing: and he doeth it.

Hear therefore what our Saviour did upon this request, not from me, but from the Writer himself,--teaching (us) thus--in the very words : "But, when Jesus heard it, He wondered, and said to those who followed Him, Not even in Israel have I found such faith as this. And I say unto you, that many shall come from the East and from the West, and shall sit down with Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, in the kingdom of heaven; but the children of the kingdom shall go out into outer darkness. And, after these words, He thus spoke to the Chiliarch: "Go: as thou hast believed, shall it be unto thee. And his boy was healed from that hour. And, when the Chiliarch returned to his house, in that very hour he found his boy well. 3. With so much power therefore, did the word of our Saviour go forth, and shewed so much virtue, and so replete was it with power and with so much mercy, and with such ease were the good aids (it afforded given), that He readily promised He would come. And such indeed was the miracle which accompanied the act, that it is impossible to conceive of it as we ought. For this, that He said to the Chiliarch no more than, "As thou hast believed, so shall it be unto thee," and, with the word, gave health to his son, How effectually does it shew, that it was God who spoke in mortal voice ! But, should any one be persuaded of this with difficulty, on account of the greatness of the miracle; still, such cannot fairly be excused as to His prediction, in which a powerful argument will be afforded in favour of the deed, if any one will consider that at this period, the Roman who drew near to our Saviour, was ONE (only), namely, the Chiliarch, who made a greater and better profession of Him, than (did the whole) Jewish people; and, that our Saviour prophesied that instead of ONE, those, who should like this man draw near to Him, should be MANY ;

and, that these should be of those residing in the East, and in the West:--those (I say), who, by means of the knowledge of Him, and of the confession (made) of Him, should be considered worthy of honour with God, equal to that of the Hebrew Fathers:--even of him who is preached of as being the Father of their Fathers, Abraham, who went forth from among his idolatrous forefathers, and changed his manner of life; and, leaving the error of many Gods, recognized the ONE GOD who is over all. He also foretold, that like to this (man), and to his sons Isaac and Jacob, there should be myriads of men throughout the whole creation; and particularly of those who resided both in the East, and the West. To these things He added,--and this (constitutes) the greatness of the prediction,--that these very Jews, the descendants of these Friends of God, who make their boast of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, should, on account of their resistance to Him, and their want of belief in Him,--as if cut off from the light of knowledge,--go forth into outer darkness: and, because of their extreme ignorance and foolishness, (be consigned to) an entire disseverance from the light of salvation.

Thus He predicted.--It is now right we should consider the fulfilment of these things, and receive from the testimony of our eyes how these very Jews, who boasted of their descent from the family of those called the Friends of God, have been cast out, not only from the kingdom of God, but also from their own metropolis, the most excellent place of rule, in which the law appointed that their noblest service should be performed! and (how) those who were formerly free, and the virtuous children of these Fathers, have become slaves; and, being mixed with foreign nations,--a thing unlawful with them,--wander about in lands not their own, and are not permitted to view, even from a distance, the land of their own religious worship! Being moreover, deprived of those princes and kings, who were vested with rule by traditionary right, they now remain in subjection to those who have rased their temple to the ground, and have subdued their whole nation! Nor is there, as formerly, either prophet or revelation; nor is there help, or act of God. Of all these things, not one existed from ancient times; it was (only) after our Saviour had turned away His face from them that these came upon them, according to His predictions; and such are the things respecting the Jews.

4. Instead then, of that one Chiliarch who drew near to our Saviour at that period, a number of men exceeding description has, from all nations,

drawn near to Him, not of Chiliarchs only, but also of the mass of the Roman armies; so that even myriads of princes and governours bearing rule among the nations, and in the (various) regions; and also of others, much more honourable and exalted than these,--those who are great, and glory in the royal apartments,--have like the Chiliarch approached the Christ of God ; and have, by means of his doctrine, acknowledged the God of those Friends of the Deity, who (formerly) arose among the Hebrews; and they have accordingly, been considered worthy of a return from God the supreme King, equal to that afforded to these. If indeed any one will consider, what numbers of Christians and of churches, and of vast congregations, are said to be in the country of the Persians and of the Hindoos, residing in the East; and, how there are with these, through the words of our Saviour, women, virgins desiring, and men coming over to, holiness, and to the provisions which are for the life of philosophy and of purity, and how numerous the confessors are, who live among these:--

5. Also, how those very persons who confess Him who has arisen from the seed of Abraham, and that He is the Christ of God; and have become, by means of the new birth which is in Him, the children of Abraham ; and have (thus) set their seal to the prophetic Word of our Saviour: and this also, that, in like manner, in the western parts of the world, the whole of Spain and Gaul , in the countries of the Moors and Africans, in the (Islands of the) Ocean itself, and in Britain, men subscribe to Christ, and even acknowledge the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob: upon Him also they call in their prayers, and are looked upon (as) partakers with these same (Fathers) in the worship of God:-- If (I say), any one will therefore take these things into his consideration, he will then understand what the power of the prophetic word (was) that declared and said, "Many shall come from the East and the West, and shall sit down in the bosom of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, in the kingdom of heaven." These things therefore, He said, and foretold to the Chiliarch : and, on many other occasions, things not unlike these to the Jewish Doctors. And in this manner He spoke: "When ye see Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, and all the Prophets, in the kingdom of God, and yourselves going out. And they shall come from the East, and from the West, and from the South, and shall sit down in the Kingdom of God." Of these things an open confirmation is afforded by the fact, of all nations having

been converted to the God who is over all. These, He therefore said to them, respecting the conversion of all nations to God, who is over all.

6. Thou wilt learn moreover, from the writings of His Disciples,--that it was by their means He was about soon to call in the nations--which are to this effect: " When Jesus passed over a part of the sea of Galilee, he saw two brethren, Simon who is called Cephas, and Andrew his brother, casting nets into the sea :--for they were fishers. -- He said to them, Follow me; and I will make you fishers of men. And they, in the same hour, left their nets and followed him. And, when he departed thence, He saw two brethren, James the son of Zebedee and John Ms brother, in the ship with Zebedee their Father, and He called them ; and they, in the same hour, left the ship and their Father, and followed Him. Another writer too has left it on record, that He spoke to Simon on two occasions, a prediction similar to this: "When a great multitude was standing over against Jesus" He (this writer) has said, that " He went up into one of the ships, which was Simon's; and, when He had sat down in it, He interpreted to the multitude. But, after the teaching which was sufficient,--because it was suitable that He should add some Divine work to His words, for the advantage of those who were looking on,--He commanded Simon to "cast forth his net for a draught: and he said to Him, We have toiled the whole night, and have found nothing ;

nevertheless at thy word, I will cast out the net. And, what He had been commanded, he did. And, when he had taken a great number of fishes, their nets were breaking,--because they were heavy with the many (fishes),--and they called to those who were in the ship at their side, to help them. And thus, when they had drawn up the fishes, they filled both their ships, in--somuch that they were pressed to sinking; and, upon these things, Simon was astonished and wondered, confessing that he was not worthy, that our Saviour should come near him. But, when He had thus shewn him a representation of what was about to take place, He also gave its explanation (thus); "and Jesus said to him, Fear not; Thou shalt henceforth be a fisher of men unto life. It was to Galileans,--men unacquainted with any thing beyond the Syriac language, and this mean profession and necessity of fishing, by which they were driven,--that our Saviour well promised, that He would "make them fishers of men" and preachers of His doctrine. And, He made them (such). Nor did He belie His promise; but He shewed forth the "POWER OF GOD," the Doer of a thing, which eclipsed every human excellence! For, had

He brought near to Him the Intellectual and the Wise, the Rich, and Illustrious, among the Jews; and had made use of these (as) the Teachers of His words; it would indeed have been likely, that men would have supposed this matter to have been brought about by human means only.

For thus are most men usually overcome; (namely), they are either wrought upon by the gifts of the rich, or, they are led astray by excellency of speech, or, by the phantasms of science : or, they fear the power of illustrious personages. But He made use of no such disciples as these: on the contrary, by the poor, the despised ;--by men ignorant as to speech, Syrians in language, and in their character humble and mean,--did He openly manifest His work (of redemption). It was the Divine Power alone, which He made use of;--that which He evinced when He previously called them, and made them go forth ; and so promised that He would make them both "Fishers of men," and Preachers; that, instead of the nets which they then had, they should receive from Him the net, which should comprehend in its texture, an aggregate of the declarations of both the Law and the Prophets, as well as of those comprehended in (all) the Divine teaching. This they should cast into the sea of mankind as existing in the world, and inclose (therein) as many as they could; filling these their rational nets with every sort of the fish that are rational. But these things, which were then heard by word, were words and sounds, and nothing more: it was an effort of the Divine Power itself, which, at no distant time, brought them to pass;

and so fulfilled by deeds the things which had been foretold, that, in a short time, He made His own possession the whole creation of mankind,--congregations innumerable,--by means of these poor and illiterate men; and, that His Churches were every where filled, both with Greeks and Barbarians. For, it was not by that one Divine word of promise, that He would teach His Disciples, but, that He would MAKE them Fishers of men. Nor was it therefore, that He knew only, what should come to pass; nor, that He foretold this; but, that He should also be looked upon (as) the Effectuator of all this knowledge.--He spoke in word, and He performed and established the deed:-- that something (I say), which was to be brought about, (He foretold) by demonstration and representation; and of this He gave the fulfilment in the fact itself! For, to them who formerly toiled throughout the lengthened night, which was dark and destitute of the true light and knowledge of God, and could find nothing which they could take, (leading) to salvation, He

arose (as the sun) in His brightness, and commanded those who were in the light and the day,--not by their art, but by trusting in his word,--to cast out their nets into the deep. And they so enclosed this great multitude of fish, that their fishing vessels were pressed to breaking, and the ships themselves to remaining in the deep from their weight. And, because these things were so done, astonishment and great fear came upon Simon.

But, our Saviour said (as it were) these things to him, Let not these things alarm thee: they are (but as) recitations for the present, and representations of something hereafter to come to pass: for, these are fish unendued with either voice, or reason; these too, are ships and nets, composed of (earthly) material, and are inanimate; but, not as these things, are those of which these are the representations : for shortly afterwards,--that is, immediately, *nmv*, and forthwith,--thou shalt be a fisher of men unto life (eternal). This laborious fishing which returns no profit, thou shalt relinquish; and, thou shalt become a fisherman of reasonable creatures, in place of these which are irrational. Nor shalt thou again draw up those whom thou shalt catch from the depths of the sea, but from the bitterness of the life that is hateful; from the chambers of ungodly darkness and from sin, into the light which is intellectual; and to the elevation of purity. That is, thou shalt catch them for life, by means of that which is of life: it is not death that thou preparest for them. These first indeed, which are drawn up out of the sea, and which formerly enjoyed life in darkness and the deep, perish immediately on their ascending and receiving the light. But, those who shall be caught by thee from among men, shall be caught up out of the darkness of ignorance, and shall be changed to the life that is of God.

These things therefore, (namely,) " Thou shalt henceforth catch men unto life," our Saviour foretold by the Divine power: and the same, our Saviour shewed by very deed, were sure and true. This Syrian fisherman therefore, this net-caster,--did by means of his net,--the texture of which was by the Divine power composed of the words of mystery,--catch innumerable multitudes of men. And, " The visual perception of something hidden, is something visible. The things therefore, which the long life of the world,--and which from the first experienced not the rising (as of the Sun) of our Saviour,--could not effect:--the things which neither Moses who gave the law to the Hebrews, nor the Prophets who came after Moses, could ; nor yet the multitudes of others, who from ancient times carried as fishermen the doc-

trine of God to man, and who toiled throughout the whole night which preceded his manifestation,--could do, this Galilean, this Pauper, this Barbarian, this Simon did, by means of his voice bring to pass. The demonstrations indeed, then given of Simon as to these things, are the Churches which up to this time have arisen, far more in number than the ships (then present), and these, filled with fish that are rational. Such is this of Caesarea of Palestine, and such is that of Antioch of Syria; and such is that of Rome; for, by these Churches--which Simon set up, and by all those near them,--are these things commemorated.

Those too that are in Egypt and in Alexandria itself, did he again, not by his own means, but by those of Mark, his disciple, erect. Of those also, that are in Italy and among the nations adjoining, he was the Steward (Dispenser): and he made his disciple Mark the Teacher and Fisherman of those in Egypt. Now, give thy consideration likewise, to the rest of our Saviour's Disciples, on those whom He said He would make Fishers of men;--and this his word He has shewn forth by deeds. For up to this time He did, and caused, that, forthwith, and throughout the whole creation of man,-- His rational net should be filled with every sort of rational fish, Barbarian and Greek ; and that He should draw up from the depths of evil, and the darkness of ungodliness, the souls of men ; turning these daily and hourly to the light and knowledge of God which had been delivered by Himself. Which things, seen as they are with our own eyes, establish,--as it appears to me,--beyond (all) doubt, the Divine manifestation of our Saviour.

7. Art thou desirous then, of hearing a third declaration of the Divine word, which foretold that His Disciples should arise (as the Sun) throughout the whole world ? Hear this also, for it is after this manner : "Ye are the light of the world: and, "A city that is built on a hill cannot lie hidden: "nor do men light a candle, and place it under a bushel, but upon a candlestick; and it giveth light to all that are in the house. So let your light shine before men, that they may see your good works, and glorify your Father who is in heaven. Here again, these very fishermen, who went forth from Galilee, --a corner of Judea so called, which is situate on the sea; and of which Isaiah,--one of the Prophets,--making known at once its obscurity, and at the same time, the rising (as of the Sun) of our Saviour, which he announced should take place there,--proclaimed (saying), "Galilee of the Gentiles, a people sitting in darkness have seen a great light:"--those (I say) who went forth from thence;

men, mean, necessitous, illiterate in speech, and poor in circumstances;--those very fishermen He said, should be the light of the world; and this promise He confirmed by deed ; (namely), that this same Simon who was called Cephas, (and) who went forth from Capernaum which is a village of Galilee,--should enlighten many souls of men with the light of the knowledge of God ;

and should himself become known throughout the whole creation, even to the regions of the West: and, that even to this time, his memory should be more celebrated among the Romans, than that of those of former times, so that he should be considered worthy of an honourable sepulchre in the very front of their city ; and, that great multitudes of the Roman Empire should run to it, as to a great asylum and temple of God. How then, Does not the truth bear testimony to Him, who said to his Disciples, "Ye are the light of the world? So again, the name of John the son of Zebedee also,--who (was engaged) in fishing with his father and brethren, and mending the net, whom He (Jesus) saw, and considered worthy both of this call and promise,--arose (as the Sun) throughout the whole creation ; and whose words have, through the Gospel which was delivered by him, also enlightened the souls of men !-- which has been translated into all languages, both of the Greeks and Barbarians, and is daily preached in the ears of all nations ! And more particularly, the sepulchre of this (Disciple) which is in Ephesus of Asia, does glorious honour to his death, and shews to the world the memorial of that light which cannot be hidden. In like manner also, the writings of the apostle Paul are preached throughout the whole creation, and they enlighten the souls of men.

The martyrdom of his death, and the sepulchre which (is erected) over him, are, even to this day, greatly and abundantly honoured in the city of Rome. And, What need is there we should say, that the mode of life set up by means of the Disciples of our Saviour throughout the whole creation,--like the exhibition of a banner of victory,--is as a famous city which has nothing hidden within it ? but which is in authority in the midst of all other cities, (and) according to the enouncement of our Saviour, "Is like to a city placed upon a hill? And this is the very word, which they preached respecting their master. It was not, as (if) hidden under a bushel, or given up to error and darkness; but, as upon a lofty candlestick, and lifted up to an exalted eminence, and giving light to all that were in the house of the whole world ! And

this, (viz. "Let your light so shine before men" evinced (both) foreknowledge and prophecy; not precept only, but also intimation of what should come to pass. He fully too named them all (here), the light when He said, "YE are the light of the world. Not, that they were many lights; but, that they all together (constituted) one light: as if from an equality of them all, there should be at once an arising (of light as of the Sun) to the whole world. For, it was His alone to say, "I AM the light of the world.

And of Him it has been truly said, that "He is the light that came into the world, which enlighteneth every man. But, since these things have been thus foretold, and fulfilled; observe how He again spoke of, and explained, them to His Disciples: "That which I say to you in darkness, speak ye in the light; and, that which ye hear in your ears, preach ye on the housetops. And fear not those who kill the body, but cannot kill the soul. But fear ye Him rather, who is able to destroy both soul and body in hell. He also promised by these things, in the very beginnings (of the ministration) of His Disciples,--when they knew nothing of them, but were as if they had been in the dark,--the knowledge of the light. He prophesied also, to those (then) hearing His precepts, that they should preach openly to all men that which was (now) secret, in darkness, and invisible. He taught them too, not to be perplexed, but to suffer affliction with all their soul; to preach Him in the ears of all; and not to fear those, who would kill the mortal body: the soul not being subject to loss of life by men, because it is incorporeal and immortal. For it is God only, who is able to inflict punishment and death, at once on both body and soul. It may be observed therefore, that He taught by these things, that the soul is incorporeal; and set up, in a few words, the ordinances of (true) philosophy,--

In that He foretold at the outset to His Disciples, that He would make them Fishers of men; and, that they should eventually, openly, immediately, (and) through His power, make Disciples of all nations. From the Gospel of Matthew. 8. After his resurrection from the dead, all of them,-- being together as they had been commanded,--went to Galilee, as He had said to them. But, when they saw Him, some worshipped Him, but others doubted. But He drew near to them, spoke with them, and said: "All power (both) in heaven and earth, is given to me of my Father. Go ye and make Disciples of all nations, and baptize them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. And teach them to observe all that I have commanded you. And, behold! I am with you always even to the end of the world. Ob-

serve now, in these things, the consideration and caution evinced by the Disciples: (viz. that they did not all worship Him when they saw Him. Some of them indeed did this faithfully and devotedly, but others refrained for the present. It was not easily and suddenly, that they gave in to this miracle; but, it was after much investigation and with every caution they were so at last persuaded, that they went out to all mankind. They became too, the Preachers of His Resurrection; because it had prophetically said in the Scriptures of the Prophets, in His Person, "Ask of me, and I will give thee the heathen for thine inheritance, and (for thy) possessions, the uttermost parts of the earth. Just as the testimony of this prophecy has now been fulfilled in fact, He said to His Disciples;

"All power is given to me, as in heaven, so in earth. For, He had possessed the sovereignty of the things which are in heaven from eternity; but now, He said was given to Him, by His Father, those upon earth, in conformity with this (viz. "Ask of me, and I will give thee the nations for thy possession. For, from ancient times,--as Moses attests,--" The most High, when dividing the nations, appointed the boundary of the people, according to the number of the angels. So that the Angels of God were, from ancient times, Rulers over all that was on the earth. But, when mankind had been perverted to the error of many Gods, and the Angels, who were the Rulers, were unable to afford any remedy for this; the common Saviour of all Himself taught, by means of His Divine manifestation, and after His victory over Death, that the empire of the nations upon earth, should no more be given by his Father to the Angels, but to Himself. And on this account, He commanded his Disciples,--not from ancient times--but now, that they should make the circuit, and make Disciples, of all nations. And He necessarily added the mystery of cleansing. For it was necessary to those, who should be converted from among the heathen, that they should be cleansed by His power from every pollution and uncleanness;

because they had been defiled by the error of Demons, and had been holden by the worship of Idols, and by uncleanness of every sort, but had now first been changed from that life of abomination, and of lawless practices. These very persons then, did He direct to teach,--after this cleansing, which is by the mystery of His doctrine,--not, that they should observe the precepts of the Jews, nor yet the Law of Moses, but all those which He commanded them to observe. And these are those which the whole of the Dis-

ciples,--making severally the circuit of all the nations,--equally delivered to every Church throughout the whole creation. He necessarily therefore, stirred them up, and made them readily to confide,--to undertake the circuit of all nations, and to make Disciples of all races of men, through the promise by which He counselled them, saying: "Behold, I myself am with you. To this word of promise, He also superadded the performance. He was present in the Divine Power with each and every one of them; to the whole of them was He at once present, and with them He acted and wrought. He confirmed too, even to victory, (the promise) constituting them Teachers to all nations, of that fear of God which was delivered by Himself. In this promise therefore, they trusted; and forthwith, did they fulfil His words by deeds: nor did they in any thing hesitate; hut they (so) went forth with all readiness to the disciplining of all nations, that they engaged in the work.

With their eyes they had seen Him who was a little while before dead, then living: and, Him whom they had denied with cursing,--on account of what then happened to them,--they had seen openly, present, and in his own person; and, as His custom was, He had conversed with them, and promised them the things of which we have already spoken. Nor could they disbelieve His promises, because of His appearing (to them); which (appearing) they bad investigated. Now in this precept, there must have been (much) that was discouraging to them, knowing as they did in themselves the rusticity and illiterate character which they sustained; on account of which, they might indeed have sought to be excused, and have well imagined it impossible that those, whose Language was the Syriac (only), and who knew nothing beyond the art of catching fish, could be Teachers both of the Greeks and Romans, of the Egyptians also, the Persians, and the rest of the barbarous nations : and set about to legislate,--in opposition to all other Legislators and Kings throughout the whole creation,---that which was opposed to the things delivered to them from all ages, respecting the Gods of their Forefathers. But it was not possible for them to think such things, who had heard the voice of God saying to them, "Behold, I myself am with you always. They had too, openly viewed the Godhead of Him who spoke with them. It had been seen to be superior to Death : respecting which however they had entertained fear.

On the contrary they (now) hear, that henceforth they shall, with all their soul, undergo afflictions. They had now taken up from their Master, the certainty of life after death ; they went out tlherefore, with confidence to

make the circuit of all nations, that they might confirm by fact, the promises of Him their Lord. But He attached to the promises made to them, a more excellent word ; and,--what exceeds all wonder,-- this He shews forth even to this present time; (viz. " Behold, I myself am with you always" He added also, "even to the end of the world" And this applies, not only to them, but also to all those who came after them, and from them received His doctrine; and, thenceforward, even to this time, is He present to all those who have become His Disciples. Hence, His Church, which is kept by Himself, is daily increasing and multiplying to myriads; and by His Power shall it be congregated, even to the end of the world !

On the conversion of all nations to God. From the Gospel of Luke. 9. Again, upon another occasion after His resurrection from the dead, He appeared to the other disciples, and to them,--yet doubting and not believing in Him,--He put forth and said these words: "These are the words which I said, to you, when I was yet with you; that it is necessary every thing should be fulfilled which is written respecting me in the Law of Moses, in the Prophets, and in the Psalms. Then He opened their understandings that they should understand the Scriptures : and He said, Thus it was right that Christ should suffer, and that He should rise from the dead on the third day; and (that) repentance and remission of sins should be preached in His name among all nations, beginning from Jerusalem. And ye are the witnesses of these things. On one occasion indeed, He said, that "in His name should be preached repentance to all nations. (Now), if the Deed did not follow upon the Word; neither can His resurrection from the dead be credited. But if, even up to this time, the things which His prediction foretold, remain in fact, so that His lively, (energetic) and operative word is visible (in effect) throughout the whole creation to our eyes; then is it unbecoming we should disbelieve Him who spoke this. For He, whose power is living (energetic,) operative, and visible to the eyes, powerfully impels us first of all to confess thereupon, that He is living;

and that He brings to effect the living things of God, whose living (actual) deeds are seen fulfilling His words. These His words then, --being varied and translated into all languages, both of the Greeks and the Barbarians,-- has He made intelligible to all, so that His doctrine is heard by all nations, and has stirred up myriads of congregations of those, who were formerly wickedly led on in the error of many Gods, in the worship of Idols, and in

(the course of life) which was unbecoming, to conversion and repentance. He did not command them first to preach remission of sins, and then repentance; but first, repentance, and then remission. For it was to those, who evinced a sincere repentance of former sins, that our Saviour's grace gave the pardon of their deeds;--on whose account indeed He suffered Death, and gave His soul a ransom for the souls of those, who should be saved through Him. Thus therefore, these His disciples,--men rude of speech and altogether illiterate, poor and needy, (as) they were in their character,--trusted in the power of Him who appeared to them after Death, and openly held converse with them. And they began from Jerusalem according to His commands, and went forth into all nations; the things too, which they were commanded, they performed, and preached repentance to all men, and remission of the former sins of the soul.

And such was the entire superiority which they evinced, that, even to these our times, the doctrine of these poor and illiterate men, is in active operation throughout the whole creation of man. How His acts should be heard, and preached of, throughout the whole world. From the Gospel of Matthew and of Mark. 10. When our Saviour was in Bethany, a village not far from Jerusalem;--having been invited by one who was (named) Simon, and sitting down there ;--a certain woman took an alabaster box of balsam (ointment), which was very precious, and came and poured it out upon his feet: but His Disciples forbade her ; complaining of what had happened. But He received the tiling done as a sign, and intimated that this act should be preached of, and heard, throughout the whole world. He prophesied accordingly, and said: "I say unto you, that wheresoever this my Gospel shall be preached in the whole world, what this (woman) hath done, shall also be spoken of for a memorial of her." Now these things He foretold, when, at that time, the writing of the Gospel had yet entered into the mind of none, nor had it come to the hearing of any. Nor, as it is likely, had what was then done, been learned by any who resided in the neighbourhood, but by those only who were present. Nevertheless, He left this whole enouncement in word, and prophesied that the Gospels, which should be written by His Disciples, should be preached throughout the whole world. And to the word He at once also superadded the deed, and said, that with His acts should be written in the Gospel, and spoken of throughout the whole world, even that which had been done by this woman, for a memorial of her:--which same

thing has (now) been seen confirmed by Him in very deed! For there is neither people, region, nor place, in which the memorial of this woman, as recorded in the Gospel, has not been mentioned; and, together, with the doctrine respecting Him, is it preached throughout the whole world.--Of the things therefore, respecting this(Gospel,) and respecting His Church, hear (now) how He made His promises : --

How He mentioned His church by name, when yet it had no existence: and how He declared, that the gates of Hell should never prevail against it. From the Gospel of Matthew. 11. When asking His Disciples on a certain occasion, what men said of Him, and they answering according to the opinion of the many, He asked them the second time, "But what say ye? and, when Simon had said unto Him, "Thou art the Christ of the living God" He answered him, and said : "Blessed art thou Simon son of Jonas, since flesh and blood hath not revealed (this) to thee, but my Father who is in heaven. And I also say to thee, Thou art Cephas: and upon this rock do I build my Church, and the gate-bars of Hell shall not prevail against it. The (term) "this" He took (as implying) the knowledge, that He was the Messiah, the Son of the living God ; and Cephas (the rock), because it should neither be rent nor moved. It is not unlikely, that He named (in) " THIS" the whole sense comprised here. On this account too, He designated that same Disciple, who had formerly been called Simon, Cephas (Peter), with reference to this knowledge; (and) of which He afterwards prophesied, and said: "On this rock do I build my Church, and the gate-bars of Hell shall not prevail against it. He foretold at once something to come to pass, and promised, that Himself would build it (the Church), and bring the work to completion, by the things of this knowledge which had now been given concerning Himself; that it should be made firm as on a confirmed foundation ;

and that His Church should be built, solely by means of His own power which is everlasting, and that the gates of Hell should never overcome it. He himself afforded a proof (of this) in the fulfilment, better than any (that) words (can give). For innumerable persecutions, and many forms of death, have sprung up against His Church, but in nothing could they prevail against it. He has therefore, openly confirmed the enunciation of His prediction, by deeds; its truth He has shewn, by the fulfilment. The Church too, which He called the congregation, about to be set up in His name, evinced no small foreknowledge: for the congregations of the Jews had been termed

Synagogues; and, during the time of His going about among men, He frequented the Synagogue of the Jews. Nor was there hitherto, so much as one Synagogue only, set apart to Him. And, Who is not astonished, that He so foreknew those congregations which should afterwards be set up, at a great distance of time, in His name, and, that He should not name them, after the Jewish custom, Synagogues, but Churches ? He added too, that the gate-bars of Hell should not prevail against them:-- things, which we perceive with our own eyes ! Nor should we wonder at the prediction only, but also at His promise, namely, "I build my Church upon the rock, and the gate-bars of Hell shall not prevail against it: which is (all) so brought near in fact, that we can see it !

For it was not by the power of men, nor yet by the superiority of the Teachers (employed), that His Church was raised ; but, it was He who promised, and in deed fulfilled His promise ! --He (I say) who up to this time has, by the Divine Power, built up, and enlarged, His Church throughout the whole creation of man ! On the divisions which are in Houses and Families up to this time, on account of His doctrine. From the Gospel of Matthew. 12. Think not, that I am come to send forth peace upon earth : I am not come to send forth peace, but a sword. For I am come to divide a man against his Father, and the Daughter against her Mother, and the Daughter in law against her Mother in law : and the enemies of a man (shall be) those of his own house. (Or), as Luke enounced (it) ; " Think ye then, that I am come to send forth peace on earth ? I say unto you, No ; but divisions. For, there shall be henceforth five in one house, who (shall be) divided, three against two, and two against three. And the Father shall be divided against his Son, and the Son, against his Father; and the Mother shall be divided against her Daughter, and the Daughter, against her Mother; and the Mother in law, against her Daughter in law ; and the Daughter in law, against her Mother in law. And, Who is not astonished, that the things which should take place in every individual house, in times far removed (from those of the prediction), and even up to this time, did not remain hidden to the foreknowledge of our Saviour ?

For He foretold to His disciples, the things which up to this time are taking place, just as one present to the things themselves, and making the circuit of the dwellings of all the children of men :--things which hitherto have not existed, nor did they at the period in which He enounced these

words. Nor, were there yet any such doings; they were then heard only in the ear. But now, that the prediction has in fact come to its completion, and is visible to the eyes, How can any one, who would think justly, but confess that they are in truth the words of God ? And again in these things also,--"For I am come to divide and to send forth a sword, and divisions among the children of men,"--we likewise see with our own eyes, that no word of man, either of philosopher or prophet, whether Greek or Barbarian, ever shewed forth power such as this, that he should so hold the whole creation, that there should be divisions in every house; that he should pass through and distinguish every race, throughout all their families ; and, that of these some should be considered as his own, and others as opposed to these ! But it was our Saviour alone, and this WORD OF GOD, who promised to do this, and He confirmed the promise, in very deed !

The cause therefore, of the divisions of soul that came to pass in houses He Himself taught, as we have found in a place in the Gospel existing among the Jews in the Hebrew language, in which it is said: "I will select to myself these things: very very excellent are those whom my Father, who is in heaven, has given to me. And, one may learn from this, how in every house in which the word of Jesus should prevail, the excellent would be distinguished from the vile. For, if a man make a comparison among brothers, or servants, or in families generally, as to the customs, forms, manner of life, and the purity and meekness of those, who have chosen the doctrine of our Saviour;--for this is what is meant by those who have been selected by Him :--and, of those who have not yet become worthy of Him ; --he will perceive what sort of power that is, of which He has made use; and, that He did not only foretel what should come to pass, but that He has, according to the prediction, also brought the works to pass : and, with other things, these also in which it is written that He said, "I will select to myself the very excellent, those whom my Father who is in heaven has given to me. Nevertheless, (what He) now (said), " I am not come to send forth peace on earth," with other things, He explained to the Disciples themselves and said;

"I leave peace with you, my own peace give I unto you: it is not as the world giveth peace, that I also so give peace. It was the knowledge and love of God, which He had prepared for His disciples ; and this, that the soul should not be perturbed. And in this way, He named the light, and confirmation of the mind. These things therefore He foretold, and also respecting these

(men) : but, of those which He foreknew and foretold respecting the Jewish People, (the time) is at hand that we should enquire. On the things which He prophesied against the Jewish people in parables. From the Gospel of Matthew. 13. When the Rulers of the Jewish people, the chief Priests, and the Doctors of the Law, were assembled together in Jerusalem, and He was in the Temple; He foretold covertly and by parable, the things they were about to dare against Him, and the destruction which should overtake them on account of this daring, in this manner : " There was a certain master of a house, (who) planted a vineyard, and surrounded it with a fence, and digged a wine-press therein, and built in it a tower, and delivered it to husbandmen, and departed. And, when the fruit-season drew near, he sent his servants to the husbandmen that they might bring to him the fruit. But these husbandmen seized his servants, and some of them they smote, and some they stoned, and some they killed. And again, he sent other servants, more than the former; and to these, they did in like manner. But at last, he sent his Son, and said, Surely they will reverence my Son. But these husbandmen, when they saw the Son, said among themselves : This is his heir ; come let us kill him, and the inheritance will be ours. So they took him, and cast him out of the vineyard, and killed him. When therefore, the Lord of the vineyard shall come, What shall he do to those husbandmen? They say to him, he shall most miserably destroy them; and his vineyard he shall deliver to other husbandmen, who shall render him the fruits in their seasons.

Jesus himself said to them, Have ye never read in the Scripture, 'The stone which the builders rejected, has become the chief corner stone of the building: This is of the Lord, and it is a miracle in our eyes?' Wherefore I say unto you, The kingdom of God shall be taken from you, and shall be given to a people which shall render the fruits" (thereof. And this parable is of a sort with that, which is in the Prophet Isaiah, which is (given) in this manner: "My beloved had a vineyard on the horn of a fat place. And he cultivated it, and surrounded it with a fence, and planted in it vines, and built a Tower within it. He also made a wine-press in it. And he expected that it would produce grapes; but it produced wild grapes. But this that is in the Prophet, accuses the vineyard; which he thus interprets, as to who was (really) intended, when he says, "For the vineyard of the Lord of hosts is the house that is in Israel, and the men of Judah are (His) one beloved plant. I looked for judgment, but there was rapine; and for righteousness, but behold, howling!"

14. The parable then, spoken by our Saviour, was so like to that of the Prophet, that it was known to point out those who were present and heard (it). But, it was not of the vineyard that it was spoken, because the Prophet had already made his prediction of this. The things however, which were not mentioned in the Prophet, He supplied in His parable: those, I say, which respected the husbandmen of the vineyard; and these were the Elders of the people, the chief Priests, the Rulers, and Doctors: those, who indeed were the cause to the whole congregation, that they should render evil fruit, and, on whose account, the vineyard itself was left to destruction. That is, the whole of their people, with their fence, was rooted up; those who formerly contended for the people, and watched over the people, together with their place. The Tower that was in it, was the Temple; the wine-press, the Altar. And all these were therefore, wholly taken away, even to their foundations ; because the husbandmen had become polluted with blood ; those (I say), who had openly slain the servants first and last; those Prophets, who had, time after time, been sent unto them. The Old Testament also gives its testimony (otherwise) to this matter; and, of the Prophets, Elias who in his prayer to God says, "Lord, they have slain thy Prophets, and broken down thy Altar: and I am left alone, and they seek to take my life.

Of these things therefore does this Prophet, by his prayer, accuse the rulers of the Jewish people. These however, the pollution of the Prophets' blood had not satisfied, and at last they slew the Son himself, that is, the Son of God! Nor was it that they knew Him not; but, when they knew fully and accurately, that He was the heir ! These things then, our Saviour Himself delivered by parable, respecting Himself, before His suffering. He also foretold,--by His foreknowledge, what should come to pass; (viz. these things when walking in the Temple,--to those husbandmen of the vineyard of His times, the Chief Priests, the Doctors, and the rest of those who were at the head of the people. And much (and) openly did He, in the parable, prepare them to pronounce condemnation against themselves : asking them in the close of the parable, and saying, "What shall the Lord of the vineyard, when He comes, do to those husbandmen? And they, not yet understanding that it had been spoken of themselves, gave judgment against themselves, saying, "He shall most miserably destroy them, and shall give up the vineyard to other husbandmen, who shall render to Him the fruits in their seasons. Jesus then said to them : " Have ye never read in the scriptures, The stone which

the builders rejected, has become the chief corner (stone) of the building: This is from the Lord, and is a miracle in our eyes?

Very consistently after the prediction of His death, He pointed out, from the testimony of the prophets, His own resurrection from the dead. For He had previously taught, that the Son of the Lord of the vineyard should be slain by the wicked husbandmen, and had obtained from themselves (their own) condemnation. After that, He brought this forward : " The stone which the builders rejected, has become the chief corner (stone) of the building: which, in the prophecy, had been given by way of parable on His resurrection. For,--after He had been rejected by those husbandmen who were also the builders, He (I say), who was (as) a precious stone, and of whom the Prophet Isaiah says, "Behold, I lay in Zion a choice and precious stone, the chief corner (stone) of the foundation: And he, who believeth in it, shall not be ashamed,"--He became the chief corner (stone) of another building, of which the (divine) word has said: "And this is a miracle in our eyes: by which He meant His Church. And thus deservedly did He, according to their own judgment on themselves, repay them, saying, " The kingdom of God shall be taken from you, and shall be given to a people, that will render the fruits" (thereof) : which corresponds to this declaration (already) mentioned, (viz. "from them; that He would " give the vineyard to other husbandmen, who should render to Him the fruits in their seasons. For He named the "kingdom of God," those observances in which the worship of God consisted;

and these He declared, should be taken away from those husbandmen: and (this) He has most openly shewn, and brought to effect; giving (the vineyard) to another people, which does bring forth its fruits. And this is the Christian people, which does, throughout the whole creation, bring forth the fruits, that are both conformable, and suitable, to the observances of God; and shews this daily, both in words and works. On the rejection of the Jews at once, and the calling of the Gentiles: also on those who should unworthily be gathered into His Church ; and on the end of these, From the Gospel of Matthew. 15. After the Parable which has already been mentioned, the word of the Divine Scripture states, that "When the chief Priests and Pharisees had heard His parables, they knew that He spake against themselves, and they sought to take Him: but they feared the people, because they held Him as a Prophet. "And Jesus answered them, and said again in a parable: The king-

dom of heaven is like to a (certain) man, a king, who made a (marriage) feast for his son, and sent his servants to call those who had been bidden to the feast; but they would not come. And again, he sent out other servants, and commanded them to say to those who had been bidden: Behold, my dinner is ready, my fatted oxen are slain, and every thing is prepared for you : Come to the feast. But they disregarded and went away, One to the village (farm), and Another to (his) merchandise. But they who remained seized his servants, and abused and slew (them). And the king was enraged, and sent his army and slew those murderers, and burnt up their city. He then said to his servants, My dinner is ready, but those who were bidden were unworthy of it. Go ye out therefore, into the ways and paths, and every one that ye find, call to the feast. So those servants went out into the ways, and they brought together all they could find, (both) bad and good.

Now, in the former Parable, the Vineyard, the Tower, the Winepress, and the Husbandmen, were evil: and the servants sent, first and last, were killed. And, at last, even the Son of the Lord of the vineyard was himself slain : by which were pointed out, the People, the Temple, the Altar, and the Rulers of the Jews; and also those wicked husbandmen, who, standing at the head of the people, slew both the former and latter Prophets, and at last the Son of God Himself! 16. Now the Parable before our eyes, obviously introduces the familiar feast, and bringing together, of the Bridegroom and Bride, with a marriage-supper: and again the servants also, who are here destroyed and slain, and the former and latter persons bidden. By means of these again, He points out covertly, the things that happened after His resurrection from the dead. For the Bridegroom is, THE WORD OF GOD ; the Bride, the rational soul, which is associated with Him, and receives the Divine seed that is of Him. And (this) Divine and rational association, (represents) that of His Church : and, consequent upon these things, the rational feast and marriage supper, (represent) the Divine and heavenly aliments (so prepared). He does not here speak of the inviting servants, with reference to those who were formerly sent to the vineyard, but, with reference to the latter ones. For those were the Prophets; but these, His own Apostles, who were sent forth to make the call, (and) first, of those who were of the circumcision. For, when He first sent these forth, He charged them, saying, "Into the way of the Gentiles go ye not; and into a city of the Samaritans enter ye not; but rather go ye to the wandering sheep of the house of Israel. These same persons there-

fore, the servants did first invite; but, when they hearkened not to the call, He sent also, the second time, many Evangelists and Preachers of the Gospel ;

those whom He chose, after the twelve Apostles, the seventy other Disciples, who also first preached the Gospel to the Jewish people, and called them to the feast of the New Testament. But they availed nothing, because they, who had been bidden, were busied with their merchandise; and who, after they had heard the call of the servants, abused some, and killed others. And it is in our power to find from the Scriptures, how many of the Disciples of our Saviour they afterwards killed, both in Jerusalem and in the rest of Judea. Stephen then was, in the first place, forthwith slain by them by stoning. After him, James the brother of John. And again after them, he who first chose (to accept) the throne of the Church of that place, James who was called the Brother of our Lord: whom, on account of his great excellence, they called "the Just. Him too, the Jews of those times killed by stoning. How they abused the Apostles by stripes, the Book of the Acts relates. And these things did He, by His divine knowledge, foretel before they happened; He also foretold the things which should befall them from the Jews. By means of a parable too, He predicted what should come to pass before these things took place, by these expressions, (viz. "The king was enraged" at the abuse and slaughter of his servants, " and sent his army, and slew those murderers, and burnt up their city.

And, What can be more obvious than this foreknowledge, and the fulfilment of the things themselves (so predicted) ? For the army of the Romans came soon after, and took the city, and destroyed the Temple itself by fire. And, of Whom was it, except of Him who is King of all, God over all, that it was thus said, that "the King shall send his army, and shall slay those murderers, and shall burn up their city? To this very time indeed, the remnants of the conflagration which took place in various parts of the city, are obvious to the sight of those who travel thither. But, how those murderers of the Apostles were taken in the reduction (of the city), and suffered the punishment which they deserved, it is not necessary we should say, as the things which were done to them, may readily be found in the record of the Romans by Flavius Josephus. After the slaughter of these therefore, and the reduction of the metropolis of their kingdom, they,--who remained of those servants that had first heard it said by their Lord, "They who were first called were

not worthy; but go ye out into the ways and paths, and all that ye find, call to the feast"--performed even the thing commanded. Our Saviour said to them therefore, after His resurrection, " Go ye and make Disciples of all nations in my name," And these things He said, who formerly had commanded:

" In the way of the Gentiles go ye not" but (enjoined) that they should preach to the Jews only. But, when these had abused (their) Inviters, then He dismissed the servants the second time, and said, " Those that were called were not worthy. Go ye out into the ways and paths, and all that ye find call to the feast. And this they fulfilled in deed. They went out into the whole creation, and they preached to all nations, the divine and heavenly calling; and " they collected together as many as they could find, (both) bad and good. Let no one therefore wonder, that, of those, who are collected into the Church of Christ, all are not good; but, that in the mixture together with the good, the evil will also be collected. Nor did this escape the foreknowledge of our Saviour. And it is accordingly seen to remain in fact, in conformity with that foreknowledge : and, what the end of those will be, who are brought together unworthily in His Church, He Himself shews; for He afterwards teaches these things in the parable, saying, "And the feast was filled with guests: but, when the king came in to see the guests, he saw there a man who had not (on) wedding garments. And he said to him, My friend! how earnest thou in hither not having put on wedding garments ? And he was silent. Then the king said to the ministers: Bind him hands and feet, and cast him out into outer darkness.

There shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth. For many are the called, but few the chosen. He likewise previously rebuked, with these predictive words, those who should conduct themselves unrighteously in His Church. Again, on the rejection of the Jewish people. From the Gospel of Matthew. 17. " Ye serpents, ye generation of vipers, How shall ye escape hell ? Wherefore, behold, I send unto you Prophets, and Wise men, and Scribes: and some of them ye shall kill and crucify, and some of them ye shall scourge in your synagogues, and shall persecute them from city to city; so that there shall come upon you, all the blood of the Righteous, which has been shed upon the land, from the blood of Abel, even to the blood of Zecharias the son of Barachias, whom ye slew between the steps and the altar. I say unto you, All these things shall come upon this generation. There is no need we should affirm, that all these things are so plain, as to require no explanation whatever;

which, being afterwards fulfilled in very deed, confirmed by (their) open fulfilment, the foreknowledge of our Saviour. For the Apostles were scourged by the Jews at a subsequent period, in Jerusalem itself; when also, they went forth from their synagogues, "rejoicing that they were found worthy to be reproached for his name's sake that they were found worthy to be reproached for his name's sake. Stephen also was stoned by them; and James was slain with the sword; and again, the second James was put to death with stones. And Simeon, who after James held the Episcopal chair in Jerusalem, was given up to crucifixion, as the history reminds (us). And many others again, who were slain by the Jews, have (thus) set their seal to the foreknowledge of our Saviour.

On account of all which, the judgment of God took vengeance on the generation that dared to do all this: and, upon it turned back the (just) consequence of all its deeds. For it was of that generation that their Temple and altar were rooted up, and the kingdom, which had, by tradition from their forefathers, been preserved to that very time, was dissolved. And of the same, was their freedom taken away: and, from the effects themselves it was evident, that the avenging of the blood of all the Righteous was on that generation, in conformity with the words of our Saviour. It is necessary then we should see, with what entire power, and by what sort of force, it was said, "Behold I send to you Prophets, and Wise men. For (this), "Behold I send" is an intimation of the power of God. And, that He called the Rulers of the Jews to their face, a "generation of vipers," affords no proof of deficiency (in this respect). The prediction too, of the destruction which should overtake them, does, after all the rest, afford ample confirmation as to these declarations; and this their complete fulfilment proves. These things are therefore sufficient (here). Let us then, now enquire accordingly, how it happened to the land which had always been precious to them, and to those glories of the metropolis of the kingdom which had been (so) famous with them;

of which, by His divine foreknowledge He attested ;--weeping bitterly as He did over them of his mercy,--that the whole should undergo a change to the extremes of calamity, because of the insolence of its inhabitants against Him. On the destruction of the Temple of Jerusalem. 18. What the end of those things should be, which had been foretold respecting the Jewish people, has (already) been said and shewn. But, as He, THE WORD OF GOD, prophesied also respecting these places themselves, it is necessary we should

see His words on them. Now, when the Rulers of the Jews would not bear the purity of His Doctrine, its publication, nor His rebukes, they so acted as to rid their city of Him. He then, leaving Jerusalem, pronounced these words over their city: "Jerusalem, Jerusalem! that hast killed the Prophets, and stoned them that were sent unto thee, How often would I have gathered thy children together, as the hen gathereth her chickens under her wings : but ye would not. Behold I your house is left desolate. For I say unto you, that ye shall not see me henceforth until ye shall say, Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord. Impurity (and) pollution afterwards marked their doings: and this was the sin in which they dared to persist against our Saviour. And it was right, not only that the Inhabitants of the city, but also the land itself,--in which they so greatly boasted.--should be made to suffer the things, which the deeds of its inhabitants deserved. And these they did suffer ! For it was not long, before the Romans came against the city: and, of the inhabitants, some they killed by the law of war; others they destroyed by famine; others they led away captive ; and others they persecuted.

The captive (City) and Temple they burnt, and reduced to utter desolation ! But the things which took place afterwards, did our Saviour, from his foreknowledge as THE WORD or GOD, foretel should come to pass, by means of those which are (now) before us. For He named the whole Jewish people, the children of the City; and the Temple, He styled their House. And thus He testified, that they should, on their own wicked account, bear the vengeance thus to be inflicted. For many times would He have gathered their children together beneath the yoke of the worship of God, just as all formerly was; even as He had from ancient times been careful for them, and had, during all ages, instructed them by one or other of the Prophets, and called them, but they would not hearken to his call;--on this account, He gave judgment against them, and said, "Behold your house is left desolate. It was therefore with special care that He said, not (only) the City itself should be desolate, but the House that was within it: that is, the Temple; (and) which He was unwilling should again be called His, or yet "the House of God," but theirs (only). He prophesied too, that it should be desolate in no other way, than as deprived of that providential care, which was formerly exerted over it: hence He said, "Behold your house is left desolate.

And, it is right we should wonder at the fulfilment of this prediction, since at no time did this place undergo such an entire desolation as this was.

Not at the time when it was rased to its foundations by the Babylonians, on account of their great wickedness, their worshipping of Idols, and pollution in the blood of the Prophets. For seventy years was the whole period of the desolation of the place in those times: because it was not (thus) fully said to them at that time, "Behold your House is left desolate. Nor was it (then so) forsaken; an event happening soon after, which dignified it with a renewal much more illustrious than its former state, as one of the Prophets had foretold : (viz. "The glory of this latter House shall be greater than that of the former. After the enouncement therefore of our Saviour,--that they should so be left, and their house come, by the judgment of God, to utter desolation ;--to those who visit these places, the sight itself affords the most complete fulfilment of the prediction. The period too has been that of many years, and (of duration) so long, as not only to be double of the desolation of seventy years,-- which was that in the time of the Babylonians,--but even to surpass four times (its duration) ; and (thus) confirming the judgment pronounced by our Saviour.

Again, on another occasion, our Saviour--walking by the side of the Temple, just mentioned, and His Disciples wondering at the building which surrounded it, and pointing out to Him the greatness and beauty of the same Temple;--returned to them answer and said, "Behold! see ye not all these things ? I say unto you, stone shall not be left here upon stone, which shall not be thrown down. The Scriptures do moreover shew, that the whole building and the extreme ornamenting of the Temple there, were indeed thus worthy of being considered miraculous: and, for proof (of this), there are preserved, even to this time, some remaining vestiges of these its ancient decorations. But, of these ancient things, the greatest miracle of all is, the Divine word (declaring) the foreknowledge of our Saviour, which fully enounced to those, who were wondering at the buildings (of the Temple), the judgment, that there should not be left in the place at which they were wondering, "one stone upon another which should not be rased" For it was right, that this place should undergo an entire destruction and desolation, on account of the audacity of its Inhabitants; because it was the residence of impious men. And, just as the prediction was, are the results in fact remaining: the whole Temple, and its walls,--as well as those ornamented and beautiful buildings which were within it, and which exceeded all description,--

have suffered desolation from that time to this! With time too, this increases :

and, so has the power of THE WORD gone on destroying, that, in many places, no vestige of their foundations is now visible! which any one who desires it, may see with his own eyes. And, should any one say, that a few of the places are still existing; we may nevertheless, justly expect the destruction of these also, as their ruin is daily increasing: the predicting word, just mentioned, daily operating by a power which is unseen. I know too--for I have heard it from persons who interpret the passage before us differently,--that this was not said on all the buildings, except only on that place which the Disciples, when expressing their wonder upon it, pointed out to Him ; for it was upon this that He spoke the predicting word. Again, the Scriptures of His Disciples which teach respecting Him, (teach) us these things (following), on the utter destruction of the place.--

On the taking of the City. From the Gospel of Luke. 19. "And, when He saw the city, He wept over it, and said, If thou hadst known, even in this day the things of thy peace.--But now, they are (so) hidden from thine eyes, that the days shall come upon thee, in which thine enemies shall surround thee, and shall press upon thee from every part of thee: and they shall utterly root thee up, and thy children within thee. The things, prior to these, were predicted respecting the Temple; these, which are now before us, respecting the City itself; which the Jews named the City of God, because of the Temple of God that had been built within it. Over the whole of this then, the compassionate (Saviour) wept. It was not, that He had so much pity on the buildings, nor indeed upon the land, as He had first upon the souls of its inhabitants, and (then) upon (the prospect of) their destruction. He pointed out moreover, the cause of their desolation when He said, "If thou hadst known, even in this day, the things of thy peace: intimating too His own coming, which should be for the peace of the whole world. For this is He, of whom it was said, "In his days shall righteousness arise (as the sun), and abundance of peace. He came also for this purpose, that "He might preach peace to them that were near, and to them that were afar off. And, of them who received Him, He said, "PeaceI leave to you I leave to you;

my peace give I unto you: the peace, which all nations who believed on Him throughout the whole creation, have received. But the people, who were of the circumcision and believed not on Him, knew not the things of their

peace : and, on this account, He said afterwards, "It is now (so) hidden from thine eyes, that the days shall come upon thee, (in which) thine enemies shall surround thee. The things (I say), which were therefore to take hold on them, a short time after, in the reduction (of the city) : (and), because they had no previous perception of the peace, that had been formerly preached to them, it should now be concealed from their eyes. They had therefore, no previous perception of any thing, which should afterwards befall them; He then plainly foretold these things by His foreknowledge, and gave open intimation of the reduction (of the city), which should come upon them through the Romans, (when saying), "The days shall come upon thee...because thou knewest not the things of thy peace. For, for this cause "there shall come upon thee the days, (in which) thine enemies shall surround thee, and shall go round about thee, and shall press upon thee from every quarter of thee; and they shall root thee out, and thy children within thee. In these (words) then, has been recorded the form of war which should come upon them.

And, how they were fulfilled, we shall presently find from the writings of Josephus, who was himself a Jew, and descended from a tribe of the Jews ;-- one of the well known and famous men among that people. At the time of the reduction (of the place), he committed to writing every thing that was done among them; and (so) shewed, that the predictions before us were, in their facts, fulfilled. Again, on the reduction of the City. From the Gospel of Luke. 20. "When ye shall see Jerusalem surrounded by an army, know ye that its desolation is near. Then let those who are in Judea flee to the mountains. And let those that are within it (Jerusalem) give up: and let not those that are in its borders, enter into it. Because these are the days of vengeance, that all which has been written should be fulfilled. But, woe to them that are with child, and to them that give suck in those days; for there shall be great tribulation upon the land, and great wrath upon this people. And they shall fall by the edge of the sword, and shall be led captive into all nations. And Jerusalem shall be trampled on by the Gentiles, until the times of the Gentiles shall be fulfilled. Previous to this He said, "Behold your house is left desolate. He now gives by the words before us, the signs of the times of the final destruction of the place; and these He shews, saying, "When ye shall see Jerusalem surrounded by an army, thence know ye that its desolation is near. Now, let no one imagine, that, after the reduction of the place, and the des-

olation that should be in it, another renewal of it shall take place, as it was in the times of Cyrus, king of the Persians; and afterwards in those of Antiochus Epiphanes; and again, in those of Pompey. For many times did this place suffer reduction, and was afterwards dignified by a more excellent restoration.

But, when ye shall see it reduced by armies, know ye that which comes upon it, to be a final and full desolation and destruction. He designates the desolation of Jerusalem, by the destruction of the Temple, and the laying aside of those services which were, according to the law of Moses, formerly performed within it. You are not to suppose, that the desolation of the city, mentioned in these (words), was to be such that no one should any more reside in it: for He says after this, that the city shall be inhabited, not by the Jews, but by the Gentiles, when speaking thus, "And Jerusalem shall be trampled on by the Gentiles. It was known therefore to Him, that it should be inhabited by the Gentiles. But He styled this its desolation (*viz*), because it should no more (be inhabited) by its own children, nor should the service of the law he established within it. And, how these things have been fulfilled, many words are not wanted (to shew) ; because, we can easily see with our own eyes, how the Jews are dispersed into all nations; and, how the inhabitants of that which was formerly Jerusalem,--but is now named Aelia by Aelius Hadrian,--are foreigners, and the descendants of another race. The wonder therefore of the prophecy is this, that He said of the Jews, "they should be led captive into all nations; and, of the Gentiles, "that Jerusalem should be trampled on by them. This miracle is then complete :

the Jews being now fully (dispersed) throughout the whole creation, so that they are (found) remaining among the Ethiopians, the Scythians, and in the extremities of the earth. It is only their own city, and the place in which their worship formerly was (carried on), that they cannot enter! But, if the city itself had been utterly desolated, and without inhabitants, men would have thought that this was the cause (of their exclusion from it). Now however, that the place is inhabited by foreigners, the descendants of a different race, and that it is not allowed to them alone even to set a foot in it, so that they cannot view even from a distance the land of their forefathers; the things foretold of it are fulfilled, in exact accordance with the prediction: (*viz*). "They shall be led captive into all nations, and Jerusalem shall be trampled on by the Gentiles" The manner moreover of the captivity, points

out the war. of which He spoke; "For (said He) there shall be (great) tribulation upon the land, and great wrath upon this people : and they shall fall by the edge of the sword. We can learn too, from the writings of Flavius Josephus, how these things took place in their localities, and how those, which had been foretold by our Saviour, were, in fact, fulfilled. He also shews plainly the fulfilment of the prediction of our Saviour, when He said, "Woe to those that are with child, and to them that give suck in those days.

For he has put it on record, how the women roasted their children by the fire and ate them, on account of the pressure of the famine which prevailed in the city. This famine therefore, which took place in the city, our Saviour foresaw, and counselled His Disciples that, in the reduction which was about to come upon the Jews, it was not for them to take refuge in the city as in a place guarded and preserved by God, but in which many should suffer ; but, that they should depart thence, and "flee to the mountains; and, that those, who should be within Judea, should give up to the Gentiles; and those, who were in its lands, should not take refuge in it as in a fortified place. On this account He said, "Let those who are in its borders not enter into it, since these are the days of vengeance, that all may be fulfilled which has been written. Any one therefore, who desires it, may learn the results of these things from the writings of Josephus. And, if it is right we should lay down a few things from him in this book, by way of testimony, there is nothing that should hinder us from hearing the historian himself, who writes in this manner;--

From the sixth Book of Josephus. 21. "And, How can it be necessary, that I should describe the severity of the famine, as to things inanimate? I come then to the making known of a fact, the like of which has not been recorded, either among the Greeks, or the Barbarians : one which, it is shocking to mention, and, to the hearing, incredible. I myself indeed, would gladly have left this calamity (unmentioned)--that I might not be thought by those who shall come after, to have related falsehoods,--had I not had many witnesses among those of our own times. I should indeed otherwise have rendered but a doubtful good, as to the land of my fathers, had I omitted to mention the things which, it has, in fact, suffered. A certain woman, of those who resided on the other side of the Jordan,--whose name was Mirian, well known on account of her family and wealth,--took refuge with many (others) in Jerusalem, and with them was shut up (in the siege). This woman's

other possessions, as they were after she left the passage (of the Jordan) and came into the city, the Tyrants seized. The residue of her treasures moreover, should it have sufficed for her daily sustenance, was invaded and seized by the attendant soldiers. Grievous indignation therefore, took possession of her; and many times did she excite the robbers against herself, by curses and reproaches. But, when no one put her to death.--either on account of her indignation or in mercy;

and she became weary of seeking sustenance for others from every quarter, and (as) suspicion was excited against her, even if she found (it) : hunger, at the same time, remaining in her bowels, and indignation inflaming her more than hunger;--she took for her counsellor impetuosity and necessity, and dared to do that which was contrary to nature. She seized upon her son,--for she had a sucking infant,--and said, "Wretched (babe) ! for Whom do I preserve thee in war, famine, and tumult?-- that thou shouldest be a slave to the Romans ? If thou shouldest indeed live happily with them, still famine precedes (this) servitude ; and the seditious are cruel. Come ; be thou thou to me for food; to the seditious, the vengeance;--and to the world, the tale which alone is wanting to (complete) the sufferings of the Jews ! And, saying this, she at once killed her son. She then roasted him, and ate a part of him ! the rest she hid, and kept! These sufferings out of many, I have here set down on account of the Divine prediction of our Saviour, which declared, "Woe to them that are with child, and to them that give suck in those days: and because it adds this also to the predictive words of our Saviour, "There shall be great tribulation on the land, and great wrath upon this people:

or, as Matthew has said, "For there shall be at that time great tribulation, the like of which has not been since the beginning of the world, even until now ; nor shall be" (hereafter). It will be well therefore, to hear this writer himself, when thus putting on record the fulfilment of these same things. From the fifth Book of Josephus. 22. "It would be impossible to give an account of each and every of their iniquities singly; we say then summarily, that no (other) city (ever) suffered all these things; and, that there never was a generation so fruitful in vices as this : for they destroyed the city itself! and (were the cause) that the Romans should be recorded,-- as forced by them against their own wills,--to this sad victory ! They accordingly dragged them on forthwith, unopposed, to the Temple ; and viewed from the upper city,

the fire that was burning within it." Nor were they pained, nor did they weep at these things ! Because, "there should be at that time great tribulation, such, that its like existed not since the beginning of the world." This very thing was foretold by our Saviour, which this writer attests ! the whole of which was fully brought to pass forty years afterwards, in the times of Vespasian the Roman Emperor. Our Saviour moreover, added to His predictions,--determining the time,--how long Jerusalem should be trampled on by the Gentiles; for He said, "Until the times of the Gentiles shall be fulfilled:" intimating by this, the end of the world.

Again, on the laws of the Jews, (viz.) that they should no more be observed, either on mount Gerizim, or in Jerusalem. And, on the service worthy of God, which should be set up in His Church. From the Gospel of John. 23. On the side of this our neighbouring city Neapolis of Palestine,--which was not small, but is even (now) a city of celebrity,--a woman of Samaria drew near to Him ; and, after other words, said to Him, "Sir, I perceive that thou art a Prophet. Our fathers worshipped in this mountain; but ye say, that in Jerusalem is the place where (men) ought to worship. Upon which, our Saviour returning this answer, said to her, "Believe me woman, the hour cometh (in) which, neither in this mountain, nor in Jerusalem shall they worship the Father. And, after a few other things, He said : "The hour cometh, and now is, (in) which the true worshippers shall worship the Father in spirit and in truth: for the Father seeketh even such as these to worship Him. God is a, spirit, and it is right that those who worship Him, should worship him in spirit and in truth. And, by these things also, He fully proved that His foreknowledge was not small. For formerly, in the days of Tiberius the Roman Emperor,--in whose times these things were said,--the Jews were particularly collected together in Jerusalem, for the observance of the precepts of their Law; and the Samaritans, on the mount called Gerizim which they honoured, on the side of Neapolis, affirming that it was right the Law of Moses should there be observed. Now, these mounts are, as it were, anathemas of God. With both, certain parts were honoured; and of both, the Scripture of each bears record ;

that of Moses, respecting Gerizim ; and those of the Hebrew Prophets, respecting Jerusalem. The sentence of judgment therefore, put forth in the Divine enunciation of our Saviour was, That no more, either in Jerusalem, or on mount Gerizim, should those henceforth worship, who then adhered so

pertinaciously to these places : which came to pass soon after. (For), in the days of Titus Vespasian, and in the reduction which happened in those of Hadrian, both these mounts were, according to His words, desolated. That on the side of the city Neapolis, was defiled by unbecoming Images, by Idols, by Sacrifices, and the shedding of blood, and (thus) rendered abominable. The Temple also of Jerusalem was rased to the foundations, and has remained, during the whole of the time mentioned, in utter desolation and (destruction by) burning. And, from that time and even until now, has the prediction of our Saviour been fulfilled, which declared, " The hour cometh, (in) which neither in this mount, nor in Jerusalem shall they worship," He terms the time (meant) "the hour; which was not yet at hand, but was about to be. And, speaking to His Disciples on the rational service to be completed by Himself, He added, " The hour cometh, and now is, that the true worshippers shall worship the Father in spirit and truth. He necessarily added therefore here, It "now is. For immediately, from the very hour (in) which he said these words, (viz.

" The true worshippers"--of whom He was the Head and Teacher,--His Disciples, who received the rational service,--from Him, did perform the service of God, "in spirit and in truth. But the thing, above all (others) prophesied of in these words, implies, that no more on any mount, nor in any distinct corner of the earth, but throughout the whole creation, should those " true worshippers" worship the God who is above all, and should present to Him the Divine services, which should be performed without blood, "in spirit and truth. Not by similitude, nor by those things of which He was the antitype, as were those of Moses observed by both Jews and Samaritans, in slaughter, sacrifices, incense, fire, and many other bodily modes;--that all of these should be abolished through the things now before us, did THE WORD OF GOD here predict. He also said, henceforth "in spirit and truth. That is, "the true worshippers" shall render to God, the service which is worthy of Him, in a manner divine and with both the soul and mind.

On the people which should be set up out of foreign nations, by means of his teaching. From the Gospel of John. 24. "I am the good Shepherd, and I know my own, and my own know me. Even as the Father hath known me, so know I the Father....And I lay down my life (lit. self) for my sheep. And I have other sheep, those who were not of this fold; and it is necessary that I

should bring in these, and that they should hear my voice. And there shall be one flock and one shepherd. By other words (too) He taught and said, "I am not come, but to the sheep that have strayed of the house of Israel. It was the Jewish people then, that He named under this figure; but, by the things before us, He predicted, that it was not those only who had become His disciples from among the Jews, that were considered (as) of the number of His flock; but those also who were without this fold. For thus, the word (Scripture) usually names at one time, the whole Jewish people; at another, Jerusalem, and the service there performed according to the Law of Moses.--That "He would collect other sheep which were not of that fold" implies the whole creation; and He foretold by these things, that out of them (this) rational flock should be so brought together to Him, that to the one and self-same worship of God, all, (both) Jews and Idolaters believing in Him, should come over;

and, that there should be " one flock and one Shepherd."This is His Church, which has been established both from among the Jews, and Gentiles. And thus, has it come to pass ! For at once, at the outset of the preaching of the Gospel, great multitudes of the Jews were convinced that He was the Christ of God, who had been preached of by the Prophets. And with these, (those), who believed on Him from among the Gentiles, were brought together in one Church, under the hand of the one Shepherd,--of Him who is THE WORD or GOD. For in Jerusalem itself arose, from among the Jews, one after another fifteen bishops of the Church there, from James who was the first. There were too thousands, at once both of Jews and Gentiles there, who had been brought together, even to the time of its reduction in the days of Hadrian. And, that He was the (good) Shepherd who had been many times preached of in the words of the Prophets, it is obvious to us: the words (I say), which mention THE WORD OF GOD and teach, that He is the Shepherd of the souls of men, as of rational flocks. For it is thus said on one occasion by the Prophets: " The Lord feedeth me (as a shepherd), and I shall lack nothing. And on another; "Shepherd of Israel look, (thou) who leadest Joseph as a flock: and, on another, He introduces (one) saying, "He is the Lord, and the Shepherd of the sheep.

He therefore alone, is truly declared to be the Shepherd of rational souls. For, just as the case is among men, the nature of the sheep is one, and that of the shepherd another; and, (as) the rational nature rules and leads that which

is irrational; so also is it with respect to the superiority of the Shepherd (here), THE WORD OF GOD, the nature far excels that of man. We indeed are His flock, and, as compared with His power, we are less rational than any sheep. But He is in truth the good and pure Shepherd, who does not so neglect His flock, that it may be devoured by the wolves; that is to say, by the wicked demons, the corrupters of souls. This constrains us to look to His word which declared, with great power and might, "I am the good Shepherd; and which also said, "I lay down my life for my sheep. (This) He said in a mystery respecting His death. He also taught at the same time the cause; viz. that it was for the redemption of the souls of the rational flocks, that He (so) gave His life. And this also: "I have other sheep," shews, that the Jews were not His only possession; but also, that the whole of the nations had been given to Him of His Father, according to this (declaration), "Ask of me, and I will give thee the nations for thine inheritance."

How His death was the cause of the redemption of many. From the Gospel of John. 25. He was often with the Jews, because to them were known the predictions of the Prophets respecting Him. But, because the Greeks upon one occasion also approached His Disciples, desiring to see Him,--it is written, that, when they had told Him this, He said: "The hour is come, that the Son of Man should be glorified. I say unto you, that unless the grain of wheat fall into the earth and die, it will remain alone; but if it (so) die, it will bring forth much fruit. By these things also) He obviously declared in a mystery, that, among the Greeks, among foreign nations and the children of a different generation, those things which comprehended the praises of His Godhead should be embraced. For it was not when He was among the Jews that he said, "His hour had come that He should be glorified," but, when the Greeks drew near to Him. After this, he necessarily continued shewing of His own death, His resurrection, and of the calling of the people, among whom He then was. For, just as the grain of wheat, before it falls into the earth, remains alone, but contains the life-producing-power, with the energies of the seed included within it, (and) which the ears shall produce; but, after falling into the earth,--just as that which lives after death,--it will increase, and, from the power vested within it, produce many ears of corn; so did He also declare respecting Himself, that the things should be. And this indeed, the result of them has plainly evinced.

For, it was not the Greeks alone who, after His death, received of His power and of the provisions of His Godhead, but also many nations. He was therefore, that seed which fell, and sprang up again, "He who was dead, but is alive. He, who after His fall which was by death, increased greatly, is He who has, by His resurrection, filled the lands of the heathen, as it were cultivated fields, with the Divine unutterable power. On this account He said, "The harvest is great, but the labourers are few. And again, "Lift up your eyes and see the fields, that they are white for the harvest. These things He also foretold (figuratively), of those who should after His death establish themselves in Him, through the pure faith which is by Him; the multitude of whom should, throughout the whole creation both of Greeks and Barbarians, constitute the Church to be established in myriads of congregations ;--collected together, as it were, (the produce of) rational well-cultured fields, into one place ; (that is) the souls of men, into the granaries of His Church. Hence it has been said, "He whose fan is in His hand, and who will cleanse His floor, and collect the wheat into (His) treasuries: but the straw He will burn with fire unquenchable."

How Simon the chief of the Disciples, should, like his Master, be given up to crucifixion, and depart this life. From the Gospel of John. 26. "My children, a little while I am with you; and ye shall seek me: even as I said to the Jews, whither I go, ye cannot come; and thus also I say again unto you. Simon Peter said unto Him, Whither goest Thou ? And Jesus answered him: Whither I go, thou canst not now come, but, after a time, thou shalt come. And again, in the latter part of the book, Jesus, after his resurrection from the dead, said to Peter: "I say unto thee, When thou wast young, thou girdedst thy loins, and wentest whither thou wouldest ; but, when thou shalt have become old, thou shalt stretch forth thy hands, and others shall gird thy loins for thee, and shall lead thee whither thou shalt not be willing. And these things which He said (were) to shew, by what death he should glorify God. And, when He had said this, He said to him, Follow me" And, Who is not astonished, that, when He said these things to His Disciples, they should be prepared and ready to adhere to Him even to death ? For He did not deceive them by intimating, or promising to them, the things considered good in this life ; nor did He by any such means, allure them to give their adhesion to Him ; but, He simply foretold those obvious tortures which should, on His account, befall them.

And (so) He previously shewed to Simon the mode of crucifixion, by which he afterwards closed his life in the city of Rome, in this which He said, "When thou shalt have become old, thou shalt stretch forth thy hands, and others shall gird thy loins for thee. And similarly, He also shewed mystically in this which He said, "Whither I go. thou canst not now come; but, after a time, thou shalt come. Now, these things were not said to them all, but only to Peter ; because it is he alone, who, in the Scripture, (is said) should end his life after the manner of the suffering of our Saviour. How He foretold to the rest of His Disciples, the persecutions which were about to arise time after time against them. From the Gospel of Matthew. 27. "Beware of men, for they shall deliver you up to their Rulers, and shall scourge you in their Synagogues, and shall bring you, before governours and kings for my sake, for a testimony to themselves, and to the Gentiles. And again, "Blessed are ye when they persecute you, and revile you, and say every evil (thing) against you, for my sake. Rejoice and exult, since great is your reward in heaven ; for so they persecuted the Prophets who were before you. Now, the wonder is this, (viz. the additional word here saying, "for my sake. For it was not sufficient, that He should only foreknow and foretel the persecutions which should arise against His Disciples; but, that He might also shew the cause of these, He said, they should suffer these things for His sake. Nor was it on account of any evil practices, nor yet for any other fault; but,--(as) He previously testified,--that every thing (of this sort) should befall them for His sake: which is present in the fact for our information ! For if any one, during the time of the persecutions, denied only that he was a Christian, he was released from all blame and cause of accusation. But, so irreprehensible and sinless were the lives of His Disciples to be, that they should suffer every sort of calamity for no other cause, except only their confessing, and giving testimony to, Him.

He did indeed, fully stir up and make'them ready (for this), by comparing them with the ancient Prophets and Friends of God ; for, (said He), even as they persecuted the Prophets who were before you, so shall they, without cause, drive you out; and, after the manner of the Prophets, shall ye be punished, because ye worship the God who is over all; on which account, they also persecuted the Prophets. Now that He should foretel, that even governours and kings should be moved by these things; that the time was then at hand; that He should (so) speak with His Disciples; and that His words

should so come to pass and remain in fact, How greatly does it exceed (all) wonder ? For there have been many others, both Barbarians and Greeks, who have said and promised many wise things to their Disciples. Of these, some supposed that there was no God; others annihilated every consideration about Providence; and others (received) those who were thought Gods by the many: others arose (as) the leaders of vicious factions; others (who thought), that Rest was the extreme (good) : and others, that Rest indiscriminately was; and who indeed talked just as they might be circumstanced. But never did any one of these, previously determine such things for His Disciples. Nor do we know of any persecutions that opposed them, such as those were that opposed the teaching of our Saviour.

How then shall we not wonder, and confess, that these are indeed the words of God ?--these (I say), which not only previously attested, through the Divine foreknowledge, the persecutions which should come upon His Disciples; but also, previously pointed out the cause of these, by this which He said, that these things should happen to them, for His sake? How those also who were equals should arise, and persecute each other, in the times of the persecutions. From the Gospel of Matthew. 28. "The brother shall deliver his brother to death, and the father his son: and the children shall rise up against their parents, and shall cause them to be put to death. And ye shall be hated of all men for my name's sake; but he, who shall bear even to the end, shall live. Now, how these things have, even to the present time, been fulfilled in fact, What need is there that we should shew at length, since these facts are superior to all report ? We have seen too with our own eyes, how many things of this sort took place, both during the persecutions, and in our own times. Nor do you simply hear this, that "the brother should deliver his brother to death; for even this might have been as any mere matter of opinion. But we can investigate (the case), and inform ourselves how it was, that "the brother delivered his brother to death."-- When one surrenders himself to fraternal affection, and chooses the love of life, and denies God, and particularly with respect to his brother, whom he will solicit and persuade to worship idols; will excite and inveigle, putting forth (his) fraternal affection, so as to make him disregard the command of our Saviour; then indeed, will the brother deliver up his brother to the death of his soul. In like manner also, will the father cause his son to err (by enticing), and will persuade him to worship the idols, and (so) deliver him to death.

So also the children, their parents: they will, through their affection for them, (so) lead them on, that they will choose the mortal life which now is, rather than that which is with God; and will (so) become the cause, both of the death and perdition of the soul of their parents. And many such things as these, did we witness with our own eyes, during the times of the persecutions ; so that in them was fulfilled the (prediction) : "Ye shall be hated of all men for my name's sake. In this place also was this addition carefully made, teaching the Disciples that, it should not be for any hateful deed, but for His name's sake, they should be hated. On those who should impurely collect themselves into His Church, and on the punishment that should come upon them. From the Gospel of Matthew. 29. "The kingdom of heaven is like a net that fell into the sea, and collected of every sort (of fish) ; and, when it was full, they drew it up to the shore, and sitting down they selected those that were good, and put them into vessels; but the bad, they threw away. Thus shall it be in the end of this world: the angels shall go forth, and shall separate the evil from among the just, and shall cast them into a fiery oven: there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth." The "net"--which is here (put) by a figure for the word,-- and which is woven (as it were) from the various mind of the old and new Scriptures, He names His own doctrine : the fluctuating life of man, which is subject to hardship in its doings on account of the calamities attending it, "the sea." Out of this (sort of) life, as from the sea, the "net," so foretold, was to catch up tens of thousands. And under it were to be (taken), the various multitudes of those opposed to each other in their characters; and of these, the good and bad in their dispositions. Of these too he spoke mystically, as being caught up from the sea after the manner of fish, when He said in the first calling of His Disciples, "Follow me, and I will make you fishers of men." This collecting together therefore of such men, bad and good, in His Church,--assembled (as they are) to this very time,--was not unknown to Him : for He taught, that these same should at last be separated by the Angels, who should be appointed to this (work) ; and (so) should the punishment, due to the disposition of each one, be awarded.

How Impostors and Seducers should invest themselves with His Doctrine, and formally present themselves to Him. From the Gospel of Matthew . 30. "Beware of lying Prophets who come to you in lambs' clothing, but inwardly (are) rapacious wolves. By their fruits ye shall know them. For men do not gather grapes from thorns, nor figs from thistles. So every good tree pro-

duceth good fruit, but an evil tree giveth forth evil fruit. He (here) counselled (them) by His foreknowledge, to beware of those ungodly persons, who, availing themselves of the opinions of others, and of the words of the Scriptures of His Divinity, should in after times formally assume the name of Christianity. He also shews the marks and vouchers of the evil concealed within them, and which should deceive the many, when saying, "By their fruits ye shall know them. Now the fruits of such are these ; the ungodly words uttered by them; their unrighteous and perverse manner of life. These things then, when uttered and foretold by our Saviour, afforded at that time no visible testimony whatever to those who heard them, (as to their truth) ; but, in after times, the facts (so) declared became openly visible to all: the followers accordingly of Marcion, Valentinus, Basilides, and those other corrupters of souls, sprang up, (viz. Bardesanes, and that madman in opinion of yesterday, and of our own times, whose name became the titular badge of the Manichean heresy; who all became the sources of lying and ungodly doctrine. Nor did they otherwise come to light, but as outwardly clothed with the skins of our Saviour's lambs. And He plainly styled His Disciples "sheep;

saying, "My sheep hear my voice: and again, "Behold, I send you as sheep among wolves. Of these then they outwardly assumed the manner, while in themselves they were "rapacious wolves. (And), How many thousands of the sheep of our Saviour, did these Deceivers snatch away ? Who, presenting their persons in form as to Christ, attached themselves to His instruction, and to the terms of the doctrines relating to His Godhead, and exhibited themselves as (His) lambs ! But, that ungodly bitterness which lay (as) in ambush within them, adhered secretly to those who had been ensnared by them. These, therefore, who were now thought to be "sheep," because of their (thus) drawing near (to Him), openly appeared afterwards to be "rapacious wolves. And hence, our Saviour taught us previously to beware of them, when He said by way of instruction, "By their fruits ye shall know them." How even He and His Disciples should be thought to have taken men, by means of Magicians, and of intercourse with Demons.

31. "The disciple is not greater than his master, nor the servant than his lord. It is sufficient for the disciple that he be as his master, and for the servant, as his lord. And, if they have called the Lord of the house Beelzebub, How much more the children of his household? Fear them not therefore, for there is nothing hidden that shall not be revealed; nor concealed that shall

not be made known." The Jews held that Beelzebub was an evil Demon, and prince of the Demons: they blasphemed our Saviour accordingly, (affirming) that by the power of this, He expelled the rest of the Demons from men . But, He returned the true answer to those who thought this, which is also written among His words. He foretold too, to His Disciples, that they also should be thought to overcome men, through intercourse with Demons and Magicians: which very thing, now affirmed by the many, has sealed and confirmed the prediction of our Saviour. He also gave His testimony, that this notion, (so) ascribed to them, should come to nothing, from (the consideration) of their lives, and conduct; their purity of doctrine, and that (inculcating) the worship of God. He said therefore, "Fear them not; for there is nothing hidden that shall not be revealed, nor concealed that shall not be made known." He therefore reproved these (Disciples), for a considerable time, because the things formerly escaping the many, had, on this account, been supposed (by them) to be incapable of publication; as also those, belonging to the doctrines of the (true) worship of God, of being made openly known. But, His ordinances and precepts have now been made known to every man ; and He has extinguished that (injurious) opinion respecting them, (His Disciples) which had formerly been held by the many.

On those who should remain in complete holiness in His Church, and in the life inexperienced (in conjugal) Society. From the Gospel of Matthew. 32. When He determined for them, that (one) should not leave his wife except in the matter of fornication , and His Disciples said to Him, "If the cause of a man with the wife be thus, it is not advantageous to take wives;" It is written, that He said upon these things, "Every man is not sufficient for this matter, except those to whom it is given. There are eunuchs, who were, thus from their mothers' womb; and there are eunuchs, who were (made) eunuchs by men ; and there are eunuchs, who have made themselves eunuchs, for the sake of the kingdom of heaven. He who can bear (it) let him bear (it)." It is evident from the context of the Scriptures, that there never was among men, and particularly among the Jews, any one who uttered by revelation any thing like this ; or, who did any thing like it: or that, throughout the whole creation and among all nations, whether in the cities or villages, there were multitudes, not of men (only), but also of women, who kept themselves in perfect holiness, and the state of virginity, through the hope and expectation of the kingdom of heaven. We have seen in the very experiment itself, that

they learned they should soon be prepared for this. The fulfilment however, of the claim to foreknowledge, was not simply (realized here); for we have seen many men, well known to us, who (actually) availed themselves of the iron (knife,) and made eunuchs of themselves for no other cause, except that of the hope of the kingdom of heaven: who neither hesitated, nor were weak in the doctrine of our Saviour, but simply and boldly betook themselves to the thing itself. So that the foreknowledge of our Saviour, even respecting these things, sets to its seal, that His word was in truth the word of God.

On the distinction of those who should not worthily receive the seed of His doctrine. From the Gospel of Matthew. 33. When a great multitude of men had come near Him, He thus foretold by a parable what those should be, who should receive the seed of His doctrine, saying : "Behold, a sower went forth to sow: and, as he sowed, some fell by the way side, and the fowls of heaven came and devoured it: and some fell on the rock, where there was not much earth, and immediately it sprang forth ; and, because there was no depth of earth beneath its root, it dried up. And some fell among thorns, and the thorns sprang up, and choked it: and some fell upon good ground, and it gave forth fruit, some an hundred, some sixty, and some thirty-fold. After these things He cried out and said, He that hath ears to hear, let him hear" After this also, He was asked by His Disciples, what the interpretation of the parable should be; and He taught them, saying, " Hear ye therefore the parable of the sower. Every one that heareth the word of the kingdom, but understandeth it not,--the Evil one cometh, and snatcheth the seed out of his heart. This is that which is sown by the ivay side. And that which is sown upon the rock, is he who heareth the word, and with readiness receiveth it: but, not being confirmed therein, he is offended by a little affliction.

And that which fell among the thorns, is he who heareth the word, but the care of the world, and the deceitfulness of riches, choke the word, and it remaineth without fruit. But that which is sown on good ground, is he who heareth the word, and understandeth it, and produceth fruit, some an hundred, some sixty, and some thirty-fold. Now, Whence could it have happened to human nature, not only to declare by (one's) foreknowledge something that should come into being; but also, to determine the kinds and sorts of persons (who should), unless indeed He were truly THE WORD of God ?--He (I say), who at that time (so) prophesied and taught;--of whom it is said, "The WORD OF GOD is lively (energetic), and more sharp and

cutting than the two-edged sword, and passeth even to the parts of the soul and of the body, and of the joints and marrow; and is the Judge of the thoughts and intentions of the heart, and from whom no creature is hidden? He well declared therefore, the distinguishing marks of those who should afterwards receive His doctrines; and He also foretold, that those who should in impurity receive the seed of His instruction, should be of three kinds; as should in like manner the good, who should like good ground hear much, and give great increase to the word itself. Of those corrupters of the seed too, which should fall into their souls, He declared there should be three (moving) causes :

Either from the considerations of life, and the care of things not (absolutely) necessary, and from riches and pleasures, immersing (as it were) the seed sown within them, and making it resemble the seed choked by thorns: or, others not receiving it into the depth of the mind, but immediately extinguishing it when affliction overtakes them: or, the third cause may be, that the source of the destructions of the seed within them is, the surrendering of a lax and ready hearing to (men) wishing to seduce them, and to snatch away the seed that had fallen into their souls. And these same are, in no other way cut off from bearing the fruit that is of God, except as by one or other of the means just mentioned. But those who are opposed to these, and receive the seed of salvation into a soul that is pure, and a mind that is devoted, do again, as their power may be, greatly increase their fruits. He moreover assimilates the distinctions of these, to those of good and excellent lands which bring forth some thirty, some sixty, and some an hundred-fold. For such as these powers are, are those occasionally found in the souls of men. These things therefore, He prophesied on these matters. But, of the multitude of those who should in after-times bear (much) fruit, through the instruction of His words, He thus cried out and said, "The harvest is great, but the labourers are few.

Pray ye therefore the Lord of the harvest, that He would send forth labourers into His harvest. And again, of these same He said on another occasion : "Do not ye yourselves say, that there are yet four months, and the harvest cometh ? Lift up your eyes, and see the fields that they are white for the harvest! And, Who does not wonder, that He should shew even the fewness of those who should in purity be the chiefs of His word, for He said, "The labourers are few? And, as prayer was necessary for the obtaining of these, He

said therefore, "Pray ye the Lord of the harvest, that He send forth labourers into His harvest. When He said therefore, "The sower went out to sow," He also said, that there was another sower, and another seed ; and He also shewed and taught, whence, and whither, he went forth by the things said in the parable immediately following this, which is in this form:--

On the teaching of Heterodoxy, which should be sown together with His word in the souls of men. From the Gospel of Matthew. 34. He added another Parable, and said: "The kingdom of heaven is like to a man, who sowed good seed in his field. But, when men slept, the Enemy came and sowed Tares among the wheat, and departed. When therefore, the wheat sprang forth and produced fruit, the Tares appeared in like manner. And his servants drew near and said to him : Our Lord, Didst not thou sow good seed in thy field? Whence are there Tares in it ? But he said to them, The man (who is) the Enemy hath done this. They say to him: Is it thy will therefore, that we go (and) gather them ? But he said to them, No; lest, while ye gather the Tares, ye also root up the wheat with them. Let them both grow until the harvest. And at the time of harvest I will say to the reapers, Gather up first the Tares, and bind them in bundles for burning; but gather ye the wheat into the granaries" (lit. treasuries). This same Parable too, He explained to His Disciples in the house, when they drew near to Him and said, "Explain to us the Parable of the Tares of the field. And He answered them, and said: The sower of the good seed is the Son of man; and the field is the world. (As to) the good seed, these are the children of the kingdom; and the Tares, those are the children of the wicked one; and the Enemy, who sowed them, is the Accuser.

And the harvest is the end of the world, and the reapers are the Angels. Even therefore, as the Tares are gathered up, and fall into the fire; so shall it be at the end of this world. The Son of man shall send His Angels, and they shall gather out of His kingdom all offences, and those that do evil, and shall cast them into the Gehenna of fire: there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth. And then shall the righteous shine in the kingdom of their Father. He that hath ears to hear, let him hear. Our Saviour shewed therefore, by His explanation of the Parable, these things (viz.), who the sower that went out to sow the seed was, and what the seed was which He cast forth, in the expressions: "The sower of the good seed is the Son of man ; and the field is the world. For He usually called Himself the "Son of man," on account of His going about among men. He therefore went forth from within, and came out.

Where then was He within, but above the world ? where (indeed) He existed; and in the end of the world He came forth, and came down to us, who were without (out of) the kingdom of heaven. And with Him He brought the heavenly seed, which He sowed in the souls of men as in distinguished lands.

For the Parable placed before us teaches respecting the field, as of what sort it is, into which He cast the seed;--which says, "The field is the world; and it shews of this field, that it belongs to none but Himself;--to Him who came forth from the inner part of His kingdom, to those who were "without" (out of it), when saying, "the servants drew near and said to Him, "Our Lord, didst not thou sow good seed in THY field? He therefore taught plainly, that even this field is His own : and this He interpreted and shewed, was the world. In the former Parable therefore, He shewed His foreknowledge as to what the distinctions of those would be, who should receive the seed into their souls; but in this, which is placed before us, the perverse doctrines and errors of the ungodly Hereticks: when not one of them had yet so established himself among men! Nevertheless, it was not unknown to Him that this should come to pass. For, as false scriptures were scattered as seed in succeeding times throughout the whole earth, with enouncements assimilated to those of His doctrine, by an opposing nature, not unlike the Tares (sown) among His pure words and life-giving doctrines;--and there are myriads even to this time, some of whom make their boast of Manes, some of Marcion, and some of others, of those (I say) who put forth ungodly heterodoxy, and "Tares" (as it were), assimilated to the doctrine of our Saviour;

making use of His name, and holding false books of the Gospels;--but he who was the Father of these things; --he who first sowed them in the souls of those who received him, was the Accuser himself: so He (our Saviour) well evinced, by the Divine power, the foreknowledge of what should come to pass; and these things He previously testified, which have been thus fulfilled in fact; and accordingly their fulfilment was, as His words (had foreshewn). As He therefore truly shewed forth these things, and as we see in the facts themselves, the fulfilment of these predictions of our Saviour; so ought we also to think, that the rest shall come to pass. And these are, "the harvest," "the end," and "the angels the reapers: also that the Tares shall be gathered, and shall fall into the fire;--the extreme good things too of those, who shall have preserved and multiplied the living, pure, and life-giving seed ; of

whom it is said, "Then shall the righteous shine as the sun, in the kingdom of their Father."

On those who should falsely name themselves the Christ. From the Gospel of Matthew. 35. "When He sat on the mount of Olives, His Disciples drew near, saying between themselves and Him, Tell us, When shall these things be ? and What is the sign of thy coming, and of the end of the world ? And Jesus answered them, and said, See that no man deceive you: for many shall come in my name, and shall say, I am the Christ; and shall deceive many" And again, after a few things He said, "If at that time any one say to you, the Christ is here, or there; believe ye not. For false Christs shall arise, and false Prophets, and shall give great signs and wonders, so that if it were possible they should deceive even the elect. Behold, I have foretold (it) to you. If therefore they shall say to you, Behold, He is in the desert, go not forth; or, Behold, He is in the chamber, (it) not. For, as the lightning shineth from the East, and is seen even to the West; so shall the coming of the Son of Man be" And on another occasion, when speaking with the Jews, He added these things and said, "I am come in the name of my Father, and ye receive me not; but, if another come in his own name, him ye will receive. These things He foretold when warning His Disciples against the lying Antichrist, whom they were expecting:

and one (of these) shewed of another in the Epistle to the Thessalonians, who (should be) in (the time of) the end. But, that others also should be before this, our Saviour Himself foretold in several places: "For many," said He, "shall come in my name, and shall say, I am the Christ, and shall deceive many. And there were many (such) after (these) His words. And so the Samaritans were forthwith persuaded that Dositheus, who was after the times of our Saviour, was the prophet of whom Moses predicted . And he so deceived them, that they declared he was the Christ. Others again, in the times of the Apostles, named Simon Magus "the great power of God" and thought that he was the Christ. Others (thought the same) of Montanus in Phrygia: and others again, of others, in another place. Nor did the deceivers cease. And it is necessary we should suppose, that there were many such as these; so that even from them, testimony may be had, as to the reality of our Saviour's foreknowledge. Our Saviour taught moreover, that His glorious second coming should not again be, as it was at the first, in some one place, so that it may be supposed to be visible in some corner of the earth: and, that no one

should thus think, He said, "If any one shall say to you, Behold, the Christ is here, or is there, believe ye not.

For opinions such as these comport by no means with Him, but with those false Christs and false Prophets. He indeed appeared once in the form of man, and in a certain district. But, of what sort his glorious second coming from heaven should be, He taught and said, "For, as the lightning goeth forth from the East, and is seen even to the West; so also shall the coming of the Son of Man be." On the events that should happen at the end of things. From the Gospel of Matthew. 36. "Ye shall hear indeed of wars, and rumours of wars: see that ye be not moved, for it is necessary they should be; but the End is not yet. For nation shall rise against nation, and kingdom against kingdom. And there shall be famines and pestilences, and commotions in divers places. And all these are the beginning of sorrows. Then shall they give you up to affliction, and shall kill you in divers places. And all these are the beginning of sorrows. Then shall they give you up to affliction, and shall kill you; and ye shall be hated by all nations for my name's sake. And after this He added, and said, "Then shall many stumble, and shall betray one another, and shall hate one another. And many false prophets shall arise, and shall deceive many. And, because of the abundance of iniquity, the love of many shall wax cold. But he, who shall bear until the End, shall live. And the Gospel of the kingdom shall be preached in the whole world, for the testimony of all nations; and then cometh the End. He clearly foretold also by these things, that His Gospel should, of necessity, first be preached in the whole creation, for the testimony of all nations, "and then should the END come. For the END of the world should not come, before (the Gospel) had been preached; but, when His word should have so taken effect among all nations, that the people should be few, among whom His Gospel had not been preached;

so also should the time of the END be short (in its coming). He further teaches and says, "Ye shall hear of wars, and rumours of wars: see that ye be not moved, for it is necessary they should be; but the End is not yet. He also shews when this shall be, for He says, "The Gospel of the kingdom shall be preached in the whole creation, for the testimony of all nations: and then cometh the end. When also, "famines and pestilences, and commotions (shall be) in divers places, and nation shall rise against nation, and kingdom against kingdom" and there shall be overwhelming persecutions, and great

afflictions. After these things too, He says, "And ye shall be hated of all nations" not on account of any other hateful acts, but "for my name's sake." 37. These proofs of the Divine manifestation of our Saviour, which we have thus far seen, are at the same time demonstrative, that both the words and deeds (had in view) are Divine. For in former times, the words were simply heard; but now, in our times, the fulfilment of these words is openly visible in deed, together with powers eclipsing those of all mortal nature. And, if men will not be persuaded by these, we ought not to wonder: because it is usual with man so to resist things the most plain, as even to dare to oppose by his words the existence of an universal Providence; and hence also, to deny God himself! And thus also, will he disingenuously contend against many other things, to which the truth bears testimony. But, as the injurious conduct of these detracts in no respect from the word, which is in its own nature true; so also will the wicked unbelief of men, in no way injure the evident excellency of the Godhead of our Saviour. But, if it is right that we should compose, for these also, a form (of prescription) conducing to intellectual health ; it is time that we should here again present, for their use, (other) proofs of the (truth of the) Gospel, and now also recite the things, which have formerly been investigated with reference to other (objectors), as to those who will not be persuaded by the things (hitherto) said.

The End of the Fourth Book (of Eusebius) of Caesarea. [Selected foot-notes. Notes concerned only with points of the Syriac and large chunks of Greek have been omitted]

BOOK 5

BOOK V. THE FIFTH BOOK OF (EUSEBIUS) OF CAESAREA. 1. SUCH as these (then), are the proofs of the Divine manifestation of the common Saviour of all, Jesus the Christ, which have been thus far visible to the eyes, shewing forth at once the Divine words and deeds. For in ancient times, the words, of which we have already spoken, as to things which should come to pass, were simply heard ; those (I say) which He prophesied to His disciples when He was near, (and) in their presence. But now, in our times, the fulfilment of these words is openly viewed in fact, with powers eclipsing that of all mortal nature. And, if men will not be persuaded of these things, we ought not to wonder: because man is accustomed so to resist the clearest things (possible,) as to dare to oppose in his assertions even the existence of an universal Providence, and thus also even to deny God Himself! And thus disin-

genuously, will he also contend against many other things, to which the truth (itself) bears testimony. But, as the injurious conduct of these detracts in no respect from the word, which is in (its own) nature true; so also will the wickedness of the unbelief of men, injure in no respect the evident excellency of the Godhead of our Saviour. Let us not deign therefore, even in word to attach ourselves to these. For those, whom the works of God will not persuade, the word of man will be (too) abject to move. Nevertheless, let us again take up the more vigorously, those things against such, which we formerly investigated by questions, in proof of the Gospels. If therefore ally one should, after all this, impugn the truth and dare disingenuously to affirm, that the Christ of God was not (such) as we believe He was, but was a magician, seducer, and impostor; we would present to him, as an infant in mind, those things which we also formerly investigated:--

Against those who suppose that the Christ of God was a magician and deceiver. 2. Let us now ask then, Whether there ever was a man heard of at any period, who (as) a magician and deceiver, was (also) a teacher of humility, meekness, purity, and of every other virtue? And, Whether it is just to call by these names, Him who would not allow, that (men) should even look upon women with evil desire? And, Whether he could be a magician, who delivered the chief philosophy by teaching His disciples, that the indigent should of their wealth adhere to Him, and that compassion and liberality should abound with them? And, Whether He could be a magician, who forbade the assembling together of ferocious and tumultuous inhabitants, and taught them to love the retirement only, which devotes itself to the word of God ? How could He,--who deterred from every species of falsehood, and commanded that men should so honour truth above all things, that they should not stand in need of a true oath, much less of a false one,--be justly named a magician? But, What need can there be, that I should now say many things (on this point,) since we may readily inform ourselves from His own words,--which have, even to this day, been preached throughout the whole earth,--what the sort of conduct was, which was disseminated by Him in the world ? Every one who loves the truth will confess of Him, not only that He was neither magician nor deceiver, but was THE WORD OF GOD in truth, and the teacher of the divine philosophy and righteousness; and not of this common philosophy of the world ;--

3. But the things pertaining to His form of doctrine were such as these.-- Come then, let us enquire whether this His error, consisted in (any of) the many things of His teaching. Observe then, Was it not God, the King of all, Him alone, of whom it is written that He is the cause of every good thing, that He taught and presented to His disciples ? And, Do not the words of His doctrine to this very time, raise the mind of every Greek and Barbarian in existence, to the God who is supreme, to Him (I say) who is the maker of the heavens and of the earth, and of the whole world; making (them) overleap all visible nature, and every thing fabricated ? Was this then His error ? or, Was it, that He did not allow those to worship many gods,--to whom it had been made clear, from this worship of God only, that He could not be convicted of falsehood:--(and) who had fallen after their Head, on account of this real error? But this was not new, nor was it His word (only), but that of those Hebrews, friends of God, who arose in ancient times. And from them it was, that these recent (true) philosophers were aided in these great (performances), and gave in to their doctrines: the wise men of Greece too, glorying in the divinations of their deities, have put it thus on record of the Hebrews, that "wisdom came to the Chaldeans alone, and the Hebrews purely worshipped the Essence of the person of God, the King of all."

4. If then those ancient friends of God,--those to whom (these) divinations have more particularly home testimony,--did raise the act of worship (directing it) to the God who is over all; How should we confess of Him, that He was a deceiver, and not a most wonderful teacher, who has extended this worship of God--as to the things which were known only in former times to these descendants of the Heads of the Hebrew fathers,--to all mankind ! And this to such a degree, that no more, as in those times, a few, and those easy to be numbered, hold the orthodoxfaith respecting God; but thousands of congregations of barbarians at once, and of those who in ancient times were perfectly savage, also of the wise, and men of Greece,--of those (I say) who now, like the prophets and just men of old, have been taught in the worship of God, solely by means of His power, and of His instruction !

5. But, let us also investigate this third (consideration). Was it then for this, that they called Him a deceiver (viz.), because He taught, that men should no more honour God with the slaughter of bulls, or with the sacrifices of irrational animals ? Neither with blood and fire, nor with incense, which are of the earth, because these things are of small value and earthly ;

and shewed that they never could comport with the nature which is immortal and incorporeal?-- determined also that to keep the commandments of God, and by their means to purify both the soul and body, was more acceptable and becoming to God, than any sort of sacrifice ?--inculcated too that men should be careful to become like God, both in enlightenment of mind, and in the knowledge of his worship ? And, should any one of the Greeks find fault with these things, let him know that it is not to be imagined, that the things (so) received are against (even) those of His own teachers, who have put much together on this (matter,) viz.; That (men) should not suppose they honoured God by means of blood and the sacrifices of irrational animals, or by those of fire, smoke, and the fumes of fat.

6. We know too that we are, after these things, taught by Him that the world was made; and that these Heavens, the Sun, the Moon, and the Stars, are the work of God; and that it is not right we should worship these, and not Him who is the Maker and Creator of them all. It may be well therefore for us to see, how He could have deceived men, from whom we have learned to think that this system (of things) is nothing new, but is that of the Hebrews, the ancient friends of God. Even this sentiment was also from these famous philosophers;--they delivered these same (particulars), affirming that these beavens, the sun, the moon, the stars, and the whole world, were also made by Him, who is the Creator of all things. He also taught us to believe, that the soul which we possess is immortal, and that it is in no respect like the animals that are irrational, but that (the faculties) within it resemble the powers of God. He likewise taught, that all those who were barbarian and ignorant, should (at once) make this their own, and be, and know. And, How was it, that we were not made wise by those sages among the Egyptians, or by those Greeks who made broad their foreheads; those who said that the soul which was in man, was in no respect better in its essence than were gnats, fleas, worms, or reptiles; nor even, than the soul of the serpent, the viper, the bear, or the panther? and that swine, as to their soul, differed in no respect, (from men) ?--

7. And, that after these things, He perseveringly admonished (men) of the judgment of God, and of the punishments and vengeance,--things from which we cannot be exempt,--which are recorded against the wicked; also, of the promises of eternal life, of the kingdom of heaven, and of the life of happiness with God, respecting the just. Whom then did He deceive ? Did He

not rather stimulate (men) to hasten on to virtue, because of the victories reserved for the righteous ? and, to flee from, and repel from them, every vice, because of the punishments to be inflicted on the wicked ? Such then, being the instructions contained in the doctrinal ordinances of our Saviour; What room does there remain for imagining, that we should suppose Him to have been a Deceiver and Magician ?--But, let us also investigate these things.-- 8. When a magician associates his companions with the things of this vice, Like to what men does he make them ? Is it not to magicians, deceivers, and fabricators of magical drugs,--in all respects like himself ? Was there ever, then, a man found among the whole Christian race, who fabricated magical rites or drugs, from the doctrine of our Saviour ? There is no (such thing) existing for any man to say; but, the contrary to this, that they have been seen passing over to the precepts of the philosophy which is Divine. How then, can He be justly styled other, in truth, than the Teacher of the life which worships God, the common Saviour of all,--who became throughout the whole habitable world, and to all nations, the (sole) cause of purity and of holiness of life, and of the knowledge (inculcating) the worship of the Creator of all things ?

9. Those too, who adhered to Him from the first, as well as those who afterwards received the traditionary account of the manner of their conversation, were, as to all these matters, so far removed from suspicion of evil and bitterness, that they did not even allow the sick to do many things which the many dared to do; either, that they should write (charms) upon tablets, or make use of amulets; or, that they should in their minds have respect to those who promised to use enchantments; or, that they should prescribe for the persons (of the sick), as cures for complaints, either the fumes of roots, or of apples, or of any other similar things. All these things were therefore, excluded from the doctrine of our Saviour: nor was there ever a Christian to be found who used amulets, or enchantments, or the means of written tablets, or, indeed, any other forms allied to these; the indiscriminate use of which was in repute among the many. What then can be said against the men who had been instructed in these things, so as to cast the imputation on them, of their having been the disciples of a master who was a magician ? when, behold, the association of any one among the disciples, who promised any (new) doctrine, was severely reprehended! Those men therefore both of art

and science, to whom He was the cause of their (christian) instruction, fully confessed of Him, that He was much their superior (in these respects).

For, even as physicians are witnesses of the goodness of the doctrine of their master ; so, of geometricians, Who has assigned any other instructing heads, except geometricians ? and of arithmeticians, except arithmeticians ? And in like manner, of the magician, the best witnesses as to these things have been His disciples, who have (always) fully resembled their Master, and have done (as he did). But no man has ever been found, during all these years, a magician and (at the same time a) Disciple of our Saviour; when, behold, kings and governours have, during the whole of these times, made the most careful inquiries into (these) things by means of the worst of torments ! 10. And thus indeed, neither was there (ever) any magician His Disciple, so as to be left free and exempt from every (sort) of condemnation; being only reduced by them (the persecuting emperors) to sacrifice. 11. But, that our discourse may not wander from Scripture, take the proof of these things even from the writings of those primitive acquaintances and Disciples of our Saviour, (as found) in the book of their own "Acts." They so wrought upon those of the Gentiles who received their doctrine, that many of these,--who formerly accused them of magic,--so entirely changed their conduct, that they boldly brought forward the abominable books which they had formerly kept secret, to them into the midst of the assemblies, and threw them into the fire in the presence of all. Hear then the statement of these things, which runs thus:-- 12. "The greater part then of those who practised magic brought in their books, and burnt them in the presence of all men; and they reckoned their price, and it was found, that they were worth fifty thousand" (pieces of silver).

13. Such therefore were the Disciples of our Saviour, and such was the entire power of the word, which they put forth in their discourses with (their) hearers, that it became fixed in the depths of their souls;--were so struck and inclined, that every one took up the resolution no more to suffer those things to remain hidden, by which the many had formerly been implicated in error, but that these secret things should be brought out into the light, and that they should become witnesses against themselves, of their own former wickedness. Such also were those who became their Disciples, so pure, noble in soul, and abundant in love, that they allowed nothing impure to remain concealed within them, but, on the contrary, they gloried and exulted

in their change from vice to virtue. Sincetherefore, the Disciples of our Saviour were seen to be such, Must not their Master have first been much more excellent? But, if you wish to know from those who are Disciples, of what sort their Master was, you have tens of thousands of the Disciples of the precepts of our Saviour even to this time; of whom there are multitudes of congregations of men, who have armed themselves against the lusts of the nature of the body, and have accustomed themselves to preserve their minds uninjured by any of the evil passions : those (I say), who have passed their whole lives, (and) grown old in purity ; and have put forth, from the provisions of His word, the most brilliant examples (to others).

14. Nor was it that men only were in this manner (attached) to Him, and became Philosophers; but also tens of thousands of women throughout the whole creation; those (I say), who like Priestesses of the supreme God, attached themselves to the most exalted service, and applied themselves to the love of the wisdom which is heavenly. On the generation of the body they cast contempt, giving all care to their soul, keeping themselves in purity from every thing sordid and unclean, and extending their desiresto all holiness and to virginity. The Greeks, indeed, sing of one shepherd who left his place for the sake of philosophy, and him they hawk about here and there. This was Democritus. They also express their astonishment at one Crates, who gave his possessions to his citizens. He then took with him himself alone, and boasted in the provisions of liberty. But these counterparts of the word of our Saviour, are tens of thousands in number; nor was it one, or two (only), who sold their possessions and distributed them to the poor and needy: indeed we ourselves are witnesses, that these were even such among men ; and, in the effects themselves, we have seen the righteousness of the doctrine of our Saviour.

And, What need can there be that we should say, how many myriads even of the barbarians themselves, and not (of these) only, but also of the Greeks, have, by the doctrine of the words of our Saviour, been raised above every error of a plurality of gods, and have recognized and confessed the one only God, the Father and Creator of this whole world? Him (I say), whom one Plato formerly knew, but confessed that he durst not speak of Him before all men; because such power as all this of God's worship was not with him: but to these the Disciples of our Saviour it was, through the help of their Lord, easy to acknowledge Him, and to find Him (at hand as) the Father and Cre-

ator of all. To every race of men did they reveal Him, and so preached the knowledge of Him to all, throughout the whole creation, that, from their teaching, there are even to this time, among all nations, tens of thousands of congregations, not only of men, but also of women, children, slaves, and villagers! All this (then accrued to them) from this philosopher, so that they were not wanting, not only to make Him known (as) the Maker and Creator of this whole world, but they also became his ambassadors in every place. Such were the victories of the common Saviour of all; these, the deceptions of Him who was thought to be a Deceiver! While, behold, such alone were His Disciples and acquaintances;

from whom it was (but) right, we should learn of what sort their Master was. 15. Come then, let us again try the matter thus,-- You say of Him that He was a magician; and not (only so,) but, that He was a maker of magicians. You style Him cunning, and a deceiver. How then was it, that He was the first, and the only one, who has arisen capable of this matter? Or, Is it (not) right we should, according to custom, ascribe the cause to the Teachers? If then He was the first and only one capable of this;--no one having taught Him, and He having never learned any thing from others, nor yet derived it from the ancients;-- How is it not then incumbent on us to confess of Him, that His nature was Divine? He (I say), who without book, without precepts, and without teachers, (so) learned of Himself, and was seen to know from Himself, the Maker of all these things? when, observe, it is impossible for any one to acquire a knowledge of the art of the goldsmith, of logic, or of the primitive elements (of the world), without some one to instruct and teach him. But, if He was out of nature;--and no one ever, (so) taught of himself, came out a teacher of grammar, or of rhetoric; not having previously been taught; nor, has there been a physician, or builder, or practitioner of any other art: these things being but small, and belonging to men; but this, one might say, is of the Teacher of the whole habitable world; (viz.) that He performed the miracles recorded in the Scriptures, (and) whose Disciples (taught) by Himself were such; having received nothing from the ancients, neither having had any help from those moderns who performed things not unlike what others had done, who had preceded Him;--What other thing can we testify or confess, but that the matter is in truth Divine, and such as exceeds all human nature?

