

# The Chronography of George Synkellos

A Byzantine Chronicle of Universal  
History from the Creation

Translated with Introduction and Notes by  
WILLIAM ADLER and PAUL TUFFIN

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## Preface

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

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The translation is dedicated to the memory of Nancy Jill Adler

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

<sup>1</sup> Alex. Polyhist. *FGrH* 273 F 79 = Berossos *FGrH* 680 F 4<sup>b</sup>. For parallel excerpt, see Eus. 1.10.17–12.5.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

33]

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

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

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

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

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

(Then he says:) At all events, that which is called by them a sar is 3600 days. And the ner is 600 days. And the soss is 60 days. And the sar of 3600 days reduced to the 365 days of the year makes 9 years and 10 months. And the 600 days of the ner make one year and 7½ months. And the soss makes two months. The 120 sars make up 432,000 days. These reduced to the individual year make 1183 years and 6½ months.<sup>1</sup> These years added to the 1058 kingless years yield from Adam up to the Flood 2242 years in harmony with our scripture. The measure of the 1058 years occurred in weeks, so that from Adam up to Aloros there would be 55,167 weeks.

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

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

<sup>1</sup> Text: τὸν τῶν κωις' ἐτῶν. After ἐτῶν, read ἀριθμῶν.

<sup>2</sup> 432,000 ÷ 365 = 1183.56 = 1183 years and 205 days = 1183 years 6½ months.

<sup>3</sup> Text: παραδόσεως. Goar's marginal emendation to παραβάσεως ('transgression') is unnecessary. The author is referring here not to the transgression of the Watchers, but rather to their corrupt teachings (especially the astronomical revelations of Chobabiel).

<sup>4</sup> As Synk. states later, his Alexandrian authorities claimed that before the revelation to Enoch (AM 1286), the only accurate reckoning of time was in days and weeks.

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

<sup>6</sup> For the dates of Panodoros and Annianos, see below, p. 46 (= Moss. 35.6–8).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

and that:

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

Even if we accept this, we shall arrive at a more absurd conclusion for the authors of works on Chaldaea, and the kings who were ruling at that time<sup>a</sup> (which is both their opinion, and that of the most holy monk and historian Annianos, and Panodoros, a historian and his monastic contemporary): for if, 956 years before the Flood, the duration of a year and its division into four seasons and twelve months were made known to Enoch and his contemporaries, then people about 1000 years, that is 956 years, before the Flood, knew how to reckon the years of their kings in solar years and months.<sup>3</sup> And concerning the 700 years,<sup>4</sup> there is no need for us

<sup>a</sup> Text: τοῖς τὰ Χαλδαῖκὰ συγγραφεμένοις τότε βασιλεύουσιν. Following Go.<sup>m</sup>, emended to τοῖς τὰ Χαλδαῖκὰ συγγραφεμένοις τοῖς τε βασιλεύουσιν.

<sup>1</sup> The determination of the 165th year of Enoch’s life as the date of his revelation is probably based on Gen. 4.23: ‘And Enoch lived 165 years and begat Methuselah. And Enoch was well pleasing to God after his begetting Methuselah . . .’. As is implied by Synk.’s subsequent computation of the year 1286 in weeks and days, the revelation will have actually occurred at the beginning of AM 1287, after the **completion** of 1286 years. This is suggested as well by Synk.’s earlier statement that in AM 1287 Enoch, when he was 165 years of age, begot Methuselah (p. 26 = Moss. 19.19–21). In a later summary of Panodoros’ explanation of Manetho’s chronology, Synk. gives the date of Enoch’s revelation as AM 1282, which is probably a corruption; see below, p. 56 (= Moss. 42.3).

<sup>2</sup> 1 En. 72–3; see also Jub. 4.17.

<sup>3</sup> If, as is claimed, Enoch and his contemporaries finally learnt about the true duration of a year in the year 1286 (that is about 1000 years before the Flood), then Synk. asks why the Babylonians continued to misconstrue years as days. As Synk. suggests later, Panodoros actually had an answer to this: although Enoch learnt the measure of the solar year, it was not until Zoroaster that this learning was accurately applied to the reckoning of Chaldaean regnal years; see below, p. 112 (= Moss. 89.2–6).

<sup>4</sup> Text: περὶ τῶν ψ’. Synk. is silent about the meaning of these 700 years. The

to consider as days the years found in their reckoning just because, as they claim, this harmonizes with divine scripture and the truth (which they have departed from in every way); nor should we, in order to strengthen confidence in our own witnesses, pay attention either to the evidence they produce about a flood or to anything else in their demonic history. For I dare say, from this history, as if from some filthy spring, and from material akin to it, every mythical doctrine of Greek and Manichaean heresy has sprung up. And not a few of the heresies in our midst have taken their beginnings from deceptive writings of this kind as their point of departure.

For this reason, and for the safety of those who consider fables like these relevant, we have been persuaded to cite the aforementioned testimonies of Alexander and the two previously mentioned monks Annianos and Panodoros. The latter were contemporaries, flourishing at the time of Theophilus the twenty-second archbishop of Alexandria, and from their labour they have produced many useful historical chapters. However, in this particular part, although they think they have accomplished something, they have brought forth no gain to truth: they accepted the opinions of (a) the aforementioned Alexander concerning the kingdom of the Chaldaeans, namely that there were rulers in Babylon before the Flood; and (b) those who interpreted figuratively their reckoning in myriads of years. In addition to this, they accepted the opinions of Abydenos and Apollodoros, who fabricated a fantasy about these same matters, and Manetho as well, who manufactured an analogous fantasy about a dynasty of Egyptian kings before the Flood. As to the excerpts from these writers—I mean Abydenos, Apollodoros, and Manetho—I think it right to place them as well in public view, so that their disagreement with each other may be grasped and that their evil may be the cause of its undoing; and in this way, to assign to years after the Flood the chronological details as far as I am able.

But of the two aforementioned historians and monks, both very devout men, it should be known that Annianos' work is more succinct and more accurate and aligned with apostolic and patristic tradition. In it, he shows that the divine Incarnation occurred at the completion of the 5500th year and the beginning of the 5501st year;

number 700 appears twice later in reference to Manetho's chronology. See p. 55 (= Moss. 41.28), in connection with the 700 three-month periods that the ancient Egyptians used to call years; and p. 146 (= Moss. 118.5), in reference to the 700 years that Manetho reckoned from Mestraim up to Koncharis.

and that the holy day of the Resurrection, illuminating everything, the 25th of the Roman month of March, the 29th of the Egyptian month of Phamenoth, occurred at the beginning of AM 5534, on this very same life-bringing day of the first Lord's Pascha. That this day of the Resurrection was also the first-formed day he has demonstrated in the Paschal tables of 532 years that he compiled together with some learned observations. In the present work, the inquiring reader will find at the appropriate place<sup>1</sup> a highly accurate rendition of his Paschal tables, together with the equivalencies worked out by us. On the other hand, the work of Panodoros has many facets and many elements, and contains a great deal of useful material; this pertains not only to chronological theory, but also to the motion of the two luminaries, the sun and the moon, arranged in tabular form. Yet his work is repetitive in many places and falls seven years short of the date of the ineffable Incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ in the year 5500.<sup>2</sup> And for this reason it erred concerning the day of the Pascha<sup>a</sup> (for it presents the view that this occurred in AM 5525 on 20 March, that is on 20 Phamenoth<sup>3</sup>); and what it states about the year of our Saviour's birth is similarly unsound.

Now both of them reprove Eusebios of Caesarea of Palestine for not being able, as they were, to conceptualize the myriads of Chaldaean years (that is, 124 myriads<sup>4</sup>) as days; and what they have done is to reduce or divide them, as has already been shown, in order that they might be found in harmony with scripture.<sup>5</sup> But we

<sup>a</sup> Text: *περὶ τὸ πασχάλιον ἡμέραν*. Following Go.<sup>m</sup>, *περὶ τὸ* emended to *περὶ τῇν*.

<sup>1</sup> The words *κατὰ τὸν δέοντα τόπον* might also mean 'where necessary'. Only on rare occasions does Synk. provide Annianos' dating according to 532-year Paschal cycles; see above, pp. 14, 22 (= Moss. 10.12; 17.9); and below, p. 455 (= Moss. 381.10).

<sup>2</sup> For Panodoros' 'unorthodox' dating of Christ's birth in AM 5493, see below, pp. 451, 475 (= Moss. 378.7–9; 397.7–10).

<sup>3</sup> Text: *Φαμενώθ κ'*. Go.<sup>m</sup>: *Φαμενώθ κδ'* ('24 Phamenoth').

<sup>4</sup> That is 1,240,000 years. But cf. above, pp. 19, 38 (= Moss. 14.25; 28.24), which give 150,000 years for the duration of Chaldaean history; cf. also the citation from Alexander Polyhistor in Eus. 1.6.19–20, which ascribes 2,150,000 years to this period.

<sup>5</sup> On Annianos' use of 1 *Enoch* to reduce the 432,000 years of antediluvian Babylonian history, see the extract from Annianos in Mich. Syr. 1.3–4. See also the fragment in the Barberini chronography (in *FGrH* 680 F 3, n. to ll. 1–12). As these excerpts show, Synk.'s Alexandrian authorities identified the first Chaldaean kings with the Sethite Watchers of 1 *Enoch* and Gen. 6. For discussion, see Gelzer ii. 198–200, 440–1; Adler, *Time Immemorial*, 117–22.



rather approve of him for not harmonizing the lie with the truth. For as one of encyclopaedic learning, he was aware that, whereas the Chaldaeans ascribe an eternity to the creation of the universe, the Greeks and Egyptians say that in 25 periods of 1461 years (that is, 36,525 years) a cosmic revolution takes place, namely a revolution from heavenly sign to sign, as it is reported in the *Genika* of Hermes and the *Kyrannides*.<sup>1</sup> For this reason, he considered it useless to interpret their alien ideas figuratively, and rightly so.