16. But. you say of Him that He had deceiving teachers, and that neither the sciences of the Egyptians, nor those mysteries which were formerly preached among them, escaped Him: that from these He collected together (His doctrines), and that He seems to have been a man of this description.-- If then others, His superiors, appeared before Him, and were His teachers, whether in Egypt or elsewhere; Why did not the fame of these also run forth, prior to His name among all men, just as His has done? and, Why is not the praise of them also proclaimed, even to this time, just as His has been ? and, Who is the magician, of those who arose at any time, Barbarian or Greek, who was the teacher of such disciples; the originator of all such laws and precepts as these are; and has shewed forth the power of (this) the common Saviour of all ? and, of Whom has it ever been written, that He did such cures as those which have been recorded of our Saviour?--The knowledge too of something to come to pass, with all those predictions ? those too, which like these, have by their means been laid down as principles, What other has, either before, or after Him, been memorialized as having delivered ?

and, Who is it that has promised that he would effect those things, throughout the whole habitable world, which he had (so) predicted, and has, in fact, so confirmed His words, that, even to these our times, the fulfilment of His predictions is visible to our own eyes ? And, Whose disciples and eye-witnesses of the things themselves (here had in view), have ever so sealed the truth regarding those which they attested of their Lord, by the trial of both fire and sword, as these Disciples of our Saviour have done ?--who (indeed) bore the reproach of all men, for the sake of the things which they had seen and witnessed of Him, and submitted to every species of torment; while the end of their testimony respecting Him was, as that of the Son of God ! How much less would magicians seal with their blood their testimonies? And, Which of the magicians, even if it ever came into his mind to set up a new people in his own name, did not only think of doing this, but also gave effect to his project ? How would not this eclipse all human nature, that he should also frame laws opposed to the error of a plurality of Gods, and adverse to the ordinances of Kings, Legislators, Philosophers, Poets, and Theologians? and, that he should send these forth and shew, through the period of a long life, that they were (at once) triumphant and faultless?

17. Which of the magicians is it, who ever projected that which our Saviour did ? But, if one did so project; still he dared not to advance this. But, if

one so dared; still he brought not the matter to effect. He (the Saviour) said in one word and enouncement to His Disciples, "Go and make disciples of all nations in my name, and teach ye them every thing that I have commanded you." And the deed He made to follow the word. For thence, every race of the Greeks and Barbarians became at once, and in a short space of time, (His) Disciples: The laws too of our Saviour were not written in any Book of His; but, without book, were disseminated at His command among all nations; (and) these were opposed to the ancient worship of a plurality of Gods:--laws at enmity with the Demons, and unfriendly to every error of a multitude of Deities :--laws purifying the Scythians, the Persians, and other Barbarians, and converting (them) from every savage, and lawless sort of life:--laws subversive of the customs, which had obtained from ancient times among the Greeks, and teaching the new and genuine worship of God. How then have they dared so (to advance) such things as these, that one should say of Him, that He was probably aided (in) this magic by others,--the ancient magicians,--who were before His times? But, if there was no other person, whom any one could say resembled Him ; neither was there consequently, who could have been the cause of His possessing all this superiority.--It is now time therefore that we should confess, that an extraordinary and Divine Nature came into the world, which first and alone performed the things which had never before been commemorated among men.

18. Let us again ask, after these things, Whether any one ever saw with his eyes, or learned by hearing, that there were magicians such as He was, and composers of (magical) drugs, who, without libations, sacrifices, and invocations of Demons, performed the rites of magic ? When, behold, it is well known and clear to every one, that the whole process of magic is usually effected by these things. For, How can any one bring an accusation of this sort either against our Saviour, or against his Disciples, or against those who are, even to these times led by His doctrine ? Is there a man who can bring such an accusation as this against them? Is it not evident, even to the blind, that we are prepared for every thing the reverse of these things ? And that we dare to surrender up ourselves to death in an instant ? but that we will not sacrifice to Demons :--that we instantly submit to be put out of life; but do not submit to be subjected to Demons! And, Who is he who knows not how delightful it is to us, that, through the name of our Saviour, (coupled) with prayers that are pure, we cast out every kind of Demon ? And thus the word

of our Saviour, and the doctrine which is from Him, have made us all to be greatly superior to the power which is invisible, and impervious to inquiry;

and, (such) that we are ready to be enemies and haters of the Demons, but not that we should be friends, or followers, of (their) customs; much less be subjected and obedient (to them). How then could He have been a slave to the Demons, who delivered such things as these, to those who were devoted to Himself? And, How could He have sacrificed to evil spirits? Or, How could He have called upon the Demons (as His) assistants and helpers, when all the Demons and impure spirits have been agitated, as by some torment or punishment even to this very time, at the mention of His name ? (and) have departed and fled before His power, as it was the case in former times, when He conversed with men, when they could not bear to see Him ; (one and) another, crying out from another place, and saying, " What have we to do with thee, thou Son of God ? Art thou come to torment us before the time?"

19. Now, Is not the man whose mind is intent on magic only,--and is wholly addicted to things (thus) base,-- in his character openly odious, vile, corrupt, iniquitous, ungodly, and impious ? And being such, Whence, and How, can he teach others, either the things which pertain to the worship of God, or which respect purity ? or, which concern the knowledge of God ? or, which are on the immortality of the soul ? or, which inculcate righteousness, and the judgment of God who is over all? Would he not be an ambassador of the things which are opposed to all these? persevering in those that attend on hatred, and the denial of God ? and rooting up as fabulous the (doctrine of a) general providence of God ? and laughing at the words which treat of virtue, and (affirm) of the soul that it is immortal ? If indeed, such things as these had been witnessed (of Him), then would there have been nothing, even respecting this our (Teacher), which we could have said to the contrary. But, if in all His words and His deeds, He was seen to call upon God who is over all, and King of all; and prepared his Disciples to be such; and, if He was Himself temperate, and a Teacher of temperance ; if too, He was a doer and a preacher of righteousness, of truth, of mercy, and of every virtue; and, if He shewed forth the worship of God, the King of all; How does it indeed not follow upon these things that we should think of Him, that not one of those wonderful acts which He did was done by magic ? and confess that it was, in truth, by the unseen power of God ?

20. These things then, are directed (against) those who dare, with ungodly mouths, to blaspheme against Him. But if they change and confess of Him, that He was a teacher of purity and sobriety of life, and a bringer in of the doctrine of the (true) worship of God; still, that He was no doer of those wonderful, powerful, and miraculous works which are recorded of Him, or of those divine deeds which are superior to man; and, that His Disciples have fabricated these same; it is now time that we should also meet this accusation. Against those who do not believe the testimony of the Disciples of our Saviour, respecting His miraculous deeds. 21. If then (these) should say of Him, that He wrought no complete miracle, nor yet any of those wonderful works of which His disciples bore testimony, but that His disciples have otherwise falsely stated them, and have lied for the purpose of putting forth miraculous relations about Him ; let us see whether the word of these is to be taken as satisfactory: there being no (earthly) cause that they can assign, why they the Disciples, and He their master, went forth into the world. For He who teaches, gives a promise of some doctrine: and they again, the Disciples, love both the precepts and doctrines, as if (conveying) some (valuable) art, and give themselves up (accordingly) to the Teacher. What ground therefore, can there be for any one to speak against the disciples of our Saviour, on account of their conversation with Him ? And, What could have pressed them to this care respecting Him, and that they should have recorded Him (as) the teacher of such doctrines to themselves ? Or, Is (not) this clear ? For the things which they learned of Him, they also declared fully to others: and these were the appointments of this His philosophy. They were too, the first ambassadors of God who is over all, of the providence of God, of the righteous judgment (of God,) of the soul's being immortal, of the distinction between the life of the good and the bad, and of other things of this kind, which are written in their Scripture.

It was also a precept pertaining to the life of this philosophy, which He laid down for them when He said, "Possess ye neither gold nor silver in your purses, neither scrip for the way,"? with other similar things: but (His great precept was), that they should give up their souls, only to the providential care of the Governour of all, and not be anxious on account of want. And He so instructed them, that they should consider (His precepts) much better than those which Moses delivered to the Jews. For he laid down a law for them, --as for men to whom murder would be easy,--that they should not

kill. And in like manner, that they should not commit adultery, as to men dissolute and adulterous. And again, that they should not steal, as to men to whom slavery would be suitable; and, that they should not injure, as to men who were fraudulent. But of these, He knew that it was desirable they should stand in need of no such laws; but that this should above all things be precious in their sight, (viz. that their soul should be subject to no (evil) passion; and that they should root up and expel from the bottom of their heart, as from its root, the germ of (every) vice; (and,) that they should be superior to wrath, and every base desire: that is to say, that they should not even be angry, because of the superiority of their soul, as being free from passion ;

that they should not look upon a woman with evil desire; that they should so labour against theft, that they should give of their own to them that needed; and further, that they should not glory in this, that they injured none, but (rather) in this, that those who wished to injure them, they bore with without anger. But, What need is there that I should collect together all the things which He, and they, taught ? He also counselled them,--together, with all these things,--that they should be so confirmed in the truth, as not to be under the necessity of giving even a true oath, much less a false one: but that they should so form their character, that in it, apart from every sort of oath, they should appear as true, and should proceed no farther than "yea" (yea), and should in their conversation truly apply this. 22. We may ask therefore, whether there is any thing--whatever it might be--against those who were the hearers of these things, and who forthwith arose as teachers of them to other Disciples, (out) of which we may suppose they fabricated all the things, which they attested their Master had done. And, What is there in this leading us to suppose, that they all thoroughly lied ? They were, in number, the Twelve who had been chosen, and the remaining Seventy of whom it is said, that He sent them before Him, two and two, into every place and part to which He was about to go. But, there is not so much as a word that can be said of this whole company, (shewing) that they belied Him :--of men, who loved the life that was pure, and the worship of the (true) God ; who cared but little for all the children of their own families; and who instead of their friends, their wives I say, their children and all belonging to them, took to the life which had no possessions; and fully gave their testimony to their Lord, as from one mouth, among all mankind.

23. This is therefore, the leading, primary, and true reason. Let us then, also investigate that which is opposed (to it). Let Him therefore be (considered) the Teacher, and them the Disciples ; and so, as it were in a relation of hypothesis that He taught none of the things already mentioned, but those opposed to them (*viz.*); that they should forthwith be transgressors of the Law; should act impiously, iniquitously, fraudulently, and falsely; should swear falsely, and do (many) hateful things, and if there be any other vice that can be named. Now, all these things are wholly foreign to the doctrines of our Saviour; they are opposed (to them,) and would be the (offspring) of arrogance and impudence. Nor, are they only opposed to His words and doctrines, but also to the mode of life which has hitherto been delivered to all nations; that which is practised in all His Churches. But, even if the matter be (wholly) false, then cannot its like be advanced; (*viz.*) that we should have been a race so negligent, as not even to have examined the things now before us!--Let Him then be (supposed to have been) the Teacher of every vice, and iniquity; and that the chief care was, that they should after all these things remain concealed. And such custom is most wisely concealed under the form of a doctrine which is pure, and putting forth a new (mode) of worship. These then, were led by such things, and by others still worse. For vice previously ensnares, and it constitutes the teaching of itself. They would (then,) exalt their Master to a state of greatness by lying words, and spare not even one expression of falsehood; and falsely ascribe to Him every sort of miracle and wonderful work, that (men) might wonder at them and felicitate them, that they were dignified by being the Disciples of such a Master.

24. Come then, let us now see,--if they really were such, --whether it was possible that could have been established, which they endeavoured to do for Him. For they say, that "Evil is friendly to evil, but not to good. Whence then, is this agreement in vice to be discovered in the multitudes of all these men ? And, Whence this testimony respecting them (*viz.*), that the object of them all was in unison ? And, Whence this doctrine about the Divine appointments, and the teaching of the (true) Philosophy ? Whence also, the mind (intent) on the life of virtue ? And, Whence the doctrine (inculcating) flight from every vice ? Whence also, the knowledge and recording of precepts such as these ? And, Whence the glory of the conduct and conversation which was delivered by them, throughout the whole creation of man ? Whence too, all this power ? Whence this courage ? Whence this confidence ?

Whence this resignation even to death?--But, Who would at the first, even in opinion, have had respect to the man who taught vice and bitterness,--as it is (here) said of Him,-- and who promised such things ? They would surely say (such were the deeds) of a Magician. But, the Disciples of this Leader were in nothing vicious. And, Must not they have understood these things at the end of their Master ? and, by what sort of Death he was affected ? Why then, after such an end of shame, did they continue in these things ?

and affirm of Him who was then among the dead, that He was God, unless they thought it a thing of no moment, that they themselves should suffer similar things ? Now, Who is it that has voluntarily and openly ever chosen punishment for the sake of nothing profitable ? For, had they been desirous of possessions, so would they also of profit: and, if they had been abominable in character, they would have been lustful. We may then think of them perhaps, that they had thus dealt with the matter for the sake of these things, and intrepidly exposed themselves even to death ! But, if they preached what was adverse to these, and fully proclaimed (it) in the hearing of all the congregations (of Christians); and also, immediately instructed (men) in the doctrine of the Scriptures, (viz. that they should flee from every vicious and base desire; should avoid every thing fraudulent; should overcome every sort of lust, and the love of money; and that they did moreover, so teach those who became their disciples; it will be likely that they carried on no merchandize, collected no wealth, and took no part in a life either of ease, or of pleasure. Since therefore, they were led by none of these things; How could they have been induced to suffer, for no object, the worst of punishments and of vengeance, for the testimony given of their Master, which, again, had no foundation in fact?

25. But let it be granted, that they honoured Him while He was yet with them, and had His conversation among them, and led them astray by deception, as it has been affirmed; How was it then, that even after His death, and then much more strenuously than before, they went on calling Him God ? Because, while He was yet among men, it is said that they even forsook and denied Him, at the time when His deceivers were ready (to take Him); but, after His departure from among men, they joyfully chose death, rather than relinquish the good testimony they had given respecting Him ! Those (Disciples) therefore, who formerly knew no good thing of their Master, neither the life, deed, doctrine, nor work, that was worthy of praise; and, who had

received no advantage from Him, except indeed vice, and the leading astray of men; How was it, that they so easily gave themselves up to death, not, because they were in any respect guilty, but because they had attested things so glorious and praise-worthy of Him; when behold, it was in the power of every one of them to live in safety, and to lead a life of comfort at home with his friends? But, How could men, who were themselves deceived and deceiving, submit willingly to death for another, who, as they knew with certainty, (and) better than all others, had not been in any one thing the cause of good to them, but--as men say,--the Teacher of every evil?

A man endued with mind and virtue, may indeed for some noble conquest, or for some excellent person, occasionally with propriety, and even with glory, submit to death. But he, who is so base in character as to have been in pursuit only of the things of a temporal life, and the enjoyment of lusts, has never chosen death rather than life; nor has suffered severe punishment for the sake of his friends, much less for one convicted of vice. How then, could the Disciples of the (Person) mentioned,--who could not have been ignorant that He was a deceiver and magician, if He really had been such, and even retaining in themselves every vice that was hateful,--have willingly undergone every species of torment and of punishment from their countrymen, on account of the testimony they had given of Him? But this is by no means, the disposition of the vicious. For I myself have seen many, who have faithfully kept society and oath with the living; but who, as soon as these died, dissolved every compact of this sort entered into between them. And we all know accurately how the Sophists,--brought together in the cities (generally), and in glorious repute for their erudition and display of words,--load with praises the governors, and those vested with great power and rule, just so long as they retain this; but, as soon as any change (in this respect) happens to them, these also change their words;

and no more will they willingly memorialize those whom they formerly did, purely from the fear of those (now) in power. 26. If then, these Disciples of our Saviour were deceived and deceiving, I would add this also: They were unlearned, and altogether illiterate; that is, they were even barbarians, and understood no language except the Syriac. How then did they, after the departure of their Lord from among men, go forth into the whole creation, and give their testimony to His Godhead? And, by What sort of advice were they prevailed on to attempt this? By What power too, did they effect that

which they undertook? It might have happened indeed, that some rustics at their own homes would be perverted and led astray. But, that they (the Disciples) should be sent forth into foreign countries, and should not relinquish their object through remissness, but should preach the name of our Saviour to every man, together with His deeds of wonder; and not this only, but should also teach His commandments both in the villages and cities;--some of them to the Roman power (itself), and (so) apportion to themselves this city of the empire: others also, to the Persians; others, to those among the Armenians; others, to the nation of the Parthians; and again, to that also of the Scythians: (that) some of these should go forth, even as far as the extremities of the creation, and arrive at the country of the Hindoos; others pass over to the Islands beyond the ocean, and which are called Britain;--could not, I think, have been the things of men; How much less, of those who were deficient and illiterate? How much still less, of deceivers and magicians?

27. How then could those, whose experience of their Master was, that He was vicious and a perverter,-- and who had with their own eyes witnessed His departure by death,--have used such terms with each other, for this (viz.), that they should unanimously lie respecting Him ? For they all attested as with one mouth, the cleansing of lepers, the casting out of Demons, the raising of the dead, (the restoring of) sight to the blind, and many other instances of cure, which were effected by Him :-- 28. And after these things, His resurrection after the death which they had previously witnessed? For, to such things, not happening, nor even being heard of in their times, How could they, with one mouth, have given testimony, and convinced (themselves) that they came to pass ? and have continued to place faith in (this) their testimony, even to death ? Was it, either that they were brought together, and that they swore to do this ? and that they entered into compact with one another, to fabricate, and falsely to put forth, things which never came to pass? And shall we say, that they used terms to this effect as the pretence for such compact? or, such as these? Men, our friends!--Him who was, (as it were) yesterday or the day before, a Deceiver and Teacher of error,--who suffered extreme punishment before the eyes of us all,--we know better and more accurately than any other, how far He excelled, because we were the Disciples of His secret mysteries. He appeared as pure to the many, and

thought that He possessed something better than the many. But He possessed nothing great, nor yet any thing worthy of (that) His resurrection ;

unless one might say, that He was cunning and impure in character, and that those were perversions which He taught us, and the false boastings which was favourable to such things;--come, let us give the right hand to one another, and let us all at once enter into compact among ourselves, that we will unanimously put forth, among all mankind, falsehood respecting Him, and will say, that we saw " Him give sight to the blind," a thing which no one (of us) ever heard of; and that " He cleansed the lepers" and "Raised the dead. And we will in a body affirm, that things were done by Him which we (indeed) never saw; and were said (by Him) which we likewise never heard. Those things too which were done, as it were in reality, we will contend for (as such). And, if this His last end has been published, and He so openly received His death that no one can conceal it, we will nevertheless, impudently make this of no effect; attesting pertinaciously that He rose from the dead; was also with all of us, and accompanied us both in conversation and in the usual meals. Let this then, be pertinaciously and shamelessly retained in all these things, and so remain with us, that we persist in it even to death !--For, Why might we (not) expose ourselves to death for nothing ? And, Why should it molest us, willingly to receive stripes and torments in our persons, for nothing that is necessary ?

And, if it be required that we should suffer imprisonment, injury, and affliction, for nothing that is true; should submit instantaneously to this; should all of us together lie by consent, and put forth falsehood for no profit whatever, either to ourselves or to those who may be deceived by us; or, to Him, of whom these lies have been told by us; affirming that He was God: and that we should extend this falsehood, not only to our own people, but should also go out among all mankind, and fill the whole creation with the things we have (thus) laid down respecting Him; and should thence proceed forthwith, to make laws for all nations, subversive of the opinions respecting the Gods of their forefathers; those (I say), which had from ancient times been established among them : and, that we should first of all lay our commands upon the Romans, not to worship those whom their forefathers supposed to be Gods; that we should then also pass off to the Greeks, and preach that which is also adverse to their wise men : that we should not neglect the Egyptians, but contend also with their Deities, but should not draw out

against them the things of Moses, which were in former times adverse to them, but place against them the Death of our Teacher as something terrific:

and should destroy that fame respecting the Gods, which formerly went out from among them to all mankind, not by mere words, and stories, but by the power of our Lord, of Him who was crucified; and, that we should again proceed even to the extremities of the land of the Barbarians, and subvert the things (prevailing) with all men: and for this purpose not one of us should be wanting : For the reward pertaining to the things which we (so) attempted, would not be small, since the triumphs to which we should present ourselves, would not be simple ones; but, as it is likely, (would be) punishments awarded by the laws of every place; open bonds, torments, imprisonments, fire, sword, (death by) the cross and (by) wild beasts: but, because we would acquire a likeness to our Teacher, we would willingly rather, and with joyfulness one and all, continue (partaking) in these calamities! For, What can there be better than this, that we should be found enemies to both God and man, for no one thing profitable ? And also, that we should obtain nothing of ease ? neither should see our friends, nor in any way increase our wealth ? nor even possess the hope of any good to perfection ? but should, on the contrary, vainly and without any object err ourselves, and lead others (also) astray ?

For this is the helpful thing (had in view), that we should both be opposed to all nations, and also engaged in contention with those Gods, whom all men have from ancient times confessed: and, that we should preach of Him who was our Teacher, and who died before our eyes, that He was God, and the Son of God : and that we ourselves should be ready to die for Him, having learned from him nothing true, and nothing advantageous! And that we should particularly honour Him, because He aided us in nothing excellent: and should moreover do every thing in order to glorify His name; suffer every sort of injury and vengeance, and willingly receive every form of punishment for nothing that is true! For, evil certainly is truth, and falsehood has that which is opposed to vice. On this account we say, that "He even raised the dead, also cleansed the lepers, also cast out Demons, and was the doer of other wonderful works," when we know of no such things done by Him, but have fabricated all these things for ourselves; and (thus) led all astray, on whom we could prevail to do so ! But, if any one would not be (so) persuaded, still we ourselves should,-- for the sake of the things which we

had (so) bargained upon among ourselves,--have brought forth upon ourselves the things worthy of such a system of error.

29. And Do these things appear to you as convincing ? And, Can you so far persuade yourself, that they (His Disciples) did falsely put forth such things as these ? And, that men so deficient and unlettered, did actually make (such) compact among themselves, and (triumphantly) walk over the power of the Romans ? Could human nature, possessed as it is with the love of life, have ever submitted, for no object and of its own will, to death ? Or, Could the Disciples of our Saviour have been carried on to such an excess of madness, that they should at once,--when they had seen no act of a miraculous character performed by Him, --have falsely put forth by compact such things as these? And again, Could they have put together such lying statements respecting Him, and then have readily submitted to death in support of them? 30. But they went not forth by compact, to this (work of) preaching respecting Him; nor did they make (any compact) among themselves. Whence then, had they this perfect agreement of testimony respecting His deeds ? Is it (not) likely, from seeing the things which were done by Him ?-- For one of (these) two things must be the fact: (viz.) Either, they made compact among themselves, and lied; or else, they attested (what) they had seen with their eyes. If then, they really saw (the things), and preached (them) to all men; they were worthy of credit when they said of our Saviour, that He was God; and, that He permitted them to see with their eyes, (the putting forth of) Divine powers, Miracles, and wonderful Works. If however they really saw none of the things (so) recorded, but put together false statements; and accordingly made oath, and sworn covenant, on this, (viz.) that they would say nothing true, and (then) lied, and attested of their Lord what was false; How could they in reality have submitted to death, for nothing true ? and, that neither fire, nor sword, nor fierce beasts, nor the depth of the sea, could make them falsify the accounts, which they had (thus) falsely put forth respecting their Lord ?

31. But, How can you say that they neither expected nor hoped, that they should suffer any calamity from this their testimony respecting Him; and, that they therefore went out, even boldly, to the (work of) preaching about Him ? On the contrary, it was impossible they should not have hoped, that they should suffer every sort of calamity: superinducing as they did the destruction of the Gods, at once of the Romans, the Greeks, and the Barbari-

ans. Now the Book itself, which (speaks) of them, shews plainly, that after the death of their Lord certain men, enemies of the word and who lay in wait for it, laid hands on them; delivering them first to imprisonment, and then strictly commanding them, that they should speak to none in the name of Jesus. And, when they found them afterwards openly teaching the multitudes the things respecting Him, they violently seized, and scourged (them), and forbade them (so) to teach ; Simon Peter answering said to them, "It is right that we should rather hearken to God, and not to men. After these things too, Stephen was stoned with stones, and died; because he had openly spoken (of Him) in the assembly of the Jews. And there arose no small persecution against those, who were the ambassadors of the name of Jesus. And again at another time, when Herod the king of the Jews slew James the brother of John with the sword, he, the same, confined Simon Peter in bonds, as it is written in the Acts of the Apostles.

And, while these suffered such things, the rest of the Disciples persevered, grew strong, and remained in the doctrine of our Saviour ; and again preached to all men more particularly respecting Him, and His wonderful works. After these things, James--whom those who formerly resided at Jerusalem called "the Just" on account of his great excellence,--was interrogated of the chief priests and doctors of the Jewish people, as to what he thought of Jesus; and, when he returned answer to them, that " He was the Son of God," he was also stoned with stones by them. Simon Peter too, was, after his Head (i.e. Christ), crucified at Rome. Paul also was taken off (slain,) and John was committed to the island (Patmos in banishment). And, while these suffered such things, not so much as one of the rest forsook His (Christ's) doctrine; and (indeed) all of them prayed, that such things might befall them, in order that they might, for the sake of the worship of God, be like to those already mentioned. And, on this account again, they openly gave their testimony of our Saviour, and of His wonderful works, the more abundantly.

32. And observe, If the things which they preached respecting Him were lies, and they had fabricated them by compact; we ought to wonder how this whole company could have observed this agreement, in what they had fabricated, even to death. And no one of them ever betrayed any fear, on account of the things that had happened to those who had previously been slain; or left their society; or preached that which opposed what his companion had; or brought to light the things they had (so) agreed upon. But even

he, who,--filled with the love of money,--dared to deliver Him up to (His) enemies, did forthwith, and with his own hands, inflict punishment on himself ! 33. Now, Is not this replete with wonder, that men, who were deceivers and unlettered, knowing neither how to speak, or understand, any language beyond that of their fathers, should not only undertake to go forth and to pass into all nations, but should also (so) go forth and effect (their) purpose ? And, let this also be considered, that not even one of them ever uttered a word adverse to the marvellous deeds of their Lord ! If then, the agreement of witnesses is sufficient to settle any of those things, about which there is doubt, and which is commonly brought into dispute in the courts of law;--and the law of God has declared that "in the mouth of two or three witnesses, every matter shall be established,"--Shall not the truth also be established by these, who were the chosen twelve, and the Disciples seventy in number, and thousands of others besides these, all of whom at once exhibited (so) wonderful an agreement, and who have (so) given their testimony to the things done by our Saviour ? This too they did, not without affliction; but in the suffering of torments, and of every species of injury, of scourgings, imprisonment, and deaths! On this account they were through God believed, in order that (He) might everywhere confirm the word preached, by their means, throughout the whole habitable world, even to this day !

34. Let it be considered then, that we have granted these things, by connivance at an unjust principle. For (in) this, that a man might imagine that which is adverse to the Scripture, and, that we should say of the common Saviour of all that He was a Teacher, not of righteous precepts, but of those of vice, fraud, and of every sort of abomination; and, that these His Disciples learned the same from Him, and were all lustful and vicious in every thing, beyond all men that ever existed; we allowed, by connivance, according to the statement (supposed), that which is of all things the most improper. For this would be, as if one should in a similar manner, injuriously accuse Moses who said in the law, "Thou shalt, not kill; neither shalt thou commit adultery ; neither shalt thou steal; neither shalt thou bear false witness; and should say, that he uttered these things by way of irony and in hypocrisy; for, it was his wish (nevertheless) that his hearers should kill, commit adultery, and act in direct opposition to the things, which he himself shewed the Law laid down; and put forth (merely) the form of an approach to purity of life!--But there is nothing so shameless as this ! In like manner also, might any one

arraign the positions of the Philosophers among the Greeks, whose lives were those of patience, as were all their words, and might say, that they were in their conduct opposed to what they wrote;

and so shewed themselves to have made a mere (hypocritical) approach to the life, which belongs to philosophy. And thus, we affirm, might any one simply arraign all the writings of the ancients, and shew cause against the truth which they contain; and might Himself receive that, which is diametrically opposed to these! But, as it cannot be difficult to any one possessed of common sense, to pronounce of this that it would be madness; so also, of the precepts of our Saviour and of His Disciples, should any one pervert the truth which is (found) in these, and then attempt to fix upon Him the things diametrically opposed to His teaching.-- But, let that be granted which the statement itself requires. How much more will it then appear, that the assertion of the opponent cannot stand, as (being grounded) in a connivance (concession) which it is improper to (allow) ?

35. These things being then refuted, let us also consider the testimony of the Scriptures of the Divinity, and the spotless and truth-loving manner of the Disciples, of our Saviour. Any one therefore, who chooses (to exercise) a sound mind, may hence see, that they were worthy of all dignity, since they confessed that they were mean and unlettered in their discourse, and betook themselves to a love for the doctrine of the worship of God, and of philosophy. They also desired the life, capable of submitting to sufferings, and afflicted by fasting, (by) abstinence from wine and from flesh, and (by) many other humiliating things of the body; by prayer and supplication to God, and more particularly by temperance, and the chief holiness of body. and soul. And, Who is not astonished at this, that they should, for the sake of the excellency of wisdom, have even separated themselves from the wives that had been lawfully given to them ? and that they were led by no natural desire, and subdued by no love of children; since they desired not the children that were mortal, but those which were immortal ? And, How can any one fail to wonder at this their character, that they desired no money ? or (How) imagine this, that they fled not from, but loved, a Teacher who despised the possessions of gold and silver ? and the Lawgiver, who laid it down that they should not enlarge their possessions even to two coats?

which any one hearing, would doubtless seek excuse from its severe requirements; while they were seen to act upon it, even to the letter ! For, upon

a certain occasion a lame man--one of those who begged, on account of the extreme doubt as to provision,--asked (alms) of those who were about Simon Peter: and, when Simon Peter had nothing that he could give, he confessed that he was destitute (lit. clean) of every sort of possession of silver and gold, and said, "Silver and gold have I none. After this he brought forth the precious name,--which is of all things the most precious,--and said, "This which I have give I to thee. In the name of Jesus the Christ, arise and walk." 36. And, when they attended to their Teacher, (Jesus) enjoined upon them the grievous things, (which should happen to them) in these words which He said to them, (viz. "In the world ye shall have tribulation; and again--" Ye shall weep and mourn, but the world shall rejoice," How plainly did the firmness and deep (sincerity) of their character not appear, since they fled not from these (severe) exercises of the soul, nor betook themselves to the things of the desires ? nor did their Lord moreover allure them by way of deception, or make them His by promising them the things which supply ease and comfort; but, truly and freely foretold to them those which should happen to them; and enabled them to choose for themselves the sort of conduct, which He had laid down for them. Of this sort were the things, which He foretold and attested, respecting the persecutions that were to happen to them, because of His name, (viz. "that they should come before governours, and even kings; and, that they should suffer every sort of punishment and vengeance, not on account of any thing hateful, nor for any other just cause ; but for this only, (viz.), for their testimony respecting Him; which (indeed), we have seen with our own eyes, has happened even to this time ? His prediction moreover, is worthy of our admiration ; for the testimony (given) respecting the name of our Saviour, and the confessing of Him, had usually the effect of inflaming the anger of the Rulers.

And, even if nothing hateful had been perpetrated by any one confessing Christ, they punished and injuriously treated him, on account of His name, as evil, and more evil than any other thing: but, if any one did not confess His name, but denied that he was a Disciple of Christ, he was immediately set at liberty, even if he were implicated in many things which were abominable! But, What necessity can there be, that I should collect and endeavour to record, the many things relating to the lives of the Disciples of our Saviour, when the things already advanced, will be sufficient proof of (all) that is before us ? To these (however) we will again add the things (following), here in

(their) place; and with these we will conclude our discussion. 37. As to Matthew the Apostle his former manner of life was not that which was excellent; on the contrary, he was one of those whose business was tax-gathering and fraud. This however, not one of the rest of the Apostles has laid open to us, neither John the Apostle who was with him, nor Luke, nor Mark, the writers of the rest of the Gospels: but Matthew, recording his own manner of life, has become his own accuser ! Hear then, how openly he has memorialized his own name against himself in his own writing, and has thus spoken :--

38. "And, when Jesus passed from thence, He saw a man sitting among the Tax-gatherers, whose name was Matthew; and He said to him, Follow me: and he arose (and) followed Him. And it came to pass that when He was sitting in the house, Behold many Tax-gatherers and Sinners were sitting with Jesus, and with His Disciples. And again, after these things, when passing away, and reciting the number of the rest of the Disciples, He added respecting Himself the name of Tax-gatherer, and spoke thus: "The names of the twelve Apostles are these: The first, Simon who is called Cephas, and Andrew his brother, James the son of Zebedee and John his brother, Philip and Bartholomew, and Thomas and Matthew the Tax-gatherer. Thus therefore Matthew evinces, through the greatness of (his) humility, his truth-loving character, calls himself a Tax-gatherer; conceals not his former mode of life, and counts himself among sinners ! He also numbers himself second to the Apostle who was with him; for he associated (himself) with Thomas, as (he did) Simon with Andrew, James with John, and Philip with Bartholomew ; placing Thomas first, and honouring him as the more excellent Apostle with himself; while the rest of the Evangelists have done the reverse of this. Hear therefore how Luke bears record of Matthew, not giving him the appellation of Tax-gatherer, nor placing him after Thomas; but, because he considered him the more worthy, numbering him first, and placing Thomas after him, just as Mark has done: His words then, are these:

"And, when it was day, He called His Disciples, and chose twelve out of them, those whom He named Apostles: Simon, whom He named Cephas; and Andrew his brother, James and John, and Philip and Bartholomew, and Matthew and Thomas. Thus therefore Luke honoured Matthew, just as they, who had from the first been eye-witnesses and hearers of the word, had delivered to him. And thus Matthew, through his humility, made little of himself, confessed that he was a Tax-gatherer, and numbered himself the

second (in order), after the Apostle who was (named) with him. 39. You will also find that John is like Matthew (in this respect) ; for in his Epistle he does not so much as make mention of himself, or call himself Elder or Apostle, or Evangelist. In the Gospel too, which was written by him, he says of himself that Jesus loved him, but he does not reveal his own name.

40. Simon Peter moreover, did not so much as attempt the writing of a Gospel, on account of his great fear (of responsibility). But Mark, they say, who, being well known to him and his Disciple, put on record the declarations of Simon respecting the deeds of our Saviour. Who,--when he betook himself to the recording of these things, (viz. when Jesus asked what men said of Him, and the Disciples themselves what they thought of Him; Simon answered and said to Him, "Thou art the Christ;"--made the statement that Jesus did not even answer him, or say any thing to him; but that He forbade their telling this to any man. Now Mark committed these things to writing, although he was not present with Jesus when He said them; but he had heard them from Peter, when he taught them. Peter however, was unwilling to state the things which Jesus had said either to him, or about him, by way of testimony (favourable) to himself. But, the things which were said of him are these, (which) Matthew has put forth in these (words): "But you, Whom say ye that I am ? Simon said to Him, Thou art the Christ the Son of the living God. And Jesus answered and said to him; Blessed art thou Simon son of Jonas, since flesh and blood have not revealed (this) to thee, but my Father who is in heaven.

And I also say to thee, that thou art Peter, and upon this rock will I build my Church, and the gate-bars of hell shall not prevail against it. And I give to thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven; and every one whom thou shalt bind on earth, shall be bound in heaven; and every one whom thou shalt loose on earth, shall be loosed in heaven" When (therefore), all these things were said to Simon Peter by Jesus, Mark did not record so much as one of them ; because, as it is probable, neither did Peter mention them in his teaching. These things therefore, Simon Peter well kept silent, and thence Mark omitted them. But the things of his denial (of Christ), he preached to all men; and (so) caused an accusation to be recorded against himself! That he wept bitterly too, over this, you will find Mark to have given the record in these (words): "And, when Peter was in the court, one of the maid-servants of the High Priest came to him; and, when she saw that he was warming (him-

self), she looked upon him and said to him, Thou also wast with Jesus the Nazarene. But he denied and said, I know (him) not, nor do I perceive what thou sayest: and he went out into the outer court; and the cock crew. And again a maid saw him, and began to say to those who were standing (by) ; This (man) also is (one) of them. And he again denied.

And again a little after, those who were standing (by) said to Simon, Truly thou art (one) of them; for thou art also a Galilean. But he began to curse and to say, I know not this man of whom ye speak. And immediately, the cock crew the second time" These things Mark wrote; and these, Simon Peter witnessed against himself. For all these things of Mark are, they say, the memorials of the declarations of Peter himself. 41. Of those therefore, who excused themselves from saying the things which would contribute to their own good fame, and who recorded against themselves accusations which can never be forgotten, charging themselves with their own foolishness, in things which none of those who came afterwards could have known, had they not been recorded by themselves; How (shall we not assert) they were free from every feeling of self-love, and lying statement ? and justly confess of them, that they openly and clearly put forth the proof of an ardent love of truth? Those therefore, who evinced such a character as this,--of whom men thought that they were the authors of falsehood and of lying, and whom they endeavoured to malign as Deceivers ;--How are these not (now) found to be a laughing-stock, lovers of hatred and envy, and enemies to the truth ? For, How should not those be such, who (insisted) on the things which were guileless, and of no hateful observance; these same (I say), whose characters were true and pure, and who shewed forth their habitual dispositions by their words ?--(not) that (men) should say of them, that they were cunning and wily Sophists, and fabricators of things that had no existence, and laid upon their Lord, by way of favour, things which He never did. It does appear to me, that we may well put the question to these, Whether it be right we should give credence to the Disciples of our Saviour, or not ? And, if we are not to give credence to these only, Whether we should to all those also, who have long ago preached the memorial of their conduct and precepts, (both) among the Greeks and the Barbarians; and have committed to writing time after time the victories attending this ? And also, Whether it be just to extend credence to others; but to withhold it from them only?--How clearly then, does not the malice of such (opponents) appear!

42. But, Why should these have lied respecting their Lord ? and have delivered down, in their writings, things of Him which had no existence, as if they had really happened ? Why too, should they have falsely stated of Him the sufferings, and (other) grievous things (which He bore) ? His betrayal by one word of His Disciple (Judas) ? the accusation of those who criminated Him ? the ridicule ? the contempt of the judgment (passed on Him) ? the reproach ? the smittings on the face ? the scourges laid upon His loins ? the crown of thorns which was placed upon Him in reproach ? the purple robe which they put upon Him after the manner of a cloke ? and, at last, the bearing of His cross, the signal mark of His victory ? that He was then affixed to this? that He was pierced both in His hands and feet ? that they gave Him vinegar to drink ? that one struck Him on the head with a reed ? that He was derided of those who looked on Him ? Is it right (I say), that we should suppose His Disciples to have falsely stated even these, and many other similar things that are written about Him ? Or, that we should believe they truly stated these (disreputable) things ? but, that we should not give credence to those which are honourable (to Him)? But, How can this system of contrariety be supported ?

For this, that (men) should affirm that these same persons were true; and again this, that they were false, would be nothing else but to affirm of them, that which is in itself contradictory ! Of What sort then, should the reprehension of these be ? For, if this stigma is to be fixed upon them, (viz. that they propagated falsehood, and exalted their Lord by lying statements, and adorned Him by means of (fabricated) miracles; they surely never would have committed to writing the things already mentioned, which were adverse to themselves; nor would they have made it known to those, who should come afterwards, that He, whose ambassadors they were, was "oppressed and " exceedingly sorrowful" and was perturbed in his soul: or, that they "forsook Him and fled-" or, that he, who was the chosen of all the Apostles, and His Disciple, the same Simon Peter (I say),--who is preached of,--did, without either pain (inflicted), or torment threatened, deny Him three times! For these things, even if said by others, it was necessary they should deny; they (I say), who betook themselves to nothing else, except the fabrication of false statements favourable to Him, and magnifying both themselves and their Lord.

43. If then, they appear to be lovers of truth in those grievous accounts (which they give) of Him ; much more are they so in those glorious ones. For those, who chose to lie on any one occasion, would the more particularly avoid those things which brought difficulty with them, either by silence or denial of them : because, those who should come after, would not have it in their power to blame the things, which they had (so) kept silent. Why then, did they not lie and say that Judas who betrayed Him, forthwith became a stone, when he dared to give the kiss--the signal of betrayal? And, that he who dared to strike Him on the cheek, had his right hand immediately withered ? And the High Priest of the Jews, because he ran along with those who criminated Him, became blind in his eyes? But, Why did not they all lie, (and say) that, in truth, no grievance (whatsoever) happened to Him ? but, that He concealed Himself from men, and laughed at their judgment-hall? and, that those who accused Him, were deceived by spectres sent from God ; thinking that they were doing something adverse to one who was not near them ? And, Why should not this have been (deemed) more glorious, than their falsely stating that "He raised the dead," and was the doer of wonderful works ? This, that they should have recorded, that nothing either human or mortal happened to him;

but, that He did every thing by the Divine power ?--That He made His ascension to heaven in the Divine glory ? For those, who gave credence to their other accounts, could not have with-holden their belief from these. How then, should those be (deemed) worthy of exemption from every suspicion of vice, who concealed nothing of the truth, as to the difficulties and calamities (so happening); and not also worthy of all credit, as to the other miraculous deeds which they attested respecting Him ? The testimony therefore, of these men respecting our Saviour, is sufficient. There is nevertheless, nothing to prohibit our availing ourselves, even the more abundantly, of the Hebrew witness Josephus; who, in the Eighteenth Book of his Antiquities of the Jews, writing the things that belonged to the times of Pilate, commemorates our Saviour in these words: -- (The testimony) of Josephus respecting the Christ. 44. " At this period then was Jesus, a wise man, if it be right to call Him a man; for He was the doer of wonderful works, and the Teacher of those men who, with pleasure, received Him in truth. And He brought together many (both) of the Jews, and many of the profane (Gentiles). And this was the Messiah (Christ). And, when Pilate, at the suggestion of the principal an-

cient men among ourselves, laid on Him the punishment of the Cross, those who formerly loved Him were not reduced to silence. For He appeared again to them, on the third day, alive: things which, with many others, the Prophets had said respecting Him : so that from thence, and even until now, the race of the Christians has not been wanting to Him."

45. If therefore, as (this) author attests of Him, He was the doer of wonderful works, and that He made His Disciples,--not only the twelve Apostles, or the seventy Disciples, but also attached to Himself,--myriads of others both of the Jews and Gentiles; it is clear, that He possessed something excellent beyond the rest of mankind. For, How could He have otherwise attached to Himself the many, both of the Jews and Gentiles, unless He had made use of miracles and astonishing deeds, and of doctrines (till then) unknown ? The Book of the Acts of the Apostles also attests, that there were many thousands of the Jews, who were persuaded that He was that Christ of God, who had been preached of by the Prophets. It is also on record, that there was a great Church of Christ at Jerusalem; which had been collected from among the Jews, even to the times of its reduction by Hadrian. The first Bishops too who were there, are said to have been, one after another, fifteen (in number), who were Jews; the names of whom are published to the men of that place, even until now. So that by these, every accusation against the Disciples may be undone; since, what was prior to them, and independent of their testimony, these attest of Him, (*viz.*), that He, the Christ of God, did by means of these wondrous works which He performed, reduce many, both of the Jews and of the Gentiles, beneath His power.

46. You will also be made acquainted with the Divinity of His power, if you will consider of what nature He was; and how it was that all this superiority of the Divine power (operated) in the overcoming of tilings exceeding all description. For let it be considered, No one--who ever wished to disseminate his laws, or any strange doctrine among all nations, and, who would shew himself to be a Teacher of the worship of the one supreme God, to all races of men,--would be willing to make use of those as the ministers of his will, who were of all men the most rustic and deficient. And it is likely, one might think, he would attempt this with the greatest impropriety. For, How could they who could scarcely open their lips, ever be the Teachers of any one man, much less of multitudes ? And, How could they,--destitute of every sort of erudition,--address whole assemblies, unless this were indeed a shewing

forth of the will of God ? For He called them, as we have already shewn, and said in the first place "Follow me, and I will make you Fishers of men. And, because He thenceforth made them His own, and they adhered to Him, He breathed into them the Divine power, and filled them both with strength and courage: and, as He was THE WORD or GOD in truth, and the Doer of all these miracles, He made them the Fishermen of intellectual and reasonable souls;

adding, at once to the word "Follow me, and I will make you" the Deed, making them both the Doers, and Teachers, of the worship of His God. And thus He sent them forth into all nations throughout the whole creation, and demonstrated that they were the Preachers of His doctrine. And, Who is not astonished, and probably incredulous, as to this miracle,-- which could scarcely (indeed) have been imagined ? Since no one, of those who have been eminent, has ever been commemorated as having had recourse to any such thing as this; or has come up to any thing resembling it. For it has been the desire of each one of these, to set up something promising to himself, in his own land only; or, to be able to establish such laws as seemed to him good, among some one people of his own. But observe of Him, who availed himself of nothing either human or mortal, how, in reality, He again put forth the word of God in the precept, which He gave to these His powerless Disciples, (viz. "Go ye and make Disciples of all nations! It is likely too, His Disciples would thus address their Lord, by way of answer: How can we do this ? For, How can we preach to the Romans ? And, How can we discourse with the Egyptians? What diction can we use against the Greeks; being brought up in the Syrian language only ?

How can we persuade the Persians, the Armenians, the Chaldeans, the Scythians, the Hindoos, and other nations called Barbarians, to desert the gods of their forefathers, and to worship the one Creator of all things? And, upon What superiority of words can we rely, that we shall succeed in this ? Or. How can we hope, that we shall prevail in the things attempted ? (viz. that we shall legislate for all nations, in direct opposition to the laws laid down from ancient times, (and this) against their gods ? And, What power have we upon which to trust, that we shall succeed in this enterprise ? These things therefore, the Disciples of our Saviour would either have thought, or said. But He who was their Lord solved, by one additional word, the aggregate of the things of which they doubted, (and) pledged them by saying, " Ye

shall conquer in my name. For it was not that He commanded them, simply and indiscriminately, to go and make Disciples of all nations; but with this excellent addition which He delivered, (viz): "In my name. Since it was by the power of His name that all this came to pass ; as the Apostle has said, "God has given Him a name, which is superior to every name: that, at the name of Jesus, every knee should bow which is in heaven, and which is in earth, and which is beneath the earth.

It is likely therefore, that He would shew forth the excellency of the unseen power, which was hidden from the many, by His name; and, (accordingly) He made the addition, "In my name. He thus accurately foretold moreover, something which should come to pass, (when) He said, "It is expedient that this my Gospel be preached in the whole world, for the testimony of all nations. Now, this matter was then declared in a corner of the earth, so that those only who were at hand could have heard it. But, How could they have believed Him when He said this, unless they had taken experiment as to the truth of His words, from the other Divine acts which were done by Him ? For this, you are compelled to confess when it is considered, that they gave credence to what He said. For, when He gave them the command, not so much as one sought to be excused; but they confided in what He had intimated : and, just as His promises had been, so DID they make Disciples of the whole race of men ! They did go forth from their own land into all nations ; and, in a short time, His words were seen in effect! His Gospel was therefore shortly preached, throughout the whole creation, for the testimony of all nations, so that the Barbarians and Greeks received the Scriptures, respecting the common Saviour of all, in the handwriting of their Progenitors, and in the words of their spiritual Fathers.

47. A man might therefore well stand in doubt, as to what the form of the doctrine of our Saviour's Disciples was; how they passed on into the midst of cities, and so proclaimed (it) in the middle of the streets; lifting up their voices, calling to those with whom they met, and thence conversing with the people: also, of what sort the language was in which they addressed them, so that we can imagine the hearers were persuaded thereby: and (again), how (such) men, inexperienced in words and far removed from every sort of erudition, could speak before the people ; and (this), if not in large assemblies, still with the few with whom they met, and then addressed: and, of what, and of what sort of terms, they made use for persuading (their) hearers. Nor

was their effort small, since they by no means denied the ignominious death of Him, whom they preached. But, even if they concealed this, and did not confess before all, what, and how many, things He suffered of the Jews, but put forth only those splendid and glorious things--I say indeed,--His wondrous works, His miraculous operations, and His doctrines of the (true) Philosophy; still, the matter will not thus be made easy, (viz.) how they could make those who heard them, easily to give in to their declarations: because their diction would be foreign. They would too, now be listening to declarations entirely new, (coming) from men, who possessed nothing worthy of truth, in testimony of the things affirmed by them.

48. But, let it be supposed that the persuasives now put forth were these, (viz.) that those who were His ambassadors, should at one time preach that He was God ; that, in body, He was human ; and that, in his nature, He was no other than THE WORD OF GOD: on which account also, He performed all these miracles, and (put forth these) powers: but, that at another time, He suffered reproach and infamy, and at last the capital and shameful punishment of the Cross; which is inflicted on those (only), who are in their deeds the worst of all men. Who then, would not (now) properly treat them with ridicule, as affirming things opposed to each other ? And, Who is he, whose intellect would (partake) so much of stone, as readily to believe them, when they said that they saw Him after His death ? that He rose from the dead?--Him (I say), who could not help Himself when among the living? And (again), Who would ever be persuaded by men so illiterate and deficient as these, when saying; You should despise the things of your own forefathers; charge as folly those of the wise of ancient times; suffer yourselves to be persuaded by us alone, and to be commanded by the precepts of Him who was crucified: for He only is the beloved, and only (begotten) of that God alone, who is over all ?

49. I myself however, investigating for myself with effort, and in the love of truth, this same thing (singly), should perceive not one virtue in it (making it) credible, nor even any thing great, or worthy of faith, nor so persuasive, as adequate to the persuading of even one illiterate person, much less men wise and intellectual. Nevertheless, when again I view its power, and the result of its doings; how the many myriads have given their assent to it, and how Churches of tens of thousands of men have been brought together, by these very deficient and rustic persons; --nor that these were built in obscure

places, nor in those which are unknown, but rather in the greatest cities, I say in the Imperial city of Rome itself, in Alexandria, in Antioch, in all Egypt, in Libya, in Europe, in Asia, both in the villages and (other) places, and among all nations; I am again compelled to recur to the question of (its) cause, and to confess, that they (the Disciples) could not otherwise have undertaken this enterprise, than by a Divine power which exceeds that of man, and by the assistance of Him who said to them, "Go, and make Disciples of all nations in my name." And, when He had said this to them, He attached to it the promise, by which they should be so encouraged, as readily to give themselves up to the things commanded. For He said to them, "Behold I am with you always, even to the end of the world." It is stated, moreover, that He breathed into them the Holy Ghost with the Divine power; (thus) giving them the power to work miracles, saying at one time, "Receive ye the Holy Ghost;" and at another, commanding them, to "Heal the sick, cleanse the lepers, and cast out Demons:--freely ye have received, freely give."

50. Even you yourself see therefore, how this their word took effect; since even the Book of their Acts attests things like to these, and which accord with them ; how,-- (for example,) when writing also of those by whom miraculous deeds were done in the name of Jesus,--those, who were present and saw, were astonished. They were astonished, as it should seem, at those who had formerly seen (this power) by means of deeds ; and who then made them (i. e. the chief Priests,) readily to ask, Who this was, by whose power and name the miracle had been wrought ?--And thus, as they taught, they found that these had in faith (even) run before their instruction. For, it was not by words that they were persuaded; but it was by the deeds which preceded these, that they were readily prevailed upon to accede to the things said. It is also said, that men suddenly brought to them sacrifices and libations, as if they had been Gods ; thinking that one of them was Mercury, the other Jupiter: and the whole of this astonishment was, to their minds, a demonstration that the deeds done were miraculous. And, as all those which they preached respecting our Saviour, were such as these, they were thenceforth quickly, and with propriety, received. Nor did they give their testimony of His resurrection from the dead, by mere words and without proofs; but, by their power and by deeds did they persuade, and shew forth the works of the living (God).

51. If then, they preached that He was God, and the Son of God, and that He was with the Father before He came among men ; Why should they not have especially added to this, that they believed what was adverse to have been impossible and incredible ? For they must have justly thought it impossible, that these acts could have been those of men ; but, on the contrary, those of God, even the more though no one would say (this). 52. And this, and nothing else, is indeed the thing required, (viz. by what power the Disciples of our Saviour gained credit from those, who had from the first heard them: and how they persuaded both Greeks and Barbarians to think of Him, as of THE WORD OF GOD: and how they set up in the midst of the cities, and in all villages, Houses (appropriated to) the Doctrine of the worship of the supreme God. And, Who is not also astonished at this, when he considers with himself, and feels satisfied, that this could not have been of man ; that never at any former time, were the many nations of the whole creation subject to the one sovereign rule of the Romans, except only since the time of our Saviour? For it happened, immediately upon His passing about among men, that the affairs of the Romans became great;--that, at that time, Augustus was primarily the sole Sovereign of many nations; and that in his time Cleopatra was inflamed with love; and the traditionary (kingdom) of the Ptolemies in Egypt was dissolved. For, from that time, and until now, that kingdom which was from ancient time; and of it, as one might say, the ancient germ of men which was established in Egypt, have been rooted up. From that period too, have the Jewish people been in subjection to the Romans; as has that, in like manner, of the Syrians, the Cappadocians, the Macedonians, the Bithynians, and the Greeks;

and, to speak collectively, all the rest of those subject to the rule of the Romans; and, that this did not come to pass without regard to the Divine teaching of our Saviour, Who will not confess, when He has considered, that it would not have been easy for His Disciples to be sent forth, and to pass into foreign parts, when all the nations were divided one against another ? and when there was no one uniting element among them, on account of the many Satraps (stationed) in every place, and in every city ? But, in the extirpation of these, they immediately, fearlessly, and with pleasure, set about doing that which had been placed before them; because God, who is over all, had previously made their course peaceful, and had restrained the wrath of the worshippers of Demons in the cities, by the fear of the great Empire. Con-

sider then, If there had not been something to restrain those who had been stupified with the error of a plurality of Gods, how they would have contended with the Doctrine of Christ. For, you would doubtless have seen in every city and village, commotions (stirred up) against each other, with persecutions and wars of no mean description , had the worshippers of the Demons possessed the sovereign rule over us. But now, this also is a work of the God who is over all, that He might subdue the enemies of His word, by the greater fear of a superior kingdom.

For it was His will, that (His word) should daily increase and extend itself to all mankind : and again, so, that it should not be thought, that, it was by the connivance of the Rulers, and not by the superior power of God, it took effect.--When any one of the tyrants was so elated by wickedness, as to set about resisting the word of Christ, the God of all even allowed such at once to do his will; because he would afford proof to those combatants for (establishing) the worship of God, and also that it might be seen clearly by all men, that it was not by the will of man that the word was established, but by the power of God himself. And, Who is not instantly amazed at the things which usually come to pass in times such as these ? For, those ancient combatants from among men for the worship of God, kept secret the nature of their superiority ; at that time they became known and seen by all, when they were adorned with the victories which were from God : while those, who were the enemies of the worship of God, received the punishments which were justly their due: chastized (as they were) by strokes sent from God, and their entire bodies wasted by grievous and incurable diseases, so as to have been speedily driven to confess their wickedness in opposing our Saviour!

But these, the rest of all those who were worthy of the Divine name (Christian), and who gloried in thinking of the things which belonged to Christ, did in a short time shew,--being brought through trials,--the purity and refining of their minds, and that they had thus also obtained freedom for their souls. And soon did God cause, that, by their means, THE WORD, the Saviour, should arise (as the sun) on tens of thousands. The End of writing the Five Books of Eusebius of Caesarea, which are called "The Divine Manifestation." [Selected footnotes. Notes concerned only with points of the Syriac and large chunks of Greek have been omitted]

PREFACE

EUSEBIUS

¹ BISHOP OF CAESAREA ON THE THEOPHANIA OR DIVINE MANIFESTATION OF OUR LORD AND SAVIOUR JESUS CHRIST, TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH WITH NOTES, FROM AN ANCIENT SYRIAC VERSION OF THE GREEK ORIGINAL NOW LOST ; TO WHICH IS PREFIXED A VINDICATION OF THE ORTHODOXY, AND PROPHETICAL VIEWS, OF THAT DISTINGUISHED WRITER. INSCRIBED BY PERMISSION TO HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF NORTHUMBERLAND, CHANCELLOR OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE. BY SAMUEL LEE, D.D. D.D. OF THE UNIVERSITY OF HALLE; MEMBER OF THE SOCIÉTÉ ASIATIQUE OF PARIS; OF THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF RHODE ISLAND, AMERICA; CANON OF BRISTOL, RECTOR OF BARLEY, HERTS., REGIUS PROFESSOR OF HEBREW IN THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE, &c. CAMBRIDGE: PRINTED AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS DUNCAN AND MALCOLM, 37, PATERNOSTER ROW, LONDON. M.DCCC.XLIII. TO HIS GRACE HUGH DUKE OF NORTHUMBERLAND, &c. &c. &c. CHANCELLOR OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE, THIS ENDEAVOUR TO RESTORE TO THE Christian Church A LONG LOST WORK, AND TO VINDICATE THE OPINIONS, OF ONE OF ITS MOST LEARNED AND LABORIOUS PRELATES, IS, IN TESTIMONY OF A DEEP SENSE OF OBLIGATION FOR THE MANY MUNIFICENT FAVOURS CONFERRED ON THE UNIVERSITY, IN WHICH HE HAS THE HONOUR OF BEARING OFFICE, BY HIS GRACE'S PERMISSION, MOST RESPECTFULLY INSCRIBED, BY THE TRANSLATOR AND EDITOR.

PREFACE.

² HAVING now to discharge the very agreeable duty of presenting to the Christian Church (in a translation), a long lost work of one of its most learned and laborious Pastors, my first duty will be, to give the best account I can of this Work ; my second, to describe the Manuscript from which it has been taken ; my third, to lay down the principles by which I have been guided, both in editing the Syriac text of this Manuscript, and in making and illustrating my English Translation of it. When I shall have done these things, I shall,--because some of the opinions of my author have been

branded as heretical, and some others will in all probability be considered as groundless and untenable, I mean those which contain his views on Prophecy,--give as brief and candid a review of these opinions as I can : leaving it to the reader to make the conclusions for himself, which he shall deem right and just.

3 I am well aware of the responsibility attaching itself to an undertaking so perilous, as that of offering to the learned of Europe, for the first time, a work coming from a man so learned, so celebrated, and so often eulogized and condemned, as was the Bishop of Caesarea and Father of Church History. But, for the purpose of satisfying this responsibility to the best of my power, I now proceed, in the first place, to give all the account I can of the Work which I have the honour and pleasure of presenting to the public. The first, and probably the only, mention of this Work which occurs in any ancient Father of the Church, is to be found in the catalogue of Ecclesiastical Writers' by Jerome. And in this, all that this Father says,--after speaking of some of Eusebius's other works,--is, "θεοφανείας libri quinque," i. e. Of the Divine Manifestation, five books. After him, Suidas says "θεοφανείας λόγοι έ," which is a mere echo of the words of Jerome. Harles, in his edition of the Bibliotheca Graeca of Fabricius, speaks of it in this manner. (Vol. vii. p. 408). "Εὐαγγελικὴ θεοφάνεια, bis citatur in catena in Lucam in cod. Vindobon. caesareo xlii., teste Lambecio comment, tom. iii. p. 166. not. 4. conf. supra nr. 8. Harl".--" Fragmentum ex Eusebii opere deperd. Theophania Evang. e cod. Coislin. Gött. 1740. 4". And again, p. 395, nr. 8, speaking of the work of our author against Marcellus, he says: " Hos quinque Libros adversus Marcel-lum Labbeus putat innui ab Hieronymo in Catalogo cap. 81. et Suida, quando inter Eusebii Scripta memorat libros quinque περὶ θεοφανείας. Videtur enim hoc idem illi esse quod θεοφανείας. Sed id tamquam incertum omitto, quum Hebed Jesu quoque in catalogo Librorum Chaldaicorum memorat Eusebii librum de ortu divino"

4 The Catalogue of Hebed Jesu, here referred to, will be found in the Bibliotheca Orientalis of Asseman, tom. iii. pt. 1, and the place in p. 18 of this: where, after speaking of the Ecclesiastical History of our author, Hebed Jesu says, [Syriac], i. e. and the Book on the Divine Manifestation. Asseman refers us, in a note, to Cave's Historia Literaria, p. 95, where mention is made of this work of Eusebius, entitled περὶ θεοφανείας, libri quinque; but Cave tells us nothing more about it, than that it is a work not now extant. But the

thing most worthy of remark here, is Asseman's referring us to Cave at all; when, if the work had existed in the Library of the Vatican, he would, in all probability, as he has done in many other places, have given us a detailed description of it. It may be added that, although Asseman has given us very extensive lists, in this work, of Syriac books deposited in the Vatican, he has never once spoken of this as being there. And the same might be said, with respect to the present very learned librarian of the Vatican, who has, in his erudite and laborious work entitled, "*Scriptorum Veterum nova Collectio*," said much, and edited some works, of Eusebius, and even given several fragments from our Theophania; yet he has nowhere informed us, that either the Greek text, or the Syriac version, of this Work is to be found there. I may perhaps conclude therefore, that it is not known to exist in that library.

5 The Citations as noted above in Fabricius, will be found in the following Work, pages 216, 321-2. The Fragment printed at Göttingen in 1740, also mentioned by him, will be either reprinted or noticed hereafter in this Work, if it can be obtained before the last sheet goes to press. It must be evident, I think, from what has now been said, that the work of our author entitled the Ecclesiastical Theology, noticed above, could not be the same with that entitled the Theophania, or Evangelical Theophania,--for by this latter title is our Work designated in the Catena of Vienna:--while it must be equally certain, that a work by Eusebius bearing the title assigned to it by Jerome, did exist in the Syrian Church : and, as no reason can perhaps be assigned why the Syrians should forge such a work, it is probable, that this is the very work so described by Jerome.

6 Again, from the fragments of this Work hitherto brought to our notice, (see the places referred to above,) it seems sufficiently certain, that this is the work of Eusebius so described by Jerome. I would add, let the reader also examine in the following pages, the very many places marked as corresponding word for word, with several in the undoubted productions of our author. In our Second Book, for example, a very considerable number of the Sections or Paragraphs, are found to be identically the same with many occurring in the "*Oratio de laudibus Constantini*:" while in our Fifth Book, the far greater part is also found word for word in the "*Demonstratio Evangelica*;" not to insist on several others, found either in the "*Praeparatio Evangelica*," the Ecclesiastical History, or some other work of our author, as shewn in the Notes. There are also certain peculiarities in the writings of Eusebius which may be

mentioned here; they are these: It is customary with him, though not constantly, to commence a subsequent book with the matter, and occasionally with the words, which closed the preceding one. The close and commencement of the First and Second, and of the Second and Third books, respectively, of the "*Praeparatio Evangelica*" will supply examples of this; as will the corresponding ones of our following Work, and more particularly those of the Fourth and Fifth.

7 To this may be added the Style of Eusebius, which is universally allowed to be any thing but simple and obvious. His periods are often long, and his style both inverted and involved. He seems moreover, to have been studious to avoid the language in common use, and often to have be-iaken himself to that peculiar to the poets. This latter consideration could not have affected our original text, which is only a translation; while the former has, to a very considerable extent. For our Translator, anxious to shew himself faithful in the discharge of this his duty, has so closely followed his original by endeavouring to render it word for word, that his translation may occasionally be considered as obscurity personified ; the Syriac very ill admitting of either inversion, or involution, of style. Several instances of this sort,--to which many more might have been added,--will be found in the Notes attached to the English Translation. Another consideration is, his Platonic manner of speaking of the Deity as a self-existing Being, and with reference to which, no other can be said (properly) to exist, of which we shall speak more particularly a little farther on. His manner of speaking of the Son has too its peculiarities; His being God of God, begotten of God, proceeding from the Father; hence complete, and in all respects like Him; His having ever been, and still being, with, and in, the Father ; extending Himself nevertheless throughout all things, and meekly lowering Himself to converse with men, and the like ;

8 which will be more particularly noticed hereafter. His occasional allusions moreover to the things passing under his own eyes, as the sufferings of the Martyrs (p. 50) ; the state of the Church of Caesarea over which he presided, may all be considered, I think, as genuine evidences that Eusebius was the author of this Work ; and to these may be added his reasoning generally after the manner of Plato, and in many instances, his adopting the terms used by that philosopher. 9 From these considerations, I think it must be sufficiently evident, that our Work is a copy of the genuine Greek work of

Eusebius, so long lost.--But if not, let it be supposed for a moment that it is a forgery, and that some Syrian was the author of it, who, the better to secure its reception, attached the name of Eusebius to it. I would now ask, Where are we to look for the man, among the writers of the Syrian Church, equal to this task ? Philoxenus of Mabug, and Jacob of Edessa, had, no doubt, ability sufficient to compose a work on the same subject; but neither of them, nor yet any other Syrian writer, of which I have any knowledge, had any thing like the vigour and learning evinced in this. Much less likely is it, that in such an attempt the Syriac language would have been subjected to the unnatural contortions and involutions so visible in this Work, or that it would be found to have copied Eusebius word for word, to the extent noticed above.

¹⁰ Nor is it in any degree probable, that such an imposition could ever have been practised upon the learned of the Syrian Church. Besides, the original of the Theophania must have been in existence when this Syriac work first made its appearance, and indeed for a long time after; which would have effectually given the lie to any attempt of this sort had it been made. And to this, its unquestioned reception in the Syrian Church, affords full and sufficient testimony. Having then disposed of this question, let us now approach our second, which is to give some account of the Manuscript from which our Work has been taken. Sometime in the year 1839, the Rev. Henry Tattam of Bedford, who is an excellent Coptic scholar, formed the resolution of visiting Egypt for the purpose of procuring Coptic manuscripts, in order to complete, if possible, an edition of the Coptic Scriptures. At the suggestion of his friends a subscription was set on foot, for the purpose of assisting in defraying the expense of this undertaking, and this subscription was headed by a contribution of £300. by government. Individuals contributed to a small extent: and Mr. Tattam accordingly set out for Egypt. In a short time he returned, having procured some good Coptic manuscripts, of which a list has been printed and circulated; and also about 50 volumes of Syriac manuscripts, some of which were of an extreme age, and very valuable.

¹¹ These manuscripts Mr. Tattam sent to me, with the request that I would give him some account of their contents ; and, at the same time, say what I thought their value might be: which I did as soon as my other engagements would allow. It was in looking over these manuscripts that I had the extreme pleasure of discovering that of which the following Work is a translation. Knowing then, as I did, the extreme rarity of this Work; in oth-

er words, that no other copy of it was known to exist, I requested Mr. Tattam to allow me to take a copy of it before it should leave my hands, in order that the Work might not be lost, whatever might happen to this MS. Mr. Tattam, with the disinterestedness for which he is so remarkable, instantly gave his consent, allowing me moreover to retain the MS. as long as I might want it: and, although he soon after disposed of the collection generally to the trustees of the British Museum, he was so obliging as to make this stipulation, that I should be allowed to retain this MS. as long as I might deem it necessary.

¹² My first business now was, to make a correct copy of this very rare and valuable Codex, as far as our work was concerned ; and I accordingly copied it out myself with all the expedition I could command. Soon after I had done this, I applied to the Society lately established in the Metropolis for printing Oriental Texts, requesting they would print it, and thus multiply the copies, so as to ensure the safety and permanency of the work. To this request the Committee of that society very graciously acceded. The work was accordingly put to press, and printed by Mr. Richard Watts, a tradesman long and well known for his ability in printing Oriental works generally. In his hands it had moreover the advantage of being printed in a Syriac type, which was made some years ago under my own inspection, for the purpose of printing a Syriac Bible for the use of the Syrian churches in Malabar. I will add here, that during the passing of the sheets through the press, I collated every one of them with the MS., so that I do trust the Syriac text, now some time completed, will be found as neatly and correctly printed, as the greatest care on the part of both the editor and printer could be expected to insure.

¹³ The MS. containing our Work, is very neatly written in the Estrangelo, or old Church-hand-writing of the Syrians, on very fine and well prepared skin. It is of the size of large quarto, each folio measuring about 14½ inches by 11½, and containing three columns each of the width of 2¾ inches, as may be seen in the fac simile prefixed to this Work. The exterior margins average 2½ inches in width, the interior 1¼; and the space between the several columns is about 5/8 of an inch. The MS. contains 245 folios; 71 of the first of which contain a Syriac translation of the Recognitions of St. Clement, as they are called. The 83 next following, the work of Titus Bishop of Bostra, (or Bozrah) against the Manicheans ; the next 76 folios contain our Work of Eusebius ; the next 14, Eusebius's account of the Martyrs of Palestine, as pub-

lished in the 8th book of his Ecclesiastical History ; and the last folio, Encomiums on their excellencies, entitled, [syriac]. This last work is incomplete, some leaves having been lost from the end of the MS., and on this account the original date of the MS. has not come down to us in its close, as is usually the case.

¹⁴ We have nevertheless on the reverse of the fourth folio, after the conclusion of our Work, written on the outside margin of one of the folios of the Tract on the Martyrs of Palestine, the following Inscription in a bold, but rather unsightly hand, and in the common Peschito character ; [Syriac] See, my brethren, if the latter part of this ancient book has been cut off, and has perished together with that (with) which its writer closed and completed it ; it was thus written at its end, viz. that "This book was written in the city of Edessa of Mesopotamia, by the hands of a man named Jacob, in the year seven hundred and twenty and three, (and) was completed in the month of the latter Teshrin." (February). And, just as that which was written there, I have also written here without addition. And the things which are here, I wrote in the year 1398, in the (aera) of the Greeks (i. e. the Seleucidae).

¹⁵ If then we are to take the first of these dates, as given in the aera of the Seleucidae, and this Note as containing a true statement respecting the age of our MS., A. D. 411 will be its date, and its age 1432 years ! The date of this Note is, we are told, that of the Greeks (or Seleucidae), that is, A. D. 1398, corresponding to A.D. 1086, just 757 years ago, when, as its author tells us, this manuscript was such as to merit the appellation of ancient! I was once inclined to think that our MS. could not be so old as this first date made it, and that the year 723, must be that of our common aera; which would give 1120 years for its age; and that this, both from the appearance of the MS., and from some other considerations, was nearer the truth. Yet I must confess, as I have never seen, or heard of, a Syriac MS. bearing a date in our common aera; and, as all Syriac MSS. said to be written at Edessa, do,--as far as I know,--always bear dates according to the aera of the Seleucidae; I do not see how this date can be given in our common aera.

¹⁶ As to the appearance of the MS., although it certainly is in very perfect and clean condition, yet as the climate of Egypt, in which it has been kept probably for many centuries, is extremely dry, it is by no means impossible that the fresh appearance of the MS. is anything more than the nature of the case requires. There certainly are MSS. in the same collection bearing a date,

making them but little short of 1300 years old, and yet appearing in quite as sound a state of preservation as this does, but which, as written on skins of a description greatly inferior to this, do not present so clean and bright an appearance. Asseman too, gives us an account of a Syriac MS. of a gospel, preserved in the library of the Vatican, which was written in the year of our Lord 78 : and this he affirms was, in his day,--about 100 years ago,--as plain and perfect as ever it was.

¹⁷ From this it should seem, that it is impossible to say how long a MS. written on good skin and well preserved may endure; and consequently, how unsafe it is to pronounce positively on the age of any MS., merely from its appearance. The colour of the ink must in all such MSS. as Montfaucon and others have well remarked, necessarily have faded ; but to what precise extent, it must, as before, remain undefined for many reasons. The ink in our MS. is so faded though not, I think, to so great an extent as is observable in the Beza MS. at Cambridge. But this might have been occasioned by the place, or manner, in which that MS. was preserved, which was apparently less favourable than that of ours. This question therefore, I am disposed to leave in the state of uncertainty, in which I found it. I said, in my Preface to the Syriac edition of our Work, that the MS. from which it was taken was, probably not less than a thousand years old. I was not then aware that a date was to be found in it. I am not sorry however to find, that I had greatly underrated its age, as this must be a good evidence to my readers, that I had no disposition to exaggerate.

¹⁸ It may be suggested however, that this very early date might be that of the MS. from which it, or some other prior to it, was copied: it being no uncommon thing with copyists to transcribe, with MSS. which they copy, their dates also; so that a MS. of very modern date, may, in its epi-graphe, carry with it one of the highest antiquity. To this I would answer: If we are to ascribe any credit to the Note given above, this MS. must have been considered an ancient one 757 years ago: and to such a MS. we cannot, perhaps, ascribe an age less than 600 or 700 years: if we take the least of these, the age of our Codes will be 1357 years: if the greatest, 1457 : while the date, actually ascribed to it by the Note, makes it 1432 years old, just twenty-five years less than this last computation would make.

¹⁹ There are however some considerations, which would at first sight seem to prove the contrary, and which indeed operated forcibly on my mind in

this way, when the very early date given to our MS. first occurred to me: they are these: First, Eusebius died about A.D. 340. If then our MS. was written A. D. 411, this must have happened 71 years only after the death of the author of the original Greek work. We shall now have therefore 71, or a few more years, for the period within which our Syriac translation was made, and, as it appears to me, must have been copied out several times before our MS. could have been written; which might seem too little. I see no reason however, why this Work of Eusebius,--which must have been a popular one,--could not have been translated into Syriac very soon after it was published : and if so, the Syriac version might have been copied out times innumerable, before the date of our MS.

²⁰ When the school of Edessa was first founded, I have not been able to discover. It is certain however that it was, and had been, a considerable time in vigorous operation before A. D. 411, the date assigned to our MS. Our Work might therefore have been translated into the Syriac at Edessa, even during the lifetime of its author, or at least early enough to have allowed of our MS. being copied there in A.D. 411, after innumerable copies had been taken from the autograph of the translator, and from one another. But there are, I think, better reasons for supposing that our translation was not made at Edessa at this early period, but rather in Palestine. We are told by Asseman (l. c. p. CMXXV.), that there were, both at Caesarea and at Scythopolis, (the Bethshan of the Old Testament) in Palestine, schools of sacred literature; and that at Scythopolis the business of interpreting from the Greek into the Syriac language, was vigorously carried on; and, that to this fact our author himself has given his testimony: as also have both Socrates and Sozomen the historians.

²¹ If this may be relied on, it is not improbable that our translation was made during the lifetime of Eusebius, and it might be under his inspection, and that of Patrophilus who was then Bishop of Scythopolis. And I think there are certain peculiarities of language in it, tending to shew that it was not made at Edessa, which are these: We never find the form of the feminine plural in verbs, as we constantly do in the works of Ephrem, Jacob of Edessa, and other writers of that school. The pronoun of the first person plural is rather of the Hebrew, than the Syriac, form. The pronominal forms, [Syriac], never occur in the language of Edessa; nor does the adverbial [Syriac], nor the impersonal [Syriac], nor the combination [Syriac] in the sense of immedi-

ately, nor the occasional redundancy, and even defect, of the relative pronoun [Syriac] , as far as my knowledge goes: all of which will be found marked in the Notes. I am therefore inclined to believe, that our translation was not made at Edessa, but in Palestine.

²² The language of this translation,--allowing for the instances just mentioned,--appears to me to be the purest Syriac, and such as might be well expected in a work of so ancient a date. I have already remarked, that its order is very greatly inverted, and its collocation involved, from its having been made servilely to follow the Greek original. Of this any one will satisfy himself, by comparing any of its sections with the places pointed out, as found in Greek, in some of the still existing works of Eusebius : which,-- although it has had the effect of giving me a great deal of trouble, as it will any reader of the Syriac text,--is nevertheless a circumstance of infinite value in other respects; and particularly, as it has preserved to our times a most exact copy of an original Greek work of our author, which has, no doubt, been long ago lost.

²³ There is another advantage arising from the circumstance of so much of this work's being still found in the Greek of its author, which is this; we are hence enabled to judge of the extent of Greek learning possessed by the translator. And this, I am induced to believe, was very considerable. I have pointed out in my notes, some instances in which I think he has erred; I am nevertheless bound to say, that I believe his translation to be, upon the whole, quite as accurate as are the best translations hitherto published of the Greek works of Eusebius. ²⁴ It has been stated above, that our MS. is written neatly and correctly for the most part, and in the ancient character termed Estranghelo. I have now to say that it is entirely without vowel marks, and that the interpunctuation is frequently such, as to supply nothing whatever towards a just conception of the construction of the text. That the Syrians had a system of interpunctuation answering, in some respects, to that afforded by the accents of the Hebrew Bible, I have no doubt; yet I must say, that hitherto this has not been satisfactorily developed. Mr. Ewald has indeed endeavoured to do this, in a work published at Gottingen in 1832, entitled "Abhandlungen zur Orientalischen und Biblischen Literatur; in which, at p. 103 and following, he has treated on the "accentuationssystem" of the Syrians according to some MSS. found in the Royal Library at Paris; and this, I have no doubt, he has done with all good fidelity. Yet I must say, the system made

out by him, receives but very little countenance from any ancient MS. hitherto seen by me. The older writers seem to have adopted a system much more simple, and less encumbered with marks ; the more modern ones, particularly the Maronites,--to whom we owe the interpunctuation of the greater Polyglotts,--appear to me to be the real authors of his system. However this may be, all I have done in printing our Syriac text has been, to follow the MS. as closely as I possibly could;

²⁵ I say this, because cases occur in which it is scarcely possible to say, whether the Copyist intended the point to stand on the line of the text, above it, or below it. Some remarks will be found, in my notes, on the use of Ribbui, ([Syriac]) the mark commonly attending the plural number in nouns, and occasionally in verbs, in which our MS. seems to be singular. In this case too, I have rigidly adhered to the MS. ²⁶ The rules, under which I have proceeded in making my translation from the Syriac, are the following. As I professed to undertake the office of a translator, and not of a commentator, I thought it right to confine myself as closely to my original, as the nature of the case and my best endeavours would enable me. If therefore, I have followed my original as closely as I could, I trust I have not done this to such a degree, as to have made my English either harsh, or difficult of apprehension. Where I found the Syriac greatly obscure, I generally added a note, and referred to the Greek, if accessible. And, for the better understanding of the mind of my author, I have occasionally pointed out parallel passages occurring in the Fathers, who were either prior to him, and therefore probably imitated by him, as Justin Martyr, Theophilus of Antioch, Tatian, Origen, Clemens Alexandrinus, and others; or, who succeeded him, particularly Theodoret, who was evidently a great imitator of him. I have also cited such passages from the classical, and other writers, as my author either referred to, or commented upon, as Herodotus, Thucydides, Diogenes Laertius, Plato, Aristotle, Josephus and others; which cost me much time and trouble. I did not however deem it necessary to make a collation of all, or of any, of the Greek or Latin Fathers for this purpose:

²⁷ all I have done, or intended to do, was, to mark down such coincidences as occurred generally in my reading, during the time in which I was engaged in this work. Many other similar passages might doubtless be found in the writings of the Fathers of the Church, and particularly in Justin Martyr, Tatian, Tertullian, Origen, Clemens Alexandrinus, Arnobius, Lactanti-

us, Chrysostom, and Theodoret, which I leave to the greater industry and time of others, who may choose to follow out the enquiry. Such illustrations and notes as are given on the Syriac text, were intended for the use of students who may be induced to read that work. I trust I have, in this way, provided a very useful Chresto-mathy for the advancement of Syriac literature. ²⁸ The divisions, i. e. the paragraphs, or sections, which I have made in my text, both of the Syriac Edition, and of my English Translation, are in all respects exactly what I found them in the MS. I have however added numerals for the purpose of facilitating reference, either from the Syriac Text to my Translation, or from either of these to the original Syriac Manuscript. I might indeed have made a more equal distribution of these paragraphs or sections, but I thought it would be best, for the reasons just now given, to abide by the old one. I thought too, that, if the original Greek should be discovered hereafter, it might be as well not to alter this division of the text,--particularly as it is one of a very ancient date,--for the purpose of affording the fullest opportunity for seeing what its ancient state was, and thence the more easily to verify the identity of such work, should it indeed ever be found.

²⁹ I will now add a few remarks on the Work itself, and as to the period at which it was probably written. I think I may say, that the Work itself is worthy of the piety and learning of the deservedly celebrated Father of Church History. As a brief exposition of Christianity, particularly of its Divine authority, and amazing influence, it has perhaps never been surpassed. The work of Theodoret, entitled "*Graecarum affectionum curatio*" lately reprinted by Dr. Gaisford, is certainly more full on the particular points which it was intended to illustrate: but then it owes much to the industry and learning of our author, and is less comprehensive in its context. The *Stromateis* of Clemens of Alexandria, and the "*Civitas Dei*" of Augustine, are perhaps more abundant on particular questions; while the work of Clemens is less orderly, and both of these take a less extensive range of inquiry, and are not so well adapted for general reading. When we consider the very extensive range of enquiry occupied by our author, the great variety both of argument and information which it contains, and the small space which it occupies; we cannot, I think, avoid coming to the conclusion, that it is a very extraordinary work, and one which is as suitable to our own times, as it was

to those for which it was written. Its chief excellency is, that it is argumentative, and that its arguments are well grounded, and logically conducted.

³⁰ If it once or twice appeals to the power of Christianity in inducing many to devote their lives to a state of virginity, and to some other things quite unessential to vital religion ; we should bear in mind, that this was the foible of his day, and that, of the thousands who may be found both able and willing to deprecate and blame this, not so much as one perhaps will to follow his virtues, or give any thing like such evidences of real learning, and of Christian piety and zeal. ³¹ As to the period at which it was written, I think it must have been, after the general peace restored to the Church by Constantine, and before either the "Praeparatio," or the "Demonstratio Evangelica," was written. My reason for the first of these suppositions is: Our author speaks repeatedly of the peace restored to the Church; of Churches and Schools restored, or then built for the first time : of the nourishing state of the Church of Caesarea; of the extended, and then successfully extending, state of Christianity : all of which could not have been said during the times of the last, and most severe persecution. My reasons for the second of these suppositions are, the considerations that whatever portions of this Work are found, either in the "Praeparatio," the "Demonstratio Evangelica," or the "Oratio de laudibus Constantini," they there occur in no regular sequence of argument as they do in this Work: especially in the latter, into which they have been carried evidently for the purpose of lengthening out a speech. Besides, many of these places are amplified in these works, particularly in the two former as remarked in my notes; which seems to suggest, that such additions were made either to accommodate these to the new soil, into which they had been so transplanted, or, to supply some new matter, which had suggested itself to our author.

³² And again, as both the "Praeparatio" and "Demonstratio Evangelica," are works which must have required very considerable time to complete them, and which would even then be unfit for general circulation ; it appears probable to me, that this more popular, and more useful work, was first composed and published, and that the other two,--illustrating as they generally do, some particular points only,--argued in order in our Work,-- were reserved for the reading and occasional writing of our author during a considerable number of years, as well for the satisfaction of his own mind, as for the general reading of the learned. It appears probable to me therefore, that

this was one of the first productions of Eusebius, if not the first after the persecutions ceased. ³³ Of the authors cited in the following pages, I have not always had it in my power to quote either the latest or the best Editions. In many cases I could consult those only which happened to be in my own possession, not only because it is not always in my power to be within the precincts of the University, and to avail myself of its Libraries; but also, even when there, its Libraries are neither large nor rich in this respect. I have in some instances written the proper names as I found them in my Syriac original, which I could hardly avoid, both as it appeared to be my duty to represent this rather than any other exemplar, and also because the nature of the passage occasionally required this.

³⁴ If I have in any instance failed to seize the sense of my author, I can only say, by way of defence, that I have done the best in my power to ensure accuracy in this respect. I have spared no pains, and have thought no inquiry too great, to do justice to him. Still, as Syriac Literature is but in a state of infancy among us, whether as it respects the character of the Grammars, Dictionaries, Authors, or other helps of this sort; if I have any where failed, I may perhaps hope for the indulgence which the nature of the case requires: and nothing beyond this do I wish. In all such cases, I shall be most happy in receiving suggestions which may improve my Work, and shall be as ready both to adopt these, and to be thankful for them. Of the Work itself I may say, If it has cost me much labour and research, and crowded upon me an increase of labour, depriving me in many instances even of necessary relaxation and exercise; it has nevertheless brought with it pleasures, which I shall ever remember with the greatest thankfulness. To have had the privilege of restoring to the Christian Church, a Work of one of its brightest ornaments as a Scholar and Theologian in the best of its days, is indeed an honour of which few can boast: while the satisfaction of hoping, that it may be instrumental for ages to come, in bringing many to the knowledge of the truth, is more than sufficient to repay any labour which its restoration might have cost.

³⁵ I have now to express my thanks to the Syndics of the University Press, for their liberality in taking upon themselves the principal part of the expense incurred in printing this Work ; and to add, that I hope this will not have been thrown away on the present occasion. Note on the electronic text: The preface given above is then followed in the book by 5 'Preliminary Dis-

sertations', taking up pp.xxiv-clix: over 130 pages! These are somewhat diffuse, but not without interest. They deal with topics such as Eusebius' opinions on various theological issues, but I believe most people will not find them interesting, and it would take more time than I have to spare to transcribe them. If anyone really wants them and is prepared to share in the labour of proofing them, by all means contact me. Otherwise I will save myself the labour. RP. [Selected Footnotes: some were omitted which required transcribing Syriac but were of no interest to the non-Syriac speaker]

P A R T T W O

The Chronicle and the Place Names

*A table of world history, and a dictionary of the places named
in Scripture.*

Chronicon

EUSEBIUS OF CAESAREA

c. AD 260–339

Bishop of Caesarea and the first church historian.

BOOK 1 TRANSLATED FROM ARMENIAN

¹ Eusebius of Caesarea, *Chronicle*, Book 1 (2008) [Translated by Robert Bedrosian]

Eusebius' Chronicle

² [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].

³ 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.

4 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].

5 [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.

6 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.

7 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.*

8 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 Nabonassar 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].

9 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]:

10 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.*

¹¹ 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.

¹² 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.

¹³ [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. yushkaporik] 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].

¹⁴ 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.

¹⁵ [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.

¹⁶ 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.*

¹⁷ 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].

¹⁸ 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.

¹⁹ 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*

²⁰ 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.

²¹ 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 Hezekiah, 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 Hezekiah 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.

²² 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.*

²³ 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.

²⁴ 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; Sarmuges followed, for 21 years; followed by his brother, for 21 years. Then Nabopalassar 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 Sarmuges, 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.

²⁵ 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].

²⁶ Abydenus' Chaldean history confirms this. In agreement with Polyhistor, he relates it as follows.

[10] *Abydenus on the first Chaldean kings.*

²⁷ 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.

²⁸ 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].

²⁹ 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.*

³⁰ 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.

³¹ 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.

³² 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.

³³ 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.

³⁴ 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.

³⁵ 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*

³⁶ 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.

³⁷ 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 suppress [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. ³⁸ [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 proceed 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.

³⁹ 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. ⁴⁰ 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.

⁴¹ 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.

⁴² 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.

⁴³ 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.*

⁴⁴ 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.

⁴⁵[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].

⁴⁶[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.

⁴⁷No 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 in-

stead 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].

⁴⁸ 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.*

⁴⁹Let 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?

⁵⁰[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.

⁵¹ Agamemnon and Menelaus, 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.*

⁵² 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 Machchalaesus 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.

⁵³ 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 Thespheus, Ariphton's son, was king of the Athenians. Accord-

ing to reliable sources, the entire empire of the Assyrians lasted for 1,240 years. Others say that it lasted for 1,300 years. Thonnius 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.*

⁵⁴ Arbaces (Varbak) years Maudaces years Sosarmus years Articas years Deioceces 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.*

⁵⁵ 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.*

⁵⁶ 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.*

⁵⁷ 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].

⁵⁸ 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.

⁵⁹ 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.

⁶⁰ 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.

⁶¹[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].

⁶² 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.

⁶³ 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.

⁶⁴ 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*

⁶⁵ 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.

⁶⁶ 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]*

⁶⁷ 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.

⁶⁸ 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.

⁶⁹ 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?

⁷⁰ The Hebrew version of the Samaritans.

[26] *The Samaritan [Hebrew Version]*

⁷¹ 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.

72 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.

73 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*

74 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:

⁷⁵ 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.

⁷⁶ Now for the Hebrew version of the Jews, starting with the second year after the flood.

[28] *The Jewish [Hebrew Version]*

⁷⁷ 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].

78 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]*

79 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.

80 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.

⁸¹ [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.

⁸² 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.

⁸³ 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.

⁸⁴ [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.

⁸⁵ 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.

⁸⁶ 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*

⁸⁷ 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.

⁸⁸ 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.

⁸⁹ 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.

⁹⁰ 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.

⁹¹ 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*

⁹² 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. ⁹³ [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.

⁹⁴ 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.

⁹⁵ 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*

⁹⁶ 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]. ⁹⁷ 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:

⁹⁸ 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.

⁹⁹ [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:

¹⁰⁰ 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.

¹⁰¹ 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

¹⁰² 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?"

103 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]"

104 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].

105 [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 lead-

ers, 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.

¹⁰⁶ 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.

¹⁰⁷ [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, sur-

rounding 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:

¹⁰⁸ 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.

¹⁰⁹ [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.

¹¹⁰ 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 Anointed 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.

¹¹¹ 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.*

¹¹² 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.

¹¹³ The priests kept records about 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.*

¹¹⁴ 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.

¹¹⁵ 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.

¹¹⁶ 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*

¹¹⁷ 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. Vbi-enthis, 26 years. Altogether [these kings] reigned for 252 years.

2nd Dynasty

¹¹⁸ 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

¹¹⁹ 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

¹²⁰ 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

¹²¹ 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*

122 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

123 5 kings from Memphis. Altogether [these kings] reigned for 75 years.

8th Dynasty

124 5 kings from Memphis. Altogether [these kings] reigned for 100 years.

9th Dynasty

125 [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

126 19 kings from Heracleopolis, who ruled for 185 years.

11th Dynasty

127 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*

128 7 kings from Diospolis. Sesonchosis the son of Ammenemes, 46 years. Ammanemes, 38 years. He was killed by his own eunuchs. Sesostriis, 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

129 60 kings of Diospolis, who ruled for 453 years.

14th Dynasty

¹³⁰ 76 kings of Xoïs, who ruled for 484 years.

15th Dynasty

¹³¹ 15 kings of Diospolis, who ruled for 250 years.

[49] *16th Dynasty*

¹³² 5 kings of Thebes, who ruled for 190 years [g212].

17th Dynasty

¹³³ A dynasty of shepherds who were Phoenician brothers, foreign kings who took Memphis. Saïtes was first, 19 years. The district of Saïte 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*

¹³⁴ 14 kings from Diospolis. Amosis, 25 years. Chebron, 13 years. Ammenophis, 21 years. Mispshres, 12 years. Mispshragmuthosis, 26 years. Tuthmosis, 9 years. Amenophis, 31 years. He [g214] is the one believed to be Memnon, the talking statue. Orus, 38 years. Achenchorses, 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

¹³⁵ 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*

¹³⁶ 12 kings from Diospolis, who ruled for 172 years.

21th Dynasty

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

22nd Dynasty

¹³⁸ 3 kings from Bubastis. Sesonchosis, 21 years. Osorthon, 15 years. Tancelothis, 13 years. Altogether [these kings] reigned for 49 years.

23rd Dynasty

¹³⁹ 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

¹⁴⁰ Bocchoris from Sais, 44 years. In his reign, a lamb spoke..

[52] 25th Dynasty, Ethiopian

¹⁴¹ 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

¹⁴² 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

¹⁴³ 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

¹⁴⁴ Amyrtaeus of Sais, 6 years..

29th Dynasty

¹⁴⁵ 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

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

31st Dynasty

¹⁴⁷ 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.]

¹⁴⁸ 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. ¹⁴⁹ 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.

150 [55] After him reigned another [g225], whose name was Beon, 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 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."

¹⁵¹ 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.

¹⁵² 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. ¹⁵³ 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, Tethmosis 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.

¹⁵⁴ 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;

¹⁵⁵ for Manetho says, that Sethosis was himself called Egyptus, as was his brother Armais called Danaus." ¹⁵⁶ [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.

¹⁵⁷ This is what Josephus relates in his book. One by one he names the kings of Egypt and their chronologies 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.*

¹⁵⁸ Alexander of Macedon [died] in the 114th Olympiad [324 B.C.]. He was succeeded by Aridaeus, also called Philippos, Alexander's brother by a different mother. For [g236] he was the son of Philippos and Philinna of Larissa. This Aridaeus ruled for 7 years. He was killed in Macedonia by Polysperchon the son of Antipater. A year after Philippos 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.

¹⁵⁹ 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 Philometor 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.

¹⁶⁰ 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.

¹⁶¹ [59] Euergetes II Ptoleimid 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].

¹⁶² 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.

¹⁶³ [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 Ptoleimid 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 of her male relatives as co-rulers. But when Ptolemy returned from Rome, he forgot all affection towards his daughter, and, full of rage for what she had done, put her to death.

¹⁶⁴ 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, 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 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.

¹⁶⁵ 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.*

¹⁶⁶ 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.*

¹⁶⁷ [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.

¹⁶⁸ 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:

¹⁶⁹ "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.*

¹⁷⁰ 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.

¹⁷¹ 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. Polyphides, 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. Amphigyges, 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.].

¹⁷² 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 described them [g261].

[64] *Castor on the Kings of the Argives.*

¹⁷³ Now we will list the kings of the Argives, beginning 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.

¹⁷⁴ 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.

¹⁷⁵ 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 Mycenae, 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.

¹⁷⁶ 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 Ogygus' 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.*

¹⁷⁷ 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.*

¹⁷⁸ 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.

¹⁷⁹ 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. Menes-theus, 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.

¹⁸⁰ 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.*

¹⁸¹ 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.

¹⁸² 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].

¹⁸³ 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.

¹⁸⁴ 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 athletic 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:

¹⁸⁵ 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 Lyncurgus 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 Alcmena 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.

¹⁸⁶ 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.] Leochaeres 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.

¹⁸⁷ [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.

¹⁸⁸ 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.

¹⁸⁹ 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 Thesaly. 34th [644 B.C.] Stomas of Athens, stadion race. 35th [640 B.C.] Sphaer-us 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.

¹⁹⁰ 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.] Chrysamaxes of Laconia, stadion race. The boys' stadion race was won by Polymnestor of Miletus, who chased and caught a rabbit 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.

¹⁹¹ 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.

¹⁹² 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.] - Ischyryus 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.] - Nicias of Opus, stadion race.

¹⁹³ 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.

¹⁹⁴ 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.

¹⁹⁵ 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.] - Micrinus 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.

¹⁹⁶ 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.

¹⁹⁷ 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.] - Philome-

lus 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.

¹⁹⁸ 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 pancrati-um competitions, like Heracles. Thus he was recorded as "second after Heracles".

¹⁹⁹ 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.

²⁰⁰ 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.

²⁰¹ 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.

²⁰² [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].

203 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. Aristas 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.

204 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 con-

tests for heralds, performers of tragedy and citharodes; and also in the races for chariots drawn by colts, mature horses and ten colts.

²⁰⁵ 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.

²⁰⁶ 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.] - Aristetas 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.

²⁰⁷ [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.

²⁰⁸ 247th [209 A.D.] - Saturnilus 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.*

²⁰⁹ After this investigation, 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.

²¹⁰ 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.

²¹¹ 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.*

²¹² 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.

²¹³ 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.*

²¹⁴ 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.

²¹⁵ 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.*

²¹⁶ The 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:

²¹⁷ Perdiccas reigned for 48 years, and left his kingdom to Argaeus, who reigned for 31 years. The next king was Philippos, who reigned for 33 years. Aeropos, 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. Aeropos, 6 years. Then Pausanias was king, one year. Ptolemy, 3 years. Perdiccas, 5 years. Philippos, 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.*

²¹⁸ 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.*

²¹⁹ 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 Thesalonice 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.].

220 [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 Achilles 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 devolved 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.

221 [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.].

²²² 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 Philippos. 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.

²²³ 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 Philippos, who was the first of the kings to fight against the Romans, causing the Macedonians much woe. After [Demetrius], Philippos 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.

²²⁴ [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.

²²⁵ 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 Andriskus 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.*

²²⁶ 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.

²²⁷ 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.

²²⁸ [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.

²²⁹ 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 Epidro-

mas 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 Androsthene 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.*

²³⁰ 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, Androsthene, Thrasymachus, Laontomenes, Pausanias, Theodorus, Nicocrates, Hippolochus, Cleomachides, Phyrinus, and Philippus [g342].

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

²³¹ 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.

²³² 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.

²³³ [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.].

²³⁴ 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 Ptolemy. 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 Ptolemy 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.

²³⁵ 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. ²³⁶[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.

²³⁷Alexander 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 de-

feated 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.

²³⁸ 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.

²³⁹ 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 Zabinas, 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.

²⁴⁰ 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 committed suicide. Thus Seleucus gained control of the entire kingdom, and captured Antioch.

²⁴¹ [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 committed suicide. His two brothers Antiochus and Philip-pus 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: Philip-

pus, 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 the city to be autonomous.

²⁴² 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.*

²⁴³ 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.

²⁴⁴ [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 Diod-

orus' [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.*

²⁴⁵ 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.

²⁴⁶ 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 unwallled 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 Abori-

gines; 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:

²⁴⁷ 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.

²⁴⁸ 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.

²⁴⁹ 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.*

²⁵⁰ [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.

²⁵¹ 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.

²⁵² 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 unaccustomed 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.

²⁵³ [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.

²⁵⁴ 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.*

²⁵⁵ 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].

²⁵⁶ 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.

²⁵⁷ 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.

²⁵⁸ [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.

²⁵⁹ 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.

²⁶⁰ 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.

²⁶¹ 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.*

²⁶² 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.

²⁶³ 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.

²⁶⁴ [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, Comelia, 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 Epitius Silvius, for 26 years. When his death Capius 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.

²⁶⁵ 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 Numinator 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.*

²⁶⁶ 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.

²⁶⁷ 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 cap-

ture 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.*

²⁶⁸ 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.

²⁶⁹ 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 pre-

ceding 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.

²⁷⁰ [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.

²⁷¹ 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]

²⁷² This text was translated and placed online by Robert Bedrosian, and reformatted by Roger Pearse, 2009.

BOOK 1 TRANSLATED FROM LATIN

¹ [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.

2 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 which 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.

3 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.

⁴ 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. ⁵ 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.

⁶ 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.

⁷ 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.

⁸ 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 any-one 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.

9 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 Philippos, 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.

10 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.

¹¹ 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 Thalath in the Chaldaean language, which is translated into Greek as *thalassa* ("the sea").

¹² 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.

¹³ 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?

¹⁴ 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.

¹⁵ 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.

16 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.

17 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."

18 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 years Then his son Chomasbelus became king, for 4 years and 5 months 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

19 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.

²⁰ 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.

²¹ 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:

²² Sennacherib was king, for 18 years Then his son, for 8 years Then Samuges, 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.

²³ Sardanapallus sent an army to the assistance of Astyages, the satrap of the Medes, and accepted Amyitis, 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

²⁴ 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).

²⁵ 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.

²⁶ 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.

27 [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].

28 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".

²⁹ 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?"

³⁰ 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 kinsman 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.

³¹ 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 af-

flicted 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 ³² 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.

³³ 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 Chaldeans, 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.

³⁴ "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."

³⁵ 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.

³⁶ 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.

³⁷ 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 Car-

mania, as a place to inhabit. Accordingly Nabonidus spent the rest of his time in that country, and there he died."

³⁸ 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 Darius. 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

³⁹ 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."

⁴⁰ 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]."

⁴¹ 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.

⁴² 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."

⁴³ 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."

⁴⁴ "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.

⁴⁵ [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 oc-

curred." 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?"

⁴⁶ 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.

⁴⁷ 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.

⁴⁸ Aladas, for 32 years. [p65] Mammythus, for 30 years. Machchalaesus, 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.

⁴⁹ 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 Ariphton was archon of the Athenians. According to some writers, the whole empire of the Assyrians lasted for 1,240 years; ac-

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

⁵⁰ 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.

⁵¹ 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 Philippos 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.

⁵² 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."

⁵³ 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 there 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.

⁵⁴ 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.

⁵⁵ 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.

⁵⁶ 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].

⁵⁷ 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 cast 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.

⁵⁸ 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.

⁵⁹ 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.

⁶⁰ 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.

⁶¹ [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.

⁶² 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.

⁶³ [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. ⁶⁴ 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?

⁶⁵ 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.

⁶⁶ 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.

⁶⁷ 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.

⁶⁸ 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.

⁶⁹ 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.

⁷⁰ 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.

⁷¹[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.

⁷²Shelah 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.

⁷³[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.

⁷⁴ 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.

⁷⁵ 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. ⁷⁶ 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.

⁷⁷[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.

⁷⁸Some 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.

⁷⁹ 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. ⁸⁰ 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.

⁸¹ [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."

⁸² 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

⁸³ 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.

⁸⁴ 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. ⁸⁵ 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.

⁸⁶ 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. ⁸⁷ 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.

⁸⁸ 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 Jephthah's message stated.

⁸⁹ 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.

⁹⁰ 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.

⁹¹ 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.

⁹² 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 Dios, one that is believed to have written the Phoenician History after an accurate manner. This Dios, therefore, writes thus, in his Histories of the Phoenicians:

⁹³ "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."

⁹⁴ These things are attested to by Dios, 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.

⁹⁵ "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."

⁹⁶ 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:

⁹⁷ 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 Jek-

honiah, 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.

⁹⁸ 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.

⁹⁹ 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."

¹⁰⁰ 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 Darius. The temple was restored in the eighth year of Darius.

¹⁰¹ 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.

¹⁰² But the total length of time, from Solomon and the first building of the temple until the second year of Darius 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 Darius 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:

¹⁰³ 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:

¹⁰⁴ 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

¹⁰⁵ 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].

¹⁰⁶ 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.

¹⁰⁷ 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.

¹⁰⁸ 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.

¹⁰⁹ After the chronology of the Chaldaeans, the Assyrians and the Hebrews, it is 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.

¹¹⁰ "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 insignif-

ant 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.

¹¹¹ 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.

¹¹² 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.

¹¹³ 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.

¹¹⁴ 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.

¹¹⁵ [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.

¹¹⁶ 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 Phiopts, 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

¹¹⁷ [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.

¹¹⁸ 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. Lames, 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 Xoïs, 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.

¹¹⁹ 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 Mispshres, 12 years Mispshragmuthosis, 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 Achencheres, 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.

¹²⁰ Rhameses, 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 Nephhercheres, 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

¹²¹ 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

¹²² 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: Nephertetes, 6 years Achoris, 13 years Psammuthes, 1 year Muthes, 1 year Nephertetes, 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.

¹²³ [p151] Josephus, [quoting] from the books of Manetho ¹²⁴ 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: "Tutimaueus. 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;

¹²⁵ 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':

¹²⁶ 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. ¹²⁷ "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;

¹²⁸ 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. ¹²⁹ 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.

¹³⁰ 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.

¹³¹ 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.

¹³² 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.

¹³³ 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 Philippos, who was a brother of Alexander, but by a different mother; for he was the son of Philippos 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 Philippos 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.

¹³⁴ 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.

¹³⁵ 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.

¹³⁶ 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 broth-

er'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 Tyrus, [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.

¹³⁷ 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.

¹³⁸ 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.

139 [p167] This Alexander was succeeded by Ptolemaeus, called the new Dionysus, who was the son of Ptolemaeus Soter and the brother of the afore-said 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.

140 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.

¹⁴¹ 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

¹⁴² 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

¹⁴³ 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.

¹⁴⁴ 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.

¹⁴⁵ 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.

¹⁴⁶ 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.

¹⁴⁷ Theoclytus, for four years. Euneus, for six years. Theonimus, 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.

¹⁴⁸ 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. Crius, 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.

¹⁴⁹ 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 Mycenae, 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.

¹⁵⁰Next 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.

¹⁵¹Castor, 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 Andropompos, 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.

¹⁵² 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 Homer, for 50 years. The Idaean Dactyls lived in his reign.

¹⁵³ 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.

¹⁵⁴ 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.

¹⁵⁵ 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. Thespheus, the son of Ariphron, for 27 years. At this time, Lycurgus established laws for the Spartans. Agamestor, the son of Thespheus, 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.

¹⁵⁶ 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:

¹⁵⁷ "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.

¹⁵⁸ 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.

¹⁵⁹ 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 Alcmena 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:

¹⁶⁰ 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.

¹⁶¹ 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 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

¹⁶² 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

¹⁶³ 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.

¹⁶⁴ 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.] - Chrysamaxes 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.

¹⁶⁵ 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

¹⁶⁶ 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.] - Ischyryus 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

¹⁶⁷ 69th [504 B.C.] - Isomachus for a second time [p203] 70th [500 B.C.] - Nicias 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

168 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.

169 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

170 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.

171 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

172 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

¹⁷³138th [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.

¹⁷⁴148th [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

¹⁷⁵160th [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

¹⁷⁶175th [80 B.C.] - Epäenetus 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.] - Anthes-tion 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.

¹⁷⁷183rd [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

¹⁷⁸198th [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.

¹⁷⁹ 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.

¹⁸⁰ 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.] - Apollonophanes 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.] - Achilles of Alexandria, stadion race 221st [105 A.D.] - Theonas Smaragdus of Al-

exandria, 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.

¹⁸¹ 225th [121 A.D.] - Aristas 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.

¹⁸² 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.] - Saturnilus 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

¹⁸³ 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.

¹⁸⁴ 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.

¹⁸⁵ 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 Telestes - 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.

¹⁸⁶ 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.

¹⁸⁷ 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

¹⁸⁸ 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

¹⁸⁹ 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.

¹⁹⁰ 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:

¹⁹¹ 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 Philip; and the Macedonian kingdom continued until its dissolution as follows.

¹⁹² 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.].

¹⁹³ 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 Achilles 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.

¹⁹⁴Pyrrhus 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].

¹⁹⁵Then 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 Philippos. 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.

¹⁹⁶After 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, Antigonos 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.].

¹⁹⁷ 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.

¹⁹⁸ 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 Philippos, from which he came to be called the false Philippos. 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.

¹⁹⁹ Because the Macedonians had been ungrateful, and had co-operated with the false Philippos, 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 Philippos: Aridaeus, also called Philippos - 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

²⁰⁰ 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 Philippos - for 42 years Perseus - for 10 years and 8 months (Autonomy) - for 19 years The false Philippos - 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 Philippos 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 Philippos, 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 Philippos [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.

²⁰¹ 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, Philippos 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 Philippos. For the first year there was anarchy in Thessaly, but then they started to elect annual leaders from amongst the people.

²⁰² 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 Androstenes 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.

²⁰³ In his year, Philippos the king of Macedonia died, and was succeeded by his son Perseus. As we said, Philippos 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 Philippos [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

²⁰⁴ 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, Androstenes, Thrasyarchus, 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.].

²⁰⁵ 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.

²⁰⁶ 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.].

²⁰⁷ 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.].

²⁰⁸ 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.

²⁰⁹ 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. ²¹⁰ 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 king-

dom against Alexander, who brought an army from outside with the assistance of Ptolemaeus and Attalus, and he was killed in a battle.

²¹¹ 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 Seleucia, 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.

²¹² 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 sis-

ter, so only Antiochus was left, the youngest of the brothers, and because of his residence at Cyzicus he was called Cyzicenus.

²¹³ 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.

²¹⁴ 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.

²¹⁵ 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.

²¹⁶ 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 the 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 mentioned 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 Gabinus, 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 Philippos.

²¹⁷ 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 Philippos the son of Grypus, with whom the kings of Syria came to an end [- for 2 years]

²¹⁸ [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

²¹⁹ 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 Abori-

gines, 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*].

²²⁰ 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 unwallled 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."

²²¹ 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 Julian bay, and from his name the people were called Peucetii."

²²² 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.

²²³ 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

²²⁴ 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.

²²⁵ "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."

²²⁶ 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."

²²⁷ 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.

²²⁸ 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 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." ²²⁹ 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.

²³⁰ "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 Odys-

seus 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.

²³¹ "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.

²³² 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.

²³³ "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."

²³⁴ 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.

²³⁵ 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.

²³⁶ 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.

²³⁷ 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 king-

dom 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.

²³⁸ 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.

²³⁹ 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.

²⁴⁰ 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:

²⁴¹ 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 [Dion-Hal_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.

²⁴² 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, An-

cus 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.

²⁴³ 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.

²⁴⁴ [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.

²⁴⁵ 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.

Concerning the Place Names in Sacred Scripture

EUSEBIUS OF CAESAREA

c. AD 260–339

Bishop of Caesarea and the first church historian.