But their criticism of him in another matter is justified, because, in the sum total of his chronological computation, he committed an error of 290 years: 5526 instead of 5816 years. His method of calculation was as follows. From Adam up to the birth of Abraham he counted 3184 years in all. And from Abraham up to the twentieth year of Constantine he counted a total of 2343 years overall. All told, this comes to 5526 years.<sup>2</sup> 'Now such deranged thinking', says Annianos,

is disproved by the cyclical segmentation of the Paschal cycle, that is by the solar cycle of 532 years. For if we break down the 5526 years into these cycles, we come up with 10 cycles and a remainder of 206 years. If we insert this remainder into the Paschal table at the appropriate point,<sup>3</sup> we find that Luna 14 and the day of the Resurrection, the Lord's day, coincide with the year 5816. Similarly, if we divide the 5816 years by 532, we find 10 cycles and a remainder of 496.<sup>4</sup> If we insert these years into the

<sup>1</sup> Although not mentioned in Eusebios' chronicle, the cycle of 36,525 is an apparent reference to the Egyptian *Ancient Chronicle*, one of the chronicles purportedly used by Manetho; for Synk.'s discussion of this work, as well as the *Genika* and *Kyrannides*, see below, pp. 71–4 (= Moss. 56.24–57.30).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Eus. 2.231<sup>ef</sup>, which dates the Vicennalia of Constantine in the year 2342 from Abraham. For the 3184 years that Eusebios calculates from Adam to Abraham, see Eus. 1.42.31–3 and below, p. 123 (= Moss. 98.16). But cf. the Armenian text of the first book of Eusebios (1.62.6), which assigns 5518 years to the period from Adam to 20 Constantine.

<sup>3</sup> Text: εἰς τὸν τοῦ πάσχα τόμον (lit. 'into the section of the Pascha').

<sup>4</sup> Text: ταῦτα εἰσαγαγόντες εἰς τὸν τοῦ πάσχα τόμον ἀκόλουθον εὐρίσκομεν τὴν ἰδ' τῆς σελήνης καὶ τὴν ἀναστάσιμον ἡμέραν τὴν κυριακὴν τῷ ἑωρῷ. ὡσαύτως ἀναλύσαντες εἰς φλβ' εὐρίσκομεν περιόδους ι' καὶ λοιπὰ υ' ἔτη. There may be a lacuna after the word τῷ, after which one would expect the date of the full moon and Easter Sunday. Supplying this information would produce the following: 'For if we break down the 5526 years into these cycles, we come up with 10 cycles and a remainder of 206 years.' If we insert this remainder into the Paschal table at the appropriate point, we find that Luna 14 and the day of

Paschal table at the appropriate point, we find that Luna 14 corresponds to 29 Phamenoth, which is 25 March, and that Sunday is 3 Pharmouthi, that is 29 March.<sup>1</sup> And the proof of the omission of 290 years by this Eusebios is found in the divine scriptures as follows. After the Flood Arphaxad was born to Shem, then he in turn begot Kaïnan.<sup>2</sup> Now Eusebios did not count in his genealogy this Kaïnan, who begot Sala in the 130th year of his life. Moreover, he also did not count Aodon<sup>3</sup> the judge who served Israel in this role for ten years.<sup>4</sup> The Seventy Translators listed him as the eleventh judge. Furthermore, he did not count the years of the domination of foreign kings in the period of the judges, who reigned off and on for 111 years, reasoning that these years were included in the reckoning of the period of the judges.<sup>5</sup> But the Septuagint translators expressly stated in their translation that they ruled Israel for 111 years, and that the thirteen judges acted as judges of Israel for 299 years, so that the overall dominion of the judges was 410 years. In addition, he did not include in his summation the forty years after the death of Samson the judge, when the people were without a government, that is, were at peace.<sup>6</sup> But Africanus did make mention of these years, and in the sum total of his chronography includes them in the reckoning.<sup>7</sup>

the Resurrection, the Lord's day, coincide with 21 March and 28 March in the year 5816. Similarly, if we divide the 5816 years by 532, we find 10 cycles and a remainder of 496. If we insert this remainder into the Paschal table, we discover that Luna 14 corresponds to 29 Phamenoth, which is 25 March, and that Sunday is 3 Pharmouthi, that is 29 March.