INTRODUCTION

THE ONOMASTICON OF EUSEBIUS PAMPHILI

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Foreword

⁶ The author wishes to acknowledge the assistance of many scholars, living and dead, and friends, not all of whom can be mentioned. First he is indebted to Moses Bailey and Alexander Sperber who introduced him to the labyrinth of the Onomastica of the Bible before World War II. Thanks to Ernest Wright who in his concern for the non-classically trained seminarians and neophyte archaeologists suggested this English translation of the Onomasticon reputed to be Eusebius' as a sabbatical project. Thanks to Edward Campbell for his insistence on an article for the Biblical Archaeologist (Sept. 1964, xxvii, 3) which forms the basis for the introductory critical remarks in this edition and are used by permission of the American Schools of Oriental Research whose Jerusalem building was the seat for much of the research. Thanks to the trustees of Harvard University for permission to quote from the Thackeray translation of Josephus' Antiquities in the Loeb Classical Library. A special thanks to the host of geographers who have labored over the Onomasticon including among many Conder, Buhl, Thomsen, Abel, Albright, Avi-Yonah, Glueck, O'Callaghan, Kallai, Melamed, and

Mittmann. The basic text of Klostermann, published in 1904, with reference to Lagarde, has been used in this translation.

7 C. Umhau Wolf, December 24, 1971

Translator's Preface

8 This English edition of the Onomasticon is the first in the Western languages. It is a fairly literal translation of the Greek text and is not intended for the classics scholar but for those who are not versed in Greek, Latin and Hebrew, but are interested in the geography and archaeology of the Holy Land. It is not intended for textual critics of the Bible or of the Onomasticon although some of the notes and appendices include variants and textual materials. To avoid a double translation, the Greek and Latin have been conflated except for the final editor's Introduction which varies greatly in the two languages. Parentheses () are used to indicate minor variations in the Latin from the presumed earlier Greek text. Brackets [] are used to indicate either a lacuna in the Greek text which has been emended from the Latin or an addition of significance made by the Latin editors. The notes on individual entries also indicate which of these occur in any given section.

9 The notes that follow the translation are not an attempt at a biblical geography for which the reader has access to many good volumes. They do not attempt an archaeological survey of the Holy Land. The notes emphasize late Roman and Byzantine sites and sources especially when the Onomasticon's text makes some attempt to locate and identify a place or where the text is confused. Not all Old Testament or New Testament sites are mentioned in the Onomasticon and many of those which are have not been located in the Greek and Latin texts so are not located or identified in these notes. Again reference to a biblical atlas or geography is to be had for this detailed study. New theories of identification and new archaeological discoveries are appearing with great frequency. Some updating of the Onomasticon locations is to be continuously in the works. The most recent studies are by Avi-Yonah, Melamed and Mittmann with single studies appearing in Israeli journals (Israel Exploration Journal, Eretz-Israel, and Tarbiz) and others (Biblical Archaeologist, Revue Biblique, Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly, Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins, Deutsche Palästina-Verein, etc.).

Digitizer's Note

¹⁰ I decided to proof and edit this manuscript soon after my father's death. My father, Dr. C(arl). Umhau Wolf, had spent more than four years of research, translation, and writing on this Onomasticon project. Originally the Catholic University of America Press had requested the translation but when the draft of the manuscript was sent to the press they decided that the translation was too scholarly for their planned use in their Fathers of the Church series. Even though he referred to the Onomasticon's translation as "just a laundry list," I wanted the translation to be more accessible than just gathering dust in a file drawer. The aged manuscript has faded making some entries difficult to read and this has caused difficulty with the output from the optical scanner. I have spent almost a year correcting the scanned manuscript and hope that the final version has few errors. The manuscript should be considered a draft manuscript and not a final draft for publication.

¹¹ I did very few editorial changes since my background in electronics and library science leaves me quite ignorant of this subject. I have added the Onomasticon's translation's Sections to the End notes. I have used diacritical marks only where indicated in the original manuscript since there are some places that the name differs only due to a diacritical mark. This causes a double entry in the index for those places and names that have been used with and without the diacritical marks. The endnote numbers were abandoned shortly after the beginning of the translation for reasons unknown to me. I have completed the endnote numbers to the translation. I have not changed the text where there is a question mark (?) indicating that the text required additional research. The Klostermann citations were handwritten in the margins. I have included the Klostermann citations in all end notes and have substituted the complete Lagarde citation for the Lagarde section numbers located also as handwritten additions in the margins. Each end note consists of the following elements: the end note number; the place or name; the biblical chapter and verse from the Greek text; the Klostermann text page and line number of the Greek text; and the Legarde text page number and line number of the Greek text. After end note number one, the citations are abbreviated using "K" for Klostermann and "L" for Legarde. Where a place or name is not found in the Legarde text, I have indicated "n/a; Lacuna in Greek Text."

¹² The index includes Greek variants of places and names found in the end notes. Also included are the Arabic places and names that were italicized in the body, but I have decided for ease of sorting alphabetically to eliminate the italics throughout the index. I did not use the Latin textual variants for places and names in the index. Abbreviations of books are expanded to full titles only when the full title is known to the digitizer. I took the liberty of changing the journals listed at the end of the Translator's Preface from initials to complete titles. In 1964, my father spent his sabbatical leave in the Middle East. He, my stepmother, and my youngest sister were residents at the American School of Oriental Research (ASOR) most of that year while he did research for the translation of the Onomasticon. During this time, I was stationed at Asmara, Ethiopia with the U. S. Army's Signal Corps. I was able to travel to Jordan to visit my family and I had the pleasure of a short stay at the ASOR.

¹³ I would like to thank Roger Pearse, for his encouragement to digitize the manuscript, his suggestion to add a biography of the author, his word processing editing, and for placing the final digitized manuscript on his web site's pages about Eusebius of Caesarea, <https://www.tertullian.org/fathers>. I thank David J. McGonagle, Director, The Catholic University of America Press, Washington, District of Columbia (D.C.), for assuring me that I had the most recent draft copy of the Onomasticon's translation's manuscript. Thanks to Mike Robinson, Reference Librarian, Bryan Wildenthal Memorial Library, Sul Ross State University, Alpine, Texas, for obtaining, through interlibrary loans, the many books that I requested during the digitization process. I realize that there are many excellent translations of the Onomasticon in print today. I hope this translation may be a minor supplement to these available translations. Noel C. WOLF, November 18, 2005

Dr. Carl Umhau Wölf 1914 - 2004 — Bibliographical Sketch of Author

¹⁴ Dr. Wolf was born, in Baltimore, Maryland, a third generation German-American on both sides of his father and mother. His paternal grandfather came to the United States from Alsace in 1871. His father was a Lutheran minister with a Ph.D. in Classical Archaeology. He had to be known by his second name, Umhau (his mother's maiden name) because his father was named Carl also. His knowledge of languages began with four years of Latin, two years of French, and two years of German in high school followed by Biblical Hebrew in Seminary and continued with Arabic, Aramaic, Greek,

Medieval Hebrew, Syriac, and Yiddish in graduate school. He received a B.A. from John Hopkins University (1934), a B.D. from Capital University (1938), an M.S.D. from Capital University, an M.A. from Ohio State University (1936), and a Ph.D. from Hartford Seminary (1942), dissertation title, *The pre-Masoretic Pronunciation of Hebrew According to the Septuagint*. He was ordained as a Lutheran minister at his father's church, Grace Lutheran, Baltimore, Maryland (1937).

¹⁵ After ordination and marrying Dorothy Rising, Dr. Wolf was called to be the pastor at a dual Lutheran parish Zion, Jelloway, Knox County, Ohio and St. John, Kaylor Ridge, Holmes County, Ohio. It wasn't until 1990, while doing research for his grandfather's biography, that he discovered that his grandfather's first congregation, also as a newly married, was close by at Fryburg, Holmes County, Ohio. He remained here until he was awarded the Jacobus Fellowship at Hartford Seminary, Hartford, Connecticut to complete his doctoral thesis at the seminary. Dr. Wolf was called up to active service in May 1941 and was commissioned a First Lieutenant Infantry Chaplain assigned to the First Infantry Division (The Big Red One), 16th Regiment. He completed, in absentia, his Ph.D. while stationed with the U. S. Army at Camp Blanding, Gainesville, Florida. The oral exam was waved and substituted with a written exam. The First Infantry Division participated in the invasion of Africa from Morocco to Algeria. Chaplain Wolf wrote and had mimeographed a short "salaam" note in Arabic to be scattered over the landing zone by aircraft and handed out by soldiers. He spent the rest of his war service in the Allies' African campaign directed against Field Marshal Rommel's German troops. He wrote a memoir of his army experience, *African Asides*, which had to be submitted to the U. S. Army Censors before publication. When it was returned to him, the censors had one entire chapter crossed out and each page stamped "Unauthorized for publication." Other chapters had entire pages and many paragraphs crossed out. The uncensored bound typescript was donated, along with other items, to the newly dedicated Chaplain's Archival Museum and Library, Fort Jackson, South Carolina.

¹⁶ Dr. Wolf was the Executive Secretary of the Johns Hopkins Student YMCA after the war. He became a special student, postdoctoral courtesy, under Dr. W. F. Albright at the Near Eastern Seminary. In 1947, he accepted the Old Testament professor position at the Chicago Lutheran Divinity

School, Maywood, Illinois. Most of his first students were World War II veterans. He was later promoted to the Dean of Graduate Studies of the school. During his years at the Divinity School, he founded the Biblical Colloquium and was secretary of the venerable Chicago Society of Biblical Research. He became a member of the local branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and later became Vice President of the branch. He published a children's book on race relations called *Freddie*. In 1948, Dr. Wolf spent the summer at an archaeological site in South Dakota doing what is known as salvage archaeology. Salvage archaeology is a dig required by law to check out possible ancient Native American sites before a bridge, large dam, or other new construction projects can get authorization to begin construction. This dig was where a new dam was to be constructed on the Missouri River just north of the state capital, Jefferson City. Native American remains and minor artifacts were uncovered by the team and were turned over to the South Dakota State Museum. One time during a storm the team had to take refuge in a large stone horse trough as a tornado came through the dig site.

¹⁷ Dr. Wolf was awarded the Thayer Fellowship at the American School of Oriental Research (ASOR) (now The W. F. Albright Institute of Archaeological Research (AIAR)) to study in Jerusalem (1950). He traveled alone to Jerusalem. His wife arrived a few months later. She had the misfortune of being mugged in Cairo, Egypt while in transit to Jerusalem. John Badeau, President, American University of Cairo, took her in and assisted her in obtaining a replacement ticket to travel to Jerusalem, as well as clothes and luggage. During his year at the ASOR he participated in the excavation of Herod's Jericho Palace and assisted with the Library of Congress cataloging of various monasteries' collections. The Wolf's were specifically assigned to the Syrian Monastery. My father was one of Dr. W. F. Albright's "men" until he was forced to turn down a Fulbright Research Grant to compare Iron Age pottery in Egypt due to his wife, my mother, having been diagnosed with a fatal brain cancer in 1952. Dr. Albright never understood why my father had to turn down the scholarship. After that, Dr. Albright never spoke to him.

¹⁸ In 1952 with Dr. Albright no longer a sponsor or a friend, Dr. Wolf had little hope of archaeological professional advancement. He accepted the position of head pastor of the congregation at St. Paul's Evangelical Lutheran Church, Northwestern Ohio of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of

America, Toledo, Ohio. His wife died during the first year of the family's arrival at Toledo. Dr. Wolf remarried in 1954 to Betty Hartman, a third generation member of St. Paul and a well-accepted radio and television personality. He served as head pastor from 1953-1965. Some highlights of this Toledo period are the establishment of an ecumenical project, the Annual Lecture at St. Paul, featuring leading Catholic and Protestant scholars; a speaker at the dedication of the National Islamic Center (now the Islamic Mosque and Cultural Center), Washington, District of Columbia (D.C.); and active involvement with the small Muslim congregation in Toledo which later became the Islamic Center of Greater Toledo. In 1962 he was granted a sabbatical year.

¹⁹ Dr. Wolf took his sabbatical leave in 1964. He, his wife, and his youngest daughter traveled in their Volkswagen bus from Hamburg, Germany to Jerusalem. They were residents at the American School of Oriental Research (ASOR), Jerusalem, most of that year. My father used this time to verify Eusebius' *Onomasticon's* places' locations as well as assist with an archeological excavation just outside of Jerusalem. He and his wife traveled throughout the Middle East for several months. One trip through Iraq and Iran included time in jail in Kurdistan while the Kurdistan officials decided whether they were spies. My stepmother wrote a well-received book, *Journey Through the Holy Land*, Doubleday Press, 1967, reprinted in 1968, about living and traveling in the Middle East. She also reassembled pottery items using the shards from the excavation site. In 1965 Dr. Wolf accepted an invitation to become the Director of the Lutheran Institute for Religious Studies (LIFRS), a new continuing education program for clergy and laity at Texas Lutheran College (now Texas Lutheran University), Seguin, Texas. The program covered the area of three Lutheran synods which served Texas, Oklahoma, Louisiana, and New Mexico. Many of the programs were ecumenical seminars and weekend conferences for opening dialogues between the many racial, ethnic, and social groups of the four states. Some of these meetings became very confrontational. He was a member of the Board of the Hispanic American Institute. From 1972-1974 Dr. Wolf was active in the Texas Conference of Churches on Aging.

²⁰ Dr. Wolf returned to Toledo, Ohio in 1975 as pastor at Hope Lutheran church. In 1977 he and his wife published a text and leader's guide on retirement, *Ten to Get Ready*, and the accompanying guide, *Leader's Guide*. In

1980, Dr. Wolf retired from Hope Lutheran Church. For the next twenty years, whenever he was in Toledo, he served as interim pastor of Washington Congregation of the United Church, a "Transdenominational" church. During retirement Dr. Wolf and his wife spent the cooler months in Austin, Texas and the warmer months in Toledo. In 1990 he completed a biography of his grandfather, George Wolf, who was an ordained minister who had served in Ohio, Indiana, North Dakota, and California. Dr. Wolf was active in aging and retirement issues. He taught many ten-week courses in the Austin and Toledo senior centers as well as the Austin Lifelong Learning Institute. He also was active in the Gray Panthers and participated in picketing the United States President Reagan's White House Conference on Aging at Washington, D.C. In 1999 they sold the Austin house and began permanent residence in Toledo. He and his wife became the only non-black members of Ascension Lutheran church where they worshiped the remainder of their lives. His wife died in 2001 and Dr. Wolf died in 2004.

²¹ Dr. Wolf enjoyed research, writing, and publishing. His publications including articles, book reviews, and sermons have appeared in many Lutheran papers and journals. He published articles (popular and learned) in many non-Lutheran and sectarian journals. These include, but are not limited to: *The Moslem World* (now *Muslim World*), *The Jewish Quarterly Review*, *The Journal of Biblical Literature*, *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, *The Journal of the Chicago Society of Biblical Research*, *Biblical Archaeology*, *Interpretation*, *Adult Leadership*, *American Sociological Review*, *Christian Century*, and *The Christian Advocate*. He also contributed articles in the books *The Interpreter's Dictionary to the Bible*, *Supplement to the Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Studies*, and *The Making of Ministers*. Dr. Wolf's books include a three-volume series, *Nineteenth Century Lutherans in Northwest Ohio and Southeast Michigan*; *Biography of Rev. George Wolf, H.P.*; *Biography of Nathaniel Carter: First Joint Synod Negro Pastor*; *Biography of Marmaduke Carter*, the son of Nathaniel Carter who was also a Lutheran Pastor; *Freddie*, a children's book; and *The Onomasticon of Eusebius Pamphili: Compared with the Version of Jerome and Annotated*.

EUSEBIUS OF CAESAREA AND THE ONOMASTICON — Introduction

²² Eusebius Pamphili, better known as Eusebius of Caesarea, had the encyclopedic interests of ancient scholars. Although popularly known as "The Father of Church History" because of his ten volumes on the history of the

Christian Church from New Testament times to just before the Council of Nicea, Eusebius was an omnibus writer. "His erudition would be remarkable in any age; the versatility of his studies is amazing and posterity owes him a heavy debt." His works are used by students in many disciplines. At least twenty-nine or thirty works are known by name, of which about twenty are extant or preserved almost fully in some translation. Even the classification of these works is difficult. Foakes-Jackson calls Eusebius a chronologer, a theologian, a biblical student, a topographer of Palestine, an historian, and an apologist. The editor of the newest translation of the Church History, Deferrari has six classifications: historical, exegetical, apologetic, doctrinal, letters, and homilies. Lake gives no classification except a possible chronological division of four periods in Eusebius' life: early period, 303-313, 313-325, and after Nicea.

²³ Of the early period only *Adversus Hieroclem* is extant, but other apologeti, and historical works belonged to this period. Of the second, the same two types of writings dominate. The *Chronicon* or *World History* survives in an Armenian and a Latin translation. The *Preparatio Evangelica* is fully extant, while the *Demonstratio Evangelica* is about half complete in our present texts. During the last great period of persecution of the Christians by Rome there must have been a devastating burning of Christian books, and the library of Caesarea would have been a principal target although no literary reference to this tragedy remains. The renowned *Church History* or *Ecclesiastical History* (*Historia Ecclesiastica*), originally with only eight books, belongs to the period between the Edict of Milan and the Council of Nicea. The study of Palestinian Martyrs also comes from this period of improved church-state relations. After Nicea there are many writings on Emperor Constantine, Eusebius' commentaries on Old and New Testament, his geographical works and some theological and apologetic works. Except for the first three parts of his geographical writings, at least fragments of all the works from this last period survive, attesting the more favorable circumstances of the Church.

²⁴ As an historian Eusebius bridges the gap in our history from the Book of Acts to the Council of Nicea. Foakes-Jackson compares his importance to that of Josephus who does the same for the inter-testamental history of the Jews. Both were wide readers and often used their sources uncritically. As scholars, favored with patronage from Roman rulers, they had access to

books and other political and military sources not open to all. Although called "historians" both wrote their histories as apologies for their faith. Neither is as complete as modern scholarship would desire, but despite the many faults and lacunae they remain our only written sources for the history of their respective periods. The historical writings of both are not only similar in origin, nature and purpose, but are approximately equal in length. ²⁵ Neither Josephus nor Eusebius was a fanatic defender of the faith. They can hardly be claimed by one sect or party, yet their influence on their respective rulers and on their co-religionists can not be ignored or minimized. Josephus was considered a traitor or "Quisling," while Eusebius was called "heretic." He was involved in the Arian struggle. He was sympathetic to Arius and some of his best friends were Arians even if he himself were not theologically an Arian. In an attempt to mediate the difficulties and to hold to a middle of the road theology himself, he lost his opportunity for sainthood. His contemporaries could not agree on his orthodoxy. The controversy over his theological position continued after his death among other church historians and theologians, even though he signed the Nicene Creed and the anathema decreed upon Arius. At the Council of Tyre in 335 he was accused not merely of heresy but of apostasy since he apparently had escaped the persecutions of the first decade of the fourth century unscathed. His later writings seem to be orthodox, but the Arians still used him. He suffered even a greater loss of reputation when the Iconoclasts quoted him at the second Council of Nicea and forced the more orthodox to attack him severely. His reputation in the East never recovered after the Photius schism, but St. Jerome in the West admired him and is greatly responsible for the survival of his writings. Details of the controversy as well as summaries of his many writings are not pertinent in this Introduction, but the classic Smith's Dictionary of Christian Biography is still a good survey.

Life of Eusebius

²⁶ The name Eusebius is a common one. At least forty contemporaries are called by this name. Another famous church father is Eusebius of Nicomedia. St. Jerome also occasionally used the name Eusebii. Therefore, the author of the Onomasticon is distinguished from the others by three epithets. Because he was the bishop of Caesarea in Palestine for a number of years he is often called Eusebius of Caesarea. Some authors call him Eusebius "the Palestinian" which may refer to this same fact of his bishopric or perhaps hint of his ori-

gin and birth. He himself chose and preferred the name Eusebius Pamphili after his teacher and friend, Pamphilius, the martyr. No biography of Eusebius of Caesarea exists from contemporary times. It is believed that his successor Acacius, bishop of Caesarea, wrote one, but it is no longer extant. The place and the year of his birth are unknown. Earlier scholars suggested his birth was between 275 and 280. More careful recent scholarship places the date earlier, between 259 and 265. There is no evidence that he was not a Palestinian and perhaps even a native of Caesarea itself. His parents were not Jewish, but again all proof that they were Christian is lacking. Arius called him "brother" to Eusebius of Nicomedia but this probably reflects Christian usage or theological kinship rather than blood relationship.

²⁷ Little is known of his youth and early training. But he soon became a student in the theological school of Caesarea founded by Origen. He studied under Pamphilius. Their relationship became more than that of student to teacher. They were friends and co-workers. Both were lovers of books and admirers of Origen. They probably added new books to the illustrious library gathered together at Caesarea by Origen during the last twenty years of his life. The theological, biblical and exegetical tradition of Origen was most influential on Eusebius. Apparently about 296 when still in Palestine as a student, Eusebius had his first glimpse of Constantine. The action of Eusebius during the great persecution is a matter of debate and much speculation. There is no doubt that during part of the time he was absent from Caesarea. But he visited the imprisoned Pamphilius sometime during the period 307-310. There is a suggestion that he was arrested and held briefly himself in 309. He also reports that he witnessed the deaths of other martyrs in Tyre and elsewhere. After the death of Pamphilius in February 310, he fled to Egypt. It is suggested that he may have been arrested a second time (or for the first time). He was released when peace was restored in 313 and he returned to Caesarea. As noted above he was accused at the Council of Tyre in 335 of betraying the faith and of making the pagan sacrifice in order to survive. He did not suffer injury in the persecution it is true, but no evidence was produced in 335 or since to prove his supposed apostasy.

²⁸ Shortly after 313 he became bishop of Caesarea. When he was ordained a deacon or priest is unknown. Some suggest he was not ordained at all until elected bishop. In 314 a brief persecution flared up under Licinius but it did not affect Palestine and Egypt. In 315 Eusebius is known as one who has been

bishop for some time already. About 318 the Arian troubles began to come to a head. He was chairman of the Council of Nicea (the term president is deliberately avoided here) in 325. He and Constantine seem to have agreed on policy for the most part. As a moderate he felt the church could have room for both the followers of Arius and of Athanasius. He usually voted, however, with the majority. But after Nicea he spent much effort to prevent the complete alienation of the Arians from the mainstream of the Church. There is no record of his stand on the Easter controversy. Eusebius described some of the pomp of the Council in *De Vita Constantini*. He played a large role in all the proceedings and sat at Constantine's right even though Rome, Alexandria and Antioch outranked Caesarea.

²⁹ Eusebius was bishop of Caesarea for almost twenty-five years. In 330 he turned down the opportunity to become bishop of Antioch. He attended the Council of Antioch in 331 and the Council of Tyre in 335. Similarly he was active in the Synods of Jerusalem and Constantinople in the same year. He was the chief orator for the 30th anniversary of Constantine's reign. This panegyric was later attached to his *Life of Constantine*. Eusebius remained high in the regard of Constantine and was a close advisor to him at least from 325 on, if not as early as 313. Constantine died in 337 and Eusebius shortly after in 339 or 340 at about eighty years of age. His successor as bishop of Caesarea was present at the Synod of Antioch in 341.

Caesarea

³⁰ Caesarea Palestine was located on the coast of Palestine in the Sharon plain. Its ruins at Qeisariyeh are eight miles south of Dor and about thirty miles north of Jaffa. It had been the capital of Judea and the seat of Roman procurators after the time of Herod until 66 A.D. It was the metropolis of Christian and Byzantine Palestine and seemed to have served after 70 A.D. as the ecclesiastical capital. Herod the Great began to build a new Hellenistic city on the site of Strato's Tower in 22 B.C. Strato's Tower was a relatively insignificant town with its beginning perhaps in the Persian period. It is mentioned by Zenon in the middle of the 3rd century B.C. Caesarea Sebaste was at least twelve years in the building and was consecrated to Augustus in 13 B.C. Josephus gives us details of the glory and grandeur of Herod's Caesarea in his *Antiquities* XV, 9, 6 and *Wars* I 21, 5-8. The public buildings were in the magnificent Hellenistic-Roman style. The whole area was well irrigated

by aqueducts and drainage canals, and remained a garden spot for years, until neglect and economic reverses gave it back to the sand.

³¹ At the time of Jesus' birth Caesarea was at its zenith. In 1961 an inscription with the name of Pontius Pilate was found in the theatre excavations. The Jews of Caesarea were among the first victims of the First Revolt's suppression. Vespasian was acclaimed emperor at Caesarea in 69 A.D. and in 70 A.D. Titus brought the temple spoils to Caesarea. The city was expanded further in the 2nd Century A.D. New aqueducts, new roads and monuments were erected and the city became a colonial capital and shortly thereafter a metropolis with the privilege of coining its own money. By the end of that century there was a Christian bishop in Caesarea along with a famous rabbinic school. In the third century a colony of Samaritans was established. In the Byzantine period, fourth to sixth centuries, Caesarea reached new heights rivaling that of Herod. In 639 Arabs conquered the city and brought an end to Roman rule. For some 460 years the Moslems controlled the city and used its port for commercial and military expansion. The Crusaders and the Moslems battled over Caesarea many times and in 1291 its destruction was complete. Thereafter it was only a site for temporary habitation by squatters as the dust, sand and malaria took over.

³² In the nineteenth century Moslems from Bosnia were resettled by the Turks near the ruins of the Crusader city. Between 1937 and 1940 the Jewish colony Kibbutz Sedot Yam was established near the Roman ruins. The glory of ancient Caesarea intrigued the colonists and since that time many archaeological efforts have been exerted toward the recovery of Herodian, Byzantine and Crusader remains. Already in 1932 a synagogue was reported near the sea. In 1945 and later it was excavated. It has a history from the Roman period to the Arab conquest. Italian archaeologists began digging in the Herodian area about 1959, with special attention to the theatre. In 1960 the Link expedition to the port was carried out. The large scale Israeli Department of Antiquities excavation began in 1960 in the Crusader area. Excavation continues apace. The history of the city is being refined by these continuing archaeological endeavors. Perhaps the grand temple of Augustus has been found along with many other Herodian foundations. One large Byzantine establishment may even turn out to be Origen's library. The Crusader fortress and cathedral have been cleared and it has been recognized that

much of Byzantine Caesarea was obliterated by the rebuilding of the Crusaders.

The Onomasticon

³³ It was in the flourishing Roman-Byzantine city of Caesarea that bishop Eusebius wrote or compiled his four part geographical work, of which only the last, the Onomasticon, survived the exigencies of time. According to the preface, the three lost works were in some way preparatory for the Onomasticon if not fully incorporated into it. Wallace-Hadrill gives these high sounding titles to the first three works: 1) Interpretation of Ethnological Terms in the Hebrew Scriptures, 2) Chorography of Ancient Judea with the Inheritance of the Tribes, 3) Plan of Jerusalem and of the Temple with Memories relating to the Various Localities. The first was a translation or transliteration of Hebrew proper names into Greek. This does not seem to have been much more than a skeletal outline of proper names based on the Hexapla. Whether it included an etymology of the place-names (and perhaps some personal names) as in the more technical sense of an onomastical list cannot now be determined. Such a list is Jerome's Interpretation of Hebrew Names which is based on Philo and Origen. Undoubtedly Eusebius had their lists and those of others, both Jewish and Christian.

³⁴ The second was a list or description of ancient Judea arranged by tribes. This was of course based on the tribal lists of Numbers and Joshua. It is reasonable to suspect that almost all of this has been incorporated bodily into the final work since one of the things the Onomasticon treats most thoroughly is the tribal designation of each place based on the Greek text of the tribal divisions. There is some inconclusive discussion as to whether this description accompanied a map or was only a map. There is a map attached to the 12th century Latin manuscript of Jerome's Onomasticon in the British Museum which could be derived from Eusebius' map, if such a map existed. The third was a descriptive plan of Jerusalem and the Temple area. In the Onomasticon many proper names of areas in and around Jerusalem are separately identified and described, especially some with New Testament significance. Probably this information was closely related to the original plan for the complete work. The rediscovery of the Holy City by Constantine and St Helena was responsible for this renewed interest.

³⁵ The fourth part is the Onomasticon itself, which was completed about 330 A.D. or shortly before. Several facts pertain to the problem of settling

the date. It is dedicated, as is the Church History, to Paulinus, who retired as bishop of Tyre before the Council of Nicea (325), and died in 330. That gives the latest possible date. On the other hand, the Greek text notes none of the Constantinian churches, of which Eusebius knew and about which he wrote in other works (so that architects and archaeologists use his works as primary sources for the Constantinian foundation). Jerome, however, places the Onomasticon late in Eusebius' career. Taken together, these facts suggest that Eusebius dedicated it to Paulinus after his retirement as bishop of Tyre. In the Greek Vatican Manuscript the Onomasticon is entitled "Concerning the Place-names in Sacred Scripture." The Latin does not contain such a precise title. In general, the book is a geographical bible dictionary within certain stated limitations. (These were breached by later editorial additions and marginal glosses.) With a few exceptions the text confines itself to the Holy Land as proposed in the preface. This of course counters the plan to give all place-names of Holy Scripture, since among others the cities which Paul visited are missing. The preface also proposes that cities and villages are to be noted, but the present Greek and Latin texts include also wadies, deserts, mountains, districts and even an occasional personal and idol name. Almost 1000 items, largely from the Old Testament and from the first 6 books, are recorded, of which about 400 are sufficiently described to warrant an attempt at localization. Already in the time of the Survey of Western Palestine, Conder claimed to have identified 300.

³⁶ The arrangement of the book is according to the Greek alphabet from Alpha to Omega. Since the Greek letters do not follow the Semitic alphabet there are some doublets as well as some transcriptional errors, some of which were from the Septuagint LXX (hereafter LXX). Jerome in the Latin had to indicate some of the places where the three alphabets diverge. In the present text - A - takes up almost one quarter of the entire length of the book. Judah is the primary area detailed, especially in sections -A- and -B-. Within each alphabetic division, the place-names are arranged according to the order of the biblical books in the Septuagint, beginning with Genesis. Numbers and Deuteronomy are often linked together as one subdivision. In smaller alphabetic sections the Pentateuch is made the first heading. The book of Leviticus is not referred to (see Appendix III). The other major divisions are Joshua, Judges, Kings and the Gospels. I Chronicles, Job, Maccabees and the Prophets are usually subsumed under Kings.

³⁷ II Chronicles is rare and some of the place-names of I Chronicles are omitted, but most of these were paralleled in earlier lists. Esther and Daniel are not involved, probably because the majority of place-names in them are outside of the proposed territorial scope of the column. The greatest geographic lacuna seems to be Ezra-Nehemiah. In addition, Rabbakkuk, Haggai, Malachi, Ruth, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes and Lamentations are omitted although none of these has a strong topographical orientation. There are only one or two, sometimes questionable, items from Psalms, Job, Song of Solomon, Joel, Obadiah, Jonah, Nahum, Zephaniah and the Acts. The New Testament Epistles and the Book of Revelation are almost completely ignored. Except for Maccabees none of the apocrypha or pseudepigrapha appears (see Appendix III).

Method and Sources

³⁸ The treatment of each place name almost seems whimsical, varying from one or two words to a whole page. The simplest entries are "tribe of..." or "lot of..." and "station (camp) in the desert." Other simple notations are the listing of the variant readings from one of the columns of the Hexapla. Significantly for textual criticism (see below) the two longest entries are both out of the supposed geographical limits, namely Ararat and Babel. Both are padded with direct quotations from Josephus' *Antiquities*. The longest legitimate entry is Beersheba. Seven or eight items appear with more or less regularity in the *Onomasticon* usually in the same artificial order. This arrangement is not at all conducive to great literary style and the translation does not attempt to smooth things out. Eusebius is not noted for style even in his *Church History*. In the present work, as we seem to have it, it is the work of an archivist who accumulated miscellaneous facts. There may be also in these items material for literary criticism. The items that occur are as follows:

³⁹ 1. A word for word quotation of the biblical text of the Hexapla with some allusion to variant readings. 2. A generalized location of the place in tribal or provincial area which may or may not be contemporary to the editor. 3. A summary of the events or event associated with the place, with any Gospel allusion usually coming at the end as an addendum. 4. A quotation of or reference to other authorities such as Josephus. 5. A specific location in reference to the fourth (?) century towns and roads, with or without indication of distance and direction. 6. A modern name of the place and whether still inhabited or in ruins along with reference to present memorials or

tombs. 7. Notations about the present inhabitants (pagan, Christian, Jewish, Samaritan) and some of their activities. 8. Reference to similarly sounding names in "other" regions. 9. Reference to Roman garrisons and forts.

⁴⁰ There can be little doubt that Eusebius based his work on the text of the Hexapla, that great compilation in six columns of the current variant Greek texts which brought them into conformity with the Hebrew (which appears as column 1). Caesarea was the place in which Origen produced the Hexapla. The text of the Onomasticon uses the transcriptions of the Hebrew into Greek letters (Col. 2) more often than any other Greek forms. Reference to Aquila (Col. 3), Symmachus (Col. 4), Theodotion (Col. 6), and Origen (Col. 5) in the text may also be wholly from the Hexapla, although Col. 5 would represent other Greek manuscripts of the Old Testament. A few of the Hexaplaric annotations are marginal glosses later than the 4th century. If Eusebius knew Hebrew he did not utilize the Masoretic text, and unlike Jerome, was dependent upon the Hexapla. Some think there is use of simple Hebrew by Eusebius in the *Demonstratio Evangelica* but this Hebrew could also be derived from Philo and Origen. The few references in the Greek version of the Onomasticon to "in Hebrew" could all be references to Col. 1 or 2 of the Hexapla and require no great knowledge of either Hebrew language or texts. As noted above they could be glosses or a later editorial addition. The occasional etymological notations and the frequent quotations of the interpretations of Aquila, Symmachus and Theodotion could also be accounted for in the same ways. Some of the etymologies found in the Masoretic text in Hebrew are not utilized by the Onomasticon.

⁴¹ Additional information based on the Bible includes the lists of Levitical cities and the cities of refuge, as well as the stations of the desert. Occasionally there is added reference to the capture of the place by Joshua and the subsequent killing of its king, or the fact that the tribe to whom the place was allotted was unable to dispossess the original inhabitants and so take possession of their territory. Three times the Samaritan founding of a city by those transported by the Babylonians is noted. Often the generalized location of the place is solely the biblical location. The tribal allotments are fairly completely recorded. Of course, Eusebius is confused as much as modern scholars about the real status of border towns or other towns listed in different tribal territories according to diverse texts. For much of this localization Eusebius must have had first hand and personal knowledge of the

country, although certainly not as thorough as that of Jerome. The Greek text is more detailed and accurate in the location of sites in the central hill country than elsewhere. Perhaps this was because Eusebius, as bishop of Caesarea, frequently traveled to Jerusalem and also because his earlier sources were produced there in Jewish circles.

⁴² Topographic references are found in his other works. So we find in *Demonstratio Evangelica* Bethlehem (I, 1; vii, 2), Mt. of Olives (iv, 18); in *De Vita Constantini* Bethlehem (iii, 41f), Mt. of Olives (iii, 41), Jerusalem (iii, 25-40), Mamrē (iii, 51); in *De Laudibus Constantini* Bethlehem (ix, 17), Mt. of Olives (ix, 17), and in *Theophania* Jerusalem (iv, 18). These are but a small sample. In his *Church History* allusions to topography and geography are especially frequent in the first two books. Brief topographical notes are recorded also in some of his commentaries. The famous library at Caesarea and the library of Bishop Alexander in Jerusalem were treasure houses of source materials for Eusebius, especially in his *Church History* and *Demonstratio Evangelica*. Anonymous sources seem to be referred to with "it is said" or "they affirm" but whether these were written records or local oral traditions cannot be determined. Josephus is quoted twelve times. The commentaries of Origen and the writings of Paulinus were also referred to. Roman administrative lists, maps, charts and military documents have also influenced the final recension of the text, but at what date is unclear. The two early fourth century itineraries, the Antoninus and the Bordeaux, are very close to *Onomasticon* and all three may depend on a common source. Paula and Jerome, of course, used the *Onomasticon* as one of several sources for their travels.

⁴³ The Roman road system was well organized and charted. Many of the milestones of the first three centuries must have survived into the fourth even though it was the custom of each emperor to install new markers as a kind of memorial to his reign. For the most part distances seem to be according to mileposts. The slight divergence between Jerome and Eusebius, which is often only one mile, can be largely accounted for by the fact that a site is seldom so small as to be only at one milestone and also that in seventy-five (or more) years the roads and starting points normally would change slightly. The *Tabula Peutinger*, a kind of road map of the Roman Empire, is perhaps contemporary with Eusebius (possibly a little earlier) even though all our extant manuscripts are medieval. A check of some of the roads suggests that it or its forerunner was a source for the *Onomasticon*. For example, on

the coastal road, Eusebius notes every point from Sidon to Ostracine except Apollonia. From Damascus to Petra on the "King's Highway" he has all except three non-biblical stops, but adds the three biblical towns Madaba, Dibon and Heshbon. From Caesarea to Jerusalem nothing is missing. There is no doubt that the twenty-eight places located by means of two fixed points and a milestone, as affirmed by Martin Noth, are on the Roman roads. The formula is either "in the border of city a x miles from city y" or "going from city z toward city b at sign x." Sometimes a compass direction is added. Occasionally the distance is not in terms of miles, but of the number of days needed for the journey (see Appendix V).

⁴⁴ Another method of localization is from a fixed point, with a distance and sometimes a direction but with no definite road outlined. The city is usually the datum point for location both by distance and by region. There are 226 common distances of which 190 are based on a city and only thirty-six on some other locality. Similarly ninety-three directions appear of which seventy-four are oriented on a city and only nineteen on some other fixed point. The four major cities of reference are Eleutheropolis, Jerusalem, Legeon, and Hesbon. In addition there are ten city regions in which villages are located, the more important being Eleutheropolis, Jerusalem, Diospolis, Diocaesarea, Sebaste and Neapolis (see Appendix VIII). In addition to the use of the Roman road system and the city regions, localization is also made by the use of the expressions "near," "around," "not far from," "extending up to," "between x and y," "along side," "midway between a and y" (see Appendix IX). Distance is also variously recorded as "separated from," "distant from," "going up to," "going into," "going down," "along the road between" (see Appendix V). There is a possibility that different sources were used and so reflect themselves in the various methods of localization. It is quite possible that each editor had his own style for locating a contemporary site or tradition. When the Onomasticon has been programmed through a computer it may be possible to isolate clearly these editorial additions. This would also be true of Latin translation of various Greek terms (see Appendices I and IX).

⁴⁵ It must be remembered that Eusebius was writing for his contemporaries and some knowledge of the country and its oral traditions of the time could be assumed even though modern scholars might wish for more specific information. The different editors may have utilized other oral traditions and travelers' information as well as their own personal experiences and ad-

ditional written sources. Priests and bishops from other areas of the Holy Land would naturally exchange road information in the 4th century just as tourists and pilgrims do today. Most important is the data indicating the fourth century status of the site. (This assumes Eusebius is the major redactor, but the variety of terms used may reflect different traditions and strata.) Several Greek words are used for "exists," "remains," "is still," as well as several synonyms for "called," or "named," and "pointed out" or "shown." There is also the reference to present inhabitants and importance which can be checked out in other literature and by archaeological excavation. At least two hundred items have a notation of fourth century existence of which three quarters are fairly well localized and identified. A few sites are indicated as abandoned or in ruins. It is possible that at times *topos* as well as *eremos* represents a ruined site (cp. Galgala 66:4 where both words are used together).

⁴⁶ Among the incidental facts given is the religious constituency of a town. Anaia (26:9, 14), a double village, is a Jewish village which has a companion Christian settlement. There are eleven wholly Jewish villages; three Christian, one Samaritan and one Ebionite recorded in the text (see Appendix II). Heathen shrines are reported in at least three places. Idols are mentioned at least ten times. A special interest is shown in tombs and memorials without any critical analysis of contradictory items such as the various traditions for the location of the tomb of Habakkuk (70:22, 88:26, and 114:15). Tombs of the Maccabees, Mary, Abraham, Haran, Rachel, Joseph, Joshua, Jesse, and David are mentioned. Again these traditions may be from several editors' hands. Jerome remarks on five churches built in the 4th century (see Appendix I). Usually the last item to be noted is the presence of a fort or Roman garrison. There is a very close parallel to much of the material gathered in the *Notitia Dignitatum* which dates from slightly later than Jerome's translation of the *Onomasticon*. The *Notitia Dignitatum* or a similar work must have been used for the final recension.

Manuscripts, Editions and Translations

⁴⁷ The basic manuscript for the *Onomasticon* is Codex Vaticanus, Gr. 1456 which dates from the 11th or 12th century. For the most part the hand is clear but there are still many errors, corruptions and lacunae. According to a notation it once was in the Library at Sinai. It seems to be in a direct line from the original Greek. Lagarde and Klostermann used this as their *textus*

receptus. I was privileged to check this manuscript in the Vatican Library. It is contained in a volume of onomastica and is on pages 2 - 53. The ink is dark and clear except for two faded pages 9 and 18. All the pages are single columned except for the recto and verso of 19 which is a palimpsest and has the text in two columns. The scribal hand seems to be the same throughout, although some of the alphabetic divisions and biblical sections have been added later by different hand and different ink. Alphabetic and biblical headings are usually on the same line. Occasionally they are in red ink. The point is regularly used after the place name and usually at the end of the phrase or sentence entry. Prepositions and articles are usually not separated from the following word.

⁴⁸Dependent upon this manuscript is Codex Parisinus Gr 464 which dates from the 16th century. These two manuscripts were edited and published by Lagarde in 1870. The second, Codex 464, was the sole source used by Bonfrere in 1631 and 1659 for his edition of the Onomasticon of Eusebius. The translation of Jerome was made about 390 A.D. He recognized errors in Eusebius and used his knowledge of Hebrew to correct the transliterations and some of the etymology. He also corrected some of the place descriptions and locations. Already in 389 Jerome has used some of this material in his Hebrew Questions, which we have utilized from time to time in the notes. The reference to this volume in the Latin was probably not original with Jerome but cross reference by a scribe in the 5th century or later. Jerome has more etymologies than Eusebius' Greek text, but this information was ready at hand from his Interpretation of Hebrew Names, which is incorporated in the notes of this present volume. As noted above Jerome was familiar with the Constantinian and post-Constantinian church foundations. By various counts between forty-five and fifty-five additional names appear in Latin even when allowing for obvious scribal lacunae of Vaticanus 1456.

⁴⁹It was through Jerome's Latin version that European scholars and pilgrims became acquainted with the Onomasticon. According to the Latin preface there had already been at least one earlier translation into Latin. Several 8th and 9th century Latin manuscripts have survived which were used rather freely by Klostermann to emend Vaticanus. These are the Monacensis Lat. 6228, Codex Sangallensis 133 and 130, and Bambergensis B iv 19. The Latin is really not an exact translation and Klostermann was a bit overly optimistic with his emendations of the Greek. Latin editions of the Onomas-

ticon have been prepared by Martinainay in 1699 and by Vallarsi in 1735 and 1767. Syriac translations of Eusebius' works were made very early and often Syriac writers added new important information to the text. One early geographic work called, "The Book of the Figure of the World" included the Onomasticon as its fourth part. Unfortunately this is lost and known only by literary sources, but could it possibly be the four geographic works of Eusebius noted in the Greek preface? A manuscript of the 14th century was discovered and partially edited in the early 1920's. This is a rather slavishly literal work following the Greek word order and rendering every article, and will be valuable for textual criticism if and when a new Greek edition is published.

⁵⁰ Procopius of Gaza in his Commentary on the Octateuch frequently quotes the Onomasticon's Greek text. These quotations often confirm or correct the Vaticanus text. Already in 1716 Reland had recognized the usefulness of Procopius in the study of the ancient monuments of Palestine. Thomsen and Klostermann rely heavily on an eleventh century Procopius manuscript. The Madaba Map is sometimes appealed to for emending transcriptions but this is a dubious procedure. The earliest critical edition of the Onomasticon was that of 1862 by Larsow and Parthey, followed in 1870 by Lagarde (second edition 1887). Klostermann's text appeared in 1904. So far the Onomasticon has not appeared in the Migne series of Greek Church fathers although much of Eusebius has been published there. It is about time for a new critical edition of the Greek and Latin texts to appear. In 1931-1933 Melamed published his important critical study of the Onomasticon in a Hebrew journal Tarbiz. He also translated the Onomasticon into Hebrew. The present volume is the first modern translation of the Onomasticon into a western European language, the first ever in English.

Pilgrims

⁵¹ Already before Constantine, interest in the places of the prophets and the sites of the Savior's deeds had been aroused (*Historia Ecclesiastica* iv, 26, 14). Both Clement of Alexandria and Origen showed scholarly interest in the Holy Land and they as much as Constantine and St. Helena are responsible for the knowledge of Palestine in the 4th and 5th centuries. Other pilgrims in the third century followed Origen (*Historia Ecclesiastica* vi, 11, 2). Constantine's mother and mother-in-law began the series of Christian pilgrimages to the Holy Land which have never ceased even in time of hostilities. Of

first rank is the Pilgrim of Bordeaux (ca. 332-333). This is so nearly contemporaneous with the Onomasticon that one hesitates to posit any dependent relationship, but there are many parallels. Both had the Bible as a common source and both probably utilized an earlier Roman itinerary and perhaps some lists. It is quite possible that the earlier "map" of Eusebius was known by the Pilgrim. Later scribes probably corrected reciprocally these two works.

⁵² Paula (ca. 382) and Silvia (ca. 385) came in the time of Jerome and could easily have known and used the Greek Onomasticon. From their time on there is no reasonable doubt that the pilgrims were dependent upon the Onomasticon. There is real evidence of such dependence by Aetheria, who may be the same as Silvia, on the Onomasticon for places as well as forms of names. Even allowing for the Bible as a common source, the Greek text was primary also. The earlier Latin translation noted in Jerome's preface and that of Jerome could also have been in the hands of this pilgrim. After the turn of the 5th century, the rise of monasticism, the end of the Christological controversies, together with the peace and security of the realm, brought many pilgrims to the Holy Land. Some followed the example of Jerome and remained, while others returned to their homelands. But a high percentage of them valued highly the Onomasticon in one of its several versions. Next to the Bible, it was their basic guide and companion. It "remained the vademecum of the pilgrims to the time of the crusaders."

The Madaba Map

⁵³ The Madaba Map has been adequately studied by Avi-Yonah and by O'Callaghan. Their general conclusions do not disagree with those of the first students of this mosaic map of sixth century biblical lands found east of the Jordan. There is a very close relationship of the Map legends to the Onomasticon. The map also parallels the so-called Jerome map of medieval times which may have been derived from an earlier Eusebius map or plan. The area of the map and of the Onomasticon is approximately the same. Byblos is the most NW site for both. On the East the line is Damascus and Bozrah. The Egyptian cities such as On and Memphis form the SW limit. A very high proportion of the sites on the map are directly from the text of the Greek Onomasticon, according to some estimates two thirds. This is even more significant a figure than at first appears since the mosaic is a Christian map depicting Gospel sites. Less than one fourth of the Old Testament sites in the

area appear on the Madaba Map. The division of tribal territory and the boundaries of the Philistines also agree with the Greek text.

⁵⁴ In a few instances the map even seems to follow the errors of the Greek text: for Akrabbim, Anob, Thamna, Gedour, Bethaun, Adiathim, etc. In still fewer the mosaicist follows an independent tradition: Emmaus, Geba, Ainon, Bethabara, and Dalah. He also has a more detailed knowledge of post-Constantinian Jerusalem and Palestina Secunda than the Onomasticon could be expected to reveal. Yet the absence of monasteries indicates that the source of the map was prior in time to the fantastic monastic tide. For Garisim and Gebal the map apparently records both traditions: the Jewish near Jericho and the Samaritan near Nablus, which later the Greek Onomasticon emphatically denies as correct. In the few instances where transcription only, not location, disagrees with the Greek of the Onomasticon, it may be that the map reflects not a separate tradition but a Semitic designer who did not always understand his Greek source. In addition to the Onomasticon and its "map" (?) the mosaicists probably had access to one or more pilgrim itineraries and to diocesan lists. This would be one explanation for the non-biblical names appearing on the map, some of which are not entries in our text, but serve as reference points only.

⁵⁵ The Madaba Map, as the Onomasticon, has varied types of entries. Avi-Yonah notes four classes, three of which probably derive directly from the Greek Onomasticon: 1) A simple place name with no additions but properly located in tribal boundaries, 2) the sixth century name and the biblical name, which parallels "there is now" or "it is a village now called," 3) reference to churches and other monuments, 4) eleven texts which refer to scriptural events. In groups 2 and 4 the correlation with the Greek Onomasticon is almost 90%. All the large walled cities with towers behind on the Madaba Map are called "city," "large city," "famous city," "metropolis" by Eusebius. For the smaller cities with only a front wall and four or five towers and for the larger villages with three or four towers connected by a wall, there is no consistent correlation with the Onomasticon's terminology. (Nor is there any consistency in the various strata of the Onomasticon that can be checked out in the present state of textual criticism and archaeological research.) Both Beersheba and Ekron are called "large town" but are different as depicted on the map. Does this imply Ekron had declined in the intervening centuries? Bethzur and Bethel are both simply villages in Eusebius, but Bethzur is a

large town on the map while Bethel is small, having only two towers and the connecting wall. Does this accurately record the changed fortunes?

Critical Study of the Onomasticon

⁵⁶ Textual criticism of the Onomasticon began with Jerome. In his Hebrew Questions he corrected not only the text but the facts of Eusebius. In the Latin version, Jerome not only improved on the earlier anonymous Latin translation, but also reviewed Eusebius and his own former conclusions. In correspondence and commentaries over a twenty-year period Jerome corrected Eusebius as well as checked the Greek text. Modern students must use these works of Jerome: Latin versions of the Onomasticon, Hebrew Questions, Epistles 46 and 108 and miscellaneous commentaries. The notes in this present volume include most of the relevant materials from these texts. The Interpretation of Hebrew Names is sometimes useful for checking transcriptions and/or transliterations and the occasional etymology of the Greek text. The texts of many items from this are also included in the notes to follow. Whether Procopius of Gaza consciously emends and corrects the Greek text of the Onomasticon or not, cannot be determined. But from the very beginning of modern scholarship, his quotations of Eusebius have been used, e.g., by Roland, Lagarde, Thomsen, and Klostermann. As noted above, the Madaba Map is not to be considered a critical source.

⁵⁷ On the other hand, literary or source criticism has seldom appeared regarding the Onomasticon. In antiquity the authorship even of such a prosaic agglomeration of materials was taken for granted. The witness of Procopius and Jerome, as well as that of others less directly concerned, and the notations on ancient manuscripts were considered sufficient proof of authorship. Not until Thomsen and Kubitschek in 1905 and 1906 began their argument over the streets and road network behind the Onomasticon was any higher criticism applied, suggesting additions, glosses etc. Kubitschek made much of the inconsistencies in distance, the apparent placing of two different sites at the same milestone, assuming a roadway. He is agnostic about Eusebius' use of itineraries, pilgrim reports (oral or written) and suggests, although not directly, that these inconsistencies may reflect an unscholarly card file system of recording all available information, contradictory, reduplicative or not. In the reply Thomsen for the first time admits possible glosses. He suggests that some of the Greek Onomasticon may have been personal marginal notes on Eusebius' own manuscript (of onomastical lists, his Onomasticon,

Greek Bible manuscript and/or Hexapla) and never intended any separate publication of the final redaction. According to this theory, as they became unwieldy he arranged them in an alphabetic order (if an onomastical list, this order may have been already established) and according to the books of the Bible (or this arrangement could have been primary as in the Hexapla or some onomastical lists and the alphabetic order thus secondary). After Eusebius' death all such notes would be treasured by his students and although revered as from his hand, nevertheless recognize as incomplete. One or more of his admirers would try to complete it, correct it and make it worthy of the bishop of Caesarea. The preface could be added in those days with no thought of intellectual dishonesty.

⁵⁸ This revolutionary explanation for the contradictions, doublets and inequities of treatment, as well as stylistic inconsistencies, was forgotten for years and even the German school ignored it for a generation. As late as 1943 Noth speaks as if one author and one date is to be accepted and that Eusebius is the genuine author, not merely one of the last redactors. The detailed and precise work of criticism by the Jewish scholar Melamed in the early 1930's has been neglected, probably because it was written and published in Modern Hebrew long before Israel had become a state and modern Hebrew a necessary language for biblical scholars. Published separately as an offprint it made no new impact. The recent monumental biblical encyclopaedia published in Israel has Melamed's own summary concerning the Onomasticon, but this too is in Modern Hebrew. In the first part of his criticism Melamed notes that the Torah and the Prophets are the source for the basic text rather than all the books of the Bible as proposed in the preface. In the New Testament only the Four Gospels are primary. He concludes that all other references to places cited in other books, i.e., the writings and Acts are from a second hand, as probably also the rare annotations from Maccabees. He notes some could well be omitted because in Hebrew there is little typographical material in such books. But the absence of reference to Ezra-Nehemiah, Leviticus (except Levitical cities) Daniel's sites are probably considered outside the Holy Land as delimited in the preface (see Appendix III).

⁵⁹ In the second part Melamed treats of doublets, of improper entries (e.g., personal names, idols, etc.), of confusions and lacunae and notes that not even all the place-names of Torah, Prophets and Gospels are recorded. He emphasizes the obvious confusion of traditions, the conflation of trans-

literations. Part three concerns the use of the Hexapla and the fifth column of Origen. Curiously the annotations from the Former Prophets have many references to Aquila. In the fourth part his criticism begins to take form. Noting that not all the alphabetic sections are divided by the same biblical divisions, he lists certain Old Testament texts which have been given exhaustive treatment, e.g., Joshua 21, Numbers 33, I Kings 9:15, and Isaiah 60. He concludes that originally only cities and villages were listed with some biblical information but without any contemporary geographical details. All mountains, which are not announced in the Greek preface, appear in the Greek Onomasticon out of their proper biblical order. So also all stones and rocks are not in their proper place. The Dead Sea and the Sea of Galilee appear to be appendages at the end of their respective sections. The idol Chemosh is out of place. Further, when two similar entries appear with the second usually having "another" after the name, the first is almost always where it should be in the biblical order, while the second or "another" is properly entered only six times. This suggests editorial additions.

⁶⁰ In the commentary on places which include among other things, etymology, history, topographical identification (both biblical and contemporary), allusion to versions, distances, roads and other names, Melamed notes many variants and inconsistencies. Sometimes more than one historical event is recorded in a single entry. Occasionally a reference is given to Josephus but no event of history is recorded. There is a stereotyped formula for many events in Joshua, such as "and killed its king" or "did not drive out the former inhabitants (foreigners)." The notation "whence David fled" appears almost as an afterthought. The lot of Benjamin is much confused. Not all the cities of refuge are called such and they are variously labeled. There is also no single formula by which fourth century [sic] existence is indicated. As noted before the same distance from the same fixed point is given for more than one place. (This could be accounted for by the quadrant use of directions, but not if on the same road between the same two reference points.) On the other hand, there are double entries for the same place giving divergent localizations. Etymologies are rare, and as noted above, the obvious ones in the Masoretic text, such as Bethlehem, Melchizedek, etc. are ignored.

⁶¹ In the Onomasticon only one place is from Mark and it appears also in Matthew. There is only one extensive New Testament quotation, that from John. In all of the Gospel entries some history is recorded. But many of the

Old Testament names with Gospel associations do not have any reference to the later history. When they do it seems to be from a secondary hand. In twenty out of twenty-three New Testament references there is still a clear tradition of the site at the time of the editor's addition (or final redaction?). Therefore, only once is direction given. Usually distance is also lacking. This of course could indicate that the tradition of the Gospel sites was still too much alive to require more precise localization and identification. The use of the formula "our Lord and God Jesus Christ" and other Christological formulations reflects the fourth and fifth century Christology. The name Jesus does not occur alone.

⁶² In his conclusion, Melamed sees the *Onomasticon* as basically a Jewish work from several Jewish hands. In all he notes four stages of editorial work. In Tarbiz he was agnostic as to which was Eusebius' own contribution, suggesting perhaps he was merely the final redactor who Christianized an originally Jewish book by adding Gospel details. A generation later in the *Encyclopaedia* he allows more to Eusebius as author and editor, at least giving him credit for more topographical details, which of course were derived from itineraries, maps and administrative lists, and all re-edited by his pupils and Jerome. Above we have noted nine items that occur with more or less regularity and in approximately that same order in many entries. Some lines seem obviously not original, such as the extensive quotations of Josephus on Ararat and Babel. At best such references would have been noted "Josephus affirms" or "of which we read in Josephus." These quotations are infrequent and lengthy quotations rare. It is therefore not too radical to assume these quotations are secondary editorial and scribal additions.

⁶³ The infrequent references to Gospel events in Old Testament entries are usually tacked on as if an afterthought. This suggests that they are also secondary, but at this point we cannot prejudge Eusebian authorship. Similarly the notation about Roman garrisons most frequently occurs at the end of an entry and could readily be considered an editorial addition if not a marginal gloss. As for the rest, there is the same dilemma faced by biblical scholars. There is the same problem of authorship and sources. Is a man, even bishop and scholar, who annotated and re-edits an older book, or who conflates, even poorly, two or more sources, an author? Is he still the author even if he is re-edited by his pupils? Both Amos and I Isaiah have been worked over by their disciples, but nevertheless are usually considered to be the au-

thors of the major portion of their books. Is only the final redactor of the Pentateuch ultimately the inspired author or is the author to be considered the composer of the primary and longer source? Is the source Q or any other behind the Synoptics the real author even though tradition calls Matthew, Mark and Luke Gospel writers? Because there is no real literary style to the Onomasticon and even his Church History is no masterpiece, it would be vain to attempt a Wellhausenist literary analysis of sentences or paragraphs. It remains for a programmed computer to read out traditional, conventional, phrased or words that may be utilized to indicate separate hands.

⁶⁴ No doubt the basic schema or framework of the Onomasticon was originally a Jewish compilation of place-names in the Torah (and possibly also the Prophets). This probably was centered in Jerusalem area. It may have been mediated to Eusebius through Origen and his school with added textual information from the Hexapla. Whether the biblical information on Old Testament places was in such a pre-Eusebian source or not cannot be determined as yet. It is quite possible that Eusebius himself added the Gospel items at the end of each alphabetic section of his source. A student or later editors may have added the Gospel notes to the Old Testament place-names in order to complete the Christianization of the book. Since the topographical details seem to agree well with fourth century records and archaeology, and since Christian tradition regards Eusebius as the father of Palestinian geography, it seems reasonable to assume that he is responsible for the topographical and historical statements in the majority of entries even though he used, almost slavishly, certain Roman itineraries. The interest in shrines and tombs could be from an earlier Jewish hand or from an earlier distinct source available to our "author"-"editor."

⁶⁵ One must agree with Melamed that items out of their proper biblical order are secondary. But at this point Thomsen may be more nearly correct than Melamed. These could be marginal glosses, even from the hand of Eusebius, which pupils or disciples incorporated, perhaps a bit carelessly into their copies in such a manner as marginal glosses were included in New Testament manuscripts by medieval scribes. Eusebius' study notes, questionings, etc. could thus have gained validation which he would not have given them. Obviously by the time the Greek copy and the early Latin version reached Jerome, the Onomasticon had been to all intents and purposes complete as found in the Greek Vatican Manuscript 1456. Jerome corrected it on the basis

of new sources and his personal knowledge of Hebrew and of the land, and brought it up to date regarding fourth century Christian churches. The Onomasticon as we now have it has a history of development covering several centuries. It began as an onomastical list (perhaps first only Levitical cities, cities of refuge and tribal allotments) as early as Philo of Alexandria. In still Jewish hands it was expanded to include major sites of the Torah and then of the Major Prophets. It is further enlarged by the school of Origen with major additions of text, interpretations and variant transliterations from what is now called the Hexapla. This is made into a pilgrim's guide book to the Holy Land in the early fourth century by the friend of Constantine and bishop of Caesarea. Eusebius' pupils incorporate minor additions and are responsible for some of the doublets, perhaps from Eusebius' own marginal notes. Jerome brought it up to date for the last quarter of the fourth century A.D. Medieval copyists and scribes occasionally incorporated other marginal notes, more Hexaplaric date and fleshed out the Josephus quotations.

The Onomasticon and Biblical Topography

⁶⁶ The average reader of the Bible assumes that a place referred to in the Old or New Testaments still exists somewhere in one of the countries of the Near or Middle East under the same name and in approximately the same location. In his fancies, he is sure he could go there promptly and find the precise place. One of the biggest disappointments of the modern tourist-pilgrim is the conflicting opinions, the indeterminable and even lost sites in Palestine. The scholar is likewise frustrated in his search. The scientific student of biblical geography and topography is forced to face up to many problems, to choose among many possibilities and claimants, and at times to be honestly agnostic. Thus at least two or three sites are championed by different persons for the authentic Emmaus. Many are the problems, sites and arguments for (and even excavations of) Gilgal. Scholars are hard pressed to determine if the seven references to Aphek represent six or seven different sites with the same name or only one. In the most simple topographical name, the historical geographer can have at least ten variant traditions about its location, each with sub variants.

⁶⁷ 1. There is the biblical site as it was during biblical times. This may sound simple enough to define, but the biblical texts may refer the same name to more than one location. Likewise even within biblical times the settlement as well as the name could wander from the original location. An

explicit of this is Bethnimra. The Early Bronze age city was at Tell Mustah. Across the road and beyond the wadi to the north is the Iron Age Israelite site, Tell Bleibel. Down the valley a short distance to the West is Tell Nimrin, the Byzantine and medieval Arab site which retains the name. The present town of Shunat Nimrin is adjacent to this tell toward the Jordan. In modern Israel this movement of names is happening all over again. New settlements and kibbutzim are taking biblical names, sometimes from a nearby tell, sometimes on the basis of a biblical atlas or geography of the 30's, 50's or later, and other times sentimentally chosen, but most frequently not exactly on the original site. The exiles returning from Babylon confused the topographers in a similar manner.

⁶⁸ 2. The biblical site as Jewish tradition reported it is also multiple. Even the rabbis quoted in the Talmud do not always agree. The Targum, Philo and Josephus complicate the tradition enough, let alone what happens to it in medieval Jewish scholarship. 3. The first known Christian topographer, Eusebius, sought to identify the biblical site as it was in biblical times. But it is already obvious that his text is not always clear and that there are contradictory localizations for the same place. The roads are not always clear, directions may involve the entire quadrant of the compass, and spellings are confused. On top of that, the tradition reported by Eusebius reflects at best a post-Old Testament, perhaps even post-biblical, and therefore late decision. 4. The site as Jerome found it in the Jewish tradition is usually cited under "The Hebrews affirm." This would be a fourth stream which might have been utilized by Eusebius and still other early Christian topographers. This is not always the same as the fifth.

⁶⁹ 5. This is the site as Jerome interpreted the text of the Scripture and the text and traditions of the Onomasticon. 6. Both 4 and 5 may be quite distinct from the site as Jerome determined it by his own personal experience and study. But even this sixth stream is complicated since Jerome does not always agree with himself (or at least various Latin editors did not agree). As even a good scholar in the 20th century should, Jerome reserved the right to change his mind. His commentaries, Epistles 48 and 108, as well as Hebrew Questions do not always agree with the Latin Onomasticon's text. 7. Because of our problems with the third through sixth possibilities there is then a seventh to be accounted for. This is the site as Jewish (later Israeli) and German (rarely French, English and American) scholars in the last two centuries in-

terpreted the data in Eusebius and Jerome. The ZDPV is full of debates on this subject.

70 8. After Eusebius came the full surge of pious pilgrims. Their reports of shrines, tombs, churches, pagan remnants, and sites in general are often in conflict with one another. Because of the exigencies of the times, names and even whole districts were shifted (cf. *Onomasticon* on Garizin and Gaibel). 9. The crusaders developed a whole new Palestinian topography which is a study in itself. For the most part they tended to concentrate all the important sites within the small territory held by the Latins and so compressed one tradition into another for the convenience of the pious as well as for their safety. 10. Finally, the site in Moslem tradition and among Arab geographers marks the first revival of scholarly study after the 4th century. Saarisalo and others suggest that Arab tradition of Old Testament sites is more reliable than Christian tradition of New Testament sites. The site then as the first western and European scholars determined it could be any of the preceding ten, depending on the weight and worth given to each respective tradition by the investigators. Unfortunately it is also fairly certain that they added new traditions as they were misled by over helpful but ignorant guides who answered happily, but erroneously, misleading questions in "pidgin-Arabic." This is perhaps an eleventh claim with which we must reckon.

71 The *Onomasticon* concerns primarily the third through the seventh levels above. It is only a secondary source for the first two, but still valuable. It is the first scientific work on biblical topography extant, accumulating perhaps four to five centuries of tradition, oral and written, into one complex, confusing and exasperating manuscript. Despite its errors, lacunae and obscurities it must be used and has been used by scholars since the time of Reland. One reason for valuing this secondary source is simply chronology. Conder stated it plainly: it is "a witness to survival of Hebrew nomenclature of the country in the fourth century, even more perfectly preserved than now." This same argument is presently used for the textual value of the Dead Sea Scrolls and the ones from other nearby caves. Yet, even Conder recognized that in the *Onomasticon* "we see tradition not made but in the process of making." Actually it is both. Eusebius has preserved for us Jewish traditions that may go back beyond New Testament times, but he also has added his own fourth century fact and fiction (plus later additions of editors and scribes) to the corpus of topographical tradition which in not always recon-

cilable to the Bible. The Onomasticon is more exact than the Bible itself, since the Scriptures do not pretend to be geographical documents and do not attempt to make any specific localizations on the basis of directions (the only exceptions being the tribal boundary lists and such vague terms as "east of," "opposite" etc.).

⁷² It is most probable that the Onomasticon can be taken as a primary source for the fourth century, although with further literary criticism and archaeological comparison it may become a primary source for earlier centuries. "The Onomasticon in any case seems to be an introduction to the knowledge of the occupation of the land in the fourth Christian century. For his own time, and only for this has the Onomasticon the value of an original important source for us, since the situation made it possible for him to be exact on the places of his own time" The Deutschen Palestina Vereins has therefore taken Eusebius seriously and for his own sake. Avi-Yonah based much of his study of the Roman Map of Palestine (ca. 300) on the information in the Onomasticon and more recently used it to develop the economic history of the Byzantine period. Those interested in New Testament sites and early Christian churches also have utilized the Greek and Latin texts of the Onomasticon.

⁷³ Since according to Lapp, less than 2% of the ancient sites in Palestine are excavated and none of these completely, surface sherding is requisite. Glueck pioneered this work in Transjordan and the Negev. Others in Israel have intensively surveyed smaller areas. Mittmann has outlined in his thesis the East Jordan territory to the North. Besides the DPV others schools such as the École Biblique, the ASOR (now the Albright Institute), the Franciscans and the Department of Antiquity of Jordan and Israel have conducted sherding trips. However, only ZDPV consistently publishes the results and no school, museum or other agency coordinates or files the reports of the others, so much is lost and not available to this study. The work of Glueck, Avi-Yonah, Mittmann and others indicates that the late Roman and Byzantine periods were most prosperous. Unfortunately Glueck did not include a Byzantine map similar to that of Early Bronze and Iron sites in Transjordan, but the count is almost astronomical for sites that should be on such a map for Transjordan alone as a reading of Glueck's volumes and the narrow territory of Mittmann's thesis indicate. These surveys and others personally made or heard about by the author corroborate the high number of sites reported in

the Onomasticon as still inhabited in the 4th century even if density of population figures are still not scientifically precise.

⁷⁴ The area of Eusebius' competence seems to end at a line east and west through the Northern tip of the Dead Sea and then going north along the ridge of the Ammonite plateau. In south Judea, Moab and Edam he is less knowledgeable even in his own topographical information of contemporary towns and garrisons. He knows the hill country around Jerusalem best. The coastal plain and the Jordan valley are adequately reported. Samaria and Galilee are fairly well described. The area encompassed by the Onomasticon (even as outlined in the Greek preface) is basically the Old Testament idealized boundary "from Don to Beersheba." When Eusebius uses the term "Palestine" it is frequently non-historical. It may even be anachronistic, as it has been since 1948 with the establishment of the new state of Israel. The terms Samaria, Perea (called by Jerome Transjordan after the biblical phrase), Galilee and Idumea all have indefinable limits. Palestine Prima, Secunda, Tertia may at times be referred to and if so will be noted in the separate entry's notes to follow. Part of the confusion is the conglomeration of sources from various dates.

⁷⁵ As noted above the city and its district are the basis for topography and these are more important than the provincial descriptions. Melamed finds six Transjordanian areas centered around cities: Susita, Pella, Amman, Heshbon, Kerak and Petra. In the west there are twelve such centers according to him: Sepphoris, Tabor, Bethshan, Acco, Caesarea, Sebaste, Diospolis, Jericho, Jerusalem, Eleutheropolis, Hebron and Beersheba. Not all of these are important to the Onomasticon as Appendices V, VI and VIII indicate. Villages are well located by Eusebius in these city-districts. If our finding them today is difficult, it is not so much the fault of the ancient writers as of other factors. As in the 20th century, so in the 4th, a village was not a single tell and a city was not a narrow spot at a milestone as some scholars seem to assume. Tell Deir 'Alla, Franken points out, is only a small section of the total location of Deir 'Alla as known to the natives today. To limit Livias (Julius) to Tell er-Rameh even if it fits Eusebius closely is to be unrealistic. Similarly Gadara is not merely the tell of Umm Qeis still inhabited and bordered north and south by Roman theatres. Even though names may have shifted they may often remain within the general district. Many of the towns are listed on the border, not only in biblical tribal allotments but also in the municipalities

of the Onomasticon. Avi-Yonah in his map of Roman Palestine notes the region of a city or town properly on the basis of; first, all the inhabited places mentioned as belonging to it, second, all places whose localization is determined by measurement from it, and third all territory watered by the aqueduct (see Appendix V).

⁷⁶ Another difficulty in studying Eusebian topography has been the false assumption that distance always indicates a town on a Roman road. However, important villages and tells today are often indicated by mileage but are not on the main road. There is no necessity to limit Eusebius' site to known Roman roads. Even when he is measuring from and along a Roman road, the site may be indicated by noting the point at which one takes off over the hills with or without benefit of track or path to find that village (e.g., Beth-el). Although the debate about roads and Eusebius continues we must remember he was not writing a book about Roman highways but at best utilizing a Roman map or garrison list to help him locate biblical sites as best he could. ⁷⁷ Text and archaeology will soon be able to check one another. Most of Eusebius' fixed points of reference were important cities in the 4th century according to other written sources and archaeology. But it is still not possible to check his terminology or classification of towns and villages archaeologically. The use of nouns and adjectives in Greek or Latin may reflect just as much an editor's style or propensity as a change in fortune. After all, size is relative without area and population measurements. Jerome is not at all consistent in the translation of the Greek (any more than he is or should be in the Vulgate - see Appendix IX). If Jerome were trying to indicate a change in significance by a change in terminology, we may soon be able to check the facts archaeologically. The corpus of Palestinian pottery is gradually being extended into the 4th century through Caesarea, Araq al Emir and other pottery now that the Byzantine levels are not considered dump to be bulldozed away to get down to Israelite levels. But as far as possible the existence of fourth century settlements has been checked in the present study. Details of the results will be in the notes on individual entries to follow.

Summary

⁷⁸ It is obvious that the author, whoever that may be, did not fulfill completely the purpose as stated in the preface. The Onomasticon is not a complete topography of Palestine of the Old and New Testaments (see Appendix III). It is not an historical geography to the Holy Land since not all the bib-

lical or post-biblical facts have been summarized despite the numerous editorial additions layer on layer. The Onomasticon does provide us an extant list of Greek transliterations of Hebrew place-names based largely on the no longer extant Hexapla. Incidentally that makes it a valuable source for textual study of the Hexapla. The quotations of the Greek Bible and the references to the six columns of Origen are important critical resources. The Onomasticon in its present form has provided an almost complete tribal division for the allotments in Joshua. Judah is most complete. Unfortunately not all the sites were located or identified in the 4th century. There is no evidence that all this information was in the lost description of Judea, part two of Eusebius' geographical opus, but that may have been incorporated into this work and could account for the Jerusalem-Eleutheropolis-Chebron triangle being so well done. If, however, the Onomasticon was accompanied by a map the location of minor border towns could have been left to the map alone and the curt notation "tribe of..." which is valueless for our purposes would have been sufficient for the ancient reader.

⁷⁹ The Onomasticon provides us with a contemporary knowledge of fourth century Palestine and Transjordan. Some two hundred sites were positively inhabited in that time and as such Eusebius' work is a primary source for geography of the holy Land as seen in the 4th century. The stated purpose of the fourth and final geographical work attributed to Eusebius was to identify biblical place-names and to associate them with known places in the fourth century. "The special work of Eusebius is the positive identification of biblical places with those which were known in the country in his day and herein lies the immeasurable value of his work all." This was done on the basis of many sources as noted above: Jewish, Roman, Christian, as well as oral tradition. The methodology has been followed by many scholars of the last two centuries when they based many identifications on real or imagined survivals of the name in similarly sounding names. Of course, this principle is open to attack especially when applied by persons with little linguistic or philological knowledge and left unchecked by archaeological research.

⁸⁰ Adapting the conclusions of both Reland and Conder we may sum up the value of the Onomasticon. Its worth is highest where Greek and Latin texts agree. The orthography of biblical names, especially in the Hexapla, can be restored by the use of the Onomasticon. The similar sounding names reflect a source and a survival fifteen hundred years older than any today, and

record some which are otherwise lost today. The defects are largely matters of precision and lacunae. The principal cities are not defined as to their relative position and there is no sure, fixed point from which the mileage is known to have been taken. The description of locations are too often vague and even when compass directions are given they are limited to the four cardinal points and so are ambiguous, at least a quadrant being involved, and at times contradictory between Greek and Latin texts. The text as preserved to us in final redaction is often a heterogeneous agglomerate of unrelated materials assembled by many hands over several centuries. The principle of similar sounding names is tenuous at best.

⁸¹ Nevertheless, even though Abel has been criticized for too much reliance on the similarity of sounds, his judgment of the *Onomasticon* stands: "The *Onomasticon* despite its errors and its faults is of great help for knowledge of Palestine of biblical times and of the Byzantine period." It is hoped that this volume will make some small contribution to biblical and Byzantine topography (limited to *Onomasticon*'s localizations and identifications) as well as permit English speaking students and Bible readers to reassess Eusebius as a geographer.

INTRODUCTION

¹ Eusebius of Caesarea, *Onomasticon* (1971) Notes. pp. 76-252. Ed. C. Umhau Wolf.

NOTES

² Latin Preface By Jerome

SECTION A

GENESIS 1. Ararat, Armenia. Genesis 8:4; Klostermann. *Das Onomasticon der biblischen Ortsnamen* (1904) (hereafter K.) 2:23 (page#:line#), cf. 38:11; Legarde. *Onomastica Sacra* (1966) (hereafter L.) 232:25 (page#:line#). Ararat is suspect as an entry in the original manuscript since it is a mountain and is out of the region of Palestine as well. The inclusion of the long quotation from Josephus' *Antiquities*, (I, iii, p. 5ff.) is repeated in the text of Procopius 285A & B. Eusebius refers to Ararat also in his *Preparatio Evangelica*, (viii, p. 10f.) and Jerome, in his *Commentary on Isaiah 37:36ff.* In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* (60) Jerome translates "mountain of taunting." The referents in Josephus are largely third century B.C., e.g. Berosus, Musseas. However, Nicolas was a contemporary of Josephus and a biographer of Herod the

Great. The location has persisted in tradition as in the present Kurdistan areas, between Armenia and Parthia in ancient times.

Leaetai is used by Eusebius fairly consistently for written sources, most frequently the Bible. Cp. Genesis 8:4, II Kings 19:37, Jeremiah 51:27. On the other hand, phasin (dicuntur) reflects an anonymous oral tradition. The text of Eusebius and Jerome vary only slightly in the quotation of Josephus. The translation of the quotation is that of Thackeray from the Loeb Classic Library (used with permission). The textual variants are all minor. 2. Achad. Genesis 10:10; K. 4:26; L. 233:54. Textual variants: Achab (Greek); and Archath, Achar, and Acath (Latin). Achad as the above Ararat also is not in the region of Palestine. Its size is recognized by the use of polis (Greek) and both urbs and civitas (Latin). Jerome in Hebrew Questions notes "it is now called Nisibis." In another entry he notes it is in Edessa. The date referred to by Latin was 363 A.D. 3. Aggai (Ai). Genesis 12:8; K. 4:27; L. 233:55.

The location of Ai is still a complex archaeological puzzle. Judith Krause-Marquet and Pere Abel felt that Eusebius must have had et-Tell in mind because of the words topos eremos used also for Ainan (K. 8:13) and Galgala (K. 66:4). Procopius 320A records Eusebius: "Aggai now is a deserted place not far west of Bethel" (cp. Joshua 7:2, 8:1). This would be on the road to Bethel which leaves the main road at the 12th milestone (cf. K. 40:20). Bethel is often used as a referent in the Bible and is so used in the text (see Appendices). Jerome also notes a church had been built at Bethel (Commentary on Genesis 28:19) probably by Constantine (Epistle 108:12). For other churches added in Jerome's account see Mambre (K. 7:20), Bethany (K. 59:18), Gethsemane (K. 75:19), and Sychar (K. 165:3-4). Ailia (Aelia) is Jerusalem. Neapolis is 36 miles from Jerusalem according to the Deut. Table but other texts have 30 miles (Itin. Ant. 200:1). On the Madaba Map it is a large walled city with a basilica. In Eusebius it is a point of reference and according to K. 150:2 distinct from Shechem. Shechem was destroyed in pre-Christian times and Neapolis built there by Vespasian. This Neapolis is present day Nablus near Mt. Garizin. A bishop was present at the Council of Nicea. A basilica was erected there by Justinian according to Procopius (Buildings, V, viii, 1) after time of our text.

In Interpretation of Hebrew Names (61) Jerome translates "inquiry or gaiety." 4. Astarōth Karnaein. Genesis 14:5; K. 6:4; L. 233:61. Textual variant: Asarōth (Greek). There are many attarah in the region of Palestine. The

names and spelling in both the Masoretic Text (hereafter MT) and Onomas-ticon are confusing. In this entry no positive location is given. Only a general area. Procopius 332C wrote, "It is now the city of the blessed Job in the Batanaia. Two villages between Adaron and the city Bibles, nine miles distant from each other, are so-called" (cf. K. 112:3 and K. 142:3 for "home of Job"). Abela (K. 32:15) Is the present Tell abil. Adra (K. 84:7) in Syriac Manuscript is indicated as dari 'at or der'at the present Syrian border town with Jordan. The Batanaia is also called Batalona (K. 12:12). All was part of the land of Bashan (K. 44:9). The two villages are best located at Tell 'ashtarah and Sheih Sa 'ad. The former is a large tell suitable for the Old Testament Ashtaroth (cf. K. 12:11). Perhaps the latter succeeded as chief administrative city of the district of Karnaeim (cf. K. 112:3). However in the Bible, Astaroth is merely identifying the site of a battle which took place near the city. If so, then Karnaeim added to the name gives the district in which the battle took place (cf. Biblical Archaeologist Dec. 1962, p.109). Eusebius seems to look for two sites.

In Interpretation of Hebrew Names Jerome has four entries on Astaroth with several interpretation repeats: sheepfold, manger, blackened hall, or make an investigation (61, 85, 90, and 98). 5. Arbō. Arboc. Genesis 23:2; K. 6:8 and 7:11; L. 233:65. Textual variants include: Arboch (Greek), Arbee (Latin), Arboq. Another variant seems to identify Arbō Chebrōn and the terebinth. The entire entry has been inserted out of biblical order by a late editor. The terebinth is located at six stadia from Chebrōn by Josephus (Wars, iv, 553). In (K. 76:1) Mamrē also locates the terebinth in the vicinity of Chebrōn (cp. K. 170:25). In K. 26:16 it is located two miles from Bethanin (cp. K. 68:21, 94:21 and Eusebius' De Vita Constantini, iii, 51f., Demonstratio Evangelica V 9). Also see Kariatharbō K. 112:18 where Genesis 23:2 makes the equation. The location in general is present day Hebron, el kalil, and this is the spot Eusebius locates clearly. It was never a strong Christian city. Ancient site is probably at Jebel er-Rumeide where Roman and Byzantine remains are also found. Jerome notes a church has been built there (cf. K. 7:3 and note for other churches). It is difficult to tell if Jerome refers to the Church of Mamrē (Ramet el Khalil) or the church of the graves of the patriarchs.

Jerome in Hebrew Questions writes "For Arbee the LXX has 'field' with Chebron located on the mountain. The city is also called Mambra is named after the friends of Abraham" (44), cf. Genesis 18:1, I Chronicles 2:42, Joshua

14:13f, 20:7, 21:11, II Samuel 2:1 etc. In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* Jerome translated "Arbee, four or fourth" (61) after the four great men: Abraham, Isaac, Jacob and Adam (cf. *Hebrews Questions*, p. 28, Epistle 108:11, 46:3, *Commentary on Jeremiah* 31:15, *Zacharia* 11:4, *Matthew* 27:33, and *Ephesians* 5:14. 6. Ailam (Ailath). *Genesis* 14:1; K.6:17; L. 234:75. In the Vulgate we find Ailath, Elath, and Aila for this same site. Palestine is the southern part of Syria. This word is missing in the Vatican Manuscript. Technically the southern limits of the Onomasticon should be Ailam (Ailath). The ruins are inland about one mile from Aqabah but not as far inland as Tell el Kbeleifah which is probably the older Ezion Geber (K. 36:l, cf. K. 34:23, 62:13, *Josephus Antiquities*, IX, 12, 1).

It was the end of the road going north to Damascus and the terminus of the overland road west to the Mediterranean. In Jerome's time it was a very busy port (*Vita Hilariaris*, 18, and cf. *Commentary on Ezekiel* 47:18). Eusebius does not indicate its size but it may be inferred that it was a polis. A bishop was present at Nicea. Eusebius uses some army source and the text is useful for noting the deployment of the Roman legion. The Tenth is located here. The *Notitia Dignitatum* (73:18f.) verifies this entry. The *Tabula Peutinger*, 820 has a Haila 83 miles from Petra and 150 miles southeast of Gaza which fits this site at el 'aqaba. The city in II Samuel 10:16 is in northeast Transjordan. The Syriac text notes it is a city of the Philistines. The Greek *allophulos* usually means Philistines but once or twice we cannot be positive, so in this present translation the general term "foreigners" has been preferred, especially when Jerome does not have Filistine. He has Filistine in K. 7:15, K. 21:2, K. 3:25, K. 119:3 but more often uses transliteration *allofylorum* (see Appendix I).

7. Adama. *Genesis* 14:2; K. 8:4; L. 234:82. The Sodomite Pentapolis is not clearly located by Eusebius. He generally locates them beside the Dead Sea (cf. *Sodoma* K. 150:10,) K. 153:16 suggests a tradition did exist for Segor but it is also not precisely recorded. The most exacting attempt is for Bala in K. 42:1f. In *Hebrew Questions* Jerome translates "dirt, ground or earthen" (61). 8. Asasan Thamar (Asasonthamar). *Genesis* 14:7; K. 8:6; L. 234:84. On the Madaba Map there is a Thamara located as suggested by Eusebius here. *Tabula Peutinger* has a Thamaro 52 or 53 miles from Jerusalem while Ptolemy's list (V, 15, 5f) has a Thamaro about 55 miles distant. The *Notitia Dignitatum* (74:40) has a Tarba and (74:46) a Thamarra both of which have a garrison.

Alt found a fort at Qasr el Juheiniye and he is followed by many locating the fort there and the village at 'ain el 'Arus. Aharoni more recently (TEJ, 1963, p.30ff) suggests 'Ain Husb which is about a day's walk (32 km) from Kurnub which is generally identified with Mapsis (cf. also Avi-Yonah) and has a large Roman fort as well as Nabatean and Iron II sherds.

The Madaba Map using Jerome's spelling has located properly Mampsis. Many Nabatean, Roman-Byzantine levels excavated at Kuroub. It shows a revival in the fourth century A.D. as also does Oboda (Avdat, 'Abda, and K. 176:9). This may be indicated by "village" in Greek and "oppidum" in Latin (cf. K. 10:25). II Chronicles 20:2 identified Tamar with En Gedi or at least locates it in the district of En Gedi (86:16). Jerome in Hebrew Questions says, "his city which we now call Engaddi, is rich in balsam and palms since Asason Tamar translated into our language is city of the palms" (18) (cf. Judges 1: 16, Ezekiel 47: 29). 9. Aloua (Allus). Genesis 36:40; K. 8:10; L. 234:89. Textual variants: Alloyd (Greek), Gōla (LXX), and Alloys (Syriac). Hebrew has 'Alvah or 'Aliah. Petra (cf. K. 142:7) is often called the capital of ancient Nabatean or the capital of the ancient Arabs. It has been suggested that Udrub, 14 km east of Petra may retain the tradition of this site since it is the Arabic synonym for the Hebrew.

The relation of Idumaea and Edōm to Gebalēnē is uncertain. They are connected here as well as in K. 62:8 and K. 102:23, etc. In his Commentary on Obadiah 1 Jerome has Gebalēnē on the border of Eleutheropolis and apparently includes part of the Daroma (K. 26:10) but generally it is lying east of the Dead Sea (K. 100:4). 10. Ainan (Aenam). Genesis 38:14; K. 8:12; L. 234:91. Textual variants: Aenam (Greek), Aeinam (Greek), and Enan (Greek). Ainan is one of three deserted places in the Onomasticon (Aggai K. 4:27 and Galgala K. 66:4). This phrase may indicate ruins noted by Eusebius or an editor. The location "near" (cf. Appendix V) is quite vague and could be adjacent or as far as 15 miles. It probably indicates it is within the region of a city at the editor's time. Geographers are uncertain about the Old Testament site. It is difficult to determine a location from Eusebius but Noth suggests kefr 'en. Procopius 463C has an accurate Latin translation of this entry.

Several times the Greek quotes only the biblical location as here "on the way to Thamna" (cf. K. 8:17, K. 10:15, K. 90:3). Thamna is on the Madaba Map (cf. K. 96:24) and near to Diospolis at Kh Tibne. Eusebius has "large village" for 32 existing towns. There are others called "large city." Thamna is

probably off the main Roman road from Jerusalem to Diospolis. Many road into Diospolis and it is frequently a reference point for the text (cf. K. 20:16, K. 24:24, K. 28:10, K. 48:23, K. 68:6 etc). Tabula Peutinger has Luddis 12 miles from Azotus and Emmaus. It is on the Madaba Map with a church near modern Lydda and perhaps is Old Testament Lod (I Chronicles 8:12). Acts 10:22 shows its Christian character. Its new name was given by Hadrian c. 136 A.D. In about 200 Septimius Severus gave it municipal status. The identity is made by St. Paula "Lydda which was changed into Diospolis near Arimethea" (PPT I p.4 cf. Jeremiah Epistle 108:8). It suffered heavily under the Diocletian persecutions of 303 (cf. Eusebius Martyrs of Palestine). There was a bishop in the 4th century.

Here we have evidence of the flourishing of the pagan cults in the 4th century in spite of Constantine's efforts. Avi-Yonah suggests a temple and spring at the source of Wadi Ri'a may be the Aena of Jerome. 11. Ailōn Atad (Areaatad). Genesis 50:10; K. 8:17; L. n/a; Lacuna in Greek text. Textual variants: 'Ainan Atad, 'Alona Atad (Greek) and Areaatat, Areaatath (Latin). This entry is not in the Greek Vatican Manuscript and so Lagarde does not print it. Klostermann here and elsewhere emends the Greek on basis of Procopius and Jerome. In a few places, Eusebius gives mileage from two points (cf. K. 12:13, K. 14:1, K. 24:16) without clearly indicating a road. Both the scriptures and the Onomasticon seem confused about Atad or Abel-mizraim. It seems preferable to locate in the southwest of Palestine rather than across the Jordan or in the Jericho region. Eusebius and Jerome only have a "place" not a village. The Madaba Map uses both Alōn Atad and Bethagla with the mosaic of a church there near the Wadi Qilt. Procopius 512B accurately reproduces the text. Apparently a secondary Christian tradition transferred the site from across the Jordan to the location southeast of Jericho. It probably is the present 'ain and deir hajla (cf. K. 48:19, K. 52:8).

Jerome in Interpretation of Hebrew Names translates "Atad, evidence or twig" (62) and Bethagla as "his house of jollity" (91). EXODUS 12. Ailim (Aelim). Exodus 15:27; K. 8:22; L. 234.97. After this entry in the Vatican Manuscript 1456 there is a different hand which may be an attempt to locate the site in relation to a monastery. Lagarde and Klostermann both omit the entry in a new hand, probably because it is rather unclear. Also inserted are division "Numbers and Deuteronomy" in a different hand. These stations are for the most part not within the provenance of the Onomasticon. It is prob-

able that a later editor inserted these into Eusebius' text. This of course would account in part for the manuscript confusion at this point. 13. Ailous (Aelim). Numbers 33:13; K. 10:1; L. n/a; Lacuna in Greek text. This entry also is not in the Greek Vatican Manuscript and is inserted from the Latin by Klostermann. As above, the list of stations in the desert is suspect.

Jerome in *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* has "fermented or mixed, as the Greeks say phurason, mixed" (79). NUMBERS AND DEUTERONOMY 14. Aserōth. Numbers 12:1; K. 10:4; L. 234:100. Summary of biblical information (Numbers 12:1, Deuteronomy 2:23). Jerome has two entries on Aseroth in *Interpretation of Hebrew Names*: "majestic or beautiful house" (78) and "Aseroth is house or entrance court, if it is written with a heth and tzade. But if correctly written with alef and sin it means beautiful" (86). For Gaza see K. 62:22 below. 15. Asemōna. Numbers 33:29; K. 10:7; L. 234:3. Textual variant: Asemōnas (Greek). Out of order and a station list added later. In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* Jerome translates "his bone, from bone, not from mouth" (79). 16. Aētharim. Numbers 21:1; K. 10:9; L. 235:5. The textual variants from Aquila and Symmachus are frequently recorded. Since the Hexapla was compiled by Origen in Caesarea, Eusebius must have had easy access to it. One medieval text confuses AK as an added syllable to the place name. One manuscript also has synodos for odos which does not make sense.

In *Hebrew Names*, Jerome translates Atharim "spies" (78). 17. Aiē or Achelgai. Numbers 21:11; K. 10:12; L. 235:8. Eusebius and the LXX have trouble with Hebrew double names, so we find Achelgaei, Nachal Gaei. The location is vague and uncertain in both the Bible and *Onomasticon*. Areopolis was an autonomous city in the Roman Province of Arabia. According to Procopius' *Buildings* V, viii, 1, under Constantine this became Palestina Tertia. It is probably Ar Moab, the present Rabba (cf. below and K. 124:15)." Ptolemaeus has it 65 miles from Philadelphia (16:15). This identity goes back at least to the third century A.D. The Madaba Map has an Aia at that location. In K. 36:24 it is identified with Ariel and is a pagan shrine (cf. Jeremiah 49:3; LXX 30:3). There are a number of texts where the Greek has alternate names. The most familiar is Ashdod Azōtos (K. 20:18, K. 22:11). But also K. 36:7,24; K. 48:11; K. 25:27; K. 58:3; K. 64:6; K. 90:10; K. 132:8; K. 160:19; cf. K. 40:7 Babel.

18. Arnōn. Numbers 21:13; K. 10:15; L. 235:11. This entry is not an original. It is a river or wadi, not a city. It is called a topos, and locus, "place." It has

been considered the southern border of Transjordan. Jerome's Commentary on Isaiah 16:2 notes, "it is the border between Amorites and Moabites." Procopius 857A paraphrases the Onomasticon: "formerly the land of the Amorites. The Arnon is said to be the border separating it from the Moabites" (cf. Numbers 21:23ff). Areopolis is called a city of Arabia or Moab (cf. above and K. 124:15). Arabia is the name of the Roman province established in 106 A.D. whose southern border was the Dead Sea and the Arnon. Other Nabatean towns given autonomy in Provenance Arabia were Esbus, Medeba, Charachmoab and Petra. In 200 A.D. Septimus Severus gave it municipal status. According to the Tabula Peutinger it is 62 miles from Philadelphia. There was a Roman garrison at Areopolis according to Notitia Dignitatum (81:17) and other posts around the wadi (Notitia Dignitatum 81:34, 82:35). A polis such as Areopolis may by its very name include a general region with all its dependent villages.

The name Arnon has obviously survived to the fourth century. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names Jerome translates "heap of gloom or praise" (78). 19. Ar. Numbers 21:15; K. 10:25; L. 235:21. Textual variant Êr (Greek as in LXX) This place is related to the previous two entries. If it, as well as "deserted place" could mean "ruin," then perhaps there was a rebuilding by the time of Jerome. The word oppidum usually is not an indication of size of city or village but, if Pliny is to be believed it is a Roman settlement around a shrine or sanctuary, or it is a heavily fortified town (see Appendix I). Jerome in Hebrew Names translated, "he stirred up or wakefulness" (78). 20. Aēsīmōn. Numbers 21:20; K. 10:27; L. 235:23. Textual variants: Aisīmōn and Asēnōn (Greek). The third in a series of four "places" at this point in Eusebius. 21. Abelsattein (Abelsattim). Numbers 33:49; K. 10:28; L. 235:24.

LXX has Abetsatteim and Setim. Eusebius does not locate this "place" very well. Many feel it is the Byzantine Abile at Kh Kefraim but Eusebius does not make this identity. Jerome in his Commentary on Joel 3:18 suggests it is near Livias (K. 48:15) 6 miles from Dead Sea. In Hebrew Names he translates mourning of the bank or of the shore" (79). The difference in direction may not be as great as it seems. Eusebius has west and Jerome south, but most directions refer to a quadrant, so southwest could fit into either quadrant. Possibly out of order or suspect. 22. Azōr (or Iazer). Numbers 21:24; K. 12:1; L. 235:25. Textual variant for contemporary sites, Zazer (Latin). A confused text is probably responsible for this entry. The relation of this with Iazēr (K. 4:13)

is unclear. For biblical Hazor see 20:1, a different site. Probably Ptolemy's (V, 15,6) list of a Gazōros is the same town as K. 12:3 and K. 104:13. Josephus *Antiquities*. XII, 8, 1 has Jazōros or Jazorōs. A village eight miles west of Philadelphia is Kh sar (note 10 miles in K. 104: 13).

On Amman or Philadelphia see K. 16:15 below. In *Hebrew Names*, Jerome has 5 entries which could pertain, based on "hearing" or "helping" (82, 94, 125, 127, and 134). 23. Aroēr. Deuteronomy 3:12, 4:48; K. 12:5; L. 235:29. This polis is located on the brow of the Arnon (K. 10:15) and probably still exists with its traditional name at 'Ara 'ir. Archaeological excavation shows it was weak in 4th Century A.D. The biblical information from Numbers 21:26, Deuteronomy 2:9 and Joshua 13:25 is summarized by Eusebius, with real additions. There are three or four biblical places with this same name. Jerome has three entries in *Hebrew Names*: "lightening or emptying of the watch or shell" (79), "cover of the guard or spread out the watch"(88) or "covered"(125). In this entry polis in Eusebius becomes one of the few instances where it is translated by oppidum in Latin (cf. 10:25 and Appendix I). This and next entry are out of order and suspect as late additions.

24. Astarōth. Deuteronomy 1:4; K. 12:11; L. 235:35. Astarōth occurs often in the *Onomasticon* (K. 6:4, K. 12:27, K. 112:3). Here the references in scripture are summarized (Joshua 12:4, 13:31). The Old Testament site is perhaps Tell 'ashtarah which is too far from Dera to fit the *Onomasticon*. But nine miles closer could be Tell el Yaduda or el Muzeirib. The "another" above refers to K. 6:4 and with no location is without any identification (cf. also K. 112:3). Astaroth and Edrai were the major cities of Bashan. Adraa is at der'at located by the *Tabula Peutinger* as 24 miles from Bostra (cf. K. 84:9) but 25 miles here. Valerian made Adraa a city in status. For Bostra see also K. 46:10. There was a bishop in Adra in the 4th and 5th centuries. Batanaia is the all-inclusive name for the territory which includes Trachonitis (K. 166:1) as well as the Gaulon (K. 64:6). Perhaps also it is to be identified with part of Itouraia (K. 110:26). The relationship of these with the several regions of Arabia is unclear. In Herod's time Dera was the east border of Batanaia, but it was in Nabatean or Syrian control in the 4th century.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* "sheepfold or the spies act" (61). 25. Agrou skopia. Numbers 23:14; K. 12:16; L. 235:40. In one text the Latin adds "is" a mountain. This is not an original entry. Apparently *Onomasticon* identifies it with Phasgo (16:24), Phasga (168:28) and Pogor (168:25 cf.

170:13). The location is not readily fixed. The Hebrew and the Confraternity Translation suggest "hill of cursing" for the Greek "peak of the hewn." 26. Arabōth Mōab. Numbers 26:3; K. 12:20; L. 236:44. Textual variants: Iebous (Greek) and Esbon (Latin). The synonym used by Aquila and Symmachus are repeated in Procopius 992A. They are probably correct and so no confusion of this "place" arises with Ar Moab (K. 10:25). See below on Iordan (K. 104:20), Iericho (K. 104:25), Libias (K. 44:17 and K. 48:15), and Esbous (K. 84:1). For Phogor (cp. 168:25), this is probably a late addition to the text. 27. Araba. Deuteronomy 1:1; K. 12:25; L. 236:49.

See below K. 16:12 and K. 90:11. Hexaplastic information in this entry. Out of order and doubly suspect. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names Jerome has "west or evening" (86) and "fine" (89). 28. Astarōth (Ataroth). Numbers 32:34; K. 12:27; L. 236:51. Textual variants: Atarōth (Greek) and Astaroth (Latin). Probably this is not the same as K. 12:11 above. It is of Gad and not Manassē. Reference to Solomon is in I Chronicles 2:54. Only a generalized biblical location. The Peraia is always translated by Jerome as Transjordan. In Byzantine times Peraia was continuous with the region of Philadelphia (K. 104:14). In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "crowns" (79), "crown" (89). 29. Astarōth Sōphar (Ataroth Sofan). Numbers 32:35; K. 12:30; L. 236:54. Textual variant: Atroth (Latin). Possible two cities of Gad combined in this entry. So far appears three times in Interpretation of Hebrew Names: "his spy or trumpet" (72), "war trumpet" (85), "scattering of the lookouts or scattering of the spies or I will see the spies" (134).

30. Arad. Numbers 33:40, 34:4; K. 14:1; L. 236:55. Textual variants: Arama (Greek) and Arath, Arat (Latin). The Greek has confused Arad with the Ad-dar of Hebrew. But Joshua 15:21 suggests this possibility in the LXX. One of rare entries with mileage given to two reference points. The double location (repeated by Procopius 1045C) identifies this with Tell el 'Arad about 20 miles south of Chebrōn but no Byzantine village there. Madaba Map location agrees with Eusebius: "Arad from which come the Aradites." The Bronze Age city is being excavated. A Judean temple and administrative center is there. Arad has Chaleolithic, Early Bronze, Iron, Persian and Hellenistic remains with a very slight Nabatean/Roman fortress. Eusebius' Arad is not this tell since it has an archaeological gap of 1st through 7th A.D. Malaatha is used for a reference by Eusebius (cf. 88:4, 108:3). It is in Idumea according to Josephus Antiquities, XVIII, 6, 2. It probably is the Moleatha of the Notitia

Dignitatum (74:45) where there was a garrison. The name may persist in the tradition at Kh or Tell Milh (Malhata) where there is a Roman fort as well as some Middle Bronze, Iron and Hellenistic sherds. Perhaps the Byzantine village is to be found at el quseife which is 6 kilometers from Arad. Perhaps it is to be related to Molada (130:6). On "oppidum" cf. K. 10:25 and Appendix I.

Jerome in *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* has "descending" (62 and 78). 31. Asemōna. Numbers 34:4; K 14:4; L. 236:58. The Madaba Map quotes Eusebius for the southern limit of Palestine (Ioudaia) cf. Joshua 15:4, Ezekiel 47:134. It is probably Israeli Atzmon at 'Ain el Quseimeb (cp. K. 10:7). 32. Akrabbein (Acrabbi). Numbers 34:4; K. 14:7; L. 236:61. Eusebius has confused the southern border of Judah (Numbers 34:4) with a northern site. The Madaba Map follows Eusebius and locates it at a northern village site. Procopius 1048B records the first part of the Onomasticon referring to an eastern border. Biblical data is from Joshua 15:3 and Judges 1:36. Perhaps Eusebius is influenced by Josephus' Wars II, 20,4 and III, 3,5 and sees this as one of the Toparchies of Juda, perhaps Akrabattinē (cf. K. 86:25, K. 108:20, K. 156:30, K. 160:14). This northern site is 'aqrabeh, just nine miles southeast of Nablus.

But the southern border must be southwest of the Dead Sea, a boundary with Edom rather than with the Amorites. This may be the Ascent at Nagbes-safi (cf. I Maccabees 5:3). Jerome in *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* has "of scorpions or fitting" (79) and "of scorpions" (89 and 98). 33. Asadadda (Asadada). Numbers 34:8; K. 14:13; L. 236:67. Textual variants: Asaradda (Greek) and Sadada (Latin, cf. K. 155:17). Simple border of Judah as in Ezekiel 47:13; cf. K. 154:19. Out of order and suspect. 34. Arad. Numbers 34:4; K. 14:14; L. 236:68. Textual variants: Arath and Arat (Latin). Part of this entry is missing in Vatican Manuscript. See above K. 14:1. 35. Asarēnan (Asarenam). Numbers 34:9; K. 14:16; L. 236:70. Textual variants: Asarēnan, Asaerēnan and Asserēnan (Greek). Simple border listing. Same as next entry. 36. Aserna (Asernai). Numbers 34:10; K. 14:17; L. 236:71. Textual variant: Asernaei (Greek). Probably the same as the previous entry (cf. Ezekiel 47:13). Simple border listing.

37. Arbēla. Numbers 34:11; K. 14:18; L. 236:72. Textual variant see K. 46:6. Two sites: One in Transjordan and Decapolis (K. 80:16) region and the near the great plain of Megiddo. Pella is an important reference point in the Onomasticon (K. 22:25, K. 32:6, K. 80:17, K. 110:13). In 66-67 A.D. it was a

refuge for Christians fleeing from Jerusalem (cf. *Historia Ecclesiastica*, iii, 5, 3). At this time it is a polis in Palestine. Formerly it was one of the independent Decapolis, probably at Kh Fahil, and later it was included with Syria. Arbela is a dependent village of Pella. It may be tell Abil or tabaqat fahl. Jerome has perhaps confused it with Ribla which may be at Irbid (cp. Betharbel, Hosea 10:14). The great plain southwest of the Sea of Galilee is called after the important city (oppidum) Legeōn. On oppidum cf. K. 10:25 and Appendix I. This is the plain of Jesreel (Josephus' *Antiquities*, V, 1, 22 and IV, 6, 1). From the time of Hadrian on Legeōn controlled the area from Galilee to Samaria. It was called Maximianopolis in the early 4th century but Eusebius never uses that name. It had Roman camps around it. Now called Lejjūn. There is also an Irbid southwest of Galilee with a synagogue and Roman-Byzantine sherds, but the distance does not fit Onomasticon. Quite possibly Arbela is 'Affule in Roman-Byzantine times.

Arebla in Interpretation of Hebrew Names is "a trap" (79). 38. Aulōn. Deuteronomy 1:1; K. 14:22; L. 236:75. Textual variant: Tiberias is missing in the Vatican Manuscript. Dubious entry. Aulon in Roman times came to be identified with the Jordan valley as reflected here in both Eusebius and Jerome. The description here, together with that of Jordan (K. 104:20) is fairly complete. The valley begins in Libanon (K. 122:27) and reaches south to Pharan (K. 166:12). Skythopolis is an important city, one of the cities of the Decapolis (K. 80:15), used frequently in the Onomasticon. The listing of all the others is confused but surely included Hippus, Gadara, Abila, Pella, Gerasa and Philadelphia. Skythopolis is identified with Bethshan at Tell al Husn (K. 54:8). It was the capital of Palestina Secunda in Byzantine times. Lake of Tiberias was in Hellenistic times the sea of Gennesaris and in the New Testament Gennesaith (K. 58:12 and K. 120:2). Today it is the Sea of Galilee (K. 72:20).

For Ierichō see K. 104:25. Paneas is used as a referent often in the Onomasticon. A bishop came to Nicea from here. Baniyas today, at the source of the Jordan was also the site of Caesarea Phillippi, also listed as one of the Decapolis (*Historia Ecclesiastica*, vii, 17). In *Tabula Peutinger* it is 32 miles from Tyre. On the Dead Sea see K. 100:4. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names Jerome says, "Elan, oak or aulon of which we wrote more fully in the Book of Places" (83) and "Ailon which we spoke of under Aulon above (88)." 39. Amalēkitis (Amalecitis). Deuteronomy 7; K. 16:5; L. 237:84. This is probably

the wilderness of Zin in the Old Testament (K. 152:18, cf. Numbers 13:29, 14:25; Josephus *Antiquities* III, 2, 1) includes the inhabitants of Petra and Gobolitis as the Amalakites. Not an original entry, but a gloss. In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* "licking people" (61) "dull people or licking people" (74,161).

40. Araba. K. 16:1; Deuteronomy 1:7; L. 237:91. Textual variant: Safforinea (Latin). In Deuteronomy 1:7 it really refers to the plain as in K. 12:25. Eusebius reports on two villages by this same name. Ona is three miles west of Skythopolis or Bethshan (K. 16:2 and K. 54:8). Some suggest 'Arabūne but the distance is not great enough. Probably marks the place of the turn off from the main road. The second is a village dependent upon Diokaisareia which is Sepphōris (Saffuriya) in Josephus (*Wars*, II, 21, 7) and frequently used as a referent in the *Onomasticon*. Many Jews fled there in 71 and 135 A.D. Vespasian made Sepphōris into a municipality. A Roman garrison was there according to *Notitia Dignitatum* (73:28). Constantine built a church there (Epiphanes *Ad Haer*, I, 30, 11). The village may be located at 'arabet el battōf. It is distinct from K. 86:9 although the Vatican Manuscript has a gloss at that place which wrongly seems to equate them.

41. Amman. Deuteronomy 2:19; K. 16:15; L. 237:94. No doubt of this continuing identity (Deuteronomy 2:20). Jerome in *Commentary on Nahum* 3:8 writes, "Ammona which is now called Philadelphia." It also is one of the cities of the Decapolis (K. 80:16) and a bishop was present at the Council of Nicea. It is in the province of Arabia located by the *Tabula Peutinger* as 62 miles from Aeropolis (Rabbath Moab cf. K. 10:17). It is used as a referent in the *Onomasticon*. It is probably the same as Rabba Ammon. To Eusebius it was a most important city. He uses polis episēmos for only seven towns of his own time: Abela (K. 32:16), Adra (K. 84:8), Gaza (K. 62:26), Gerasa (K. 64:3), Damaskos (K. 76:4), Philadelphia and Askalon (K. 22:15). Amman/Philadelphia is also used to describe the region. In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* "Amon, son of my people or people of my wall" (61, 78, and 90).

42. Argob. Deuteronomy 3:4; K. 16:18; L. 237:97. Og of Bashan (K. 44:9) had many cities according to Scripture. In I Kings 4:13 Argob is in the 6th district of Solomon. The Erga of Eusebius is not the same as that Argob. Fifteen miles West of Gerasa is er-rudjib, which may be Erga. Others more correctly suggest Arjan in the Wadi Yabis (cf. K. 94:26). Bashan is also Trachonitis (K. 166:1) in the Province of Arabia. Gerasa is one of the famous cities of

Byzantine times (K. 64:3). See entry above. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "height of cursing" (86 and 109), "lofty cursing" (115). 43. Asēdōth. Deuteronomy 3:17; K. 16:22; L. 237:2. This is one of eleven entries in the Onomasticon which include an etymological notation not specified as from the Hexapla (cp. K. 12:17, K.18:21, etc.). 44. Abareim (Abarim). Deuteronomy 32:49; K. 16:24; L. 237:4. Textual variants: Easgan and Esbum (Latin).

As a "mountain" it is probably a late addition to the Greek list of place names. The relation of Phasgō to the Moab plain is more clearly indicated here. Eusebius was fascinated with Phasgō, Peor, Phogor, etc. (K. 12:17, K. 16:22, K. 168:28, etc.). It is probably present day Mt. Nebo or Ras Sijagla where a Byzantine church has been partially restored. The identity of the two made here by Eusebius is contested by scholars who would put Phasgō farther south (cf. Deuteronomy 34:1 and 32:49). In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Abarim, is passing over, which in Greek is indicated by peran" (179). 45. Auōth Iaeir (Avothiair). Deuteronomy 3:14; K. 18:4; L. 237:10. Textual variant: Golam (Latin). The etymology "shoulder of Iaeir" is not in the Vatican Manuscript. Out of order and suspect. Gōnias is mentioned only here and in K. 136:3 but Gaiōn and Gōlan are in K. 64:7f. and seem to be in the same area (cf. Basan 44:9 and Galaad 44:10; cp. Numbers 32:39, Deuteronomy 4:43; Joshua 13:30).

In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "gloria of the light or life of light" (86). JOSHUA (of Naue) 46. Antilibanos (Antilibanus). Joshua 1:4; K. 18:8; L. 237:14. This area is Eusebius' interpretation, perhaps from a faulty Greek text. The New Testament and most LXX texts have Libanon here. In I Chronicles 5:23 Mt. Hermon (K. 20:9) is in the lot of Manasseh. The placement of the tribal indication last suggests it is a later editor's addition. 47. Azēka (Azeka). Joshua 10:10; K. 18:10; L. 238:16. Azeka is important Old Testament city in Jouda (cf. Joshua 15:35). It is mentioned in the Lachich letters. The Old Testament site is fairly certain at Tell es-Zakariyeh. This village may be on the Maddba Map west of Sōebō. In the vicinity is the Byzantine town, perhaps at Kh el 'Alami. The Greek location literally means "halfway" to Jerusalem, but this is not precisely intended. Eleutheropolis is frequently used as a referent by Eusebius. In about 200 A.D. Septimus Severus gave it municipal status. It was a city on which a great many villages were dependent. It was one of the largest regions in Palestina Prima. In Tabula Peutinger and Ptolemy it is called Betogabri and is located 32 miles from Jerusalem. It

suffered greatly under Diocletian about 303 A.D. A bishop attended the Council of Nicea. It is the present Beit jibrin.

In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Azeca, strength or crafty" (88). 48. Ailōm (Aialon). Joshua 10:12; K. 18:13; L. 238:19. Textual variant: aialun (Latin). Eusebius, followed by the Madaba Map, seems to be confused with Ailmōn (K. 28:1; cf. Joshua 21:18). This could be 'Almit, east of Tell el Ful or Kh Haiyan both near Rama (K. 144:14) and Gabaa (K. 70:10, 22). The location in reference to Bethel points to Kh el 'alja (cf. I Samuel 10:26, Judges 19:13) to the southeast. The Hebrew tradition by which Jerome corrects Eusebius is much more reasonable. It fits the biblical materials and is repeated by Jerome in Commentary on Ezekiel 42:22 and Ezekiel 42:22 and Epistle 108:3 (cf. Paula vi, PPT, I,51) This Alous was known by Eusebius (K. 30:27) as in the Nicopolis region. It must then be Jalo, east of 'Amwas on the road to Jerusalem. Ailōn in Interpretation of Hebrew Names is referred to the previous Aulonem (88) or, for Aialon "fields or valleys" (90).

49. Achōr. Joshua 7:24, 26; K. 18:17; L. 238:23. Note the error in the Greek where the name of Achan is turned into Achōr and the valley named after him (Hosea 2:15). Procopius and K. 84:18 have an entry under Emekachōr, i.e., "valley of Achōr." Procopius 1017 A writes, "Emekachōr is interpreted by Theodotion and Symmachos, valley of Achōr. Located north of Ierichō it is even now called this by those in the vicinity. Achōr means "perverted." Jerome's Epistle 108:13 and Paula VI, PPT 1, 12) writes "It would be quite lengthy if I would discuss the valley of Achor, i.e. commotion or uproar, where theft and greed were condemned." This is not a city, out of order, so suspect. It seems obvious that the name of the "place" was known in the fourth century, possibly near Gilgal (K. 84:21). The Wadi Nue 'ime fits Eusebius. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "commotion or uproar" (89), "commotion or uproar or perverted" (120).

50. Asēdōth. Joshua 10:40; K. 18:21; L. 238:27. Cf. K. 16:22 above. This is one of six entries where "another" or "a second" is used for occurrences of the same name, probably indicating editing of several sources. 51. Asōr. Joshua 11:1; K. 20:1; L. 238:29. Ancient Hazor has been well excavated and the location attested at Tell el Qedah, but Eusebius does not locate it. Procopius 1048D reports, "it alone Iēsous burned while besieging the other kings since it was the chief of the foreigners" (Joshua 11:10 also Joshua 90:9; cf. K. 30:22. The second Asōr (cf. Esōr K. 84:26) from Joshua 15:25 is near Askolon and

probably dependent upon it. It may be present day jasur east of Asbdod (K. 20:18). Interpretation of Hebrew Names has "arrow of light" (88 and 102) and "entrance hall" (109). 52. Aermōn. Joshua 11:3, 17; K. 20:6; L. 238:34. LXX also uses the term Baalermōn. Vatican manuscript has Ailerthmōn.

Again a mountain gives its name to a region which was the frontier of Og and of the tribes. It is part of the Anti-libanas (K. 18:8) range. Also called Sanir (K. 20:10) or Sanior, and Sirjon (see below K. 20:9, cf. Judges 3:3). The snows of Hermon were famous for delicacies of ice in the course of history. The inhabitants of Beirut still bring snow, even snowmen on radiators of cars, down from the mountains in the summer. Even now it is at times called jebel el told or "mount of snow," but mostly jebel esh sheikh. Tyrus (K. 162:15) is also called Sor. Interpretation of Hebrew Names "banned wall" (88). 53. Alak (Aalac). Joshua 11:17; K. 20:7; L. 238:35. Textual variant: Ahalac (Latin). It is not in the New Testament. This entry is textually corrupt. In the Vatican Manuscript a new hand is recognized and several words have been added. Perhaps an attempt is made to use LXX and add Symmachus.

As noted previously, mountains, three of which are here in successive entries together, are suspect as not fitting the original purpose and limitations of the Onomasticon to place names. Interpretation of Hebrew Names "my portion or slippery" (88). 54. Aermōn. Joshua 11:17; K. 20:9; L. 238:37. Textual variant: For Saniōr the Vatican Manuscript has Aniōr. This mountain (cf. K. 20:6 and K. 18:8) is given several names. The Phoenicians called it Sirjon. In Ugaritic it is ah-r-j-n and in Hittite Sarijana and perhaps indicates the Anti-libanos range. The Amorites called it Senir and the Assyrians Sani-an. In LXX we find both Sanir and Saneir. Eusebius records some of these traditions (Deuteronomy 3:9; Joshua 12:1). Paganism was not extinct in the fourth century. Ruins of a temple at Banyas have been found. The information Eusebius records of this pagan cult is dependent upon an anonymous source, quite possibly only hearsay. This seems to be the purport of phasin, "they say" or "it is reported" (cf. the Latin dicitur). Paneas became an autonomous city at the death of Agrippa II and was called briefly Caesarea Philippi.

55. Anōb. Joshua 11:21; K. 20:15; L. 238:44. Textual variants: Bētoannab (Greek) and Bethoannaba (Latin). Eusebius' reference here is to Bētoannaba which is as confusing as his reference to Anea (K. 26:8). Jerome attempts to correct Eusebius at Beit Nuba near Nikopolis but the Madaba Map follows

Eusebius and identifies Anob with Bêtoannaba to the East of Diospolis (K. 8:14). In the Roman post service, the horses were changed every four miles and the two authors have two locations. Eusebius probably identifies 'innaba as his Bêtoannaba. Four miles is distance to turn off from the main road. Jerome seems to intend Beit nûba for his Bêthannaba. Both sites have Roman-Byzantine ruins. The proper Old Testament site is Kh 'Anab. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "my submissiveness" (88). 56. Asdöd. Joshua 11:22; K. 20:18; L. 238:47. Cf. below K. 22:11. Note "oppidum" in Latin (cf. K. 10:25 and Appendix II). 57. Ader. Joshua 12:14; K. 20:21; L. 238:50.

Possibly confused with K. 62:5 and K. 68:11. The letter G is noted as missing in the by Hebrew by Jerome (K. 63:4, cf. also K. 43:22). Interpretation of Hebrew Names "flock" (88). 58. Aphek (Afec). Joshua 12:18; K. 22:1; L. 238:52. Textual variant: Aphak (Greek). Eusebius has several references to Aphek (K. 22:19, K. 30:16, K. 34:11, cf. K. 26:15). No location is indicated in this entry. The three items listed together seem to be copied from a list of cities conquered by Iêsous. Probably for eight different towns in the Old Testament. Interpretation of Hebrew Names "surrounded or border" (89) "new madness or bounded" (102), "he surrounds or reaches to" (114). 59. Aksaph (Acsaf). Joshua 12:20; K. 22:3; L. 239:54. Textual variants: Achaselôth and Exalous (Greek) and Asapb, Asapat and Ascaph (Latin). Aksaph is wrongly connected with Chasalous and its real biblical location is in debate: et Tell, Tell Far, Tell Harbaj, Tell Keisan, Kh el musheirefeh are all preferred by some scholars to the homonymy KhIkksa. However Kh Ikksa may be Eusebius' Chasalous. It has Byzantine remains. (But see K.28:23).

Thabôr is a city on the mountain which is used by Eusebius as a referent. Located at jebel at-Tor (cf. K. 98:23). In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "limping or made, i.e. poiësis (creation)" (89). 60. Akkarôn (Accaron). Joshua 13:3; K. 22:6; L. 239:57. Akkarôn is the Greek form of the name given to one of the five cities of the Philistines, Ekron (see next entry cf. K. 32:11, K. 62:22, K. 68:4). The Madaba Map puts Akkarôn near Iamnia (K. 106:20) on the road to Azôtus (K. 22:11). The map has the name repeated possibly for ancient and modern site with identical names in Greek. The Old Testament site seems to be at Kh Muqenna' a very large site with proper sherds. The name is reflected in 'Aqir which is a Byzantine to modern site and perhaps was the one which Eusebius had in mind. Jerome reports an obviously erroneous tradition which would locate it at Caesarea.

This is one of eleven towns reported to be inhabited by Jews in Eusebius' day (K. 26:9, K. 26:12, K. 86:18, K. 88:17, K. 98:26, K. 108:8, K. 78:6, K. 86:21, K. 92:21, K. 136:24 plus perhaps Nineveh (K. 136:2) cf. Appendix II. Interpretation of Hebrew Names "teaching of gloom or barrenness" (89) "flocks grazing or is pasture as the Greek has en poimniotrophiois (sheep feeders)" (123). 61. Azōtos (Azotus). Joshua 13:3; K. 22:11; L. 239:63. Textual variant: Askadōd (Greek). Note Latin transliteration Allefyulous (cp. K. 68:24 and Azotes is the Greek of I Maccabees 4:15 etc. for this Philistine city, cf. the more general entry in K. 20:18 (Joshua 15:47, Judges 1:18). The continued use of the name probably accounts for the lack of any location being given here. After all it is one of the famous cities of his time as also is Askalōn (K. 22:15) and Gaza (K. 62:26). In K. 20:19 Eusebius uses polichnē but in K. 22:11 polis. He uses polichnē for only four other cities of his time: Iamneia (K. 106:20), Sebastē (K. 154:22), Gaza (K. 130:8) and Gabe (K. 70:8).

The Madaba Map has the two cities, one coastal and one inland. Reflecting the Greek of Eusebius it may be suggesting that in the 4th to 6th centuries the inland Ashdod was less important. The Tabula Peutinger locates Asdōd ten miles from Iamnia (K. 106:20) and twelve miles from Askalōn. Procopius 1024B retains the double names Asdōd and Azōtos. Josephus also reported on the double Azōtos. Jerome in Commentary on Isaiah 20:1 writes "Azotus," which is called Esdod by the Hebrews, is the most powerful of the five cities of Palestine." It was made a municipality by Vespasian. The other Philistine cities are in K. 22:6, K. 22:15, K. 62:22 and K. 68:4. The ancient Philistine site at 'eshdud is being excavated. The Roman-Byzantine settlement is strong and prosperous on the old site. The ancient sea port was at Tell Mor, but the Roman-Byzantine port is at Minet el caāa and it was of increasing importance in Eusebius' time.

In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Azotii, i.e. Asdodi, fire of my uncle or burning"(89) "Azotus is called by the Hebrews Esdod and they have the same etymology, fire of the uncle" (143) "Ashdod destruction or violent movement or burning"(88). 62. Askalōn (Ascalon). Joshua 13:3; K. 22:15; L. 239:67. Askalōn is one of the "famous cities" in the Onomasticon and another of the five Philistine cities (see previous entry). According to Josephus Wars I,21, 11 Herod the Great rebuilt it. Jews were there from the first century on and a synagogue has been excavated from late Roman times. For a brief period a city Diocletianopolis was in the vicinity named after the Em-

peror. It may be the same town, but the Onomasticon makes no mention of it. A bishop from Askalōn was at the Council of Nicea. There is a large walled city on the Madaba Hap south of Azōtus (cf. Joshua 15:25, Judges 1:18)

As a city it is used as a referent by the Onomasticon. The Tabula Peutinger locates it 12 miles from Azōtus (K. 22:11) and 15 miles from Gaza (K. 62:22). Tell 'Ashalon is the site for all periods with the Roman and Byzantine city expanding off and around the mound. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "weight or disreputable fire" (89) "disreputable fire or ignoble fire" (143). 63. Apheka (Afeca). Joshua 13:4; K. 22:19; L. 239:71. A number of Apheks are in the Onomasticon (cf. K. 22:1). This Apheka is one of three contemporary villages called "great" in the text (cf. Thamna 96:25 and Magdiel 130:21) but others are episēmos "famous" or "notable," megistai (splendid) rather than megalē (large). The location "near" or "in the vicinity of" is very inexact in the terms of our text. Sometimes it is made more exact by a second location which gives mileage. Hippos is a city of the Decapolis and is near present day Susita (Aramaic for the Greek?). The remains are primarily Qalāt el Husn. A great Hellenistic-Roman and Byzantine site is there. Its region included dependent villages such as Apheka.

On the plateau east, the Sea of Galilee (K. 72:21) is the present day Fiq which suits the Onomasticon and is on the road between Damascus and Beisan. The change in its fortunes over a century may be indicated by the change to "large castle" in Jerome. Or it may merely be Jerome's Hebrew knowledge coming through since Hebrew aphek can be translated "fortress" (Appendix IX). Palestine may be East Jordan called Palastinē Secunda. 64. Algad (Agad). Joshua 13:5; K. 22:22; L. 239:74. Here as in many entries the Onomasticon merely quotes the Bible. Perhaps this should be Baalgad as in MT (cf. K. 48:1). The LXX transliteration is used. 65. Aimath (Aemoth). Joshua 13:5; K. 22:23; L. 239:75. Textual variants: Aitham (Greek) and for "other" Amatha (Latin). Possibly three or four towns are involved in these lines. In the Peraia and located in relation to Pella (cf. K. 14:19), this Ammathous was a chief city in Herodian Peraia. It is probably Tell 'Ammata near Tell el Qos. This site has many Roman-Byzantine sherds. The Talmud identifies this with Saphon (K. 156:1) which may have been at Tell el Qos. There was probably a Roman garrison at this first Ammathous according to Notitia Dignitatum (73:33).

Near Gadara (K. 74:10) in the Bethshan valley there is a Tell el Hamah which may reflect Emmatha and possibly the city of Roubin. Better for Euse-

bius is nearby scheri 'at-el mensdire where there are springs, baths and extensive Roman establishments. Note how each of these first two are localized in a different manner. Jerome's addition is the present Syrian town of Hamath on the Orontes (cf. K. 36:10). The fourth town in Syria was the Northeast limit of David's kingdom as noted here from II Kings 14:25f. Its identity with Epiphania is repeated in K. 90:7 and in Jeromes' Commentary on Isaiah 10:5. But in the Commentary on Amos 6:2 he apparently sees that as the "little Emath" while the "great Emath is now called Antiochia." Possibly this Hamath also is in K. 88:30 below. 66. Ammon. Josua 13:10, 25; K. 24:1; L. 239:81. Cf. 16:15 above. 67. Adira. Joshua 15:3; K. 24:3; L. 239:83.

The broken section of the Madaba Map may include Addara near Diospolis (K. 8:14). The location of the biblical site is unknown as is the location of the "other" site. The best suggestion is Kh ed Deir for the region of Diospolis (cp. K. 80:11). Thamna (K. 96:24) on the southern border of Joudas is in the region also of Diospolis. It gives its name to the Thamnitikē southwest of Nablus. If Jerome is consistent, there is indication of a change in fortune for the worse in the century. 68. Akarka. Joshua 15:3; K. 24:6; L. 239:86. Textual variants: Akkarka and Akarkas (Greek). The text is unclear. It may be a confusion for Ekron, Akkarōn (K. 22:6). Or with the LXX it may be the Hebrew article transliterated. Near the steppe or desert could fit Karkaia (K. 116:18) a day beyond Petra, but that is inconsistent with the tribe of Jouda annotation. No identification is possible.

69. Achōr. Joshua 15:7; K. 24:8; L. 239:88. The last part of this entry is missing in the Vatican Manuscript. A Simple tribal listing. See K. 18:17 and K. 84:18. 70. Adommim. Joshua 15:7; K. 24:9; L. 239:89. Textual variants: Adonim and Addommim (Latin). There is a strong possibility that the Greek text is incomplete and that Jerome is not adding information to Eusebius. The first word is missing in the Vatican Manuscript. This is "deserted" or in ruins at the editor's time. It is also called "a place" but not a "deserted place" literally. This is the only use, however, of "deserted village" in the Onomasticon. Jerome in Epistle 108:12 (Paula PPT I,11) writes, "she passed by, (i.e. on the road from Jerusalem to Jerico), reflecting on the kindness of the Samaritan, that is of the shepherd who put the half dead man upon his own beast and brought him to the fold of the church and the place Adomim which is translated 'of blood' because much blood was shed there in the frequent in-roads of robbers" (Luke 10:30ff.).

Maledommei means "ascent of blood" and in Arabic Qal'at ed damm means almost the same thing, "fort of blood", while Tal'at ed damm would be identical in meaning. This spot is located just about half way to Jericho. The tradition of robbers, of the Good Samaritan is reinforced by the reddish limestone in the area. Popularly the Chan el Ahmar is pointed out, but the spot is really off the road farther, perhaps at Qal'at ed damm. The garrison in the area between Jerusalem and Jericho is reported elsewhere in *Notitia Dignitatum* (74:47-48). Baldi suggests that Jerome reflects the present scattered tradition. The ascent of blood seems to refer to the geographic position; the fort of blood to the Roman fort, and the supposed sites of the parable Chan el Hatrūn and of the Inn Chan el Ahmar. 71. Amam. Joshua 15:26; K. 24:12; L. 240:92. Textual variant: Amem (Greek).

A simple listing of the tribal allotment occurs frequently, especially in the Joshua entries. Jouda more frequently localized than other tribes suggesting the early source of Onomasticon was developed in Jewish times in Jerusalem. 72. Aser. Joshua 15:27; K. 24:12; L. 240:93. In Mt.Hezron and Hazor are equated and located on southern border of Judah (cp. K. 20:3 above). In Eusebius' time it was a large village but location is uncertain. 73. Asarsoual (Asarsual). Joshua 15:28; K. 24:14; L. 240:95. Simple tribal listing. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "home of foxes" (90). 74. Ain. Joshua 15:32; K. 24:15; L. 240:96. Textual variants: Baithanin, Bēithanin, Bēthcnim (K. 94:20 Greek) and cf. ēnaim also. Located with two mileage markers from the ter-ebinth (K. 76:1) and Chebron (K. 170:25) two well-used referents (cf. Josh 21:16). This Bēethanin is probably the same as Beit 'ainun, north of Hebron. This is probably the real location of either Bethalōth (K. 50:17) or Bēthenim (K. 94:20). In the MT it is quite probable that Ain was only a prefix to Rimmon (K. 144:11)

Interpretation of Hebrew Names "eye or well" (89); "well" (79); "well or eye" (118); but "interrogation" (88). 75. Asthaōl. Joshua 15:33; K. 24:18; L. 240:99. Asthō is not a proper identification for Asthaōl. At Asthō there may have been a Roman garrison (*Notitia Dignitatum* 73:35-36) but its remains are undefinable. A border town in the Onomasticon but not clearly located. 76. Asna. Joshua 15:35; K. 24:20; L. 240:1. Simple tribal listing (cf. K. 26:4). 77. Adolam (Adollam). Joshua 15:35; K. 24:21; L. 240:2. The size of this village seems in debate between Eusebius and Jerome or it changed in the century. It is dependent upon Eleutheropolis (K. 18:12) but is not on a major Ro-

man road. In the MT it is in the Shephelah and probably located at Tell esh sheikh Madkur (cf. K. 84:22 and K. 140:20). The Vulgate has variants Adullam. Odullam and Odollam (cf. K. 84:22 where such a village is twelve miles east of Eleutheropolis) and K. 172:7 near Chasbi also in the region of Eleutheropolis) at Kh id el Minya south of Chasbi.

In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Adollamin, their society" (89) and Adollam also (106). 78. Adiathaim (Adithaim). Joshua 15:36; K. 24:23; L. 240:4. Textual variants: Adatha and Adiathaeim (Greek). In the Madaba Map we find Adlathim which now is Aditha, east of Diospolis. Adia does not appear as the name of the village near Gaza in the Greek texts. The Latin texts vary as to Adia a village or little village and Aditha around or near Diospolis. On the Tabula Peutinger there is an Addianim which may or may not be related to this entry. Apparently Aditha is added here by confusion of sounds. This town in Eusebius and on the Madaba Map is northeast of Lydd at el Haditha (cf. I Maccabees 12:38 and Ezra 2:33). The original Adiathaim is located at another el Haditeh, north of Yalu (Ajalōn). This may be stretched as a location "near Gaza" but probably, the first village Adia is unknown.

79. Adasa. Joshua 15:37; K. 26:1; L. 240:6. Textual variants: Goupna, Gophna, Taphnōn, Gophnōn (Greek cf. K. 168:16, K. 74:2) and Gofnesem (Latin). The biblical reference is to a town in the Shephelah which is not clearly identified, but Kh el judeideh has been suggested. Eusebius has been confused and Jerome says so in clear fashion (cf. Josh 16:5 and Onomasticon K. 29:7). Probably the village Eusebius would locate for us is Kh 'Adaseh near Beth Horon referred to in I Maccabees 7:40. Gouphōn comes into the picture because of Josephus Wars I, I, 5-6 which connects Nicanor's retreat and fall with Gophonitikē. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Adasa, new" (89). 80. Ather. Joshua 15:42; K. 26:3; L. 240:8. Textual variants: Atherei, Ether and Acherei (Greek). Simple tribal listing. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Athar, depreciating" (89). 81. Asan. Joshua 15:42; K. 26:4; L. 240:9. Textual variant: Theuasa (Greek). Latin omits "to the west."

Bethasan is a dependent village of Jerusalem. In MT it should be found in the Shephelah. This may be Adasa of I Maccabees 7:40. It is probably beit shenna near 'amwas. The Old Testament site is Kh 'Asan northwest of Beer-sheba. Perhaps Eusebius is locating here the Ashna of Joshua 15:23 which is only listed in the Onomasticon at K. 24:20. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Asam, smoke" (90) or "smoking" (102). 82. Asema. Joshua 15:43; K.

26:6; L. 240:11. A simple tribal listing. Possibly related to Iedna K. 106:15. 83. Achzeib (Agzif). Joshua 15:44; K. 26:7; L. 240:13. Textual variant: Azeib (Greek). A simple tribal listing. 84. Anab. Joshua 15:50; K. 26:8; L. 240:14. This entry is probably identical to K. 20:15. The Anab located by Eusebius in the territory of Eleutheropolis is appropriate. The reference to Annia is confusing (cf. Bethanatha K. 52:24). This is another of the villages inhabited by Jews, most of which are in southern Judah (K. 22:9). A neighboring town is all Christian (K. 26:14). This twin city has been identified with Kh Juweim el Jarbiya southwest of Hebron. The higher one to the east is Christian and the lower Jewish. Nine miles marks off from main road.

The Daroma is a region south of Judah and southwest of Edom. Daroma is one of the many Hebrew words for "South" [(cf. Negeb (K. 136:14) and The-man (K. 137:15)]. At least 15 towns are in the Daroma according to the Onomasticon (K. 26:12, 60:8, 68:19, 70:11, 78:21, 86:9, 86:21, 88:4, 88:18, 92:15, 98:27, 108:3, 108:10, 110:18, 120:22, 146:25, 156:12, 172:21). 85. Asthemō (Asthemof). Joshua 15:50; K. 26:11; L. 240:17. Textual variants: Ansoema, cp. Esthemo (K. 86:20), Esthama (K. 90:2) and Ansim for the contemporary site (Greek), Anem (Latin). Only Jerome notes this to be a Jewish village and probably it is es semu'a where remains of a synagogue have been found. It is near Anaia (K. 26:9) another Jewish village (cf. Note on K. 22:9). The Greek K. 86:20 notes it is a large Jewish village in the Daroma (Appendix II). In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Esthamoe, woman of the womb" (93) and "Esthamma, passion" (93).

86. Aneim (Anim). Joshua 15:50; K. 26:13; L. 240:19. This entry is related to K. 26:8 above. This is the twin of the Jewish village which probably continued on the Old Testament site. This Christian village is new and upper Kh Juwein el Foqa also called Juwien esh-Shargiya. There are only three wholly Christian villages in the Onomasticon over against almost a dozen wholly Jewish ones listed (cf. K. 112:16 Kariatha). Very close in the west is Ietheira (K. 108:3). In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Anem, circles or crowns or singing" (89). 87. Aphaka (Afeca). Joshua 15:53; K. 26:15; L. 240:22. A simple tribal listing, but one of the many related to Aphek in both the Old Testament and the Onomasticon (cf. K. 22:19). 88. Amata (Ammata). Joshua 15:54; K. 26:16; L. 240:23. Textual variants: Ammata (Greek), Ammeta (Latin) and Athmatha (Vulgate). A simple tribal listing. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Ammeta, light" (89).

89. Arebba. Joshua 15:60; K. 26:17; L. 240:24. Textual variant: Aremba for MT rabbah (Greek). A simple tribal listing. 90. Archiatarōth (Ataroth). Joshua 16:2; K. 26:18; L. 241:25. Textual variant: Ramam (Latin). The Greek calls this a biblical city, which the Latin text omits. The Latin gives a vague location while the Greek has none. The Greek combines this entry with the next as is done by the LXX. 91. Atarōth. Joshua 16:5; K. 26:19; L. 241:26. The Old Testament site is not clearly located by scholars. Some see the name as persisting near Bir Zeit in Kh 'Attarah. In Eusebius' time there were two Atarōths dependent on Jerusalem (K. 26:26, K. 112:6). The Onomasticon errs in locating it four miles north of Sebastē (K. 154:21) at 'attara. But the 4 miles marks the turn off from main road to the contemporary village there. This is one of the few places in the Greek text where the word miliōn is used for "mile." The usual word is "semeiōn" for "sign" indicating milestone or marker. In Latin the most frequent term for milestone is lapidus but occasionally miliaris is used. More infrequently milus and millus for 1000 paces or mile "between" or "from" a site. In K. 27:24 lapidus has a textual variant miliaris.

Sebastē is the Roman city of Samaria (K. 162:13, K. 154:21) and is used as a referent the Bible and Onomasticon. Dothaeim is also north of Sebastē (K. 76:13). 92. Adar. Joshua 16:5; K. 26:21; L. 241:28. A simple tribal listing. 93. Asēr. Joshua 17:10; K. 26:22; L. 241:29. See also Aser above (K. 24:13) in Judah. Many of the pilgrims located the home of Job fifteen miles from Nablus on the main road from the Jordan Valley (cf. PPT I, 18, 67) and it probably is the present tajasir. In the Onomasticon the home of Job is far away (K. 112:6, K. 142:3). 94. Atarōth. Joshua 18:13; K. 26:25; L. 241:32. The two villages are probably both called now Kh'attara, one near Bir Zeit (above K. 26:19) and the other east of Hizma dependent upon Jerusalem (K. 112:6). These may only be retaining the name and the Old Testament sites are to be located elsewhere.

95. Anathōth. Joshua 21:18; K. 26:27; L. 241:34. Jerome in Commentary on Jeremiah 11:21 agrees with the three miles given here. The Roman-Byzantine site for the home of Jeremiah was the present village of 'Anata. Josephus has it 20 stadia from Jerusalem (Antiquities X, 7, 3). There are more ancient remains but not as many at nearby Ras el Harrubeh which may be the Old Testament site. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Anathoth, obeying or responding to signs" (90) and "response or responding to signs or obedience" (125). 96. Adar (Addar). Joshua 18:13; K. 26:30; L. 241:37. A simple

tribal listing. This may be an addition if the previous entry is correct. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Adar, splendid or coverlet" (89). 97. Ailmōn (Aelomon). Joshua 21:18; K. 28:1; L. 241:38. Textual variant Ailōn (Greek). Cf. also K. 18:13. This is out of the biblical order. 98. Amekkasis (Amez-casis). Joshua 18:21; K. 28:2; L. 241:39.

Textual variant Amekasis (Greek). The Latin has proper MT translation of Amek or emek "valley" but the location is unknown. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Emeccasis, valley of breaking up" (93). 99. Aueim (Avim). Joshua 18:23; K. 28:3; L. n/a; Lacuna in Greek text. Not in Vatican Manuscript. A simple tribal listing. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Eneam, behold you or behold they are" (93). 100. Aphra. Joshua 18:23; K. 28:4; L. 241:40. Textual variant Effrem (Latin). The village Aiphraim fits this location. A textual variant has six for five miles. Madaba Map with "Ephron or Ephraia" may reflect Jerome's spelling. Seems that Eusebius has the correct location at et tayibe (cf. K. 86:1). For Ophra, Ephron, Ephraim and Aphra. Madaba map notes the New Testament event as in K. 90:18. A strong Maccabean city (I Maccabees 5:46). It was occupied by Vespasian (Antiquities IV, 9, 9). 101. Ammōenia (Ammoeniam). Joshua 18:24; K. 28:6; L. 241:42.

A simple tribal listing. Vulgate has Emona for MT Ammonah. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Ammona, his people" (90). 102. Aphnei (Afni). Joshua 18:24; K. 28:7; L. 241:43. Simple tribal listing, probably the same as the Gophna (jifna) of the pilgrims. Cf. K. 168:16. 103. Alph. Joshua 18:28; K. 28:8; L. n/a; Lacuna in Greek text. Simple tribal listing. Missing in the Latin text. 104. Arēm (Arim). Joshua 18:28; K. 28:9; L. 241:45. This is a Greek transliteration for "villages" in the MT. The Bēthariph near Diospolis (K. 8:14) may be dair tarif near Lydda and off the main road. The Greek has been emended here from the Latin text. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Eram, sublime life" (94). 105. Amsa. Joshua 18:26; K. 28:11; L. 241:47. Textual variant Ampsa (Latin). Simple tribal listing. Possibly out of order and suspect. 106. Asar. Joshua 19:3; K. 28:12; L. 241:48. Simple tribal listing.

107. Asan. Joshua 19:3; K. 28:13; L. 241:49. Textual variant Aaon (Latin). A simple tribal listing. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Asan, smoke" (90). 108. Amarchabob. Joshua 19:5; K. 28:14; L. 241:50. Textual variant Amarchabōn (Greek). A simple tribal listing. 109. Ain. Joshua 19:7; K. 28:15; L. 241:51. A simple tribal listing with editorial addition from the list of priestly cities. Thus a tribe could be given to two tribes as on the border.

Loyalty may have shifted (cp. K. 50:1, 88:11, 98:22, 130:6, 144:11, etc.). 110. Asenna. Joshua 19:7; K. 28:16; L. 241:52. A simple tribal listing. 111. Ammathar. Joshua 19:13; K. 28:17; L. 241:53. Textual variant Amatha (Greek). Simple tribal listing. 112. Anoua (Anua). Joshua 19:13; K. 28:18; L. 241:54. Textual variants: Anoua apioutōn, Anouabōr kai and Anoua boreēthen. Josephus has Anouathon Borkaios (Wars III 3, 5). Vatican manuscript also has Anouan for Ailian an obvious scribal error. There is a variation of 5 miles between the Greek and Latin Text.

Location is unknown for the Roman-Byzantine site. 113. Anathōn. Joshua 19:14; K. 28:21; L. 241:57. Textual variants: Anathōth (Greek) and Anathon (Latin). Simple tribal listing. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Ennathon, giving favor" (93). 114. Acheselōth (Achaseloth). Joshua 19:18; K. 28:22; L. 241:58. Textual variants: Achaseluth and (for contemporary site) Chaslus (Latin). Cf. K. 22:4 for similar location of Chaslous probably at iksal southeast of Nazareth (K. 138:24) which preserves part of the ancient name. Probably to be equated with Chaselath Thabor (K. 174:11). 115. Aiphraim (Aefraim). Joshua 19:19; K. 28:25; L. 241:61. Textual variant Afraim (Latin). The biblical site is unknown since et taiyebah suggested by some is really Ophra (cf. K. 28:4 above). The Byzantine Aphraia is probably Kh Fareir northwest of Legeōn (K. 14:21) and properly measured in distance to turn off from main road. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Efraim, growing or fruitful" (81, cf. 65) "fertile or growth which we are not able to call Augenti-um, from growing." (142).

116. Anerth (Anereth). Joshua 19:19; K. 28:27; L. 242:64. A simple tribal listing. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Enarath, behold he takes hold" (93). 117. Aims (Aemes). Joshua 19:20; K. 28:28; L. 242:65. Textual variant Aim (Greek). Simple tribal listing. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Ames, powerful" (90). 118. Achsaph (Achsaf). Joshua 19:25; K. 30:1; L. 242:66. Textual variant Achiam (Greek). Simple tribal listing (cf. K. 22:3). In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Acsa, limping or dead" (89). 119. Alimelech. Joshua 19:26; K. 30:2; L. 242:67. Simple tribal listing (cf. K. 22:3). In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Ekunekech, my god is king" (102). 120. Amod (Amath). Joshua 19:26; K. 30:3; L. 242:68. Textual variant in LXX Amad. Simple tribal listing. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Amath, these people" (90). 121. Abdōn. Joshua 19:28; K. 30:4; L. 242:69. Textual variants: Ardōn (Greek) and Dabbōn (LXX B). Simple tribal listing. The Latin has ad-

ded from the list of Levitical cities and the Greek could be emended so, but such listings are a later editing.

In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Abdo, his slave" (90) "Abdon, slave of the wall" (99). 122. Aneiël (Aniel). Joshua 19:27; K. 30:5; L. 242:70. Textual variants: Aneir and Aniel (Greek). The Byzantine Baitoannaia (cf. K. 52:24) is 'Anin, off the road to Legeōn, east of Caesarea the mileage is mark for leaving main highway. It has nothing to do with the identity of the Old Testament site. In K. 70:8 a Gabe is 16 miles east of Caesarea but this is no problem since a quadrant is involved, not the same road. It is peculiar that an anonymous report on the healing qualities is recorded by an author from nearby Caesarea. Did Eusebius doubt the volcanic baths' power? Or is this indication of an editor? (Cp. K. 52:24.) In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Enihel, god is my grace" (81). 123. Achran. Joshua 19:28; K. 30:8; L. 242:73. Simple tribal listing.

In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Achran, he disturbed them" (78). 124. Ammōn. Joshua 19:28; K. 30:9; L. 242:74. Textual variant Amon (Latin). Simple tribal listing. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Amnnon, people of the wall" (90). 125. Akchō (Accho). Joshua 19:30; K. 30:10; L. 242:75. Textual variant Akko (Greek). Procopius 1048A has "Agcho, it is now said to be Ptolemais." The identity is repeated by Jerome's Epistle 108:f. (cf. Paula PPT I, 4) Tabula Peutinger has Ptolemais 32 miles from Tyre end 20 from Dor. There was a bishop from here at the Council of Nicea. The ancient city is east of the modern town of Acre. A whole complex of Roman roads led there. It is often used as a referent in the Onomasticon. It was a territory as described in Josephus Wars II, 10, 2. The reference to Israel's incomplete conquest is from Judges 1:31 (cf. below K. 30:12, 16).

In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Accho, up to this or hook or his submissiveness" (98). 126. Achzeiph (Achzif). Joshua 19:29; K. 30:12; L. 242:77. The first portion of this entry is not in the Vatican manuscript but has been emended on the basis of the Latin. The mileage is also missing in Vatican. Vulgate variant has Achazib. All agree with Eusebius that Ekdippa was the same as Achzib (Josephus Wars I, 13, 4 (Itin. Bourd 19, 5). Many Roman-Byzantine-Arab artifacts found here. The distance is exact for ez zib which still reflects the same name. Some itineraries have 8 miles for Eusebius' 9. This reflects difference in counting: from center of city or first milestone from edge, etc. Israel's failure noted in Judges 1:31(cf. K. 30:10). 127. Amma. Joshua

19:30; K. 30:15; L. 242:79. Simple tribal listing. In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Amma, his people"* (90). 128. Aphek (Afec). Joshua 19:30; K. 30:16; L. 242:80.

Another of the many Apheks. Israel's failure in Judges 1:31 (cf. K. 30:10, 12). 129. Ademmei (Ademme). Joshua 19:33; K. 30:18; L. 242:82. Textual variants Armai (LXX) and Aderni (Syr.). Confusing Hebrew dalet and resh. Simple tribal listing. 130. Asedeim (Aseddim). Joshua 19:35; K. 30:19; L. 242:83. This is a name based on a LXX variant which has incorporated the Hebrew article into the transliteration. LXX also confused the Hebrew dalet and resh. The Vulgate Assedim appears. Onomasticon correct with d from Hebrew. Simple tribal listing. 131. Amath. Joshua 19:35; K. 30:20; L. 242:84. Textual variants: Amathi (Greek) and Ematha (Latin). Simple tribal listing. In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Amath, this people"* (90). 132. Adami. Joshua 19:36; K. 30:21; L. 242:85. Simple tribal listing. 133. Asōr. Joshua 19:36; K. 30:22; L. 242:86. Simple tribal listing plus II Kings 15:29. Cp. K. 20:1 above. Possibly these five Nephtheim entries are from a late list added or else the following entry is an addition out of order.

134. Azanōth. Joshua 19:34; K. 30:24; L. 242:88. Textual variant Azananōth (Greek). Another of the villages dependent on Diokaesareia but Eusebius is not sure about the location. 135. Ailōn. Joshua 19:43; K. 30:26; L. 242:90. Textual variants: Ahialon and Ahilon (Latin). Eusebius seems to be confused here. Perhaps this is the Aialon of Jerome 19:16. Nikopolis is in the Valley of Aialon. In 220/1 A.D. Emaus was given the name Nikopolis (cf. K. 90:1.5). It was a famous city and a regional free city including both Aislon and Gezer (K. 66:21) in its territory. There was a bishop at the Council of Nicea from this chief city of the district. Jerome's Epistle 108 reports a church here. It is present day 'Amwas. Alous is the located at Yalu. JUDGES 136. Arad. Judges 1:16; K. 32:2; L. 242:94. Textual variant Arab (Greek). See above K. 14:1f. 137. Ared. Joshua Judges 7:1; K. 32:4; L. 242:96.

Rivers, wells, mountains are all suspect entries in the Onomasticon. This is also out of order in the biblical sequence of things and suspect for that second reason also (cf. K. 36:4, 54:21, 72:22, 116:23, 116:25, 118:11). 138. Arisōth. Judges 4:2; K. 32:5; L. 242:97. Textual variant Asiroth (Latin). Eusebius identifies erroneously this with Iabeia Galaad (cf. K. 110:11f). Iabis is located six miles from Pella (K. 14:19) in both entries and this points to vicinity of Tell el Maqlub, which is the Old Testament site. Byzantine site is Kh Isna ex-

actly six miles from Pella. By Procopius' time (1049A) it was a village, no longer a great city. But Procopius has confused the distance - 20 miles from Pella and 60 from Gerasa. (The Greek of Procopius has been corrected from the Onomasticon to read six, but only in Latin is the text complete for Procopius on this item.). Perhaps a corrected distance would be six from Pella and 20 from Gerasa. Harosheth of Old Testament is not located by the Onomasticon.

139. Ares. Judges 8:13; K. 32:8; L. n/a; Lacuna in Greek Text. Text missing in Greek Vatican manuscript. There seems to be a confusion of the Greek and Hebrew biblical texts. 140. Aroueir (Aruir). Judges 11:33; K. 32:9; L. 243:00. Textual variant Arouei (Greek). The scene seems to be in Transjordan but the homecoming has confused Eusebius (cf. K. 12:5). The Greek, if not an error, points to the vicinity of er Ram, possibly Kh arajanj. If Jerome is followed, as many prefer to do in order to arrive closer to Mizpeh (K. 130:1), it must be located at Kh 'arūra. The 20 is in conjunction of main road north from Jerusalem. A branch goes west to Kh 'arūra. 141. Arima. Judges 9:41; K. 32:11; L. 243:2. A simple report of Scripture (cf. K. 144:27) 142. Aialon (Aialin). Judges 12:12; K. 32:12; L. 243:3. The judge of Israel (Judges 12:11) has a name which sounds almost the same as that of the clan. Probably Ailon or Elon would be proper for both. Biblical information only.

143. Abel of the vineyards. Judges 11:33; K. 32:14; L. 243:5. Textual variants: Abel (Greek) and Abila (Latin). The biblical site is located by Eusebius in the region of Philadelphia (K. 16:15) and seems to be in the vicinity of Na 'ur, perhaps even Na 'ur or Qom Yajus or else closer to Heshbon at Kh es Suq. The Greek text makes this very vague (cp. K. 10:28). Abela near Gadara (cf. K. 74:10) is the large town of the Decapolis (K. 80:16) which is to be located at Tell Abil. A few scholars would locate it at nearby Muges. Abela of the Phoenicians is not identified as to size by Eusebius. Possibly following the Tabula Peutinger which has it 18 miles from Damascus (K. 76:4) it is possibly located at suk wadi barada on the way to Paneas (K. 16:4). In Eusebius' day Phoenicia was a distinct 'Roman province not to be confused with Palestine or Syria. This was true from about 194-381 A.D. According to Eusebius it includes Damascus, Abela, Byblos and Sidon with Tyro as its chief city.

KINGS 144. Armthem Seipha (Sofim). I Samuel 1:1; K. 32:21; L. 243:12. The New Testament identification (Matthew 21:51) here may be the first real work of the Christian author (whether Eusebius or not) who compiled and

collected several Jewish and biblical lists (cp. K. 144:29). For Diospolis see K. 8:14 and Thamnitikē see K. 24:4. In 200 Diospolis took over the region earlier called Thamna. The Madaba Map has both names and follows Eusebius in identifying the two Old Testament and New Testament places but does not clearly follow Eusebius in the location. "Armathem or Arimathea" seems to be due north of Jerusalem near Nebi Samwil and Ramalla while Eusebius and other Christian traditions locate Arimathea at Rentis, northeast of Diospolis. Both the map and Eusebius seem to separate these two names from Ramah (I Samuel 1:19 cf. K. 144:14). The Armathem in Greek reflects the transcription of the Hebrew article. Jerome writes in Epistle 108:8 (Paula PPT I, p. 4) "not far from it (Diospolis) is Arimathiam the little village of Joseph who buried the Lord" (cf. Luke 23:5). The Old Testament Rama of Samuel is uncertain.

In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Armataim, their height" (102). 145. Abenezzer. I Samuel 4:1; K. 32:24; L. 243:15. This is a "place" and possibly textually suspect as well. Etymology (K. 56:6) plus a biblical reference and a vague location. Since the Survey of Western Palestine it has been suggested that Eusebius had in mind Deir Aban near Eleutheropolis (K. 18:12) but all agree that is not the Old Testament site. Bethsamys or Bēthsames (K. 54:11) is probably 'ain Shema near beit jibrin. 146. Aphesdomeim (Afesdomim). I Samuel 17:1; K. 34:1; L. 243:18. Textual variant Afesdommim (Latin). Biblical and Hexaplaric information only. 147. Anegb (Annegeb). I Samuel 20:41; K. 34:3; L. 243:20. Textual variant Aneka (Greek). The Greek text has again transliterated the Hebrew article. Two synonyms for the southern quadrant are used in the Greek and two in the Latin. Only Hexaplaric information (cp. K. 136:14, 137:16f.). 148. Arith. I Samuel 22:5; K. 34:4; L. 243:21.

The LXX is followed by our Greek text and makes this a city while in the New Testament we find "forest." It is a region west of Jerusalem. Eusebius' Arath which is not the forest may be perpetuated in Kh Hareish. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Arith, delay" (102). 149. Aialim. I Samuel 24:3; K. 34:6; L. 243:23. Textual variants: Aalim, Abialeim (Greek), Achia, Ala, Ahialim (Latin). The Onomasticon makes a proper name out of the MT phrase. Theodotion is more literal. Only Hexaplaric information. 150. Aendōr. I Samuel 29:1; K. 34:8; L. 243:25. Textual variant Iesrael (Greek). The LXX has this place name where the MT only has "fountain in Israel." It is in the vicinity of Mt. Tabor (K. 22:4, 98:23). The name is perpetuated at

'Andūr. Perhaps the same as Eddēr (K. 94:22) of Saul which is located near Nain and so also near Thabōr. 'Andūr has no ancient ruins and is not a tell. It has been suggested that nearby Kh es safsafeh is the place and it does have evidence of lengthy occupation.

In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Aendor, eye or well of the generation" (102) and "Endor well of the generation" (93). 151. Aphek (Afec). I Samuel 29:1; K. 34:11; L. 243:28. Textual variant Apher (Greek). One of the many confused Apheks in Scripture and the Onomasticon. By inference this is said to be near the above Aendōr. Eusebius gives no location data which is not directly from the Bible. 152. Arma. I Samuel 30:26, 30; K. 34:13; L. 243:30. In Samuel there are a number of towns which are listed in the Onomasticon with no other information than the biblical reference to David's spoils (I Samuel 30:26f.). This may possibly be identical with K. 88:1 below. 153. Athach. I Samuel 30:26, 30; K. 34:14; L. n/a; Lacuna in Greek Text. Textual variant Athlac (Latin). This entry is missing in the Vatican manuscript. Only information is on the spoils as in the above Arma. LXX also has Athach for Ether (K. 88:3) in Joshua 15:42.

154. Amma. II Samuel 2:24; K. 34:15; L. 243:31. One of the entries where only the Scripture is quoted for location and identity. 155. Aeththam Adassai (Aethon Adasai). II Samuel 24:6; K. 34:16; L. 243:32. Textual variant Arnmeiththa (Greek). Perhaps the same as Thaad in K. 100:19. Only Hexaplaric information. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Ammeta, light" (89) and "Adasa, new" (89). 156. Alōn Area Orna. II Samuel 24:16; K. 34:17; L. 243:33. Textual variant 'orion (Greek). This is not a place in the MT but refers to a person who is a Jebusite and is connected with Jerusalem. The identification of Eusebius is in the biblical passage Joshua 18:28 (cf. K. 106:7 below). 'Alōn and Area both are proper translations of MT "threshing floor." 157. Assour. I Kings 9:15; K. 34:18; L. 243:34. This item is out of order and may be an editorial addition. The Roman Ioudaia is indicated here rather than the Old Testament Jouda. If this is one of the cities Solomon built it is a textual variant for Hazōr (K. 20:1). This same annotation occurs in K. 90:9, 132:2 and 134:1, 3.

In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Assur, directing or beauty or stepping or accusing" (60) and "Assur beauty or step" (78). 158. Abelmaelai (Abelmaula). I Kings 4:12; K. 34:20; L. 243:35. Textual variant Bethaula (Latin). Eusebius is not sure of the location of this village. He knows only two possib-

ilities with similar sounds. Josephus' *Antiquities* VIII 13, 7 notes, "Elisha of the city of Abela" (cf. I Kings 19:16). This could be Beeleōn (K. 44:21) which is also the large village from which Elissaios came (K. 46:2) but that is nine miles from Ebus which would put it in the southeastern section of the Aulōn (K. 14:22). Bethmaela is 10 miles from Skythopolis (K. 16:2) but only Jerome has "south." Such a milestone has been reported at Tell Abu Sus. Other scholars would locate Eusebius' site near 'Ain el helweh or Tell Abu Sifri but the latter has no Roman-Byzantine remains. The former has Roman-Byzantine remains but no clear evidence. Tell Abu Sus is Old Testament site, Kh es Sakut nearby is Byzantine.

Abelmea is perhaps in the other direction on the way west and up to Neapolis (K. 4:28) but only seen from the road. There are remains of a Roman bath, etc. near the source of the Wadi el Malih so perhaps 'ain malih is correct for this Eusebius site, but not for the Old Testament location. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Abimahel, my father from God" (61). 159. Auothiaieir (Avothiair). I Kings 4:13; K. 34:24; L. 244:39. Textual variant Auōthēnaēr (Greek). Simple biblical summary. 160. Ailath. I Kings 9:26; K. 34:25; L. 244:40. Textual variant. Latin omits Ailas. The first part of the entry quotes the biblical text. Ailas probably refers to Ailam (K. 6:17 cp. K. 36:1 and K. 62:13). 161. Ailōth (Aeloth). II Kings 14:22; K. 34:27; L. 244:42. Textual variant Ailōn (Greek) Aloth (Latin). This is out of order and seems to be an editorial addition to the previous entry and the one in K. 36:1. It gives an additional item of biblical information.

162. Ainda (Aenda). I Kings 15:20; K. 34:28; L. 244:43. Textual variant Ain of Dan (Greek). The MT has only Dan. This biblical information is repeated in K. 148:15 also with the Greek of the LXX text which varies from the MT. 163. Asiōn Babai (Asiongaber). I Kings 22:49; K. 36:1; L. 244:44. Additional biblical information is given for the site on the Gulf of Aqabah. Eusebius seems to try to distinguish two sites nearby: Aisia (K. 62:15) and Alla (K. 6:17, 34:25, 62:16). The Bible does not distinguish too clearly between Ezion Geber and Elath (cf. II Chronicles 20:36). A bishop from Ailath at Nicea. Tell el Kheleifeh is usually identified with Old Testament Ezion Geber after Glueck, but it has no ruins later than the Israelite captivity. Possible location may be Jirzere Farra'un. Aila-Aqabah-Elath has Nabatean, Roman, Byzantine, and Arab occupation. Another small settlement Aisia between

the coast and the Old Testament site seems to be indicated in Eusebius. Modern Israeli Eilat is a new town.

In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Esopmgaber, a wish or council of sorrow" (111). 164. Alae (Alle), Abor, Gozan. II Kings 17:6; K. 36:4; L. 244:47. Textual variant Abar (Latin). This is outside the geographical limits of the Holy Land. It is out of the proper biblical order. All rivers are suspect as additions to the text. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Abur, livid spot or wound" (114) and "Gozan their tone or their courage" (111). The next four entries are all late editorial additions to the text. 165. Abena (Abana). II Kings 5:12; K. 36:6; L. 244:49. Suspect on the same grounds as above - a river. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Abana, his stones" (114). 166. Aophsith (Aof-sithe). II Kings 15:5; K. 36:7; L. 244:50. LXX variants of Aphphōsoth and Aophasōth, Hexaplaric elements. 167. Aian. II Kings 15:29; K. 36:8; L. 244:51. Vulgate has Ahion. Simple biblical report. 168. Aia. II Kings 17:24; K. 36:9; L. 244:52.

Vulgate has Ava. This and the next entry are probably beyond the geographical limits of the Holy Land in Syria (cf. K. 36:10 below and K. 174:17). In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Aia, vulture" (105). 169. Ainath (Ameth). II Kings 17:24; K. 36:10; L. n/a; Lacuna in Greek Text. Textual variant Amech (Latin). Probably same as Aemath of K. 23:30. Part of these two successive entries K. 36:9 & 10 are missing from the Vatican manuscript. 170. Asimath (Asima). II Kings 17:30; K. 36:11; L. 244:53. One of the few uses of "oppidum" in Latin (cp. K. 10:25 and Appendix II). No such designation in Greek. There seems to be an error in the Vatican manuscript with Idoumaia and Ioudaia. 171. Arkem (Arcem). II Kings 17:30; K. 36:13; L. 244:55. The name is not in the New Testament but is from the LXX. On the basis of Josephus Antiquities IV, 4, 7 it has been identified with Petra "came to a place in Arabia which the Arabs have deemed their metropolis, formerly called Arce (Arkēn Greek) today named Petra" (K. 142:7, 144:7). Personal name in Numbers 31:8 may have influenced Josephus.

Palestine is here apparently used for the whole country since Petra would not fit the old Roman province of Palestine. If the later use of I, II and II Palestine is intended then of course we have evidence of later editing of the text. Usually when topography is given, some biblical history is also summarized. Other exceptions are in K. 124:20, 126:14, 126:19, 132:3, 140:4, 146:23, and 170:23. 172. Adramelech. II Kings 17:31; K. 36:15; L. 244:57. This obvi-

ously is not within the original purview of a book on place names! Other idols noted are Bel (K. 58:9 cf. K. 44:13), Molchom (K. 134:17), Nesarach (K. 138:19), Chamos (K. 174:22), and Remnan (K. 146:26). A Roman god is mentioned below in K. 36:26 (cf. K. 8:15 and Appendix II). In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Adramelech, stola of the king or the comeliness of the king" (144). 173. Arōnieim (Aroniim). Isaiah 15:5; K. 36:17; L. 244:59.

Textual variants: Aōronaim (Greek), Arona (Greek A'); Arnomim, Armonum, Oronaim (Latin). The Vulgate has Oronaeum and Oronaim. The Moabite Stone has Hauranein. There was a Roman garrison nearby according to Notitia Dignitatum (81:18). In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Oronaim, opening of the wall" (121). It is quite possible that all the prophets listings are a separate editorial addition or separate source. 174. Agalleim (Agallim). Isaiah 15:8; K. 36:19; L. 244:61. The first of the entry is missing in Vatican manuscript and is restored from the Latin. Another Latin variant is Agallim. The Byzantine ruin and name is found at rujm el jilimeh called Aegallim. This is at the proper distance from Areopolis (K. 10:13) but probably is not Old Testament site. 175. Aileim (Aelim). Isaiah 15:8; K. 36:22; L. 244:64. The Vulgate has "well of Elim" which is for the MT birelim. It has been equated with Dimon (Isaiah 15:9) which may be the same Madōn (K. 126:26) but can hardly be Deimona of Jodda (K. 73:16).

176. Arina (omitted in Latin) or also Ariel. Isaiah 15:9; K. 36:24; L. 244:66. In the MT text the word "lion" is used as noted in Interpretation of Hebrew Names "lion of God" (106 and 114). Jerome Epistle 108:9 (Paula PPT I, 6) has, "Woe to thee, city of Ariel, that is lion of God, once most strong, which David took by storm." In Commentary on Isaiah 29:1 Jerome writes, "Therefore Arihel, that is lion of God, once most strong is called Jerusalem, out it is preferred by others temple and altar of God which was in Jerusalem." His Commentary on Isaiah 15:1 is more apropos, "This metropolis, the city of Ar, which today is called Areopolis by the combination of Hebrew and Greek words, not as many think because it is the city of Ares, that is Mars" (cf. K. 10:13). Procopius 2097A follows this identification and calls it a great village. A number of entries have double names (cf. K. 25, 48:11, 58:3, 64:6, 76:1, 76:7, 90:10, 132:8, 160:19, etc.). Reference to idols is not uncommon (cf. 36:15 and Appendix)

177. Adama. Isaiah 15:9; K. 38:1; L. 244:70. Textual variant in Vatican manuscript where Theodotion is misplaced with Aquila and Symmachus. This is

not a proper name in MT. Only Hexaplaric information given. 178. Agros (Ager). Isaiah 7:3; K. 38:2; L. 244:71. The fuller's field is referred to again in K. 102:16. This is one of several entries detailing Jerusalem areas. Out of order and suspect as later addition. 179. Asedek (Asedec). Isaiah 19:18; K. 38:4; L. n/a; Lacuna in Greek Text. Textual variant Asedech (Latin). The entry is missing in Vatican manuscript. Since it is out of the geographical limits of the Holy Land, it probably is not to be emended from the Latin. Jerome's Commentary on Isaiah 19:18 also indicates the ambiguous etymology from either "clay" or "sun." Ostracine is out of the Tabula Peutinger 23 miles beyond Rinokoura (K. 148:3). Heliopolis is identified with ōn (K. 176:2). 180. Arphad (Arfad). Isaiah 36:19, 37:13; K. 38:7; L. 244:73.

Simple biblical summary. The additional notes are to Jeremiah 49:23 and II Kings 18:34. This kind of addenda could be a marginal gloss when it appears at the end of an entry. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Arpath, healing" (126) or "Arfath, healing or cure" (114). 181. Anaeougaua (An-eugaua). Isaiah 37:13; K. 38:9; L. 245:75. This is a Greek combination of two Hebrew names. Textual variants: Anathoysau and Ane and Gaye (Greek). These may be out of the geographical limit of the Holy Land. Jerome's Epistle (?) 39:13 notes the possibility that the ou refers to the Hebrew conjunctive wav. So also in his Commentary on Isaiah 37: 13 he says, "Ana and Aua which the LXX mixed up calling it Anauegaua with the conjunction and, that is wav, between two nations which in Hebrew are Ana and Aua." The added reference is to II Kings 18:34 as a gloss or later editing.

182. Armenia. Isaiah 37:38; K. 38:11; L. 245:77. Also outside the geographical limits of the Holy Land as is the first entry Ararat (K. 2:23). Sarasa is probably a scribal error written as a variant Arasa, but it could possibly be confused with a marginal gloss on Sharezer who killed Sennacherib and escaped to Armenia (Isaiah 37:38). 183. Asel (Asael). Zechariah 14:5; K. 38:12; L. 245:78. Textual variant Asaēl (Greek). In Commentary on Zechariah 14:5 Jerome writes, "The LXX transliterates Asael. Aquila puts the Hebrew word as Asel with a short letter e but Theodotion has a long." In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Asahel, deed of God" (125). 184. Anamaēl (Anameel). Zechariah 14:10; K. 38:13; L. 245:79. The LXX has changed the N of Hebrew into an M (cf. Jeremiah 31:36). In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Ananahel, grace of God." 185. Asademōth (Assaremoth). Jeremiah 31:40; K. 38:14; L. 245:80. Possible variant in Greek would agree with the Latin form.

Jerome's Commentary on Jeremiah 31:40 also notes Aquila's translation of Sademoth "suburban." This is probably not a proper name. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Asarmoth, entrance way of the dead." (61). 186. Aen-iōth. Jeremiah 37:16; K. 38:16; L. 245:82. Simple entry with Aquila for evidence that this is not a proper name. LXX also translated the Hebrew MT. 187. Alōth (Alaoth). Jeremiah 48:5; K. 38:17; L. 245:83. The Vatican manuscript does not have the notation on the MT Loyith. This name appears in K. 122:29 as Loyeitha (Vulgate Luit), but the location between Areopolis and Zoara is vague. 188. Aitham (Aethan). Jeremiah 49:19; K. 38:18; L. 245:84. Textual variant Aetham (Greek). Probably not a proper name. Hexaplaric information noted. THE GOSPELS 189. Akeldama (Aceldama). Matthew 27:8; K. 38:20; L. 245:86. The New Testament places are rather limited but may be the only major part of the work done by Eusebius himself after compiling and collating various Jewish lists. Later editors added other lists to the work.

Textual variants: Acheldema and Acheldemag (Latin). This is said to be the earliest non-biblical reference to this site. In K. 102:14 it is written Acheldamax. In the Madaba Map it is Akeldama following this Onomasticon entry. Jerome locates it south and Eusebius north of Jerusalem. The pilgrim text suggests southeast of Silwan and it is probably Deir Abu Tor near Hagg ed Dam which preserves the etymology. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Acheldemach, field of blood" (134, 143) which is a quote from Matthew. 190. Ainōn (Aenon). John 3:23; K. 40:1; L. 245:88. Textual variants: Aleim (Greek) and Salem (Latin). As in previous New Testament entry the first note after the place name is a quotation from the Gospel. It is not a city or town in the fourth century but only a "place" which is "near Saleim" (cf. K. 153:6). Aion of Onomasticon is just north of Umm el 'umdan.

The Madaba map places the words "Ainōn which in near Salim" at a spring south of Skythopolis (K. 16:2) following Eusebius. This is probably along the main road to Ierichō. Possibly the spring is 'Ain el Deir. It should be near to Bethmaoula (K. 34:22) which is 10 miles South of Beisan. This all seems to place the tradition on the west bank of the Jordan, so some even suggest the waters of the Wadi Far'ah are intended. But the Madaba map also has on the east bank an Aion, possibly pointing to the Wadi el Harrer cf. Bēthaabara for still another tradition (K. 58:13).

SECTION B

¹GENESIS 191. Babel (Which is also) Babylon. Genesis 11:9; K. 40:7; L. 245:94. The first entry in "B" is quite outside the geographical limits of the Holy Land just as Ararat, the first entry in "A," and is therefore suspect. This is often true of first alphabetic entries. Probably a marginal addition. It has been noted before that occasionally Eusebius gives etymology. It is quite possible that all the non-biblical etymologies given are the result of an editor's work or the inclusion of marginal glosses by a copyist. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names this item is paralleled: "Babylon or Babel, confusion" (62). The simple summary of the biblical story is here recorded as in Ararat which likewise in turn is filled out from Josephus Antiquities I, 4, 3. The text in the Onomasticon is only slightly different from that used by Thackeray in the Loeb series "The place where they built is now called Babylon from the confusion of that primitive speech once intelligible to all, for the Hebrews call confusion 'Babel.' This tower and the confusion of the tongues of men are mentioned also by the Sybl in the following terms: 'When all men spoke a common language, certain of them built an exceeding high tower, thinking thereby to mount to heaven. But the gods sent winds against it and overturned the tower and gave to every man a peculiar language; whence it comes that the city was called Babylon'" (I p. 177f.). The Syriac text has still other minor variations.

²Procopius 309B "Nebrōd was a giant hunter, one of the gods. Joseph tells the story of the contriving of the tower in the Antiquities." 192. Baithēl (Bethel). Genesis 12:8, K. 40:20; L. 245:9. Textual variant. Ullamaulus (Latin). The Syriac text seems to follow the Latin and adds weight perhaps to Klostermann's emendations. Jerome has the etymology of the name Baithēl as "house of God" (cf. Interpretation of Hebrew Names 62 and cf. below K. 43:7 as well as Epistle 108:13 and Paula PPT I, 12): "of Bethel, the house of God, in which Jacob, naked and poor slept upon the bare ground and placing under his head a stone, which in Zacharias 3:9 is said to have seven eyes in Isaiah 28:16 is called the stone of the corner, saw a ladder reaching to heaven above which the Lord leaned offering His hand to those who climbed and casting down those who were negligent."

³As in this entry (cf. K. 43:6) Jerome in the Commentary on Hosea 4:15 notes the identity of Bethel and Bethaven: "it (Bethel) was first called 'house of God' but after the calves were placed there it is named Bethaven, i.e. house

of folly or house of idols." However (K. 50:24) suggests a separate location which Jerome denies in (51:24). The identity with Luza (K. 120:8) is also affirmed by Jerome's note (K. 43:3). Luza means "nut or almond" according to Interpretation of Hebrew Names (34). The Madaba Map makes this same identification: "loyza which is also Bethēl" located a bit farther east because of the crowding of the map at this point, but still beitin. This site has been excavated several times. Some still believe Bethel should be a shrine separated from a village of Louza. The biblical information is summarized from Genesis 28:19, Joshua 18:13, Judges 1:23, Joshua 18:22, also Joshua 7:2 and 12:16.

⁴ The peculiar word Oulamma (K. 140:15) is ridiculed by Jerome with his famous Hebrew knowledge (K. 41: 21). Also in Hebrew Questions he says, "it is absurd to think Hebrew ulam is the name of a city since ulam means 'former'" (34). Locating it near Aggai (K. 4:27) is of no help since neither the Onomasticon nor biblical site is certain today. Why no mention is made here of the church is curious. Jerome did note it in relation to Aggai (7:2). Incidentally the Church is not on the Madaba Map either. The church is located a mile east of beitin. The pilgrims all agree with the 12 miles from Jerusalem. Procopius 320A writes, "Baithēl which was earlier called Oulammoas is at the 12th mile on the right going from Jerusalem to Neapolis. Also Louza, tribe of Benjamin." This means the path leading up from Ailias to Bethel leaves the main road at the 12th milestone. Curiously Procopius 1020A has what must be a scribal error, "Baithēl is located on the road going up from Ailias to Neapolis on the left of the road at the 12th mile from Ailias." All other itineraries agree with Paula on the 12 mile figure (PPT I 16, 19).

⁵ 193. Bala. Genesis 14:2; K. 42:1; L. 246:13. Textual variants: Babla, Balak (LXX), Balaa (Latin), Zōora (Greek). The Madaba Map copies Eusebius with all three names listed: "Balak which is also Sēgōr or now Zoora" and picturing a fortress with palm trees. Zoora is also Soora (K. 15:19) and Zogera (K. 94:1) and is used at times as a referent in the Onomasticon (K. 112:19, 168:10 etc.). It is located on the Dead Sea (K. 100:4) where there was a garrison stationed in Notitia Dignitatum (73:26) and a colony of Jews. A bishop was known in the fourth century as the bishop of Sodom but he must have been from Zoar. At Kh Sheikh 'isa Byzantine remains may indicate the city with its nearby fort. This location southeast of the Dead Sea fits the early geographers and the concept of Moab identity (Isaiah 15:5 and Onomasticon

94:1 for Jerome 48:4). Ptolemy has it 35 miles from Petra, which seems to be an error.

⁶ On the Pentapolis of Sodom see K. 8:4 (Genesis 19:21). Jerome's etymological parallel is repeated in Hebrew Questions: indeed Segor means little which in the Syriac is Zoara. However, the Valley of Salt, where formerly they worked pits of bitumin, after the wrath of God and the sulphuric rain, became the Dead Sea which in Greek is called *Iimnē asphaltitis* (i.e. lake of Bitumin)" (117). In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Bale, casting down or devouring: (62) cf. Hebrew Questions "Bale in the Hebrew is gulping or devouring" (17). 194. Belanos (Belanus). Genesis 35:8; K. 42:6; L. 246:18. Simple translation of Hebrew with biblical summary. Not properly a place name. 195. Barad. Genesis 16:14; K. 42:8; L. 246:20. The latter part of this entry and the beginning of the next are missing in the Vatican manuscript by an obvious scribal error easily corrected by the Latin. The Syriac text agrees with the Latin.

⁷ Apparently quoting Genesis 16:14 the tradition of a well was perpetuated into the fourth century. There is a *jebel Umm el Bared* in the Negeb which perpetuates the name. Some would see the site at *Bir Ma 'in*. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Barad, hail" (62). 196. *Bēthlehem*. Genesis 35:19; K.42:10; L. 246:22. Textual variant *Bethlem* (Latin). There are two startling facts about this entry: 1 - The Greek text has none of the New Testament references. But the Syriac has an addition "city of David where our Savior was born, of the tribe of Judah." 2 - Neither Greek nor Latin mention the Church which was important spiritually and economically (also not mentioned for Jerusalem K. 106:1). But Eusebius knew of the building in *Bethlehem* (Laud. Const. ix and Vita Const. iii, 25, 43). The itinerary mentions "a basilica built by command of Constantine" (Itin. Bourd 25: 3, PPT I, 12). The Madaba Map shows a Basilica with the tomb of Rachel not far away.

⁸ The Onomasticon has no reference to Bethlehem's size. Josephus reports only on pre-exile Bethlehem. It may be of interest that Origen reports on a cave near Bethlehem where Christ was born (Contra Celsum I, 51) which tradition Eusebius also knows (Laud. Const. ix and Vita Const. iii, 41. Jerome knows of this in his Epistle 46. Bethlehem is six miles from Jerusalem in the Onomasticon which agrees with the Bourdeaux Itinerary which notes: Bethlehem is off "to the left of the road" going to Hebron. The tradition of the tombs is overwhelming in the pilgrims. In addition to Tessai and David,

they report that Ezechikel, Asaph and Solomon are also buried nearby. The reference to Archalaeus is unique. The town of Archalaeus is 12 miles from Ierichō in Tabula Peutinger but no strong tradition of burial recorded there. Perhaps refers to Herodium. The name Ephratha for Bēthleem region covers the Tomb of Rachel one or two miles away from Bēthleem itself (K. 82:12, K. 83:14, K 148:1, K. 172:4, cp LXX of Joshua 15:59a). Itin. Bourd. also has the two mile distance.

⁹ The tower of Ader is possibly equated by the Greek with Geder of Joshua (K. 68:11 but note Jerome on the absence of the guttural K. 63:3). The tower and the real tomb of Rachel most likely should be looked for north of Jerusalem toward Bethel. The tradition of Eusebius is maintained in Jerome's Epistle 108: 10 (Paula PPT I, 8) "Not far from there (Bethlehem) she descended to the tower of Ader, i.e. of the flock, near which Jacob fed his flocks and the shepherds watching at night were worthy to hear the Gloria." The mystery of the shepherds receiving the news before the event is noted by Jerome here and in Hebrew Questions (43). EXODUS 197. Beelsephōn (Beelrefon). Exodus 14:2; K. 44:2; L. 246:27. Textual variant "through the waters" is not in the Latin. Many of the stations are from a separate list and probably were not in the original Eusebius text since for the most part they are out of the geographical range of the Holy Land. Occasionally in the early writers this is the boundary of Palestine. Old Testament site probably Ras Baron.

¹⁰ In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Beelsefon, having hope" (74) and "Beelsofon Ascent of hope" (79). NUMBERS AND DEUTERONOMY 198. Banēiakan (Baneiacan). Numbers 33:31f.; K. 44:5; L. 246:31. Simple entry of station but out of biblical order. 199. Banōth. Numbers 21:19, 20; K. 44:7; L. 246:33. Textual variant Babōth (Greek). In the Vatican manuscript the entry does not start on a new line but follows laou of the previous one. On Arnon cf. K. 10:25 (Josua 13:17) In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Banoth, in death or high" (79). 200. Basan. Numbers 21:33; K. 44:9; L. 246:35. Textual variants of substitute "kingdom" for "king" or add kingdom to king. The Latin addendum is confusing. Basan has not been mentioned "above" as an entry, but in a similar type of reference (cp. K. 13:11 and K. 18:4). It is Auoth Iaeir (K. 18:4) and also Machathi (K. 128:9). Only the Latin gives the etymology of Auoth. The biblical summary is from Deuteronomy 3:14, Numbers 32:33, and Joshua 13:30.

¹¹ The region of Galaad (cf. K. 60:15f.) is here called Basanitē or Batanaia, regions of Transjordan. Basan usually is the area between the Jarmuk and a line between Hermon and Damascus. It is very similar to the Arabic Hauran. Galaad varies in size from all the hill country of Transjordan, to the territory of Manasseh, to that which is equal to Basan. Jerome in Commentary on Isaiah 2:13 writes, "The region of Basan is Arabia which Og who is called king of Basan ruled." In the Onomasticon it includes Cerasa (K. 64:1) and possibly Nemra (K. 138:10). Galaad is the biblical name of the area of Basan. Batanaea is apparently the contemporary name for the village on the site of Basan (K. 64:8) from which the region is named (K. 138:7). 201. Beelphegōr (Baelfegor). Numbers 25:3; K. 44:12; L. 246:38. Another of the references to idols (cf. K. 36:15) in the Onomasticon which technically should be listing only place names (Appendix II). Jerome in Commentary on Hosea 9:10 also makes the identity, "Beelphegor, idol of the Moabites, which we call Priapus" (cf. identity of Ariel K. 37:24). Priapus was the god of gardens and vineyards. It is probably, for our text, the same as Bethphogor (K. 48:3). The location of Mt. Phogō is in Moab (K. 168:25).

¹² In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Behelfegor, bone having skin" (79) and "Behelfegor, bone having skin or bone covered with skin" (86). 202. Baian (Baeon). Numbers 32:3; K. 44:14; L. 246:40. Simple biblical summary, cp. K. 44:21. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Baian, in wickedness" (79). 203. Bēthnamran (Bethamnaram). Numbers 32:36; K. 44:19; L. 246:42. Textual variants for the contemporary village Bēthnabran (Greek), Bethamnaris (Latin). This site has moved three times (see Introduction). Tell Nimrin retains the name and represents the Roman-Byzantine city. The Old Testament site is farther northeast up the wadi (cf. Bethnemra K. 48:6 and Nemra K. 138:10). Tell Nimrin is 5 miles from Tell er Rameh which is said to be Livias and was used frequently as a referent (K. 12:22, K. 16:126, K. 48:4, K. 48:17, and K. 168:26). The name was given to the restored Roman town in honor of Augustus' wife (K. 49:13). In Jerome's Commentary on Joel 3:18 he places Livias (Iulias) at 6 miles from the Dead Sea. The change in name is reported by Josephus in Wars II, 13, 2 and IV, 7, 6. There was a bishop from here at Nicea. Livias may be Old Testament Bethharan (K. 48:13).

¹³ In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Bethanamra, house of the panther or house of bitterness" (79). 204. Betharran. Across the Jordan. Numbers

32:36; K. 44:19; L. n/a; Lacuna in Greek Text. This item is missing in the Vatican manuscript. It seems also to be Bēetharam (K. 48:13) the first part of which is also missing in the Vatican manuscript. This is closely related to the previous entry and some see Livias as the site for Old Testament Betharran at Tell er Rameh but better at Tell Iktanu where more ancient remains are found. Rameh does preserve the ancient name. In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* "Betharan, house of the ark or mountains or ascent of the ground" (79). 205. Beelmeōn. Numbers 32:38; K. 44:21; L. 246:45. Textual variant for contemporary village Baarau and Barum (Latin). Vulgate Baal-maon and Baalmeon. Probably identical with next entry Baal (K. 46:3). The *Onomasticon* confused this site with Abelmelai (K. 34:21) of which Elisaios is also a native (I Kings 19:16). The city of Ma 'in southwest of Madela (K. 128:9) fits the location given from Esbous (84:1). It is close enough to the hot springs of hamman ez Zerqa Ma 'in which could be Baarou. The Madaba map has Baarou at this location following Eusebius. Another healing spring is reported at Balthainaia (K. 30:7). Some think Barēn (K. 112:17) is the same as Baaron.

¹⁴ Arabia (K. 10:17) is a frequent designation for this area. In Ptolemy's Arabia Petraia there is a town near Esbous and Madela called Magouza which could reflect the Old Testament name with G for the Hebrew guttural. In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* "Bahalmeon, having little habitations" (79). 206. Baal. Numbers 32:38; K. 46:3; L. 247:50. The same as previous entry. Simple biblical information. In *Interpretation of Hebrew Baal, having* (90) and "Baal, have judgement or superior or having a brawl" (100). 207. Bouthan (Buthan). Numbers 33:6; K. 46:4; L. 247:51. Textual variants: Atham and possibly ētham (Greek cf. K. 94:15) and Butham (Latin). Apparently both entries are transliteration for "in" which is the letter B in Hebrew then followed by an alef. (cp. Exodus 13:20). 208. Bēla. Numbers 34:11; K. 46:6; L. 247:53. Simple entry of biblical information. For Arbēla see K. 14:18 above. 209. Bosor. Deuteronomy 4:43; K. 46:8; L. 247:55.

¹⁵ The *Onomasticon* confuses the city of refuge Bezer (Joshua 20:8, 21:36) with the metropolis of Bostra (K. 12:14). This was a bishop's seat at the time of Council of Nicea. It was a metropolis of Arabia from the 2nd century and an important military post according to *Notitia Dignitatum* (81:21) as well as main transportation center. It is 25 miles east of Der 'a and is the modern Arabic Busra (cf. K. 166:3). It is in the Trachonites area (K. 112:22). The

Edomite city (Isaiah 63:1) is probably to be located at the rich site Buseirah south of Taffilah. II Maccabees 12:8 notes Timotheus has a garrison there. It was not too significant in the fourth century but was very important in the Iron Age. In the Onomasticon Edom usually refers to the biblical area and era; Idoumaia to the Roman period; while Gaibalene or Gebalitikē to Eusebius' time (cf. K. 102:23).

¹⁶ In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Bosor, in distress" (86). 210. Bērōth. Deuteronomy 10:6; K. 46:14; L. 247:61. This is not a contemporary village only a place. It is located in reference to Petra (K. 8:11, K. 142:7 etc.). This puts it on a mountain near the outlet of the Wadi Musa perhaps at Biyar et Taiyibe. The mountain is also called ōr (K. 176:7). This is to be distinguished from the Bērōth (K. 48:9) near Babaōn (K. 66:11). In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Beroth, wells" (86). JOSUE 211. Bounos. Joshua 5:3; K. 46:18; L. 247:65. The Latin translation is perhaps better than a Greek place name. Galgala (K. 64:24, cf. 64:18) is a complicated problem (Joshua 4:3) but it seems likely that Josephus and Eusebius identified the "hill" of Gilgal with Tell es Sultan which is two miles from New Testament or Roman Iericho (K. 104:25). See K. 104:20 on the Jordan.

¹⁷ 212. Bēthōrōn. Joshua 10:10; K. 46:21; L. 247:69. Summary of biblical information interrupted by a location. This order suggests several hands have been at work on the entry. The Levitical city (Joshua 21:22) is another addition by an editor. The Madaba map has Bēthōrōn following Eusebius on the road from Jerusalem to Diospolis (K. 8:14). Paula ascended from Emmaus along this road, "beholding Ajalon (K. 18:13) and Gabson (K. 66:11) on her right." She adds from Kings the fact also that Solomon founded the two cities, (Jerome's Epistle 108:8, PPT 1, 5) later destroyed by the fortunes of war (I Maccabees 3:16, Josephus Wars II, 5, 16). They are on the map as one of the stations for Roman couriers. The distance in the Onomasticon is appropriate for Beit Ur el Foqa and Beit Ur et Tahta twin towns which retain the sound of the old name. A milestone 14 from Aelia has been found half way between the two villages, the upper being nearer Jerusalem.

¹⁸ In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Bethoron, house of wrath" (106) and "Betharan, house of wrath or house of mountain" (90). 213. Barnē. Joshua 10:41; K. 46:26; L. 247:74. Identified with the desert stretching south of Petra (K. 142:7) and more frequently Kadēs Barnē (K. 112:8). 214. Baalgad. Joshua 11:17; K. 48:1; L. 247:76. Textual variants. Baalgōd (Greek). Procopius

1024A has Balgad but otherwise quotes Eusebius. It is probably also Algad (K. 22:22). It is located only generally on the basis of biblical information (cf. Libanon (K. 122:27) and Hermon (K. 20:6). Some suggest this could be Baalbek. In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* "Balgad, he had equipment or man of arms or pirate or man of fortune" (90). 215. Bethphogor (Bethfogor). Joshua 13:20; K. 48:3; L. 247:78. The location of this place depends in Eusebius on Livias (K. 44:17 and K.48:15) and Phogōr (K. 16:4 and K. 168:25) which is only 6 miles from Livias. It is quite possible that Eusebius has in mind Kh Ajan Musa, but other scholars hold to Kh sheikh jayil, for the Old Testament site.

¹⁹ 216. Bēthasimouth (Bethsimuth). Joshua 12:3; K. 48:6; L. 247:81. Textual variants: Bethaisimouth (Greek) and Bethsimouth (Greek and Syriac) reflect the occasional insertion of the Hebrew article between two elements when transcribed into Greek. It is Bēsīmō in Josephus' Wars IV, 7, 6 and a "city" located near Iulias (Livias 44:17). In the Madaba map a palm tree is here but no name in the vicinity. The nearby sites of Tell el 'Azeimeh and Kh sweimeh are candidates for the biblical site. Sweimeh contains some reminiscence of the name and may be Isimouth (or Isemouth) of the Onomasticon while the Tell closer to the edge of the mountains may be the biblical site. In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* "Bethaisimouth, desert home or home bringing death" (90). 217. Bērōth (Beeroth). Joshua 9:17, 18:25; K. 48:8; L. 247:83. A number of towns in the Onomasticon are related to Gabaon (K. 66:11, cf. 172:15) but even its location at el jib is contested. Here Bērōth is near Jerusalem while Gabaon is usually located with respect to Bethel. Eusebius' biblical remark on Gabaon, however, is more political and economic than geographic.

²⁰ Archaeologists and geographers have had a lively debate over Bērōth and Gabaon which was not ended with excavations of el-jib. The Madaba Map is inconclusive because it requires emendation. Only erouta is written. It could be for Berouta and northwest of Jerusalem could fit our entry. But it has also been related to Capheruta which is not in the Onomasticon. For some reason Jerome has a different road than Eusebius. Procopius 1020C follows the Greek text with a Bēthōr on the road to Nikopolis (K. 30:27) at the seventh milestone. Neither say from where, but it is usually assumed from Ailia since it is "near." Jerome has Neapolis (K. 4:18) either as a correction of the Greek or because his Greek manuscript was in error. The correction

could be based on Josephus Wars II 5, 16. This Latin text is one of the few using "stone" for "mile." If the Neapolis road is intended the majority of scholars fix Jerome's Beroth at el bire which has carried that name at least since the Middle Ages but as far as archaeological remains are evident it cannot be the Old Testament site. More recently it has been suggested at Tell en Nasbeh which is often identified as the Old Testament Mizpeh, and closer to the 7 miles than el bire.

²¹ On the basis of Nikopolis in the Greek text many possibilities are suggested. Some scholars give up the puzzle. It must be in the vicinity of el jib. Pritchard has no objections to Roman-Byzantine Beroth at el jib, but feels the evidence that it is the Old Testament Gabaon is determinative. Others suggest Kh 'id and Nebi Samwil. A possible solution is that the Greek text does not locate Bērōth except as in the vicinity of Gabaon which then is properly located 7 miles from ("near") Jerusalem on the Nikopolis road at el-jib. 218. Botnia (Bothnim). Joshua 13:26; K. 48:11; L. 247:85. Textual variants: Botanin (LXX) and Bothnin (Latin). The location of Old Testament and Byzantine site is probably at Kh Batneh which has the proper sherds. The "also Poteein" is omitted in the Latin text. Variant is Botenein. 219. Bētharam. Joshua 13:27; K. 48:13; L. 247:87. The first part of this entry is missing in Vatican manuscript. Curiously so is its parallel Bētharran (K. 44:19). As in the note on Livias (K. 44:17) this is possibly at Tell er Rameh. Recent Iron Age pottery in the vicinity makes it possible that it could be the Old Testament site as well. But Tel Iktanu is still to be preferred.

²² 220. Bethnema. Joshua 13:27; K. 48:16; L. 247:89. Textual variants: Bethramta and Bethramthit (Latin). See K. 44:16 and K. 138:10. 221. Bethagla. Joshua 15:6; K. 48:18; L. 248:91. Part of the beginning of this entry is missing in the Vatican manuscript. This is not to be confused with Bēthagla (K. 8:19) in the Jordan valley. One site which the Onomasticon equates with Bēthagla is the village Agla. It is 10 miles from Eleutheropolis (K. 18:12) probably at Kh 'Ajian. Text notes turn off from main Roman road. The second site closer to Gaza (K. 62:22) called Bethagla is probably Tell el 'Ajjul, considered by some to be old Gaza (K. 63:23) but probably Eusebius is wrong in both instances for the Old Testament site. This is one of the few entries where the Latin uses "milestone." The Madaba map has a Bēthagidea which could have confused a Delta for a Lambda and seems to fit Tell el 'Ajjul south of Gaza.

²³ In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Bethaglan, house of their festivities" (91). 222. Bētharaba. Joshua 15:6; K 48:21; L. n/a; Lacuna in Greek Text. Not in the Greek Vatican manuscript. Simple tribal listing. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Betharaba, house of earth or evening" (91). 223. Baal. Joshua 15:9; K. 48:22; L. 248:94. The same as Kariathiareim (K. 114:23). In that latter entry it is nine miles instead of ten as here on the road to Diospolis (K. 8:14), at joryat al Inab. 224. Baala. Joshua 15:11; K. 48:25; L. 248:97. The alternative is not in the Latin text but occurs in some manuscript variants. Simple tribal listing. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Baala, it or above" (91). 225. Balōth. Joshua 15:24; K. 48:26; L. 248:98. Simple tribal listing. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Baaloth, on the ascent or ascents in the plural" (91). 226. Bethphalei (Bethfali). Joshua 15:27; K. 48:27; L. 248:99.

²⁴ The alternative is not in the Latin text. LXX has Baithphaleth. Textual variant is Belphalei (Greek). Simple tribal listing. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Bethafelet, house of health" (91). 227. Bērsabee. Joshua 15:28, 19:2; K. 50:1; L. 248:00. The Madaba Map, following the Onomasticon and the Old Testament (Genesis 21:32, 26:33) has its limits north and south expressed by Dan and Bērsabee. "Bersabee which is now Berossaba. The borders of Jordan extend this far to the south from Dan (K. 16:6) near Paneas (K. 16:14) which forms the border to the North." This is the limit of Palestine. The west is the sea and the east Damascus (K. 16:4), Bostra (K. 66:3), Petra (K. 142:7) and Ailath (K. 34:25). These limits for Eusebius and the Madaba map may come from Josephus' Wars I, 12, 1. The location twenty miles south of Chebron (K. 6:8) is repeated in Jerome's Epistle 103:32. This is about six miles short of the present Beersheba. The derivation of the name is reported in K. 166:20 which also notes it to be in the Geraritikē. The Geraritikē has wells (K. 166:21, 24; and K. 168:3).

²⁵ Bersabee was an administrative headquarters of the Negev region. It is called a large village in Eusebius, with a garrison in Notitia Dignitatum (73:18). Ruins of the Roman fort have been found. In Questions on Genesis 21:30 Jerome called it an "oppidum." A camp seems to be on the Madaba map about 20 miles from Chebrōn to the south. Jerome notes a political and military reason why a town could be allotted to two different tribes. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Bersabee, well of abundance and seven wells" (63) and "Bersabee, well of abundance" (63). 228. Balaam (Balam). Joshua 15:29; K. 50:13; L. 248:12. Simple tribal listing. See K. 48:25. 229.

Baskōth (Bascath). Joshua 15:39, 19:2; K. 50:14; L. 248:13. Simple tribal listing. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Basecoth, soft fat or defecation" (91). 230. Bethdagōn. Joshua 15:41; K. 50:15; L. 248:14. Textual variant Bēdagōn and Kai paradagōn (Greek) a scribal error for the contemporary site.

²⁶ On the Madaba Map is a Bēthodegana which could be the present Kh Dajun retaining part of the name and fitting Eusebius' location if the road runs from Ioppa (K.110:24) to Diospolis (K. 8:14) rather than from Iamnia (K. 106:20). It is off the Roman road. The Roman-Byzantine site must be at Beit Dajun. The Greek kepara or kapher reflect the Hebrew kapher for "village" (cf. 52:21). In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Bethdagan, house of wheat" (91). 231. Bēthalōth. Joshua 15:59; K. 50:17; L. 248:16. Simple tribal listing. This seems to be a scribal error for Bethanōth and is located near Chebrōn is Bethenim (K. 94:20). Out of order and suspect. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Bethanoth, house of prediction" (91). 232. Bēthphou (Bathaffu). Joshua 15:53; K. 50:18; L. 248:17. Textual variant Bethtaphou (Greek) follows the MT. This entry is about the same as Tapphou (K. 98:7) but may be mixing up two Old Testament sites. It is on the road to Egypt on the border of Palestine beyond Raphia (only mentioned here) but before Rinokoura (K. 148:3). The site is perhaps near Sheih Zuweiyd. Raphia is another change point on the Roman-Byzantine itineraries and is probably at Tell Rifah. The Madaba map has a Raphia to cover this point on the sea as well as an inland city. Just below it is the wording on the map "Border of Egypt and Palestine."

²⁷ In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Beththafue, house of apple tree not evil, but we understood a tree" (91). 233. Betharaba. Joshua 15:61; K. 50:21; L. 248:20. Hexaplaric information only. Vatican manuscript faulty in several spots here. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Betharaba, house of many or grand" (91). 234. Beesthara. Joshua 21:27; K. 50:22; L. 248:21. Summary of biblical information. On Basanite see K. 44:11. Out of order. 235. Bethaun. Joshua 18:12; K. 50:24; L. 249:23. Cf. the etymology and identification with Baithēl in K. 43:3. LXX has Baithōn. On Gai (K. 4:27). The identity of the two is not clearly accepted in K. 66:8 where Gai is near Bēthaun and Beithēl. Some suggest it is the enigmatic ruin of et Tell. If Eusebius knew a real location with late occupation it could be Tell Mirjam. For Machmas see K. 132:3.

Jerome has confused the issue of location by adding Bethel (K. 51:23) but refers to the previous identification.

²⁸ In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Bethauen, home of futility" (90). 236. Baliloth. Joshua 18:17; K. 50:26; L. n/a; Lacuna in Greek Text. This entry is not in the Vatican manuscript. Simple tribal listing which has a G not a B in the MT and may be same as Galeilōoth of K. 70:17. 237. Bethsour (Bethaur). Joshua 15:58; K. 52:1; L. 249:25. Textual variants: Bedsour (Greek), Bethsor and Bethsoron (Latin). All the witnesses combine Philippos' well with Bethsour (Acts 8:38). In the Madaba map they are adjacent: "Bethsoura, the shrine of Philip where they say Candacē the eunuch was baptized." This follows the error of the Greek which confused the name of the queen with that of her eunuch. Jerome corrects this. The pilgrim texts note the well of Philip at Bethasora, fourteen miles from Bethlehem (Itin. Bourd. and PTT I, 21). The road to Gaza went by the well. "From there she turned to the right through Bethsur and came to Escol" (Jerome's Epistle 108:11 (Paula PPT I, 9). It is the border of Juda and Edam.

²⁹ The Madaba map and Eusebius point to the vicinity of modern Beit sur. Since Kh et Tabeiqah the Old Testament site has no Byzantine or Roman remains and was apparently abandoned in the second century before Christ, the Burj es Sur may be the Onomasticon's Bethsōrō. The well is 18 miles from Jerusalem. The Burj is to the west as Paula noted. The "other" Bethsour is also linked with Iouda. The distance from Eleutheropolis (K. 18:12) is missing from the Vatican manuscript. This site is not identified but could be deir esh shur. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Bethsur, house of strength" (91). 238. Boon. Joshua 18:17; K. 52:6; L. 249:31. Simple tribal listing. 239. Bēthalōn. Joshua 18:19; K. 52:7; L. n/a; Lacuna in Greek Text. The first part of this entry is missing in the Greek Vatican manuscript. A variant is Betholon (Latin). Simple tribal listing plus Hexaplaric data. Not in MT of Hebrew.

³⁰ 240. Bēthagla (Bethalla). Joshua 18:19, 21; K. 52:8; L. 249:32. A simple tribal listing cf. K. 48:18, K. 8:11. 241. Bērōth. Joshua 18:25; K. 52:9; L. n/a; Lacuna in Greek Text. This entry is not in the Vatican manuscript. A simple tribal listing cf. K. 48:9. 242. Bola. Joshua 19:3; K. 52:10; L. 249:33. Textual variant Bala (Latin). Simple tribal listing cf. K.130:6. 243. Bathoul. Joshua 19:4; K. 52:11; L. 249:34. Simple tribal listing. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Bethula, virgin" (91). 244. Bēth. Joshua 19:5; K. 52:12; L. n/a; Lacuna in Greek Text. This entry is not in the Vatican manuscript. Variant Bethis

(Latin). Simple tribal listing. 245. Baaeth. Joshua 19:8; K. 52: 13; L. 249:35. Simple tribal listing cf. K. 54:20. 246. Bērammōth. Joshua 19:8; K. 52:14; L. 249:36. The Greek has separated the previous entry and this one differently. At times the Beer is the suffix to Baaeth and at times prefix to Ramoth.

³¹ Simple tribal listing. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Beram, well of the heights" (91). 247. Bēthlabaōth. Joshua 19:6; K. 52:15; L. n/a; Lacuna in Greek Text. This entry is not in the Vatican manuscript and is out of order in the text. Simple tribal listing cf. K. 122:4. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Bethlebaoth, house of coming" (91). 248. Bethleem. Joshua 19:15; K. 52:16; L. 249:37. A simple tribal listing plus a note to distinguish it from the more renowned Bethleem of Iouda (K. 42:10). The note may be an addition. This other Bethleem according to Jerome's Commentary on Matthew 2: 5 is in Galilaea. 249. Bēthphasis (Bethfases). Joshua 19:21; K. 52:18; L. 249:39. Textual variant in Vatican manuscript has this listed for Iouda not Issachar. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Bethfese, house of the flowing mouth" (91). 250. Batnai (Batnae). Joshua 19:25; K. 52:19; L. 249:40. Textual variant for contemporary village Bebeten (Greek).

³² The site is really unknown despite many suggestions. Name recurs in Abtun southeast of Acre Ptolemais (K. 30:10) is Akehō and is a territory or a region. 251. Bēthdagōn. Joshua 19:27; K. 52:21; L. 249:42. Textual variants: Bēthphagōn (Greek) and Bethdago (Latin). Simple tribal listing cf. K. 50:15. Jerome gives a second reason why a site could be listed for two tribes (cf. K. 50:10f.). It could be a different town and in the Nablus area, either Ras ed Diyar or Shuweiha. 252. Bēthaemek (Bethemec). Joshua 19:27; K. 52:23; L. 249:44. Symmachus note plus late gloss on tribal history. 253. Bēthanatha (Bethana). Joshua 19:38; K. 52:24; L. 249:45. The text has confused several sites. But clearly 'anin is intended cf. K. 30:5, K. 26:9, 13. Note the caution on healing baths, almost a rumor. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Bethanath, house of humiliation or house of answering" (91). 254. Banē. Joshua 19:45; K. 54:1; L. 249:48.

³³ Simple tribal listing that perhaps should be combined with the next into one entry. 255. Barakai (Barac). Joshua 19:45; K. 54:1; L. 249:49. Textual variant Bare (Latin) and in Greek for the contemporary site Barēka and Barba. LXX has Barak. Eusebius' identity of the Old Testament site errs, but he intended barqa near Ashdod. JUDGES 256. Bezek (Bezec). Judges 1:4; K. 54:5; L. 249:52. Two sites about a mile apart are clearly the Onomasticon's Bezek.

One was a Roman road station. Perhaps Kh Ibziq and Kh Jebrish with good Roman and Byzantine sherds. But which of these has any Iron Age pottery needs study so the Old Testament site is elsewhere. Perhaps this site moved three times as did Nimrin (see Introduction). 257. Bēthsan. Joshua 1:27; K. 54:8; L. 249:55. This is a famous city of Palestine in the Jordan Valley (K. 16:2). The identity of Bethshan with Skythopolis is clearly made. It is used as a referent by the Onomasticon and has been well excavated at Tell el Husn, near Beisan revealing heavy third to sixth century occupation (see Appendices VII and VIII). There was a bishop present at the Council of Nicea. The road from Skythopolis to Neapolis (K. 4:28) was important to Eusebius (K. 26:23, K. 34:23, K. 54:7, K. 100:13 etc.). The eastern portion toward Damascus (K. 76:4) is not mentioned as frequently.

³⁴ The etymology is added almost as a later gloss and without the usual formula (I Samuel 31:10 and I Kings 4:12). In Latin it is both urbs and oppidum (cf. K. 10:25 and Appendix I). 258. Bethsames. Joshua 1:33; K. 54:11; L. 249:59. In K. 32:26 it is Bethsamys (cf. 158:20) located at 'ain Shema. A garrison was located there according to Notitia Dignitatum (73:22). The 10 miles marks turn off from the main road. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Bethsames, house of the sun" (110). 259. Bathma (Bethnath). Judges 1:33; K. 54:11; L. 250:62. In LXX Baithanath. A simple biblical report. 260. Bethsames. Judges 1:33; K. 54:16; L. n/a; Lacuna in Greek Text. This entry is missing in Vatican manuscript by simple haplography. This is to be distinguished from the one above in K. 54:11. 261. Baalermōn. Judges 3:3; K. 54:18; L. 250:64. Simple biblical reference (cf. K. 20:9). Note Jerome's use of *Allofylorum* rather than translating to Filistine (see Appendix I).

³⁵ 262. Baleth (Baaaleth). Judges 19:44; K. 54:20; L. 250:66. Textual variants: Baalōn and Gebeelan (LXX) and Baalech (Latin). Simple tribal listing which seems to be out of order (cf. K. 52:13). In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Baaloth, on the heights or heights in the plural" (91). 263. Bethbēra. Judges 7:24; K. 54:21; L. 250:67. Etymology plus simple biblical note. Perhaps reference to the fords of the Jordan (cp. K. 54:26 below). 264. Bēthasetta. Joshua 7:22; K. 54:22; L. 250:68. Variants Betthasetta (LXX) Bethtasetta and Bethasepta (Latin). Simple biblical note. 265. Balanos (i.e., oak of) Sikimōn. Judges 9:6; K. 54:23; L. 250:69. This is the oak of Sychem (K. 150:1 and K. 158:1) near Neapolis (K. 4:28) at Tell Balata. The grave of Joseph is still pointed out south of Balata. The Madaba map indicates the "shrine of Iosēph."

Another oak is recorded in K. 42:6 and the terebinth in Sikimos in K. 164:11. Out of order, so this or next entry is suspect.

³⁶ 266. Borkonneim (Borconni). Judges 8:7, 16; K. 54:25; L. 250:71. Simple Hexaplatc information, repeated by Procopius 1069A. Not a place. 267. Bēra. Judges 9:21; K. 54:26; L. 250:73. The Onomasticon locates the Old Testament site in the wrong region. The Byzantine Bera is probably Kh el Bireh near 'ain shems. Bera of Old Testament is in the area of Bethbera (K. 54:21 above). 268. Baalthamar. Judges 20:33, 16; K. 56:1; L. 250:75. Textual variant for the contemporary site Bethamari (Latin). Apparently the Onomasticon locates this near Tell el Ful a little village for Jerome which may be Ras et Tawel where there are Byzantine remains. Uncertain! In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Baalthamar, having palms" (99). KINGS 269. Bēthchōr (Bethchur). I Samuel 7:11f.; K. 56:5; L. 250:79. Simple biblical notation. Onomasticon equates this with Ebenezer (I Samuel 7:12 and cf. K. 32:24 above). In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Bethcar, house of lambs or house of lamb" (103).

³⁷ 270. Bama. I Samuel 9:12; K. 56:7; L. 250:81. Simple biblical note plus Hexaplaric information. The Aquila meaning is more exact than Jerome's Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Rama in which" (103). 271. Bōsēs. I Samuel 14:4; K. 56:10; L. 250:84. Simple biblical note. As is frequently the case Jerome refers to Hebrew Questions but nothing new is given there, suggesting this is not the Church Father's reference for more information but a marginal gloss cross-reference. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Boses it flourishes in it or precipitous" (103). 272. Basōr (Besor). I Samuel 30:9; K. 56:11; L. 250:85. Simple biblical note. There are several wadies or torrents listed in the present text of the Onomasticon which were probably not original with Eusebius. It is difficult to distinguish the two Greek words being used (cp. K. 92:10, K. 102:19, K. 116:23, 25, K. 118:11, K. 160:2. K. 168:15,20, K. 174:16 etc.).

³⁸ In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Bosori, announcement or flesh" (103). 273. Bōrasan. I Samuel 30:30; K. 56:12; L. 250:87. Textual Variant Bōsasan (Greek). Simple report on David's spoils (cf. K. 34:13). 274. Baoureim (Baurim). II Samuel 3:16; K. 56:13; L. 250:88. Simple biblical note. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Baurim, choices" (106). 275. Baalasōr. II Samuel 13:23; K. 56:15; L. 250:89. Simple biblical quotation. The Greek omits "sheep" and perhaps can be emended. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Balasor,

having arrows of light or ascent of the hall" (106). 276. Bēthmacha. II Samuel 20:14; K. 56:17; L. n/a; Lacuna in Greek Text. This entry is missing in Vatican manuscript (cf. II Kings 15:29). The Latin suggests it is to be identified with Macham 8 miles from Eleutheropolis (K. 18:12) possibly at Kh Mekeuma. Not the Old Testament site. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Bethmacha, house of ground or of forum or of tax" (106).

³⁹ 277. Balth (Balaath). I Kings 9:18; K. 56:20; L. 250:91. LXX has Balath. Simple biblical note. 278. Baithsarisa (Bethsarisa). II Kings 4:42; K. 56:21; L. 250:92. Textual variant Baithsarisath (Greek). In the region of Diospolis (K. 8:14) is the Thamnitikē (K. 24:4). At the proper distance for turn off from main road is Kh Sirisiah and a bit farther on the Old Testament site at Kefr tilt, which retains the name. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Baalsalisa, having three" (114). 279. Baithaggan (Bethagan). II Kings 9:27; K. 56:24; L. 251:95. Simple biblical entry. Perhaps not a proper name. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Bethagan, house of the garden." 280. Basekath (Bazeoath). II Kings 22:1; K. 56:25; L. n/a; Lacuna in Greek Text. This entry is not in the Greek Vatican manuscript and is out of the proper order and therefore is suspect as a late intrusion. LXX has Basourōth but the spelling of Onomasticon is closer to MT.

⁴⁰ 281. Baithakath (Bethacath). II Kings 10:12; K. 56:26; L. 251:96. Textual variant Bazechath (Latin). The region of Samaria or the Samaritans is frequently mentioned in the Onomasticon. In this instance it said to be in the area of village dependent upon Samaria (K. 162:13). Legeōn is here called an "oppidum" in Latin (cf. K. 10:25 and Appendix). This village is located by reference to Legeōn (K. 14:21) and a similar sounding name is still to be heard at Beit Qad east of Jenin. It is probably not the Old Testament site. The Vulgate and other versions do not have a proper name here. It has "chamber of the shepherds" (cf. Hexaplaric data also with more detail in Latin). 282. Baithannē (Baenith). II Kings 17:30; K. 58:3; L. 251:99. The Latin gives only one form for this entry which appears in several variations in the Greek and LXX. A simple biblical fact is presented.

⁴¹ 283. Bublos (Byblus). Ezekiel 27:9; K. 58:5; L. 251:1. This is almost out of the geographical limits of the Holy Land. It is the most northern identifiable site in the text. It is listed as a Phoenician city but it is unclear whether this refers to biblical or Byzantine terminology, probably the earlier. The Tabula Peutinger has it seven miles from Beirut and 206 from Aelia. The dis-

tances are not quite correct but the present well-excavated site seems to be intended. It is never used for any other purpose in the Onomasticon. The difference comes to the vicinity of Nahr Qelb. 284. Boubastos (Bubastus). Ezekiel 30:17; K. 58:7; L. 251:3. Textual variant Boubatos (Greek). This is out of the area of the Onomasticon's interest in the Holy Land. Perhaps most of the entries from the prophetic books are suspect as incidental addenda by a later editor. Other sites in Egypt are K. 80:11, K. 134:4, K. 148:3, K. 162:17, K. 164:23,24.

⁴² In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Bubastus, mouth or lip of experience" (13). 285. Bōz. Jeremiah 25:23; K. 58:8; L. 251:4. Textual variant Bōzan (Greek). This is just on the edge of the limits of the Holy Land as defined by the Onomasticon. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Buz, despising or contempt" (126). 286. Bēl. Jeremiah 50:2; K. 58:9; L. 251:5. Another of the "idols" included by a later editor among the place names (cf. K. 36:15 and Appendix II). In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Bel age" (126). THE GOSPELS 287. Bēthsaida. Matthew 11:21; K. 58:11; L. 251:7. Textual variants: Bethsaidan (Latin) and also Genesar and Genessareth (Latin). The location is given largely from the New Testament. In Joseph Wars II, 9, 1 and Antiquities XVIII, 2, 1 he notes it was later also called Ioulias after Augustus' daughter. Formerly only a village it seems to be raised in status. In the New Testament it is called both terms (Matthew 8:26 and John 1:44). Probably et Tell on northeast side of the Sea of Galilee with the port at Kh el 'Araj (cf. John 1:44).

⁴³ Galilaia is the northern portion of the land west of the Jordan (K. 72:18). It includes the hill country above the great plain and is sometimes "upper" and "lower" in the LXX and Vulgate. In Onomasticon it includes Bēthsaida, Capharnaoum (K. 120:2), Nazareth (K. 138:24) and Chorazein (K. 174:23). Gennēsaritīs is used only twice in the Onomasticon (cf. K. 120:2). The term Tiberias is preferred (cf. K. 16:1). In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Bethsaida, house of fruits or house of hunters" (135). 288. Bēthphagē (Bethfage). Matthew 21:1; K. 58:13; L. 251:9. The conclusion of this entry and the beginning of the next are missing in the Greek Vatican manuscript but properly supplied from the Latin. Traditionally this is located at Kefr et Tur where the Palm Sunday processions begin, coming down the Mt. of Olives (jebel et Tur) in Bible and Onomasticon as a referent (K. 58:16, K. 74:17, K. 118:19, K. 175:28). There was intense Roman-Byzantine occupation on the

area from 2nd BC to 8th A.D. Eusebius describes the Mt. of Olives in other writings also as in Vita Const. iii, 41; Laud. Const. IX, 17 and Demonstratio Evangelica IV, 18, etc.

⁴⁴ In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Bethfage, house of the mouth of the valley or house of cheeks" (135). 289. Bēthania. Matthew 21:17; K. 58:15; L. 251:10. The continued identity of Bethany in the present Arabic el 'Azariyeh is uncontested. It is on the Mt. of Olives approximately two miles from Jerusalem. The present Arabic name is an approximation of the late Byzantine Lazarium. The church known by Jerome (K. 59:17), but not by Eusebius, has been excavated (Note on other churches K. 7:3). The older city is up the slope farther near the medieval tower. Paula (Migne, Patrologiae Graecae Cursus Completus 22, 888) following the Lord went from Bethany to Bethfage (K. 58:13). The later pilgrims point to both a church and a place of the tomb (John 11:1). 290. Bēthaabara (Bethabara). John 1:28; K. 58:18; L. 251:12. Textual variant Bethtabera (Latin). ⁴⁵ This place is sometimes called the "other Bethany," or the "Bethany across the Jordan." The location is not precisely given, possibly because it was as well known as the previous New Testament villages to the authors. Origen probably began the written tradition of Bethaabara combining the crossing of the Israelites into the Promised Land and the baptism of John. Jerome and Eusebius follow this East bank tradition which by the time of the Madaba map had come to the present traditional location on the West bank near Bethagla (K. 8:19). Madaba map reads, "Bēthabara the place of St. John the Baptist." Origen in his Commentary on John writes, "But the place named Bethania is across the Jordan. It is said that a Bethabara is pointed out beside the bank of the Jordan where as it is reported John Baptized" (Migne, Patrologiae Graecae Cursus Completus, 14, 269). Perhaps Kh el Medesh near the Wadi Nimrin is the place. Some believe the Madaba map refers to two locations, but the influence of Origen and Eusebius is still seen. On the tradition of Ainon for place of Baptism see K. 40:1.

⁴⁶ The "brothers" of course mean in general Christians, but it is unclear whether *loutron* refers to general bathing, liturgical renewals of baptism or the original baptism of each Christian. In spite of Constantine there are only three Christian "towns" in the Onomasticon: Anaia (K. 26:14, Ietheira (K. 108:3) and Kariatha (K. 112:16). 291. Bēzatha (Bethsaida). John 5:2; K. 58:21; L. 251:15. Textual variants: Bethesda (Latin), Josephus has Bezatha. Eusebius again follows Origen (Migne, Patrologiae Graecae Cursus Completus

14, 269) in his description of the twin pools and in the general location. The pools apparently gave their name to the quarter of the city. The Church of St. Ann is in the general area of the church on the Madaba map. This explanation is curious. Such explanations are not common in the Onomasticon. In Eusebius only one of the twin pools is involved in the miracle. The pilgrims report similar happenings. "There are in Jerusalem two large pools at the north side of the temple, that is one upon the right hand and one upon the left where were made by Solomon; and further in the city are twin pools with five porticoes which are called Bethsaida. There persons who have been sick for many years are cured; the pools contain water which is red when it is disturbed" (Itin. Bourd. PPT 1, 20).

SECTION G

GENESIS 292. Gaiōn (Geon). Genesis 2:13; K. 60:3; L. 251:24. This entry is out of the geographical range of the Holy Land as perceived in the Onomasticon just as entries appearing first in A and B sections also. This is a river which makes it doubly suspect. The information is dependent on Scripture and Josephus. "Lastly (of the 4 rivers in Paradise) Geon which flows through Egypt means 'that which wells up to us from the opposite world' and by the Greeks is called the Nile" (Antiquities I, 1, 3). For another such river see K. 82:7, K. 164:7, and K. 166:7). In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Geon, breast or broken off" (66). 293. Gomorra. Genesis 10:19; K. 60:5; L. 251:26. Biblical information on the Pentapolis of Sodom (K. 150:10). Jerome in Hebrew Questions seems to suggest the vicinity of the hot springs of Cal-lirhoe (14). In Interpretation of Hebrew Names he notes that the Latin G is not here but rather a vowel should be used to begin these words (cf. his note on Gader (K. 63:4). "Gomorra, fear of the people or sedition" (67).

294. Gerara. Genesis 20:1; K. 60:7; L. 251:28. Procopius 309C follows the first sentence almost exactly but shortened the remainder into "a royal city of the Phylistiems located between the deserts of Sour and Kadēs." The Madaba map also follows Eusebius "Gerara-once a royal city of the Phylistia and the southern border of the Chananaia thence the salton Geraritikon." Gerara is located from Eleutheropolis (K. 18:12) in the southwest area of Palestinē. A vignette on the Madaba map fits the legend and the Onomasticon's information. The name is still to be found at Kh Um Jerrar but this is not the location for either the Old Testament site or that of the Onomasticon. The biblical site is possibly at Tell Abu Hureira. Eusebius does not say

if he knows a village or city existing there in his day so he could have had this tell in mind. But if a Byzantine town is needed it may be Tell ash Shari'a on the wadi of the same name which is largely a Roman-Byzantine site.

The area was named for the city back in patriarchal times (Genesis 26:1). It is on the border of Chananite territory (Genesis 10:19). The Geraritikē is probably the same area south of the region of Eleutheropolis and west of the Daroma (K. 26:10) or Negeb (K. 136:14). It may be parallel to Barsama a military area. Later this was a bishop's seat. Apparently Sur is the southern and western portion of the Sinai Peninsula (K. 152:6). Kades (K. 112:8) is central and eastern while that belonging to the Saracees is the northern caravan area which in Transjordan probably extended to the Syrian Desert (K. 118:21 and K. 124:10). The biblical information is here summarized from I Samuel 15:7, Exodus 15:22, and Numbers 27:14. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Gerara, he saw a chewing of the cud or a garden wall" (66). 295. Galaad. Genesis 31:21; K. 60:15; L. 252:36. Originally the area was just south of the Jabboq. In the widest use as in the Onomasticon it included all the Transjordanian territory ever claimed by ancient Israel. Procopius 1060B has, "Galaad is located back of Phenikē and Arabia, linked with the Libanon and extending through the desert beyond the Iordan Peraia (to Petra?). Here Sēon the Amorite dwelled. It was received by the two half tribes. In Jeremiah it says, "You are to me like the peak of Lebanon." There is also a mountain Galaad with a city set upon it which Galaad the son of Macheir, son of Manassē took from the Amorites." Jerome in Commentary on Ezekeil 14:18 writes, "Galaad, which is connected by hills with Mt. Leban fell by lot to Ruben and Gad and the half tribe of Manassē. It is back of Phoenice and Arabia. To this mountain Jacob came fleeing from Charran and was caught by Laban. Jeremiah says of it, 'Galaad, you are to be the beginning of Libani.' Galaad the son of Machir, the son of Manassē took this from the Amorites." Jerome repeats this in Commentary on Jeremiah 22:6.

The hill country today includes a jebel jel'ad which is near Kh Jel 'ad, the probable town Eusebius had in mind. It has Roman-Byzantine sherds but the Old Testament site must be elsewhere. The biblical information is from Deuteronomy 3:16, Joshua 13:8,11, Jeremiah 22:6 and Numbers 32:39. Charran although out of the Onomasticon's area is discussed in K. 170:23. There is a Latin variant Charris. Mesopotamia is probably here used as the Roman province which includes Euphratēs (K. 82:7, Phathourra (K. 168:22) and the

above Charran (K. 170:23). Arabia is confusing in the Onomasticon since it is not always the Roman province. Different editors may be using it differently. Libanon (K. 10:24), Iordan (K. 104:20) and Petra (K. 142:7). In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Galaad, heap of evidence or migration of evidence" (67). 296. Gader. Genesis 35:21; K. 62:5; L. 252:45. Textual variant Adda (Syriac). A simple biblical report. Apparently in K. 68:11 the Onomasticon confuses this with the Canaanite royal city. The Tower or Migdal is in the Chebrōnrea (K. 43:23). In Hebrew Questions Jerome locates it near Bethleem (43). Jerome's text frequently makes note of transliteration problems from Hebrew to Greek and Latin.

297. Gethem (Gethaim). Genesis 36:35; K. 62:7; L. 252:47. Textual variants: Gethea (Greek), Geththaim, and Adda (LXX). Here Idumaia is identified with the Gebalēne (cf. K. 26:10 and K. 102:23). Gethem without the G in Hebrew is Avith but location still unknown. 298. Gesem. Genesis 45:10; K. 62:10; L. 252:50. Textual variant Gesen (Latin). This is also out of the geographical area of the Holy Land. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names ""Gesem, approaching flatteries or vicinity" (67). But, "If as in our codices the final M is written Gesem, which doesn't please me at all. it signifies fall land" (49). NUMBERS AND DEUTERONOMY 299. Gasiōn (Gaber). Numbers 33:35; K. 62:13; L. 252:53. Cf. K. 36:1. The Onomasticon has only a report on Asian not personal identification. Cf. the Latin variants Esaiam and Aialam and cf. also Deuteronomy 2:8. 300. Gai. Numbers 33:44; K. 62:17; L. 252:57. Gaia is called a city of Petra (K. 142:7) but lacks any other identification or location.

301. Gelmōn Deblathaeim (Gelmōn Deblathaim). Numbers 33:46; K. 62:19; L. 252:59. Biblical note on the station but a different formula from the usual. Also out of order. 302. Gadgad. Numbers 33:23; K. 62:20; L. 252:60. Another note on the station. Probably a confusion of Dibongad (K. 76:23) Numbers 33:46. 303. Gaza. Deuteronomy 2:23; K. 62:22; L. 252:62. Gaza has always been a significant or famous city of Palestine. It once formed the border of the Chanaanites (Genesis 10:19). It was one of the Philistine cities (K. 22:6, 11, 15 and K. 68:4). They (foreigners-Philistines usually) were not driven out by Israel (Joshua 15:47, Judges 1:18) The Madaba Map locates Gaza and describes it as a splendid town with columned streets and a basilica. Tabula Peutinger locates it 15 miles from Askalon (K. 22:15). It had suffered under Diocletian but had a bishop at Nicea (Historia Ecclesiastica VIII, 13, 5). The

region of Gaza was important in the Onomasticon and the Roman road system (cf. Jerome's Epistle 108:11). The city is probably still ghazzeh.

The Greeks and after them, Jerome, seems to have distinguished another older Gaza. Jerome for some literalistic theological reasons does not expect such a splendid city to still exist after all the prophetic woes pronounced against it. Some suggest this old site was Bethaglaim (K. 48:19). In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Gaza his strength" (66) and "Gaza strength, but probably one should know that the Hebrews do not have as the first letter a consonant, but the word begins with a vowel and is pronounced Aza" (87). 304. Gergasei (Gergasi). Deuteronomy 7:1; K. 64:1; L. 252:68. Textual variants: Gergesa (Greek) and Gargasi (Latin). This is equated with an important city in Arabia (Coele Syria) called Gerasa. Some falsely equate it with Gadara (K. 74:10). Both were cities of the Dekopolis (K. 80:16). The equation with Gerasa, probably modern Jerash, seems more correct than with the city Galaad (K. 62:2) since the Onomasticon locates it as near Galaad (Josh 12:5). This Gergasei is distinct in the Onomasticon from the New Testament site (K. 74:13) (cf. Mark 5:1).

Gerasa has been well excavated to become known as the "Pompeii of Palestine." According to the Onomasticon the Jabbok flowed between it and Philadelphia only four miles from Gerasa (K.102:22). Many villages depended on it in Roman-Byzantine times. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Gergesaeum, attached to the farm" (87). 305. Gadgada. Deuteronomy 10:7; K. 64:5; L. 253:73. A simple entry with no real identity or location (cp. Gadgad (K. 62:20)). Either this or the next entry out of order and suspect as late additions. 306. Gaulōn or Gōlan (Gōlam). Deuteronomy 4:43; K. 64:6; L. 253:75. The city gave its name to a region in Roman times, but is not used as such by the Onomasticon since it apparently overlaps the region Batauaia (K. 44:10). The city may possibly be located at Sahem el Jolan cf. Joshua 20:8. See previous entry. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Gaulon, his rolling about" (87).

307. Gaibal (Gebal). Deuteronomy 11:29; K. 64:9; L. 253:79. Textual variant Gebal (Greek). This and the following entry can be treated together. The Onomasticon begins by recording the simple biblical information here. The generally accepted tradition is to follow the Samaritan tradition as given here. The two mountains are on either side of Neapolis (K. 4:28) and are Jebel es-Slamiyeh and Jebel et Tur. The Madaba Map reflects this tradition by

having them near Shechem (K. 150:1) called Garizin and Göbel. The pilgrims also recognize this identity. "At Neapolis is Mt. Agazaren where the Samaritans say Abraham brought the sacrifice. And to ascend up to the summit are 300 steps. At the foot of the mountain is located a place by the name of Shechem" (Itin. Bourd. PPT I, 18). Zeno and Justinian built churches on Garizein according to Procopius Buildings V, vii, 5-17. Excavation of this area is going on.

But Eusebius and Jerome prefer to follow an anti-Samaritan location. The Madaba map hesitates between the two opinions and so locates Gebal Garizeini near Ierichō (K. 104:25). The use of the LXX names in Ierichō region and the Aramaic in the Neapolis area may signify some preference. Since Josephus and the later Byzantines had the correct tradition, this rabbinic tradition must have developed in the late first and early second centuries. Procopius 905C is also confused: "This is situated at the Eastern part of Ierichō beyond Galgal" and he continues by denying the Samaritan tradition. Yet in 908A he seems to accept the Samaritan location and tradition. The two mountains near Jericho are probably those above Aqaba jabr sometimes called Tyros and Thrax. The Roman road to Jerusalem passed between them. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Gebal, ancient abyss or stone building" (87). 308. Garizein (Garizin). Deuteronomy 11:29; K. 64:16; L. 242.

See previous entry. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Garizin, division or stranger" (87). 309. Golgol or Galgal. Deuteronomy 11:30; K. 64:18; L. 253:88. Textual variants: Golgōn and Galgan (Greek). The argument of the previous two entries is continued here in Greek and developed by Jerome. A Galgal could be located near Neapolis on the basis of the text quoted (K. 66:7) but the Onomasticon uses the Galgala (K. 64:24) on the Jordan to move mountains. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Galgal, wheel or revelation" (87). 310. Gai. Deuteronomy 34:6; K. 64:21; L. 253:91. This is not a proper name. It is equated with Bēthphogōr (K. 48:3) with Beth translated "house" of Phogor (K. 168:7, 25). On the Madaba map there is "AIA" which could be related to Bethpeor. The general area could include the Gai near Petra as in K. 62:17 but it probably does not. The Gai of K. 66:8 is the same as Aggai (K. 4:27).

Here and in K. 70:1 it is better simply "valley." In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Gai, chasm" (87). JOSUE 311. Galgala. Joshua 4:19; K. 64:24; L. 253:94. Textual variant. The distance is omitted in the Greek Vatican ma-

nuscript. Gilgal has been a problem for the Onomasticon's editors, pilgrims and modern scholars. "East of Jericho" is a biblical reference not a contemporary geographical one (cf. Joshua 5:11f., Joshua 15:7, I Samuel 7:16, Amos 5:5, II Kings 2:1, and 4:38 etc.). Even if it were being used the quadrant NE to SE could be involved. But the location two miles from Ierichō does not include direction or road. The Madaba map locates it slightly NE of Jericho and records "Galgala also dōdekalthon" (12 stones). Procopius 1009C records the etymology "wheel" and the location at second mile from Ierichō. The 12 stones were said to be visible according to K. 46:20 and Procopius reaffirms this evidence. Paula only contemplated the "field" of Gilgal on her way from Jericho to the Jordan (PPT 1, 4 cf. Jerome's Epistle 108, 2).

Biblical Gilgal is not certain but the measurements of Josephus and Eusebius taken from tubul abu Aliviq (New Testament Jericho) suggest Tell es Sultan was the revered site of Gilgal, the "hill of foreskins" where stones were pointed out. The Galgala near Bethel could be the same- on the road to Bethel- or it could be one of sites in the hill country related to Garizein and Gaibal (cf. K. 64:18). 312. Gai. Joshua 7:2; K. 66:8; L. 253:2. Textual variants: Bēthaunōn (Greek) and Bethan (Latin). The same as Aggai (K. 4:27) probably already in the 4th century the tradition was settled on the ruined place et Tell. In this entry the identity of Bethayn with Baithēl is not made clear (K. 43:3 and Joshua 12:9). 313. Gabaon. Joshua 9:9ff.; K. 66:11; L. 253:6. The complications on Gabaon have been noted in discussion of Bērōth (K. 48:9). It is further complicated here by 4 miles west of Baithel (K. 40:20). Both the Latin of Jerome and Procopius 1020C accept this reading. This would make the Gabaon in Onomasticon near Ramallah. In the Onomasticon Gabaon, Rama, Galgala, Ailon and Aggai are near Baithēl (cf. Joshua 10:2, 18:25, 21:17; I Kings 3:4).

The Madaba map has a Gabaon at the location generally preferred for the Old Testament site el jib. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Gabaon, hill of walls" (94). 314. Gaibe (Gaba). Joshua 18:24; K. 66:17; L. 254:13. Textual variants: Gabaa (LXX), Gebe (Latin) and Gabe (Syriac). A simple biblical note (Joshua 21:7) but it is out of order. The last part has been emended from the Latin since it is missing in the Vatican manuscript along with the first part of the next entry. However, Hebrew, Greek and Latin names with G-B are all confused in parts of all the versions. 315. Gazer. Joshua 10:33; K. 64:19; L. 254:14. The first part of this entry is missing in Vatican manuscript along

with the end of the above. A summary of biblical information from Joshua 21:21, I Kings 9:17, Joshua 16:10, and Judges 1:29. Josephus, Eusebius and the Madaba map seem to be confused about Gazara (K. 72:12), Gedour (K. 68:22) and this Gazer.

The Old Testament site is being excavated at Tell jezer. Seems to have ceased being important before the time of Constantine. But the direction of 4 miles north of Nikopolis (K. 30:27) cannot fit unless WNW is the quadrant. Some have corrected it to be west and then it would be about 5 miles from 'Amwas. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Gazer, mutilation or division" (94). 316. Goson. Joshua 10:41; K. 68:3; L. 254:19. Simple biblical notation. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Gosnam, next to him or located near" (94). 317. Geth. Joshua 11:22; K. 68:4; L. 254:20. Another of the Philistine cities (cf. K. 22:6, 11, 15; K. 62:22). Since "foreigners" has been used for 'Enakeim' this is one of the few places in the Onomasticon where it is clearly stated Phylistaioi were not driven out. Madaba map has "Geth now Gitta once one of the Satrapies." The Bible and the Onomasticon as well as the Amarna letters are confusing with several spellings of similar names (or of the same?) (cp. K. 48:28; K. 70:14; K. 72:2, 4 etc.). The Madaba map has combined Geth with Geththa (K. 72:2) in the vicinity of Ramle which may be at Tell Ras Abu Hamid.

The Onomasticon has 5 miles from Eleutheropolis which points northwest to Kh Dikrin (Dikkriya) others see it at Tell es Safi a bit farther away at 8 miles. This cannot be Canaanite or Philistine Gath (if they are the same?). The latest suggestions for Old Testament Gath are Tell en Najilah which has no Philistine remains and Tell esh sheri'a which does. Jerome's Commentary on Micah 1:10 says, "Geth one of the five cities of Palestine a village on the border of Judaea. There is now a large hamlet on the road from Eleutheropolis to Gaza, home of Goliath the Gethite." This points to one of the many earlier candidates for Philistine Gath, Araq el Manshijeh (but see K. 160:9). In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Geth, wine press" (94). 318. Gesoureim (Gesom). Joshua 12:5; K. 68:8; L. 254:24. Textual variants: Gegassi and Gergasi (Latin)(cf. K. 64:1 and K. 74:14). 319. Gader. Joshua 12:13; K. 68:11; L. 254:27.

Textual variant in Latin we find "torrentem" (wadi) for "tower." This unknown Canaanite city is equated by the Onomasticon with the Tower of Genesis 35:16, 22 (cf. K. 62:5). The Hebrew MT is itself questionable. 320. Gōein of Gelgel (Goim in Gelgel). Joshua 12:23; K. 68:13; L. 254:30. Textual

variant Galgalis (Latin). Simple Hexaplaric information. See next entry. 321. Gelgel. Joshua 12:23; K. 68:14; L. 254:31. Textual variant Galboulis (Greek). This points to the road going north from Antipatris and is perhaps indicative of Jaljuliya which is about 5 miles north. Paula reports Antipatris "a small half ruined town" (PPT I, 4). It is on the road between Diospolis (K. 8:14) and Caesaria according to the Tabula Peutinger 12 miles from the former. Today this is Ras el 'ain. It was a station on the Roman courier route. It was re-developed by Herod, and seems to have been less significant for our editors than it was in 4th century A. D.

322. Golathmaeim (Golathmaim). Joshua 15:19; K. 68:17; L. 254:34. The interpretation is missing in Vatican manuscript but properly emended from the Latin. This is a "place" but not a proper name. The etymology is from the translation of Symmachus. 323. Gadda. Joshua 15:27; K. 68:18; L. 254:35. Another border village of Judaea in the Daroma (K. 26:10). The Onomasticon equates it with an unidentifiable village which is nameless in the Engaddi region (cf. K. 86:16 and K. 96:9). 324. Gadeira (Gadera). Joshua 15:36; K. 68:20; L. 254:37. Textual variants for the contemporary village Gadara, Gedora (Latin). About 5 miles from the Terebinth (K. 6:8 and K. 76:1) is Kh Jedur which must be the site the Onomasticon's writer has in mind for Gidora but it is not Old Testament Gadeira, which is in the Jerusalem region, near Gezer and Latrun probably at Kh Jederah (see K. 68:22). In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Gadera, his hedge" (94).

325. Gedour (Gedur). Joshua 15:58; K. 68:22; L. 254:39. Textual variants: Gedrous (Greek), Gahedur and Cedrus (Latin). This is often located at the same spot as the previous entry but not according to the Onomasticon which probably has Qatra in view. So Old Testament Gedour at Kh Jedur (K. 68:20). The Madaba map conflates these sites after the Onomasticon and has "Gedour which is also Gidirtha" in the general vicinity of Gezer (K. 66:19). Perhaps Gazara (K. 72:13) and Gedrous have been confused with Gezer. This site fits the general distance given here but could also point to Abu Shusha. 326. Gabli. Joshua 13:5; K. 68:24; L. 254:41. Textual variants: Gabbli and Gamblē (Greek). Note again rare use of transliteration of Allofylorum in Latin (cf. K. 23:14; see Appendix I). 327. Gisōn. Joshua 15:51; K. 68:25; L. 254:42. Simple tribal listing. 328. Gelōn. Joshua 15:51; K. 68:26; L. 254:43.

Simple tribal listing (cf. K. 172:24). 329. Gadērōth. Joshua 15:41; K. 68:27; L. n/a; Lacuna in Greek Text. Textual variant Geddōr (LXX) and Gederōth

(Latin). This entry is missing in Vatican manuscript (cf. K. 68: 22). Out of order and suspect. 330. Gethemmōn. Joshua 21:25; K. 68:28; L. 255:44. This entry in Manassē is distinct from that of Dan (K. 70:14). In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Gethremmon, high press or elevated press" (94). 331. Gai. Joshua 18:16; K. 70:1; L. 255:46. Simple etymology. See next entry. A number of wadies or ravines are listed in the present text but do not belong to the original manuscript (K. 168:15, 20 etc.). 332. Galennoum (Geennom). Joshua 18:16; K. 70:2; L. 255:47. Variant Enom (Latin). One of several detailed notes about Jerusalem. The etymology is from the Hebrew (cf. K. 170:8). The valley forms the border of Benjamin and Jouda. In Byzantine tradition as here, it is equated with the Kedron (K. 118:11 and K. 174:26).

333. Geththepher. Joshua 19:13; K. 70:5; L. 255:50. Textual variant Geththepha (Greek). Simple tribal listing. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Gethhaafer, his press of ground or excavated" (94). 334. Gēephthael. Joshua 19:14; K. 70:6; L. 255:52. The name is missing in Vatican manuscript but supplied correctly from Latin (cp. K. 110:1). 335. Gabathōn. Joshua 19:14; K. 70:7; L. 255:53. The Onomasticon has added a number of items from the confused Old Testament Geba concordance. a) The Onomasticon identified Gabathon of Dan with the city (polichnē in Greek cp. K. 22:11) of Gabe near Kaisareia. This is probably in error. This Gabe is accurately located southeast of Mt.Karmel at present Jeba. b) A little farther located generally east in the Great Plain of Legeōn is the first Gabatha at Jebata (or Gevat) southwest of Nazareth. c) In the Daroma (K. 26:10) the Onomasticon has a Gabaa and Gabatha. Possibly these are double names for the same village (plural only in Latin). Perhaps this is same as Gabatha (K. 70:23) twelve miles from Eleutheropolis but this is toward Jerusalem and not in the Daroma. Possible near Ziph.

d) The Gabatha of Benjamin and Saoul (Joshua 18:28 and I Samuel 10:26) is located by our text and is not the Old Testament site Tell al Ful which had no Byzantine remains, but the nearby Jaba which is close to er-Ram and fits Jerome's location of Gabaa of Saul next to Rama (Commentary on Hosea 5:8). e) The Babathon of the heathen (I Kings 16:15) may be the region of Dor half-way between Kaisareia and Mt.Karmel. The Latin is confusing. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Gabathon, height or high press" (94). 336. Gethremmōn. Joshua 19:45; K. 70:14; L. 255:58. This is one of several instances where "another" is in its proper biblical order (Joshua 21:24). Usually

in the Onomasticon "another" is out of order and suggests some late marginal gloss has been incorporated into our manuscripts (cf. K. 68:28 above). The confusion suggested it is equated with K. 72:3.

The contemporary city is hardly from Dan. There is a possibility the direction of the road has been reversed, but 12 miles is almost midway, so little is changed, possibly Ras abu Hamid. If it is to be distinguished from the Madaba map site near Ramle, it could well be Tell es safi, long a candidate for Philistine Gath which is 8 Roman miles north of Eleutheropolis, but biblical Gethaemmon is located way north at Tell Jerishe. 337. Galeilôth (Galiloth). Joshua 22:10; K. 70:17; L. 255:61. Textual variants: Galiloth, Gaieiloth (Greek). Since the LXX transliterates the Hebrew for "borders" it is listed here as a "place" but not a contemporary village (cf. Josh 18:17). 338. Gaas. Joshua 24:30; K. 70:19; L. 255:63. A mountain and so properly not original in the Onomasticon's text. There are several references to tombs. This Thamna (cf. K. 96:24) is northwest of Ramalla at Tibne. Paula viewed the "tombs on Mt. Ephraim of Joshua, son of Naue and of Eliazar, son of Aron, the priest, one of whom is buried in Thamathsare on the north side of Mt. Gass and the other in Gabaa of Phinees" (PPT I, 12 and Jerome's Epistle 108:13). On Thamathaare (cf. Thannathsara 100:1) Thamna is near Gouphna (K. 76:2 in Josephus Antiquities V, 1, 29).

339. Gabass (Gabath). Joshua 24:33; K. 70:22; L. 255:66. Textual variants: Gabaath (Greek) and Ambacuc (Latin). The tomb tradition of Paula is recorded in the note on the previous entry. This Gabatha may be the same as that in the Daroma (K. 70:10). But it is best at el jeba' north of Eleutheropolis. For another tradition of the tomb of Ambakoyim see K. 88:22 and K. 114:17. Probably the first and last parts of this entry refer to the Gabatha (K. 70:6) of Saul and Benjamin located by the Onomasticon and Paula as near er-Ram. Ephraim and Benjamin have also been confused (Joshua 18:24). 340. Gabaan (Gabaam). Joshua 21:17; K. 70:26; L. 255:70. This is either the above Gabatha of Saul or another Geba of Benjamin (cf. K. 70:7). "In Gabas, a city destroyed even to the ground, she stayed for a short time remembering its sins and the concubine cut into pieces and the 300 men of the tribe of Benjamin reserved for the sake of the Apostle Paul" (Jerome's Epistle 108:8; Paula PPT I, 5; cf. Judges 20:43). It is out of order and a late addition.

KINGS 341. Geththa. I Samuel 5:8; K. 72:2; L. 255:73. Textual variant for the second contemporary town Giththim (Latin). The biblical information

on Gath is confused (cf. K. 68:4). There is debate whether Canaanite and Philistine Gath are identical or not. In the Onomasticon Giththam is equated with Geththa, but probably also with the previously discussed Geth (K. 70:14) or Gehtremmon (K. 68:20). The road between Antipatris (K. 68:15) and Iamnia (K. 106:21) is not very important in the Onomasticon so some have tried to emend to Antipatris to Ioppa (K. 110:24). If the text is correct then the Madaba map Gitta has followed that road and placed it near Ramle at Tell Ras Abu Hamid. If we emend the text and change the road it may be Saqya. The second Geththeim is not located. It may be related to Gethem (K. 62:7). 342. Gallei (Gallim). I Samuel 25:44; K. 72:5; L. 255:77.

A biblical note (Isaiah 10:30) and then a tradition of a similar sounding name Gallaia. This may be reflected in Jilya half way between Akkarōn (K. 22:6) and Eleutheropolis (K. 18:12) beyond the area of Benjamin and which has no relationship to the biblical site at Kh Kakul. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Gallim, transmigration or revelations" (104). 343. Gelamsour (Gelamsur). I Samuel 27:8; K. 72:8; L. 255:80. Simple record of an enemy city. Jerome does not translate as usual and does not equate with Philistines but simply transliterates. The entry is the result of a poor LXX transcription. 344. Gelboue (Gelbua). I Samuel 28:4; K. 72:9; L. 256:81. Textual variant Geboue (Greek). The mountain is not proper for Onomasticon. The village of Gelbous is probably Jelbun southwest of Beisan. The mountain is Jebel Fuqua but our text errs in the equations. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Gelboe, rolling about or running around or flowing heap" (104).

345. Geddour (Gedud). I Samuel 30:8; K. 72:11; L. 256:83. Textual variants: Geddar (Greek) and Gedur (Latin). Another transcription confusion from the LXX. Not properly a place name as the Hexaplaric notes show and therefore suspect. 346. Gazēra. II Samuel 5:25; K. 72:13; L. 256:85. Simple biblical note (cf 66:19). 347. Gessour (Gessur). II Samuel 15:8; K. 72:15; L. 256:87. In region of Syria. 348. Gilōn. II Samuel 15:12; K. 72:16; L. 256:88. Textual variant Achittophel (Greek). Simple biblical note. 349. Gob. II Samuel 21:19; K. 72:17; L. 256:89. Simple biblical note. 350. Gailaia (Gailaea). I Kings 9:11; K. 72:18; L. 256:90. Textual variants: Gennesar and Gennesareth (Latin). Summary of biblical information from Isaiah 9:1 and Job 20:7. On the lake see K. 58:12. The latter part of this entry seems to be an addenda after "another." 351. Geiōn (Gion). I Kings 1:33; K. 72:22; L. 256:95. Simple biblical note. Out of order and suspect late addition.

352. Gēr. II Kings 9:27; K. 72:23; L. 256:96. Simple biblical note with biblical location (cf. K. 56:26). The LXX has the Gur of MT transcribed as it is here. It also appears in variant form as Gair. Ieblaam (K. 108:24) is probably Tell bel 'ameh just south of Jenin. Only a "place" in the Onomasticon. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Gir, division or broken off" (111). 353. Geththachopher. II Kings 14:25; K. 72:25; L. 256:97. Textual variant Geththarchopher (Greek). Jerome in Commentary on Jonah writes "Geth which is in Ofer, about two miles from Saphorim which is Diocaesarea, is a not large hamlet on the way to Tiberias where his tomb is shown. There is another near Diospolis, i.e., Lyddat." This village is just east of Diocaesarea near Mash-had where a shrine is still shown. This is out of biblical order and a late addition. 354. Gaddei (Gaddi). II Kings 12:18; K. 72:26; L. 256:98.

Simple biblical note (cf. K. 68:18) with no location possible for either. But also see K. 86:16 Engaddi. 355. Gēmela. II Kings 14:7; K. 72:28; L. 256:00. Generalized biblical location in Edom (K. 102:23) with Hexaplaric information. 356. Gebein (Gebin). Isaiah 10:31; K. 74:1; L. 256:2. Onomasticon is confused with Geba (K. 70:7). The town falsely equated with Gebim is north of Jifneh, which is this Gouphna (cp. K. 26:2 and K. 168:16). This town is et tell on the Wadi el jib which preserves the Byzantine name. The biblical site was in vicinity of Mt.Scopus. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Gebim, cisterns" (121). 357. Gōzan. Isaiah 37:12; K. 74:3; L. 256:4. Textual variant Gōzath (Greek). This is outside the normal limits of the Holy Land. Probably an addition. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Gozan, their nut" (121). 358. Garēb. Jeremiah 31:39; K. 74:5; L. 256:6. Textual variant Garēy (Greek).

Simple biblical note. The next 3 entries and this are late additions. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Garab, scabs or many people" (127). 359. Gēbarōth (Gebarth). Jeremiah 41:17; K. 74:6; L. 256:7. Textual variant Gebaroth (Latin). Simple Hexaplaric information. Not properly a place name. One of a series of late additions. 360. Gaimōd (Gemen or Gamon). Isaiah 60:6; K. 74:9; L. 256:8. Textual variants: Gaimōn or Gaimōl (Greek) and Gamen or Gamol (Latin). Simple reference to a dubious place. Only the Latin text has the double tradition of spelling (cf. K. 78:20 and K. 138:8). One of a series of late additions. 361. Gaipha (Gefa). Isaiah 60:6; K. 74:9; L. 256:8. The order of these last two entries is reversed in the Latin. This is also out of the territory of the Holy Land and is suspect as are many of the prophetic

entries. Called a region (cp. K. 138:22) perhaps by interpretation in a marginal gloss.

THE GOSPELS 362. Gadara. Matthew 8:28; K. 74:10; L. 256:11. This is a city of the Decapolis (K. 80:16) which is generally located at Umm Qeis overlooking the Yarmuq. On the Tabula Peutinger it is 16 miles from Tiberias. It was a strong military city. A bishop was at the Council of Nicea. The hot baths of Amatha are not far away (K. 22:26). Origen in his Commentary on John 6:4 remarks about the renowned hot baths of Gadara (cf. K. 64:1 where it is confused with Gerasa). 363. Gergesa. Matthew 5:1; K. 74:13; L. 256:14. Textual variant Gergessa, Gerges (Latin). At this point we have a distinction made with Gerasa (K. 64:1). Procopius 349B follows Eusebius "Gergasenes lived near Gadara. Now Gergesau the desert reaching Lake Tiberias." This location is dependent upon Origen who in his Commentary on John 6:4 remarks "The Gergasenes are from an old city near Lake Tiberias on a cliff extending down to the Lake. Nearby they show (the hill) of the pigs thrown down by the demons." This probably is present Chorsia (el Kursi) on the East shore of the Sea above Hippos (K. 22:21).

364. Gethsimanē (Gethsimani). Matthew 26:36; K. 74:16; L. 257:18. Another site on the Mt. of Olives (cf. Bēthania (K. 58:15) and Bethphagē (K. 58:13)). The "faithful" are the Christians who bath at Bethabara and here are called "brothers" (K. 58:18). Helen planned a church there and Eusebius knew of it but only the Latin text (cf. Note on K. 7:3) reports the church (cf. Vita Const. iii, 43 and Demonstratio Evangelica vi, 18). In the itinerary it is across the Valley of Josafath (Itin. Bourd. PPT I, 25). The Madaba map has "Geths" and the remainder must be emended. Perhaps two locations are involved: the betrayal spot and the place of prayer, one at the foot and another higher up. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Gethsemani, valley of fatness" (136). 365. Golgotha. Matthew 27:33; K. 74:19; L. 257:21. The tradition of Golgotha has been of long standing. Some feel it was never lost sight of. The Itinerary notes "on the left side is the little hill Golgotha" (PPT I, 22). This means a short distance from the Constantinian Church of the Holy Sepulchre. In Vita Const. iii, 25f., Eusebius describes the pagan temple to Venus on the site of the Holy Sepulchre and the subsequent work of Constantine. Curiously he does not speak of Golgotha. Here it is in the area north of Mt. Zion (K. 162:12) which is not clearly located in the Onomas-

tion, perhaps because the tradition continued strong to the 4th century A. D.

In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Golgotha, skulls" (136).

SECTION D

GENESIS 366. Dasem. Genesis 10:12; K. 74:24; L. 257:25. The LXX has misread the MT with a D for an R (cp. K. 142:21). This is also outside the area of the Holy Land and so is doubly suspect, as are many first entries in these alphabetic sections. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Dasem, bridle" (64). 367. Drus (Drys i.e., oak). Genesis 13:18; K. 76:1; L. 257:23. The emended reading of the Madaba map is "drus mambre and terebinthos." The first name is in black letters and the second in red, but no tradition that they were really separated. It is near Chebrōn (K. 6:8) on the map and also here in the Onomasticon. The pilgrims place it 8 miles from Bethsur (K. 52:1) and two miles from Chebrōn (Itin. Bourd. PPT I, 27). Constantine built a church there which Eusebius knew about (Vita Const. iii, 51) but only Jerome mentions it in the Onomasticon (K. 7:2). It is probably the excavated site of Ramet el Khalil. Mamre (K. 124:5) and the terebinth are frequently used for referents (K. 6:13, K. 24:16, K. 68:21 and K. 94:21).

368. Damaskos (Damascus). Genesis 15:2; K. 76:4; L. 257:30. This city is the limit of the Onomasticon on the east along with Bostra (K.46:10). Damaskos is one of the Dekapolis (K. 80:16). In Tabula Peutinger it is 56 miles from Caecarea Paneas. It was a seat of a bishop at the time of Council of Nicea. Later pilgrims locate Paul's conversion as a few miles out of the city. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names (15:3) Jerome notes that Hebrew is quite different and lacks the idea of a proper name for a slave. 369. Dan. Genesis 14:14; K. 76:6; L. 257:18. The border of Joudaia went from Dan to Bērsaba (K. 50:1). It is in the general region of the sources of the Jordan (K. 104:20 and cf. Josephus' Antiquities I, 10, etc.). Jerome calls one of the sources Dan and the other Ior close by (Interpretation of Hebrew Names 19). He also gives Greek etymology in an unusual way. The Syriac text and Procopius 333A have the little village of Dan 14 miles from Paneas on the road to Tyre which would be almost midway and so, much too far. In Commentary on Ezekiel 48:18, Jerome identifies Dan with Paneas (cp. K. 16:4).

The site is probably Tell el Qadi which preserves reminiscences of the meaning of the Hebrew Dan, namely "judge." In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Dan, judgment or judging" (64). 370. Danaba (Dannaba). Genesis

36:32; K. 76:9; L. 257:35. Part of this entry has been emended from the Latin since it is missing in the Vatican manuscript. The Old Testament site is not identified. The village of Dannea is probably Kh ed denn about the proper distance north of Areopolis (K. 10:13). The other Danaba comes near Mt. Nebo (K. 136:6) but its location is uncertain. Silva speaks of a city of Job called Dennaba which is Carneas now (PPT I, 29). This may relate to Karnaea or Karnaeim (K. 112:3-4). In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Dennaba, bringing judgment" (65). 371. Dōthaeim (Dothaim). Genesis 37:17; K. 76:13; L. 257:38. This well excavated site is on the Samaria to Jenin road at Tell Dothan. It has extensive Roman-Byzantine remains, it was junction for the road east to Merrous (K. 128:4).

For Sebaste-Samaria see K. 162:13. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Dothaim, food or his greens or successful rebellion" (65). NUMBERS AND DEUTERONOMY 372. Daibōn (Debon) or Dibon. Numbers 21:26f., 30; K. 76:17; L. 257:42. Textual variant Dabōn (Greek). Biblical information from Joshua 13:26, Isaiah 15:2, and Jeremiah 48:18. The Onomasticon does not equate the station of the Israelites with the Moabite Dibōn (K. 80:5). But no doubt the large village was Dhiban which has been excavated. Probably a garrison was there according to Notitia Dignitatum (81:27). But curiously it is not on the Tabula Peutinger. This is the only listing of this important town unless Dēbous (K. 104:12) is equated with Dibōn rather than Hesbous (K. 84:4). In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Dibon, sufficient intelligence or abundant understanding" (80). 373. Daibōngad (Dabira). Numbers 33:45; K. 76:23; L. 257:48. Simple listing of station of Israel. This and next are late additions.

In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Dibongad, intelligence is sufficient for the test" (80). 374. Dusmai Moab (Dysmae Moab i.e., to the west of Moab). Numbers 22:1ff.; K. 78:1; L. 257:49. Textual variants: Balaak (Greek) and Balaac (Latin). Not a place and out of order so this is quite suspect is a late editing or marginal gloss. The "plain" of Moab is northwest of the Dead Sea in the Aulōn (K. 14:22 and cf. Deuteronomy 31:9, 32:49, 34:1). JOSUE 375. Dabeira (Dabira). Joshua 10:38; K. 78:5; L. 257:53. The Onomasticon does not see a village near Chebrōn (see below K. 78:12). In the north another village is a dependent of Diokaisarea (K. 16:131) and reported near Mt. Thabōr (K. 98:23). It is another village of the Jews (cf. Note in K. 22:9 and

Appendix II) but remains unidentified but possibly Daburyeh. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Dabir, speaking or speech or fearing the bear" (92).

376. Dor of Naphath (Nafeth). Joshua 11:2; K. 78:8; L. 258:56. The Tabula Peutinger locates it 8 miles from Kaisarea and 20 miles from Ptolemais. The directions and mileage are missing in the Vatican Greek manuscript of the Onomasticon but are properly emended from the Latin and from K. 136:16. Paula visited the ruins (Epistle 108:8). These are either the site of ancient Dor at Tantura or just north of it at Kh el burj where Iron Age and Hellenistic remains are evident (cf. Joshua 17:11). In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Dor, generation" (92). 377. Dabeir (Dabir). Joshua 11:21; K. 78:12; L. 258:59. The city of letters is also Iabeir (K. 106:22 and cf. K. 78:18). Summary of biblical information with no Byzantine location (Joshua 15:15, 21: and Judges 1:11). The Old Testament site is contested for identification with Tell Beit Mirsim most preferred. 378. Dabeir (Dabir). Joshua 13:26; K. 78:15; L. 258:62.

Simple biblical notation. 379. Deimōna (Dimona). Joshua 15:22; K. 78:16; L. 258:63. Simple tribal listing. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Dimona, full count or high" (93). 380. Dalaan (Dadan). Joshua 15:38; K. 78:17; L. 258:64. Textual variant Daian (Latin). Simple tribal listing. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Dalani, needy pauper" (93). 381. Denna. Joshua 15:49; K. 78:18; L. 258:65. Another form using the biblical equation with Dabir (cf. K. 78:12). In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Dana, cause or his judgment" (93). 382. Daud (Dauia). Joshua 15:49; K. 78:20; L. 258:67. Textual variants: Dad (Greek) and Dabuia and Dauhid (Latin). Here Jerome has two forms of the name and the Greek only one. Possibly also the same as the above Dabir as confused in the LXX. 383. Douma (Duma). Joshua 15:52; K. 78:21; L. 258:68. This is in the Daroma (K. 26:10) 17 miles from Eleuthero- polis (K. 18:12) and probably located at Kh dumah ed deir, just north of dhahiriyeh which is southwest of Chebrōn (K. 6:8). In Jerome's Commentary on Isaiah 21:14 he locates Idumaea to the south of Duma and locates the village 20 miles from Eleutheropolis. The 17 marks turn off from main road.

384. Damna. Joshua 19:13; K. 78:23; L. 258:70. Simple tribal listing plus Levitical addition. This and K. 78:25 may be late additions. On Levitical city see Joshua 21:35. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Domna, silence" (93). 385. Dabasthe (Dasbath). Joshua 19:11; K. 78:24; L. 258:71. Textual variants: Dabasse, Damasse (Greek) and Dabasthe (Latin). Simple tribal listing. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Dabbasth, slope" (93). 386. Dabrath. Joshua

19:22; K. 78:25; L. 258:72. Simple tribal listing plus Levitical addition (cf. Joshua 21:28). In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Dabrath, speech" (93). JUDGES 387. Drus. Judges 6:11; K. 80:2; L. 258:74. Not a legitimate entry for the place names, but see Oak of Mambre (K. 76:1) and terebinthos (K. 164:11) for similar items. Simple biblical information with no location. KINGS 388. Deibon (Dibon). Isaiah 15:2; K. 80:5; L. 258:77. Cf. K. 76:17. 389. Deseth. Isaiah 16:7; K. 80:7; L. 258:79. Textual variant Desek (Greek).

Simple Hexaplaric information. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Deseth, shoe or anointing" (120). 390. Dōdaneim (Dodanim). Isaiah 21:13; K. 80:8; L. 258:80. Textual variant Dodaneimi (Greek). This must be distinguished from Daidan of K. 80:14. Possibly ed dedan. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Dodanim, cousin" (120). 391. Darōm. Ezekiel 20:46; K. 80:10; L. 258:82. Hexaplaric information. One of the several words for the southern quadrant (cf. Daroma (K. 26:10), Negeb (K. 136:14) and Theman (K. 137:16). 392. Diospolis. Ezekiel 30:14; K. 80:11; L. 258:83. Outside the geographical limits of the Holy Land. Not to be confused with the Diospolis of the Palestinē (K. 8:14). On Egypt sites see K. 58:7. 393. Dadan. Jeremiah 25:23; K. 80:12; L. 258:84. Probably also outside the limits of the Holy Land. Both suspect. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Dedan, this judgment or such judgment" (126). 394. Deblathaeim (Deblathaim). Jeremiah 48:22; K. 80:13; L. 258:85.

Textual variant Debaōthaeim (Greek). Simple biblical location. 395. Daidan (Daedan). Jeremiah 49:8; K. 80:14; L. 258:86. Textual variants: Foenō (Latin) also Seno for Faeno. The mines are at Phainon (K. 114:3 and K. 168:8) near Petra (K. 142:7). The Onomasticon's site is uncertain. THE GOSPELS 396. Dekapolis (Decapolis). Matthew 4:25; K. 80:16; L. 258:89. Only three of the ten cities are named in this list. No complete list is in Josephus either but he lists Hippos (K. 22:21), Pella (K. 14:18), Gadara (K. 74:10) along with Dion and Skythopolis (K. 16:2). There are Twelve (sig.) cities that are usually accepted as part of the Dekapolis, but Ptolemy lists 18.

SECTION E

GENESIS 397. Edem (Eden). Genesis 2:8; K. 80:20; L. 259:95. Outside the normal limits of the Holy Land just as each first entry in the previous alphabetic sections. The etymology is not introduced as Hexaplaric material, but is from Aquila. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Eden, pleasure or delicacies or embellishments" (65). 398. Eueilat (Euila). Genesis 2:11f.; K. 80:22; L.

259:95. Textual variants: Euēlat (Greek) also Cepene and Cephene (Latin). Also outside the normal limits of the Holy Land (Genesis 10:29, 25:18). The Latin has Hebrew etymology as explanation of the Scriptural annotation. The quotation is from Josephus' *Antiquities* I, 6, 4 and is repeated in K. 150:15 and K. 176:15. Phisōn is also Pheisōn (K. 166:7). The Gaion (K. 60:3), Euphratēs (K. 82:7) and Tigris (K. 164:7) are also rivers outside the Holy Land. On Kophenos and Sērias see reference in K. 150:15. In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* "Evila, sorrowing or bringing forth" (65).

399. Euphrates. Genesis 2:14; K. 82:7; L. 259:4. River outside the Holy Land. See previous entry. For rivers of Eden see Note on K. 60:3. In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* "Euphrates, fertile or waxing" (65). 400. Ellasar. Genesis 14:1; K. 82:9; L. 259:6. Outside the Holy Land. Syriac had Telarsar. In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* "Ellasar, turning aside of God or his separating" (69). 401. Ephratha. Genesis 35:16, 19; K. 82:10; L. 259:6. Summary of biblical information from I Samuel 10:2, Genesis 48:7 and I Chronicles 2:50, 4:4. Ephratha on the Madaba map may be separated from Bēthleem (K. 42:10). But Eusebius may be identifying them here (cp. K. 172:5). The Tomb of Rachel is located differently in the Greek and Latin texts. The Syriac text and the Latin agree with "tribe of Iuda" but Syriac omits Benjamim. Some doubt if Rachel died here rather than north near Ramah. In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* "Efratha, fruitfulness or dust" (65).

EXODUS 402. Eirōth (Iroth). Exodus 14:2; K. 82:16; L. 259:13. Outside the normal limits of the Onomasticon's Holy Land. Only a "place" not even a station. NUMBERS AND DEUTERONOMY 403. Empurismos (Conflagration. i.e., empurismos). Numbers 11:3; K. 82:19; L. 259:16. Another "place" rather than a station. The Latin does not have this as a proper name by transliteration of the Greek or Hebrew, but rather from a translation. 404. Enthaath (Inthaath). Numbers 33:26; K. 82:21; L. 259:18. Simple biblical notation. The b of Hebrew is translated (cf. K. 98:4). Out of order. Probably a gloss. 405. Ebrōna. Numbers 33:34; K. 82:22; L. 259:19. Simple biblical notation. In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* "Ebrona, going over or passage" (K. 81). Out of order. Late addition. 406. Emath. Numbers 13:22; K. 82:23; L. 259:20. Simple biblical notation. 407. Ermana (Errma). Numbers 14:45; K. 82:24; L. 259:21. Summary of biblical information, Deuteronomy 1:44. In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* "Erma, his condemnation" (61).

408. Essebōn. Numbers 21:26; K. 84:1; L. 259:24. Summary of biblical information from Joshua 21:38, Isaiah 15:4, Jeremiah 48:2, Numbers 32:37, and Joshua 21:39. A frequent referent in the Onomasticon. An autonomous famous city in the Roman Province of Arabia from 106 A.D. on. Esbous now Hesban between Philadelphi (K. 16:15) and Madaba (K. 128:19). It had a bishop at Council of Nicea and is being excavated. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Esebon, thinking or girdle of the wall" (81). 409. Edraei (Edrai). Numbers 21:33; K. 84:7; L. 259:30. Eusebius seems to identify this with Adra (K. 12:13) west of Bostra (K. 46:10). It is 24 or 25 miles away. It is also 16 miles from Capitolias on Tabula Peutinger. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Edraim, descent of shepherds" (81). 410. Elealē. Numbers 32:3; K. 84:10; L. 260:33. Summary of biblical information from Numbers 32:37, Isaiah 15:4, and Jeremiah 48:34.

About one mile north of Esbous (K. 84:1) is a site of this large village and nearby Tell el 'Al. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Elale, to the height" (81). 411. Enna. Numbers 34:4; K. 84:14; L. 260:37. Simple biblical notation. 412. Erman. Deuteronomy 3:9; K. 84:15; L. 260:38. Cf. K. 20:9. JOSUE (of Naue) 413. Emekachōr. Joshua 7:26; K. 84:18; L. 260:41. Etymology plus location. Notes taken by Jerome of the problem of popular etymology (cf. K. 18:17). 414. Eglōm. Joshua 10:3, 12:12; K. 84:22; L. 260:45. Biblical information plus location. Greek and Latin disagreement on the distance (cf. K. 24:22 and K. 40:20). Ten is in agreement with K. 24:22 but that is probably not Old Testament Eglon. 415. Enemek (Inemec). Joshua 10:12; K. 84:25; L. 260:49. Hexaplaric information. Hebrew b is translated "in" or En (cf. K. 18:13). 416. Esōr (Esrom) also Asor. Joshua 11:1; K. 84:26; L. 260:50.

Simple biblical notation (Joshua 15:23 and cf. K. 20:1). 417. Enakeim (Enacim). Joshua 11:21; K. 84:28; L. 260:52. Probably a people and not a place as Jerome correctly indicates. 418. Ephrōn. Joshua 15:9; K. 86:1; L. 260:54. Textual variant. For north of Ailia the Vatican manuscript has "region of" Ailia. This appears in both the Bible and the Onomasticon with several similar names: e.g. Ephraim, Ophrah, Ephron, and Aphaerema. Probably the same as K. 28:4 which is five miles from Baithēl (K. 40:20) and to be found at et tayibeh. However, Baithēl is must less than 16 miles from Ailia. In K. 90:19 Eusebius' cross reference seems to distinguish this entry from Ephraim (K. 90:18). In the Ephraim New Testament entry (K. 90:18) it may be referring to the area or province around the village. 419. Edrai (Edre). Joshua 15:21; K.

86:3; L. 260:56. Simple tribal listing. In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* "Edrai, a flood supports men" (81).

420. Ethnan. Joshua 15:23; K. 86:4; L. 260:57. Textual variants: Ethman (Greek), Ethnam and Ethna (Latin). Simple tribal listing. 421. Ebeziouthia. Joshua 15:28; K. 86:5; L. 260:58. Several Hexaplaric variants are not given. This Greek form apparently confuses the Hebrew conjunction before the Hebrew proper names which begins with a B. Simple tribal listing. 422. Eu-ein (Euim). Joshua 15:29; K. 86:6; L. 260:59. Simple tribal listing. 423. Elthōlad (Elthōlath). Joshua 15:30; K. 86:7; L. n/a; Lacuna in Greek Text. Not in the Greek Vatican Manuscript. Latin variant Elolath. Simple tribal listing (cf. K. 98:22). In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* "Elthoeth, to the birth" (93). 424. Ereb. Joshua 15:52; K. 86:8; L. 260:60. Textual variants: Erem (Greek), for the contemporary village Heremetitha and Eremetatha (Latin). Jerome gives the etymology for Daroma i.e. "south." It may be at Kh er-rabiyeh southwest of Chebrōn (K. 6:8). It must be distinguished from K. 16:13, but the Vatican manuscript has noted "this is in Galilee of the nations. Kadesh (for Kana?) of tribe of Nephthaleim, former priestly city."

425. Essan (Esan). Joshua 15:52; K. 86:10; L. 260:33. Simple tribal listing. Vulgate has Esaan. Possibly same as K. 164:16. 426. Eloul (Elul). Joshua 15:58; K. 86:11; L. n/a; Lacuna in Greek Text. This entry is not in the Greek. The Latin seems to point to the present Halhul just north of Chebrōn (K. 6:8). A Moslem memorial to the prophet Jonas is located there. Probably the Alour-os or Alulos of Josephus Wars IV, 9, 6. 427. Eltheke. Joshua 15:59; K. 86:13; L. 260:63. The first part of this entry is missing in Greek but properly emended from the Latin. Textual variant for the contemporary village Theka (Greek). The Greek also lacks note about dependence on Ailia. Greek has 12 miles east and Latin has 9 miles south. It is almost due south at present Tequ but about 12 miles, so both entries seem to be confused even if quadrants are assumed. Latin reflects turn off from main road. Jerome's Commentary on Jeremiah 6 "A little village in the hills 12 miles from Jerusalem which we can still see. But in his introduction to Commentary on Amos, "a town (oppidum) six miles from Bethlehem to the south next to the desert." The Madaba map has Thekoya near Bethsur (K. 52:1). This is spelling of the contemporary site but not the Onomasticon's spelling for the biblical site (cf. K. 98:17).

This records another of several "tombs" or memorials in the Onomas-ticon. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Elthecem, he brought forth" (93). 428. Engaddi. Joshua 15:62; K. 86:16; L. 260:66. Textual variant Latin for the contemporary city- Engaddia, Engadila. Probably also in K. 68:18, K. 72:26, and K. 96:10. The Aulon is described in K. 14:22. This is another of the "large" villages noted by Eusebius (cf. Notes on 22:9; cp. Appendix II; K. 86:20 and K. 88:17). There are Persian, Roman and Byzantine ruins. Josephus' Antiquities IX, 1, 2 locates it 300 stadia from Jerusalem. Jerome in Commentary on Ezekiel 47:6 locates it on the Dead Sea where the Jordan enters. He also identifies it with Asasonthamar (8:6). It must be the present 'ain jidi. The notation on palms and balsams is also from Josephus where it is called a "city" (cf. I Samuel 24:1ff). It has been excavated. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Engaddi, well of goat" (93).

429. Esthemō. Joshua 15:50; K. 86:20; L. 261:70. Textual variant Esthema (Greek). Cf. K. 26:11 and Job 21:19 Asthemō. 430. Emekraphaeim (Emecra-faim). Joshua 18:16; K. 86:22; L. 261:72. Simple tribal listing with Hexaplaric information. Emek for "valley" as Gai also several times in LXX and Onomasticon. 431. Edōmim (Edomia). Joshua 18:17; K. 86:24; L. 261:74. The first part of the entry is missing in the Greek Vatican manuscript. Textual variants: Edomaia and Edumea (Latin). This is probably at ed Duma to the southeast. Note that K. 108:21 Ianō is also 12 miles east of Neapolis. Edouma is off main road from Akkrabbein. 432. Erma. Joshua 19:4; K. 88:1; L. 261:76. Simple biblical summary. Possibly same as K. 34:13. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Ermon, his condemnation" (93). 433. Ether. Joshua 19:7; K. 88:3; L. 261:78. Textual variants: Ieththira and Malatham (Latin) for contemporary sites. Madaba map has "Iethora which is Iethēra." Eusebius identifies Ether of Simeon with that of Iouda. It is possibly at Kh 'Attir. The Ietheira is probably found in K. 108:3 and K. 110:18. Malaatha is used as a referent in K. 14:3 and K. 108:3. It is south of Chebrōn (K. 6:8) in the Daroma (K. 86:8) at Tell Milh.

434. Eththa. Joshua 19:13; K. 88:5; L. 261:80. Simple tribal listing. LXX has confused the Hebrew here. 435. Elkath. Joshua 19:25; K. 88:6; L. 261:81. Textual variant Ethaē (Greek). Simple tribal listing plus added Levitical city of Job 21:31. Sometimes identified with Tell Harbij. 436. Elkōk (Icoc). Joshua 19:34; K. 88:7; L. 261:83. LXX has Ikak and Iakak. Simple tribal location from Scripture. 437. Edraei (Edrai). Joshua 19:37; K. 88:10; L. 261:86. Simple

tribal listing (cf. K. 86:3 in Iouda). 438. Elthekō. Joshua 19:44; K. 88:11; L. 261:86. Simple tribal listing plus added Levitical city (cf. Joshua 21:23). 439. Esthaol. Joshua 19:41; K. 88:12; L. 261:87. Summary of biblical information of Judges 13:25. This and the previous entry are inverted in the Latin text. Latin is in the biblical order but both Latin and Greek are out of order for the next entries. In K. 106:10 it is located near Ierimouth. The 10 miles is too short for the distance to 'Ishwa, but may mark turn off from main road to a lesser road (cf. Saraa also 10 miles north (K. 156:15) and Iermochos (K. 106:24).

In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Esthahol, pregnant with fire." (93). 440. Elba. Joshua 19:28; K. 88:15; L. 261:90. Simple biblical summary of Judges 1:31. Out of order. 441. Eremmōn. Joshua 19:7; K. 88:17; L. 261:92. Textual variant: Erembrōn (Greek). The direction "South in Daroma" is missing from Vatican manuscript. Another of the villages inhabited by Jews (cf. Note on K. 22:9; Appendix II; cp. K. 86:16). It is probably the same as Remma (K. 146:24). It is located at Umm er ramamin between Eleutheropolis (K. 18:12) and Bērsaba (50:11) about 15 1/2 miles away. Out of order. 442. Emmathdōr. Joshua 21:32; K. 88:19; L. 261:94. Textual variants: Emmachdōr (Greek) and Chamōth (LXX). Simple tribal listing plus added Levitical city. The Vatican manuscript Emmachdor may have confused this with Emekachōr (K. 84:18). 443. Emath. Judges 3:3; K. 88:00; L. 261:96. Another instance where "foreigners" is transliterated by Jerome rather than translated and identified as Filistines. Simple biblical location (cf. 122:10).

Possibly the same as K. 96:12; cf. 23:30 and K. 90:4. 444. Enlechi (Inlechi). Judges 15:16, 19; K. 88:21; L. 261:97. Textual variant in Lechi (Greek). Simple Hexaplaric data. The Greek has translated Hebrew B (cf. K. 122:16). Out of order. This and next entry are glosses. 445. Eniakebzēb (Inaczeb). Judges 7:25; K. 88:22; L. 261:99. Textual variants: Eniam and zēm. The LXX again has "in" for the Hebrew B and so "In Iakebzēb." Perhaps the same as K. 94:3 (see K. 88:21, a gloss). KINGS 446. Ergab. I Samuel 20:19; K. 88:24; L. 261:00. Biblical summary plus Hexaplaric data. 447. Echela. I Samuel 23:19; K. 88:26; L. 261:3. Textual variant Eccla (Latin) for contemporary village. A different tradition for the tomb at Gabatha (K. 70:22). The site must be Kh Kilah (cf. K. 114:15) where it is 8 miles compared with the 7 here, Keeila. 448. Elmōni. I Samuel 21:2; K. 90:1; L. 262:6.

Out of the biblical order. In Hebrew this means "such and such a place." Jerome repeats his philosophy for a translator rather than a corrector (cp. his preface 3:10f). 449. Esthama. I Samuel 30:26, 28; K. 90:2; L. 262:7. Textual variant Esthma (Greek). Simple biblical note on the spoils (cf. K. 34:13, 14). Probably the same as Asthemō (K. 26:11). 450. Elōth. II Kings 14:22; K. 90:3; L. 262:8. Simple biblical notation (cf. K. 6:16; K. 26:11; K. 36:1 and K. 62:13). 451. Emath. II Kings 14:25; K. 90:4; L. 262:9. These are all the same as Aemath (K. 23:30 and K. 88:20) the present Syriac Hamath (cf. K. 36:10). Jerome in Commentary on Amos 6:2 distinguishes "little Emath" which is Epiphania and "great Emath, which is now called Antiochia." Summary of biblical information from Isaiah 36:19; Zachariah 9:5; Ezekiel 47:16 and Amos 6:2. 452. Eser. II Kings 15:29; K. 90:9; L. 262:14.

Simple biblical notation. Same as K. 20:1, etc. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Eser, falsehood" (65). 453. Enacheim (Inachim) or Enbachein (Inbachim). Micah 1:10; K. 90:10; L. 262:15. Textual variant enbachein (Greek). Simple Hexaplaric information. Another instance of Greek en for Hebrew B. LXX has en Akeim. 454. Enaraba (Inaraba). II Samuel 2:29; K. 90:11; L. 262:17. Textual variant en araba (Greek). Out of order and again as previous entry Greek en for Hebrew B. Hexaplaric information only (cf. K. 12:25 and K. 16:12). 455. Elkesē. Nahum 1:1; K. 90:12; L. 262:18. Vulgate has elcessaeus. In Jerome's Commentary on Nahum, Introduction, he knows a little village in Galilaea called Elcesi which has old ruins around it, but this site should be in Judaea. 456. Emakeim (Emacim). Jeremiah 49:4; K. 90:13; L. 262:19. Textual variants: Enakeim (Greek) and Enacim (Latin). Symmachus missing in Vatican manuscript. Simple Hexaplaric information. THE GOSPELS

457. Emmaous (Emmaus). Luke 24:13; K. 90:15; L. 262:28. The identification with Nikopolis (K. 30:26) at Amwas is clearly made here as well as in Jerome's Epistle 108:8 (Paula PPT I, 4). In the Epistle Jerome remarks ambiguously on a church consecrated at the house of Cleopha. A bishop was at the Council of Nicea. Since Jerome, sometimes adds such information to the Greek Onomasticon it is surprising that he does not do so here. "Emmaous" is not on the Madaba map but Nikopolis is. On the Tabula Peutinger it is 12 miles from Diospolis and 19 miles from Gophna. In Itin. Bourd. it is 10 miles from Diospolis and 22 from Jerusalem. The distance in Luke does not agree with this location since it is too near to Jerusalem. Some feel the New Testa-

ment text has been changed from 160 to 60 stadia (also 60 in the Vulgate). 458. Ephraim. John 11:54; K. 90:18; L. 262:24.

Cf. K. 28:4 and K. 86:1. The Madaba map has "Ephron and Ephraia, where the Lord went." Probably the Map and Eusebius have the village at Et-tay-ibeh in mind as the nearest village to the wilderness.

SECTION Z

¹ GENESIS 459. Zaphōeim (Zafoim). Genesis 36:43; K. 92:3; L. 262:28. Textual variant Zofoim (Latin). Simple biblical information plus general location. On Gabalenē see K. 10:62. NUMBERS AND DEUTERONOMY 460. Zoob. Numbers 21:14; K. 92:6; L. 262:31. Quotation from Scripture and a biblical location (cf. K. 81:22). In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Zoob, gold" (85). 461. Zephrona. Numbers 34:9; K. 92:9; L. 262:34. Textual variant Idoumaia for Ioudaia (Greek). Simple border notation from Scripture. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Zeferuna, you saw this face, from mouth not from bone" (85). 462. Zared. Deuteronomy 2:13; K. 92:10; L. 262:35. The Madaba map has Zarea but the A must be an error for D. One of several ravines in the Onomasticon and of course suspect (cf. K. 168:20). JOSUE 463. Zeiph (Zif). Joshua 15:24; K. 92:12; L. 262:37. Textual variant Zit (Latin). Also in Greek Vatican manuscript this entry comes before the Jēshua division (cp. Below K. 92:15).

² Simple tribal listing. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Zif, sprouting" (98). 464. Zanaoua (Zannoua). Joshua 15:56; K. 92:13; L. 262:38. Textual variant Zanaousa (Greek) for contemporary town Zannua (Latin). The village is dependent on Eleutheropolis (K. 18:12) and probably at Kh Zanu'a. The last part of this entry and the first part of the next entry are missing because of the scribal error of shifting his eyes to the second occurrence of Eleutheropolis. It is also out of order and may be a late addition. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Zanoe, he drove back or he threw yours back" (98). 465. Ziph. Joshua 15:55; K. 92:15; L. 263:40. Latin reverses the order of information in the Greek text. The distance is double that for tell Zif but it is more south than east of Hebron. It is southeast of Eleutheropolis (K. 18:12) and could be considered in the East Quadrant. Perhaps the text meant to give mileage from Chebrōn (K. 6:8) but the distance seems to be taken from Eleutheropolis (cf. I Samuel 23:14). It could refer to a second village with the same name in the Negev.

³ KINGS 466. Zeib (Zif). I Samuel 23:14; K. 92:19; L. 263:43. Cf. previous entry Ziph. Region or hill country nearby are intended (cf. I Samuel 26:2 and I Chronicles 2:42. Karmelos (K. 118:5) is about 10 miles south of Chebrōn (K. 6:8). It is another village of the Jews (cf. Note on K. 22:9 and Appendix II). It is probably at Kh el Kamel, where Roman fort is found. 467. Zogera (Zogora). Jeremiah 48:34; K. 94:1; L. 263:48. One of the Pentapolis of Sodam (cf. K. 42:4). 468. Zēb. Jeremiah 49:4; K. 94:3; L. 263:51. The Mia of Josephus Antiquities XX, 1,1 and XIV, 8,1. An important battle took place in the area. The site Kh Zeiy is on the old Roman road near es Salt (cf. K. 88:22). In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Zeb, wolf" (101). 469. Zōeeth. I Kings 1:9; K. 94:5; L. 263:53. Out of order and not a true place name so suspect as an editorial addition or marginal gloss. The words "spring of Rōgēl" are not in Greek Vatican manuscript (see Rōgēl K. 144:13).

⁴ In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Zoeleth, dragging or dragging forth" (103).

SECTION E

¹ GENESIS 470. Ēlath. Genesis 36:41; K. 94:9; L. 263:57. Possibly related to K. 6:16 and K. 90:3 but that is south southwest not east of Petra (K. 142:7). More probably Uduh which is east at the proper distance. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Elath, terebinth or trees" (87). 471. 'Erōōn (Eroum). Genesis 46:28f.; K. 94:11; L. 263:59. In Egypt and out of the Holy Land proper for the Onomasticon (see Note on K. 58:7). Out of order as well, so doubly suspect as late addition. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Eroon, i.e. heroum, in his form or of sorrowful watch" (68). 472. Elioupolis (Eliopolis, city of the sun). Genesis 41:45; K. 94:13; L. 263:61. In Egypt and out of the Holy Land proper for the Onomasticon (cf. K. 176:3; cf. Genesis 41:50 and Exodus 30:17. 473. Etham. Exodus 13:20; K. 94:15; L. 263:64. Textual variants: Ebuthan (Latin) and Buthan (Syriac).

² Simple listing of station as Numbers 33:6 (cf. Onomasticon K. 46:4 above). In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Etham, complete or respecting ships" (75). JOSUE 474. Ēngannim. Joshua 15:34; K. 94:18; L. 263:67. Textual variant Egannim (Latin). The long E is used here after the LXX. This is a faulty identification. Perhaps the Onomasticon had 'ain Sinjah north of Baithēl (K. 40:20) and Gophna (K. 26:2) in mind. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Engannim, well of gardens" (93). 475. Ēnaim. Joshua 15:34; K. 94:20; L. 263:68. Cf. K. 24:16 above. 476. Ēndōr. Joshua 17:11; K. 94:22; L.

263:70. Summary of biblical information of I Samuel 28:7 and Luke 7:11. The New Testament material must be a later addition here but is not in K. 34:8 (q. v.). Located close to Nain (K. 140:3). If this text is correct in Joshua, 'Andur is the location. 477. Ēnganni. Joshua 19:21; K. 94:25; L. 263:73.

3 Textual variant Eganni (Greek). The one city has only biblical information Joshua 21:29. The other is near Gerasa (K.64:2) perhaps near 'ain jenna or 'arjam (cf. K. 16:21). 478. Ēnada. Joshua 19:21; K. 94:28; L. 263:76. The distance puts Ēnadab at Beit Netti if miles are measured as the road is here described. If coming the other way, the 10th milestone is from Jerusalem and points to location at 'Beit 'Itab. Neither have anything to do with the biblical site. The Madaba map has an "enetabe" between Diospolis (K. 8:14) and Iamneia (K. 22:10), but that is not this site. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Enadda, accurate well" (94). 479. Ēnasōr. Joshua 19:37; K. 96:1; L. 264:79. Cf. K. 84:26; K. 20:1 etc. LXX has "spring" but again the Onomasticon has Ēn. q.v. also Ain K. 24:15. 480. 'Ērakōn (Erecon). Joshua 19:46; K. 96:3; L. 264:81. Simple tribal border listing.

4 The Greek perhaps has E for the MT definite article or conjunction wav. (cf. K. 110:10). JUDGES 481. 'Ētam. Judges 15:8; K. 96:5; L. 264:83. Textual variant Etham (Latin). Simple biblical information. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Etam, their bird." (100). KINGS 482. 'Ēla. I Samuel 17:2; K. 96:9; L. 264:86. Textual variant Ēlath (Greek). Simple Hexaplaric information. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Ela, curse or self" (111). 483. Ēngaddi. I Kings 24:1; K. 96:9; L. 264:87. Cf. K. 86:16. 484. Ēmath. II Samuel 8:9; K. 96:12; L. 264:90. Another instance of transliteration by Latin of "foreigners" (cf. K. 88:20 and Jeremiah 49:23). 485. Ēnan. Ezekiel 47:17, 19; K. 96:14; L. 264:92. Out of the Holy Land proper for the Onomasticon but part of the Promised Land boundary in Ezechiël. The reference to Thamar is perhaps properly K. 8:6 with the same prefixed Hazar (cf. K. 14:16). For Thaiman see next entry (K. 96:18 and K. 102:7)

5 The city of Palm Trees is probably Palmyra (K. 100:21) northeast of Damascus (Latin variant has Palmetis). But Jericho also was called by this descriptive phrase (K. 104:25).

SECTION TH

GENESIS 486. Thaiman (Theman). Genesis 36:11; K. 96:18; L. 264:96. Summary of biblical information of Job 2:11 and Genesis 25:15. The village Thafman may be in the same region as that of the princes of Edom (cf. K. 102:7).

The distance of 25 miles brings us to Shobek which is 22 miles from Petra. Often thought to be at Tawilan but recent excavation has Iron through Hellenistic remains there and no Roman-Byzantine. The southern region in Hebrew is also called Daroma (K. 26:1); Negeb (K. 136:14) (see Jerome on K. 137:15 and Interpretation of Hebrew Names 44). If this is Thamana the garrison is verified by Notitia Dignitatum (74:46). In Tabula Peutinger Theman. Perhaps the 15 and 5 of the Greek and Latin texts respectively are both scribal errors. 487. Thamna. Genesis 38:12; K. 96:24; L. 264:3. Simple biblical note of Joshua 19:43 and 15:57 The Madaba map seems to be quoting Eusebius, "Thamna where Ioudas sheared his sheep." It is a village dependent on Diospolis (K. 8:14) and one of three villages called "great" (cf. Apbeka K. 22:20 and Magdiël 130:21). The biblical site has been held to be Kh Tibnē bur some claim to find no Israelite remains so Tell Batashi has been suggested. Kh Tibnah which retains the name has Roman-Byzantine remains and is southeast, that is in the Southern Quadrant from Diospolis and could approximate the location on the crowded map. Others on basis of K. 8:13 and K. 24:5 suggest it is northeast of Diospolis near Remphis (K. 144:28) and Aenam (K. 9:11 etc. cp. K. 70:20 and K. 100:1). Three sites combined in one place.

In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Thanna, forbidding or failing" (73). 488. Thamna. Genesis 36:40; K. 96:27; L. 264:6. Biblical summary of Genesis 36:12. "Another" is out of order and a late addition. Cf. Thaiman as a son of Esau in K. 96:19. DEUTERONOMY 489. Thophol (Thafol). Deuteronomy 1:1; K. 98:2; L. n/a; Lacuna in Greek Text. The next three entries are missing in the Vatican Manuscript. This is also the only place where the section heading records "Deuteronomy" by itself rather than all under Pentateuch, or under Numbers. Here entries from Numbers follow one from Deuteronomy and may all be an editorial insertion. Summary of biblical information and location. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Thofel, tastelessness" (88). 490. Thaath. Numbers 33:26f.; K. 98:4; L. n/a; Lacuna in Greek Text. Simple biblical list of station (cf. K. 82:21). Missing in Vatican manuscript. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Theeth, beneath" (85). 491. Thara. Numbers 33:27f.; K. 98:5; L. n/a; Lacuna in Greek Text.

Simple biblical list of station (cf. K. 82:21). Missing in Vatican manuscript. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Thare, investigation or pasture or worthlessness" (85). JOSUE 492. Thaphphou (Thaffu). Joshua 12:17; K. 98:7;

L. 264:10. Simple biblical summary. Probably falsely equated with each other cf. Joshua 15:34 Cf. Bēthaphou K. 50:18. Variants Berthaffu and Bethaffu (Latin). In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Thaffue, apple from a tree not from wickedness or open drum" (98). 493. Thanak (Thaanac). Joshua 12:21; K. 98:10; L. 264:14. Summary of biblical information of Joshua 17:11, 21:25. The Onomasticon's data agree with the biblical location of the important mound retaining its name Tell Ta'anak recently re-excavated. Byzantine city in the plain rather than on the tell (cf. K. 100:10) where it is three, not four, miles from Legeōn (K. 14:21). In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Thaanach, answering or shallow" (98) and "Thanach, shallow or he answered you" (101) and "Thanach, "he answered you" (K. 113).

494. Thēnath. Joshua 16:6; K. 98:13; L. 265:16. The direction and the distance suggest Kh Ta'na which contains part of the old name. The upper ruin is not far enough to be Eusebius' site Thēna which is at Kh Ta'na et tahta where much Roman-Byzantine remains are found. The Old Testament site may be Kh Ta'aa el foqa. Whether this is related to Silo (K. 156:28) is unclear from Eusebius. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Thenath, fig tree" (98). In Vatican manuscript these two entries are conflated. Simple tribal listings (cp. K. 98:7 above). 495. Thaphphoue (Thaffue). Joshua 16:8, 17:8; K. 98:15; L. 265:19. Simple tribal listings (cp. K. 98:7 above). 496. Thaphphouth (Thaf-futh). Joshua 17:8; K. 98:16; L. n/a; Lacuna in Greek Text. Simple tribal listings (cp. K. 98:7 above). 497. Thekō. Joshua 15:59; K. 98:17; L. 265:20. Cf. K. 86:13. It is out of order of biblical texts (cf. Amos 1:1).

498. Thersa. Joshua 12:24; K. 98:19; L. 265:23. Simple biblical notation. Order of several entries mixed up. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Thersa, pleasing which is what the Greeks call satisfying" (98). 499. Therama. Joshua 18:27; K. 98:21; L. 265:25. Simple tribal listing. 500. Thōlad. Joshua 15:30; K. 98:22; L. 265:26. Textual variant Thōdlad (Greek). Simple tribal listing (Joshua 19:4 and cf. K. 86:7 above). Perhaps out of order. 501. Thabōr. Joshua 19:22; K. 98:23; L. 265:27. This mountain is out of order so is suspect as a later editorial addition even if it were a town (cf. K. 118:8 and K. 150:14). All the traditions point to the same as Mt. Itabyrium in the Greek Fathers (110:20). Jerome in Commentary on Hosea 5:1 writes, "Thabor which the LXX interprets Itaburion" a mountain in the plain in Galilaea, "very round and high with all sides equal" (cf. Joshua 19:34). There is some evidence of a late fourth century church on Mt. Tabor. Procopius 1049A quotes

our text accurately. Jerome's Epistle 108:13 (Paula Migne PL 22, 889) notes that Paula could see Aermom from here. There and in Epistle 108:13 (Paula, Migne PL 22:491) Jerome remarks on the tradition of the Transfiguration. But Eusebius and Origen are not yet sure which of the two mountains is the Mt. of Transfiguration.

For Diokaisareia see K. 16:13. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Thabor, coming light" (98). 502. Thalcha. Joshua 19:7; K. 98:26; L. 265:30. Simple tribal listing together with note on contemporary Jewish town (cf. Note on K. 22:9 and Appendix II) which fits the evidence for Kh or Tell Khuweilife. In Jerome K. 99:27 one variant has "east" instead of "south," but quadrant is acceptable (cf. Sikelak, 156:1). For Eleutheropolis see K. 18:2. 503. Thamnathsara. Joshua 19:50; K. 100:1; L. 265:33. Summary of biblical information of Joshua 19:43. Probably equated with Thanna (K. 70:20) where the tomb is also mentioned (cf. K. 96:24). Paula remarks on "one who is buried in Thamnathsare on the north side of Mt. Gaas" in Jerome's Epistle 103:13 (PPT I, 12). Now identified with Tibne. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Thamnathsare, measure of a cover" (98) and "Thamnathares, enumeration of the sun" (101). 504. Thalassa. Joshua 18:19; K. 100:4; L. 265:36.

Out of order and not a place name but a sea and so suspect as late editorial addition. On Madaba map the three names all appear: Salt, Asphalt and Dead. In Jerome's Commentary on Ezekiel 47:6 "Bitter sea which in Greek is called AsphaltLake, i.e. pool of bitumen." Both lakes come at end of sections (cp. K. 172:12). On Zoara see K. 42:1 above. JUDGES 505. Thaanach. Judges 1:27; K. 100:7; L. 265:39. Cf. K. 98:10 above where the distance is 4 miles. Procopius 1061A quotes this entry here accurately except for the name Thenach (cp. Judges 5:19 and Joshua 21:25). 506. Thēbēs. Judges 9:50; K. 100:11; L. 265:44. Summary of biblical information of Judges 9:53. A village dependent upon Neapolis (K. 4:28). In Old Testament times a "city." This is an accurate location from milestones which have been found. It is at modern Tubas. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Thebes, a turning around or having an egg" (101) and "Thebes, they were in it or my deed" (109).

507. Thamnatha. Judges 14:1; K. 100:15; L. 265:49. Textual variant Thamnam (Latin) (see above K. 96:24 and K. 100:2). KINGS 508. Thēlamou land of (Thelamuge). II Samuel 3:12; K. 100:17; L. 265:51. Simple biblical notation with Hexaplaric information. A name only in LXX. 509. Thaad. II Samuel 24:6; K. 100:19; L. 265:53. Only a biblical location. A confused entry (cf. K.

34:16 above). 510. Thamsa. I Kings 4:24; K. 100:20; L. 266:54. Only a biblical location. 511. Thermōth. I Kings 9:18; K. 100:21; L. 266:55. Biblical notation and location only. This is probably Palmyra (cf. K. 96:15). 512. Tharseis (Tharsis). I Kings 10:22; K. 100:23; L. 266:57. This is out of the Holy Land proper (Ezekiel 27:25). Josephus *Antiquities* I, 6, 1 is interpreted in several of Jerome's commentaries as referring to Tarsus in Cilicia (cf. *Commentary on Jeremiah* 10:6 and *Commentary on Isaiah* 2:16). The LXX interprets it as Carthage (cf. K. 119:12), In Epistle 37:2ff. Jerome repeats his argument used here.

513. Tharsa. I Kings 15:21; K. 102:3; L. 266:61. A confusion in LXX but here a simple biblical notation. In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* "Thersa, pleasing" (113). 514. Thersila. II Kings 15:14; K. 102:4; L. 266:62. This is out of order and perhaps identical with K. 98:19 above as well as the previous entry K. 102:3 to which this may actually be a marginal gloss. It is located at Tsil northwest of Dera now in the Batanea (K. 44:11). The only contemporary Samaritan village reported in the text. 515. Thesba. I Kings 17:1; K. 102:6; L. 266:65. Simple biblical notation. Elijah is also referred to in K. 162:1 and K. 175:16. In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* "Thesbi, capturing or revolving" (113). 516. Thaiman (Theman). Ezekiel 20:46; K. 102:7; L. 266:66. An accumulation of biblical information from Ezekiel 25:13; Isaiah 21:14; Jeremiah 49:7; Obadiah 9, and Genesis 36:11. One cannot help wondering if these are editorial additions when they are so mixed up in order (cf. K.96: 18). Perhaps all Ezekiel references are late since many are out of biblical order in the text of the Onomasticon.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* "Theman, south" (123). 517. Tharthak. II Kings 17:31; K. 102:11; L. 266:69. Textual variant Tharak (Greek). Simple biblical notation. In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* "Tharthac, overthrown which is better in the Greek, upset" (118). 518. Thalassar. II Kings 19:12; K. 102:12; L. 266:70. Textual variant Thalassar (Latin). Syria does not occur often in the Onomasticon. It was a Roman province in 3rd and 4th centuries but it is not clear if that entity is intended here (cf. K. 72:15, K. 146:13 and K. 146:19). In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* "Thalassar, first weight" (118). 519. Thogarma. Ezekiel 27:14; K. 102:13; L. 266:71. Textual variant Thourama (Greek). Simple biblical reference but also perhaps out of the Holy Land proper and possibly out of order. A suspect entry. In In-

terpretation of Hebrew Names "Thogorma, tearing away or a certain kind of people" (133). 520. Thapheth (Thafeth). Jeremiah 7:32; K. 102:14; L. 266:72.

Textual variants: Tapheth (Greek, K. 164:21) and for the other site Acheldema (Latin) and Acheldama (Latin cf. K. 38:20). The fuller's field in K. 38:2. In Jerome's Commentary on Jeremiah 7:30 Topheth is the Valley of Ennom which is watered by the springs of Siloe. The name survived for a place or area in the valley southeast of Jerusalem. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Tof gehenna (cf. K. 70:2), or cover of eyes" (128).

SECTION I

GENESIS 521. Iabök (Iabōc). Genesis 32:23ff.; K. 102:19; L. 266:78. The distance is missing from the Vatican manuscript and several other confusions occur (Deuteronomy 3:16). This is a river and not properly a place name as the Onomasticon. Possibly also it is out of order. Just as the first entry under many alphabetic sections it is highly suspect as a late editorial addition. For Gerasa see K. 64:1. This tributary to the Jordan is the Zerqa. Syriac and Latin agree on the 4 mile distance. The Vatican manuscript added note that some think this is the territory of Job while others say the land of Job is Arabia (see next entry). In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Iaboc, sand or wrestling" (68). 522. Idoumaia (Idumaea). Genesis 36:16; K. 102:23; L. 266:82. Possibly the annotation of the Vatican manuscript as noted in the previous entry is really a marginal gloss on this entry. Edom is frequently mentioned in the Onomasticon; Idoumaia, less frequently. Petra (K. 142:7) is used as a referent often. The Gebalēnē (K.8:10) approximates the area.

In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Idumaea, red or earthy" (139). 523. Iather. Genesis 36:40; K. 104:1; L. 266:87. Textual variant Ietheth (Latin). Simple biblical notation. For Gabalenē see K. 8:10 as editor suggests. NUMBERS AND DEUTERONOMY 524. Iatabatha. Numbers 33:33; K. 104:4; L. 267:90. Textual variant Iegabath (Latin). Simple listing of station. This one is out of order suggesting an editor may have added the list of stations (cf. K. 104:23 also). In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Etebatha, of goodness or he turned aside to come" (82). 525. Ianna. Numbers 21:20; K. 104:6; L. 267:91. Textual variant has Phasga (Greek) as also the Latin Fasga. Summary of biblical verse to give location. 526. Iessa (Iassa). Numbers 21:23; K. 104:9; L. 267:94. Textual variant Medaban (Latin). Summary of biblical notations from Isaia 15:1 and Jeremiah 48:21, 34 with a very generalized location perhaps on border of the two regions. Vulgate has Iasa, Iassa and Iaser. Perhaps

Khel Lirr for the Onomasticon's site and nearby Kh Iskander or 'Aleiyān for Iron Age.

In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Iassa, halved or make a charge" (82). 527. Iazēr. Numbers 21:32; K. 104:13; L. 267:98. Detailed location and summary of biblical information from Joshua 13:25, Isaiah 16:8, Jeremiah 48:32, and Joshua 21:37. Usually Perea (K. 12:28) is used for Transjordan not for the specific province. In K. 12:3 a Iazer is 8 rather than 10 miles from Philadelphia. The Latin omits the "of Palistinē." Did some editor, in his time, know that Perea should not be called Palistinē? Perhaps Onomasticon's location is at Kh sar, but Kh jazzir is biblical site. Others see Tell 'areme as Eusebius' site. All are near present Nau 'r. 528. Iordanēs. Numbers 22:1; K. 104:20; L. 267:6. The rivers as noted before are all suspect in the Onomasticon but this one is in the proper order. The Jordan valley is the Aulon (K.14:22). In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Iordania, their descent or their possession or seeing judgment" (140).

529. Ietabatha. Deuteronomy 10:7; K. 104:23; L. 267:9. Simple biblical notation (see K. 104:4). 530. 'Ierichō. Deuteronomy 32:49; K. 104:25; L. 267:10. Summary of biblical events including New Testament times (I Kings 16:34 and Matthew 20:29) with incidental archaeological concern. No locations are given. The New Testament data may be an original contribution of Eusebius or may be a still later editor. Procopius 905C says 52 miles to Neapolis. But in 1016A he quotes this entry exactly. The Madaba map follows Eusebius' spelling and location. In Tabula Peutinger it is 12 miles from Archelaud (K. 45:1) and 32 miles to Neapolis (K. 4:28). A bishop was present at the Council of Nicea. The three cities are not clearly located or identified. The New Testament one was at Tell abu Aliyiq and spread out to the flats nearby and has been partially excavated. The later Byzantine was in the general location of present er-riha extending westward toward Aliyiq. Usually Tell es-sultan is called Old Testament Ierichō. But it has its archaeological problems in spite of being twice thoroughly excavated. Tell es-sultan is for Josephus and the Onomasticon not Jericho but Gilgal (K. 64:24). What the Onomasticon pointed out as Old Testament Iericho is uncertain but perhaps no ruins. Paula however reports as did Josephus that after Joshua destroyed it, up to her time "nothing is to be seen of it except the place where the Ark of the Covenant stood and the 12 stones which the children of Israel brought out of the Jordan" (PPT I, 25). Obviously this refers to Gilgal as the near ob-

literated Ierichō. Only the site of Gilgal was seen. In the Onomasticon many sites are located in reference to the Roman-Byzantine Jericho region.

JOSUE 531. 'Ierousalēm. Joshua 10:1; K. 106:2; L. 267:18. Adonibezek is LXX form for Adonsedek. A summary of biblical information from Josua 15:63, Judges 1:21, 19:10, II Samuel 5:6, Genesis 14:18 and Joshua 18:28. Identification is made with Iebous (K. 106:7) and Salēm (K. 153: 4). It is also called 'Alōn Orna (K. 34:17). The Greek text on the later entry about Salēm is corrupt. Onomasticon mentions Ailia more frequently than any other name (see Appendices VII and VIII). It is not listed in this entry because it was still a contemporary name. In 135 A.D. Hadrian began the use of Ailia Kapitōlia. Paula writes "entered Jerusalem, the city of three names - Jebus, Salem, Jerusalem - which by Aelius, afterwards Hadrianus, was raised from its ruins and ashes into Ailia" (Jerome's Epistle 108:9 and PPT I, 5). The Madaba map has a recognizable vignette and the "Holy City Ierousalēm." No mention is made to Church (cf. Note on K. 7:13 and Appendix I) in this entry although Eusebius knows of them (Vita Const. III, 31ff.) as did Paula (PPT I, 6). Some think Eusebius' praise of Constantine sermon was delivered in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.

Jerusalem or Ailia is often used as a referent in Eusebius and some details are given of its surroundings. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Iērusalem, vision of peace" (121). 532. Iebous. Joshua 18:28; K. 106:7; L. 267:23. Simple biblical quote to identify it with the above (K. 106:2). It is out of order and probably a gloss on the previous entry later incorporated by a scribe. 533. Iareim (Iarim). Joshua 9:17; K. 106:8; L. 267:24. Simple biblical notation (cf. K. 114:19 and K. 114:23). In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Iarim, salt or of the woods" (94). 534. Ierimouth (Iarimuth). Joshua 12:11; K. 106:9; L. n/a; Lacuna in Greek Text. The first part of this entry and the end of the previous entry are missing in the Vatican manuscript. The distance is also corrupted with 7 appearing in the Vatican and 4 in the Latin. Some emend to 14 on the basis of Procopius 1020C [cf. K. 106:24 which locates an Iermochōs 10 miles away from Eleutheropolis (K. 18:12)]. If near Esthaol (K. 88:12) it is on the way to Nikopolis (K. 30:27) rather than Jerusalem and must be at least 7 miles since Eathaol is 10 miles from Eleutheropolis. The turn off from the main road may be indicated. Probably Kh Marmita, south of Ishwa is intended by the Onomasticon but it is not the Old Testament site which is probably Kh Yarmuk (cf. Joshua 15:35).

In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Ieritnoth, fearing death or to the heights of death" (94). 535. Isimōth. Joshua 12:3; K. 106:11; L. 268:26. Biblical information with Hexaplaric data (cf. K. 48:6 and I Samuel 23:19). In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Isimoth, he brought death" (82). 536. Iedna. Joshua 15:23; K. 106:15; L. 268:30. This may be out of order. About halfway between the two major referents is Idna, the site which the Onomasticon has in mind. 537. Iekkomam (Ieconam). Joshua 12:22; K. 106:17; L. 268:32. Simple biblical information (perhaps see K. 116:21). 538. Iaeir. Joshua 13:30; K. 106:19; L. 268:34. Simple tribal listing (cf. K. 18:4). In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Iair, making clear" (94). 539. Iamneia (Iamnel). Joshua 15:11; K. 106:20; L. 268:35. Called a "polichne" and "oppidum" both relatively infrequent terms in the Onomasticon (K. 22:11, K. 10:25 and Appendix I and II). It was made into a municipality by Vespasian. Tabula Peutinger has it 10 miles from Azotus (K. 20:18) and 12 miles from Ioppē (K. 110:24). Its former name was Iabnēl and this name appears with Iamnia on the Madaba map at the generally agreed on location. There was a maritime Iamnia also but that is not the one intended here. A bishop was present at the Council of Nicea.

It is used as a referent in the Onomasticon (K. 22:10, K. 50:16 and K. 72:4). It is the present Iebna. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Iabnehel, building of God" (94). 540. Iabeir (Iabir). Joshua 15:15; K. 106:22; L. 268:37. Confused entry probably for Dabeir (K. 78:12). A similar confusion is in K. 78:2 Dayid. 541. Iagour (Iagur). Joshua 15:21; K. 106:23; L. n/a; Lacuna in Greek Text. This entry is missing in Vatican manuscript. Simple tribal listing. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Iagur, colony or stranger" (94). 542. Iermous (Iermus). Joshua 15:35; K. 106:24; L. 268:38. Just north of Beit Nettif is Kh Jarmuk which preserves part of the name and is about 10 miles from Eleutheropolis (K. 18:12) to the turn off from main road. It is probably to be distinguished from Ierimouth (K. 106:9) nearer to Nikopolis (K. 30:27). 543. Iechthaël. Joshua 15:38; K. 106:26; L. 268:40.

Textual variants: Iechthael and Iethael (Latin). Simple tribal listing. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Iecthahel, honor of God" (94). 544. Iephtan (Iecthan). Joshua 15:43; K. 106:27; L. 268:41. Simple tribal listing In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Iepte, opening or uncovered" (94). 545. Iether. Joshua 15:48; K. 108:1; L. 268:42. Textual variant Malatham (Latin). Eusebius erroneously identifies this with Ether (K. 88:3) of Symeon (Joshua 21:14). Here the information is added that it is entirely Christian, one of two such

in the south (K. 26:13). Kh 'Attir is probably this Christian town. Not on the main road (cf. K. 110:18), represented on the Madaba map as a small tower south of Gerara. For Malathen see K. 14:3 and Appendix II. 546. Ianoun (Ianum). Joshua 15:53; K. 108:5; L. 268:46. Textual variant Ianun (Latin). The strange addendum may be an editor's questioning the source. The biblical site is not clearly identifiable but near Kh Gile 'adi with Iron and Persian evidence. But Ianoua is perhaps el Yamun south of Taanach (K. 100:7) about 5 miles instead of 3 from Legeōn (K. 14:21) or Kh Niba with some Roman sherds. The 3 miles may be where one left the main road via Taanach.

In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Ianum, sleeping" (94). 547. Iettan. Joshua 15:55; K. 108:8; L. 268:49. Textual variant Iethan (Latin). Another of the all Jewish towns of the fourth century (cf. Note on 22:9 and Appendix II). The localization points to the present Yatta 6 miles south of Chebrōn (K. 180:25). It is southeast of Eleutheropolis (K. 18:12) but within the Eastern quadrant (cf. Joshua 21:16). In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Ietta, they will stretch out" (94). 548. Iezrael. Joshua 15:56; K. 108:11; L. n/a; Lacuna in Greek Text. This entry is missing in the Greek Vatican manuscript. Jerome's notation is obscure. What entry "above" is intended? Possibly 34:11? A marginal gloss? Simple tribal listing. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Iezrael, seed of God" (95). 549. Iezrael. Joshua 17:16; K. 108:12; L. 268:52. Textual variant Efratae (Latin). This entry is out of order unless confused with the previous one from Iouda. The Greek Vatican manuscript perhaps conflated the two. In the Commentary on Hosea 1:5. Jerome identifies Jezraelem as near Maximianopolis which is Legeōn (K. 14:21). The plain or valley was named after this town. The Itin. Bourd. 1, 19 (PPT I, 17) locates it 10 miles from Maximianopolis and 12 miles from Skythopolis (K. 16:2). This points directly to Zir 'in (cf. Joshua 19:18 and I Chronicles 4:3).

550. Iekdaan. Joshua 15:56; K. 108:17; L. 268:57. Textual variant Iekdaad (Greek). Simple tribal listing. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Iecdom, the people dwelled in" (95). 551. Ieph lithi (Ierflethi). Joshua 16:3; K. 108:18; L. 268:58. Textual variant Iefleti (Latin). Simple tribal listing. 552. Iano. Joshua 16:6; K. 108:19; L. 268:59. Summary of biblical information (cf. II Kings 15:29). Very close to Akrabbein (K. 14:7) is modern Yanum which fits the location and retains the sound of the Onomasticon's place name. Just north is Kh Yanum with Roman-Byzantine remains. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Ianua, rest" (95). 553. Iamein (Iamin). Joshua 17:7; K. 108:22; L.

268:62. Hexaplaric information. In LXX this is a place name. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Iamin, right hand" (96). 554. Iasēb. Joshua 17:16; K. 108:23; L. 268:63. Hexaplaric information. Out of order and doubly suspect as a gloss. 555. Ieblaam. Joshua 17:11; K. 108:24; L. 268:64.

Textual variant Iebalam (Greek). Simple biblical notation (cp. K. 72:24). In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Ieblaam, foolish people" (95). 556. Ierphēl. Joshua 18:27; K. 108:26; L. 268:66. Textual variant Ierdēl (Greek). Simple tribal listing. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Ierfel, God sent forth" (95). 557. Ieknal. Joshua 19:11; K. 108:27; L. 269:67. Simple biblical notation (Joshua 21:34). In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Iecnaam, possession of the people" (95). 558. Iapheth (Iafthie). Joshua 19:12; K. 108:29; L. 269:69. Iapheth is said to be the coastal port of Ioppē. Apparently it was sometimes confused with 'ēpha or Sykaminos around Mt.Karmēl. Neither 'ēpha nor Sykaminos are important to the Onomasticon but Ioppē is (cf. 110:24). In Joshua 19 an Iaphia in v.12 and an Iapho in v.46. The former is in Zebulōn and the latter in Dan. The Onomasticon conflates the two in this entry unless they switched loyalty in biblical times. Iaphia-Iapheth is falsely equated with Ioppē. The identity of Iaphia and 'Epha are not made clear.

Four sites are involved. Iaphia of Zabulōn is not really localized in the Onomasticon. It is probably Yafe near Nazareth. Ioppē was a well known port and referent for the Onomasticon and needed no localization. Sykaminos is located near Mt.Karmēl identified with 'ēpha but Sykaminos is probably south of Mt.Karmēl, Tell es Samak and Epha is north and is ancient area of present day Haifa. Sykaminos is an "oppidum" in Latin (cp. K. 10:25 and Appendix I). Iapho which is probably Ioppē is not mentioned here or in the entry at K. 110:24. But Vespasian made Ioppē a municipality. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Iafie, open or exposed or surface" (95). 559. Iephthaēl. Joshua 19:14; K. 110:1; L. 269:72. Simple tribal listing (cf. K. 10:6). In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Iafthehel, God reveals" (95). 560. Iadela. Joshua 19:15; K. 110:2; L. 269:73. Textual variant Ioudēla (Greek) Simple tribal listing. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Iedala, abuse of the hand" (95).

561. Iermoth. Joshua 19:21; K. 110:3; L. 269:74. Summary of biblical information from Joshua 21:29 and Hosea 5:8 (cf. K. 106:9). 562. Iamnēl (Iabnel). Joshua 19:33; K. 110:5; L. 269:76. Textual variant Iamel (Latin). Simple tribal listing (cp. K. 106:20). 563. Ierōn. Joshua 19:38; K. 110:6; L. 269:77. Textual variant Ierron (Greek). Simple tribal listing. In Interpretation of

Hebrew Names "Ieraon, they will fear" (95). 564. Iethlan (Iethlam). Joshua 19:42; K. 110:7; L. 269:78. Jethela (Vulgate) Seilatha (LXX). Simple tribal listing. 565. Iēlōn. Joshua 19:43; K. 110:8; L. 269:79. Simple tribal listing. 566. Ioud (Iud). Joshua 19:45; K. 110:9; L. n/a; Lacuna in Greek Text. This entry missing in Greek Vatican Manuscript Simple tribal listing. 567. 'Ierakō (Ieracon). Joshua 19:46; K. 110:10; L. 269:80. Some take "waters" me (mai) as the first syllable of a proper name. Simple tribal listing. This may be the same as K. 96:3, but the Greek may have conflated or confused two Hebrew place names. LXX has "sea of Ierakōn with border near Ioppē." The words border and mountain are quite similar in Greek and Hebrew for mountain is *har* which could be found in MT *harakkon*.

In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Ieracon, yellowish which Greeks call jaundiced" (95). 568. Iabeis Galaad. Judges 21:8; K. 110:11; L. 269:81. In K. 32:6 Iabis is a large city, but a village of Iabeis here. Procopius 1049A has the distance 20 from Pella (K. 14:19) and 60 from Gerasa (K. 64:2) which are obviously wrong unless the milestones were taken from other referents than those now in our text. The name continues in the Wadi Yabis. Onomasticon seems to point to Kir Isna or nearby Deir el Halaweh, with the former a Roman-Byzantine site to be preferred. This is not necessarily the identification of the biblical site, which may be Tell Maqlub. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Iabes, dry or dryness" (100). KINGS 569. Iaar. I Samuel 14:25; K. 110:15; L. 269:86. The etymology is in the LXX. This is not a proper name in the MT. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Iaare, salt" (108).

570. 'Ieramēlei. I Samuel 30:29; K. 110:16; L. n/a; Lacuna in Greek Text. This entry is missing in Greek Vatican manuscript and out of order in Latin. Jerome transliterates rather than translates the "foreigners." In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Ierameheli, God have mercy on me" (104). 571. Iether. I Samuel 30:26; K. 110:17; L. 269:87. Textual variants: Iethoeira (Greek) and Ieththira (Latin). Onomasticon identifies this with K. 88:3 and K. 108:2. 572. Iekmaan. I Kings 4:12; K. 110:19; L. 269:89. Simple biblical notation. 573. Itaburion. Joshua 5:1; K. 110:20; L. 269:90. Cf. K. 98:23. Thabor, perhaps out of order and suspect. 574. Iekthoēl. II Kings 14:7; K. 110:22; L. n/a; Lacuna in Greek Text. Interpretative biblical comment (cf. K. 142:7). In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Iethel, meeting God or help of God" (116). 575. Ietaba. II Kings 21:19; K. 110:23; L. n/a; Lacuna in Greek Text. Simple biblical

notation. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Iothaba, sinning in him" (116).

576. Ioppē. Jonah 1:3; K. 110:24; L. 269:92. Madaba map notes this was the home of Jonah. So also does Paula (PTT I, 4) (cf. K. 108:30 and Joshua 19:46. No details regarded as necessary for a flourishing "oppidum" (cf. K. 10:25; K. 163:6 and Appendix I). In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Ioppe, beauty" (124). THE GOSPELS 577. Itouraia, Also Trachonitis. Luke 3:1; K. 110:27; L. 269:93. This is the extreme northeast of the Onomasticon. On Trachonitis see K. 166:1. It is related to Basan (K. 44:9) and Batanaia (cf. K. 12:11). Arabia (K. 10:17) is the most frequently used of these geographical names but they are not clearly delineated in the Onomasticon, probably because the lists developed over several centuries of Jewish compilers, Eusebius and later editors and glossators. In the early fourth century there was an important town Maximianopolis not to be confused with the similarly named town in Jesreel.

In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Ituraeae, mountainous; this in Syria" (140).

SECTION K

GENESIS K. 112:2; L. n/a; Lacuna in Greek Text. In Greek the sub-division under this alphabetic section is "Genesis" but in Latin it is more correct as "Pentateuch." 578. Karnaeim. Astaroth Karnaeim. Genesis 14:5; K. 112:3; L. 269:98. The large village in Batanaia is one of the two villages of K. 6:4. The probability is that it is Sheikh Sa'ad about 16 miles northwest of Dera near Tell 'ashtarah (K. 12:11). The home of Job is noted in K. 142:3 and such a tradition from pilgrim times continued into the 20th century at Sheikh Sa'ad (cf. K. 76:10) For Batanaia see K. 44:11. The second Karnaia (I Maccabees 5:27ff.) belonging to Ailia perhaps is Ataroth (K. 26:25). Nine miles marks the turn off from main road northwest toward Bethoron from Jerusalem. All these are to be distinguished from Ataroth of Ephraim (K. 26:19) near Bir Zeit. 579. Kadēs. Genesis 14:7; K. 112:7; L. 269:3.

Simple biblical notation. In Hebrew Questions Jerome says "Cades is a place near Petra called the spring of judgment where God judged the people" (18). 580. Kadēa Barnē. Numbers 32:8; K. 112:8; L. 270:4. Textual variant city of Palestinē (Greek) instead of Arabia. This reflects again the uncertainty of editorial additions and of the use of Arabia in the Onomasticon (K. 110:27). Latin combines K. 112:7 and K. 112:8. Some confusion in order of

this and the next three entries. A summary of biblical information from Numbers 21:1, 11; Numbers 27:14 and Genesis 14:7. A tomb tradition is here. No location is given other than near Petra (K. 142:7). Procopius repeats the entry in 332D and 1021D. It also is reaffirmed by Jerome in Commentary on Ezekiel 38:23(cf. K. 46:26). In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Cades, holy or change" (63); "Cades, alteration or holy" (80); "Cadesbarne, selected change or changeableness" (80).

581. Kenaz. Genesis 36:11; K. 112:13; L. 270:9. Simple biblical notation. In Hebrew Questions (44) Jerome equated Theman (K. 96:18), Cenaz, Amalec (K. 16:5) with Idumaia (K. 46:11). In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Cenez, jealous or his possession" (63). 582. Kariathaeim. Numbers 32:37; K. 112:14; L. 270:10. Textual variants: Kariathieim (Greek). For contemporary site Coroiath and Eoraiatat (Latin). Another wholly Christian town (cf. K. 26:14) is located west of Madaba and probably indicates Kh el Qureiyat which is near the hot springs of Barē (cf. K. 44:22). Mileage indicates turn off from main Roman highway. Must be distinct from Kariathiareim of Jerusalem (K. 14:23). In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Cariathaim, towns or their city (oppidum)" (80). 583. Kariatharbo. Genesis 23:2; K. 112:18; L. 270:14. Textual variants: Kariathirbo (Greek) and Ceriath arbae (Latin). Etymological information and identification with Chebrōn (K. 6:8 and K. 170:25). It is out of regular order and probably suspect as addition. See all three entries above.

584. Kanath. Numbers 32:42; K. 112:20; L. 270:15. Vatican manuscript is incomplete here. Textual variants: Cannatha and Chanatha (Latin). Summary of biblical information and generalized location. The village is probably el Kanawat and along with Damascus and Bostra forms the eastern limit of the Onomasticon. In Tabula Peutinger it is 20 Miles from Bostra. Onomasticon confused Nabo (Numbers 32:42) and Naboth (Numbers 32:3, 78 and K. 136:6, 9) and perhaps is too far northeast for the biblical site. The Syriac has this "near Petra" which is an attempted correction getting nearer to Kerak. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Canath, striving after or zealous" (80). 585. Kata ta Krusea (Catatachrysea, i.e. to gold). Deuteronomy 1:1; K. 114:1; L. 270:19. Vatican manuscript adds "Deuteronomy" division marker here. The LXX and Vulgate translate the biblical Dizahab. The area is located by the Onomasticon as near Phainon (K. 81:16 and K. 168:8) in the Arabah (K.12:25) somewhere near Aqabah (cf. Deuteronomy 1:5 and Numbers

33:42). Perhaps Umm el Dahab which retains the sound and etymology. The mines were worked in Roman-Byzantine times as well as earlier. Smelters also in later era.

586. Kadēmōth. Deuteronomy 2:26; K. 114:5; L. 270:23. Simple biblical summary (cf. K. 114:10 below). In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Cade-moth, beginning of death" (86). 587. Kariath. Joshua 9:17; K. 114:7; L. 270:25. Simple biblical summary (cf. K. 114:23, K. 48:9, K. 48:24, and K. 172:15). And for Gabaon see K. 66:11. 588. Kades. Joshua 12:22; K. 114:8; L. 270:26. Simple biblical notation (cf. Joshua 15:3). 589. Kademoth. Joshua 13:18; K. 114:10; L. 270:28. Simple biblical notation (cf. K. 114:5). Here "another" is in the proper order. One of six only in the Onomasticon. All others are out of order. 590. Kedsōn. Joshua 21:37; K. 114:11; L. 270:29. Part of this entry missing in Vatican manuscript possibly by scribal homoioteleuton after Roubin. Gloss. JOSUE 591. Kapseēl. Joshua 15:21; K. 114:13; L. 270:31. Note "Iesoue" division here but four previous entries were from that book. Simple tribal listing. Possibly the same as K. 118:10.

592. Kina. Joshua 15:22; K. 114:14; L. 270:32. Simple tribal listing (cf. Tina (K. 164:14)). 593. Keeila. Joshua 15:44; K. 114:15; L. 270:33. Textual variant in Vatican manuscript 17 miles. Probably at Kh Qila today about 7 miles east of Eleutheropolis (K. 18:12) but 7 miles more properly a turn off. The tomb is also indicated as elsewhere (K. 70:24 and K. 88:27). This is also called Enkēla (K. 88:26). In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Cena, throw a slingstone or arousing him or bearing oneself" (92). 594. Kariathbaal. Joshua 15:60; K. 114:19; L. 270:37. A simple biblical notation (cf. K. 106:8, K. 114:23 and K. 48:24). In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Cariathbaal, he possessed cities or had possessed cities" (92). 595. Kana. Joshua 16:8; K. 114:20; L. 270:38. Simple tribal listing. A river (cf. K. 114:22). 596. Kabsaeim (Capsaim). Joshua 21:22; K. 114:21; L. n/a; Lacuna in Greek Text. Not in Vatican manuscript and out of order. Textual variant Camsaim (Latin).

Simple tribal listing. 597. Kane. Joshua 17:9; K. 114:22; L. 270:39. Simple tribal listing. A river (cf. K. 114:20). 598. Kariathiareim (Kariathbaal). Joshua 18:14; K. 114:23; L. 271:40. Summary of biblical items which are divided into two sections by a location indication. The additions after are perhaps from a later hand (Joshua 26:22, I Chronicles 2:50, Joshua 15:60, and Judges 10:4). Same as K. 114:19 above. Procopius 1024A agrees with the location and distance. In K. 48:24 however it is 12 miles not 9 as here (cf. K. 106:8 and K.

128:1). This location generally points to Qaryat al 'Inab area for the Byzantine site; possibly Deir el Azhar (cf. K. 116:20). In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Cariathiarim, city or village of the woods" (91). 599. Kisōn (Kision). Joshua 19:20; K. 114:28; L. 271:46. Simple biblical notation (Joshua 21:28). In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Cison, they drive against or their hardness or joy" (99).

600. Kartha. Joshua 21:34; K. 116:1; L. 271:47. Simple biblical notation, possibly out of order. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Cartham, complete a summons" (92). 601. Katta. Joshua 19:15; K. 116:2; L. 271:48. Textual variants: Kouta (Greek) and Cotta (Latin). Simple biblical notation, also possibly out of order. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Catath or Caath, bite or society" (92). 602. Kana. Joshua 19:28; K. 116:4; L. 271:50. Summary of biblical information including New Testament (John 21:1,2 and John 1:48). Only a general location is given. The Latin text calls the contemporary town an "oppidum" (cp. K. 10:25 and Appendix I). The Onomasticon equates Kanah with Cana. Kanah of Asher should be near Aidōn and possibly is at Qanah 6-7 miles southeast of Tyre (K. 162:15). The New Testament site is quite older, being in Galilee. It is close to Nazareth (K. 138:24) and Kapharnaum (K. 120:2), according to Jerome's Epistle 108 (Migne PL 22, 889 and PPT I, 15). In Epistle 46 (Migne PL 22, 91) it is very near Nazareth. It is probably to be located at Kh Qana but could possibly be Kefr Kenna closer to Nazareth. A late 4th century church is there.

Some scholars think Jerome's note on greater and lesser refer to Kana rather than to Sidōn. If so, the greater is the New Testament site and the lesser the Old Testament site. However, the text hardly supports this opinion. 603. Kades (Cades). Joshua 19:37; K. 116:8; L. 271:53. Summary of biblical information (Joshua 21:32, Joshua 20:7 and II Kings 15:29). Procopius 1049A has the first part of the entry only. Kydissos probably also known as Cadasa is located southeast of Tyre (K. 162:15) and is still known as Qades in Upper Galilee, north of Safed. 604. Kartham. Joshua 21:32; K. 116:12; L. 271:57. Simple biblical notation. JUDGES 605. Ketrōn. Judges 1:30; K. 116:15; L. 271:60. Simple biblical notation. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Cetron, their darkness or incense" (99). 606. Karka (Carcar). Judges 8:10; K. 116:17; L. 271:62. Biblical summary plus location. No direction is given. If north, it is near Shobek but it could just as well refer to south or southeast area (cf. Kerak sound).

In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Carcar, investigation" (99). 607. Kamōn. Judges 10:5; K. 116:20; L. 271:65. The identification by the Onomasticon is probably erroneous for the biblical site which should be in Transjordan. Kammona is near present Qamun which retains the sound of the name and is approximately 8 miles northwest of Legeōn (K. 14:21) and may be the Jokneam of the Old Testament for Iaeip (see K. 48:24 and K. 114:23). In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Camon, unprofitable reappearance" (99). The next four entries are all out of order and are not really names of places so are suspect as later editorial or scribal additions. 608. Kisōn. Judges 4:7; K. 116:23; L. 271:69. Simple biblical summary for the Wadi (cf. K. 114:28). 609. Kadēmim (Cademi). Judges 5:21; K. 116:25; L. n/a; Lacuna in Greek Text. Procopius 1061B puts these two places together and notes the possible confusion of Kisōn and Kadēmim in the Sisara and Debbōra story.

610. Koilas of the Titans (i.e. valley of giants). Judges 1:19; K. 116:26; L. 271:71. Procopius 1125C suggests "valley of the giants who are called Titans" (cf. II Samuel 5:18ff.). A gloss. 611. Klauthmōn. Judges 2:1; K. 118:1; L. 271:72. Etymological information not customary in the Onomasticon. This and the previous three entries are suspect on various grounds. KINGS 612. Keni. I Samuel 27:10; K. 118:4; L. 271:75. The order of entries in this entire section on "Kingdoms" is confused. Here the Latin identifies the "foreigners" as Pylistii. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Ceni, my copper or my be-reaved or passion" (80). 613. Karmēlos. I Samuel 25:2; K. 118:5; L. 271:76. In the Vatican manuscript this and the following item have been conflated. The village still retains its old name at Kermela 10 miles south (not east) of Chebrōn (K. 6:8). This direction in the Onomasticon is obviously an error since even the East quadrant which is sometimes intended in directions in the Onomasticon would not cover the road to Malatha. The "South" is in the entry for Chermel (K. 172:20 and cf. K. 92:21). Near Zeif is the home of Nabal at Chermela. Chermala probably had been fortified by Herod along with Zelfh. The garrison is reaffirmed by Notitia Dignitatum (72:6 and 73:20)(cp. Procopius 1020C). Chebrōn is an "oppidum" in Latin (cf. K. 10:25 and Appendix I).

614. Karmēlos. Mountain. I Kings 18:42; K. 118:8; L. n/a; Lacuna in Greek Text. The confusion with the above is possible because most mountains are suspect entries in the Onomasticon. The Greek manuscript lacks the first two words. The Latin does not have this entry. Jerome in Commentary on Amos

1:2 sees two mountains: one the home of Nabal, the other near Ptolemais. He repeats this distinction in Commentary on Isaiah 29:17. The home of Nabal near Chebrōn (K. 6:8) is in the previous entry as well as K. 172:20. This item is one of the few entries in the Onomasticon giving borders of the Roman-Byzantine period. The northern boundary of the Province of Palestinē is marked by the mountain. 615. Kabseēl II Samuel 15:23; K. 118:10; L. 272:81. Simple biblical notation not in the Latin text. Perhaps same as K. 116:13. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Cabseel, assembly of God" (107).

616. Kedrōn. I Samuel 15:23; K. 118:11; L. 272:82. Not originally a place name entry. The Latin adds New Testament John 18:1 note. Simple biblical location (cf. K. 174:26 and K. 70:2). In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Cedron, sadness or sorrow" (126). 617. Kurinē (Cyrene). II Kings 16:9; K. 118:13; L. 272:84. Probably outside the Onomasticon's limits for Holy Land. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Cyrene, heir" (144). 618. Kōa. I Kings 10:28; K. 118:15; L. 272:87. Textual variant Kōd (Greek). Not in MT, an LXX word. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Caue, endurance or sound of trumpet" (110). 619. Karchēdon (i.e. Carthage). Isaiah 23:1; K. 118:16; L. 272:88. Probably outside of the Onomasticon's limits for Holy Land (Ezekiel 27:12 and cp. K. 100:25). The reference to Hebrew Tharseis is repeated by Jerome in Commentary on Isaiah 33:1 and Commentary on Ezekiel 37:12. The Latin makes the clear identification with Carthago.

In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Carthaginis, investigation" (120). 620. Kollas Iōsaphat. Joel 13:2; K. 118:18; L. 272:89. Another detail of Jerusalem. The location given is the same as that for the Chebrōn (cf. K. 70:2, K. 118:11, and K. 174:26). In Interpretation of Hebrew Names Jerome adds nothing new. This is possibly only a marginal gloss in the Latin text. 621. Kedam. Ezekiel 25:4; K. 118:20; L. 272:91. Hexaplaric information. 622. Kēdar. Ezekiel 27:21; K. 118:21; L. 272:92. Summary of biblical information (Jeremiah 49:28, Isaiah 21:16 and Genesis 25:13) and a generalized location. The desert of Sarakēnē (K. 60:13) is related to the area of the Ishmaelites by Jerome in his Commentary on Jeremiah 2:10. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Cedar, sad or dark" (130). 623. Kariōth. Jeremiah 48:24, 41; K. 120:1; L. 272:95. Simple biblical notation. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Carioth, meeting of signs" (126). 624. Kapharnaoum. Matthew 4:13; K. 120:2; L. 272:96.

No special section in this listing for New Testament text. This is an "op-pidum" in Jerome (see Appendix I). Localization is general because in Eusebius' time this city at Tell Hum was flourishing. It was two miles from Chōrazein (K. 174:25). There is debate as to whether the New Testament site was here. Paula and the pilgrims visited this site (Epistle 108; PPT I, 16; Epistle 46 and Migne PL 22, 491). Here ends our reading for the letter C i.e. the Greek Kappa the rest are under the letter Chi, which has aspiration in itself and of which there is very little use in Latin. At the end of this alphabetic section Jerome adds another of his linguistic notes differentiating Greek and Hebrew letters and pronunciation.

SECTION L

GENESIS 625. Lasan. Genesis 10:19; K. 120:7; L. 272:1. Simple biblical location. Jerome in Hebrew Questions has "Lece which is not Callirhoe where the hot water pours out and flows into the dead sea" (14). In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Lesā, in salt" (68). 626. Louza (Luza). Genesis 28:19; K. 120:8; L. 272:2. Textual variant Louzan (Greek). General directions for Baithel-Louza are correct (K. 40:20ff and cf. Joshua 18:13). The road described in opposite direction in K. 40:20. Site is east and off the main road. 627. Louza (Luza). Judges 1:23; K. 120:11; L. 272:5. This "another" entry is out of order as frequently appears and seems to be a marginal gloss on the previous entry which has been incorporated into the text by a later scribe. The Onomas-ticon confuses a contemporary, continuing city with the above. The Greek has 9 miles and the Latin 3 miles from Neapolis (K. 4:28). The Latin is probably correct for Luza on Mt. Garisim still known as Kh al-loze. The 9 miles northeast may point to at talluza.

628. Lōtan. Genesis 36:20; K. 120:13; L. 272:7. Textual variant Lōtam (Greek). Possibly a name of a person has been confused with a place. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Loyan, their chain or he was confined" (82). NUMBERS AND DEUTERONOMY 629. Lebōna. Numbers 33:20; K. 120:15; L. n/a; Lacuna in Greek Text. This and the next entry are missing in Vatican Greek manuscript. Simple listing of station. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Lobna, white or shining white" (82). 630. Lobon. Deuteronomy 1:1; K. 120:16; L. n/a; Lacuna in Greek Text. This and the previous entry are missing in Vatican Greek manuscript. Simple biblical notation. 631. Lacheis. Joshua 10:3; K. 120:19; L. 272:9. Summary of biblical information (Isaiah 36:2, Jeremiah 34:7, Joshua 15:19). The Old Testament Lachish being re-ex-

cavated at Tell ed Duweir is not Lacheis as far as the Onomasticon indicates. The Old Testament site is about four and half miles, from Eleutheropolis (K. 18:12). Tell el Hesi (once identified as Old Testament Lachish) is almost twice the distance as here in the Onomasticon. A Byzantine site at Daweima is about 7 miles southeast and could be the one intended by Eusebius. Near Tell ed Duweir is an el Qubeibe which is more likely intended. Procopius 1020e repeats the Greek material here.

In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Lachis, it is march or man himself" (95). 632. Lebna. Joshua 10:29; K. 120:23; L. 273:13. Textual variant Leena (Greek). After the biblical summary (Joshua 15:42, Joshua 21:13 and Isaiah 37:8) only a generalized location is given. The Old Testament may be Tell Judeidah or Tell es-Safi. The later is Saphitha for the Madaba map. Lobana is not on the map. Eusebius may see Tell Bernat. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Lohna, dazzling white or tiles" (95). 633. Laserōn (Lasaran). Joshua 12:18; K. 122:1; L. 273:17. Simple biblical notation. 634. Lithos Boen. Joshua 15:6; K. 122:3; L. 273:19. Textual variant Boethou (Greek). The "stone" has been translated into a proper name. 635. Labōth. Joshua 15:32; K. 122:4; L. 273:20. Textual variant Labōn (Greek). Simple tribal listing (cf. K. 52:15). In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Lebo, entrance or coming" (5). 636. Lamas. Joshua 15:40; K. 122:5; L. 273:21.

Simple tribal listing. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Laamas, to iniquity" (95). 637. Labōth. Joshua 19:6; K. 122:6; L. 273:22. Textual variant Laboth (Latin). Simple tribal listing. 638. Labanath. Joshua 19:26; K. 122:7; L. 273:23. Simple tribal listing. 639. Lakoum. Joshua 19:33; K. 122:8; L. 273:24. Simple tribal listing. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Lacum, to honor" (95). JUDGES 640. Labōemath. Judges 3:3; K. 122:10; L. 273:26. Textual variant Lamoemath (Greek). Hexaplaric information (cf. K. 88:20). Note order shift in these entries. 641. Lesem. Joshua 19:47; K. 122:11; L. 273:27. Simple biblical notation (cp. K. 76:6). Order confused. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Lesem, to name" (95). 642. Louza. Judges 1:26; K. 122:12; L. 273:29. "Another" is frequently suspect but if previous entries are confused this is one of the few in the proper biblical order (cf. K. 120:8, 11 and Baithēl K. 40:20). 643. Lechei. Judges 15:19; K. 122:16; L. 273:32.

Hexaplaric Information. The Latin lacks the first "in jaw" but it may stand for Enlechi and is not a translation (cf. K. 88:21). 644. Laisa. Judges 18:27ff.; K. 122:17; L. 273:33. Textual variant Leisa (Greek). Summary of bib-

lical information and geography (Judges 20:1, Isaiah 10:30. Old Testament Laia probably Tell el Qadi. Perhaps refers to K. 122:11 and K. 76:6 (Tell Dan) or else to other references to Paneas and sources of the Jordan. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Laisa, lion" (121). KINGS 645. Lemattara. I Samuel 20:20; K. 122:23; L. 273:38. Procopius 1108A has Lamattaran. Simple biblical notation and Hexaplaric information. Hebrew has become a proper name through transliteration (cf. K. 88:24). 646. Ladabar. II Samuel 9:4; K. 122:25; L. 273:40. Textual variants: Lakamer (Greek) and Memphybosthe and Miphiloseith (Latin). Simple biblical notation. 647. Lōdabar. II Samuel 17:27; K. 122:26; L. 273:41. Simple biblical notation. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Lodabar, the word itself" (108).

648. Libanos. I Kings 5:9; K. 122:27; L. 273:42. A mountain, therefore a suspect entry (cf. K. 18:8). 649. Loueith (Luith). Isaiah 15:5; K. 122:28; L. 273:43. The location is very general. Some identify Loueitha near Mt. Nebo and others nearer Areopolis (K. 10:17). Perhaps still best at Kh Fas. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Luith, jaw or cheek" (121).

SECTION M

GENESIS 650. Manassē. Genesis 10:30; K. 124:3; L. 273:47. Simple biblical notation. Outside of Holy Land proper according to Onomasticon's limits. Procopius 312B says "Massē territory in India is called thus". In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Mesa, infrequent water or from the Lord" (69). 651. Mambre. Genesis 13:18; K. 124:5; L. 273:49. Identified with Chebrōn (K. 170:25) and Arboc (K. 6:8) (cf. also Oak of Mamrē in K. 76:1). The "see above" interrupts the biblical information so the later notations after that are suspect (Genesis 14:13). In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Mamre, division or clear" (69). 652. Madiam. Genesis 25:2; K. 124:8; L. 274:52. Textual variants: Cethura and Cettura (Latin). Greek lacks "near Arnon." Procopius 405A says, "City Madiam extends beyond the Arabian desert, formerly Pharan, to the east of the Red Sea. Whence the Madianites, the people of Madiam, son of Abraam and Chettoura as is clear. Iothor, the father-in-law of Mōuses was descended from Abraam and of the family of Madiam" (cf. Exodus 2:16 and Numbers 10:29). Josephus Antiquities II, 2, 1 reports a town of Madian situated by the Red Sea "named after one of Abraham's sons by Katura (cf. Jerome's Commentary on Isaiah 60: 6 "now Saba" is added by way of identification. Text does not really locate this city.

The second deserted city near the Arnonas (K. 10:15) and Areopolis (10:17) is perhaps el middin southeast of Kerak. In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* "Madan, measuring or answering" (69). 653. Mōab. Genesis 36:35; K. 124:15; L. 274:59. Genealogical reference to Genesis 19:37. Moab is around Areopolis (10:17) which is also called Rabbath Moab (cf. K. 10:13 and K. 36:24). In Jerome's *Commentary on Amos 2:1* "Moab or metropolis of the Moabites which is applied to the whole complete province." In his *Commentary on Zephaniah 8* "Moab which is now called Areopolis." Probably the present town of Rabba. In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* "Moab, from the father" (69). 654. Masrēka. Genesis 36:36; K. 124:18; L. 274:62. Textual variant Maasrēka (Greek). A personal name becomes a place name. Located in general Gebalēnē (K. 10:62). The name may be preserved in jebel mushraq. In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* "Masreca, void tax or hissing or dragging" (69).

655. Mabsar. Genesis 36:42; K. 124:20; L. 274:63. Textual variant Masaris (Greek). A large village dependent upon Petra (K. 142:7) in the Gebalēnē (K. 8:10). This may be a bastardization of Bosor (K. 46:11) in Idumaea, not Bostra north toward Damascus. In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* "Mabsar, fort" (69). 656. Magediēl. Genesis 36:43; K. 124:22; L. 274:65. A proper name of a person given to a place (cf. K. 124:18 above). In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* "Magdihel, from promise of God or tower of God or God makes me great" (69). EXODUS 657. Magdolos. Exodus 14:2; K. 124:25; L. 274:68. Vatican manuscript lacks the name at beginning of the entry. A station (cf. K. 44:2) with additional biblical information (Ezekiel 29:10, Jeremiah 44:1 and Jeremiah 46:14). Possibly two places are combined in this entry. For Soene see K. 162:16. In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* "Magdolon, how great or tower" (76).

658. Merra. Exodus 15:23ff.; K. 126:3; L. 274:73. Summary of biblical information after etymology. No location given. In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* "Mara or Merra, bitterness" (76). NUMBERS AND DEUTERONOMY 659. Mnemata epithumias. Numbers 11:34; K. 126:6; L. 274:76. The MT proper name has been translated into Greek and etymology given. Simple station listing. 660. Makēlōth. Numbers 33:25; K. 126:8; L. 274:78. Simple station listing. In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* "Maceloth, church" (82). 661. Mathekka. Numbers 33:28; K. 126:10; L. n/a; Lacuna in Greek Text. This entry is missing in Greek Vatican manuscript. Simple station listing. In In-

terpretation of Hebrew Names "Mathca, sweetness or satiated" (82). 662. Masourouth. Numbers 33:30; K. 126:12; L. 274:80. Simple station listing. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Maseroth, excluding or chains or succeeding or of discipline. In our codex we read Mazureth" (82). 663. Maththanem. Numbers 21:18; K. 126:14; L. 274:82. This entry is out of order and is therefore suspect.

The location is on the edge of the desert. Kh or Tell el Medeiyineh is approximately at this indicated location and would be the eastern outpost for Madaba (K. 128:19). In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Mathana, gift" (82). 664. Misōr. Deuteronomy 3:10; K. 126:16; L. 274:84. Simple biblical notation (cf. K. 128:17). In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Misor, straight or plain or field" (87). 665. Machanarath. Deuteronomy 3:7; K. 126:17; L. 274:85. Simple biblical notation. The MA may be the Hebrew "from." The LXX also has this form. 666. Madbaris. Deuteronomy 4:43; K. 126:18; L. 275:86. Textual variant Mambrēs (Greek). An etymological entry. 667. Misadai. Deuteronomy 10:6; K. 126:19; L. 275:87. Greek confused the Hebrew R for D. Onomasticon and LXX often make this error. Is this distinguished from K. 176:71? Bible and Onomasticon are not clear. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Mosera, teaching or his instruction" (87). JOSUE 668. Makēda. Joshua 10:10; K. 126:22; L. 275:90.

Procopius 1021A includes this same location. Eusebius does not agree with the biblical information on location. He seems to locate it southeast at Kh Beit Maqдум off the main road. Some think the text should read "North." Tell es Safi is northwest at this distance and may be the ancient Makkedah. The Old Testament site is still unidentified with scholarly debate. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Maceda, burning or east or antecedent, that is prior" (95). 669. Madōn. Joshua 11:1; K. 126:26; L. 275:94. Textual variant Modad (Greek) (cf. LXX Mōdōn). Simple biblical notation. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Madon, contradiction or habitation" (95). 670. Massepha. Joshua 11:3; K. 128:1; L. 275:96. A confused summary of biblical information (Joshua 15:38; I Samuel 7:1; Jeremiah 40:6 and Judges 20:1) seems to combine several different sites into this one entry (Judah, Galaad and Benjamin). It is quoted by Procopius 1024A (cf. K. 130:2 Masseba).

For Kariathiareim see K. 114:23.I In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Masefa, watchtower" (95). 671. Merran. Joshua 11:7; K. 128:4; L. 275:99. The identity of this site is not known by the Onomasticon. Eusebius seems to be

confused by the similar sound of Merrous (cf. Marous below K. 128:13). The distance is quoted exactly by Procopius 1021D. Probably just east of Dothan (K. 76:13) at *Qasr Mahrūn*, in Sebaste Territory. Dothan is also "12 miles" so perhaps this was turn off to the east. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Marom, high or from height" (95). 672. *Mastraiphōth Maim*. Joshua 11:8; K. 128:7; L. 275:2. Hexaplaric information. Procopius 1021D notes others call it the water or sea of Masepha (cf. above K. 128:1). In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Masarfoth, fire or from the tribulation of the platform" (96). 673. *Machathi*. Joshua 12:5; K. 128:9; L. 275:4. Simple biblical summary (Joshua 13:11, 13).

In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Maachathi, cut belly or broken by me" (96). 674. *Marōm*. Joshua 12:20; K. 128:12; L. 275:7. Simple biblical notation. Perhaps "above" refers to K. 128:15. Most of this entry missing in Vatican manuscript. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Marom, another unpleasant or sadness" (96). 675. *Maggedo*. Joshua 12:21; K. 128:14; L. 275:9. Textual variant *Magsddō* (Greek). Simple biblical information. Jerome speaks of the plain of Megiddo in Epistle 103:8 (PPT I, 4). In his Commentary on Zachariah 12:11 he notes Hadadrimmon is in valley of Megiddo. Ancient Megiddo has been well excavated. No indication here is made of its connection with *Legeōn* (K. 14:21) or the Byzantine name Maximianopolis. Procopius also only summarizes biblical material without location (1048A and 1061A). In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Mageddo, of his fruit or his disgrace" (96). 676. *Misōr*. Joshua 13:9, 16; K. 128:17; L. 275:11. Hexaplaric information plus biblical summary (Joshua 20:8 and 21:36). On *Meddaba* (cf. K. 128:19 and K. 126:16).

677. *Meddaba*. Joshua 13:9; K. 128:19; L. 275:13. An important referent for the Onomasticon. It is an autonomous city in the province of Arabia between *Esebōn* (K. 84:1) and *Dibōn* (K. 76:17). The Valley (K. 128:17) may be the plain from *Meddaba* to *Dibōn*. The famous Madaba map is here, recently cleaned and in part restored. There are vast ruins at Medaha. The source of the Madaba map may have been the sketch Eusebius claims to have prepared for this work plus of course the entries of this work itself (cf. K. 2:8 and Introduction). In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Medab, hunger of water" (96) and "Madaba, nativity" (96). 678. *Mēphaath*. Joshua 13:18; K. 128:21; L. 275:15. Two sites combined here. One only a tribal listing. The other a similar sounding name in Transjordan. The second may be *Mophath* (K.

134:14). A garrison reported by Notitia Dignitatum (81:19) at a place called Mefa. This is near the Syrian or Arabian desert probably at Nefa'a northeast of Esebōn (K. 84:1) which in part preserves the name but it is not pre-Christian in date.

In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Mefaath, motion of matter or from this time" (96 and 127). 679. Maspha. Joshua 13:26; K. 130:1; L. 275:18. Textual variants: Massēma (Greek) and Messafa, Masafa, and Masfas (Latin). Three items are combined in one in Greek. A simple tribal listing (Josh 21:36). A contemporary town near Eleutheropolis (18:12) and another near Aelia (Joshua 15:38). Jerome corrects this to make one separate item of the last. The best identification is Kh Safiyeh just over a mile northeast of Eleutheropolis. The biblical Mizpeh is most complicated and perhaps led to the confusion in this entry as well as in K. 128:1. 680. Manaeim. Joshua 13:26; K. 130:4; L. 275:21. Textual variant Maanaim (Latin). Simple biblical summary with generalized location (Joshua 21:36). In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Manaim, camps" (96). 681. Mōlada (Moladab). Joshua 15:26; K. 130:6; L. 275:23. Simple tribal listing (Joshua 19:2). Perhaps same as Malaatha (K. 14:3).

682. Medebēna (Medemena). Joshua 15:31; K. 130:7; L. 276:24. Textual variant kōmē (village) Noeis (Greek). Eusebius makes an identity here which is followed by the Madaba map: "Madebēna which is now Mēnois." He has probably confused two similar Hebrew names with the contemporary site (Isaiah 10:31). Madmannah is in the Negev northeast of Bērsaba and falsely equated with Menois. Madmenah is near Jerusalem but not clearly identified as yet. Menois is 11 miles southwest of Gaza just off the way to Raphia (K. 50:18). Probably it is at Kh Ma'in. It is possible that "near Gaza" reflects still a fourth site that increases the confusion of the Onomasticon perhaps pointing to Maiumas, the port of Gaza. At Menois the Notitia Dignitatum (73:19) reports a Roman garrison which is overlooked in our text. Called "oppidum" in the Latin (cf. K. 10:25 and Appendix I while Greek has Gaza polichne, a rare use (cf. K. 22:11 and Appendix II).

In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Medabena, from burden" (96). 683. Magdala. Joshua 15:37; K. 130:9; L. 276:26. Simple tribal listing. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Magdalgad, tower of pirate or tower of armed" (96). 684. Marēsa. Joshua 15:44; K. 130:10; L. 276:27. The village no longer existed but ruins were identifiable in Eusebius' time just south of Eleutheropolis (K. 18:12) at Tell Sandahannah. No direction is given in the Onomasticon. Only

five other villages are in ruins or deserted according to the Onomasticon. Near the Tell is Kh Mar'ash which retains the name. This town was destroyed in 40 B.C. and from then on the site which became Eleutheropolis began to be developed. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Maresa, from the head" (96). 685. Maōn. Joshua 15:55; K. 130:12; L. 276:29. Textual variant Manōn (Greek). Also by dittography from above K. 130:10 "it is now deserted" but could be correct information also (cf. K. 134:16).

The tribal entry has only a general localization. Possibly Tell or Kh Ma'in south of Chermēla (K. 92:20) and Chebrōn (K. 6:8). Perhaps border of Daroma (K. 26:10). In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Maon, little habitation" (96). 686. Marōth. Joshua 15:59; K. 130:13; L. 276:31. Simple tribal listing. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Maaroth, canes" (96). 687. Maddei (Maddi). Joshua 15:61; K. 130:14; L. 276:32. Simple tribal listing. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Meddin, judgement" (96). 688. Maspha. Joshua 18:26; K. 130:15; L. 276:33. Simple tribal listing. Possibly out of order. 689. Machtrōth. Joshua 17:7; K. 130:16; L. 276:34. Textual variants in Greek sometimes ascribed to Zaboulōn or Benjamin. Simple tribal listing. 690. Marala. Joshua 19:11; K. 130:17; L. 276:35. Textual variants in Greek sometimes ascribed to Manassē or Benjamin. Biblical information. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Marala, bitter embarkation" (96). 691. Masan. Joshua 19:26; K. 130:18; L. 276:36. Tribal listing plus biblical information and location (Joshua 21:30).

692. Meeleph (Maeleb). Joshua 19:33; K. 130:20; L. 276:38. Textual variant Methlem (Greek). Simple tribal listing but the Greek confused the Hebrew M of "from" with the proper name. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Maalaf, from thousand or from teaching" (96). 693. Magdiel. Joshua 19:38; K. 130:21; L. 276:39. One of the few villages in the Onomasticon called "Great" in the Greek text (K. 22:10 and K. 96:25). Did the size of the town change in the century between Eusebius and Jerome or is it all a matter of relativity? The location is in error. Some Greek texts have 9 miles but the Latin 5 miles is well attested in Greek also. At 5 miles is Kh Maliha which is Migdal Malha of the Talmud. Nine miles brings one slightly beyond Atlit where road could have turn off to mitilia. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Magdalahel, tower of my God" (96).

JUDGES 694. Mosphetham (Mosfethaim). Joshua 5:16; K. 130:24; L. 276:42. Textual variants: Mosphethaim (Greek) and Mosfethain, Mosfetham

(Latin). Hexaplaric information which is reflected in Procopius 1060A. 695. Mōre. Judges 7:1; K. 130:25; L. 276:43. Biblical information only. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Mere, manifest or lightened or opening" (100). 696. Mannēth. Judges 11:33; K. 132:1; L. 276:44. Textual variants Mensēth (Greek), Manith (Latin). The geography in the biblical account itself is difficult to understand. The identity with Maanith by the Onomasticon is questionable since it is a battle area not a village. Some suggest Umm el Hanafish but the location is most uncertain especially since the Vulgate does not make the name that of a town but merely translates the Hebrew word. 697. Machmas. I Samuel 13:2; K. 132:3; L. 276:47. Textual variant Machma (Greek). Geographical identity made with present Mukhmas northwest of er-Ram. The distance given from Jerusalem is accurate for this identification.

In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Machemas, submission or misappropriated" (104). KINGS 698. Messab. I Samuel 14:1; K. 132:6; L. 276:50. Textual variant Greek adds Gaba of Saoul. Even though biblical information, Jerome calls this "oppidum." Here he is literally right since it is a fortified town. It is however difficult to consistently relate his use of "oppidum to fortified city" or "shrine with suburbs" in most other entries (cf. K. 10:25 and Appendix I). 699. Magdōn (Magrōn). I Samuel 14:2; K. 132:8; L. 276:51. Textual variant Magaōn in Greek after LXX. Simple biblical notation. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Margeddon, holding on" (104). 700. Massēpha "of Moab." I Samuel 22:3; K. 132:9; L. 276:52. Simple biblical information. Another of the many biblical Mizpeh's (cf. K. 128:1 and K. 130:1,15). 701. Masereth. I Samuel 23:14; K. 132:11; L. 276:54. Biblical information plus Hexaplaric. It is deserted in the 4th century according to the Latin. Greek may suggest biblical "wilderness."

702. Masbak. II Samuel 8:8; K. 132:13; L. 276:56. The MT is confused but the Greek again seems to have used the Hebrew M "from" as part of the proper name. LXX has Masbach. 703. Mela (i.e.,) Gemela. II Samuel 8:13; K. 132:14; L. 276:57. Textual variants: Malagēmala, Mala ē Gēmala (Greek), Latin has "valley of salts." Hexaplaric information only (cf. K. 72:28). 704. Maacha. II Samuel 10:6; K. 132:15; L. 276:58. Textual variant Malaka (Greek). The text is confused in MT and LXX. It seems as if a personal name has been made into a place name. 705. Mōdeim. I Maccabees 2:1; K. 132:16; L. 276:59. Out of the order of the text. Madaba map has "Mōdeim which is now Mōditha home of the Makkabai" located east of Diospolis (K. 8:14). This loc-

ation fits el Midjeh. The interest in graves is high in our text but possibly not with the original text of Eusebius. The Madaba map alternate name is a late Aramaic name for this most significant site.

706. Mapsar Turou. II Samuel 24:7; K. 132:18; L. 276:61. Textual variants are many and so are suggested emendations. Hexaplaric information. It is the Fort of Tyre (K. 162:15). 707. Masa. I Kings 2:35 and I Kings 9:15; K. 132:20; L. 277:63. Textual variants: Magaō and Magdō (Greek). Simple biblical notation. Difficult to relate this to Megiddo in its present form (cp. K. 128:14). Possibly relates to Hazor (K. 34:18 and K. 90:9). 708. Meebra. I Kings 4:12; K. 132:21; L. 277:64. Hexaplaric information. Perhaps emend to Meeber. A gloss. 709. Makes. I Kings 4:9; K. 132:22; L. 277:65. Simple biblical notation. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Maces, from the end" (111). 710. Melō (Mello). I Kings 9:15; K. 134:1; L. 277:66. Textual variant Melo (Latin). Simple biblical notation plus Hexaplaric information. Perhaps related to similar Millo at Shechem as in Judges 9:6, 20. 711. Maidan. I Kings 9:15; K. 134:3; L. n/a; Lacuna in Greek Text.

Simple biblical notation (cf. K. 132:20). Maidan often used for the eastern country beyond the desert but not here. 712. Memphis. Hosea 9:6; K. 134:4; L. 277:67. Out of the proper Onomasticon's limits of the Holy Land. Summary of biblical information (Ezekiel 30:13; Jeremiah 2:16 and Jeremiah 44:1). On Egyptian sites see K. 58:7. 713. Macha. Hosea 9:16; K. 134:6; L. 277:70. Hexaplaric information. Perhaps same as above. LXX text confused (cf. K. 164:24). 714. Milētos. Ezekiel 27:18; K. 134:7; L. 277:71. This is from the LXX only and is not MT. It is also outside the proper Onomasticon's boundaries for the Holy Land and is therefore suspect as an entry from a later hand. 715. Maribōth. Ezekiel 48:28; K. 134:8; L. 277:72. Textual variant Marimōth (Greek) and Marimoth (Latin). Simple biblical notation plus Hexaplaric information. These are near Kadēs (K. 112:8). 716. Mōrathei (Morasthi). Micah 1:1; K. 134:10; L. 277:74.

The village is northeast of Eleutheropolis (K. 18:12) as in the Madaba map, but the Onomasticon "east" means the quadrant and the road can be located in the eastern quadrant from Eleutheropolis. The map quotes Eusebius. The tomb was known in Jerome's day and was visited by Paula (Epistle 108:14 and PPT I, 15). In Commentary on Micah Jerome notes "Morasthia a little village near Eleutheropolis." The Madaba map notes a church which was built later than the time of Eusebius. The Byzantine site Kh Umm el Basak is not the

Old Testament site which is more likely at Tell el judeideh. This is distinct from Marēsa (K. 130:10). In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Morasthi, my heir" (123 and 127). 717. Masogam. Jeremiah 48:1; K. 134:12; L. 277:76. Taken from the New Testament Qere reading. Not in LSX Simple biblical notation. 718. Misōr. Jeremiah 48:21; K. 134:13; L. n/a; Lacuna in Greek Text.

This and the next entry are missing in Greek Vatican manuscript. Simple biblical notation. 719. Mōphath. Jeremiah 48:21; K. 134:14; L. n/a; Lacuna in Greek Text. This and the previous entry are missing from Greek Vatican manuscript (cf. K. 128:21). Simple biblical notation. 720. Maōn. Jeremiah 48:23; K. 134:16; L. 277:78. Simple biblical notation (cp. K. 130:12). 721. Molchom. Jeremiah 49:1; K. 134:17; L. 277:79. Textual variants: Melchon and Melconi (Latin). Not an original entry. Other idols are also additions to the Onomasticon (see K. 36:15; K. 58:9; K. 138:19; K. 146:26 and Appendix II). 722. Magedan. Matthew 15:39; K. 134:18; L. 277:81. No Gospel section division indicated here. Textual variant Magaidanē (Greek). Summary of New Testament information. In the New Testament Magedan, Magdala and Dalmanoutha are all related. The Hebrew sound Migdol (K. 130:9) is suspected as background. In Matthew 15:39 there is a region of Magadan or Magdala. In Mark 8:10 it is a district of Dalmanutha located by the Onomasticon as near Gerasa (K. 64:2) but in New Testament times it seems to be in Galilea. The New Testament site is on the west side of the Sea at Mejdol. What site Eusebius had intended is unknown. This is one of three references to Mark in the Onomasticon (K. 64:4 and K. 74:13).

SECTION N

GENESIS (Five Books of Moses) Greek has the subsection division for Genesis but Latin for five books of Moses. 723. Naid. Genesis 4:16; K. 134:23; L. 277:86. Textual variant Nain (Greek). Simple biblical notation plus Hexaplastic information. Procopius 253A and Jerome in Hebrew Questions (7) follow the etymology of the bible. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Naid, motion or fluctuation" (69). 724. Nineve. Genesis 10:11; K. 136:1; L. 277:88. Textual variants for the last line: Neneuen, Ninewen and Neuen (Latin). Outside the normal limits of the Holy Land for the Onomasticon. The second city, one of the Jews, is the only contemporary Jewish city called a polis in the Onomasticon (cf. Note on K. 22:9 and Appendix IX). This probably is nawa 36 miles from Capitolias in the pilgrim itineraries. The Gōnia is part of the Hauron but not clearly identified. In Hebrew Questions Jerome

notes the derivation of the name Nineve and identifies it as Rooboth (K. 142:11).

In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Ninive beauty or bud of beauty" (69). 725. Naaliël. Numbers 21:19; K. 136:4; L. 277:91. Textual variant Naaniël (Greek). Biblical location and station listing. 726. Nabau. Numbers 32:3; K. 136:6; L. 277:93. Textual variant. Syriac lacks "where Moses died." Suspected entry. Biblical summary (Deuteronomy 34:1) and location west of Esbous. The city of Naboth (K. 136:9) below is the 8 miles south. This could mean southwest since quadrants are involved. Agri specula (K. 12:16), Phasga (K. 168:28) and Phogör (K. 168:7, 25) are names also in this general area. The Mt. of Siyahah with the Byzantine church fits the 6 miles distance. It could also be located at jebel Nebo. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Nabau, we will come or in conclusion" (83). 727. Nabōth (Nabo). Numbers 32:38; K. 136:9; L. 277:96. Textual variant Nabōr (Greek). Summary of biblical information (Deuteronomy 32:49; Isaiah 15:2; Jeremiah 48:1 and Numbers 32:42). The city is in a different quadrant and is 2 miles farther than the mountain above (K. 136:6). It is abandoned or in ruins by the time of Eusebius. The city is probably Kh Mehaiyet. It was rebuilt as a shrine after the time of Jerome.

728. Nageb. Numbers 34:3; K. 136:14; L. 278:10. Textual variant. Syriac lacks the Symmachus reference. The etymology and the Hexaplaric information. The equation of Hebrew' names with the Latin and Greek is difficult. In Vitruvius on Architecture I, vi, 12, 13 Auster and Meridia are the southern half quadrant. Africas is southwest and Euris is southeast. No evidence that Jerome and Fuschius were this scientific. Any name could be the entire quadrant from southwest through southeast or even from west-southwest and east-southeast. JOSUE 729. Naphethdor (Nafeddor). Joshua 11:2; K. 136:16; L. 278:3. Dor is located properly by the Onomasticon about 9 miles north of Caesarea. The emphasis in Latin suggests some change may have taken place in the fourth century since it is then deserted. An "oppidum" (cf. K. 10:25 and Appendix I). Naphoth really means "hilly region" rather than Maritime (cf. K. 78:8) In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Nafeddor, change of generations" (96).

730. Naphthō. Joshua 15:9; K. 136:18; L. 278:5. Textual variant Naphthae (Greek). Summary of biblical information and tribal listing (Joshua 18:15). In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Neptoe, of destruction or beguiling" (96). 731. Naam. Joshua 15:41; K. 136:20; L. 278:7. Simple tribal listing.

In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Naama, comeliness" (112). 732. Nesib. Joshua 15:43; K. 136:21; L. 278:8. Textual variant Negib (Latin). The distance varies between Greek and Latin. The 7 miles brings the location to Kh Beit Nesib due east of Marisa off the main road. The 9 miles seems an error since it brings the location to Tricomias. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Nasib, title or station" (96). 733. Nebpsan. Joshua 15:62; K. 136:23; L. 278:10. Simple tribal listing, In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Naabsan or Nabas, dried up" (96). 734. Naaratha. Joshua 16:7; K. 136:24; L. 278:11. Textual variants: Narath, Naarta and Naurath (Latin). The location fits 'Ain Duq better than 'Aujah which may be Archalais and is too far away. Perhaps the synagogue a few miles from Duq is Noorath. It is another of the all Jewish cities of the Onomasticon (cf. Note on K. 22:9 and Appendix II). This site does not fit the Old Testament location archaeologically.

735. Napheth. Joshua 17:11; K. 138:1; L. 278:13. Simple tribal listing. The word Napheth (see K. 136:16) becomes a proper name. 736. Naalöl. Joshua 19:15; K. 138:2; L. 278:14. Summary of biblical information (Joshua 21:35 and cf. K. 138:6). In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Naalal, they praise" (96). 737. Nakeb. Joshua 19:33; K. 138:4; L. 278:16. Textual variant Nekem (cf. An-nekem) (Greek). Simple tribal listing. JUDGES 738. Neala. Judges 1:30; K. 138:6; L. 278:18. The Greek is closer to the MT than the LXX. Perhaps entry is the same as K. 138:2 but falsely equated with a Transjordan Neeila, perhaps at Kh en Nile where the name is preserved. For Batandea see K. 144:11. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Nahellel, praise, hymns" (101). 739. Nobba (Nabe or Nobba). Judges 8:11; K. 138:8; L. 278:20. Textual variant Nomba (Greek). Summary of biblical information confusing two sites (I Samuel 22:19). In Epistle 108:8 (PPT I, 4) Jerome notes the tomb of those killed near Beit Nuba.

In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Nobe, barking" (101). 740. Nemra. Joshua 13:27; K. 138:10; L. 278:22. This seems related to the earlier entries K. 44:16; K. 48:16 and possibly K.138:20). The location is vague and no evidence that the Onomasticon made an identification. The Batanaea usually does not include the valley. The large village maybe in the northern region at Nimra. This item is out of order. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Namra, panther or bitterness" (183). 741. Naniöth. I Samuel 19:18; K. 138:13; L. 278:25. Summary of biblical information. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Nuath, beauty" (104). 742. Nachön. II Samuel 6:6; K. 138:14; L. 278:26.

Hexaplaric information. At best a personal name is indicated. 743. Naphath. I Kings 4:11; K. 138:15; L. 278:27. Simple biblical notation. Confused again with "region" (cf. K. 136:15 and K. 138:1). 744. Nērigel. II Kings 17:30; K. 138:16; L. 278:28. Simple biblical notation.

In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Nergal, lamp of the many" (117). 745. Nazeb. II Kings 17:31; K. 138:18; L. 278:30. Simple biblical notation. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Nabaaz, he prophesied thus or futile session" (117). 746. Nasarach. II Kings 19:37; K. 138:19; L. 278:31. Textual variant Nesareth (Latin). Another idol not original to the Onomasticon (cf. K. 134:17; K. 146:26; K. 58:4; K. 36:15 and Appendix II). 747. Nebēreim (Nemerim). Isaiah 15:6; K. 138:20; L. 278:32. Textual variants: Memereim, Nebēreim (Greek), Bennamerim (Latin) for contemporary site. Summary of biblical information (Jeremiah 43:34.). The wadi or waters of Nimrin. Perhaps related to K. 138:1; K. 44:16; and K. 48:16. Jerome in Commentary on Isaiah 15:6 locates it by the Dead Sea and calls it there an "oppidum" (cf. K. 10:25 and Appendix I). Tell Nimrin is Bennamareim (see Introduction). 748. Nabeōth. Isaiah 60:7; K. 138:22; L. 278:35. Simple biblical notation. Perhaps out of limits of Holy Land. Region is an interpretation, perhaps from a marginal gloss (K. 74:9).

THE GOSPELS 749. Nazareth. Matthew 2:23; K. 138:24; L. 278:37. The Vatican manuscript does not have the "Gospel" division marker before this entry. Textual variant for Christians in Latin is "Nazorei." In *Historia Ecclesiastica* I, 7, 14 Eusebius notes that after the fall of Jerusalem the relatives of Jesus scattered throughout the countryside. It was a Jewish town in the third century. In the 4th century a few shrines were built by Christians but the Jews were dominant. A city Helenopolis was located in the general region, named after Constantine's mother, but it is never referred to in the Onomasticon any more than the two towns named after his sister Constantia. Origen didn't know of it. No church was built here by Constantine. First reference to a church is 355 A. D. Paula visited it but no church noted there either (PPT I, 15). It was near Cana (K. 116:4) and Capernaum (K. 120:2) on the itinerary of Paula. It is adequately located at en Nasireh which was in the region of Legeōn (K. 14:21).

In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Nazareth, flower or his slip or of cleanness or separate or guardian." In Epistle 46 (Migne PE 22, 49) Jerome's etymology has "his flower." 750. Naein (Naim). Luke 7:11; K. 140:3; L. 279:41.

This name continues near Aendōr (K. 34:8). Region is not indicated. The location next is repeated by Jerome in Epistle 108:13 (PPT I, 14) Jerome in 141:4 calls it an "oppidum" (cp. K. 10:25 and Appendix I). In Epistle 46 (Migne PL22:49) it can be seen from Thabōr. The distance in Greek 12 miles is erroneous if present Nein is involved. The Latin has 2 miles from Thabōr points to Nein. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Naa, beauty" (111).

SECTION X

JUDGES 751. Xil. Joshua 15:30; K. 140:8; L. 279:46. Vulgate has Cesil. Simple tribal listing (cf. K. 172:18).

SECTION O

GENESIS 752. Orech. Genesis 10:10; K. 140:11; L. 279:49. Outside limits of the Holy Land and therefore suspect. Arach is identified in Hebrew Questions as Edessa (13). In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Orech, length" (70). 753. Our of the Chaldees. Genesis 11:28; K. 140:12; L. 279:50. Also outside the limits of the Holy Land and therefore suspect. Josephus in Antiquities I, vi, 5 notes the sepulchre is still in Ur of the Chaldees. In Hebrew Questions Jerome notes "region of Chaldaea really is 'in Ur Casdim' in Hebrew and means fire of Chaldaea" (15). In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Ur, fire or light" (77). 754. Oulammaous. Genesis 28:19; K. 140:15; L. 279:53. Textual variant Uamma for the other site in Latin text. For the Baithēl-Louza equation see K. 40:20. For the other east of Nazareth there is 'Ulam which has Byzantine remains. The distance is incorrect and short. In Hebrew Questions Jerome notes "Ulam is not a name of a city, but means 'former'" (34).

755. Olibama. Genesis 36:14; K. 140:19; L. n/a; Lacuna in Greek Text. This entry is missing in the Greek Vatican manuscript. Simple biblical notation. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Olibama, my tabernacle somewhere, or high tabernacle" (70). 756. Odollam. Genesis 38:11; K. 140:20; L. 279:57. Cf. K. 84:22; K. 24:21 and Micah 1:25. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Odollamites, contesting somewhat or witness in water" (70). EXODUS 757. Othom (Othon). Exodus 13:20; K. 140:23; L. 279:60. Summary of biblical information on station. JOSUE 758. Opher. Joshua 12:17; K. 140:26; L. 279:63. Simple biblical notation. Could be Joshua 19:12 and so cf. K. 108:29, Eph. 759. Oolei. Joshua 19:25; K. 142:1; L. 279:65. Simple tribal listing. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Oli, weakness" (90). 760. Ophra. I Samuel 13:17;

K. 142:2; L. 279:66. Simple biblical notation (cf. K. 29:4 and K. 86:1). [Here we read through O the short letter, later we record the long vowel.]

761. Ous. Job 1:1; K. 142:3; L. 279:67. Before this entry the Latin notes the end of the short O but this entry still follows, possibly an editor's edition. Summary of biblical information (Genesis 36: 28). Other references to Job are in K. 76:10 and K. 112:3.

SECTION P

THE PENTATEUCH 762. Petra. Judges 1:36; K. 142:7; L. 279:71. No letter division in the Vatican Greek manuscript here. Procopius 1048B has Petra in Idumala (K. 102:23). On Tabula Peutinger it is 48 miles south of Theman (K. 96:18). It is an important referent for the Onomasticon and all the Roman road systems. It is also called Rekem (K. 144:7 and K. 36:13). Mt. Nor (K. 176:7) is nearby. The Nabatean influence lasted into the Roman period of the Onomasticon. Petra was one of the Nabatean cities given autonomy about 106 A.D. with the establishment of the Roman Province of Arabia. It was a great city in the 3rd and 4th centuries. The Christians of Petra were persecuted by Diocletian.

SECTION R

¹THE PENTATEUCH 763. Roōbōth. Genesis 10:11; K. 142:11; L. 280:75. Outside the limits of Holy Land proper as so often the first entry in a new alphabetic section. In Hebrew Questions (13) Jerome believes this is the same as Nineve (K. 136:1) 764. Roōbōth. Genesis 36:37; K. 142:13; L. 280:77. Textual variant Assyrian for Idoumaien (Greek). This is probably the Rabath where the Notitia Dignitatum (73:27) locates a garrison. Jerome sees a large town but the Greek apparently only a garrison. Some scholars relate this to Areopolis and Rabbath Moab (K. 10:17). The Onomasticon is too vague to ascertain a location. Some suggest Kh Musrab. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Rooboth, bending or streets" (70). 765. Ramesse. Exodus 1:11; K. 142:15; L. 280:79. Outside the Holy Land proper (cf. Gen 47:11). 766. Roōb. Numbers 13:21; K. 142:18; L. 280:82. Summary of biblical event, location and added item Levitical city (K. 144:22 and Joshua 21:31. This is not an accurate identification. Two sites seem confused. Contemporary site is located four miles south of Scythopolis (K.16:2) may be at Tell es aa'ram or Sheik er rahab which has Roman-Byzantine sherds.

²In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Roob, streets or wide" (83). 767. Raphaka. Numbers 33:12; K. 142:21; L. 280:85. Station listing. The Greek confused Hebrew D with R. 768. Raphidim. Numbers 33:14; K. 142:22; L. 280:86. Summary of biblical information (Exodus 17:6f., 13). The Madaba Map has a "Raphidinn where Israel and Amalak fought." It is near Mt.Sinai (K. 154:1) or Paran (K. 166:12). In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Rafidim, wide hands or good judgment or eye sight or his suffering" (77). 769. Ratima. Numbers 33:18; K. 144:1; L. 280:90. Simple listing of station. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Rathma, complete vision or juniper or sound." (83). 770. Remmen Praes. Numbers 33:19; K. 144:2; L. n/a; Lacuna in Greek Text. Simple listing of station. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Remmonfares, very bad division or high division" (83). 771. Ressa. Numbers 33:21; K. 144:3; L. n/a; Lacuna in Greek Text. Simple listing of station.

³In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Recsa, bridle" (83). 772. Ramōth. Deuteronomy 4:43; K. 144:4; L. 280:91. Summary of biblical information (Joshua 13:26 and 21:37). The Latin has east for the Greek west. The Syriac agrees with the Greek in this entry while usually it follows the Latin text. The ruin of biblical site, Tell er Rumeith could fit the Onomasticon, especially if this is the same as (K. 146:4) where it is located near Iabbok (K. 102:19). There is little Roman evidence. Better Roman site at Kh jal'ad. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Ramoth, high sign or he say death or height" (87). 773. Rekem. Numbers 31:8; K. 144:7; L. 280:94. Identity and summary of biblical information (Joshua 13:21; Numbers 31:8; cf. K. 142:7 and K.36:13, for Petra, named Rekim by Josephus). In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Recem, variety or painting" (83). JOSUE 774. Remmōn. Joshua 15:32; K. 144:11; L. 280:98.

⁴The Madaba map follows Eusebius and has a Remmōn northeast of Jerusalem. This is an error for the Old Testament border town (Joshua 19:7). The name for the Onomasticon's site continues today at Rammun 3 1/2 miles east of Bethel (K. 40:20) which is 12 miles south of et-taiyibeh. This fits the 15 miles of the Onomasticon and may be the biblical Rimmon of Benjamin. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Remmon, heights" (97). 775. Rōgēl. Joshua 18:16; K. 144:13; L. 280:00. A spring and so not a proper entry for the Onomasticon. Near Zōeeth according to K. 94:6. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Rogal, foot or bearing down" (97). 776. Rama. Joshua 18:25; K. 144:14; L. 280:01. In Commentary on Hosea 5:8 Jerome reconfirms

this location. Not a city of Saul (cf. Isaiah 10:24). On the Madaba map Rama is a bit farther north because of crowding. It is near Gabaon (K. 66:11) and Michmas (K. 132:3) and probably the name continues in er-Ram. The "opposite" Baithel is from the biblical text and doesn't contradict the Jerusalem location (cf. Jeremiah 31:15).

⁵In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Rama, high" (97). 777. Rekēm. Joshua 18:27; K. 144:16; L. 280:03. Simple tribal listing. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Recem, variety or of death" (97). 778. Remmōn. Joshua 19:13; K. 144:17; L. 280:04. Biblical information and tribal listing. Probably related to K. 144:11. 779. Rabbōth. Joshua 19:20; K. 144:19; L. n/a; Lacuna in Greek Text. Textual variants: Raboth and Rabooth (Latin). This entry is missing in the Greek Vatican manuscript. No identity is made here. Robbo or Rebbo is only vaguely located in the region of Eleutheropolis (K. 18:12). About 7 miles northeast is Kh Ribba, not on a Roman road, which retains the name. Perhaps same as K. 26:17. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Rabboth, many" (97). 780. Rethōm. Joshua 19:21; K. 144:21; L. 280:06. The first part of this entry is missing from the Greek Vatican manuscript. Simple tribal listing. 781. Roōb. Joshua 19:28; K. 144:22; L. 280:07.

⁶The last part of this entry is missing from the Greek Vatican manuscript. Summary of biblical information (Joshua 21:131, possibly Tell Birah). In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Roob, widely" (97). 782. Rama. Joshua 19:29; K. 144:23; L. 280:08. First part of the entry is missing from the Greek Vatican manuscript. Summary of biblical information. 783. Rama. Joshua 19:36; K. 144:25; L. 280:09. Simple tribal listing. Jerome notes that K. 144:14, 23 and 25 are all similar and explains them on the differences in the Hebrew alphabet. [Some of the names of the villages are assigned to different tribes because with us we see only one name to pronounce, when among the Hebrews they are written with various letters.] 784. Rekkath. Joshua 19:35; K. 144:26; L. n/a; Lacuna in Greek Text. This entry is missing from the Greek Vatican manuscript. Simple tribal listing. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Raccath, jaw bones or cheeks" (97).

⁷785. Rouma (Arima also). Judges 9:41; K. 144:27; L. 281:10. Textual variant for contemporary site Remfthis (Latin). The identity of this Rouma is given as present day Rentia and equated with Arimathaia (cf. K. 32:21) by Eusebius and Jerome but the Old Testament Arumah (K. 32:11) is probably Kh el-'Urmeh. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Ruma, high" (117).

KINGS 786. Remmōth. I Samuel 30:26f.; K. 146:2; L. 281:14. Simple biblical notation on "spoils." 787. Rachel. I Samuel 30:26, 29; K. 146:3; L. 281:15. Simple biblical notation on "spoils." In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Rachal, negotiation but Rachel, truly means sheep or God seeing" (104). 788. Remmōth Galaad. I Kings 4:13; K. 146:4; L. 281:16. Textual variants: Remmōd (Greek) and Iakōb (Greek and Latin) for wadi name (cf. K. 144:4). This may be Tell er Rumeith. A gloss. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Ramoth, vision of death" (112). 789. Rabbath. II Samuel 12:26; K. 146:6; L. 281:18.

⁸Textual variant Rabba (Greek). This identity of Rabbath Amman with Philadelphia is made by Jerome in Commentary on Ezekiel 21:18 (cf. Jeremiah 49:2; cp. K. 12:1 and K. 16:15 above). 790. Raōs (Roos). II Samuel 15:32; K. 146:8; L. 281:20. Simple biblical notation plus Hexaplaric information. Not a proper name. 791. Rogellein. II Samuel 17:27; K. 146:9; L. 281:21. Simple biblical notation. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Ragalim, feet" (108). 792. Raphaelin (Raphaeim). II Samuel 23:13; K. 146:11; L. 281:22. Latin transliterates "foreigners" rather than translate or identify them. Biblical information and geography. 793. Remman. I Kings 15:17; K. 146:13; L. 281:24. Textual variant Remmam (Latin). Biblical information and geography. Not clear if Syria is the Roman province or not (cf. K. 146:19). 794. Reth. I Kings 15:20; K. 146:15; L. 281:25. Simple biblical notation. This text is corrupt in the LXX (cf. K. 34:28). 795. Rathem. I Kings 19:4; K. 146:16; L. 281:26.

⁹Textual variant Remth (Greek). Hexaplaric information. This and the next entry are late additions. 796. Remmōn. Isaiah 15:9; K. 146:17; L. 281:27. Simple biblical notation. MT has Hebrew D which is confused in the Greek here with the Hebrew R (see above). 797. Raseph. Isaiah 37:12; K. 146:19; L. 281:28. Simple biblical notation (cp. K. 146:13 and K. 146:20). In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "'Rasef, pavement" (121). 798. Rapheth. Isaiah 37:12; K. 146:20; L. 281:29. Textual variant Rapheph (Greek). Possibly the same as above K. 146:19. Syria and Assyria are occasionally equated. 799. Rebla. II Kings 23:33; K. 146:22; L. 281:31. Textual variant Rebas (Greek). Summary of biblical information (cf. K. 146:27). This may be out of order or else all the prophetic entries are later addition. For Aimath see K. 22:23. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Rablai, this many or many" (117). 800. Remma. Amos 4:3; K. 146:14; L. 281:33.

¹⁰ Textual variants Remona (Greek) and Emous (Latin). A mountain and not properly original to Onomasticon's list. It is also out of order if the other King's entries are correct. Hexaplaric information indicating another error in Greek transcription. "In Daroma" is perhaps same as Eremmo in K. 88:17 at Umm er ramamin. Idols of Damascus refer to II Kings 5:18, "house of Rimmon" (Appendix II). 801. Reblatha. II Kings 25:6; K. 146:27; L. 281:36. Outside of the Holy Land limits of the Onomasticon. Latin adds a contemporary identification. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Roblath, many of you or multitude" (117). 802. Ramade (Ramale). Zechariah 14:10; K. 146:28; L. 281:37. Textual variant Rabede (Greek). Hexaplaric information plus an irrelevant remark on Jeremiah 31:15 and Matthew 2:18. The Madaba map quotes the Greek text "Rama a voice heard in Rama." It is located just west of Bethlehem (K. 42:10) about at the present Rachel's tomb tradition (PPT I, 26 Itin. Bourd. The confusion is all Christian (cf. K. 82:10 and K. 172:5).

¹¹ 803. Rinokoroura. Isaiah 27:12; K. 148:3; L. 281:40. The border or river of Egypt in MT. One of the few additions from LXX noted in Onomasticon by Jerome as such. Procopius 1025B has "Wadi of Aigyptos is said to be the Romokorouros. Together in the Madaba map are the borders of Aegyptos and Palaistinē, Rinokoroura." Jerome locates Ostracine in the same area (K. 39:9). In Tabula Peutinger Ostraciana is 24 miles and Rinocura 34 miles from Rafia (K. 50:19). The Madaba map has followed Josephus Wars IV, ii, 5 here. Probably el 'arish today. For other sites in Egypt see note on K. 58:7.

SECTION 5

[What we have said in the book on Interpretation of Hebrew Names, even now in the heading of the letter S we see that among the Hebrews there are three S's: Samech, Sade and Sin. Yet these are pronounced as one sound among the Greek and Latin which in the Hebrew language are differentiated. So it is that each name appears to us to sound differently, and further each has another letter. Not only from one but from three letters places and cities and villages are described.] 804. K. 148.4 The Latin again inserts remarks about the difference in the alphabets. The three S's in Hebrew are all under one section in Greek and Latin. GENESIS 805. Sidōn. Genesis 10:15; K. 148:6; L. 281:43. Summary of biblical information Judges 1:31. This city is not located but occasionally is used as a referent. Jerome here translated "foreigners" of the Greek text into "enemy."

806. Sennaar. Genesis 11:2f.; K. 148:11; L. This entry is out of the Holy Land proper (Genesis 10:11). It includes a quotation from Josephus *Antiquities* I, 4, 3 after a simple biblical summary. Procopius 312B has the same information but calls it a "city" as well as a "plain." In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* "Sennaar, knocking out teeth, or their stink" (71). 807. Suchem (Sikima) (Salēm). Genesis 12:6; K. 150:1; L. 282:55. This is a much worked over entry. A simple biblical summary (Genesis 33:18) and traditional location is followed by additions from scripture including an additional town (Judges 9:45; I Kings 12:25; I Chronicles 7:28; Genesis 33:19 and Joshua 20:7). Procopius 320A practically quotes the original two items: "Suchem and Sikima and Sēlon in the suburbs of Neapolis." Madaba map also follows Eusebius and separates "Suchem and Sikima and Salēm" from "Neapolis." Sychar (K. 164:1) seems to be to the left and Jacob's well to the right on the map. An entry on Salēm is incomplete in the Greek text at K. 152:4. The church at Jacob's well is seen on the Madaba map and affirmed by Jerome (K. 165:3). That entry does not say, however, that the well is at Sychar but around Neapolis. Paula "passed through Sichem, not as most travellers spell it, Sichar, which now is named Neapolis and entered the church built upon the side of Mt. Gerizim round about Jacob's well" (Epistle 108: 13 and PPT I, 13).

In the time of Eusebius and Jerome the traditional site of Shechem was "a deserted place." It seems correct to point this to the well-excavated site of Tell Balata in the pass between Ebal and Garizim east-southeast of Nablus. The pilgrims followed Eusebius and locate the tomb of Joseph in Shechem (not in Neapolis) and about a mile from it they locate Sechar (Itin. Bourd. and PPT I, 18). The oak of Sikimon and the tomb of Joseph are located in the suburbs of Neapolis in K. 54:23 also. Not until much later does the Christian tradition identify Neapolis with Shechem. The terebinth of Sikimon (K. 164:11) is located near Neapolis. In Genesis 33:18 Shalem is not identified with Shechem itself but is "a city of Shechem." Eusebius seems to make this identification. The present village of Salim has many Roman-Byzantine remains with some earlier artifacts as well. A late 4th century church has been discovered near the well of Jacob.

For the other Suchem see the confusion in K. 158:1 below. In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* "Sichem, of the shoulder or labor" (71). 808. Sennaar. Genesis 14:1; K. 150:8; L. 282:63. Simple biblical notation (cf. K. 148:11). 809. Sodoma. Genesis 14:2; K. 150:10; L. 282:65. The chief city of the Pentapolis

with only biblical location. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Sodoma, silent beast or blindness or their likeness" (71). 810. Sebōeim. Genesis 14:2; K. 150:12; L. 282:67. Simple biblical notation. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Seboim, of the roes or of damages or his place on the sea or place of the sea" (71). 811. Sōpheira. Genesis 10:30; K. 150:14; L. 282:69. This entry is outside the proper limits of the Holy Land and out of order. Josephus Antiquities I, 6, 4 plus summary of the biblical information (I Kings 10:11 and cf. K. 160:20 below). This same quotation from Josephus appears in K. 82:2 and K. 176:14. Josephus' Antiquities VII, 6, 4 had, "These (ships) Solomon ordered to sail along with his own stewards to the land anciently called Sopheir but not the land of gold; it belongs to India."

In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Sefar, story or book" (71). 812. Soora. Genesis 14:2; K. 150:19; L. 282:74. Simple biblical notation (cf. K. 42:4; K. 94:2 and K. 152:8. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names we find "Segor, which is called Zoara in the Syrian language" (17). This is repeated in Procopius 373B. 813. Sauē. Genesis 14:5; K. 150:21; L. 282:76. Simple biblical notation. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Sau or Saube, worthy or high" (72). 814. Sēeir. Genesis 14:6; K. 150:23; L. 282:78. Procopius 332C quotes the entry entirely which in part depends on Josephus' Antiquities 1, 20, 3. Jerome in Commentary on Obadiah 1 repeats the etymology and the location. This is a summary of biblical information (Genesis 32:1, 14:6, 25:25, 27:11 and Isaiah 21:11) and no specific location. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Seir, covered with hair or hairy" (72). 815. Salēm. Genesis 14:18; K. 152:4; L. 282:84.

The beginning of this entry is only a revision of K. 150:1. The use of Salēm as identical to Shechem seems to be the result of the LXX text for Joshua 24:1, 25. There the LXX has Sēlō. Procopius 333A has the Greek of Eusebius word for word and then continues following Jerome. Another village west of Ailia is unidentifiable, perhaps Kh Selma preserves the name, but perhaps represents the Josephus' tradition that Jebus, Salem and Jerousalem are all one place. In Hebrew Questions Jerome says "Salem is the name of the king of Jerusalem which was formerly called Salem" (19). Salumias is located 8 miles south (direction not given in the text) of Scythopolis (K. 16:2) at Umm el 'umdan or on the Jordan at Tell Rijba where there is a Sheik Salim nearby. This could be the tradition of Salem-Aenon (K. 40:1). In Jerome's Epistle 73:7 he attaches the tradition of Melchizedek to this site called an "op-

pidum" (see Appendix I), where the ruins were shown (Migne PL 22, 680). The archaeological remains are not decisive.

The Salim which belongs to Shechem is perhaps in the plain about 4 miles east of Shechem at present Salim. But Eusebius does not make a distinction here (cp. Judith 4:4). This is probably because LXX and Syriac identify Salem and Shechem as above in K. 150:1 and the first part of this entry. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Salem, peace or returning" (72). 816. Sour. Genesis 16:7; K. 152:6; L. n/a; Lacuna in Greek Text. The Greek text is lost. The Greek of Procopius 352D says, "The desert of Sour extends opposite Egypt where the Hebrews came when about to cross the Red Sea, as Exodus says." In Hebrew Questions (20) Jerome notes the Way of Sur "leads through the desert to Egypt." For Kades see K. 112:7, 8. Jerome seems to be correcting Eusebius on the basis of scripture. 817. Sēgōr. Genesis 19:22; K. 152:8; L. n/a; Lacuna in Greek Text.

The first part of the Greek is lost (Isaiah 15:5). No real place is pointed here. In Hebrew Questions (23) Jerome writes, "Segor which is frequently earth and more frequently destroyed, was first called Bale and later Salissa" (cf. K. 150:19; K. 42:4 and K. 94:2). In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Segor, poor. It is the same as Seor above" (72). 818. Skēnai (Scenae). Genesis 33:17; K. 152:13; L. 283:87. Simple biblical notation. EXODUS 819. Sokchōth. Exodus 12:37; K. 152:16; L. 283:90. Simple biblical notation. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Socchoth, tabernacle" (77). 820. Sin. Exodus 16:1; K. 152:18; L. 283:93. Summary of biblical information (Exodus 17:1, 19:1 and Numbers 33:36). LXX and MT texts disagree as noted in the Onomasticon. Probably this extends from Red Sea to Sinai. On the Madaba map the desert of Sin is also: "the place of Manna and quails." NUMBERS AND DEUTERONOMY 821. Selmona. Numbers 33:41; K. 154:5; L. 283:00.

Last part of this entry is missing in Greek Vatican manuscript. A Simple listing of station. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Salmona, shade of the part or he reckoned the shade or his image" (85). 822. Saphar. Numbers 33:23; K. 154:7; L. n/a; Lacuna in Greek Text. First part of this entry is missing in Greek Vatican manuscript. Simple listing of station. 823. Sattein (Sat-tim). Numbers 25:1; K. 154:9; L. 283:01. Summary of biblical information and geography (Numbers 25:3 and Joshua 2:1) On Phogōr see K. 18:1 and K. 168:25. This and the next entry seem to be late editorial additions. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Settim, thorns" (84). 824. Sabama. Numbers

32:3, 38; K. 154:12; L. 283:04. Textual variant Saba (Greek). Summary of biblical information (Joshua 13:19 and Isaiah 16:8. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Sabama, turning around of someone, or lift on him or lifted high" (85). 825. Selcha. Deuteronomy 3:10; K. 154:15; L. 283:07.

Simple biblical notation. 826. Senna. Numbers 34:4; K. 154:16; L. 283:08. A border listing (Joshua 15:3). The mileage in the two texts is different. This could be the result of the older Jewish text locating from Roman Jericho (K. 104:25) and Jerome's from er-riha. The Magdalsenna is hardly in Ioudaia with this location. On the Madaba map east of Archelais is a small unlabeled town which could be Magdalsenna but cannot be the Zin of Numbers (cf. K. 84:14) but could be identified with Sennaah of Ezra. This is possibly located now at Kh el Beiyudat. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Senna, wished or his teeth" (85). 827. Sephama. Numbers 34:10; K. 154:18; L. 283:10. Textual variant Sephema (Greek). Simple biblical listing. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Safan, life or hair on the upper lip which the Greeks call a moustache" (85). 828. Sadada. Numbers 34:8; K. 154:19; L. n/a; Lacuna in Greek Text.

Not in the Greek Vatican manuscript. Simple tribal listing. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "from his tile" (85). JOSUE 829. Somerōn. Joshua 12:20; K. 154:21; L. 283:12. A biblical note and identification followed by additional biblical information probably added by a later hand (I Kings 16:24). Onomasticon recognizes a region of Sebastē called polichnē (cf. K. 22:11; Appendix II), Samaria was called Sebastē in honor of Augustus (Epistle 108:13, Migne PL 22, 889; PPT I, 13 and cf. K. 162:13). Herod had much to do with its redevelopment. Jerome notes the graves of Obadiah, Elisha, and St. John the Baptist are traditionally located here (Epistle 46; Migne PL 22, 491 and Commentary on Obadia Migne PL 25, 1099 etc.). In this entry only the Latin text notes the relics of John. Also called an "oppidum" (cf. K. 10:25 and Appendix I). A bishop was present from here at the Council of Nicea.

In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Semronmaron, custodian of the bitter walls" (97). 830. Sēeira. Joshua 11:17; K. 156:1; L. 283:17. Simple biblical notation. 831. Selcha. Joshua 13:11; K. 156:2; L. 283:18. Simple biblical notation. 832. Siōr. Joshua 15:54; K. 154:21; L. 283:19. Two sites are involved in this entry. Sior is from the Onomasticon perhaps located at Siler north-northeast of Chebrōn (K. 6:8) on the border of Eleutheropolis and Aelia regions. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Sior, very small or dis-

turbed" (97). 833. Saorth. Joshua 13:19; K. 156:5; L. 283:21. Textual variants: Saor (Greek) and Saorh (Latin). Simple tribal listing and biblical location. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Sarh, chains or his narrowness" (97). 834. Sachoth. Joshua 13:27; K. 156:6; L. n/a; Lacuna in Greek Text. This entry is not in the Greek Vatican manuscript. Simple tribal listing and biblical location. 835. Saphōn. Joshua 13:27; K. 156:7; L. 283:22. Simple tribal listing and biblical location.

836. Sachōron. Joshua 15:11; K. 156:8; L. 284:23. Textual variant Sachorona (Latin). Simple tribal listing. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Sechrona, intoxicated or tabernacle" (97). 837. Sama (Samen). Joshua 15:26; K. 156:9; L. n/a; Lacuna in Greek Text. This entry is not in the Greek Vatican manuscript. Simple tribal listing. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Seme, hearing" (97). 838. Soual. Joshua 15:28; K. 156:10; L. 284:24. Double tribal listing. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Sualim, foxes" (97). 839. Sikelag (Secelec). Joshua 15:31; K. 156:11; L. 284:25. Textual variant Sicelec (Latin). Summary of biblical information (I Samuel 27:6; Joshua 19:5 and cp. Thalcha 98:26). In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Sicileq, clearing a tight voice or pouring forth the sixth part" (97). 840. Sansana. Joshua 15:31; K. 156:31; L. 284:27. Simple tribal listing. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Senesanna, bearing a bramble or holding" (97). 841. Saleei. Joshua 15:32; K. 156:14; L. 284:28.

Simple tribal listing. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Saloim, comings forth or emissions" (97). 842. Saraa. Joshua 15:33; K. 156:15; L. 284:29. Textual variant Sarda (Greek). Tribal listing of Joshua 19:41 (cf. K. 160:4). Esthaol (K. 88:2) is also 10 miles north of Eleutheropolis (K. 18:12). The distance is somewhat short for both Eathaol and Saraa unless it marks turn off from the main road to lesser road. They are near each other about 14-15 miles north. Today at sar'a southeast of Nicopolis (K. 30:27). In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Saraa, hornets or shortness of evil" (97). 843. Sokchō. Joshua 15:35; K. 156:18; L. 284:32. Twin villages. The Madaba Map has only one Sōchō on the edge of the valley. They are a few miles west-southwest of Bait Nettif at Kh Abbad and Kh Shuweikeh. The sound of the name may survive in the second, where there are late remains.

In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Socha, little tabernacle or shady arbor" (97). 844. Saraein. Joshua 15:36; K. 156:21; L. 284:35. Simple tribal listing. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Saarim, doors" (97). 845. Sennaan

(Senam). Joshua 15:37; K. 156:22; L. 284:36. Textual variant Senna (Latin). Simple tribal listing. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Sanam, abundant or their departure" (97). 846. Sapheir. Joshua 15:48; K. 156:23; L. 284:37. This is not located along any main road and does not seem to be the Sapharea of the Madaba map. It is best located at Sawafir 10 miles northeast of Ascalōn (K. 22:15) on the road to Eleutheropolis (K. 18:12). Perhaps on the border. 847. Sokchō. Joshua 15:48; K. 156:25; L. 284:39. Textual variant Socho (Latin). Cf. II Kings 17:30 and cp. K. 156:18 above. 848. Skacha. Joshua 15:61; K. 156:27; L. 284:41. Textual variants: Sakcho (Greek) and Scaca and Scatha (Latin). Simple tribal listing.

849. Selo. Joshua 16:6; K. 156:28; L. 284:42. Two biblical items (Genesis 38:5) separated by a location. The distance varies by two miles between Latin and Greek. In the Madaba map "Silo where the ark was" following Eusebius. The present Kh Seilun is over 12 miles from Neapolis (K. 4:28). But turn off from the main road is at 12 milestone. Paula saw a destroyed altar there (Epistle 108:13, PPT I, 13). Perhaps the 10 miles of Jerome locates Akkrabein. 850. Suchem (Sechem). Joshua 17:7; K. 158:1; L. 284:46. Manssseh and Ephraim both hold biblical Shechem. K. 150:7 seems to distinguish Joshua 20:7, Joshua 21:21 from the area around Neapolis. Yet this entry has been corrected and the same site is the Ephraim city of refuge and the Manasseh city with the tomb of Joseph. No location is given here other than reference back to K. 150:1 which is probably a marginal gloss.

851. Sama. Joshua 18:17; K. 158:4; L. 284:49. Textual variant "spring of Sam" (Greek). Biblical and Hexaplaric information. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Sames, sun" (97). 852. Semreim. Joshua 18:22; K. 158:5; L. 284:50. Textual variants: Sereim (Greek) and Semeri (Latin). Simple tribal listing. 853. Sela. Joshua 18:28; K. 158:6; L. 284:51. Simple tribal listing. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Sela, bear from, to bear, not from breadth" (97). 854. Sabe (Sabēe). Joshua 19:2; K. 158:7; L. 284:52. Simple tribal listing. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Sabe, seven or seven times" (97). 855. Sarith (Sarid). Joshua 19:10; K. 158:8; L. 284:53. Textual variant Sarith (Latin). Simple tribal border. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Sarith, remains" (97). 856. Sams. Joshua 19:12; K. 158:9; L. 284:54. Textual variants: Sam (Greek) and Samis, Samus (Latin). Hexaplaric information. 857. Semerōn. Joshua 19:15; K. 158:10; L. 284:55. Simple tribal listing. 858. Sounēm (Sunem). Joshua 19:18; K. 158:11; L. 284:56.

Textual variant Soubēn (Greek). Perhaps the tradition confuses this with the Shulamite of Canticles. It is at Sulem about 3 miles south of Naim (K. 140:3) and correctly located 5 miles from Thabor. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Sonim, scarlet colored" (97). 859. Sion (Seon or Soen). Joshua 19:19; K. 158:13; L. 284:58. Vague location may point to 'ajun esh sha'en, but it could be the same as the previous location. Jerome alone gives an alternate. A' has Seian. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Seon, his seeds" (97). 860. Sasima. Joshua 19:22; K. 158:15; L. 284:60. Simple border listing. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Sassim, going out he stayed" (97). 861. Sior. Joshua 19:26; K. 158:16; L. 284:61. Simple tribal listing. 862. Sennanein. Joshua 19:33; K. 158:17; L. 284:62. Textual variant Sennanim (Latin). Biblical notation and tribal listing. A corrupt LXX test wherein two Hebrew names in the MT become coalesced into one.

863. Sorek (Sorec). Joshua 19:41; K. 158:18; L. 285:63. Summary of biblical information and geography (Judges 13:25 and cf. K. 88:12). This form is from the MT not from the LXX (cf. K. 160:2). 864. Sames. Joshua 19:41; K. 158:20; L. 285:65. Textual variant Samer (Greek). Cf. K. 54:11 and K. 32:26. 865. Salabein (Salabeim). Joshua 19:41; K. 158:21; L. 285:66. Salaba is only vaguely located, perhaps Onomasticon points to site (not the Old Testament site) at Kh Selhab north of Tubas (cf. K. 100:11). In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Salabin, growing intelligence" (91). 866. Sepheth. Judges 1:17; K. 158:23; L. 285:68. Textual variants: Sephet, Seth and Sapeth (Latin). Simple biblical notation. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Safeth, watchtower" (101). JUDGES 867. Seirōtha. Judges 3:26; K. 158:25; L. 285:70. Textual variants: Ahod, Aioth and Ahud (Latin). Simple biblical notation (cf. K. 156:1 related to Mt.Se'ir) In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Sairath, she goat" (101).

868. Sour Oreb. Judges 7:25; K. 158:27; L. 285:72. Textual variant. A' is lacking in Vatican Greek manuscript. Hexaplaric information. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Suroreb, rock of the raven" (101). 869. Selmon. Judges 9:48; K. 158:28; L. 285:73. Simple biblical notation. This is not Shechem but Sikima near Haifa (K. 108: 30). It is probably located at Tell es Samak. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Salmana, preventing shade or shade of movements" (101) and "Salma, feeling or perfect or peace making" (101). 870. Sephina. Judges 12:1; K. 160:1; L. 285:75. Hexaplaric information. 871. Sōrēch. Judges 16:4; K. 160:2; L. 285:76. Identified with Cafarsorech northwest of Saraa (K. 56:15) possibly Eusebius points to Kh Surik (not the

Old Testament site) Judges 13:2, 25. It is not on a Roman road. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Sorec, best choice" (101). KINGS 872. Sōpheim. I Samuel 1:1; K. 160:6; L. 285:80. Textual variants: Armathe and Armathaim (Latin).

Simple biblical location. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Sofim, watchtower or crag." (105). 873. Salisa. I Samuel 9:4; K. 160:7; L. 285:81. Simple biblical notation. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Salisa, third" (105). 874. Senna. I Samuel 14:4; K. 160:8; L. 285:82. Textual variant Sanna (Latin). This entry and part of the next are missing in the Greek Vatican manuscript. As a rock it does not belong to the place names. It is also out of proper order and doubly suspect (cf. K. 94:5). In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Sena, borne or narrowness or good" (105). 875. Saaleim. I Samuel 9:4; K. 160:11; L. n/a; Lacuna in Greek Text. The first part of this entry and the previous one are missing in the Greek Vatican manuscript (cp. K. 156:14). Probably Kh Shaikha 7 miles due west of Eleutheropolis (K. 18:12). Some scholars see it on the road at Araq el Manshiya but Eusebius' location seems to be off the road (cf. K. 68:4).

In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Salim, foxes but better written Su-alim" (105). 876. Seiph (Sthif). I Samuel 9:5; K. 160:11; L. 285:84. Textual variant Seim (Greek). Simple biblical notation. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Suf, watchtower or pouring forth" (105). 877. Sabeim. I Samuel 13:18; K. 160:12; L. 285:85. Simple biblical notation. 878. Sōnam. I Samuel 28:4; K. 160:13; L. 285:86. Cf. K. 158:11 and K. 158:13. Perhaps also Salim east of Nablus is intended, in the Akrabattinē (I Kings 1:3 and Song of Solomon 6:12). It could be sanur north of Samaria as well. Neither site is the Old Testament location. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Sonaim, scarlet colored or his standing." 879. Saphamōth. I Samuel 30:28; K. 160:15; L. 285:89. Textual variant Sophamoth (Latin). Simple biblical notation. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Safathmoth, lip of death." (105). 880. Seeira. II Samuel 3:26; K. 160:16; L. 285:90. Simple biblical notation.

881. Souba. II Samuel 8:3; K. 160:17; L. 285:91. Simple biblical notation. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Soba, divided from cutting, not from following" (105). 882. Sarthan. I Kings 4:12; K. 160:18; L. 285:92. Simple biblical notation. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Sarthan, their tribulation or demolition or limitation " (112). 883. Sōpheira (Soupheir). I Kings 9:28 and I Kings 10:11; K. 160:19; L. 285:93. Textual variant Sophira (Latin). This variant

name is a LXX error. Out of the Holy Land proper (cf. K. 150:14 and K. 176:13). 884. Serōra. I Kings 11:26; K. 160:21; L. 285:95. Textual variant Serora (Latin). Simple biblical notation. 885. Saba. I Kings 10:1; K. 160:22; L. 285:96. This entry is out of the Limits of the Holy Land and out of order as well, so is quite suspect. In Josephus Antiquities II, 10, 2 we have "Saba, the capital of the Ethiopian realm which Cambyases later called Meroe after the name of his sister."

In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Saba, captured" (112). 886. Sela. II Kings 12:21; K. 160:25; L. 285:99. Simple biblical notation. LXX has Gaalad or Gaalla for the MT "to Silla." In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Sela, always" (117). 887. Sefpharouem (Saffaruaim). II Kings 17:24; K. 160:26; L. 285:00. Simple biblical notation (Isaiah 36:19). In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Safaruahim, books or letters" (118). 888. Sademoth. II Kings 23:4; K. 160:28; L. 286:03. Simple biblical notation. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Sademoth, ploughed land or region" (118). 889. Sarepta. I Kings 17:9; K. 162:1; L. 286:04. This item is perhaps out of order. This is the only site between Tyre (K. 162:15) and Sidon (K. 148:6) mentioned in the Onomasicon. Jerome adds it is on the main highway. Tabula Peutinger locates it 9 miles from Sidon and 12 from Tyre. The Pilgrims note it is on the coast also 9 miles from Sidon (Paula PPT I, 4 and Itin. Bourd.18:22). It is the present Sarafand (MT, cf. Luke 4:26 not noted in our text). In Latin "oppidulum" used only here, the diminutive is "oppidum" (cf. K. 10:25 and Appendix I).

890. Sarōn. Isaiah 33:9; K. 162:3; L. 286:06. Part of this entry is missing in the Vatican manuscript. Ioppa is an "oppidum" in Jerome here (cf. K. 111:25; cp. K. 10:25 and Appendix I). In Jerome's Commentary on Isaiah 33:7 and elsewhere he describes the plain of Sharon as near Ioppa and Lidda. This may describe the limits of the plain. The added notation is more precise for biblical Sharon. The first Saronas is connected with Aphek and Endor (K. 34:11) of the Esdraelon plain, northeast of Tabor toward the Sea of Galilee, perhaps named after a town Saruna but not the biblical site. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Saron, first wall or gloomy singing" (122). 891. Sephela. Isaiah 32:19; K. 162:7; L. 286:09. "Another" as the above plain. In Jerome's Commentary on Obadiah 19 he describes this area of Diospolis (K. 8:14) to Nicopolis (K. 30:27) but notes, as in Onomasticon that others see it as near Eleutheropolis (K. 18:12). The Onomasticon locates it between Eleutheropolis and Ioppa (K. 110:24 and cp. I Maccabees 12:38).

892. Sennaar. Micah 1:11; K. 162:10; L. 286:12. Textual variants: Sennaan (Greek) and Sennam (Latin). Hexaplastic information and references (cp. K. 156:22). 893. Sedrach. Zechariah 9:1; K. 162:11; L. 286:13. Simple biblical notation. LXX has confused the Hebrew of MT here. 894. Siōn. Zechariah 9:9; K. 162:12; L. 286:14. Mountain and simple biblical location. One of the details of Jerusalem but no real location given. In Jerome's Commentary on Isaiah 1:21 he says, "Sion is the mountain on which the city of Jerusalem was founded." 895. Samareia (Samaria). Ezekiel 16:46; K. 162:13; L. 286:15. Samaria is Sebaste and gives its name to the territory (cf. K. 154:21). 896. Sor (Tyre). Ezekiel 26:2; K. 162:15; L. 286:17. Simple biblical summary (Joshua 19:35). The Onomasticon uses "metropolis" only rarely for Tyre and Jerusalem. Difficult to know if this is in reference to biblical or contemporary times. Tyre was the capital of the Roman province of Phoenicia north of Karmel and Palaistinē. It was 73 miles between Caesarea and Tyre according to Itin. Bourd. (PPT I, 17). Tabula Peutinger has 12 miles from Sarepta, 24 from Sidon and 32 from Ptolmais. It is presently called Sur (perhaps cf. K. 164:17).

897. Soēne. Ezekiel 29:11; K. 162:16; L. 286:19. This is outside the proper limits of the Holy Land. This is one of the most distant Egyptian cities mentioned (cp. K. 126:1). Hebrew has migdol. Eusebius follows the LXX here. For other sites in Egypt see note on K. 58:1. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Soene, his circle or expected" (130). 898. Sais. Ezekiel 30:15; K. 162:17; L. 286:20. This is outside the proper limits of the Holy Land. Greek text is corrupt. The Madaba map has "Sais." In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Sais, proof" (132). 899. Sadala. Ezekiel 47:15; K. 162:18; L. 286:21. Simple biblical notation of border. Name follows *Qere* vocalization. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Sadada, has the same meaning as Sela" (132, cf. 97 also cf. K. 158:6). 900. Sabareim. Ezekiel 47:16; K. 162:19; L. 286:23. Simple biblical notation and geography. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Sabarim, to go around the mountains" (132).

901. Salisa. Jeremiah 48:34; K. 162:21; L. 286:25. Hexaplaric information. 902. Suchar. John 4:5; K. 164:1; L. 286:26. This is not related to Shechem (K. 150:1) by this text. Yet it is east of Neapolis (K. 4:28) near the field of Jacob and the well where the Samaritan came. In this entry the well seems to be near or to belong to the village from which the woman came. Jerome notes a church is now built at the well (cf. Note on K. 7:13). Paula sees Sychar as near

the well but one mile from Shechem (Epistle 108:13 and PTT I, 18). The Madaba map is unclear, "Sychar now Sychchōra" is usually separated from "Where the well of Jacob is" as well as from "the tomb of Joseph." None of these is equated with Shechem. The oak of Sikimon and the tomb of Joseph however are connected in K. 54:23. The well and church tradition has remained constant since the 4th century (Latin text). Shechem is clearly Balata although later pilgrims identified it with Neapolis. Sychar is the small village of Samaritans which clustered around the well a bit south of Balata. The name Sychar has been preserved perhaps in present 'Askar at the foot of Mt. Ebal.

The reality of a Sychar was already questioned by Jerome. He notes that Sicima was called Sychem in Hebrew but the Gospel of John through an error wrote Sychar (Migne PL 23, 1055). In Epistle 108:13 he also remarks on this error and equates Sychem with Neapolis (Migne PL 22, 888). Many scholars favor this argument: Sychar is a copyist's error or alternate form for Sychem in the New Testament. This would mean between the well and Balata were located the Samaritan inhabitants of Sychem. The fact that no Roman remains are found on Tell Balata does not preclude the existence of a small village around the well and under the present village of Balata. After the 4th century the village north of Sychem was pointed out as Sychar. It is a Byzantine settlement. In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* "Sichar, conclusion or twig. However in error for Sichem, which means shoulder, Schar was written." (142).

SECTION T

1 GENESIS 903. Tigris. Genesis 2:14; K. 164:7; L. 286:32. A river and outside the Holy Land limits proper. Also as often in the first entry to a new alphabetic section this is suspect. The rivers of Paradise are all in the Onomasticon (see note on K. 60:3). Josephus *Antiquities* I, 1, 3 says, "The Euphrates and Tigris end in the Red Sea" apparently meaning the Red Sea includes both gulfs. "Tigris Diglath expressing at once its narrowness and its rapidity" (Ibid.). 904. Terebinthos in Sikemon. Genesis 35:4; K. 164:11; L. 286:36. Textual variant Tereminthos (Greek). Sikemos and other idols (see Appendix II). Simple biblical notation (cf. the oak K. 54:23). Is it possible that terebinthos or balanos may relate to the Matzevoth? On Sykem see K. 150:1 and K. 158:1. JOSUE 905. Tina. Joshua 15:22; K. 164:14; L. 287:39. Simple tribal listing (cp. K. 114:14). 906. Telem. Joshua 15:24; K. 164:15; L. 287:40.

² Simple tribal listing. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Talam, their dew or moistened with dew" (97). 907. Tessem. Joshua 15:52; K. 164:16; L. 287:41. Simple tribal listing (cp. K. 16:10. Here the guttural is expressed in Greek). 908. Turos. Joshua 19:35; K. 164:17; L. 287:42. Simple tribal listing (cp. K. 162:15). In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Tyros which is called Sor in Hebrew and interpreted tribulation or difficulty or strength" (97). JUDGES 909. Tabath. Judges 7:22; K. 164:19; L. 287:44. Textual variant Tabam (Greek). Simple biblical notation. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Tabath, good" (101). 910. Töb. Judges 11:3; K. 164:20; L. 287:45. Simple biblical notation. 911. Tapheth (Tofeth). II Kings 23:10; K. 164:21; L. 287:46. Simple biblical summary with generalized location (cf. K. 102:14). In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Thof, protection of the face or gehenna" (118). 912. Tanis. Isaiah 19:11; K. 164:23; L. 287:48. Located outside the proper limits of the Holy Land.

³ Here the Madaba map has "Tania" the only site in the delta of Egypt mentioned in the Onomasticon. On other sites in Egypt see K. 58:7. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Tanis, commanding humility" (122). 913. Taphnas. Hosea 9:6; K. 164:24; L. 287:49. Located outside the proper limits of the Holy Land. Summary of biblical references as Ezekiel 30:14, 18 and Jeremiah 43:7. In the Greek a confused text (cf. K. 134: 6). On other sites in Egypt see K. 58:7. THE GOSPELS 914. Trachonitis territory or Itouraia. Luke 3:1; K. 166:1; L. 287:53. Cp. 110:27. The limits are clear. Bostra was probably the border in Herod's time. Eusebius equates the two regions but they are not really identical. Philip did not control up to Damascus. Josephus called the region south of Damascus Trachōn, roughly equivalent to the basalt desert.

SECTION PH

¹ GENESIS TH 915. Jerome notes that in the Latin text the TH is followed next as in Hebrew and Latin alphabet. In Greek they are already included earlier in the alphabet. PH 916. Pheisōn (Fison). Genesis 2:11; K. 166:7; L. 287:59. A river outside the limits of Holy Land proper and again suspect as the first entry in alphabetic section. Again Josephus and the Bible are the simple sources for the entry inserted by a late editor. In Antiquities I, 1, 3 "one of these (four rivers) Phison, a name meaning multitude, runs toward India and falls into the sea, being called by the Greeks Ganges." In Interpretation of Hebrew Names Jerome repeats this identity of Fison with Ganges (4). On rivers of Eden see note on K. 60:3. In Interpretation of Hebrew

Names "Pison, mouth of an orphan or change of mouth" (66). 917. Pharan. Genesis 14:6; K. 166:12; L. 287:64.

² Summary of biblical information separated by location (Numbers 10:12 and Genesis 21:21, 14:6). Several different hands have been at work adding to this text. Procopius 332D repeats the first part of this entry. It is three days from Bluth or Aqabah (K. 6:17). It is south of the Roman province of Arabia. In Jerome's Commentary on Habakkuk 3:3 he says it is near Mt.Sina. Probably generally from Aqabah to Suez. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Faran, their courage" (66). 918. Pulistieim. Genesis 21:34; K. 166:18; L. 287:71. The city is Askalōn (K. 22:15) and the territory around it. Does Eusebius mean Philistine coastal area of the five cities or does he mean Palaistinē the Roman province? Probably here it is the former although in the Onomasticon the usage is quite irregular. Jerome at times translated Greek "foreigners" with Filistine (K. 7:15, K. 21:2, K. 33:25 and K.119:3) but more frequently with the Greek transliteration Allofylus, but most often as translated into "foreigners" or "enemy" (see Appendix I).

³ In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Filistiim, double ruins" (66). 919. Phrear. Genesis 21:31; K. 166:20; L. 287:73. A series of wells all of which are additions to the text. Not all the wells of the Bible are inserted by this later scribe into the Onomasticon. Usually only a biblical notation and no attempt at specific location is made. The Greek is transliterated above and the Latin is translated. Here identical with Bērosoba (K. 50:1) in the Geraritikē (K. 60:7). Confused entry. In Hebrew Questions 21:30 these two are equated, perpetuating an obvious error. 920. Phrear. Genesis 24:62; K. 166:22; L. 287:75. Simple biblical notation. 921. Phrear. Genesis 26:20f.; K. 166:23; L. 288:76. Berdan has the etymology given. It is in the Geraritikē (K. 60:7 and cf. K. 166:20 above). In the Vulgate the well is called Calumnia. The location is uncertain, perhaps barade. 922. Phrear. Genesis 26:33; K. 168:1; L. 288:78.

⁴ Summary of biblical information and a general statement on the many wells in southwest Palaistinē. This may also be around Bēroeaba (K. 50:1 and cf. K. 166:20). Some early Christians confused this with Askalon possibly here. 923. Phanouēl. Genesis 32:30; K. 168:4; L. 288:83. The Greek text is corrupt here. Biblical summary of Genesis 32:24, 28. The location here is not specific, but location on the Iabok (K. 102:19). In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Fanuhel, face of God" (66). 924. Phogōr (Fogo). Genesis 36:39; K. 168:7; L. 288:84. Simple biblical notation and geography (cp. K. 48:3 and K.

168:25). 925. Phinōn. Genesis 36:41; K. 168:8; L. 288:86. Summary of biblical information for two locations. Phainon is probably present day Fenan. In K. 80:15 it is 4 miles from Daidan. On these mines see K. 114:1ff. Roman fort remains are nearby, Jerome reports on labor supply. This may be quite distinct from the station on the desert (Numbers 33:42).

‡ In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Fiennon, their mouths or mastered faces" (66). EXODUS 926. Phithōm. Exodus 1:11; K. 168:12; L. 288:89. This entry is out of the limits of the Holy Land proper. Simple biblical notation. NUMBERS AND DEUTERONOMY 927. Pharagx. Numbers 13:24f.; K. 168:15; L. 288:92. Several wadies or ravines are listed in this section (cf. Deuteronomy 1:25). Most of them are not in the Latin. Not all of the wadies of the Bible are in the Onomasticon. Just as the wells above, so the wadies are suspect as being of a later hand. On Gouphna see Gophna (K. 26:2 and K. 74:2) here wrongly equated with Eshkal. The text seems to hint of a doubt in the unknown source which makes the spies come so far North. Fifteen miles from Jerusalem is Jifna on the Nablus road. It is 16 miles on the Tabula Peutinger and 20 from Neapolis. On the Madaba map it crowds Baithēl (K. 28:5) but "Gophna" is generally located as here (cf. Joshua 18:24).

‡ 928. Phin. Numbers 33:42; K. 168:19; L. 288:96. Simple listing of station. 929. Pharagx Zare. Numbers 21:12; K. 168:20; L. 288:97. Not in the Latin text. Another wadi or ravine (cf. K. 92:10). Simple biblical notation. 930. Phear. Numbers 21:16; K. 168:21; L. 288:98. Not in the Latin text. A well. Simple biblical notation. 931. Phathoura. Numbers 22:5; K. 168:22; L. 288:99. This entry is outside the limits of the Holy Land. But the "another" not in the Roman province of Mesopotamia or biblical Mesopotamis is Kh Furt about 5 miles southwest of Eleutheropolis (K. 18:12) off the main road. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Fethora, exploring mouth or mouthful of light or mouth of the turtle dove." (81). 932. Phogōr (Bēthphogōr). Numbers 33:28; K. 168:25; L. 288:03. Textual variants: Phephphogōr (Greek) and Fara (Latin). Greek dittography from K. 168:24. The city Bethphogōr, Mt. Phogōr and another village Phogōr are all combined in this entry. It is in Moab (K. 12:23; K. 44:13 and K. 64:22). Bethphogor see K. 48:3. The cities of Phogōr and Phogō (K. 168:7 and K. 170:13) are probably one and the same in the Scriptures. The mountain as located here is related to Phasga (K. 16:23; K. 18:3 and K. 168:28) and Nebo (K. 136:6). Dannaba also is near Mt. Phogōr (K.

76:9) as Satein (K. 154:10). Bēthphogōr is on this mountain (cf. Deuteronomy 3:28, 4:46).

⁷ The one near Bethlehem is based on the LXX of Joshua 15:59 and probably located at Kh Fajjar or Beit Fajjar southwest of Tekoa (K. 98:17). In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Faqr, skin of the mouth or he opened" (81). 933. Phasga. Deuteronomy 3:17; K. 168:26; L. 288:05. Summary of biblical information and Hexaplaric data. The city and mountain are related to Phogōr (K. 168:25) and to Nebo (K. 136:6). The equation of Phasga and Phogōr is made also in K. 18:3. The etymology of Phasgō for cliff or cutting is also in K. 16:24 (cf. K. 12:17). In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Fasga, cut off or hewn or mouth selected" (87). JUDGES 934. Phanouel. I Kings 12:25; K. 170:2; L. n/a; Lacuna in Greek Text. This entry missing in the Greek Vatican manuscript. Simple biblical notation (I Chronicles 4:4). 935. Phanouēl. Judges 8:8, 17; K. 170:3; L. 288:09. Textual variants: Hor and Cham (Latin).

⁸ Summary of biblical information (cf. K. 168:4). In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Fanuhel, face of God" (100). 936. Phraathōn. Judges 12:13ff.; K. 170:5; L. n/a; Lacuna in Greek Text. This entry is missing in the Greek Vatican manuscript. Simple biblical notation and geography. KINGS 937. Pharagx Ennom. Judges 15:8; K. 170:8; L. 288:12. A ravine and suspect as later addition (cf. K. 70:2; K. 164:21 and K. 102:14). The more recent name is also reported here. 938. Phelmoni Almoni. I Samuel 21:2; K. 170:11; L. 289:15. Hexaplaric information. This is not a Hebrew proper name in MT. A vague statement of a king's right to assign his underlings where and how he sees fit. 939. Phogō. I Chronicles 1:50; K. 170:13; L. 289:17. Textual variants: Phobō (Greek) and Fogor (Latin). Simple biblical notation (cf. K. 168:7). 940. Pharphar. II Kings 5:12; K. 170:14; L. 289:18. A River and therefore suspect.

⁹ Simple biblical geography. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Farfar, digging or scattering or moles" (115). 941. Phathori. Ezekiel 29:14; K. 170:15; L. 289:19. Textual variants: Fatore, Fature and Fathure (Latin). Cf. Jeremiah 44:15.

SECTION X

GENESIS 942. Chalannē. Genesis 10:10; K. 170:19; L. 289:23. Again the first entry in an alphabetic section is outside the Holy Land proper and suspect as a late addition (Isaiah 10:9 and cf. K. 174:8 below). Summary of biblical information and geography (cf. K. 148:11) Sennaar and K. 40:7 Babel. In Hebrew Questions Jerome notes Chalaane was called later Seleucia after the

name of the king and is also to be known as Ktēsiphōn (13). In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Chalanne, future completion or all of us." (63). 943. Chalak. Genesis 10:11; K. 170:21; L. 289:25. Outside the proper limits of the Holy Land. Simple biblical notation. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Chalech, as if green" (63). 944. Charran. Genesis 11:31; K. 170:23; L. 289:27. Outside the proper limits of the Holy Land. Probably still retains the name. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Charran, hole or wrath or his digging" (64).

945. Chebrōn. Genesis 13:18; K. 170:25; L. 289:29. Summary of biblical information (Genesis 23:2; Numbers 13:23 and Joshua 14:15 also cf. Arbō (K. 6:8 as well as K. 76:1)). In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Chebron, united or enchanted or everlasting sight" (64). 946. Chōba. Genesis 14:15; K. 172:1; L. 289:32. Textual variants: Choba and the town Coba (Latin). This is the only mention of the Ebionites in the Onomasticon. This is probably not a correct identification of the biblical site. The name is continued in at least three locations from Byzantine times. Probably Greek text pointed to today's kokaba southwest of Damascus. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Choba, condemnation" (64). 947. Chabratha. Genesis 35:16; K. 172:4; L. 289:35. The Hexaplaric information is supplemented with the late tradition of Rachel's tomb near Bethlehem (K. 42:10 and cf. K. 146:28). In Ephata (K. 82:10) the tomb is located near a Hippodrome. In Hebrew Questions (54) Jerome notes Chabratha is not a proper name.

In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Chabratha, as if chosen or heavy" (64). 948. Chasbi. Genesis 38:5; K. 172:6; L. 289:37. Textual variants: dollōm (Greek) and Adollam (Latin). Possible located in the region of Eleutheropolis (K. 8:12) about 10 miles northeast at 'Ain el Kazbeh. No indication it was a ruin in the earlier Greek text (cf. Adullam K. 24:21). In the Hexapla (not noted here) Aquila translated this word and Jerome in Hebrew Questions (46) writes 'Chasbi therefore is not the name of a place, but is a lie." In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Chazbi, a lie" (64). NUMBERS AND DEUTERONOMY 949. Chōrēb. Deuteronomy 1:2; K. 172:9; L. 289:40. Outside the limits of the Holy Land proper. The Onomasticon separates this from Mt.Sinai but Jerome believes Sinai and Horeb are names for the same mountain. 950. Charada. Numbers 33:24; K. 172:11; L. 289:43. Simple listing of station. 951. Chenereth. Numbers 34:11; K. 172:12; L. 289:44.

A summary of biblical information (Joshua 19:35) with added identification with Tiberias. At the death of Agrippa II Tiberias became an autonomous city. Called "oppidum" in Latin (K. 10:25 and Appendix I). This is not an exact equation since Tiberias is quite far south of the location of Chennereth, Gennesaret at Tell el 'Oreimeh. No location is given in the Greek. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Chenneroth, sign of lutes or as if lamps" (80). JOSUE 952. Chepheira. Joshua 9:17; K. 172:15; L. 289:46. Textual variants: Chepherra (Greek) and Cheffira (Latin). Simple biblical summary (Joshua 18:26). In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Chifara, his whelp or scattered hands or atonement" (92). 953. Chasalōn. Joshua 15:10; K. 172:16; L. 289:47. Textual variant Chalasōn (Greek). A large village with nothing but the biblical location written here. Perhaps this is Kasla southwest of Jerusalem near Esthaol (K. 88:12). In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Cheslon, their revelation" (92).

954. Chsil. Joshua 15:30; K. 172:18; L. 289:49. Textual variant Choilē (Greek). Simple tribal listing (cf. K. 140:8). 955. Chaphtheis. Joshua 15:40; K. 172:19; L. 290:50. Textual variant Chasthis (Latin). Simple tribal listing. 956. Chermel. Joshua 15:35; K. 172:20; L. 290:51. Chermel is now south of Chebrōn (cf. K. 118:5 and I Samuel 25:2). Notitia Dignitatum 73:20 confirms the garrison (cf. Procopius 1020C). In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Chermel, softly or delicate or knowing the circumstances" (92). 957. Chabōn. Joshua 15:40; K. 172:23; L. 290:54. In Latin this appears before Chermel (K. 173:25). Simple tribal listing. 958. Cheilōn. Joshua 15:51; K. 172:24; L. 290:55. Simple tribal listing. 959. Chephrei. Joshua 18:26; K. 174:1; L. 290:56. Simple tribal listing. 960. Cheselath Thabor. Joshua 19:12; K. 174:2; L. 290:57. Cf. below K. 174:11 and Chsalous K. 28:22. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Chsiloth, foolish signs" (92). KINGS 961. Chettieim. Judges 1:26; K. 174:4; L. 290:59.

This entry is not in the Holy Land limits proper to the Onomasticon. Procopius 1047A follows the Latin here. But see K. 122:14 for possible relationship to Bethelarea. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Chetim, raging or dreading or marked" (99). 962. Charrei. II Samuel 20:14; K. 174:6; L. 290:61. Simple biblical notation. The CH in Greek seems to be for the Hebrew guttural, following the LXX. 963. Chomarreim. II Kings 23:5; K. 174:7; L. 290:62. Textual variant Chōmarrei (Greek). Simple biblical notation. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Chomarim, keepers of the

temple" (115). 964. Chalannē. Isaiah 10:9; K. 174:8; L. 290:63. Outside the limits of the Holy Land proper as in Onomasticon (cf. K. 170:19). In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Chalanne, all" (115). 965. Charran. Isaiah 37:12; K. 174:10; L. n/a; Lacuna in Greek Text. Textual variant Charan (Latin). Outside the limits of the Holy Land proper (cf. K. 170:18).

966. Chaselath tou Thabōr. Joshua 19:12; K. 174:11; L. 290:64. Textual variant Chaselous (Greek) cf. K. 174:2 and K. 28:22. 967. Chōbal. I Kings 9:13; K. 174:13; L. 290:66. Textual variant Chōbar (Greek). Simple tribal border (cf. Joshua 19:27). 968. Chalab. Judges 1:31; K. 174:14; L. 290:67. Textual variants: Chalobter and Chalath (Latin). Simple biblical notation. 969. Chorra. I Kings 17:3; K. 174:16; L. 290:69. Simple biblical notation and geography. LXX has Chorrath for the Wadi. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Charith, division or knowing" (110). 970. Chōtha. II Kings 17:24; K. 174:17; L. 290:70. Outside the limits of the Holy Land proper (cf. K. 36:9, 10) for other regions of Assyria. 971. Chōbar. Ezekiel 1:1; K. 174:18; L. 290:71. A River and also outside the limits of the Holy Land proper and so doubly suspect as later addition. Simple biblical notation and geography. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Chobar, heaviness or heavy or near choice" (130).

972. Charchamus. Jeremiah 46:2; K. 174:19; L. 290:72. Outside the limits of the Holy Land proper. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Charchamos, group of sheep or recognize as if twigs" (126). 973. Chamōam. Jeremiah 41:17; K. 174:20; L. 290:73. Textual variant Chamoar (Greek). Simple biblical notation and geography. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Chamoan, his likeness" (126). 974. Chelōn (Elōn). Jeremiah 48:21; K. 174:21; L. 290:74. Textual variant Aealon (Latin) (cf. K. 176:20). Simple biblical notation. 975. Chamōs. Jeremiah 48:7; K. 174:22; L. 290:75. Another idol. It is out of order and suspect double. For other idols see K. 36:15; K. 44:13; K. 58:9; K. 134:17; K. 138:19; K. 146:26 etc. and Appendix II). In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Chamos, assembly" (126). 976. Chōrazein. Matthew 11:21; K. 174:23; L. 290:77. No Gospel section is indicated by division here. One Latin manuscript does have it. Textual variant has 12 miles for two.

Two miles from Kapernaoun (K. 120:2) north of the lake are the ruins of Kh Kerazeh which preserves the name. Deserted in the time of Eusebius and Jerome. Jerome in Commentary on Isaiah puts Tiberias, Bethsaida, Capharnaum and Chorazin all along the shore. Called "oppidum" in Latin (K. 10:25 and Appendix I). A synagogue of early 2nd or 3rd century testifies

of the rapid decline, it was rebuilt in the 5th century A. D. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Chorazaim, this my mystery" (135). 977. Cheimarrous Kedrōn. John 18:1; K. 174:26; L. 290:80. A wadi in Jerusalem (cf. K. 70:2 and K. 118:11).

SECTION O

1 PENTATEUCH 978. ōn. Exodus 1:11; K. 176:3; L. 290:84. Outside the limits of the Holy Land. Along with Soēnē one of the most southern cities mentioned in the Onomasticon. Summary of biblical information (Genesis 41:25). The form of the name is from the LXX. It is not in the MT. There is some debate therefore on its construction (cf. K. 94:13). In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "On, work or sorrow" (77). 979. ōr. Numbers 20:22, 28; K. 176:7; L. 291:88. Mt. near Petra (K. 142:7). Cf. K. 126:19 and K. 46:14 for Aaron's death. See K. 150:23 for Mt. Seir. Josephus Antiquities IV, 4, 7 tells of Aaron's death up on the mountain range that encloses Petra. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Or, passionate" (77) and "Or, light" (83). 980. ōbōth. Numbers 21:10; K. 176:9; L. 291:91. Simple listing of station. JOSUE and KINGS 981. Osa. Joshua 19:29; K. 176:11; L. 291:93.

2 Simple tribal listing. Only here are Joshua and Kings combined as a section heading. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Osa, hope" (96). 982. Oram. Joshua 19:38; K. 176:12; L. 291:94. Simple tribal listing. 983. Opheir. I Kings 9:28; K. 176:13; L. 291:95. Outside of the Holy Land proper (cf. Genesis 10:29). This quotation of Josephus Antiquities I, 6, 4 is repeated in K. 82:2 and K. 150:14. Probably the same site as in K. 160:19 after the LXX. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Ofir, weakening" (112). 984. ōn. Hosea 10:5; K. 176:18; L. 291:00. Textual variants: Aun and Auna (Greek). Probably the same as Bēthaun (K. 50:24) an epithet possibly for Baithēl (K. 40:20 cf. Joshua 21:15). Hexaplaric information on the meaning. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "On, useless or sorrow or labor or injustice" (122). 985. ōlō. Joshua 21:15; K. 176:20; L. 291:02. Simple biblical notation (cp. K. 174:21).

3 986. ōronaeim. Jeremiah 48:34; K. 176:21; L. 291:03. Textual variants: Oranaim and Ornaïm (Latin). Simple biblical notation and geography. In Interpretation of Hebrew Names "Oronaim, opening of the wall" (128). This text was transcribed by Noel Wolf, 2005.

INTRODUCTION

CONCERNING THE PLACE NAMES IN SACRED SCRIPTURE.

¹[Translated by C. Umhau Wolf] Preface by Eusebius Latin preface by Jerome Alpha Genesis Exodus Numbers and Deuteronomy Joshua Judges Kings The Gospels Beta Genesis Exodus Numbers and Deuteronomy Joshua Judges Kings The Gospels Gamma Genesis Numbers and Deuteronomy Joshua Kings The Gospels Delta Genesis Numbers and Deuteronomy Joshua Judges Kings The Gospels Epsilon Genesis Exodus Numbers and Deuteronomy Joshua (of Naue) Kings The Gospels Zeta Genesis Numbers and Deuteronomy Joshua Kings Eta Genesis Joshua Judges Kings Theta Genesis Deuteronomy Joshua Judges Kings Iota Genesis Numbers and Deuteronomy Joshua Kings The Gospels Kappa Genesis Joshua Judges Kings Lambda Genesis Numbers and Deuteronomy Joshua Judges Kings Mu Genesis Exodus Numbers and Deuteronomy Joshua Judges Kings Nu Genesis Joshua Judges Kings The Gospels Xi Joshua Omicron Genesis Exodus Joshua Pi The Pentateuch Rho The Pentateuch Joshua Kings Sigma Genesis Exodus Numbers and Deuteronomy Joshua Judges Kings Tau Genesis Joshua Judges The Gospels

²Phi Genesis Exodus Numbers and Deuteronomy Judges Kings Chi Genesis Numbers and Deuteronomy Joshua Kings Omega The Pentateuch Joshua and Kings

CONCERNING THE PLACE NAMES IN SACRED SCRIPTURE — by Eusebius of Pamphilia, Bishop of Caesaria Palestine

³As a kind of preface to the work proposed by you, O Paulinus, holy man of God, I have previously presented the subjects suggested. First I translated into the Greek language the names of the nations throughout the world which have Hebrew names in the sacred Scriptures. Then on the basis of the whole Bible I composed a map of ancient Judea and defined the allotments of the twelve tribes within it. Furthermore, using the "blueprint" as it were, provided by Scripture, I sketched a representation of their ancient and renowned capital, i.e., Jerusalem, and of its temple with appended notes of its areas. Now, in this work and in accordance with those things previously prepared for the usefulness of the completed project, I continue your proposal and set forth the names of the cities and villages mentioned in the Sacred Scriptures in their native language, of what sort of territory they were, and

whether our contemporaries call them by the same name as the ancients or otherwise. I shall gather the materials sought from all of the inspired Scripture, but for easy reference I shall organize in alphabetic order each of the citations scattered among the readings.

Latin Preface by Jerome

⁴ Eusebius who received his cognomen from the sainted martyr Pampilius had already written the following: 1) The Ten books of the Church History 2) The Canons of the Times (which we rendered into Latin) 3) Names of the various Nations (in which he explained how these were formally spoken among the Hebrews and are now spoken) 4) Description of the land of Judea and the lots of the separate tribes 5) Also a Plan of Jerusalem and its temple with a most succinct description Finally he worked on this little book and gathered together for us from the Holy Scriptures almost all the names of cities, mountains, rivers, villages and other places indicating if they still exist, are unchanged or are in part corrupted. And so we have translated the study of this remarkable man according to the order of the alphabet in Greek. We have left unchanged those proper records we have not seen, but have changed a few.

⁵ As formerly in the preface to The Canons of the Times, I debated whether I should be only a translator or an author of a new work. Especially because someone hardly instructed in the language dared to translate this same book into the Latin language which is not really Latin. The wise reader will quickly discover the ignorance of him by comparison with what we have translated. Even though I do not claim for myself eminence, nevertheless I believe I can surpass those who are farmers.

SECTION A

¹ GENESIS Ararat, Armenia.¹ Scripture says that the ark came to rest (after the deluge) in the mountains of Ararat. It is asserted that the remains of the ark are still shown on the mountains of Armenia. Jeremiah also mentions Ararat in his vision against Babylon. In the first book of the Antiquities of the Jews Josephus likewise sets forth the story of the place. Upon the testimony of non-scriptural witnesses he derives this information: "Noah, thus learning that the earth was delivered from the flood, waited yet seven days, and then let the animals out of the ark, went forth himself with his family, sacrificed to God and feasted with his household. The Armenians call that

spot the Landing-Place, for it was there that the ark came safe to land, and they show the relics of it to this day. This flood and the ark are mentioned by all who have written histories of the barbarians. Among these is Berosus the Chaldean who in his description of the events of the flood writes somewhere as follows: 'It is said, moreover, that a portion of the vessel still survives in Armenia on the mountains of the Cordyaeans, and that persons carry off pieces of the bitumen, which they use as talismans.' These matters are also mentioned by Hieronymus the Egyptian, author of the ancient history of Phoenicia, by Mnaseas and by many others. Nicolas of Damascus in his 96 book relates the story as follows: 'There is above the country of Minyas in Armenia a great mountain called Baris, where, as the story goes, many refugees found safety at the time of the flood, and one man, transported upon an ark, grounded upon the summit, and of the timber were for long preserved; this might well be the same man of whom Moses, the Jewish legislator wrote.'"

² Achad.² City of King Nebrod in Babylon. [According to the Hebrews this is said to be the Mesopotamia city which today is called Nisibis. It was once besieged and captured by Lucullus the Roman consul and within a few years was given over by Emperor Iovianus to the Persians.] Aggai (Ai).³ To the west of Bethel. They are not far distant from one another. Bethel is now located on the left side of the road going from Neapolis to Jerusalem at about the 12th milestone from Jerusalem. Bethel even now exists. [A church has also been built there where Jacob slept on the way to Mesopotamia whence this place was given the name Bethel which means "house of God". But for Aggai, a deserted place, there are shown only ruins. This is also called in Scripture Gai. [It should be remarked that there is no letter G in Hebrew but it was called Ai, written with the letter called by them Ain.]

³ Astarōth Karnaein.⁴ Territory of the giants situated above (on the ridge). Sodom which Chodollagomor captured (destroyed). Today there are two towns (forts) of this name in Batabia or Beloloun the cities of Adara and Abila, about nine miles apart. Arbō. [Arboc.⁵ In our codex written corruptly as Arboc, Arbo is the reading in the Hebrew. That means "four" since this is where the three patriarchs Abraham, Isaac and Jacob along with the "great Adam" are buried. So in the book of Josue. Perhaps some suppose this tradition that he was buried in the location of Calgary.] "That is, Hebron" now a large town which was formerly a metropolis of the foreigners where giants dwelled. Afterwards the capital of David. It was allotted to the tribe of Juda

and was a Levitical city and one of the cities of refuge. It is twenty-two miles south of Jerusalem. The oak of Abraham [which is also Mamrē, was pointed out up to the time of Constantine, emperor of Rome] and his tomb are seen there [a church has been constructed there by us]. The terebinth where angels were entertained by Abraham is openly revered by the people (in the vicinity as a religious place). Formerly it was called Arbo but later Hebron after Hebron one of the sons of Caleb according to Paralipomenon.

⁴ Ailam (Ailath).⁶ Is situated at the extremity of Palestine between the southern desert and the Red Sea where cargo was transported by ship from both Egypt and India. A detachment of the Tenth Roman Legion is stationed there. Properly called Aila today (it was formerly pronounced Ailath) from whence the ancient people the Ailamites whose king was Chodollagomor [who is mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles]. Another Ailam of the foreigners (of Palestine) is noted in Kings. Adama.⁷ One of the five cities of Sodom which was destroyed with the others. Asasan Thamar (Asasonthamar).⁸ Where the Amorrites dwelled whom Chodollagomor destroyed is located near the wilderness of Cades. It is said there is a village Tharmara (a fortThamara) one day journey from Mapsis on the road from Hebron to Ailam. Today there is a garrison (Roman fort) of soldiers there." Aloua (Allus).⁹ Region of the princes of Edom (the Edomite) which is now in the Gebalene near the city of Petra.

⁵ Ainan (Aenam).¹⁰ "On the road to Thamna." Now Ainan is a deserted place near Thamna which today is a large populous town situated between Jerusalem and Diospolis. There is a spring near the place said to be Ainan beside which an idol used to be worshiped by the inhabitants. [There is a spring at the above mentioned place Aena whence Aenan, that is "spring" gets its name, where a strange, large idol is revered by the inhabitants. But the Hebrews declare that Aenan does not designate a place but a crossroad where a clear prospect is required to choose one road from another.] [Ailōn Atad (Areaatad).¹¹ "Which is beyond the Jordan" where they mourned Jacob. The place is three miles from Jericho and two from the Jordan. It is now called Bethagla which is interpreted "place of circling" because there (according to custom) they were circling in lamentation over Jacob.]

⁶ EXODUS Ailim (Aelim).¹² "Where there were twelve springs of water and seventy palm trees." A station of the children of Israel on the desert (to which Moses came after crossing the Red Sea). [Ailous (Aelim).¹³ Station of

the children of Israel in the desert (in the desert where the children of Israel made camp).] NUMBERS AND DEUTERONOMY Aserōth.¹⁴ Part of the desert where "Mariam and Aaron spoke against Moses." Once the Avvim dwelt in Aseroth as far as (the city) Gaza. [But rather this is not called Aseroth but Aserim in Hebrew.] Asemōna.¹⁵ Station of the children of Israel in the desert. Aētharim.¹⁶ For Aquila and Symmachus (interpreted) "road of the spies." There "the Canaanite who lived in the Negreb" (south) came and fought the Israelite in the desert. Aiē or Achelgai.¹⁷ Symmachus (interpreted) "on the hills." It is said to be "fronting Moab" (now) Areopolis, "on the east." Arnōn.¹⁸ [A high cliff] "which extends from the territory of the Amorrites" situated between "Moab and the Amorrites" it is also the "border of Moab." Which is Areopolis in Arabic. Today a place called Arnon is pointed out by the nearby inhabitants extending north to Areopolis. Units of soldiers are spread out there to guard it because of the dangers in that place (soldiers from many forts are spread out because of the many bloody and formidable invasions). Once Schon, king of the Amorrites, took it from the Moabites. (Once this belonged to the Moabites but Schon, king of the Amorrites, waged war against it and took it.) Afterwards it was given to the children of Israel who took possession of the territory beyond the Jordan reaching from the Arnon to Mt. Hermon and Lebanon. (The territory of the children of Israel beyond the Jordan beginning at the Arnon extends up to Mt. Hermon and Lebanon.)

⁷ Ar.¹⁹ Place (or city) on the Arnon which according to the Septuagint LXX (hereafter LXX) [the Septuagint interprets with a long vowel] Er. Aēsīmōn.²⁰ Place in the desert [in short this word itself signifies arid land or desert]. Abelsattein (Abelsattim).²¹ Place in the desert "to the west of Moab" (south). Azōr (Iazer).²² "Boundary of the children of Ammon" (border city of Ammon) which is called Philadelphia now. It along with Philadelphia delimits the region of the Amorrites. There is eight miles (about) from Philadelphia a village Azer (Iazer) remaining today. Aroēr.²³ "It is on the edge of the Wadi Arnon." A city of Moab which the Emin, an ancient people, once possessed, which the children of Lot, that is those from Moab, seized [and overthrew the former inhabitants]. It is today pointed out perched on the brow of the mountain where the torrent flows through the gorge (abruptly) to the Dead Sea. Aroer was given by lot to the tribe of Gad and is said to be "toward" (opposite) "Rabba."

⁸ Astarōth.²⁴ The ancient city of Og [king of Basan] where giants dwelled. It was given to the tribe of Manasse. It is located in the Batanea six miles from Adraa a city of Arabia. Adraa is twenty-five miles from Bostra. Note also the previous Astaroth Karaein. Agrou Skopia.²⁵ (Lookout). Mountain of Moab to which Balac [son of Sepphor] brought Balaam "on the peak of cursing" overlooking the Dead Sea. It is still pointed out not far from the Arnon. (Diviner to curse against Israel above the precipice which because it falls quite strongly is called "cleft" and impinges over the Dead Sea not far from the Arnon.) Arabōth Mōab.²⁶ Where the people were numbered a second time. Aquila "on the plain of Moab." Symmachus "on the field of Moab." "It is on the Jordan opposite Jericho." A place is pointed out now near Mt. Phogor which is located on the road from Livias to Hesebon of Arabia opposite Jericho.

⁹ Araba. Aquila ²⁷ "In the plain." Symmachus "in the field." Theodotion "in the west." Symmachus also once "uncultivable." Astarōth (Ataroth).²⁸ Ancient city of the Amorrites in Peraia [across the Jordan] which was given by lot to the tribe of Gad. Adtaroth is also the name of the son of Salma or Salomon according to Paralipomenon. Astarōth Sōphar (Ataroth Sofan).²⁹ This is also a city of the tribe of Gad. Arad.³⁰ City of the Amorrites near the desert of Cades. There is now (shown) a village four miles from Malaatha, and twenty from Hebron. Tribe of Juda. Asemōna.³¹ A city in the desert south of Judaea. It determines the border between Egypt and the sea [and the lot of] the tribe of Juda. Note another [Asemōna above], a camp [of the children of Israel]. Akrabbein (Acrabbi).³² Eastern boundary of Judaea. Tribe of Juda. There is a large village nine miles east of Neapolis on the road descending via the so-called Akrabattine toward the Jordan at Jericho. The Akrabbein is said to be also the region of the Amorrites from which according to Judges "the tribe of Nephthali did not drive out" the heathen.

¹⁰ Asadadda (Asadada).³³ Northern boundary of Judaea. [Arad.³⁴ This is also a boundary of Judaea], twenty miles south of Hebron. Note another above. Asarēnan (Asarenam).³⁵ Northern boundary of Judaea. Aserna (Asernai).³⁶ This is also a boundary of Judaea. Arbēla.³⁷ Eastern boundary of Judaea. There is a village of Arbela across the Jordan in the region of Pella, a city of Palestine. Another Arbela lies in the Great Plain nine mile north from Legeon. Aulōn.³⁸ [Not Greek as one might think since this is a Hebrew word] The Great long plain is still called the Aulon. It is bordered

on both sides by mountains [and is very long] extending from Lebanon to the desert of Pharan. In the Aulon [that is the valley plain] is the famous city [Tiberias] and nearby the lake, Scythopolis, Jericho and the Dead Sea and their surrounding regions. The Jordan flows through the midst of the whole region (which river) arising from the springs near Paneas and disappearing into the Dead Sea.

¹¹ Amalēkitis (Amalecitis).³⁹ Territory in the desert to the south of Judaea beyond the city called Petra going toward Aila. The Scripture emphasizes this, "Amalek lived in the region of the Negeb (south)." From this region other Canaanites came and fought the children of Israel in the desert. The same Scripture testifies "The Amalecites and Canaanites are living in the valley." Araba.⁴⁰ [Aquila "plain." Symmachus] "field." Note above also. There is a village called Araba in the district of Diocaesarea [which was formerly called Safforinia] and another about three miles west of Scythopolis. Amman.⁴¹ This is now Philadelphia, a famous city of Arabia. "The Raphaim formerly lived" there. The sons of Lot drove out the inhabitants who lived there in Amman before them. Argob.⁴² Territory of the kingdom of Og [king of Basan] above the Jordan which was taken [by lot] by the half tribe of Manasse. There is even now a village called Erga near Gerash, a city of Arabia, fifteen miles to the west. It is interpreted by Symmachus "outskirts."

¹² Asēdōth.⁴³ City of the Amorrites which was given [by lot] to the tribe of Ruben. It is called Asedoth Phasga which is "hewn in rock" (in our tongue "cut away"). Abareim (Abarim).⁴⁴ The mountain on which Moses died. It is said to be "Mt. Nebo which is in the land of Moab facing Jericho "beyond the Jordan on the summit of Phasga." The very same names are pointed out when one goes from Livias to Hesebon near Mt. Phogor itself which still bears that name, from which the territory is also even now called Phasga. Auōth Iaeir (Avothiair).⁴⁵ [Which is interpreted "home of Iair."] It is in Basan (where there are sixty villages in Mt. Galaad). There is a village Iaeir in the mountains of Galaad which was taken (by lot) by the half tribe of Manasse. It is now in the place called Gonia (Golan) in the (region of) Batanaea. JOSHUE Antilibanos (Antilibanus).⁴⁶ What is beyond the Lebanon to the East toward (near) region of Damascus (is called Antilibanus). Tribe of Manasse (which the tribe of Manasse received by lot).

¹³ Azēka (Azeca).⁴⁷ City of the Chanaanites to which Josue pursued the five kings. It was given to the tribe of Juda. There is even now a village called

Azeka between Eleutheropolis and Jerusalem. Ailôm (Aialon).⁴⁸ Ravine. Where "the moon" stood when Josue prayed, near the village which is even today called Aialon, three miles from Bethel to the east. It is near Gabaa and Rama, cities of Saul. [The Hebrews assert the town of Aialon to be near Nicopolis in the second mile on the road to Jerusalem.] Achôr.⁴⁹ The valley called Achor [in Hebrew emecachor which means valley of confusion or violence because of the confusion or violence in Israel] where they stoned Achor (Achan), who stole what was under ban from whom Achor is named. It lies north of Jericho and is even now the name by those nearby [by the inhabitants. Mentioned by Osee the prophet.] Asêdôth.⁵⁰ This is another city [not that which has the same name above] which Josue fought, killing its king.

¹⁴ Asôr.⁵¹ City of King Jabin which Josue burned because it was alone "chief of all the kingdoms of the foreigners (Philistines)." There is even now another village called Asor in the eastern region of Ascalon. Give [by lot] to the tribe of Juda. Scripture also knows the new Asor [calling it so to distinguish it from the old]. Aermôn.⁵² Territory of the Hevites captured by Josue. [The Hebrews properly as the reading indicates, affirm that Mt. Hermon is near Paneas which was once held by the Hevites and the Amorrites, from where in summer delicacies of snow are brought down now to Tyre.] Alak (Aalac).⁵³ Aquila "division of the mountain." Symmachus "smooth mountain" [that is clear or slippery]. A mountain above Paneas. Aermôn.⁵⁴ Mountain of the Amorrites [which is reported] the Phoenicians called Sanior and the Amorrites called it "This Sanir." They say it is the mountain even now called Mt. Hermon which is revered as a shrine by the gentiles (on its summit is a wonderful temple where the people worship) opposite (near) Paneas and Lebanon. To the east is the boundary of the inheritance of the children of Israel beyond the Jordan (extends) from Mt. Hermon to the Wadi Arnon.

¹⁵ Anôb.⁵⁵ A city which Josue fought. There is even now a village near Diospolis, four miles to the east called Betoannaba. [Others however affirm it located eight miles from there and is called Bethannaba.] Asdôd.⁵⁶ Which is also (now called) Azotus. The Enacim remained in it (giants as they were called). Today it is a famous city of Palestine. It was in the lot of the tribe of Juda. Ader.⁵⁷ A city which Josue fought, killing its king. Aphek (Afec).⁵⁸ A city which Josue also fought, killing its king. Aksaph (Acsaf).⁵⁹ This king Josue also fought. It is reported there is a village (called) Chasalous in the

plain below Mt. Thabor eight miles from Diocaesarea. Akkarōn (Accaron).⁶⁰ (In) tribe of Dan [or as I determine in the tribe of Juda]. "It is counted among the Chanaanites." One city of the five satrapies of the heathen (Palestine) which was also allotted to the tribe of Judah. But they did not possess it since they did not destroy the heathen (never were able to expel the original inhabitants from it). There is also a large village of Jews called Accaron between Azotus and Iamnia to the east. [Some believe Accaron to be the Tower of Strato afterwards called Caesarea.]

¹⁶ Azōtos (Azotus).⁶¹ Which is called (above) Asdod. The (not ignoble) city of Palestine still remains. Formerly one of the five satraps of the heathen which was also allotted to Juda, but they did not possess it because they did not destroy the heathen (were not able to expel the original inhabitants). Askalōn (Ascalon).⁶² A renowned city of Palestine. Formerly one of the five satrapies (of the heathen) which was allotted to Judah but they did not possess it because they did not destroy the heathen (were not able to overcome its inhabitants). Apheka (Afeca).⁶³ Boundary "of the Amorrites" beyond the Jordan which was given to the tribe of Ruben. There is now a large village (castle) called Apec near Hippos a city of Palestine. Algad (Agad).⁶⁴ (Located) "at (the foot of) Mt. Hermon." Aimath (Aemoth).⁶⁵ City of the valley was given to Ruben. They say there is now a village Amathous in the lower Peraea (beyond the Jordan), south of Pella. Another village near Gadaranis (named) Emmath where there is hot water (where hot water flows forth) for hot baths. In Kings it is said, "from the entrance of Emath unto the sea of the Arabia" (that is wilderness) which is the Dead Sea. [I have however discovered upon investigation a city of Coele Syria called Aemath which is now called Epifania in the Greek tongue.]

¹⁷ Ammon.⁶⁶ Beyond the Jordan. City of the tribe of Gad. It is Amman or Philadelphia, a famous city of Arabia. Adira.⁶⁷ (In) the tribe of Juda near the desert. There is another village in the region of Diospolis near Thamnitiqe which region itself is called after the village Thamna. Akarka.⁶⁸ Symmachus "the ground." A village near the desert. Tribe of Juda. Achōr.⁶⁹ (In) the [tribe of Juda. Note also above. Adommim].⁷⁰ (Lot of) the tribe of Juda. (Once) a little village, now deserted. The place is called Maledamim on the road going down from Jerusalem to Jericho. A garrison is there. [In Greek "the ascent of blood." The Latin also calls it the ascent of red or redness for the blood of those so often poured out by the soldiers. It is also on the

boundary of the tribes of Juda and Benjamin. A fort of soldiers is located there to help travelers. This is the place of the wounded and bloodied of which the Lord speaks in the Parable of the one going down from Jerusalem to Jericho.]

¹⁸ Amam.⁷¹ (In) the tribe of Juda. Aser.⁷² (In) the tribe of Juda. There is now a large village called Aser on the road from Azotus to Ascalon. Asarsoual (Asarsual).⁷³ (In) the tribe of Juda. Ain.⁷⁴ (In) the tribe of Juda. (City) set aside for priests. There is now a village called Bethanin two miles from the terebinth (that is the tent of Abraham) and four from Hebron. Asthaöl.⁷⁵ (In) the tribe of Juda. There is (remains today) now a (little) village called Astha between Azotus and Ascalon. Asna.⁷⁶ (In) the tribe of Juda. Adolam (Adollam).⁷⁷ (In) the tribe of Juda. A large (not small) village (called by that name) is now ten miles east of Eleutheropolis. Adiathaim (Adithaim).⁷⁸ (In the lot of) the tribe of Juda. It is reported that there is a village Adia near Gaza and another Adatha near Diospolis to the east. Adasa.⁷⁹ (In) the tribe of Juda. There is now even a village near Gophna. [But I wonder how Gufna region can possibly be in the tribe of Juda. Evidently it should be as again in the Book of Josue I is given to the lot of Ephraim.]

¹⁹ Ather.⁸⁰ (In) the tribe of Juda. Asan.⁸¹ (In) the tribe of Juda. There is now also a village called Bethasan in the region of Jerusalem sixteen miles (in the fifteenth) to the west. Asema.⁸² (In) the tribe of Juda. Achzeib (Agzif).⁸³ (In) the tribe of Juda. Anab.⁸⁴ (In) the tribe of Juda. It is even now in the in the boundary of Eleutheropolis. Also another large village of the Jews called Ania in the Daroma nine miles south Hebron. Asthemō (Asthemof).⁸⁵ (In) the tribe of Juda. This village (of the Jews) is also in the Daroma north of Aneon. Aneim (Anim).⁸⁶ (In) the tribe of Juda. Another Anaia near the former (of which we spoke above) now happens to be wholly Christian (all its inhabitants are Christians) to the east of the first. Aphaka (Afeca).⁸⁷ (In) the tribe of Juda. Amata (Ammata).⁸⁸ (In) the tribe of Juda. Arebba.⁸⁹ (In) the tribe of Juda.

²⁰ Archiatarōth (Ataroth).⁹⁰ City of the tribe of Joseph [near Rama in the tribe of Joseph]. Atarōth.⁹¹ (City of) the tribe of Ephraim. There is now also a village Ataros four miles north of Sebaste (it is said). Adar.⁹² City of the tribe of Ephraim. Asēr.⁹³ City of the tribe of Manasse. There is also now (pointed out) a village called thus on the road (descending) from Neapolis to Scythopolis in the fifteenth mile near the main highway. Atarōth.⁹⁴ City of

the lot (tribe) of Benjamin. There are now two Ataroths near Jerusalem. Anathōth.⁹⁵ City or the lot of Benjamin. Set aside for priests near Jerusalem at the third milestone. The home of Jeremia the prophet. Adar (Addar).⁹⁶ City of the lot of Benjamin. Ailmōn (Aelomon).⁹⁷ City or lot (tribe) of Benjamin. Set aside for priests. Amekkasīs (Amez-casis).⁹⁸ City or lot of Benjamin [that is valley of Casis in tribe of Benjamin].

²¹[Aueim (Avim).⁹⁹ (In tribe of) lot of Benjamin.] Aphra.¹⁰⁰ (In tribe of) lot of Benjamin. There is also even now a village Aphra (in of Bethel) five miles to the east. Ammōenia (Ammoeniam).¹⁰¹ (In the tribe of) lot of Benjamin. Aphnei (Afni).¹⁰² (In tribe of) lot of Benjamin. Alph.¹⁰³ Lot of Benjamin. (This entry is missing in Latin.) Arēm (Arim).¹⁰⁴ (In tribe of) lot of Benjamin. It is now a village near Diospolis called Bethariph. Amsa.¹⁰⁵ (In tribe of) lot of Benjamin. Asar.¹⁰⁶ (In tribe of) lot of Simeon. Anan.¹⁰⁷ (In tribe of) lot of Simeon. Amarchabob.¹⁰⁸ (In tribe of) lot of Simeon. Ain.¹⁰⁹ (In tribe of) lot of Juda or Simeon. Priestly city. Asenna.¹¹⁰ (In tribe of) lot of Simeon. Ammathar.¹¹¹ (In tribe of) lot of Zabulon. Anoua (Anua).¹¹² (In tribe of) lot of Zabulon. There is another village Anoua on the road from Neapolis to Jerusalem at the fifteenth (tenth) milestone.

²² Anathōn.¹¹³ (In the tribe of) lot of Zabulon. Acheselōth (Achaseloth).¹¹⁴ City of (tribe of) lot of Issachar. They say there is a village (called) Chaalous in the plain by Mt. Tabor eight miles east of Diocaesarea (as we said above). Aiphraim (Aefraim).¹¹⁵ City of (tribe of) lot of Issachar. There is a village Aphraia called Aphraia six miles north of Legeōn. Anerth (Anereth).¹¹⁶ (In) lot of (tribe of) Issachar. Aims (Aemes).¹¹⁷ (In) lot of (tribe of) Issachar. Achsaph (Achsaf).¹¹⁸ (In tribe of) lot of Aser. Alimelech.¹¹⁹ Lot of Aser. Amod (Amath).¹²⁰ (In tribe of) lot of Aser. Abdōn.¹²¹ (In tribe of) lot of Aser. [City separated to Levites.] Aneiēl (Aniel).¹²² (In tribe of) lot of Aser. There is a village (named) Baitonnaia, fifteen miles east of Caesarea, lying in the mountains where there are said to be healing baths. Achran.¹²³ (In tribe of) city of Aser. Armmōn.¹²⁴ (In tribe of) lot of Aser.

²³ Akchō (Accho).¹²⁵ It is now called Ptolemais. Lot of Aser where Aser "did not destroy" the heathen (drive out the former inhabitants). [Achzeiph (Achzif).¹²⁶ (In tribe of) lot of Aser, from which they did not destroy the heathen] (in which the foreigners remained). It is Ekdippa, nine miles from Ptolemais, on the road to Tyre. Amma. Lot of Aser. Aphek (Afec).¹²⁸ Lot of Aser from which they did not destroy the heathen (in which the early in-

habitants remained). Ademmei (Ademme).¹²⁹ (In tribe of) lot of Nephthali. Asedeim (Aseddim).¹³⁰ (In tribe of) lot of Nephthali. Amath.¹³¹ (In tribe of) lot of Nephthali. Adami.¹³² (In tribe of) lot of Nephthali. Asōr. Lot of Nephthali. (It is written) the King of Assyria also destroyed this. Azanōth.¹³⁴ Boundary of Nephthali. (Now there is also) a village in the plain in the region of Diocaesarea. Ailōn.¹³⁵ City of the lot of Dan. Separated to the Levites. A village of Alon is near Nicopolis. Before "Ailon" Origen (Septuagint) interprets "where there were bears."

²⁴JUDGES Arad.¹³⁶ City where "the children of Iothor (omitted pr. n.), of Iobab father-in-law of Moses" dwelled in the midst of Israel. Ared.¹³⁷ Spring beside which Gadeon camped. Arisōth.¹³⁸ City of Sisara, general of Jabin. Tabis is now a great city (village) beyond the Jordan six miles from the city of Pella on the road to Geresh. [Ares.¹³⁹ Ascet of Hares. Aquila "thicket." Symmachus "mountain."] Aroueir (Aruir).¹⁴⁰ Where Jephte fought. It is a village in the mountains six miles north of Jerusalem. Arima.¹⁴¹ Where Abimelech was crowned. Aialon (Aialin).¹⁴² City "in the land of Zabulon." Home of Elon the judge of Israel. Abel.¹⁴³ Of the vineyards. Where Jephte fought. Land of the children of Amman. There is even now a village Abela, a fertile vineyard, (to be seen in the seventh) six miles from Philadelphia. Also another famous wine producing city called Abela is twelve miles east of Gadara. And there is (still) a third Abela of the Phoenicians (in Phoenicia) between Damascus and Paneas.

²⁵KINGS Armthem Seipha (Sofim).¹⁴⁴ City of Elcana and Samuel. It is situated (in the region of Thamna) near Diospolis. The home of Joseph who was from Arimathea in the Gospels. Abenezzer.¹⁴⁵ A stone of help (hearing or of help). Place where "the heathen carried away the ark of the covenant" between Jerusalem and Ascalon near the village of Bethaamas. Aphesdomeim (Afesdomim).¹⁴⁶ Where Saul fought. Aquila (interprets) "on the boundary of Dommein." Anegb (Annegeb). Aquila "south." Symmachus "south." Arith.¹⁴⁸ Where David dwelled. There is a village (named) Arath west of Jerusalem. Aialim. Aquila (translates) "of the deer." Theodotion "the stones of the deer." Aendōr.¹⁵⁰ (Which is "in Jezrahel" where the children of Israel prepared for battle. There is now a large town Endor four miles south of Mt. Thabor. Aphek (Afec).¹⁵¹ Near Endor of Jezrahel where the war broke out against Saul. Arma.¹⁵² Where David sent some of "the spoils." Athach.¹⁵³ Where David sent some of the "spoils."

²⁶ Amma.¹⁵⁴ "By the wilderness road of Gabaon." Aeththam Adassai (Aethon Adasai).¹⁵⁵ (Which for Symmachus is (interpreted) "the lower road." Alōn Area Orna.¹⁵⁶ This is Jerusalem. Assour.¹⁵⁷ City in Judaea which Solomon built. Abelmaelai (Abelmaula).¹⁵⁸ One of the capital cities of Solomon. Home of Eliseus (the prophet). There is now a village called Bethmaela (Bethmaula) in the Aulon [of which we have spoken above], ten miles from Scythopolis (to the south). There is also a (little village Abelmea seen on the road from (between) Neapolis to (and) Scythopolis. Auothiaeir (Avothiair).¹⁵⁹ One of the capital cities of Solomon. Ailath.¹⁶⁰ "On the shore of the red sea in the land of Edom." Note above Ailas also. Ailōth (Aeloth).¹⁶¹ Azarias built this. Ainda (Aenda).¹⁶² Asa (the king) fought against this (and overthrew it). Asiōn Babai (Asiongaber).¹⁶³ (Which is also Asion Gaber. There the ships of Josaphat were broken (the fleet was destroyed). It is said to be Aisla (Essia) quite near Aila beside the Red Sea.

²⁷ Alae (Alle), Abor, Gozan.¹⁶⁴ (Names) of rivers in the territory of the Medes on whose mountains Israel was resettled (was led away captive). Abena (Abana).¹⁶⁵ River of Damascus. Aophsith (Aofsithe).¹⁶⁶ Or Aphousoth which Aquila (understands) "in freedom." Aian.¹⁶⁷ The "king of Assyria" captured this. Aia.¹⁶⁸ [Place in the territory of Assyria. Ainath] (Ameth).¹⁶⁹ Territory of Assyria. Asimath (Asima).¹⁷⁰ [City in the land of Judaea which] those from Aimath (Emath) built there. Arkem (Arcem).¹⁷¹ According to Josephus this is Petra the famous city of Palestine. Adramelech.¹⁷² Assyrian idol. The same as Anemelech (Latin omits this phrase) [which the Samaritans worshiped] which were the gods of the Samaritans. Arōnieim (Aroniim).¹⁷³ A road (according to) Isaia. Aquila Oronaim, Symmachus Aranneim. In the vision "against the Moabs." [Agalleim (Agallim).¹⁷⁴ Isaia (also mentions this) in his vision "against the Moabites."] There is now the village Aigalleim (Aegalim) eight miles south of Areopolis. Aileim (Aelim).¹⁷⁵ Well of Deimon (Dimon). [This place is also recorded in] Isaia in the vision "against the Moabites."

²⁸ Arina (omitted in Latin) or also Ariel.¹⁷⁶ Aquila and Symmachus "lion of God." It is asserted that this is (the same as) Areopolis since the inhabitants of Areopolis still call their idol Ariel worshiping Ares (that is Mars) from whom the city (supposedly) is named. [It seems to be, however, that as a consequence of the prophetic text Ariel signifies allegorically Jerusalem or the temple itself, and that is the lion of God who bears the rule strongly and

powerfully. Concerning this I speak more fully in the book *Hebrew Questions*.] Adama.¹⁷⁷ (In Isaia). Aquila and Symmachus "ground," Theodotion (interprets) "land." Agros (Ager).¹⁷⁸ Of the fullers. According to Isaia. The place is pointed out now in the suburbs of Jerusalem. [Asedek (Asedec).¹⁷⁹ Isaia the prophet predicts the future of this place in Egypt. Remember, however, that in Hebrew this name should be written Aares which is dryness and some interpret "in the sun," but others translate "in the clay" probably designating either Heliopolis or Ostracinas. But these disputed matters are discussed more fully in the book *Hebrew Questions*.]

²⁹ Arphad (Arfad).¹⁸⁰ City of Damascus against which the King of Assyria fought. (as it is written) in Isaia, Jeremia and Kings. Anaeougaua (An-eugaua).¹⁸¹ In Isaia. Aquila [Ane and Gaua]. Symmachus "rouse up" and "humiliate." [Perhaps the U syllable in the middle of the word should be interpreted as the conjunction "and."] Also in Kings (we read about this also in Kings). Armenia.¹⁸² (In) Isaia (Which is) Ararat. Sarasa (Latin omits). Asel (Asael).¹⁸³ Zachariah mentions this. Anamaël (Anameel).¹⁸⁴ Tower of Jerusalem [as written in the book of] Zachariah. Asademōth (Assaremoth).¹⁸⁵ In Jeremia. In Hebrew "of Sademoth" (is written). Aquila "the suburbs." Aen-iōth.¹⁸⁶ In Jeremia. Aquila "workshop" (or shop). Alōth (Alaoth).¹⁸⁷ In Jeremia. (For which) in Hebrew Louith (Luith is written). Aitham (Aethan).¹⁸⁸ In Jeremia. (Which) Aquila (interprets) "firm" ("powerful"). Symmachus "ancient." THE GOSPELS Akeldama (Aceldama).¹⁸⁹ "Field of blood." in the Gospels. It is even now pointed out on the north (south side) of Mt. Zion in Jerusalem.

³⁰ Ainōn (Aenon).¹⁹⁰ "Near Saleim" (Salim), where John baptized according to the Gospel of John. The place is pointed out even now eight miles south of Scythopolis near Salalm (Salim) and the Jordan.

SECTION B

¹ GENESIS Babel (Which is also) Babylon.¹⁹¹ Interpreted "confusion." It was the city of Nemrod, king of the giants. Where the tongues of those who designed the tower were confused, whose chief, Josephus affirms, had been Nimrod. He also is a witness to the story about the tower which the Greek Sibylline taught, saying. "The place in which they built the tower" is now called Babylon because of the obvious confusion of their first language. The Hebrews called that confusion Babel. [Because of the confusion of the speech of those who were building the most high tower with all zeal since the

Hebrews call confusion Babel.] Concerning this tower and the dialects of man the Sibylline also recalls writing thus. All mankind had one language but some built a high tower so they might climb up to heaven by it. The gods sending winds overturned the tower and gave to each his own (peculiar and unique) language. And so because of this the city is called Babylon."

² Baithēl (Bethel).¹⁹² It is now a village twelve miles from Jerusalem to the right of the road going to Neapolis. It was formerly called Oulamma and also Luza. It was given to (the lot of) the tribe of Benjamin, near Bethaven and Gai. Josue also fought there killing the king. [Further, since some hold Ulammaus to be the old form following the error of the Greek volume, they err greatly. Surely the word is Hebrew and they appear to have confused the name of the city with Ulam meaning "first," i.e., former, while Luza really means "almond." So properly Bethel was first called Luza. Neither this nor Bathaun should be looked for in another city since the Hebrews reckoned them to be Bethel. But from the time of Jeroboam, son of Nabat, made there the Golden calves and the ten tribes worshiped there, it has been called Betauraun, i.e., "House of God." But we have spoken of this fully in the book *Hebrew Questions*.]

³ Bala.¹⁹³ "That is Sigor (Segor) It is now called Zoara (Zoara), the only one [of the five cities] of the territory of Sodom [cursed by Lot] which escaped. It is now inhabited (remains still) in the vicinity of the Dead Sea. A garrison of (Roman) soldiers is (stationed) there (a peculiar people crowd in there.) The Balsam and the date palm in the land surrounding it proves the ancient fertility of the place. [Nothing is wrong because Segor is said to be Zoara, for they are the same word for "very little" or "little." It is Segor in Hebrew and Zoara in Syriac. Bala however is interpreted "swallowed." On this we have spoken fully in the book: *Hebrew Questions*.] Belanos (Belanus).¹⁹⁴ "Mourning" (i.e., oak) under which Rebecca's nurse died and was buried. Barad.¹⁹⁵ "Between Cades and Barad the well of Agar is even now pointed out. Bēthlehem.¹⁹⁶ [City of David. In the lot of the] tribe of Juda (in which our Lord and Savior was born.) It is six miles south of Jerusalem near the road descending to Hebron. There the tombs of Jesse and David are pointed out. [One mile farther. near the tower of Ader, which means "tower of the flock," is where the shepherds heard prophetically of the Lord's birth before it happened. Also near this same Bethlehem is pointed out the tomb of one of the kings of Judaea, Archalaeus, which is reached first on a narrow path

diverting from the main highway to our cell.] Also called Bēthleem is the son of Efratha, (i.e. of Mary) according to Paralipomenon (book it is fully spoken. Read the story well!).

⁴ EXODUS Beelsephōn (Beelrefon).¹⁹⁷ Station of the children of Israel near the desert going out of Egypt through the waters, near the Red Sea. NUMBERS AND DEUTERONOMY Banēiakan (Baneiacan).¹⁹⁸ Station on the desert in the journey of the people (children of Israel). Bamōth.¹⁹⁹ City of the Amorrites near the Jordan in the region of the Arnon which the sons of Ruben took. Basan.²⁰⁰ [Of which is written above] "Og, king of Basan." This is also the Maachathites who are called Aouth Iaeir (that is resident Iair). And the (half-) tribe of Manasse received it (by lot). Located in the Galaad, it is the region of the Basanites which is now called Batanaia. Beelphegōr (Baelfegor).²⁰¹ (Which is interpreted "idol of shame." It is the idol of Moab which is Baal on Mt. Phogor [which the Latins call Priapus. This is fully discussed in the book Hebrew Questions]. Baian (Baeen).²⁰² City of the Amorrites which the sons of Ruben took.

⁵ Bēthnamran (Bethamnaram).²⁰³ Across the Jordan. Which the tribe of Gad built. There is even now a village Bethnampris five miles north of Livias. [Betharran.²⁰⁴ Across the Jordan. Which the tribe of Gad built.] Beelmeōn.²⁰⁵ Across the Jordan. Which the sons of Ruben built. There is a large village near the hot waters of Baara [where the water springs freely from the earth] called Beelmaous of Arabia, located nine miles from Hesebon. Eliseus the prophet came from here. Baal.²⁰⁶ Across the Jordan. City of the sons of Ruben. Bouthan (Buthan).²⁰⁷ Station of the children of Israel in the desert which is also (called) Aitham (Aetham). Bēla.²⁰⁸ Eastern boundary of Judaea. Note also the above (named) Arbela. Bosor.²⁰⁹ "In the desert," "across the Jordan," (given in the lot to) "the tribe of Ruben," "east of Jericho," a priestly city of refuge. This is Bostra a metropolis of Arabia. There is also another Bosor, city of Esau, now in the hills of Idumea which Isaia mentions saying, "Who is this coming from Edom? The one in red garments from Bosor?"

⁶ Bēroth.²¹⁰ "Of the sons of Jakeim (Iacim)." Place in the desert where Aaron died. It is pointed out (still today) ten miles from Petra on the summit of the mountain. JOSUE Bounos.²¹¹ (That is hill) of foreskins. Place at Galgal where Josue circumcised the people (of Israel). At the second mile from Jericho is pointed out even now (today) the stones which were brought

up out of the Jordan (as scripture records). Bēthōrōn.²¹² To where the (enemy) kings were pursued by Josue. Given (in lot) to the sons of Joseph, that is Ephraim. There are two villages twelve miles from Jerusalem on the road to Nicopolis, [of which the near] one called [Bethoron the Lower] set apart for the Levites. Barnē.²¹³ This is Cades Barne, on the desert which extends up to the city of Petra. Baalgad.²¹⁴ In the plain "of the Lebanon at the foot of Mt. Hermon. Josua also captured this.

⁷ Bethphogor (Bethfogor).²¹⁵ Across the Jordan. City of the sons of Ruben near Mt. Phogor, opposite Jericho, six miles above Livias. Bēthasimouth (Bethsimuth).²¹⁶ Place of (home of) Isimouth. [There is even now (up to today a village Ismouth] opposite Jericho, ten miles to the south near the Dead Sea. Bērōth (Beeroth).²¹⁷ At the foot (the hill) Gabaon. There is now (pointed out today) a village near Jerusalem on the road to Nicopolis (Neapolis) at the seventh milestone. Botnia (Bothnim).²¹⁸ Also Poteein (Latin omits). Across the Jordan, a city of the tribe of Gad. There is even now (today) a place called by this same name. [Bētharam.²¹⁹ City of the tribe of Gad near the Jordan,] which (is called) according to the Assyrians (Syrians) Bethramphtha. It is now called Livias [so named by Herod in honor of Augustus]. Bethnema.²²⁰ Across the Jordan. City (of the tribe) of Gad near Livias. [Bethagla.²²¹ Tribe of Juda.] There is now a village called Agla ten miles from Eleutheropolis on the road to Gaza. Also another (maritime) Bethagla by the sea eight miles (from Gaza).

⁸ Bētharaba.²²² (In) the tribe of Juda.] Baal.²²³ "This is Carlatihjarim, city of Iarim," (i.e., town of the forest or as some think city of Iarim) tribe of Juda. There is a village Cariathiareim (today) on the road descending from Jerusalem to Diospolis at the tenth milestone. Baala.²²⁴ Also Bala (not in Latin). (In) tribe of Juda. Balōth.²²⁵ (In) tribe of Juda. Bethphalei (Bethfali).²²⁶ Also Bethlei (not in Latin). (In) tribe of Juda. Bērsabee.²²⁷ (In) tribe of Juda or Simeon. There is now a large village twenty miles south of Hebron in which a garrison of (Roman) soldiers is stationed. Here the territory of Judaea begins extending up to Dan near Paneas. Bersabee is interpreted "well of the oath" because there Abraham and Isaac swore (a pact of alliance) with Abimelech. It is not necessary to move the cities reported in Juda which are also found in Simeon and/or Benjamin. For since the tribe of Juda excelled in war it is likely that through a successful action, in the final description of the territory it was given a share of the inheritance allotted to the other tribes.

Scripture indicates quite clearly that Simeon lived in the midst of Juda. [Once the men of the tribe of Juda were most warlike, strong and numerous, dominating all as the chief tribe and so therefore the lots of other tribes are occasionally reported as bound to it. Scripture also teaches quite clearly that Simeon dwelled in the midst of the tribe of Juda.]

9 Balaam (Balam).228 (In) tribe of Juda. Baskōth (Bascath).229 (In) tribe of Juda. Bethdagōn.230 (In) tribe of Juda. There is now (still today) a large village Keparadagōn (Caferdago) [pointed out] between Diosopolis and Iamnia. Bēthalōth.231 (In) tribe of Juda. Bēthphou (Bathaffu).232 (In) tribe of Juda. A village fourteen miles beyond Raphia on the road to Egypt. It is the border of Palestine. Betharaba.233 Symmachus "near the uninhabitable" [translates "in the place which is near the uninhabitable," meaning desert.] Beesthara.234 (In) tribe of Manasse. Separated to the Levites "in the Basanite" (region). Bethaun.235 (In) tribe of Benjamin. Near Gai and Bethel, opposite Machmas, [which some regard to be the same as Bethel as said above]. [Baliloth.236 (In) tribe of Benjamin.] Bethsour (Bethaur).237 (In) tribe of Juda or Benjamin. There is now a village Bēthsōrō at the twentieth milestone on the road going from Jerusalem to Hebron. (Near) there is also pointed out a spring coming out of the hill where it is said the eunuch Candaces was baptized by Philipp. (There is a spring arises at the foot of the hill and bubbles forth, and is swallowed by the ground.) There is also another Bethsour (in) the tribe of Juda one mile (a thousand paces) from Eleutheropoli.

10 Boon.238 (In) tribe of Benjamin. [Bēthalōn.239 (In) tribe of Benjamin.] Symmachus (interprets) "in the field." Bēthagla (Bethalla).240 (In) tribe of Benjamin. [Bērōth.241 (In) tribe of Benjamin.] Bola.242 (In) lot of (tribe of) Simeon. Bathoul.243 (In) lot of (tribe of) Simeon. [Bēth.244 (In) lot of (tribe of) Simeon.] Baaeth.245 (In) lot of (tribe of) Simeon. Bērammōth.246 (In) lot of (tribe of) Simeon. [Bēthlabaōth.247 (In) lot of (tribe of) Simeon.] Bethleem.248 (In) lot of (tribe of) Zabulon. There is another one of Juda. (Distinct from the other named Bethleem of Juda.) Bēthphasis (Bethfases). 249 (In) tribe of Issachar. Batnai (Batnae).250 (In) tribe of Aser. Now a village called Bethbeten (about) eight miles east of Ptolemais. Bēthdagōn.251 Linking up "with Zabulon." Lot of Issachar. (Place where the two tribes Zebulon and Issachar have common borders.) Bēthaemek (Bethemec).252 Symmachus (interprets) "of the valley" (place of the valley). Lot of Aser.

Bēthanatha (Bethana).253 (In) tribe of Nephthali. There is a village (named) Batanaia fifteen miles from Caesarea in which there are said to be healing baths. Note also (under the name) Anaia above.

¹¹ Banē.254 (In) tribe of Dan. Barakai (Barac).255 (In) tribe of Dan. There is even now [a little] village (called) Barka (Bareca) near Azotos. JUDGES Bezek (Bezec).256 City of (king) Adonibezek. There are now two villages (named) Bezek near each other seventeen miles from Neapolis on the road to Scythopolis (descending to). Bēthsan.257 The tribe of Manasse "did not destroy" the heathen of this city (were not able to expel the original inhabitants). It is (now called) Scythopolis, a famous Palestinian city. The Scriptures call it also the house of San, which (in our language is interpreted "enemy") is "house of enmity." Bethsames.258 Priestly city of (in) tribe of Benjamin. It is even now (today pointed out about) ten miles east of Eleutheropolis toward Nicopolis. Bathma (Bethnath).259 (In) lot of (the tribe of) Nephthali. They did not destroy the heathen here. (But the tribe of Nephthali could not expel the former inhabitants from here.)

¹² [Bethsames.260 Another one.] (The former inhabitants remained here.) Baalermōn.261 Mountain near Lebanon in the territory of the heathen (Allofylus). Baleth (Baaeth).262 (In) lot of (tribe of) Dan. Bethbēra.263 (Interpreted house of) water (or well) which Gideon seized (by warlike expedition). Bēthasetta.264 Where Madian fled (turned in flight). Balanos (i.e., oak of) Sikimōn.265 Where Abimelech reigned. It is pointed out (up to today) in the suburbs of Neapolis toward the tomb of Joseph. Borkonneim (Borconni).266 Aquila "blackthorn" Symmachus (interpreted) "prickly plant." Bēra.267 Where Joatham stood when he fled from Abimelech. The village (Bera) is eight miles north of Eleutheropolis. Baalthamar.268 Near Gaba. Where the children of Israel prepared for war against the tribe of Benjamin. This place (little town) is also (even today) called Beththamar (as noted above). KINGS Bēthchōr (Bethchur).269 Where (up to this place) the people pursued closely (the fleeing) "heathen." It is also called "the stone of help."

¹³ Bama.270 Where Saul ate with Samuel when he was about to be anointed king. Aquila translates for Bama "hill." Bōsēs.271 Name of a rock. [About which we speak in the book Hebrew Questions.] Basōr (Besor).272 Wadi to which David came. Bōrasan.273 Where (place to which) David sent some of "the spoils." Baoureim (Baurim).274 Where (place to which) her weeping husband followed Michol, Saul's daughter. Baalasōr.275 "Near Ehraim"

where "(the sheep) of Absalom" were shorn. [Bēthmacha.276 (Here Joab followed the fleeing Seba and afterwards, we read, it was taken by the Assyrian king. There is now a village called) Machamim] (in the eighth mile going up from Eleutheropolis to Jerusalem). Balth (Balaath).277 City which Solomon built. Baithsarisa (Bethsarisa).278 Where the man came to (the prophet) Eliseus (with his gifts). It is in the boundary of (a village of) Diospolis fifteen miles to the north in the Thamnitica. Baithaggan (Bethagan).279 Road through which (we read) Ochozias fled.

14 [Basekath (Bazeoath).280 Ancient city of Judaea.] Baithakath (Bethacath).281 (Village of Samaria) to which Jehu went. There is a village of Samaria (located not more than) fifteen Miles from (the city of) Legeōn in the great plain. Aquila (interprets) "house of bending" Symmachus "separated house." [This is because of the narrow and low entrance of such a separated house and because one is not able to stand up on entering.] Baithannē (Baenith).282 Also Bainith. The Samaritans (who were brought from) Babylon built this. Bublos (Byblus).283 City of the Phoenicians. In Ezechiel. For this the Hebrews have Gobel. Boubastos (Bubastus).284 City of Egypt in Ezechiel. Bōz.285 In the land of Kedar. In Jeremia (as Jeremia writes). Bēl. 286 Idol of Babylon. THE GOSPELS Bēthsaida.287 City of "Andrew and Peter" and Philipp (the apostles). Located in Galilee on (near) the Lake of Gennesareth. Bēthphagē (Bethfage).288 (Little) village on the Mt. of Olives where the Lord Jesus came.

15 Bēthania.289 Village two miles from Jerusalem on the slope of the Mt. of Olives where the Christ (Savior) raised Lazarus. The place (tomb) of Lazarus is pointed out even now [where a church has been constructed.] Bēthaabara (Bethabara).290 "Where John was baptizing" (the penitent) "across the Jordan." The place is pointed out where many of the brothers even now consider it an honor to wash. (Where today many of the brothers, the believers, desiring a renewal of life are baptized in the Depths.) Bēzatha (Bethsaida).291 Pool in Jerusalem which is (called probatike and interpreted by us) "sheep." Once it had five porticos. There are now pointed out twin pools, of which one is filled by the rain water (winter rains) and the other it appears that the water becomes miraculously red, as they say, bearing the traces of the sacrificial victims formerly washed in it. So it is called the sheep after the sacrifice. (Red like blood which in itself is seen as a sign of old. The

sacrificial victims were brought unbound by the priests into the bath, whence it received its name.)

SECTION G

¹ GENESIS Gaiōn (Geon).²⁹² The Nile according to the Egyptians, arising out of Paradise and encircling "all of Ethiopia." Gomorra.²⁹³ One of the five cities of Sodom (which divine punishment) destroyed at the same time as the rest. Gerara.²⁹⁴ The Geraritike is now called after this, (the region) beyond the Daroma. Twenty-five miles south of Eleutheropolis. It is the old southern boundary of the Chanaanites and a royal city of the Philistines (metropolis of Palestine). It is located, as Scripture affirms, "between Cades and Sur" (i.e., between) two deserts. The one adjoins Egypt whence the people came having come through the (straits of the) Red Sea. The other (true) Cades extends up to the desert of the Saracens. Galaad.²⁹⁵ Mountain to which Jacob went fleeing from Laban, a full "seven days" journey from Haran. It is situated back of Phoenicia and Arabia, connected with (the hills of) Lebanon, extending through the desert as far as Petra beyond the Jordan. There Schon the Amorrite dwelled. It (the above mentioned mountain) was given by lot to the sons of Ruben and [Gad and the half-tribe of Menasse. In Jeremia it is said], "Galaad, [you are to me] like the peak of Lebanon." There is also a city Galaad set on the mountain with the same name. "The descendants of Machir son of Manasse" took Galaad from the Amorrites.

² Gader.²⁹⁶ Tower where Jacob dwelled and Ruben violated the bed (of his father). [Since the letter G is absent in Hebrew it is written Ader.] Gethem (Gethaim).²⁹⁷ According to the Hebrew, Aueith (Auith). City of Adad, the fourth to rule the land of Edom in Idumaea now called Gebalene. Gesem.²⁹⁸ District in Egypt in which Jacob dwelled with his sons. NUMBERS AND DEUTERONOMY Gasiōn (Gaber).²⁹⁹ Station of the children of Israel in the desert as it is in Numbers and in Deuteronomy. It is the city of Esau. It is thought to be Asian (Essiam) near the Red Sea and Aila. Gai.³⁰⁰ Station of the children of Israel in the desert. There is even now (said to be) a city Gaia (of Palestine) near (the city of) Petra. Gelmōn Deblathaeim (Gelmōn Deblathaim).³⁰¹ Station (i.e., halting place of the children of Israel) in the desert. Gadgad.³⁰² Mountain in the desert. Station of the children of Israel. (Where the children of Israel made camp.)

³ Gaza.³⁰³ City of the Avvim in which the Capthorim dwelled who destroyed the Avvim (the former inhabitants). The ancient boundary of the

Chanaanites with Egypt. It was allotted to the tribe of Juda but they did not possess it and did not expel the heathen from it. [The Enacim, i.e., giants, of the Allofylus remained most strong.] It remains even now a famous city of Palestine. [It is still to be inquired after since the prophet said Gaza would be an everlasting mound in the future. The solution is: the place of the ancient city hardly shows traces of foundations, yet that which is now seen was in a place different from the one which was destroyed.] Gergasei (Gergasi).³⁰⁴ Located on the Jordan near the city of the Galaad (City of Transjordan near tribe Mt.Galaad) which the tribe of Manasse received. It is said to be Gerash the famous city of Arabia. Some affirm it to be Gadara. But the Gospel mentions the Gerassenes (Gergessenes).

⁴ Gadgada.³⁰⁵ Where "there is a torrent of water" a place in the desert. Gaulōn or Gōlan (Gōlam).³⁰⁶ (In) the tribe of Manasse. A priestly city of refuge "in the Basanitide." Now a great city (large village) called Golan in the Batanaia. The city and the district have the same name. (From this name the whole region is also named.) Gaibal (Gebal).³⁰⁷ Mountain in the Promised Land where Moses commanded an altar to be built (at the command of Moses an altar was built). They say (there are) two neighboring mountains facing each other located at (near) Jericho, one of which (is said) to be Garizin, the other Gaibal. But the Samaritans erroneously point out two others near Neapolis (argue for two mountains near Neapolis but they err greatly) since the great distance of one from the other there shows that they are not able to hear one another when calling out from one (hear the voices calling out in turn blessing or cursing as Scripture records).

⁵ Garizein (Garizin).³⁰⁸ Mountain where those calling out the blessing (curse) stood. Read the above mentioned Gaibal (Gebal). Golgol or Galgal. ³⁰⁹ The Scriptures teach this is near Mt.Garisein and Mt.Gaibal. The place of Galgal is in the Jericho region (near Jericho). [Therefore the Samaritans err who would point out Mt.Gairisin and Mt.Gebal near Neapolis which Scripture testifies are near Galgal.] Gai.³¹⁰ "In the land of Moab." Ravine of Moab. "Near the house of Phogor" where Moses is buried. JOSUE Galgala.³¹¹ This is the above mentioned Golgol, "to the east" of old Jericho going toward the Jordan. There Josue circled with the people and made "the Passover" using wheat for the first time after the cessation of the manna. (In this place) He set up stones from (carried from the bed of) "the Jordan." The tent of witness remained there. Given by lot to the tribe of Juda. The deserted place is

pointed out [two miles from Jericho which the people] today worship as holy (some men of that region hold in holy awe). Another Galgala is found (is looked for) around (near) Bethel.

⁶ Gai.312 It is near Bethaun and Bethel. Josue attacked it killing its king. It is now deserted. (Now only a ruined place is shown.) The Amorrites from the Jordan formerly inhabited it. Gabaon.313 From whence came the Gabaonites in order to make supplication to Josue. It was (once) a great metropolis and capital (royal city) of the Hevites which was given by lot to (tribe of) Benjamin. There is even now a village called the same (pointed out) near Bethel, four miles to the west on the road to Rama. (It lies near Rama and Remmon.) Set aside for Levites near Remmaa. Here Solomon while he was sacrificing (animals) was found worthy of an oracle from God. Gaibe (Gaba). 314 Lot of Benjamin. [City set aside for Levites. Gazer.315 (In) lot of (tribe of) Ephraim.] (City) set aside for Levites. Josue attacked it killing its king. (Later) Solomon built it up. Now called Gazara, a village four miles north of Nicopolis. (Quite obvious) the tribe of Ephraim did not capture it from the heathen (were not able to expel from it the foreigners).

⁷ Goson.316 Josue also attacked this. Geth.317 (In which the giants) The heathen (called) Enacim and the Philistines not being driven out remained here. There is (pointed out) even now a village (in the fifth mile) on the road from Eleutheropolis to Diospolis five miles from Eleutheropolis. Gesoureim (Gesom).318 City of the heathen. This is the same as Gargasei in the Basanitide from which the children of Israel did not drive out the Gesoureim (were not strong enough to drive out). Gader.319 Josue conquered (killed) its king. (We read that) Jacob "pitched his tent beyond the tower of Gadar." Gōein of Gelgel (Goim in Gelgel).320 Aquila and Symmachus (interpret) "of nations of Gelgel." Gelgel.321 Josue also took this. Even now (is shown) a village (hamlet) called Galgoulis (Galgulis) six miles north of Antipatris. Golathmaeim (Golathmaim).322 A place which is interpreted "possessing water." Gadda.323 (In) tribe of Juda. There is now a village on "the border of the Daroma to the east above (overlooking) the Dead Sea.

⁸ Gadeira (Gadera).324 (In) tribe of Juda. There is now a village (hamlet called) Gidora (Gadora) in the district of (city of) Jerusalem around the terbinth. Gedour (Gedur).325 (In) tribe of Juda. There is now a large village (called) Gedrous (Geddrus) ten miles from Diospolis on the road to Eleutheropolis. Gabli.326 Land of the heathen (Allofylus). Gisōn.327 (In)

tribe of Juda. Gelōn.³²⁸ (In) tribe of Juda. Gadērōth.³²⁹ (In) tribe of Juda. Gethemmōn.³³⁰ (In) tribe of Manasse. City separated to the Levites. Gai.³³¹ Ravine (valley or gorge). Galennoum (Geennom).³³² Which is interpreted ravine of Ennoum. This is said to be (thought) Geenna. (Given by) lot of tribe of Benjamin. It is close to the wall of Jerusalem to the East. [More fully discussed in the book *Hebrew Questions*.] Geththepher.³³³ Lot of (in tribe of) Zabulon. Gēephthael.³³⁴ Ravine (i.e., valley) Ephthael. Lot of (in tribe of) Zabulon. Gabathōn.³³⁵ Lot or (in tribe of) Dan. City separated to the Levites. There is a city called Gabe sixteen miles from Caesarea and another village Gabatha on the boundary of Diocaesarea near the great plain of Legeon. And there are villages Gabaa and Gabatha in the eastern region of the Daroma. Another Gabatha, lot (tribe of) of Benjamin where Saul's home was. Still another Gabathon of the heathen as noted in Kings [near Bethlehem in the tribe of Juda].

⁹ Gethremmōn.³³⁶ Another. (Another city in tribe of) lot of Dan. Separated to the Levites. There is now a large village twelve miles from Diospolis on the road to Eleutheropolis. Galeilōth (Galiloth).³³⁷ Place by (near) the Jordan where the sons of Ruben set up an altar (to God). (In) tribe of Benjamin. Gaas.³³⁸ Mountain (in the tribe of Ephaim) where Josue was buried north of it. His (the) monument (of Josue son of Nun) is now pointed out near the village of Thamna. Gabass (Gabath).³³⁹ Mountain of Ephraim (Latin omits). City of Phineas son of Eleazar, where Eleazar was buried. There is a village Gabatha twelve miles from Eleutheropolis where the monument of Habacuc is pointed out. (In) tribe of Benjamin. Gabaan (Gabaam).³⁴⁰ As far as this place (here) Benjamin (the tribe of Benjamin) fought (was fought against) as it is in Judges. *KINGS* Geththa.³⁴¹ The ark (of the covenant) was brought here from Azotos. Now it is a large village which is called Giththam on the road between Antipatris and Iamnia. There is also another Geththem (Geththim).

¹⁰ Gallei (Gallim).³⁴² Home of Phalti, who after David fled got Michol "David's (his) wife." Mentioned both here and in Isaia. They say there is a village called Gallaia (Gallaa) near Accaron. Gelamsour (Gelamsur).³⁴³ Territory of the heathen (Allofylus). Gelboue (Gelbua).³⁴⁴ Mountain of the heathen six miles from Scythopolis on which there is a (large) village called Gelbous (Gelbus). Geddour (Gedud).³⁴⁵ Whence David went down. Aquila "Marauder" (i.e., lightly equipped or armed). Symmachus "armed band." Gazēra.

346 Where David struck down "the heathen." Also note Gazer previously (above). Gessour (Gessur).347 Territory of the heathen in Syria. Gilōn.348 Home of Achitophel. Gob.349 Where a battle was fought. Gailaia (Gailaea).350 There are two Galilees. One of these is Galilee of the nations located in the region of Tyre where Solomon gave "twenty cities to Hiram." (In) lot of (the tribe of) Nephthali. The other is near Tiberias and its lake (the Lake of Gennesareth) lot of (in tribe of) Zabulon.

¹¹ Geiōn (Gion).351 Where Solomon was anointed (king). Gēr.352 Where Jehu (king of Israel) struck down Ochozias (king of Juda) "Near Jebllaam." Geththachopher.353 Home of Jona the prophet. Gaddei (Gaddi).354 Hazael (king of Damascus) defeated it. Note also Gadda above. Gēmela.355 Territory of Edam (Idumaeans). Aquila and Symmachus (interpret) "ravine of salt." Gebein (Gebin).356 Isaia mentions this. There is now a village Geba five miles from Gouphnis (Gufnis) on the road to Neapolis. Gōzan.357 In the territory of Hamath (Emath). Isaia mentions this. It is in the region (borders of) the Damascanes. Garēb.358 Hill near Jerusalem. In Jeremia (As Jeremia writes). Gēbarōth (Gebarth).359 Aquila "in defenses." Symmachus "in the community" in Jeremia. (Symmachus correctly read Jeremia "in the farm-estate.") Gaimōd (Gemen or Gamon).360 Territory of Moab (Moabites) according to Isaia. Gaipha (Gefa).361 (Name of a) territory. In Isaia (as is written in Isaia). THE GOSPELS Gadara.362 City beyond the Jordan opposite Scythopolis and Tiberias (situated) to the east in the mountains at the foot of which baths of hot water are located (at whose foot hot water flows out and baths are built over it).

¹² Gergesa.363 Where the Lord (Savior) healed the demoniacs (restored those vexed with demons to sanity). Now (today) a village is pointed out on the mountains near Lake Tiberias where the swine were condemned (cast down) to death. Noted also above. Gethsimanē (Gethsimani).364 Place where the Christ (the Savior) prayed before the passion. It is located at (the foot of) the Mt. of Olives where even now the faithful fervently utter prayers (where now a church has been built over it). Golgotha.365 "Place of the skull" (Calvary) where the Christ (the Savior) was crucified [for the salvation of all]. It is pointed out (today) in Jerusalem north of Mt.Zion.

SECTION D

¹ GENESIS Dasem.366 Great Assyrian city which Assur built "between Nineve and Chalach." Drus (Drys i.e., oak).367 Mambre near Hebron, where

there is a [very old and of many years] terebinth even now [up to the time of my childhood and the reign of Emperor Constantine] pointed out. There (under which) Abraham pitched his tent. It is also venerated by the people (just as perhaps it also is dedicated to an extraordinary power). Damaskos (Damascus).³⁶⁸ Famous Phoenician city. So also the son of Abraham's steward is called "Masek." [It is the same name by which Masec the son of Abraham's steward is called. Further "Masec" is fully discussed in the book Hebrew Questions I must merely fulfill the role of translator and determine why the servant of Abraham was named Masec.] Dan.³⁶⁹ The village called that (up to today) is four miles from Petra on the road toward Tyre. This is also the border of (promised to) Judaea (on the north) from whence the Jordan arises [bursts forth and receives its name. Ior is Hebrew for reithron, i.e., stream. or river].

² Danaba (Dannaba).³⁷⁰ City of Balac son of Beor, king of Edom. After him Iob became king [it seems to me a long time after]. There is now a village Dannea (Dannaia) eight miles from Areopolis on the road to the Arnon and another Danaba (Dannaba) on Mt. Phogor seven miles from Hesebon. Dōthaeim (Dothaim).³⁷¹ Where Joseph found his brothers grazing (cattle). It remains (is shown up to today) in the region of Sabaste about twelve miles to the north. NUMBERS AND DEUTERONOMY Daibōn (Debon) or Dibon.³⁷² Station of the children of Israel in the desert. There is another very large village even now near the Arnon which once was the possession of the eons of Moab and then the children of Israel took it from Sehon the Amorrite. (Afterwards Sehon the Amorrite held it by right of conquest. but the children of Israel captured it and held it so in the partition it came to the tribe of Gag.) Also given to the tribe of Gad. Isaia mentions it in the vision "against the Moabites (Moab)." Isaia mentions it.

³ Daibōngad (Dabira).³⁷³ Station of the children of Israel. Dusmai Moab (Dysmae Moab i.e., to the west of Moab).³⁷⁴ "Along the Jordan opposite Jericho" where Balac "king of Moab" and "the elders of Madian" deceived (cheated with the plot) Israel. There Moses also wrote Deuteronomy. JOSUE Dabeira (Dabira).³⁷⁵ (City given to (in tribe of) Dan whose king Josue killed. There is another Jewish village on Mt. Thabor in the region of Dio-caesarea. Dor of Naphath (Nafeth).³⁷⁶ Symmachus (translates) "by the sea" (maritime). Dora near Caesarea Palestine [at the ninth milestone on the road to Tyre. Now deserted.] (Given in lot to) the tribe of Manasee did not

possess it since they did not destroy the heathen. (They were not able to possess it since the former inhabitants remained in it.) Dabeir (Dabir).³⁷⁷ (In) the tribe of Juda. Called "city of letters" which Gothoniël Caleb's brother seized [or as some say the son of Caleb's brother] killing the Enacim in it. Given (separated to) to the priests.

⁴Dabeir (Dabir).³⁷⁸ Above the Jordan. City of the Amorrites. Deimōna (Dimona).³⁷⁹ (In) tribe of Juda. Dalaan (Dadan).³⁸⁰ (In) tribe of Juda. Denna.³⁸¹ (In) tribe of Juda. It is also (as Dabir) the city or letters. Daud (Dauia).³⁸² (In) tribe of Juda. Douma (Duma).³⁸³ (In) the tribe of Juda. Now a large village in the Deroma (to the south) in the region of Eleuthropolis at the seventeenth milestone. Damna.³⁸⁴ (In) tribe of Zabulon. City separated to the Levites. Dabasthe (Dasbath).³⁸⁵ (In) tribe of Zabulon. Dab-rath.³⁸⁶ (In) tribe of Issacher. City separated to the Levites. JUDGES Drus.³⁸⁷ (i.e., oak) which is "in Ephratha." In lot (tribe) of Manasse. Home of Gedeon. [We have spoken on this in the book *Hebrew Questions*, how Ephratha is now thought to be found in the tribe of Manasse.] *KINGS* Deibon (Dibon).³⁸⁸ (Of which we spoke above.) Isaia mentions this in the vision "Against the Moabites" (Moab).

⁵Deseth.³⁸⁹ Aquila (translates) "house wall" Symmachus "city wall." Dōdaneim (Dodanim).³⁹⁰ Isaia (writes of this) in the vision on Arabia. It is also near Areopolis. Darōm.³⁹¹ Symmachus (changes to) "in the south." In Ezechiel. (Ezechiel mentions it.) Diopolis.³⁹² City of Egypt. In Ezechiel. (As Ezechiel writes.) Dadan.³⁹³ In the land of Cedar according to Jeremia. Deblathaeim (Deblathaim).³⁹⁴ In the land of Moab according to Jeremia. Daidan (Daedan).³⁹⁵ In the (territory) or Idumaea according to Jeremia (as Jeremia writes). Located four miles north of Phainon (of the mines of Phainon). *THE GOSPELS* Dekapolis (Decapolis).³⁹⁶ (As we read) in the Gospels. It is located in Persea, Hippos, Pella and Gadara. (It is in the territory of the ten Transjordanian cities around Hippos, Pella and Gadara.)

SECTION E

¹GENESIS Edem (Eden).³⁹⁷ The place to the east of the paradise of God. Interpreted "delight" (Translated pleasure or delight). Eueilat (Euila).³⁹⁸ "Where there is gold" [Where there is found purest gold which in Hebrew is called Zaab] and "ruby" and "emerald" (and most precious jewels, stones and emeralds). The Phison flowing from Paradise encircles it. According to the Greeks it is the Ganges "flowing from India" (which we call Ganges), chan-

ging its name). One of the descendants of Noe is called Eueilat (Euila) who, Josephus tells, "dwelled with his brothers, who were from the river Kophenos (Cofene), in parts of India and region of Syria (in the region of India and even to the place called Ieria)." Ismael it is said (written) lived on the desert of Euila which (Holy) Scriptures affirm to be the desert of Sour (sur) "opposite Egypt" and extending to the midst (Latin omits) of the land of Assyria.

²Euphrates.399River of Mesopotamia coming forth (rising) from Paradise. [Further Salustius a reliable author asserts, however, the source of the Tigris and Euphrates to be proven in Armenia, from which we perceive something also about Paradise and its rivers must be known.] Ellasar.400 City of King Arioeh. Ephratha.401 Region of Bethlehem the City of David in which the Christ was born. Tribe of Benjamin. [It is also however in the tribe of Juda, apparently wrongly ascribed to the tribe of Benjamin.] There "on the way" Rachel is buried, (Near the road where Rachel is buried) at the fourth (fifth) milestone from Jerusalem in the place called (by the Septuagint) the Hippodrome. The monument is pointed out even now. (Latin omits this sentence.) Also the father of Bethlehem was called Ephratha according to Paralipomenon. (We read also of Efratha in the book of Paralipomenon as noted above.) EXODUS Eiröth (Iroth).402 Place in the desert at which they (the children of Israel) arrived from Egypt after coming through the Red Sea.

³NUMBERS AND DEUTERONOMY Empurismos (Conflagration. i.e., empurismos).403 Place on the desert where those speaking against God were burned up. (Where some of those people were consumed by fire.) Enthaath (Inthaath).404 Station of the children of Israel in the desert. Ebrōna.405 Station of the people (children of Israel) in the desert. Emath.406 Where the spies with Josue came through. (Spies Josue sent.) Ermana (Errma).407 Where some of the people were defeated by the Chanaanites and Amalecites. The Chanaanites (who) are called Amorrites in Deuteronomy. Essebön.408 "City of Sehon" the Amorrite "in the land of Galaad" who took up arms against the king of Moab (and took possession of it from the Moabites by right or war). Isaia mentions this in the vision of the Moabites (against Moab) and also Jeremiah. Further it is now called Esbous (Esbus) a famous city of Arabia situated in the mountains opposite Jericho, twenty miles from the Jordan. Given to the tribe of Ruben. Separated to the Levites.

⁴Edraei (Edrai).⁴⁰⁹ Whence the gigantic (and powerful) Og, king of Basan, (was killed and all his people (struck down). Now there is Adra a famous city of Arabia, twenty-four miles from Bostra. Elealē.⁴¹⁰ City of the Amorrites in Galaad which was given to the tribe of Ruben. Isaia also mentions it in his vision of the Moabites (against Moab). Also noted in Jeremia. There is now a large village preserved (is shown) not more than one (in the first) mile from Esbous (Esbu). Enna.⁴¹¹ Which is located near the desert of Cades. Erman.⁴¹² Mt. Hermon which "the Phoenicians" called Sanior. Note also above. JOSUE (of Naue) Emekachōr.⁴¹³ Which means valley of Achor (i.e., tumult or confusion) where Achar (Achan) the condemned thief was stoned, from whom it derives its name. The place is even now pointed out near Jericho beside (not far from) Galgala. [It is quite wrong to think the Valley of Achor is named for the name of the one atoned, for he is called Achan, not Achor or Achar.]

⁵Eglōm.⁴¹⁴ Also Odollam. Whose king (named) Dabeir Josue struck down. (In) tribe of Juda. Even now there is a (very) large village ten (twelve) miles east of Eleutheropolis. Note above also (of which we have spoken above). Enemek (Inemec).⁴¹⁵ Aquila and Symmachus (translate) "in the valley." Esōr (Esrom) also Asor.⁴¹⁶ (In) tribe of Juda near the desert. Note above also (of which we have spoken above). Enakeim (Enacim).⁴¹⁷ Josue destroyed "the Enacim (giants) from the mountains (of the region) of Hebron." [But it seems to be that Enacim is not the name at a place but of the inhabitants.] Ephrōn.⁴¹⁸ (In) tribe of Juda. There is now a (very) large village (named) Ephraim (Efraea) twenty miles north of Jerusalem. Edrai (Edre).⁴¹⁹ (In) tribe of Juda. Ethnan.⁴²⁰ (In) tribe of Juda. Ebeziouthia.⁴²¹ (In) tribe of Juda. Euein (Euim).⁴²² (In) tribe of Juda. Elthōlad (Elthōlath).⁴²³ (In) the tribe of Juda. Ereb.⁴²⁴ (In) tribe of Juda. Eremintha now a village in the Daroma. (Today a village in the Daroma, i.e., to the south, is called Eremiththa.)

⁶Essan (Esan).⁴²⁵ (In) tribe of Juda. Eloul (Elul).⁴²⁶ (In) tribe of Juda. [Is a village today in the region belonging to Jerusalem named Alula near Hebron.] Eltheke.⁴²⁷ (In) tribe of Juda. Now is Thekoua (Thecua) a village twelve (nine) miles east (south) of Jerusalem. Home of Amos the prophet whose tomb is pointed out there even now. Engaddi.⁴²⁸ (In) tribe of Juda. Where David fled (hid) in the wilderness of Jericho in the Aulon (which is a district of the plain of which we spoke above). A large Jewish village Engaddi

is now located near the Dead Sea where there are balsams. Note also above Gaddi (Latin omits). [Of whose vineyards Solomon speaks.] Esthemō.⁴²⁹ Priestly city. It is now a large Jewish village of the region of Eleutheropolis in the Daroma. Emekraphaeim (Emecrafaim).⁴³⁰ Aquila and Symmachus "in the valley of Raphaeim." Lot or (in tribe of) [Benjamin. Edōmim (Edomia).]⁴³¹ Lot of (in tribe of) Benjamin. There is now (shown) a village Edouma in the Akkrabattine twelve miles east [of Neapolis].

7 Erma.⁴³² Josue also took this and killed its king. Given by lot to Simeon and (or) Juda. Ether.⁴³³ Lot or Simeon. It is now (named) Ietheira a large village in the interior of the Daroma close to Malatha. Eththa.⁴³⁴ Lot of (in tribe of) Simeon. Elkath.⁴³⁵ Lot of (in tribe of) Aser. City separated to Levites. Elkōk (Icoc).⁴³⁶ Lot of Nephthali. (On the border of three tribes. i.e.,) joining "Zabulon on the south and Aser" by the sea (west) and "Juda to the east." Edraei (Edrai).⁴³⁷ Lot of (in tribe of) Naphthali. Elthekō.⁴³⁸ Lot of (in tribe of) Dan. Separated to the Levites. Esthaol.⁴³⁹ Lot of (in tribe of) Dan. Where Samson died. It is even now (shown) ten miles north of Eleutheropolis on the road to Nicopolis. Elba.⁴⁴⁰ Lot of (in tribe of) Aser. Aser did not drive out the heathen. (They did not stop to drive out the former inhabitants.)

8 Eremmōn.⁴⁴¹ A (very) large Jewish village sixteen miles south of Eleutheropolis in the Daroma. Emmathdōr.⁴⁴² Lot of (in tribe of) Nephthali. Separated to the Levites. Emath.⁴⁴³ Boundary of the heathen (Allofyllis) in the region of Daroma. Enlechi (Inlechi).⁴⁴⁴ Aquila (interprets) "jaw." Eniakebzēb (Inaczeb).⁴⁴⁵ Symmachus (translates) "in the valley of Zeb." **KINGS** Ergab.⁴⁴⁶ Where Jonathan (son of Saul) "shot the arrows" (the place he accurately aimed the arrows he was using). Aquila (interprets) "to the stones" Symmachus "stone." Also elsewhere Symmachus (says) "for this perimeter." Echela.⁴⁴⁷ Where David hid. Now (properly) called Enkela (Eccela), a village) seven miles from Eleutheropolis. The tomb of the prophet Habacuc is pointed out nearby. Elmōni.⁴⁴⁸ A place. Which is interpreted by Aquila and Theodotion "here or there." [As we are able to say this or that. However let the diligent reader recognize what in principle any part of this book can only touch briefly, I do not agree with all that I pass on, but defer to the Greek authority since I have disputed more fully on this in the book *Hebrew Questions*.]

⁹Esthama.449 When (place to which) David sent. Elôth.450 Azarias the king built this. Emath.451 In Isaia. A city of Damascus which the king of Assyria besieged. Also Zacharia and Ezechiel also mention it. But in Amos (it is written) Emath Rebba (Rabba) which is (signifies to us) Emath the great. Note also above (We spoke of this also above). Perhaps (it seems to us) it is Epiphaneia near Emesês (where even today Syrians say it thus). Eser.452 City which Solomon built. Enacheim (Inachim) or Enbacheim (Inbachim).453 In Michea (Micheas the prophet also mentions it). Aquila and Symmachus (translate) "in weeping." Enaraba (Inaraba).454Aquila (translates) "in level ground" (or plain). Symmachus "in the field." Elkesi.455 Home of Nahum (the prophet, also called) the Elkesite. Emakeim (Emacim).456Aquila and Symmachus (translate) "valleys." THE GOSPELS Emmaous (Emmaus).457 Home of Cleopas who is mentioned in the Gospel of Luke. It is now Nicopolis a famous city of Palestine.

¹⁰Ephraim.458 "Near the desert" where the Christ (the Lord Jesus) came "with his disciples." Note also the above Ephron (We have spoken of this also above under Efron).

SECTION Z

¹GENESIS (These above words are mostly to be read with the shortened letter E accordingly we read with a long vowel what in Greek is called Eta.) Zaphôeim (Zafoim).459 Territory of the princes of Edom now in the region (called) Gebalene. NUMBERS AND DEUTERONOMY Zoob.460 "As It is said in the book, The Ward of the Lord burned Zoob and the torrents of Arnon." City of the Amorrites located on the Arnon. Zephrona.461 Northern boundary of Judaea. Zared.462 Ravine Zared in the midst of the desert. JOSUE Zeiph (Zif).463 (In) tribe of Juda. Zanaoua (Zannoua).464 (In) tribe of Juda. Now (today) there is a village [called Zanoua] in the boundary of Eleutheropolis on the road to Jerusalem. Ziph.465 Tribe of Juda (Latin omits). A village now (up to the present day) is in the Daroma on the boundary of Eleutheropolis near Chebron at the eighth mile to the East. There David hid.

²KINGS Zeib (Zif).466 "Dry mountain" of Zeib (rough mountain or foggy or cloudy near Zif), in which David lived near Chumalba, which is called (in scriptures) Karmelos. This is name given today to a village of Jews. Home of Nabal the Camelite. One of the descendants of Caleb is said to be Zeib (Zif) according to Paralipomenon. Zogera (Zogora).467 In Jeremia.

City of Moab. It is now called Zoora or Sigor (Segor), one of the five cities of Sodom. Zēb.⁴⁶⁸ In Jeremia City of Amman. There is now (shown) a village Zia fifteen miles west of Philadelphia. Zōeeth.⁴⁶⁹ (Name of) a stone called this on which Adonias sacrificed "near the spring Rogel."

SECTION E

¹ GENESIS Ēlath.⁴⁷⁰ Territory of the princes of Edom and a city of Esau ten miles east of Petra. 'Erōōn (Eroum).⁴⁷¹ City in Egypt where Joseph met his father (Jacob). Elioupolis (Eliopolis, city of the sun).⁴⁷² City in Egypt which the Hebrews called On, of which it is said Potiphar was priest. Also noted in Ezechiel. Etham.⁴⁷³ Station of the children of Israel in the desert. Also (called) Bouthan (Buthan). JOSUE Ēngannim.⁴⁷⁴ (In) tribe of Juda. It is now (a village) near Bethel. Ēnaim.⁴⁷⁵ (In) tribe of Juda. There is now a village Bethenim near the terebinth. Ēndōr.⁴⁷⁶ (In) tribe of Manasse. Home of the witch [the priestess of oracle who was consulted by Saul king of Israel]. Also note the above Aendōr, which is near (the city of) Nain where (in whose gates) the Christ (the Savior) raised up the son of the widow. It is also near Scythopolis. Ēnganni.⁴⁷⁷ (In tribe of) lot of Issachar. City separated to the Levites. Another village Ēnganna is said to be around Cerasa in Perea (across the Jordan).

² Ēnada.⁴⁷⁸ (In tribe of) lot of Issachar. There is now another village Ēnadab about ten miles from Eleutheropolis on the road to Jerusalem. Ēnasōr.⁴⁷⁹ (In tribe of) lot of Nephthali. Note also Asor above. 'Ērakōn (Erecon).⁴⁸⁰ Boundary or the tribe of Dan near Joppa. JUDGES 'Ētam.⁴⁸¹ Where Samson dwelled "in the cave Etam" beside the wadi. KINGS 'Ēla.⁴⁸² (We read) valley Ēla (which) Aquila and Theodotion (interpret) "valley of the oak." Ēngaddi.⁴⁸³ Desert where David hid. Note above Engaddi (in) tribe of Juda located west of the Dead Sea. Ēmath.⁴⁸⁴ Territory of the heathen. According to Jeremia, a city of Damascus. Ēnan.⁴⁸⁵ "Border of Damascus" according to Ezechiel, (to the East "from Thaiman and the city of the palm trees," which according to the others (other Interpreters taught it is) Thamar.

SECTION TH

¹ GENESIS Thaiman (Theman).⁴⁸⁶ Territory of the princes of Edom in the (land of) the Gebalitikes named from Thaiman the son of Eliphaz the son of Esau. It is even now a village Thaiman about fifteen (five) miles from Petra.

(A garrison of Roman) soldiers are (is) stationed there. Home of Eliphaz the king of the Thaimanites. One of the children born to Israel is (called) Thaiman. (It is understood that) all the southern region is called thus (Theman in Hebrew) for Thaiman is to be interpreted "south." Thamna.⁴⁸⁷ Where Juda sheared his sheep. A (very) large village remains (is shown) in the boundary of Diospolis midway to Jerusalem. (In) tribe of Dan or Juda. Thamna.⁴⁸⁸ Another city of the princes of Edom. Also "the concubine of Eliphaz son of Esau who bore Amalec to him" from whom the Amalecites. DEUTERONOMY [Thophol (Thafol).⁴⁸⁹ Place in the desert "beyond the Jordan" where Moses wrote Deuteronomy. Opposite Jericho.

² Thaath.⁴⁹⁰ Station of the children of Israel. Thara.⁴⁹¹ Station of the children of Israel.] JOSUE Thaphphou (Thaffu).⁴⁹² City which Josue besieged and captured (killed) its king. It was given to the tribe of Juda. Noted also above Bethaphou (Bothafu) on border of Palestine and Egypt. Thanak (Thaanac).⁴⁹³ City which Josue besieged and captured (killed) its king. It was given to the tribe of Manasse. Separated to the Levites. Now it (there is a village of this name in the fourth mile) is four miles from Legeon. Thēnath.⁴⁹⁴ (In) tribe of Joseph. There is today a village Thena ten miles east of Neapolis on the way down to the Jordan. Thaphphoue (Thaffue).⁴⁹⁵ (In) tribe of Joseph. Thaphphouth (Thaffuth).⁴⁹⁶ (In) tribe of Manasse. Thekō.⁴⁹⁷ Now (a village) Thekōe is (shown) near the desert of Ailias, home of Amos the prophet. Formerly a city of refuse (Latin omits last phrase). Thersa.⁴⁹⁸ Josue took this along with its king.

³ Therama.⁴⁹⁹ (In) tribe of Benjamin. Thōlad.⁵⁰⁰ (In) tribe of Juda or Simeon. Thabōr.⁵⁰¹ Border of Zebulon. There is a (high and wonderfully rounded) mountain near (in the middle) of the plain (of Galilee) ten miles East of Diocaesarea. It is also the border of the tribes of Issachar and Nephthali. Thalcha.⁵⁰² (In) tribe of Simeon. Now a large village of Jews called Thala (Thella about) sixteen miles from Eleutheropolis in the Daroma (to the south). Thamnathsara.⁵⁰³ City of Josue son of Nun located "in the mountain." It is Thamna noted also above in which even now there sepulchre of Josue is pointed out. (In) tribe of Dan. Thalassa.⁵⁰⁴ The salt (sea) also called Dead and Asphalt (i.e., bitumin) between Jericho and Zoora. JUDGES Thaanach.⁵⁰⁵ The tribe of Manasse did not possess it since they did not expel the heathen from it. Here Debora fought Sisara. Also separated to the Levites. It is now a large village three miles from Legeon.

⁴Thēbēs.⁵⁰⁶ City which Abimelech was fighting. From the tower "a woman threw a piece of the millstone on his head" (and he was killed). There is now in the district of Neopolis a village called Thebes at the thirteenth milestone on the road to Scythopolis. Thamnatha.⁵⁰⁷ Note also Thamna above. (In) tribe of Dan. **KINGS** Thēlamou land of (Thelamuge).⁵⁰⁸ (Place) to which "Abner sent to David." Aquilla (interprets this word) "immediately" Symmachus "for himself." Thaad.⁵⁰⁹ Near Galaad. Thamsa.⁵¹⁰ Border of Solomon's kingdom. Thermōth.⁵¹¹ City which Solomon built "in the desert" (of which we make further mention in the book *Hebrew Questions*). Tharseis (Tharsis).⁵¹² Where gold from (brought to) Solomon. According to Josephus (Josephus thinks) Tarsos is Cilicia. According to Ezechiel Charchedon but according to the Hexapla the Hebrews hold Tarseis to be located at Karchedon. Others claim it is India. [Ezechiel the prophet perceives it to be Carthage since according to the interpretation of the Hexapla where we read Carthage the Hebrew has written Tharsis. Some others suggest even India. We wrote of this indeed in the Epistle to Marcellus as is fully discussed in the in the book *Hebrew Questions*.]

⁵Tharsa.⁵¹³ Home of Aseph (Asa) king of Israel. Thersila.⁵¹⁴ Home of Manaëim. There is now a village of Samaritans called Tharaila in the Batanaia. Thesba.⁵¹⁵ Home of Elias, (the prophet) the Tishbite. Thaiman (Theman).⁵¹⁶ According to Ezechiel a city of Idumea. Isaiah also (mentions it) in the (his) vision against Arabia. Noted also in Jeremiah. The city of Esau is also reported in the book of Abdia. One of the sons of Esau is also called Thaiman. Noted also above. Tharthak.⁵¹⁷ The Hevites founded this in the land of Judea. Thalasar.⁵¹⁸ Territory of Syria. Thogarma.⁵¹⁹ (We read) in Ezechiel. Thapheth (Thafeth).⁵²⁰ (We read) in Jeremia of the altar of Tapheth. In the suburbs of Jerusalem there is even now pointed out a place called this near the fuller's pool end of the field of Acheldamach.

SECTION I

¹GENESIS Iabōk (Iabōc).⁵²¹ River of the ravine where after Jacob crossed it, he struggled with the apparition and so his name was changed to Israel. It flows between Amman, that is Philadelphia, and Gerasa at the fourth mile and then goes down and joins the Jordan (mixes finally with the waters of the Jordan). Idoumaia (Idumaea).⁵²² Territory of Esau after whose similar name it is named. Others call it Edom. It is around Petra (now) called the Gebalene. Iather.⁵²³ Territory of the princes of Edom in this same Gebalene

(of which we spoke above). NUMBERS AND DEUTERONOMY Iatabatha. 524 Station of the children of Israel in the desert. Ianna.525 "Which is in the plain of Moab looking from the summit of the cleft (under the cliff of Phasga, i.e., cut out) (toward) the desert." Beside the Arnon. Iessa (Iassa).526 Where Sedon king of the Ammorites was fought. Isaiah also mentions this in the vision "Against the Moabites." Also noted in Jeremiah. It is now pointed out between Madaba and Dibon.

²Iazēr.527 City of the Ammorites ten miles west at Philadelphia in the Perea of Palestine beyond the Jordan. It was made the boundary of the tribe of Gad (Latin omits this sentence), "reaching to Aroer which is opposite Rabba." Also Jeremiah. It was separated to the Levites. Fifteen miles from Es-sebon and from it a great river flows forth to fall into the Jordan (bursts forth and is received by the Jordan). Iordanēs.528 River dividing Judaea and Arabia and the Aulim (of which we spoke above) next to the Dead Sea. It runs through Jericho and is lost in the Dead Sea. (After many twists it joins the Dead Sea near Jericho and disappears.) Ietabatha.529 "Wadies of water" place in the desert. 'Terichō.530 City which Josue razed (after crossing the Jordan) and captured (killed) its king. Afterwards Ozan from Bethel, from the tribe of Ephraim restored it. Here our Lord Jesus the Christ (our Lord and Savior) came and revealed himself as worthy of honor. It was also destroyed at the siege of Jerusalem (by the Romans) because of the faithlessness (perfidy) of the inhabitants. It was rebuilt a third time and the city is now pointed out (which city remains today). Of the two former cities there is even now some evidence remaining. (Remains of both older cities are pointed out up to the present day.)

³JOSUE 'Ierousalēm.531 Adonibezek ruled this and afterward the Jebusites from whom it was called Iebus. (Much later) David destroyed it and made it the metropolis of (all the providence) of Judaea. Because of this it was the place for the temple [the expenses of the structure were neglected by the sons of Solomon]. In Genesis it is Salem which Melchizedec ruled (according to Josephus). Given by lot to the tribe of Benjamin. Iebous.532 "This is Jerusalem." Iareim (Iarim).533 City [of the Gabaonites. Ierimouth (Iarimuth).534 "City] which Josue took. Tribe of Juda. Four miles from Eleutheropolis near the village of Esthaol. Isimōth.535 Where David hid. Noted above as Bēth-simouth by mistake. But in the first Book of Kings Aquila (interprets) for iessemos "disappear." Symmachus correctly has "desert." Iedna.536 At the

sixth milestone from Eleutheropolis on the road to Hebron. Iekkomam (Ieconam).537 City of Carmel which Josue besieged and captured (killed) its king.

⁴Iaeir.538 City of the tribe of Manasse. Iamneia (Iamnel).539 (In tribe of) city of Juda. It is now a city of Palestine Jamneia between Diospolis and Azotos. Iabeir (Iabir).540 City of letters. Tribe of Juda. [Iagour (Iagur).541 (In tribe of Juda.) Iermous (Iermus).542 (In tribe of Juda. There is now a village Iermochos ten miles from Eleutheropolis on the way to Jerusalem. Iechthaël. 543 (In tribe of Juda. Iephthan (Iecthan).544 (In tribe of Juda. Iether.545 (In tribe of Juda. Priestly city. There is also now a (very) large village (named) Ietheria twenty miles from Eleutheropolis in the (interior of) Daroma near Malathōn. All its inhabitants are Christian. Noted also above. Ianoun (I anum).546 (In tribe of Juda. A village Ianoua is now three miles south of Legeōn. But this does not appear to be the explanation (as written). Iettan.547 (In tribe of Juda. Priestly city. It is a (very) large village of the Jews now eighteen miles south of Eleutheropolis in the Daroma.

⁵[Iezrael.548 (In tribe of Juda. But not the same as above.] Iezrael.549 (In tribe of Manasse. Another. There is even now a most famous (very great) village Esdraela in the great plain located between Scythopolis and Legeon. Also the border or Issachar. One of the posterity of Ephratha was called Iezrael according to Paralipomenon. Iekdaan.550 (In tribe of Juda. Iephliithi (Ierflethi).551 (In tribe of Joseph. Iano.552 (In tribe of Ephraim. The king of Assyria took this. There is even now a village Ianō in the (region of) Akra-battine, twelve miles East of Neapolis. Iamein (Iamin).553 (Which) Aquila and Symmachus (interpret) "right hand." Iasēb.554 Aquila and Symmachus "the inhabitants." (For which the Hebrews read "the inhabitants.") Ieblaam. 555 (In tribe of Mannase from which they did not drive out the heathen. Ierphēl.556 (In tribe of Benjamin. Ieknal.557 Lot of Zabulon (in tribe of). City separated to Levites. Iapheth (Iafthie).558 (In tribe of Zabulon on the east. Also called Joppe. (Now Joppe is called the ascent of Iafō). The maritime village (city above the sea called) Symmachus on the way from Caesarea to Ptolemais near the Mt. Carmel is said to be Ephra.

⁶Iephthaël.559 (In tribe of) Lot of Zabulon. Iadela.560 (In tribe of) lot of Zabulon. Iermoth.561 (In tribe of) lot of Issachar. City separated for priests. (Probably also) another Iermouth (above). Hosea (the prophet) mentioned it. Iamnēl (Iabnel).562 (In tribe of) lot of Nephtali. Ierōn.563 (In tribe of) lot

of Nephthali. Iethlan (Iethlam).⁵⁶⁴ (In tribe of) lot of Dan. Iēlōn.⁵⁶⁵ (In tribe of) lot of Dan. [Ioud (Iud).⁵⁶⁶ (In tribe of) Dan.] 'Ierakō (Ieracon).⁵⁶⁷ Water of (tribe of) lot of Dan. Iabeis Galaad.⁵⁶⁸ The children of Israel fought here. There is now a village beyond the Jordan located on the mountains six miles from the city of Pella on the road to Gerasa. **KINGS** Iaar.⁵⁶⁹ Salt. Where there was an apiary. ['Ieramēlei.⁵⁷⁰ Territory of the heathen.] Iether.⁵⁷¹ To which David sent. There is now a village (named) Ietheira in the Daroma. Noted also above. Iekmaan.⁵⁷² City of the chief of Solomon.

⁷ Itaburion.⁵⁷³ Aquila and Symmachus (translated) "Thabor." In Oseo. (It is also Mt. Thabor.) Located in the Great plain east of Legeon. Iekthoēl.⁵⁷⁴ (Name of) Petra in the book of Kings. Ietaba.⁵⁷⁵ Ancient city of Judaea. Iop-pē.⁵⁷⁶ City of Palestine which is now on the coast. (in tribe of) (maritime) lot of Dan. **THE GOSPELS** Itouraia, Also Trachonitis.⁵⁷⁷ Territory which Philip ruled as tetrarch according to the Gospels. There territory extended into the desert (of Arabia) (Latin omits) near Bostra of Arabia (Latin omits) is said to be the Trachonitis.

SECTION K

¹ **GENESIS** Karnaeim. Astaroth Karnaeim.⁵⁷⁸ There is now a large village of Arabia (in a corner of the Batanea) which is called Karnaia beyond the (river) Jordan. There according to tradition the house of Job is pointed out. There is also another village called Karnaia in the region (nine miles from) of Jerusalem. Kadēs.⁵⁷⁹ Where the spring "of judgment" was. Kadēa Barnē.⁵⁸⁰ The desert which extends to (the city of) Petra a city or Arabia. There Mariam went up and died, and there the doubting Moses struck the rock to give water to the thirsty people. The tomb of Mariam herself is pointed out there even now. There also Chodollagomor beat the chiefs of the Amalakites. Kenaz.⁵⁸¹ Territory or the princes of Edom. Kariathaeim.⁵⁸² City which "the sons or Ruben" built. There is now a (flourishing) wholly Christian village called Kariatha (Coraiatha), near Mēdaba, city of Arabia, ten miles west toward (the place called) Barē.

² Kariatharbo.⁵⁸³ "That is Hebron" noted also above. (i.e., the village of the four which is Hebron of which we spoke above.) Kanath.⁵⁸⁴ Village of Arabia [called Manatha] even now, [which Nobe took] and named Naboth. Given to tribe of Manasse. It is located even now in the Trachoitis near Bostra. Kata ta Krusea (Catatachrysea, i.e., to gold).⁵⁸⁵ Mountain which is full of gold dust on the desert eleven days distant from Mt.Choreb beside

which Moses wrote Deuteronomy. It is said that (formerly) the mountain (full) of gold veins was near the copper mines in Phainon (which in our time were still working. Kadēmōth.586 Desert from which Moses sent the elders (ambassadors) "to Sohon" [king of the Amorrites]. Kariath.587 City (village) which was under the metropolis of Gabaon. Kades.588 City which Josue besieged, killing its king. Given (in lot) to tribe of Juda. Kademoth.589 (Another) city of the sons of Ruben.

³[Kedsōn.590 (In) tribe of Ruben.] (City) separated to Levites. JOSUE Kapseēl.591 (In) tribe of Juda. Kina.592 (In) tribe of Juda. Keeila.593 (In) tribe of Juda. Where David once lived. Even now a village Kela (nearly) eight miles east of Eleutheropolis on the road to Hebron. The Tomb of Habacuc the prophet is pointed out there. Kariathbaal.594 This is the city Iareim. Tribe of Juda. Kana.595 (In) tribe of Ephraim. [Kabsaeim (Capsaim).596 (In) tribe of Ephraim.] Kane.597 (In) tribe of Manasse. Kariathiareim (Kariathbaal).598 Or city Iareim (of salt). One of the (cities of the Gabaonites. (Belonging to) tribe of Juda between Jerusalem and Diospolis. Located on the road nine miles from Jerusalem. The home of Uria the prophet whom Ioakim killed in Jerusalem according to Jeremia. The son of Sobal is called Cariathiareim according to Paralipomenon. Kisōn (Kision).599 (In tribe of) lot of Issachar. City separated to the Levites. Kartha.600 (In tribe of) city of Zabulon separated to Levites.

⁴Katta.601 (In tribe of) lot of Zabulon. City separated to Levites. Kana. 602 Near Sidōn the Great (to distinguish it from the other, the less). Lot of (tribe of) Aser. There (it was in Cana) our Lord and God (Savior) Jesus Christ changed the water into wine. Home of Nathanael (judged a true Israelite as the Savior testified). It is (today a city) in Galilee of the Nations. Kades (Cades).603 Lot of Naphthali. Priestly city formerly city of refuge "in Galilee in the mountains of Nephthali." The king of Assyria took it. It is now (called) Kudissos, twenty miles from Tyro near Paneas. Kartham.604 City (in) of tribe of Nephthali, separated to Levites. JUDGES Ketrōn.605 (In tribe of) Zabulon "did not drive out the heathen" (in which the former inhabitants remained). Karka (Carcar).606 Home of "Zebee and Salmana" whom Gedeon killed. There is now a Fort Karkaria one day journey from the city of Petra.

⁵Kamōn.607 City of Iaeir where the judge of Israel was buried. There is now a village Kammōna in the great plain six miles north of Legeon on the

road to Ptolemais. Kisōn.608 Wadi near Mt.Thabōr where Sisara was fought. Kadēmim (Cademi).609 Wadi where Debora fought. Koilas of the Titans (i.e., valley of giants).610 Against whom David fought. Klauthmōn.611 Territory of lamentation (i.e., place of weeping) a place so called (receiving its name from lamentation). **KINGS** Kēni.612 Territory of the heathen (Philistines). Karmēlos.613 Home of Nabal. A village called Chermala which is interpreted Karmelos is now ten miles east of Hebron. A (Roman) garrison is located there. [Karmēlos. Mountain.]614 On the Phoenician sea and dividing Palestine from Phoenicia. Where Elias lived. (Entry not in Latin.) Kabseēl. 615 Home of Banaias son of Ioda. (Entry not in Latin.) Kedrōn.616 Wadi or ravine of Kedron near Jerusalem. (To the east, the Gospel of John mentions it.)

6 Kurinē (Cyrene).617 (On the border of Egypt) where the Assyrian king sent away the Damascenes. Kōa.618 Near Egypt. Karchēdon (i.e., Carthage). 619 Isaia in vision of Tyre and also Ezechiel. In the Hebrew it is Tharsis [of this we have spoken fully in the book *Hebrew Questions*]. Kollas Iōsaphat. 620 (Coelas, i.e., valley) located between Jerusalem and the Mt. of Olives. [We read in the prophet Joel.] Kedam.621 In Ezechiel. Aquila and Symmachus (interpret) "east." Kēdar.622 In Ezechiel. "Princes of Kedar." Also in Jeremia and Isaia in the "vision of Arabia." It is in the territory of the Saracans (desert). The son of Ismael, son of Abraham (Latin omits phrase) is (named) Kedar. Kariōth.623 In territory of Moab according to Jeremia. Kapharnaoum.624 By the Lake of Gennesaret. It is now a village (city) in the Galilee of the nations, (located) "on the border of Zebulon and Naphthali." [Here ends our reading for the letter C i.e., the Greek Kappa the rest are under the letter Chi, which has aspiration in itself and of which there is very little use in Latin.]

SECTION L

1 **GENESIS** Lasan.625 Border of the Chanaanites with the Sodomites. Louza (Luza).626 Jacob renamed this Bethel. This village, inhabited even now, is on the left of the road going to Jerusalem from Neapolis. Given to tribe of Benjamin. Louza (Luza).627 Another. Given to the sons of Joseph. Near Suchem (Sychem) nine (three) miles from Neapolis. Lōtan.628 City of the princes of Edom. **NUMBERS AND DEUTERONOMY** [Lebōna.629 Station of the children of Israel in the desert. Lobon.630 Place on the desert "Beyond the Jordan" where Moses read Deuteronomy. **JOSUE**] Lacheis.631 This

also Josue besieged and captured (killed) its king. Isaia (and Jeremia) also mention(s) this. There is even now a village seven miles south of Eleuthero-polis toward the Daroma. Noted also in Jeremia. (In) tribe of Juda. Lebna. 632 Josue also besieged this and captured (killed) its king. Given to the tribe of Juda. Priestly city. There now is a village called Lobana in the area of Eleutheropolis. Isaia noted it also.

²Laserōn (Lasaran).633 Josue also besieged this and captured (killed) its king. Lithos Boen.634 "In sons of Ruben." Border of the tribe of Juda. Labōth.635 (In) tribe of Juda. Lamas.636 (In) tribe of Juda. Labōth.637 (In tribe of) lot of Simeon. Labanath.638 (In tribe of) lot of Aser. Lakoum.639 Border of Nephthali. JUDGES Labōemath.640 (For which) Aquila (interprets) "entrance of Emath." Lesem.641 This "the sons of Dan" besieged and called it Dan. Louza.642 Another near Baithel located in the land of the Hethites. The one left from Bethel founded it as it is told in Judges. Lechei. 643 (For which) Aquila and Symmachus (interpret) "in the jaw." Laisa.644 The sons of Dan took this which was some distance from (near) Sidon and called it Dan. It was the northern border [of Judaea which reached from Dan to Beersheba]. Isaia also mentions it. Noted above near Paneados from whence the Jordan (river) originates.

³KINGS Lemattara.645 Where Jonathan shot "the arrow" (dart). Aquila "to the mark." Symmachus "to the set place." Ladabar.646 Where Mem- phibosthe was. Lōdabar.647 Home of Machir. Libanos.648 Conspicuous (very high) mountain of Phoenicia. Loueith (Luith).649 Isaia mentions this. There is a village (today) between Areopolis and Zoora called Loueitha.

SECTION M

¹GENESIS Manassē.650Territory of India where the sons of Jectan the son of Eber dwelled. Mambre.651 That is Hebron. The tomb of both of the sons of Abraham is located there. (Tomb of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob is located there.) Noted also above. One of the companions of Abraham is also called Mambre. Madiam.652 City of one of the sons of Abraham and Cetura. Loc- ated beyond Arabia to the south in the desert of the Saracens, to the east of the Red Sea whence it was called Madiani and now is called (the territory of) Madian. Scripture calls the daughter of Iobab [Moses' father-in-law] daugh- ter of Madian. There is a second city named thus near Arnon and Areopolis, the ruins of which are pointed out. Mōab.653 (Called) from Moab the son of Lot. City of Arabia which is now (called) Areopolis. Noted also above. The

territory is also called Moab, but its city is (rightly called) Habbath Moab (i.e., The Great of Moab).

² Masrēka.654 City of the king of Edom near the Gebalene. Mabsar.655 This large village (called) Mabsara remains even now in the Gebalene dependent upon Petra. Magediēl.656 It also belonged to one of the princes of Edom in the Gebalene. EXODUS Magdolos.657 Station on the journey of Israel (coming out of) from Egypt, where they stopped before (crossing) the Red Sea. Also noted in Ezechiel: From Magdolos to Syene. According to Jeremia here those Jews [fleeing the impending destruction by Babylonians] dwelled with Jeremia in Egypt. Merra.658 (Which means) "bitter." Place on the desert where the available water was bitter. Moses sweetened it by throwing in a wood. NUMBERS AND DEUTERONOMY Mnemata epithumias. 659 (Memoriae, i.e., graves) of Iust. Station of the children of Israel in the desert where they were destroyed because of the meat (where while eating the meat the wrath of God rose upon them). Makēlōth.660 Station of the children of Israel in the desert.

³ [Mathekka.661 Station of the children of Israel in the desert.] Masourouth.662 Station of the children of Israel in the desert. Maththanem.663 Now called Maschana. Located on the Arnon (about) twelve miles east of Madaba. Misōr.664 City of Og king of Basan. [However Misor means flat place or plain.] Machanarath.665 Border of Amman which is also Philadelphia. Madbaris.666 According to the Hebrews the desert is so called. [What we call the desert the Hebrews call Madbarim.] Misadai.667 "Of the sons of Iakeim." Place on the desert where Aaron died. JOSUE Makēda.668 Where Josue shut up five kings in the cave, which kings he also killed along with the king of Makeda. Given to tribe of Juda. Now it is eight miles east of Eleutheropolis. Madōn.669 City where Iobab ruled (was king) and against whom Josue fought. Massepha.670 (In) tribe of Juda. There Jephthae dwelled. Near Kariathiareim in which the ark was once kept and where Samuel judged the people. Jeremia also notes it.

⁴ Merran.671 It is the water where they prepared for war. Now there is a village (named) Merrous twelve miles from Sebaste near Dothaeim. Mas-traiphōth Maim.672 (Which for) Aquila "Mastaiphoth water." Symmachus "Mastraphōth sea" (is interpreted). Machathi.673 City of the Ammorites beyond the Jordan and near Mt. Hermon from which the children of Israel did not expel the Machathites (were not able to expel). Marōm.674 [Josue

also besieged this and captured (killed) its king. Note above Marous. Maggedo.675] Josue also besieged this and captured (killed) its king. Given to tribe of Manasse who (never) did not possess it since they did not drive out the heathen (former inhabitants). Misôr.676 (For which) Aquila and Symmachus (interpret) "level plain." City of tribe of Ruben. Separated to Levites in the Gebalene. Meddaba.677 City now in the mist of Arabia which in even now called Medaba near Essebon. (A city of Arabia today which retains its ancient name near Esebon.)

5 Mēphaath.678 (In) tribe of Benjamin. Another is beyond the Jordan where a garrison of (Roman) soldiers is stationed, near the desert. Maspha. 679 (In) tribe of Gad. Separated to Levites. There is another Masseba (Masfa) on the northern border of Eleutheropolis. (There is still another of the tribe of Juda on the way to Jerusalem. Manaeim.680 (In) tribe of Gad. Separated to Levites in the Galaaditide. Mōlada (Moladab).681 (In) tribe of Juda or Simeon. Medebēna (Medemena).682 (In) tribe of Juda. It is now Menoeis (a city) near the city of Gaza. Noted in Isaia. Magdala.683 (In) tribe of Juda. Marēsa.684 (In) tribe of Juda. It is now deserted at the second milestone from Eleutheropolis. (Its ruins are now only two miles from Eleutheropolis.) Maōn.685 (In) tribe of Juda. East of the Daroma. Marōth.686 (In) tribe of Juda. Maddei (Maddi).687 (In) tribe of Juda. Maspha.688 (In) tribe of Benjamin. Machtrōth.689 (In) tribe of Manassa.

6 Marala.690 Ascent of Zebulon. Tribe of Manasse (Latin omits phrase). Masan.691 (In) tribe of Aser. Near Carmel at the sea. City separated to Levites. Meeleph (Maeleb).692 Border of Nephthai. Magdiel.693 (In) tribe of lot of Nephthai. It is now a large (small) village five mile from Dor on the road to Ptolemais. JUDGES Mosphetham (Mosfethaim).694 (For which) Aquila (interprets) "of the lot." Symmachus "midpoint" (of the vicinity). Mōre.695 Name of a hill. (More fully discussed in the book *Hebrew Questions*.) Mannēth.696 Where Japhte fought. There is now (shown) a village Maanith four miles from Esbon on the road to Philadelphia. Machmas.697 There is now a large village in the region of Jerusalem called Machamas (retaining the old name) at the ninth mile near hamlet of Rama. **KINGS** Messab.698 "Of the heathen" (enemy city) near Gaba (Gabaa). Magdōn (Magrōn).699 Where Saul stayed. Massēpha "of Moab."700 Where David came fleeing from Saul (fleeing to avoid Saul's hatred).

7 Masereth.701 Desert now deserted where David stayed. (Which) Aquila (interprets) "in fortress" Symmachus "in place of refuge," Theodotion "in the caves." Masbak.702 City of the heathen (enemy), king Adrazar. Mela (i.e.) Gemela.703 (Which) Aquila and Symmachus (translate) "valley of salt." (We spoke of this above.) Maacha.704 Territory of king of Gesour. Mōdeem.705 Village near Diospolis. Home of the Maccabees where their tomb is pointed out even now. (Indeed it is amazing that their remains are shown in Antioch, but our author is to be believed.) Mapsar Turou.706 Aquila "wall of Tyre." Symmachus "fortification of Tyre." Masa.707 City which Solomon built. Meebra.708 (For which) Aquila (translates) "from across." Symmachus "from opposite" (i.e., across or opposite). Makes.709 City of one of the chiefs of Solomon. Melō (Mello).710 City which Solomon built. (Further) Symmachus and Theodotion (translate) "completion." (This also is more fully discussed in the book *Hebrew Questions*.) Maidan.711 City which Solomon built.

8 Memphis.712 In Osee. City of Egypt. (Osee, Ezechiel, Jeremia the prophets mention this.) Also in Ezechiel. In Jeremia those Jews (who fled Jerusalem) with Jeremia went to Memphis. Macha.713 In Osee. (For which) Aquila and Symmachus (translate) "the desire." Milētos.714 City of Asia. Noted in Ezechiel. Maribōth.715 (Which Ezechiel mentions saying) "to the waters of Maribeth," Ezechiel. Aquila "litigation." Symmachus "controversy." Mōrathei (Morasthi).716 Home of Michea the prophet. (It is a village) east of Eleutheropolis. Masogam.717 Territory of Moab according to Jeremia. [Mis-ōr.718 Territory of Moab according to Jeremia (near Jeremia). Mōphath.719- Territory of Moab according to Jeremia.] Noted above Mēphaath. Maōn. Territory of Moab according to Jeremia (near Jeremia). Molchom.721 Idol of Ammon according to Jeremia (as Jeremia writes). Magedan.722 The Christ went to the region of Magedan according to Matthew and Mark also mentions Magedan. Now (the region called) Magedanē is around Gerasa.

SECTION N

1 GENESIS (Five Books of Moses) Naid.723 Land where Cain dwelled. (Properly) interpreted "restlessness," (i.e., in motion or fluctuation). Nineve.724 City of Assyria which Assur built going from the land of Sammaar. There is now (another) city of Jews called Nineve near the Gonias (corner) of Arabia. Naaliēl.725 Near the Arnon. A station of the children of Israel. Nabau.726 (Which the Hebrews called Nebō.) Mountain above the Jordan opposite

Jericho on the land Moab. There Moses died. It is pointed out even now about six miles west of Esbon (opposite the east region of Esbon). Nabōth (Nabo).⁷²⁷ City of the sons of Ruben in the territory of Galaad. Noted also by Isaia in the vision "against the Moabites" and in Jeremia. There is also (a certain) man named Nabau who was of Kanath and this city was named from that Naboth. Nabau is now shown deserted eight miles south of (the city of) Hesbon.

²Nageb.⁷²⁸ The South (is called Nageb) according to the Hebrews. Symmachus (interprets) "south." [It should be known that this area among the Hebrew tribes is called Nageb, Theman, and Darom, which we are able to translate as south. (Latin uses four synonyms for south quadrant; austrum (south), adricum (southwest), meridiem (south), eurum (southeast).] JOSUE Naphethdor (Nafeddor).⁷²⁹ Symmachus (interprets) "Dora on the coast" (maritime). It is nine miles from Kaisareia. (Dor is today a deserted city in the ninth mile on the road from Caesarea to Ptolemaise.) Naphthō.⁷³⁰ A spring of water is so called. Tribe of Benjamin. Naam.⁷³¹ City of the tribe of Juda. Nesib.⁷³² (In) tribe of Juda. There is a Nasib (which is now called Nasibi) nine (seven) miles from Eleutheropolis on the road to Hebron. Nebpsan.⁷³³ (In) tribe of Juda. Naaratha.⁷³⁴ (In) tribe of Ephraim. There is now a village of Jews Noorath five miles from Jericho.

³Napheth.⁷³⁵ (In) tribe of Manasse. Naalōl.⁷³⁶ (In) tribe of) lot of Zabulon. City separated to Levites. Nakeb.⁷³⁷ (In) tribe of) lot of Nephthali. JUDGES Neala.⁷³⁸ From here the heathen "were not driven out" by Zabulon (Zabulon could not expel). Located in the Batanaca is (a village named) Neeila (Neila). Nobba (Nabe or Nobba).⁷³⁹ To which Gedeon went up. City separated to the priests which (afterwards we read) Saul [in a rage] destroyed. Nemra.⁷⁴⁰ City of (tribe of) Ruben in land of Galaad. There is now a large village Namara in the (region or the) Batanaea. KINGS Naniōth.⁷⁴¹ (Place) "in Rama." City where David dwelled. (We spoke of this in the book Hebrew Questions.) Nachōn.⁷⁴² "Threshing floor of Nachōn" which Aquila (interprets) "threshing floor prepared." Naphath.⁷⁴³ The city of one of the chiefs of Solomon. Nērigel.⁷⁴⁴ The Samaritans from Babylon (who had been brought from Babylon) built this in (the region of) Judaea.

⁴Nazeb.⁷⁴⁵ The Hevites built this in (the land of) Judaea. Nasarach.⁷⁴⁶ Idol of Assyria. Nebēreim (Nemerim).⁷⁴⁷ Isaia (mentions this) in the vision "against the Moabites." Also Jeremia. It is now (a village called) Ben-

namareim north of Zoora. Nabeōth.⁷⁴⁸ Territory in Isaia. THE GOSPELS Nazareth.⁷⁴⁹ Whence the Christ was called a Nazorite (Our Lord and Savior was called). Formerly (as a taunt were called) the Nazarenes are now the Christians. It is even now in Galilee (a village) opposite Legeōn fifteen miles to the east near Mt. Thabor (named Nazara). Naein (Naim).⁷⁵⁰ Village (city) in which the son of the widow was raised from the dead (The Lord raised). It is today twelve (two) miles south of (Mount) Thabor near Aendor.

SECTION X

JOSHUE Xil.⁷⁵¹ (In) tribe of Juda.

SECTION O

GENESIS Orech.⁷⁵² City of King Nebrod (Nemrod) in Babylon. Our of the Chaldees.⁷⁵³ Where "Arran died" the brother of Abraham. Where also Josephus reports his tomb is even "now pointed out." [Of this also we have looked into and have spoken in the book Hebrew Questions.] Oulammaous.⁷⁵⁴ The Hebrew has Louza. This is called also both Louza and Bethel. Noted above. There is (shown) another Oullama twelve miles east of Diocaesarea. [Olibama.⁷⁵⁵ City of the princes of Edom.] Odollam.⁷⁵⁶ Noted above also. Isaia mentions it. EXODUS Othom (Othon).⁷⁵⁷ The second station where those (the children of Israel) coming from Egypt came from Sokchōth "near the desert." JOSUE Opher.⁷⁵⁸ Josue besieged this and captures (killed) its king. Oolei.⁷⁵⁹ City (in tribe of) of lot of Aser. Ophra.⁷⁶⁰ Orad Ophra up to (the land of) Saul. [Here we read through O the short letter, later we record the long vowel.] Ous.⁷⁶¹ Home of Job. In the territory of Ausitide. One of the sons of Esau is also called thus. [Of which we spoke in the book Hebrew Questions.]

SECTION P

THE PENTATEUCH Petra.⁷⁶² City in the land of Edom in Arabia which is called Iechthoel. This is also called Rekem by the Assyrians (Syrians).

SECTION R

¹ THE PENTATEUCH Roōbōth.⁷⁶³ City of Assyria which Assur built going from the land of Sennaar. [Of this also we have spoken fully in the book Hebrew Questions.] Roōbōth.⁷⁶⁴ Another City which is "by the river" which was the home of the king of Idumea. Now there is a fortress in the Gebalene (and a large village called by this name). Ramesse.⁷⁶⁵ City which the children of Israel built in Egypt. The whole territory was formerly called this. In

it Jacob dwelled with his children. Roōb.766 Through which came (crossed) the spies with Josue (son of Nun). There is a village (today called) Roōb four miles from Scythopolis. Separated to the Levites. Raphaka.767 Station of the children of Israel in the desert. Raphidim.768 Place in the desert beside Mt.Horeb where the water flowed "from the rock" in Mt.Horeb. The place is called "Temptation." There Josue also fought Amalek near Pharan. Ratima.769 Station of the children of Israel in the desert.

2 Remmen Phares.770 Station of the children of Israel. Ressa.771 Station of the children of Israel. Ramōth.772 City (in) the tribe of Gad. Priestly and refuge, in the (land of) Galaaditide. It is now (a village) fifteen miles west (against the east) of Philadelphia. Rekem.773 It is also Petra, city of Arabia, "whose ruler Rocom the children of Israel killed. It is said he was also king of Madiam. JOSUE Remmōn.774 (In) tribe of Simeon or Juda. Now Remmōn is a village near Jerusalem, fifteen miles to the north. Rōgēl.775 Spring is called this. In lot (tribe) of Benjamin. Rama.776 (In) tribe of Benjamin. City of Saul. Seven (six) miles north of Jerusalem opposite Bethel. Jeremia mentioned it. Rekēm.777 (In) tribe of Benjamin. Remmōn.778 Rock Remmon. (In tribe of) lot of Simeon or Zabulon. [Rabbōth.779 (In tribe of) lot of Issachar. There is now another village Robbo in the region of Eleutheropolis to the east.

3 Rethōm.780] (In tribe of) lot of Issachar. Roōb.781 (In tribe of) lot of Aser. [City separated to the Levites. Rama.782 (In tribe of) lot of Aser.] "Up to the fortress city of Tyre." Rama.783 (In tribe of) lot of Nephthali. [Some of the names of the villages are assigned to different tribes because with us we see only one name to pronounce, when among the Hebrews they are written with various letters.] [Rekkath.784 (In tribe of); lot of Nephthali.] Rouma (Arima also).785 Where "Abimelech sat" as in Judges. Now it is called Remphis (Remthis) in the region of Diospolis which is called by many Arimath-aia. KINGS Remmōth.786 Where David sent "the spoils." Rachel.787 Where David sent "the spoils." Remmōth Galaad.788 Now there is a village in Perea (beside the Jordan) beside the river Jobok. Noted also above. Rabbath.789 City of the king of Ammon which is (now) Philadelphia. Jeremia also mentions it.

4 Raōs (Roos).790 David came here (crossed through). Aquila and Symmachus (interpret) "the top" (the vault). Rogellein.791 Home of Bersellein the Galladi. Raphaein (Raphaeim).792 Valley of the heathen (Allofylus).

North of Jerusalem. Remman.793 City of the king of Syria near Damascus. Reth.794 Asa conquered this. Rathem.795 (Which for) Aquilla (is interpreted) "juniper tree" and Symmachus "shelter" (shady place). Remmōn.796 Isaia (mentioned this) in the vision "Against the Moabites." Raseph.797 City of Syria. Rapheth.798 City "in the territory of Thaimon" (Theman) of Assyria. In Isaia (it is written). Rebla.799 In the land of Aimath where (victorious) Pharaoh led away Ioachaz (to Egypt). Remma.800 Mountain in Isaia. (For which Aquila (interprets) "Mt.Ermona" (Emmona), Symmachus "in Armenia." There is a village Remmous (Remmus) in Daroma. (Further) in the (book) of Kings Remman is the home of the idol of the Damascenes. Reblatha.801 Territory (or city) of Babylon (which they now call Antioch). Ramade (Ramale).802 (For which) Aquila (interprets) "be lifted up." (Written) in Zacharia. There is also (another place) Rama of Benjamin (in the tribe of) around Bethlehem where "a voice is heard in Rama." (Of this we have fully spoken in the book *Hebrew Questions*.)

5 Rinokoroura.803 Isaia. City of Egypt. [You should know that this word is not found in the Hebrew books but has been added by the translators of the Septuagint at the noted place.]

SECTION S

1[What we have said in the book on Interpretation of Hebrew Names, even now in the heading of the letter S we see that among the Hebrews there are three S's: Samech, Sade and Sin. Yet these are pronounced as one sound among the Greek and Latin which in the Hebrew language are differentiated. So it is that each name appears to us to sound differently, and further each has another letter. Not only from one but from three letters places and cities and villages are described.] 804 GENESIS Sidōn.805 Famous Phoenician city. Formerly the northern boundary of the Chanaanites. Later of Judaea. Given by lot (to tribe of Aser) of Israel. Tribe of Aser fought to possess it but the tribe of Aser' "did not drive out the heathen" (were not able to drive out the enemy) Scripture affirms. Sennaar.806 Plain of Babylon where the Tower was built. From which "Assur went out and built Nineve." Josephus mentions it saying in the first book of Antiquities, "And as concerning the plain called Senaar in the region of Babylon, Hestiaeus speaks as follows, 'Now the priests who escaped took the sacred vessels of Zeus Enyalius (war like) and came to Sanaar in Babylonia.'"

²Suchem (Sikima) (Salēm).⁸⁰⁷ City of Jacob now deserted. The place is pointed out in the suburb of Neapolis. There (near) the tomb of Joseph is pointed out near by. Abimelech came down on it (Latin omits phrase) "And sowed it with salt" as in (the book of) Judges. (Afterwards) Jeroboam rebuilt it according to Kings. Located on the border of the (tribe of) lot of Ephraim. One of the sons of Emmōr is called Suchem from which the place is called. There is also another Suchem in the mountain of Ephraim, a city of refuge. Sennaar.⁸⁰⁸ Home of Amarphal who fought against (the king of) Sodom. Sodoma.⁸⁰⁹ City of wicked men which was completely destroyed (divine fire consumed) near the Dead Sea. Sebōeim.⁸¹⁰ City of the wicked near Sodom which was completely destroyed (disappeared in eternal ashes). Sōpheira.⁸¹¹ "Mountain of the East" in India. The sons of Iektan son of Eber dwelled near it as Josephus affirms, "Those from the river Kōphēn inhabited parts of India and of the adjacent country of Sēria." Here also the ships of Solomon carried cargo for three years' journey.

³Soora.⁸¹² City near Sodom also called Sigor and Zoora. (Of which we spoke above.) Sauē.⁸¹³ Ancient city in which the Ammorites dwelled beyond Sodom, which Chodollagomar destroyed. Sēeir.⁸¹⁴ Mountain of the land of Edom where Easu dwelled in the (region of) Gebalene. It is named after him for he was fully covered with hair (he was hairy and bristly) and "being covered with hair" is the interpretation of Sēeir. (Seeir means hairy and so gets its name.) Scripture also says that before Esau, the Chorraiters dwelled in the place called Seeir and were destroyed by Chodollagomor. Isaia also mentioned Seeir in the vision "of the Idumeans." Salēm.⁸¹⁵ City of Sikimōn as Scripture affirms. Another village [is shown up to the present day near Jerusalem, to the west, by this same name. In the eighth mile toward Scythopolis in the plain there is a village Salumias. Josephus affirms the true Salem to be that in which Melchisedec ruled which later is called Solyma and finally gets the name Jerusalem.]

⁴Sour.⁸¹⁶ [Where the angel came to Sarai's maid Agar between Kades and Barad. The desert of Sur extends up to the Red Sea which goes around the border of Egypt. Further Kades is the desert beyond the city Petra. But Scripture notes the desert of Kades extends beyond Egypt to which the Hebrews first came after crossing the Red Sea.] Sēgōr.⁸¹⁷ [Which is also Sala and Zoara, one of the five cities of Sodom. By the prayer of Lot was saved from fire.] Up to now it is still pointed out, Isaia mentions it in the vision "Against

the Moabites." (As we have spoken above.) Skēnai (Scenae).818 (i.e., tabernacle.) Where Jacob dwelled after coming from Mesopotamia. [Which in the Hebrew language is called Socchoth.] EXODUS Sokchōth.819 First station of the children of Israel in the desert before (crossing) the Red Sea (after) coming out of Egypt. Sin.820 Desert extending between the Red Sea and the desert of Sina. From Sin they came into Raphidin, from there "into the desert of Sina" near Mt.Sina where Moses received (the tables of) the law. This desert the Hebrew Scriptures call Kades, but this is not in (the interpretation of) the Septuagint.

5 NUMBERS AND DEUTERONOMY Selmona.821 Station [of the children of Israel in the desert. Saphar.822Mt.Saphar. Station] of the children of Israel in the desert. Sattein (Sattim).823 Where "the degraded people fornicated with the daughters of Moab" near Mt.Phagōr. From here Josue sent those to spy out Jericho. Sabama.824 City of Moab in (land of) Galaad which the tribe of Ruben received. Isaia also mentions this in the vision "Against the Moabites." Selcha.825 City of King Og in the (region of) the Basanitide. Senna.826 Border of Judaea which is now (a hamlet) Magdalsenna [which means tower of Sena] eight (seven) miles north of Jericho. Sephama.827 Border of Judaea to the east. [Sadada.828 Border of Judaea.] JOSUE Somerōn.829 Josue besieged this and captured (killed) its king. This is said to be (now called) Sebaste now a city of Palestine (where relics of Saint John the Baptist are kept). It is said in Kings that Zambri, king of Israel, bought "the Mountain of Semeron from one Semel" and he built on it (its top) a city and named it Sameron after Semel (from the name of its owner he called it Serneron).

6 Sēeira.830 Josue also besieged this. Selcha.831 City in the Basanitide. Siōr.832 Which was opposite Egypt. There is (today shown) a village Sior between Jerusalem and Eleutheropolis. (In) tribe of Juda. [Of which there is full discussion in the book Hebrew Questions.] Saorth.833 (In) tribe of Ruben, above the Jordan. [Sachoth.834 (In) tribe of Gad, above the Jordan.] Saphōn.835 (In) tribe of Gad, above the Jordan. Sachōron.836 (In) tribe of Juda. [Sama (Samen).837 (In) tribe of Juda.] Soual.838 (In) tribe of Juda or Simeon. Sikelag (Secelec).839 Agchous (Anchus) (king of the heathen) gave this over to (the people) of David. Tribe of (lot of) Juda or Simeon in the Daroma. Sansana.840 (In) tribe of Juda. Saleei.841 (In) the tribe of Juda. Saraa.842 Village in the boundary of Eleutheropolis, (about) ten miles north

on the road to Nicopolis. (In) tribe of Dan or Juda. Sokchō.843 (Today there are) two villages nine miles from Eleutheropolis on the road (highway) to Jerusalem. The upper (one in the Mountains) and the lower (the other in the plain) are named Sokchōth. (In) tribe of Juda.

7 Saraein.844 (In) tribe of Juda. Sennaan (Senam).845 (In) tribe of Juda. Sapheir.846 Village in the mountains which is (located) between Eleutheropolis and Askalon. (In) tribe of Juda. Sokchō.847 Noted also above Sokcho (is spoken of also above). It is said (also) the Samaritans from Babylon (who were brought from Babylon) founded it (the village). Skacha.848 (In) tribe of Juda. Selo.849 (In) tribe of Ephraim. In this the ark (of the testament and the tabernacle of the Lord remained) was first kept up to the time of Samuel. It is twelve (ten) miles from Neapolis in the Akrabattine. One of the sons of the patriarch Juda was called Selon (we read). Suchem (Sechem).850 (In) tribe of Manasse. City of priests and refuge in the Mountains of Ephraim where the bones of Joseph are buried. Noted also above Suchem (of which we spoke above). Sama.851 (i.e.,) Spring of Sama. (Sames) (in) tribe of Benjamin. (For which) Aquila (interprets) "spring or the sun."

8 Semreim.852 (In) tribe of Benjamin. Sela.853 (In) tribe of Benjamin. Sabe (Sabēe).854 (In) tribe of Simeon. Sarith (Sarid).855 Border of Zabulon. Sams.856 (For which) Symmachus and Theodotion (interpret) "sun." Semerōn.857 Lot or (in tribe of) Zabulon. Sounēm (Sunem).858 Lot of (in tribe of) Issachar. There now is a village Soulēm (shown) five miles south of Mt. Thabor. Sion (Seon or Soen).859 Lot of (in tribe of) Issachar. Now (there is shown a village) is beside Mt. Thabor. Sasima.860 Border of Issachar. Sior.861 Lot of (in tribe of) Aser. Sennanein.862 Oak. (Belonging to) border of Naphthali. Sorek (Sorec).863 Lot of (in tribe of) Dan. Samson was there (we read) near Esthaol [of which we have spoken above]. Sames.864 Lot of (in tribe of) Dan. Noted above. [Which was mentioned above under the name of] Bethsamus. Salabein (Salabeim).865 Lot of (in tribe of) Dan. But there is now another (large) village (shown) in the border of Sebastē called Salaba.

9 Sepheth.866 (Place) of the Chanaanites. JUDGES Seirōtha.867 Where Aod fled (the judge fled). Noted above also Seeira (we spoke about above). Sour Oreb.868 (Which) Aquila (interprets) "Rook of Oreb." Selmon.869 Mountain on which Abimelech went fighting Sikima. Sephina.870 (Which for) Aquila and Symmachus (is interpreted) "north." Sōrēch.871 (Name of) wadi. Home of Balila wife of Samson. It is (today) the village called Sōrēch

(Cafarsorch) north of Eleutheropolis near (the hamlet) Saraa the home of Samson. **KINGS** Sôpheim.⁸⁷² In Mt. Ephraim (in neighborhood) of Armathaim. Salisa.⁸⁷³ Through which Saul went. [Senna.⁸⁷⁴ Name or a rook. Saaleim.⁸⁷⁵ (Village) through which Saul went.] A village of the region of Eleutheropolis seven miles to the west. Seiph (Sthif).⁸⁷⁶ Where Saul met Samuel. Sabeim.⁸⁷⁷ Where Saul fought. Sônām.⁸⁷⁸ Home of the [woman] Somanite. There is a village (today) called Sanim on the border of Sabastē in the Akrabattinē. Saphamōth.⁸⁷⁹ Where David sent. Seeira.⁸⁸⁰ (Name of) well (at which) Joab turned away (back) Abner (the chief of the army).

¹⁰ Souba.⁸⁸¹ Whose king David defeated. Sarthan.⁸⁸² Below (at the foot of) Iezrael. Sôpheira (Soupheir).⁸⁸³ Where Solomon's ships went. Noted above (of which we spoke above). Mountain in the east (region) of India. Ser-ōra.⁸⁸⁴ City on the way to Edom. Saba.⁸⁸⁵ Royal city of the Aithiopians which Josephus affirms Cambuse (the queen) named Meroen from the name or her own sister. Sela.⁸⁸⁶ Where Joas was beaten. Sephpharouem (Saffarua-aim).⁸⁸⁷ From here the Assyrians moved to another place (transmigrating) to live in Samaria, from whom (arose the beginnings of the) are the Samaritan nation. Isaia mentions it. Sademoth.⁸⁸⁸ Where Josias (the king) burned (the images of) the idols. Sarepta.⁸⁸⁹ Famous village (little city) of Sidon (Sidonians on the highway) where Elias (once) "dwelled. Sarōn.⁸⁹⁰ (Which) Isaia (mentions saying), "Sarōn became a swamp" and the territory from Mt. Thabor to Lake Tiberias is now called Sarōnas. There is another Saronas, the region from Caesarea to Joppa. (All the land from Caesarea Palestine to the city of Joppa is called Saronas.)

¹¹ Sephela.⁸⁹¹ (As written) in Isaia. (For which) Aquila (interprets) "plain," Symmachus "valley." Even now it is called Sephela. It is all the region (fields and plains) around Eleutheropolis to the north and the west. Sennaar.⁸⁹² In Micheae. (For which) Aquila (interprets) "Sannaan," Symmachus "flourishing" (fertile). (Michea the prophet mentions this.) Sedrach.⁸⁹³ Land or Damascus. (We read) in Zacharia. Siōn.⁸⁹⁴ Mountain (in the city) of Jerusalem. Samareia (Samaria).⁸⁹⁵ Royal city of Israel. Now (it is called) Sebastē. Also the region around it. [Receives its name from that city.] Sor (Tyre).⁸⁹⁶ Phoenician metropolis. Lot of (in tribe of) Naphthali. Soēne.⁸⁹⁷ City of Thebes. In Ezechiel (as Ezechiel writes). Sais.⁸⁹⁸ City of Egypt. [Ezechiel mentions it. District of Saïtes also.] Sadala.⁸⁹⁹ Border of Judaea as in Ezechiel (as Ezechiel writes). Sabareim.⁹⁰⁰ "On the border between Damascus and

Aimath" as in Ezechiel (as Ezechiel writes). Salisa.⁹⁰¹ (For which) Aquila (interprets) "three years." As in Jeremia. (Jeremia mentions this.)

¹² Suchar.⁹⁰² Before Neapolis near the field which Jacob gave to Joseph his son. In it the Christ (our Savior) according to John conversed with the Samaritan (woman) at the well. It is even now pointed out (where a church is now built).

SECTION T

¹ GENESIS Tigris.⁹⁰³ The river going out east from Paradise, according to Scripture, "over against Assyria" (after many turns) flowing "into the Red Sea" as Josephus affirms. It is called by the nickname Tigris because of the violence resembling that of the like-named animal. (Properly called by this name because the excessively swift current is like the quickness of the animal.) Ter-ebinthos in Sikemon.⁹⁰⁴ Under which Jacob hid "strange gods" (idols) near Neapolis. JOSUE Tina.⁹⁰⁵ (In) tribe of Juda. Telem.⁹⁰⁶ (In) tribe of Juda. Tessem.⁹⁰⁷ (In) tribe of Juda. Turos.⁹⁰⁸ (In) tribe of Nephthali. JUDGES Tabath.⁹⁰⁹ Where they fought against the Midianites. Töb.⁹¹⁰ Land where Jephthe dwelled. Tapheth (Tofeth).⁹¹¹ "In the valley of the sons of Ennom" where the people committed idolatry (worshiped pagan idols), (is a place) in the suburbs of Jerusalem. Tanis.⁹¹² City of Egypt. (As) in Isaia and Ezechiel. Taphnas.⁹¹³ City of Egypt. In Osee and Ezechiel and Jeremia. There the Jews who fled to Egypt with Jeremia [for fear of the Babylonians] dwelled.

² THE GOSPELS Trachonitis territory or Itouraia.⁹¹⁴ Of which Philip was tetrarch according to the Gospel of Luke. Noted above (we spoke of it above). It is extending from Bostra in the southern desert up to Damascus. (Beyond Bostra city of Arabia in the southern desert almost up to Damascus.) [We read this with the simple letter but truly that which follows is not from Teth but from Tau, i.e., for which the Greek Theta is written we must read with aspiration.] Note: in the Latin Manuscripts TH now follows.⁹¹⁵

SECTION PH

¹ GENESIS Pheisōn (Fison).⁹¹⁶ Interpreted "multitude." It is the river the Greeks (we) called (call) Ganges which flowing from Paradise to (going through the regions at) India flows out into the sea. (Scripture) also said it encircles "all the land of Hevila where gold and rubies and (precious) emeralds (are produced)." Pharan.⁹¹⁷ (Now) a city beyond Arabia adjoining the desert of the Saracens [who wander in the desert] through which the chil-

dren or Israel went moving (camp) from Sinai. Located (we say) beyond Arabia on the south, three days journey to the east of Aila (in the desert Pharan) where Scripture affirms Ismael dwelled, whence the Ishmaelites [who are not the Saracens]. It is said (we read) also that (king) Chodollagomor cut to pieces those in "Pharan which is in the desert." Pulistieim.⁹¹⁸ Now called Askalon and the famous territory of Palestine around it. Phrear.⁹¹⁹ (Well) of the oath. Which Abraham dug where he swore an oath. It is now called Bērosaba in the (region) of the Geraritike (of which we spoke above).

² Phrear.⁹²⁰ (Well) of vision. On the desert where Isaak dwelled. Phrear.⁹²¹ (Well) of judgments. Up to the present time there is a village in the Geraritike called (by name) Berdan (which means in Latin "well of judgments"). Phrear.⁹²² (Well) of Oath. Where Isaac and Abimelech swore. It is called the city of Isaac. There are also many other and different wells in (Holy) Scripture which are even now pointed out in the (region of) Geraritike and near Askalon. Phanouēl.⁹²³ Where after an all-night of wrestling Jacob's (Jacob merited the name Israel) name was changed to Israel near the Wadi Iabok, which in Hebrew is called [Fanuel, i.e., "face of God" because he saw god there]. Phogōr (Fogo).⁹²⁴ City of (king) Adad in the (region of) Geralitike. Phinōn.⁹²⁵ Station of the children of Israel in the desert, which was (one of) a city of the princes of Edom. It is Phainon where there are copper mines between the city of Petra and Zoara. [Now a village Phainon in the desert where copper is mined by condemned prisoners between the city of Petra and Zoara of which we spoke above.]

³ EXODUS Phithōm.⁹²⁶ City in Egypt which the children of Israel built. NUMBERS AND DEUTERONOMY Pharagx.⁹²⁷ Botrous. Ravine of the cluster where the spies got fruit as proof of the land. It is said to be Gophna interpreted "vine" fifteen miles from Jerusalem on the road going up to Neapolis. The report they swear is true. (This entry is not in the Latin) Phin.⁹²⁸ Station of the children of Israel in the desert. Pharagx Zare.⁹²⁹ Ravine Zared. Section of the desert. (This entry is not in the Latin.) Phear.⁹³⁰ Well in the desert. Where the people were. (This entry is not in the Latin.) Phathoura.⁹³¹ City beyond Mesopotamia where Balaam (the soothsayer) came from. Located near Eleutheropolis there is another village (named Phathoura) on the road to Gaza. Phogōr (Bēthphogōr).⁹³² Mountain in Moab to which (king) Balak led Balaam (the Soothsayer). Located above the

place now called Libiados (Livias). There is another (village) Phogōr near Bethlehem (which is now called Faora).

⁴Phasga.⁹³³ City of the Amorrites. It is also a mountain to the east of Phasga. Aquila (interprets) "tomb" (quarry) and the Septuagint "of the tomb" (in a quarried place). JUDGES [Phanouel.⁹³⁴ City which Jeroboam built.] Phanouēl.⁹³⁵ Tower which Gedeon destroyed. One of the sons of ōr is called Phanouēl. [Phraathōn.⁹³⁶ Home of Abdon judge of Israel "in the mountain of Amalek."] KINGS Pharagx Ennom.⁹³⁷ Ravine Ennon. Ge Ennom in Hebrew. Therefore some affirm this to be Gebenna near Jerusalem. It is said to be the name of the Ravine of Josephat. (This entry is not in the Latin.) Phelmoni Almoni.⁹³⁸ Aquila "so and so" or "a certain." Symmachus "such a place." Theodotion "to a certain (place)" Elmoni (of which there is a full discussion in the book *Hebrew Questions*). Phogō.⁹³⁹ City of the king of Edom. Pharphar.⁹⁴⁰ River of Damascus. Phathori.⁹⁴¹ Territory of Egypt as in Ezechiel and Jeremia where the Jews (having fled) dwelled.

SECTION X

¹ GENESIS Chalannē.⁹⁴² City of King Nebrod (Nemrod) in Babylon. Noted in Isaia (saying) "Chalanne where the tower was built." Chalak.⁹⁴³ City of Assyria which Assur built coming from the land of Sennaar. Charran.⁹⁴⁴ There is even now in Mesopotamia (beyond Edessa) a city called Karra. [Where the Roman soldiers were defeated and Grassus, their leader, was captured.] Chebrōn.⁹⁴⁵ Formerly called Arbok. (Arbe for which the Greek wrongly has Arbok.) Founded seven years before Tanis of Egypt. Noted above and described. Was the royal city of the Enakim. [Who we must believe were strong and gigantic.] Chōba.⁹⁴⁶ "It is left (north) of Damascus." There is a village Choba now in that region where Hebrews believing on the Christ [and keeping all the commandments of the Torah] are called Ebionites. [Against such doctrines Paul the apostle wrote to the Galatians.] Chabratha.⁹⁴⁷ Aquila (interprets) "by the road" (i.e., near the road) going to Ephratha of Bethleem where Rachel died bearing Benjamin. [We have seen this word above and we spoke of it in the book *Hebrew Questions*.]

² Chasbi.⁹⁴⁸ Where the wife of Juda bore a son. A deserted place (ruin) is now pointed out in the region of Eleutheropolis near Odollam. [This is fully discussed in the book *Hebrew Questions*.] NUMBERS AND DEUTERONOMY Chōrēb.⁹⁴⁹ Mountain of God in the territory of Moab. Near Mt. Sinai beyond Arabia in the desert [Where the mountain and the desert or the

Saracens called Faran meet. It seems to me that the two names are for the same mountain which is now called Sinai and now Choreb.] Charada.⁹⁵⁰ Station of the children of Israel. Chenereth.⁹⁵¹ Sea. Border of Judaea. Lot of (tribe of) Nephthali. [But the town which later in honor of Tiberius Caesar, Herod the King of Judaea restored and called Tiberias first bore this name.] JOSUE Chepheira.⁹⁵² City (village) of Gabaōn (of the city of Gabaon). (In) tribe of Benjamin. Chasalōn.⁹⁵³ Tribe of Benjamin on the border of Jerusalem. A (very) large village.

³ Chsil.⁹⁵⁴ (In) tribe of Juda. Chaphtheis.⁹⁵⁵ (In) tribe of Juda. Chermel.⁹⁵⁶ Tribe of Juda. Large city Chermel in the Daroma (Latin omits these two phrases). Home of Nabal (the Canaanite). Near Chebrōn (of which we spoke above) to the south. A guard of soldiers is stationed there. (Latin omits the last two sentences.) Chabōn.⁹⁵⁷ (In) tribe of Juda. Cheilōn.⁹⁵⁸ (In) tribe of Juda. Chephrei.⁹⁵⁹ (In) tribe of Benjamin. Cheselath Thabor.⁹⁶⁰ Lot of (in tribe of) Zabulon. KINGS Chettieim.⁹⁶¹ Land of the Chittites or (is said to be) Cyprus. Whence the city Louza was founded. (There is also now a city of Cyprus called Cititium.) Charrei.⁹⁶² (To this place) where Joab pursued Sa-bee (who was stirring up a revolution). Chomarreim.⁹⁶³ Where Josias put to flames (burned) the idols (images). Chalannē.⁹⁶⁴ "Where the tower was built" according to Isaia. Noted above (as we spoke above). Charran.⁹⁶⁵ City of Assyria around Thaiman (region) according to Isaia.

⁴ Chaselath tou Thabōr.⁹⁶⁶ Border of Zabulon. Noted above Chessalous (we spoke of it above under the name Chsalus). Chōbal.⁹⁶⁷ Border of Aser. Chalab.⁹⁶⁸ "Aser did not drive out" the heathen (former inhabitants) from here. Chorra.⁹⁶⁹ Wadi across the Jordan [in which Elias hid in the region of the same river]. Chōtha.⁹⁷⁰ Territory of Assyria. Chōbar.⁹⁷¹ River of Assyria as in Ezechiel. Charchamus.⁹⁷² City beside the river Euphrates. Chamōam.⁹⁷³ Village near Bethlehem. Chelōn (Elōn).⁹⁷⁴ City of Moab as in Jeremia. Chamōs.⁹⁷⁵ Idol of Moab. Chōrazein.⁹⁷⁶ Village (city) of Galilee over which the Christ suffered [wept and wailed at unbelief] according to the Gospel. Now deserted two miles from Capharnaoum. Cheimarrous Kedrōn.⁹⁷⁷ (i.e., Wadi) before Jerusalem (of which we spoke above between the Mt. of Olives and Jerusalem) where the Christ (Lord and Savior) was handed over as the Gospel of John affirms.

SECTION O

¹THE PENTATEUCH ōn.978 "Which is Heliopolis" (i.e., city of the sun) city in Egypt. The children of Israel built this according to the interpretation of the Septuagint. But more correctly the Hebrew (books) did not hold this since it existed (was built) before the coming of the children of Israel (before Jacob came into Egypt). (Petefrem) the father of Asennek was priest here. ōr.979 Mountain on which Aaron died near the city of Petra. There is now pointed out the rock which flowed for Moses (which Moses struck and gave water to the people). ōbōth.980 Station of the children of Israel in the desert. JOSUE and KINGS Osa.981 (In tribe of) lot of Aser. Oram.982 (In tribe of) lot of Nephthali. Opheir.983 Where gold was brought by Solomon as (we read) in (the book of) Kings. One of the descendants of Eber was named Oupheir whose sons (coming) "from the river Kōphenos in inhabited India and the nearby Syrias" (from the river Kophene dwelled in the region of India called Ieria) according to Josephus. (I believe) this region is properly named from him.

²Ōn.984 City of Samaria. The Hebrew had (written) Aun. Aquila and Symmachus (interpret) "useless." Theodotion "unjust." ōlō.985 City of priests. ōronaeim.986 City of Moab in Jeremia (as Jeremia has written). This text was transcribed by Noel Wolf, 2005.

PART THREE

Shorter Writings

Short pieces on Psalm 51, the date of Easter and the Gospel canons, and a tract on the Star of Bethlehem that is ascribed to Eusebius.

On Psalm 51

EUSEBIUS OF CAESAREA

c. AD 260–339

Bishop of Caesarea and the first church historian.

ON PSALM 51

¹[Translated by Andrew Eastbourne] [Migne PG 23, cols. 441–452] [col. 441] (1) To the end. Of understanding. Of David. 51. (2) When Doeg the Idumaean came and reported to Saul and said to him, "David came to the house of Abimelech." The 33rd Psalm was spoken by David when he "changed his countenance before Abimelech, and he sent him away, and he left." The current Psalm would be the one following that Psalm in historical sequence. For the Scripture says in Kingdoms, "And one of the servants of Saul was there that day." And this indicates the time at which David came into the house of Abimelech and ate the "loaves of offering," receiving them from the high priest. For at the very same point in time, Doeg the Syrian, the tender of Saul's mules, came to Saul and said, "I have seen the son of Jesse having come to Nob, to Abimelech the son of Ahitub, the priest, and all the sons of his father; and [col. 444] he inquired on his behalf through God, and he gave him provisions. And the king sent someone to call Abimelech the priest, and all the sons of his father, the priests of the Lord in Nob, and they all came before the king," at which point, on Saul's order, this same Doeg put to death the priests of the Lord—"305 men who bore the ephod, and he smote the city of Nob with the edge of the sword, including men and women, infants and babies, and calves and donkeys and sheep."

²So when David learned that this had been done in this way, he uttered the words before us, which contain neither an ode, nor a hymn, nor anything else of that sort. For how, in the face of the disaster that happened to so many priests, could he have sung odes of theirs and psalms? Hence, nothing of the kind is written as epigraph, but it was only said "to the end" and

"of understanding": ["To the end,"] since the final elements of his words recount the good things, when he says, "But I am like a fruitful olive tree," etc.; and ["of understanding," since discerning] the meaning of the words put forth here requires the understanding that comes from God. Now then, when he was with Abimelech and tasted the priestly nourishment, he changed his "taste"—or his "ways," according to the interpretation of the others—and raised blessings and thanksgivings to God, saying: "I will bless the Lord at all times; the praise of him is always in my mouth," etc. But now, when he had learned of the actions of Doeg the slanderer—how he had destroyed so many priests, doing a diabolical deed—he marshalled the words of the present passage as though against him, saying:

³(3) Why do you boast in wickedness, O powerful one? Lawlessness all day long, (4) and injustice, your tongue devised. ⁴ The material we have before us was spoken much earlier in time than the history pertaining to the 50th Psalm. For [the history of Doeg] took place, and [the words] were spoken, while Saul was still alive, and before David's kingship. Many long years later, after the death of Saul, and at the end of his own kingship, David made the confession contained in the 50th Psalm, which he placed before [the 51st] because of its connection to the 49th Psalm, as I have already shown. Those Psalms, 20 in number, from 51 to 70, with epigraphs "of David," took their subject-matter from a different point of origin: indeed, they appear to have been spoken while Saul was still alive, before David reigned. For the one before us now was spoken while Saul was still alive, "when Doeg the Idumaeen came and reported to Saul... 'David came to the house of Abimelech.'" But the 53rd Psalm too was spoken "when the Ziphites came and told Saul, 'Look--is not David hidden with us?'" Also, the 55th Psalm has this epigraph: "When the Philistines seized him in Gath"—and this period too precedes David's kingship, while Saul still survived alive. And the 56th Psalm gives the epigraph: "Of David, when he was running away from Saul into the cave. In the same way also, the 58th Psalm says [in the epigraph], "When Saul sent, and guarded his house, in order to kill him.

⁵ The 59th Psalm, however, even though it was spoken after the death of Saul, [col. 445], when David was now king, still preceded the actions relating to Uriah. This is indicated by the heading, which shows the time period involved by saying, "When he set on fire Mesopotamia of Syria, and Syria Soba, and Joab returned and smote the Ravine of Salt—twelve thousand. And this

chronologically precedes the confession expressed in the 50th Psalm. Furthermore, the 62nd Psalm was spoken by David "when he was in the desert of Idumaea," while Saul was still living. Consider how more or less the majority of the second part of the book of the Psalms of David (apart from the 50th) include those which were spoken by him before the period of his actions pertaining to Uriah. ⁶ The first part of the same book, however, from the first Psalm to the 40th, [seemed to] contradict that order; for that part included those dating after the confession of the 50th Psalm. The third Psalm, then, was spoken by David "when he was running away from Absalom his son." And he was fleeing from his son after the events connected to Uriah. But also in the sixth Psalm, he was mourning for the same actions, saying, "I grew tired in my groaning; I shall wash my bed every night—with my tears I shall moisten my mattress." And the seventh Psalm, spoken "for the words of Cush the son of Iamin," would belong to the same time period. Moreover, also the 17th Psalm has been proved to have been spoken at the end of David's life. But also the 37th Psalm, with the epigraph "for remembrance," having the same train of thought as the sixth, begins with the same words, saying, "Lord, do not rebuke me in your anger, and do not correct me in your wrath." And going forward, he makes the same confession as that in the 50th Psalm, besides other passages, also when he says, "For my transgressions have gone over my head...My wounds stank and decayed before my foolishness."

⁷ And if you bring together [these indications] for yourself, you will discover that the majority of the Psalms in the first part were spoken after the time period of the history relating to Uriah, whereas those following the 50th Psalm precede [David's] actions regarding Uriah chronologically. Why in the world, then, were the first ones in chronological sequence not put in first place—and instead, those which were spoken first, while Saul was still living, are in the second part of the Psalms—and those which are chronologically last are in the first part? I think they have this arrangement so that the discourse would not move from the better to the worse; for the phrase, "to the end, lest you be destroyed," appears to have been observed also in the case of the Psalms' arrangement. For this reason, the gloomier material was placed first, so that the nicer / more useful material would be kept for second, the worse things being hidden and made to disappear by the appearance of the better ones in second place. And it is likely that David wished to draw a

veil over his fault afterwards by means of his prior good deeds. And someone might say that [col. 448] he arranged his confessions first in accordance with tremendous piety, because "the righteous one is his own accuser in the opening prosecution" But since so many things about the arrangement apparent [in the book of Psalms] have been laid bare for you, it is now time to pass on also to the words of Psalm 51 that are before us.

8 Well then, he writes the words in question after learning what Doeg the Syrian had brought about by means of his slanders against David. Therefore he speaks as though addressing him: "Why do you boast in wickedness, you powerful one?"—or as though addressing the devil, who was at work in him. For he was not unaware of the one who was opposing him at all times and always fighting against him, at one time through Saul, in the current instance through Doeg, and at other times in different ways through different people. So then, the one who is powerless and weak and slight in wickedness, when the better character prevails in him, since he is feeble in wickedness, will hide himself as he sins and is pricked by his conscience, and will repent, and devise for himself a remedy for his own wickedness using confession and true repentance. The one who is powerful in wickedness, however, goes crazy and boasts over it, as though he were making himself more majestic by a great good deed.

9 And the passage before us appears to me to be describing the character that is the opposite of the one that made the prior confession in the 50 Psalm. For in that Psalm, after slipping once into wickedness, he repented in the end and wore himself out with confession, and lamentation over his own evil deeds. But the other one, being present in wickedness, says: (7)...And he will scrape you away from the tent, and will uproot you from the land of the living forever —so that the righteous, when they see it, will be afraid and will mock him, saying, (9) "Look! a man who did not set God before himself as his strength, but trusted in the abundance of his wealth, and empowered himself in his own disaster!" 10 And this was said as though to Doeg, who was a Syrian by descent, but lived in the midst of Israel—and, I suppose, perhaps even entered the tabernacle of God along with the multitude, pretending to be pious. But it was also said to everyone who is powerful in wickedness, who uses his tongue instead of a sword for the destruction of souls: the "farmer of souls" would pluck him out just like some bitter and destructive root, even if he seems for some brief time to have been planted in the tabernacle of God

and in his Church. Such a person, after being plucked out and cast away far from the tabernacle of the holy, will lie as a pitiable spectacle for the benefit and chastening of those who see him—they will take in with their eyes the severe judgment of God against such a person and will make every effort and guard themselves against falling into a similar situation. Later, when they recall with their memory the former boasting of the one who was powerful in wickedness, his grandeur and arrogance, but also see the humiliation and destruction that pursued him after that, they will consider him a laughing-stock, considering how he has fallen so low from such a height. And they will accept the judgment of God, confessing that it is righteous. Then, they will also go through the reasons why the impious one has suffered these things [col. 449] and justify God's judgment. For he ought not to have been haughty-minded over riches, nor to have been exalted over the vanity of the present life, but to have made God alone his hope and help, and not to have wavered in this hope. But he abandoned the good anchor of his own soul, and by hanging his hopes on vain wealth he made himself a joke, incurring nothing more than laughter for his vain and thoughtless boastfulness.

¹¹ (10) But I am like a fruitful olive tree in the house of God. I have put my hope in the mercy of God forever, even forever and ever. From what I have said already, we have learned what sort of end the one who is powerful in wickedness will obtain. But as for me, says David, since I have been taught this by the Holy Spirit, I would never be exalted over abundance of wealth, nor over the vanity of mortal life. For "vanity of vanities, all is vanity." But also, as I flee from the path of the one who is powerful in wickedness, I would not sharpen my tongue and my words for the destruction of others, but rather for the benefit of souls and the service of the words of salvation. And in my other actions too, I would become so flourishing and fruitful that my soul would be compared with an ever-flourishing and richly fruitful plant that has been planted in the house of God. For this reason, I say: "But I am like a fruitful olive tree in the house of God"—or, according to Symmachus' translation: "But I am like a flourishing olive tree in the house of God." For I did not turn away at all from the house of God; rather, after being planted inside it, as it were in God's own garden, and while enjoying the streams of the spring in the house of God, I became richly fruitful and ever-flourishing, in accordance with the pattern of the planted olive tree that has been received among the ever-flourishing [plants].

12 But observe that when David said this, he was not in Jerusalem, which the Jewish people considered to be the house of God—for it had not yet been built; and neither was he in the tabernacle built by Moses, which did still exist at that time among the Jews. For when he was fleeing from Saul, he passed his time among others—and yet he did indeed know that he had been planted in the house of God, since he understood the "house of God" to be the pious way of life. And because he was fruitful—not bearing bitter fruits but sweet fruits full of compassion, he was rightly compared to a fruitful olive tree: the pattern signifying mercy towards one's neighbors and compassion toward all. Therefore, since he was overflowing with this sort of good things, he logically added, "I have put my hope in the mercy of God forever, even forever and ever."

13 Now, he pointed out that the end of the one who is powerful in wickedness is uprooting and destruction. For it was necessary for the root that bears bitter fruit to be †----- off† by the wise farmer of the universe. But David, like a fruitful olive tree in the house of God, put his hope in the mercy of God for ever, even forever and ever, procuring for himself immortality and eternal life on the basis of his good hope, from which he will never fall away. For according to the Apostle, "hope does not put us to shame." Then, having sketched out good hopes for himself as it were on the basis of good fruits, [col. 452] he attributes the responsibility [for all this] to the provider of all good things, saying: "I shall praise you forever, because you did [this]." For (he says) I did not make myself like a fruitful olive tree, but rather, you did. For grace comes from you. And so I will never cease from the knowledge of your grace, and from praising you; having once put my hope in the mercy of God, "I shall patiently await his name." For once the foundation of good hope has been established, we need patience. Therefore, he says, "I shall patiently await your name, because it is beneficial before your holy ones"—or, according to Symmachus' translation: "...because your name is good in front of your holy ones." Knowing, therefore, that it is good, and productive of good—not for those who are powerful in wickedness nor for those who are to be cast out from among the living, but to the holy ones, he quite rightly said, "I shall patiently await your name," being hopeful that I will never fall out of your mercy. In this way, I have put my hope in him forever, even for ever and ever.

¹⁴ Eusebius normally includes the Psalm number at the end of the superscription / epigraph. Ps. 33[34].1; cf. 1 Kgdms [1 Sam.] 21.13[14]. 1 Kgdms [1 Sam.] 21.6[7]. Heb. Ahimelech. 1 Kgdms 22.9-11. 1 Kgdms 22.18-19. Ps. 51[52]. 10[8]. Ps. 33[34].2[1]. Gk. διάβολος. Gk. διαβολικός. NETS: "malice." NETS: "...of lawlessness all day long? Injustice your tongue devised." Eusebius' Greek text here, unlike standard LXX, has the word καὶ ("and") at the beginning of vs. 4; this changes the likely grammatical construal (to make "lawlessness" and "injustice" both the objects of the verb "devised"). Ps. 53[54].2[1]. Ps. 55[56].1. Ps. 56[57].1. Ps. 58[59].1. Ps. 59[60].2[1]. "Judah" MT, LXX. Ps. 3.1. Ps. 6.7[6]. Ps. 37[38].2[1]; cf. Ps. 6.2[1]. ὑπερῆραν. Migne has the misprint ὑπερῆσαν. Ps. 37[38].5-6[4-5]. NETS: "...because my acts of lawlessness went over my head...My wounds stank and festered from before my foolishness." οἱ τὴν πρῶτοι λελεγμένοι Migne. τὴν is unintelligible; the Latin tr. ignores it: Quid igitur causae est, quod non secundum temporum seriem, qui primi tempore sunt, primi positi sint, sed qui primi, superstite Saule dicti sunt, in secunda psalmorum parte sint constituti...?

¹⁵ Prov. 18.17. Gk. διαβολαί. Gk. διάβολος. The text seems corrupt. Gk. ὁ δὲ παρὼν ἐν κακία ὥς φησι. The Latin in Migne translates as though the text is ὁ δὲ παρὼν τῷ ἐν κακία (ὄντι / μένοντι) ὥς φησί: At ei de quo nunc sermo, in malitia degenti dicitur. Ps. 51[52].8, paraphrased. The Gk. implies either "holy things" (i.e., the apparatus of worship in the tabernacle) or "holy people." NETS: "I hoped." Eccles. 1.2. Gk. γεώργιον. Gk. Ἰουδαίωνπαῖδες (lit., "children of the Jews / Judaeans"). Gk. τὸ θεοσεβὲς πολίτευμα. Gk. φιλανθρωπία (lit., "love of human beings"). The same Greek word appears at the next instance of "compassion" in the translation as well. Migne's Greek text reads ἀποκταλῆναι; ἀποκταθῆναι ("to be killed") is suggested in a footnote. The translation reads eradicari. Gk. ὁ τῶν ὅλων σοφός γεωργός. Rom. 5.5. Ps. 51[52]. 11[9]. NETS: "I will acknowledge you forever, because of what you did." The Gk. verb ἐποίησας can mean "you did," or "you made"—Eusebius picks up the idea of "making" in the following sentence.

¹⁶ Gk. χάρις; alternatively, "beauty" or "kindness"—both relevant connotations in this context. Ps. 51[52].11[9]. NETS: "I will wait for your name," with a different pronoun ("your" rather than "his") in the Greek. But Eusebius' subsequent citation of the same phrase has "your," so perhaps this should be corrected to conform with it. On the other hand, as Eusebius slips from paraphrase to citation and back again, he equally seems to slip between 1, 2

and 3 person references with disconcerting freedom. Gk. χρηστός, which by Eusebius' time would have sounded identical to Χριστός. Ps. 51[52].11[9]. NETS: "your devout" rather than "your holy ones." This text was commissioned by Roger Pearse, 2010.

On the Celebration of Easter

EUSEBIUS OF CAESAREA

c. AD 260–339

Bishop of Caesarea and the first church historian.

ON THE CELEBRATION OF EASTER

Eusebius of Caesarea, *On the Celebration of Easter*; *De sollemnitate Paschali* (2010) Angelo Mai, *Novae Patrum Bibliotheca* 4 (1847), pp.209-216 (*De sollemnitate paschali*)

EUSEBIUS OF CAESAREA — On the Celebration of the Pascha

[Translated by Andrew Eastbourne] 1. It would perhaps not be inappropriate here again to discuss the Pascha, which was handed down long ago to the children of the Hebrews as an image. Now then, when the Hebrews, performing "shadows of things to come," first used to celebrate the festival of Phasek, they would take for themselves a young domestic animal (this was a lamb or a sheep). Next, they would sacrifice this animal themselves; and then, with the blood, everyone would first anoint the lintels and door-posts of their own homes, bloodying the thresholds and houses to ward off the destroyer. The flesh of the lamb, on the other hand, they would use for food; and girding up their loins with a belt, partaking of the nourishment of unleavened bread, and serving themselves bitter herbs, they would "pass over" from one place to another—[meaning,] the [journey] from the land of Egypt to the wilderness. It had been enjoined by Law that they do this, along with the slaughter and eating of the lamb. Hence, the passing over out of Egypt produced for them the name of the "Passover." But these things happened to them by way of a type; and they were written down for our sake. Indeed, Paul [implicitly] gives this interpretation, revealing the truth of the ancient symbols, when he says, "For indeed, Christ our Pascha has been sacrificed." And the reason for his being sacrificed is presented by the Baptist, when he says, "Behold the Lamb of God, who takes away the sin of the world." The Savior's

body, you see, was handed over to death as a sacrificial victim to ward off all evils: In the manner of a purificatory ritual, it took away the sin of the whole world. That is why Isaiah cried out clearly, "This one bears our sins, and suffers pain on our behalf."

2. When we are nourished by the rational flesh of this sacrificial Savior, who rescued the entire human race by his own blood—that is, when we are nourished by his teachings and discourses, which announce the kingdom of heaven—then we are rightly luxuriating with the luxury that is in accordance with God. But in addition to this, when we mark the houses of our souls, that is, our bodies, by faith in his blood, which he gave as a ransom in exchange for our salvation, we drive away from ourselves every kind of treacherous demon. And when we celebrate the "Passover" festival, we are training ourselves to pass over to divine things, just as in ancient times they passed over out of Egypt into the desert. Indeed, in this way, we too are setting out on a kind of path that is untraversed and left deserted by the many, putting out of our souls the ancient "leaven" of godless error; and we serve ourselves "bitter herbs" by means of a bitter and painful way of life.

The appointed time for the festival is well-timed too: It did not come along in the midst of the winter season—for that time is gloomy—nor yet did it correspond to the middle of summer, when the sweltering solstice takes away the beauty of those who spend their time in the fields, and the length of the hours is too greedy, not balanced with equal shares. For the sight of the autumnal equinox is not pleasing, as the countryside is then bereft and deprived of its characteristic fruits, as though of its children. What is left is spring, the radiant season that takes the lead as head of the year, like the head of the body, when the sun is just now traversing the first section [of the Zodiac], and the moon likewise, with its light full, is shifting its nightly course into bright day. This season relieves the terrors of winter-storm thunders, removes the long intervals of time, adjusts the floods of water; and now, as the fresh fair weather shines forth, calmness settles the seas for the sailors and grants land-travellers a mild atmosphere; in this season, the countryside is pregnant with seeds in the fields, and the plants swelling with fruit, exulting in the gifts of God, provide to farmers the due returns for their toil, with blessings.

3. This is the appointed time for the festival. To the Egyptians, the friends of demons, it brought destruction, but to the Hebrews, who celebrate the

festival in God's honor, it brought freedom from evils. This very time was that one which was observed at the original creation of the universe, when the earth sprouted plants, when the luminaries came into existence, when heaven and earth were brought onto the scene, and all that is in them. At this time, the Savior of the whole world accomplished the mystery of his own festival, and the "great luminary" brightened the earth with the rays of piety; indeed, this time seems to embrace the birthday of the world. At this time also, the type was celebrated—the ancient Pascha which was also called Passover. But it also bore a symbol—consisting of the slaughter of a lamb; and also obscurely presented an image—that of nourishment by unleavened bread; and all these things were fulfilled in the Savior's festival. For he himself was the lamb, insofar as he was clothed with a body; he himself was also the sun of righteousness, when the truly divine spring and the saving equinox, the turn from worse things toward the better, took hold of human life. And god-driven scourges are sent down even to this day on the demons of the Egyptians, whereas peoples who dwell everywhere on earth are festively celebrating their freedom from long wandering in godlessness.

And as the deceitful spirits have ceased, along with the storm of evils, an abundance of new fruits garlands the church of God with various gifts of the Holy Spirit. And simply put, the whole human race has been changed to take up our side, and all the fields, having received the cultivation of the soul from the Logos who is the husbandman, have sprouted the seasonable flowers of virtue. But also, now that we have been freed from the evils of darkness, we have been deemed worthy of light, in the day of the knowledge of God. 4. Such are the new teachings which in olden days were obscured through symbols, but which have now been unveiled and brought into the light. And in particular, we rekindle the beginning of the festival every year with periods of cycles. Before the festival, for the sake of preparation, we take up the forty-day training period, in emulation of the holy Moses and Elijah. And the festival itself we keep renewing, unforgetful forever. Indeed, as we set forth on our journey toward God, we bind our loins well with the bond of self-control; we guard the steps of our soul with caution, and, as though in sandals, we prepare for the course of our heavenly calling; we use the staff of the divine word with the power of prayer to ward off the enemy, and with all eagerness we pass over to the path that leads to the heavens, hurrying from earthly affairs to heavenly things, and from mortal life to the immortal. For

in this way, when we have accomplished the pass-over nobly and well, another, greater festival will greet us. The children of the Hebrews call it by the name of Pentecost; it bears the image of the kingdom of heaven. Indeed, Moses says, "When you begin [to use] the sickle on the crop, you shall count for yourself seven sevens, and you shall present new loaves from new crops to God. Now then, he was giving indications by prophetic types: By the "crop," he was referring to the calling of the nations;

and by the "new loaves," he was referring to the souls presented to God by Christ, the churches from the nations, in which the greatest festival is celebrated in honor of the God who loves mankind. We have been harvested by the spiritual sickles of the Apostles, and have been gathered together into the churches everywhere in the world, as it were into threshing-floors; we have been made into a body by a harmonious disposition of faith, and have been prepared with the salt of teachings from the divine words; we have been re-born through the water and fire of the Holy Spirit—and we are presented to God by Christ, as nourishing, agreeable, and well-pleasing loaves. 5. In this way, as the prophetic symbols spoken by Moses give way to realities, with more solemn results, we ourselves, at all events, have learned to conduct the festival [i.e., Pentecost] with more lustre, as though we had already been assembled together with Christ and were enjoying his kingdom. For this reason, at this festival we are no longer allowed to undergo laborious toil, and we are taught to bear the image of the rest that is hoped for in heaven. Hence, we do not bend the knee as we pray, nor do we wear ourselves out with fasting; for those who been deemed worthy of the resurrection effected by God can no longer fall down on the ground, nor can those who have been freed from the passions have the same experience as those who are enslaved. Therefore, after the Pascha we celebrate Pentecost, with seven complete sets of seven [days]—after manfully completing the previous forty-day period of training before the Pascha with six sets of seven. For the number six relates to action and accomplishment, and for this reason God is said to have made the universe in six days. The labors in that [number six] will be quite rightly succeeded by the second festival in seven sevens, when there is a multiplication of our rest, which the number seven signifies symbolically. The number of Pentecost [i.e., 50], however, is not complete with these [seven sevens]; overshooting the seven sevens, it puts a seal on the all-festive day of Christ's ascension by means of a monad, the last day after these [seven sevens]. Rightly

then, as we trace out in the days of the holy Pentecost a representation of the rest that is to come, we rejoice in soul, and rest for a time in body, as though we were already with the bridegroom himself, and unable to fast.

6. But no one would dispute the fact that the sacred Gospel-writers reported that the Savior's passion took place during the days of the Jewish Pascha of the Unleavened Bread. For the reason for the law that was proclaimed regarding the Pascha by Moses was as follows: Because the Lamb of God was going to be led to the slaughter among the Jews themselves, and was going to suffer this for the sake of the common salvation of all mankind at no time other than the one now being described, God anticipated the future by means of symbolic images, and commanded that the Jews sacrifice a physical lamb at that very time that was going to be established at some point after the passage of years. And this was performed by them every year, until the truth in its full completeness put an end to the old images. Hence, from that time, the true festival of the mysteries has held sway among the nations, whereas among the Jews, not even the memory of the symbols themselves is preserved any longer, since the place in which the Law had prescribed that the festival's rituals be carried out has been taken away from them. Quite rightly then does the divine Scripture of the Gospels say that the Savior suffered at the time of the Jewish festival of Unleavened Bread, since he was indeed at that time led as a sheep to slaughter, in conformity with the words of prophecy.

7. Also, they [i.e., the Jews], following Moses, would sacrifice the sheep of the Pascha once in the whole year, on the fourteenth day of the first month, at evening. We of the new covenant, on the other hand, who celebrate our own Pascha each Lord's day, always take our fill of the Savior's body, always partake of the blood of the Lamb; we have always girded the loins of our souls with chastity and self-control, we have always prepared our feet in readiness for the Gospel; we always hold the staves in our hands, and rest on the rod that came forth from the root of Jesse; we are always being set free from Egypt, we are always going in search of the wilderness of human life, we are always setting out on the journey toward God: We are always celebrating the Passover. For the Gospel's word [/ Word] wants us to do this, not once in the year, but always and every day. For this reason, we celebrate the festival of our Pascha every week, on the day of our Savior and Lord, carrying out the mysteries of the true Lamb, by whom we have been ransomed. And we do not

circumcise our bodies with a blade—rather, we remove every evil of the soul by means of the sharp word [/Word]; nor do we make use of physical unleavened bread—but only the unleavened bread of sincerity and truth. For grace, having freed us from our former habits that had grown old, bestowed on us the new man, the one created in accordance with God, and the new Law, a new circumcision, a new Pascha, and the "Jew in secret." And thus, it also left us free from the old appointed times.

8. When, however, the emperor most beloved of God was presiding in the midst of the holy Synod, and the question of the Pascha was brought forward, there was said all that was said. And three [fourths] of the bishops of the whole world had the advantage in numbers as they strove against those of the East: The peoples of the North, the South, and the Occident together, being fortified by their harmony, pulled in the opposite direction from those of the Orient, who were defending their ancient custom. But at the end of the discussion, the Orientals yielded, and thus there came to be a single festival of Christ—and thus they stood apart from the killers of the Lord, and were joined to those who hold the same doctrine. For nature draws like to like. And if someone were to say that it is written, "On the first day of [the festival] of Unleavened Bread the disciples approached the Savior and said to him, 'Where do you want us to make preparations for you to eat the Pascha?'—and he sent them to such-and-such a man, bidding them to say, 'I am celebrating the Pascha at your house'"—I will answer that this is not a command, but a historical account of an event that took place at the time of the Savior's passion. It is one thing to recount the ancient event, and quite another to make a law and to leave behind commands for posterity.

9. But furthermore, the Savior did not celebrate the Pascha along with the Jews at the time of his passion. For when they were sacrificing the lamb, at that time he himself was conducting his own Pascha with his disciples. They [i.e., the Jews] were doing this on the Preparation day on which the Savior suffered; for this reason, they did not enter the praetorium, but instead Pilate came out to them. But he [i.e., Jesus] a full day earlier, on the fifth day of the week, was reclining at table with his disciples, and as he ate with them he said, "I have very much desired to eat this Pascha with you." Do you see how the Savior did not eat the Pascha along with the Jews? Because this was a new custom, and one foreign to the customary Jewish ways, it was necessary for him to institute it by saying, "I have very much desired to eat this Pascha

with you before I suffer." The one set of practices, being now ancient and indeed antiquated—the [Pascha] which he used to eat along with the Jews—was not desirable; but the new mystery of his new covenant, which he imparted to his disciples, was desirable to him, quite rightly so. Since many prophets and righteous ones before him desired to see the mysteries of the new covenant, and since the Word himself, who thirsted at all times for the general salvation, was passing down a mystery by which all people would celebrate the festival, he professed that this was desirable to him. The Pascha of Moses was not suitable for all the nations of all time—of course not, when the Law had stipulated that it be celebrated in a single place, namely Jerusalem. And so it was not desirable. But the Savior's mystery of the new covenant is suitable for all people, and so it was naturally desirable to him.

10. But he himself, before he suffered, ate the Pascha and celebrated the festival with his disciples, not with the Jews. But when he had celebrated the festival at evening, the chief priests came upon him with the traitor and laid their hands on him; for they were not eating the Pascha [that] evening, otherwise they would not have busied themselves with him. And then, having seized him, they led him off to the house of Caiaphas, where, after spending the night, they gathered together and conducted the preliminary inquiry. Then, after that, they arose and led him, in company with the crowd, to Pilate; and at that point, the Scripture says that they did not enter the praetorium, so that they would not become defiled (so they thought) by coming in under a pagan roof, and would eat the Pascha at evening with their purity intact—those most foul ones—who strained out a gnat but swallowed a camel; those who had become defiled already in soul and body by their bloodthirstiness against the Savior feared to come in under [Pilate's] roof! They, on the one hand, on that very day of the passion, ate the Pascha that was injurious to their own souls, and asked for the Savior's blood—not on their own behalf, but to their own detriment; our Savior, on the other hand, not then, but the day before, reclined at table with his disciples and conducted the festival that was desirable to himself.

11. Do you see how from that time, he [i.e., Jesus] was separating himself from them and moving away from the Jews' bloodthirstiness, but was joining himself with his disciples, celebrating the desirable festival together with them? So then, we too ought to eat the Pascha with Christ, while purifying our minds from all leaven of evil and wickedness, and taking our fill of the

unleavened bread of truth and sincerity, and having within ourselves, in our souls, the "Jew in secret" and the true circumcision, and anointing the doorposts of our minds with the blood of the Lamb who was sacrificed for us, to ward off our destroyer. And we do this not only at a single time of the whole year, but every week. Let our "Preparation" be fasting, the symbol of mourning, on behalf of our former sins, and for the sake of remembering the Savior's passion.

12. I assert that the Jews have gone astray from the truth, ever since they plotted against the Truth itself and drove away from themselves the Word of Life. And the Scriptures of the holy Gospels present this fact clearly. For they testify that the Lord ate the Pascha on the first day of Unleavened Bread; but they did not eat the Pascha that was customary for them on the day on which, as Luke says, "the Pascha had to be sacrificed," but instead on the following day, which was the second day of Unleavened Bread and the fifteenth day of the lunar month, on which, when our Savior was being judged by Pilate, they did not enter the praetorium—and consequently, they did not eat it on the first day of Unleavened Bread, on which it had to be sacrificed, in accordance with the Law. For in that case they themselves too would have been celebrating the Pascha along with the Savior; instead, they were blinded by their own wickedness from that very time, concurrently with their plot against the Savior, and they wandered from all truth. We, on the other hand, conduct the same mysteries [as Christ did] all through the year: On every day before the Sabbath we carry out a remembrance of the Savior's passion through a fast that the Apostles first engaged in at the time when the bridegroom had been taken away from them; and every Lord's day we are made alive by the consecrated body of the same Savior, and are sealed in our souls by his precious blood.

Gk. ἀνωθεν; alternatively, "from above" (i.e., by God). Col. 2.17. Gk. φασέκ. For this transliteration of the Hebrew Pesach, cf. 2 Chron. 30.1, 5, 15, 17, 18; Jer. 38.8 (LXX). Elsewhere, Pascha (Gk. πᾶσχα) is typically used, as also elsewhere in the present text. For the Biblical injunctions relating to the celebration of the Passover, see especially Ex. 12; Lev. 23; Deut. 16. Gk. πρόβατον; I have translated this term freely as "lamb" elsewhere in this text. Ex. 12.5, by contrast, allows for a young sheep or goat; Deut. 16.2, for sheep or cattle. Gk. εἰς ἀνατροπὴν τοῦ ὀλοθρευτοῦ; Ex. 12.23 speaks of the ὀλοθρεύων; for ὀλοθρευτής, see 1 Cor. 10.10. Euseb., Comm. on the Psalms [PG 23: 560],

uses the phrase εἰς ἀποτροπήν τοῦ ὀλοθρευτοῦ—similarly also section 11 in the present text. At this point, Euseb. is really thinking of the absolutely first "Passover," not simply the early celebration of the festival.

Gk. ἐπλήρου. This meaning is odd, but something like this is required for the sense here; corruption may have obscured the original wording. Mai translates similarly: *Quamobrem illa ex Aegypto digressio, nomen fecit apud Hebraeos festo transitus*. Gk. τὰ διαβατήρια, i.e., "[festival / rites] of crossing / passing over"; Philo uses this term for Passover (LSJ). Cf. 1 Cor. 10.11. 1 Cor. 5.7. Joh. 1.29. Gk. τὸ σῶμα τὸ σωτήριον, which can be translated either as "the Savior's body" or "the saving / salvific body." The adjective appears frequently in this text; I have normally translated it as "Savior's." Isa. 53.2 (LXX). Alternatively, "spiritual"; Gk. λογικός, which is of course derived from the word λόγος, and thus Euseb. is playing on the fact that Christ was identified as the Logos. The phrase could almost be translated, "the Word's flesh." Gk. τὸ σωτήριον θῦμα; lit., "sacrifice of the Savior" or "saving / salvific sacrifice."

Both "luxuriating" and "luxury" are based on a Greek root (τρύφ-) that is very similar-sounding to the one for "nourishment" (τρέφ-/τρόφ-). I.e., when the hours of daylight are much longer than the hours of night, and thus each of the twelve daylight hours is much longer than each of the twelve nocturnal hours. (So Mai.) Gk. γάρ; the odd defective logical connection here suggests that a sentence or clause has been lost before this one. A reference to the long winter nights, according to Mai. That is, it moves away from the storms typical of winter. Gk. κοσμογονία. Gk. κόσμος. Gk. οἰκουμένη. Gk. περιέχειν; alternatively, "seems to contain a reference to..." Gk. τροπή, which means a "turn" and so by extension the solstice or equinox as one of the turning points of the year—I have thus had to translate it twice to capture the proper effect, first as "equinox," second as "turn."

Mai interprets this as meaning "the day of our knowledge of God": *qua die Dei notitiam hausimus*. Gk. εἰς ἀλυστον αἰῶνα. Deut. 16.9, somewhat freely cited; the last part is not in that verse, however—cf. Lev. 23.16-17 for the content, although there too the phraseology is somewhat different. Gk. ἐφ' αἷς. Gk. κατὰ Θεόν. Gk. πάσχειν - the verb is related to the noun "passion" (πάθος) used just before. I.e., a single (50) day in addition to the 49. I.e., the ascension, 40 days after the resurrection, was followed up by the experience of Pentecost (Acts 1.3; 2.1). Cf. Deut. 16.6. Cf. Eph. 6.15. Cf. Isa. 11.1. Cf. Rom. 2.29. The phrase, "in secret" (Gk. ἐν κρυπτῷ) is rendered by many

translations as "inwardly." I.e., Constantine at the Council of Nicaea. I.e., fellow Christians, as opposed to Jews. Mt. 26.17-18, freely cited. I.e., celebrating their Pascha. That is, not only was the Pascha instituted by Christ different in character, but it was also not on the same day as the Jewish authorities celebrated their Pascha.

Lk. 22.15. Cf. Deut. 16.6. Cf. Jn. 18.28. Cf. Mt. 23.24. Cf. Rom. 2.29 and the end of section 7 above. Cf. the end of section 12 below. Lk. 22.7. This text was commissioned by Roger Pearse, 2010. It was translated from Angelo Mai, *Novae Patrum Bibliotheca* 4 (1847), pp.209-216 (*De sollemnitate paschali*),

To Carpianus; On the Gospel Canons

EUSEBIUS OF CAESAREA

c. AD 260–339

Bishop of Caesarea and the first church historian.

TO CARPIANUS; ON THE GOSPEL CANONS

TO CARPIANUS, ON THE GOSPEL CANONS

¹Eusebius to Carpianus his beloved brother in the Lord: greetings. Ammonius the Alexandrian, having exerted a great deal of energy and effort as was necessary, bequeaths to us a harmonized account of the four gospels. Alongside the Gospel according to Matthew, he placed the corresponding sections of the other gospels. But this had the inevitable result of ruining the sequential order of the other three gospels, as far as a continuous reading of the text was concerned. Keeping, however, both the body and sequence of the other gospels completely intact, in order that you may be able to know where each evangelist wrote passages in which they were led by love of truth to speak about the same things, I drew up a total of ten tables according to another system, acquiring the raw data from the work of the man mentioned above. These tables are set out for you below.

²The first of them lists the reference numbers for similar things recounted in the four gospels, Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John; the second in the three, Matthew, Mark, and Luke; the third in the three, Matthew, Luke, and John; the fourth in the three, Matthew, Mark, and John; the fifth in the two, Matthew, and Luke; the sixth in the two, Matthew and Mark; the seventh in the two, Matthew and John; the eighth in the two, Mark and Luke; the ninth in the two, Luke and John; the tenth is for unique things recorded in each gospel. Now that I have outlined the structure of the tables set out below, I will explain how to use them. In each of the four gospels, consecutive reference numbers are assigned to each section, starting from the first, then the second, and the third, and so on in sequence, proceeding through the

whole gospel to the book's end. Every reference number has a numeral written below it in red that indicates in which of the ten tables the reference number is located. If the red numeral is a I, the reference number is clearly in the first table, and if it is a II, in the second, and thus in sequence to the numeral ten.

³ And so, suppose you open one of the four gospels at some point, wishing to go to a certain chapter in order to know what gospels recount similar things and to find in each gospel the related passages in which the evangelists were led to speak about the same things. By using the reference number assigned for the section in which you are interested and looking for it within the table indicated by the red numeral below it, you will immediately discover from the titles at the head of the table how many and which gospels recount similar things. By going to the other gospels' reference numbers that are in the same row as the reference number in the table you are at and looking them up in the related passages of each gospel, you will find similar things mentioned.

On the Star (Spurious)

EUSEBIUS OF CAESAREA

c. AD 260–339

Bishop of Caesarea and the first church historian.

ON THE STAR [SPURIOUS]

EUSEBIUS OF CAESAREA ON THE STAR.

¹THE tract which I now offer to the readers of The Journal of Sacred Literature, is ascribed to Eusebius of Caesarea ; and there is no reason, so far as I can see, to doubt the correctness of the statement. It is entitled : Concerning the Star ; showing how and through what the Magi recognized the Star, and that Joseph did not take Mary as his wife. Consequently, it stands in a certain connection both with parts of the Chronicle and with the *Quaestiones*, edited by Mai in his *Scriptorum Veterum Nova Collectio*, t. i., and his *Nova Patrum Bibliotheca*, t. iv., p. 219 foll. This tract is, I believe, now published for the first time. The Greek original appears to have perished ; and the Syriac fragment *De stella quae Magis apparuit*, given by Mai in the *Nova Patrum Bibl.*, t. iv., p. 281, is evidently extracted from a different work. I have taken it from a manuscript in the Nitrian collection, Add. 17,142, a small octavo volume of seventeen leaves, dating apparently from the sixth century. The text, which I have reproduced as faithfully as possible, is, I am sorry to say, very corrupt ; but I shall endeavour to correct at least some of the mistakes in the notes to the translation, which I hope to publish in the next number of this Journal.

²WILLIAM WRIGHT. 24th March, 1866. [Syriac of pp.118-136 omitted from online text]

EUSEBIUS OF CAESAREA ON THE STAR.

³"ICH habe den seltsamen Tractat über den Stern mit Interesse durchgelesen, obgleich er ganz ändern Inhalts ist, als ich erwartete. Meinen Freund Gutschmid interessieren die Königslisten sehr, und er ist schon dabei, alle

nach ihren Quellen zu ordnen. Die assyrischen Könige gehn auf Ktesias zurück. Das persische Verzeichniss findet sich eben so bei Malala. Den König [Syriac] erkannte Gutschmid sogleich als allos, und diese Conjectur bestätigte ihm der Text des Malala. Nur mit dem Verzeichniss der Könige seit Alexander ist Gutschmid nicht im Heinen. Uebrigens bestätigt Gutschmid meine entschiedene Zweifel an der Echtheit des Werkchens, welches zwar vielfach auf Eusebius' Chronik zurückgeht, aber doch von einem weit weniger hervorragenden Mann geschrieben sein muss. Ich glaube sogar, der Urtext ist Syrisch, hauptsächlich weil die Bibelstellen und biblischen Anklänge mehr Aehnlichkeit mit der Peshito, als mit den LXX zeigen." So writes my friend Professor Noeldeke of Kiel (21st May, 1866), and I am glad to find that this little Syriac tract "on the Star" should have proved so interesting, not only to a linguist like himself, but also to a historical critic like Von Gutschmid.

⁴ With regard to the authenticity of the work, I am quite prepared to give it up, now that I have studied it more carefully myself, and have heard the opinion of Noeldeke and Ceriani, and the reasons on which that opinion is based. Considering the age of the manuscript, which certainly cannot be assigned to a later date than the sixth century, there can, I think, be but little doubt that this tract is the production of a writer who lived not long after the time of Eusebius----say, towards A.D. 400 ----and who made use in composing it of the first and second books of the Maccabees, the Chronicle of Eusebius, the works of Ctesias, and the writings of one or two other ancient chroniclers. ⁵ With regard to my translation, I have done, on the present occasion, precisely as heretofore ; that is to say, I have striven to be as accurate and literal as possible, my main object being to translate, not to comment and annotate. The names of the Assyrian and Median kings, from Ascatades down to Astyages, I have reproduced in Greek letters. This will convey to such of my readers as are not orientalists, some idea of the corrupt state of the manuscript. The names themselves, as well as those of the Persian kings from Cyrus to the last Darius, may, [51 in general, be easily identified and restored by referring to the lists of Ctesias (ed. Müller, appended to Dindorf's Herodotus, 1844), Eusebius (Chronicon bipartitum, ed. Aucher, Yenice, 1818; Chronicorum Canonum libri duo, ed. Mai and Zohrab, Milan, 1818), Jerome (in the eighth volume of the Benedictine edition, 1734-1742), Georgius Syncellus (ed. Dindorf, 1829), Joannes Malala (ed. Dindorf, 1831),

and the *Chronicon Paschale* (ed. Dindorf, 1832). The list of kings, however, from the time of Alexander to that of Augustus Caesar, I have not yet traced to its source, and must now leave it to the care of others. These names I have reproduced in Roman capitals, as several of them do not admit of being transcribed into Greek.

⁶ W. WRIGHT. London, September, 1866. I had written "Greek uncials," but for printers' reasons I have had to submit to the use of small type.

*CONCERNING THE STAR; SHOWING HOW AND THROUGH WHAT THE
MAGI RECOGNIZED THE STAR, AND THAT JOSEPH DID NOT TAKE
MARY AS HIS WIFE.*

⁷ I WILL write and inform thee, our dear brother, concerning the righteous of old, and concerning the handing down of the histories of their deeds ; and how, and through what, the Magi recognized the Star, and came and worshipped our Lord with their offerings ; partly from the Holy Scriptures, and partly as we have found in the true chronicles, which were written and composed by men of old in various cities. ⁸ The ancient scribes testify, that everything which was written by the care of Jason in five large books, from the year 88 of the kingdom of the Greeks till the year 177 (B.C. 223----134), they themselves abridged hastily in two books, from the year 137 (B.C. 174), omitting also the things that were done within the space of fifty years. But as regards other things, with the care that they took, they entered into the repository of the archives of their fathers, where were written and deposited the acts of the remaining histories of the Prophets, which were not written in the books of the Prophets ; and they found in the chronicles, that the Tabernacle of Witness which Moses made, and the Ark which he constructed, and the Altar of Propitiation which he consecrated,----these the Prophet Jeremiah took, and concealed them in a cave of the mountain on which Moses used to pray. And they also found in these chronicles, that the fire which Moses received from Heaven, and with which the priests used to minister, till the time they went |52 down to Babylon, ---- it too was found to have been buried and concealed by Jeremiah the Prophet in a pit which was in watery ground; and after seventy years it was discovered; and with it the captive priests used to minister on the altar, until the appearance of our Lord.

⁹ And many other things, which the scribe Aristobulus and his colleagues had written in the book of records, and in the epistles of the kings of the house of David and Hezekiah and Josiah and their companions, were written

and deposited (there). And when they had found them, they collected them, and wrote them out in the volumes of their books. And through the care of these ancient writers, when they saw that the Jews went to the city of Tyre to praise Herakles, a hero of the Greeks, ---- this too they put into writing; and that Andronicus used treachery towards Onias, the high priest and a famous man, and slew him at Daphne, which lies by Antioch, without any crime, ----not even this did they neglect. ¹⁰ And it was found in the true chronicles of the Persians, which were written and deposited there from ancient generations, that Jerusalem was a warlike city from its (earliest) days, and did not make much account of kings, and great fortresses were in the midst of it. And when Sihon, the king of the Amorites, was slain, Moses said : "Now is fulfilled that which was spoken in the ancient proverbs : 'A fire shall go out of Heshbon, and a flame from the city of Sihou, and shall devour the city of Moab, and all the worshippers of the altars of Arnon.'" And when Moses heard that this was written in the books of the Amorites, he too added and put it into his book. And when King Saul persecuted David, David recited to him some of the ancient proverbs, and said: "'From the wicked proceedeth wickedness, but verily my hand shall not be upon thee ;' and because of this my hand is not upon thee, but the hand of the Lord hath power over thee."

¹¹ And when the people went up from Babylon, and there was a great strife concerning their going up, king Darius commanded, and the books of the records and acts of the preceding kings were called for ; and there was found among their chronicles a roll, in which was written : "I truly, Cyrus, king |53 of Persia, have commanded that the people of the Hebrews should go up from Babylon to Jerusalem, along with the vessels of the service of the house of the Lord." And when king Darius heard this, he too affixed his seal to this order, and commanded that, whosoever should disobey this order, a beam should be pulled down from his house, and they should make it into a cross, and hang him upon it, and that his house should be given up to plunder. And he added of his own (goods) expenses for the house of the Lord.

¹² And Job, whose time was anterior to that of Moses, ---- before that Moses narrated the history of the creation of Adam, Job said unto his friends, as he had found in the tradition of the generations before him : "This we have found in the world, since Adam was created upon the earth. Who is he that made man upon the face of the earth?" And to his Lord he said: "What shall I do unto Thee, O Maker of man ? in return for Thy hands,

which have laboured and made me, and fashioned me and framed me, when Thou didst curdle me like cheese of milk." ¹³ Moses himself too found many things, which were going down and coming by tradition from mouth to ear, from one generation to another ; and he put them into his book, although he left out many things which could not be comprised (in it). For that which is said of Abraham, that he was enjoining his children and his household to keep the commandments of the Lord, is older than the laws of Moses by four hundred and thirty years. For these commandments, which Abraham was enjoining his household (to keep), were received by him, as it were by tradition, from Shem ; and Shem too received them from his father Noah ; and Noah received them from Enoch ; and Enoch received them from Adam ; and Adam received them from his Lord. For the barbarous races who keep (the commandments) 'Thou shalt not kill,' and 'Thou shalt not steal,' and 'Thou shalt not commit adultery,' and destroy wizards, and so forth, ---- this is not (done) as it were by the law of Scripture, but by the law of the mind of ancient tradition, which is older than the law that Moses wrote. For it was not of the law of Scripture that Joseph was afraid, and did not come nigh unto ¹⁵⁴ his master's wife; nor was it of the law of Scripture that the king of Gedar (Gerar) was afraid; he and his nobles, and did not come nigh unto Rebecca;

¹⁴ nor was it of the law of Scripture that Lot was afraid, and said to the people of Sodom, "Do not do this disgraceful and shameful thing to the men who have entered under the shadow of my roof; but of that law and mind which was born with the ancient generations, and went on, and came by tradition of their children down to the time of Moses, who put into writing those things which were written on the tablets of the heart; for "the law was added because of falling away." ¹⁵ And as many things, which Moses also neglected, are found in chronicles that were written and laid up, so too the history of the Star which the Magi saw, was found in a chronicle which was written and laid up in Arnon, the border of the Moabites and Ammonites. And this history was taken from the place in which it was written, and was conveyed away and deposited in the fortress of Achmethan, which is in Persia. Because that, in the time of Moses, and both before and after Moses, the Assyrians were lords over the land of the Moabites and of the Ammonites, where Balaam said, "A Star shall rise out of Jacob, and a Head shall arise in Israel." And it was not merely over the land of the children of Lot that the As-

syrians were lords, but also over the land of Sihon and of Og, the kings of the Amorites, and over the whole land of Palestine, and over Phoenicia, and Syria, and all Mesopotamia; seeing that the nations sent up tribute to them, as if subdued under their hands, and gave them hostages, and offered them crowns of victory. And whenever one place rebelled against another, and they commenced war against one another, (word) was written and sent to the Assyrian kings, and as they commanded, so it was (done), and those who rebelled received chastisement.

16 And along with these things, both the deeds which Moses did in inner Arabia, and in outer Arabia, and in Rekem of Gea, and in the regions which were round about the cities of Moab, and the history of the Star, which Balaam spoke, and so forth;---these things the princes and judges of those places [155 wrote down, and sent and made them known ; and they were read before *ασκρτοσ*, the king of the Assyrians, who was reigning at the time in which they were done. And he commanded, and the record of these matters was deposited in the fortress of Achmethan, where they were preserved among the books of the kings of Assyria, as was also the custom in other countries. And after *ασκρτοσ* [*ασκδτοσ*], there reigned after him *αμυντοσ* there in Assyria, when Moses was between the Amorites and the Edomites, and had come to the city of Petra, which is called in the language of Mesopotamia Rekem of Gea.

17 And when the people encamped over against 'Ad'ira, which is 'Adu'ira (Aroer), that lies in the valley of Arnon, which separates the Midianites, the children of Kentura (Keturah), the concubine of Abraham, from the children of Lot, Abraham's brother's son, in the days of Balak the son of Zippor, the king of the Moabites ; and when Balak saw the people that were with Moses, which had come near to his borders, he despised them, and neglected the wars which he had witnessed ; how Sihon, king of the Amorites, who had taken possession by war of the land of the Moabites, carrying away hostages from the Moabites, was not able to stand before this people, who had slain him and destroyed him at Jahaz; nor was the king of Canaan, who dwelt in the south, able to stand before this people, and they called his place a devoted place. Of these things Balak, the king of Moab, was afraid, and he trembled, and was frightened to wage war with Moses, before whom neither the kings of Egypt had stood, nor the kings of other very mighty nations,

nor had even the terrible sea itself dared to stand before Moses. And Balak called the elders of the Midianites and his nobles, and said to them:

18 "This Moses, who, lo, has terrified the whole earth, and slain the kings that were around us,----and behold, the people that are with him are |156 grazing on our land as the ox that grazeth in the field, ---- is he not that Moses, who was made the overseer and shepherd of Jethro, the priest of your gods, whom ye received as a guest, and who was protected among you as a stranger ? And lo, today he is expelling us from our lands, and driving us out of our territories. But let us abstain from war, and let us send and call Balaam the soothsayer, to come and curse them ; because they are the children of Jacob, who trembled and was afraid of the curses of his father Isaac, as we have all heard from our fathers. And they sent after Balaam the soothsayer. And the messengers went and found him at Urem, which is situated over against Turär, the eastern (part) of Mesopotamia; and they said to him : "The king of the Moabites, and the princes of the Midianites, have sent us after thee, that thou mayest go with us and curse the people that has come out of Egypt. But Balaam, through his craftiness, because he knew that the power of his word was not sufficient to enable him to do this, and to stand before six hundred thousand drawers of the sword, laid hold of a pretext, and said to those who had come after him :

19 "Be ye witnesses unto me henceforth, that I fear lest perchance the Lord should not permit me to curse the people and destroy it by means of words and maledictions. And when he went unto Balak the king, instead of the curses which he was looking to hear from him, he heard blessings from him. And when Balaam saw that Balak began to be vexed with him, because, instead of curses, he heard from him something which he did not expect, Balaam said unto Balak : "The . princes whom thou didst send after me, can testify that I said unto them, 'Whatever the Lord sayeth unto me, I will say, and not what Balak says unto me, who has sent you unto me.' And upon this condition I arose and came with them unto thee, to tell thee that the legions of the Chittites and the armies of the Greeks are about to issue forth from the whole land of the Macedonians, and to subdue the Assyrians in wrath and the |157 land of Nimrod in anger. And after this happens, then shall rise the Star out of the children of Jacob, whom thou didst wish to keep in darkness ; and the Head shall arise in Israel, to come and destroy whom thou

didst send after me ; and He shall destroy their mighty men, and shall subdue the whole seed of Seth the son of Adam.

20 But Balak the king and his nobles,----when they heard that the mighty Assyrians, who were rulers over them, were going to be subdued under the yoke of the king of the Greeks, and the whole earth (was going to be subjected) to Him on whose account the Star was going to rise, destroying their mighty men,----laid aside the fear of the people who were abiding over against them. 21 But that king Balak might not come to disgrace and (incur) the punishment of death from amunts king of the Assyrians, he wrote and informed him of the things that Balaam said. And he commanded, and the letter was laid up in his archives, as was written above ; and they received this writing, this history being handed down and coming from people to people through the whole land of the Assyrians. But the Assyrians, because they were born and brought up in the doctrine of the Chaldaeans (astrologers) of their country and of the soothsayers their countrymen, according to what they had received from their mother Babylon, from whom, began astrology and soothsaying and magic, just as from Egypt (began) incantation,----on this account they received the word of Balaam the soothsayer, the disciple of Babylon, and were not able to refuse credit to his word, lest the whole doctrine, on which they took their stand, should be proved false; for Balaam was called "the soothsayer," because of the doctrine of astrology in which he was brought up. And as to his being besides called a prophet, because his word turned out true in regard to the legions of the Chittites which issued forth, and about the Star which arose,----although in these things indeed he was true and trustworthy, yet because he was a false witness, and said : "I see no iniquity in Israel," the children of Jacob slew him" as a liar.

22 To be brief,----the tradition of the history of Balaam was handed down and came from king αμυντροσ (αμυντοσ) to king 158 βχοσ (βλχοσ), in whose days Othniel the son of Kenaz was ruler over the Hebrews. And from βχοσ (βλχοσ) to king βλπτωρ (or βλφτωρ), in whose days Ehur (Ehud) killed Eglon the king of the Moabites. And from (λ)βκροσ (or βχροσ) to king πραιροσ, in whose days the Philistines subdued the Hebrews. And from πραιροσ (πραιδοσ) to king σωροσ, in whose days the Hebrews were delivered from beneath the hand of their enemies. And from σωροσ to king πλμροσ, in whose days Jael killed Sisera the general. And from (λ)πλμροσ to king πισοσ, in whose days Gideon slew the children of Midian. And from (λ)πισοσ

to king σρσμοσσ; in whose days Abimelech slew his seventy brethren. And from σρμοσσ to king μνθροσ, in whose days died Tola, the son of Abimelech's uncle.

23 And from (λ)μνθροσ to king τομοσ, in whose days Nephtah (Jephthah) offered his daughter a sacrifice to God. And from (λ)τομοσσ to king τυασσ, in whose days Samson died among the Philistines. And from (λ)τυασσ to king θινοσ, in whose days died (Eli) the high priest. And from (λ)θινοσ to king δρκλσ, in whose days Saul was slain on the hill of the Gibeonites, and David became king. And from (λ)δρκλσ (δρκλσ) to king ευπλσ, in whose days Solomon sat upon the regal throne. And from (λ)ευπλσ to king αθνοσ, in whose days Jeroboam became king over Israel. And from (λ)αθνοσ to king πτραιοσ; in whose days (Azariah) the son of Azur (Oded) the prophet said unto king Asa : "Because this people listened not unto the voice of the Lord | 159 their God, there was no peace either to him that went out or to him that came in."

24 And from (λ)πτραιοσ to king φτριοσ, in whose days the Lord smote Jehoram the son of Athaliah, the sister of Ahab, and his bowels came forth from his inside, and he died. And from (λ)φρτισ to king ακρπζσ, in whose days Joash was slain by his servants. And from (λ)βπρσ to king θισκων, in whose days Uzziah was smitten with leprosy. And from (λ)θισκων to king αρβκσ, in whose days Menachem reigned over Israel. And from αρβκσ to king σωσρμσ, in whose days Jotham built the gates of the house of the Lord. And from σωσρμοσ to king μρκιοσ, in whose days Hezekiah opened the gates of the house of the Lord, which had been closed by Ahaz his father. And from king (λ)μρκσ, in whose days Manasseh made the image with four faces, to king αιρκσ, in whose days Manasseh returned and came up from Babylon, because he knew that the Lord was God.

25 And from (λ)αρικσ to king φρατροσ, in whose days Josiah burned the bones of the priests. And from φρτροσ to king κυβσρσ, in whose days Daniel and Hananiah and their companions were led away captive to Babylon. And from κυβσροσ to king αστιβυγσ, in whose days the Babylonians laid waste Jerusalem. And from αστιβγσ to Cyrus the king of the Persians, who proclaimed the return to the children of Israel, that they should go up from Babylon to Jerusalem. All these kings of the Assyrians, from the days of Moses to Cyrus the Persian, were on their guard and watching to see when the word of Balaam would be fulfilled; and when the legions of the Chittites

would issue forth from the land of the Macedonians ; and how would be devastated the lands and regions of all Asia, and the city of Ephesus, and the districts of Pontus, and Galatia, and Cilicia, and all Syria, and the spacious country of Mesopotamia and of all the Parthians; and (how) they would pass on to Nineveh, the city of Nimrod, the first of all mighty men, and would wage war violently with the Assyrians, and conquer them and subdue them. | 160

26 When then the Assyrians saw that their kingdom was taken away from them, and was given to the Persians, they thought that the great war of the Chittites too, of which they had been afraid, had passed away from them. For although at different times the Assyrians had had wars of and by themselves,----when the Babylonians waged war with them, and took away from them the kingdom ; and again the Medes waged war with the Babylonians, and took away the kingdom from them also; and the Persians also waged war with the Medes, and the Persians conquered and won the kingdom;----yet they had had no fear in all these wars and struggles, because they knew that those who were overcome, were the brethren and associates of those who were victorious. For neither was it possible that Cyrus the Persian should succumb in war, because that in the days of Isaiah the prophet the gates of victory had been opened before Cyrus ; nor was it possible that the gates should be shut in his face, because he was called the Anointed of the Lord.

27 And after Cyrus the Persian reigned Cambyses, at whose word Syria was laid waste, and Phœnicia, and Palestine, and other countries. And from Cambyses (the tradition was handed down) to the first Darius, in whose days Ezra the scribe rebuilt the desolate places of Jerusalem. And from Darius to king Artachshasht, in whose days Sanballat and Shimshai the scribe were hindering the people from rebuilding the desolate places of Jerusalem. And from Artachshasht to king, in whose days went up the remnant which had remained in Babylon, and some of the children of the captivity of the people. And from to another Darius, in whose days went up Ezra the scribe, he and the priests and the Lévités, and were walking upon the wall of Jerusalem, and repeating the psalms of David for the completion of the building. And from Darius to the last Artachshasht, in whose days the 161 furniture of Eliashib was thrown out into the street, because he had made for himself a house in the court of the house of God.

28 And from Artachshasht to the last Darius, who is the ram that Daniel foresaw, butting westward and northward and southward ; and there came a he-goat, and the legions of the Chittites with him, as Balaam had said, and waged war with Darius, king of the Medes and Babylonians and Assyrians and Persians, and overcame him, and slew him, and ravaged the people who were with him, and cast him down, and subdued the Assyrians under his power, and made them tributary to the kingdom of the Greeks, which was of old subject to the power of the Assyrians. The kingdom of the Jews too, which had also been subject to the children of the East, passed under the power of the Greeks. And when the Persians saw that the word of Balaam had turned out true and become a fact, they were also specially concerned to see when the Star would arise and become visible, about which he spoke, meditating what might perchance happen at its rising, and whence it would appear, and concerning whom it would testify.

29 And after this Darius, whom Alexander the king of the Greeks slew, there arose king ARSUN, in whose days cities were increased in their buildings in the land of Syria. And from (L)ARSUN (the tradition was handed down) to king ARTMRSUS, in whose days the Books of the Hebrews were translated into Greek. And from (L)ARTMRSUS to king ATISHCHU, in whose days lived Jesus the son of Simeon, the priest, who was called Bar-Sira (the son of Sirach or Siracides). And from (L)TISHIS to king APTSHURS (or APHTSHURS), in whose days the impure Jason received from the king of the Greeks the power over the children of his people ; and he wrote the children of his people by the name of Antiochians through the praises of Herakles. And from (L)APTSHURS to king PRIDUS, in whose days the senators (συγκλητικοί) of the Romans wrote to the cities letters of greeting regarding the party of Jonathan and Simeon (Simon), the sons of Mattathias. |162

30 And from (L)MPRUS to king ASTRUS, in whose days Arshak (Arsaces) the Parthian waged war with the king of the Greeks and slew him. And from (L)MPIZRUS to king ANSCUS, in whose days the kingdom of the Greeks was cut off. And from (L)ISCUS to king PIRSHBUR (Pir-Shabur?), in whose days Augustus Caesar reigned over the Roman empire. And in his days was the glorious manifestation of our adored Saviour. And therefore in the days of this PIRSHBUR, who was called ZMRNS, there appeared the Star, both transformed in its aspect, and also conspicuous by its rays, and terrible and grand in the glorious extent of its light. And it overpowered by its aspect

all the stars that were in the heavens, as it inclined to the depth, to teach that its Lord had come down to the depth, and ascended again to the height of its nature, to show that its Lord was God in His nature.

³¹ And when the Persians saw it, they were alarmed and afraid, and there fell upon them agitation and trembling, and fear got the mastery over them. And it was visible to the inner depths of the East alone ; and the Persians, and the Huzites, and the other peoples that were around them, knew that this was what Balaam had foretold ; and this apparition and news flew through the whole East : "The king of Persia is preparing splendid offerings and gifts and presents, and is sending them by the hands of the Magi, the worshippers of fire." And because the king did not know where the Messiah was born, he commanded the bearers of the offerings, (saying): "Keep going towards the Star, and walking on the road along which it runs before you ; and by day and night keep observing its light." And when they set forth with the sun from their country, in which this sun (of ours) is born every day, the Star too with its rays was running on before them, accompanying them and going with them, and becoming as it were an attendant of theirs. And they halted in many places, passing by large fortified towns, and (through) various foreign tongues and different garbs, that were unlike to one another. And they halted outside of the cities, and not inside of the cities, until they reached the gates of Jerusalem, over which the Star stood still, entering and alarming Jerusalem and its inhabitants, and terrifying also the kings and priests. [163

³² And when they had entered within the gates of the city, it was concealed from them. And when the Magi saw that neither the kings, nor the priests, nor the chiefs of the people perceived the coming of the Messiah, and the Star was concealed, they knew that, because they were not worthy, they did not perceive the birth of the Son, nor were they worthy to behold the Star. And when the Magi saw that the Star was hidden from them, they went forth by night from the city ; and at that very moment the Star appeared unto them ; and they went after the apparition of it, until it descended and stood still over the cave of Bethlehem, where was born the Messiah. And in that hour they opened their treasures, and offered unto Him many presents and gifts of offerings, bowing down in adoration before the Messiah, that their offerings might be accepted, and that they might be delivered from the hateful treachery which they had seen in Jerusalem, and might reach their

own country without fear, and might carry back word to those who had sent them of what they had seen and heard.

³³ And when they had made their offerings and passed the night there, the Star too stopped with them above the cave. And when they rose early in the morning to set out for their country, it was for the second time running on and going before them on the way, which was different from the former one; and until they had entered their city, it did not quit them, nor was it concealed as on the former occasion. And when they had entered into the presence of the king who had sent them, they narrated to him all that they had heard and seen. These things too were written down there in inner Persia, and were stored up among the records of the deeds of their kings, where was written and stored up the history of the legions of the Chittites and the account of this Star, that they might be preserved where were preserved the histories of the ancients.

³⁴ But Joseph and Mary, when they saw the treachery of king Herod and the envy of the Scribes and Pharisees, arose and took the Child, and went to a foreign country and of a barbarous tongue; and there they dwelt for the space of four |164 years, during which Herod continued to reign after (their flight). And at the commencement of the reign of Herod's son, they arose and went up from that land to the country of Galilee, Joseph and Mary, and our Lord along with them, and the five sons of Hannah (Anna), the first wife of Joseph. But Mary and our Lord were dwelling together in the house in which Mary received the Annunciation from the holy Angel. and eleven, in the second year of the coming of our Saviour, in the consulship of Caesar and of Capito, in the month of the latter Kanun, these Magi came from the East and worshipped our Lord at Bethlehem of the kings. And in the year four hundred and thirty (A.D. 119), in the reign of Hadrianus Caesar, in the consulship of Severus and of Fulgus, in the episcopate of Xystus, bishop of the city of Rome, this concern arose in (the minds of) men acquainted with the Holy Books; and through the pains of the great men in various places this history was sought for and found, and written in the tongue of those who took this care.

³⁵ Here ends the Discourse on the Star, which was composed by Mar Eusebius of Caesarea. [Footnotes have been numbered and moved to the end] 1. 2 Maccabees ii. 23. 2. 2 Maccabees ii. 4, 5. 3. 2 Maccabees i. 19, etc. 4. [Syriac, Greek] See 2 Maccabees i. 10. 5. 2 Maccabees ii. 13. 6. 2 Maccabees iv. 18, 19. 7.

2 Maccabees iv. 33-35. 8. Numbers xxi. 27, 28. 9. 1 Samuel xxiv. 12, 13. 10. Ezra vi. 1, etc. 11. Ezra vi. 11. 12. Ezra vi. 8. 13. Job xx. 4. The last clause is corrupt. In the Peshitta it runs thus : [Syriac], from (the time) that He made man upon the earth. 14. Job vii. 20, and x. 8, 10. 15. Genesis xviii. 19. 16. Exodus xxii. 18 ; Deuteronomy xviii. 10, 11. 17. Genesis xxxix. 7, etc. 18. As in the Peshitta, [Syriac]. See Genesis xxvi. 6, etc.

³⁶19. Genesis xix. 7, 8. 20. Galatians iii. 19. 21. [Hebrew], Ecbatana. 22. Numbers xxiv. 17. 23. Numbers xxi. 21, etc. 24. Numbers xxi. 1-3. 25. Numbers xxii. 3, etc. 26. By [Syriac] is probably meant [Syriac], on the Euphrates near Samosata. See Assemani, Bibliotheca Orient., t. ii., in the Dissertatio de Monophysitis, art. Urima. Knobel identifies [Hebrew] with 'Anah, [Syriac]. 27. Numbers xxiv. 24. 28. Numbers xxiv. 17. 29. Numbers xxiii. 21. 30. The λ, [Syriac], seems due, here and elsewhere, to a blunder of the scribe, who has taken the preposition for an integral part of the name. 31. The name of Eli is wanting in the Syriac text. 32. v is a slip of the pen for l... 33. 2 Chronicles xv. 1-7. Azur as in the Peshitta, [Syriac]. The name of Azariah is wanting in the Syriac text. 34. Isaiah xlv. 1. 35. f The monarch intended must be Artaxerxes Longimanus, but I do not know what to make of the αὐλ, εὐλ, or οὐλ of the text. Von Gut schmid has suggested "to another king" ([Syriac]=ἄλλος); but the writer of this tract could hardly have been so ignorant as to take ἄλλος for a proper name.

³⁷36. Nehemiah, xiii. 8. 37. Daniel viii. 3, etc. 38. This refers to the founding, or restoring, of Antioch, Laodicea, Apamea, Edessa, Berœa, and Pella, by Seleucus Nicator. 39. 2 Maccabees iv. 7, etc. 40. 2 Maccabees iv. 9. ... 41. 2 Maccabees iv. 19. 42. 1 Maccabees xv. 15, etc. 43. For (L)NSCUS, ... 44. The inhabitants of Al-Ahwaz, ... or Chuzistan. 45. Here some sixteen or seventeen lines of the Syriac text have been. purposely erased, probably on account of some statement which a later reader considered heretical.

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On Psalm 51

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On the Celebration of Easter

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To Carpianus; On the Gospel Canons

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On the Star (Spurious)

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