<sup>1</sup> The year 5816 is the 496th year of Annianos' 532-year Easter cycle. Since Luna 14 (25 March = 29 Phamenoth) is a Wednesday in this year of the cycle, Easter falls on 29 March (= 3 Pharmouthi).

<sup>2</sup> Gen. 11.10–13 (LXX).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. below, p. 238 (= Moss. 193.7), where Synk. assigns 10 years to the judge 'Aeilon' (Ailom LXX, Elon MT).

<sup>4</sup> Judg. 12.12. Cf. Eus. 2.60<sup>b</sup>, which asserts that, contrary to the Hebrew version of Judges, the Septuagint does not make reference to the judge Aelion (= Elon).

<sup>5</sup> See Eus. 1.50.8–23. For Synk.'s own critique of Eusebios on this subject, see below, pp. 253–5 (= Moss. 204.10–205.16).

<sup>6</sup> See below, p. 251 (= Moss. 203.25).

<sup>7</sup> On Annianos' critique of Eusebios' omissions, see also the letter of Jacob of Edessa (c.640–708) to John the Stylite. For Syriac text and French translation of this letter, see F. Nau, 'Lettre de Jacques d'Édesse à Jean le Stylite sur la chronologie biblique et la date de la naissance du Messie', *ROC* 5 (1900), 581–96, esp. pp. 590–1.

This is verbatim what Annianos rightly says in his criticism of Eusebios Pamphilou, concerning the omission of 290 years. Panodoros also agrees with Annianos in charging Eusebios for these failings, excerpts from whom we deem it superfluous to quote regarding this matter. Nevertheless, Eusebios, Josephos, and other historians do clearly say concerning the kingdom of the Chaldaeans that there were kings before the Flood; in this they follow Alexander Polyhistor, Abydenos, and Apollodoros, since they have no basis whatever in the divine scriptures.

For after the Flood, when they had been allocated portions of the whole world, the three sons of Noah migrated from these regions back to the East.<sup>1</sup> And from there, as scripture states, in a kind of repetition of the narrative,<sup>2</sup> after the division of the earth and their begetting of children, they came into the land of Senaar, that is Babylon; this is translated 'confusion', because of the confusion there of the tongues of those who were building the tower. Concerning this, one should listen attentively to what scripture has to say:

And it came to pass as they moved from the East, they found a plain in the land of Senaar, and they settled there. And one man said to his neighbour, 'Come let us make bricks and bake them in fire.'<sup>3</sup>

(And a little further on:) And the Lord scattered them thence over the face of the earth and stopped them from building the city and the tower. For this reason, its name was called 'Confusion'.<sup>4</sup>

Now Babylon means 'confusion' in Hebrew. And a little bit before, it has stated that 'Cush begot Nimrod. He began to be a (giant) upon the earth. He was a mighty hunter before the Lord. And the beginning of his kingdom was Babylon, Orech, and Archad, and Chalane in the land of Senaar.'<sup>5</sup> What could we hope to hear more straightforward than this concerning Babylon—that it had not yet

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Gen. 10.32–11.1. Although Gen. 10 describes the division of the nations throughout the world, Gen. 11.1–2 implies that the descendants of Noah were still located in the East. Synk. assumes therefore that they returned to the East from the regions that had been assigned to them.

<sup>2</sup> Text: κατ' ἐπανάληψιν τινα. This is probably in reference to the fact that Gen. 11 gives a second account of the dispersion of the nations, already discussed in Gen. 10.

<sup>3</sup> Gen. 11.2–3.

<sup>4</sup> Gen. 11.8–9.

<sup>5</sup> Gen. 10.8–10.

appeared before the Flood or afterwards until humanity became numerous and moved from the East and settled in the land of Senaar, and built the city and the tower? At that time, Nimrod, the warrior against God, was leading them as their king; and in imitation of the giants before the Flood, he was acting the part of the complete tyrant, persuading those subject to him first to disobey God and to build a tower as high as the heavens in opposition to him. Therefore, the verses of scriptures say, 'He began to be a giant on the earth', that is, after the destruction of the previous giants, he began to be a giant, foremost in evil after them on the earth. 'He was a mighty hunter before the Lord', the proverbial 'adversary of God'.

And since Babylon, as has been demonstrated by divinely inspired utterances, did not exist before the Flood, neither will there have been a kingdom of the Chaldaeans in the time before the reign of Nimrod and the building of the tower. And along with this, the account written by Manetho concerning the Egyptian dynasties before the Flood is also shown to be false. This is seen (1) from the fact that while each of them, that is those who write on Chaldaea and those who write on Egypt, confirms himself, neither mentions nor confirms the other: not the author of the *Aigyptiaka* as to the contents of the *Chaldaika* (according to what they say about them, they tell lies about the past), nor the author of the *Chaldaika* as to the contents of the *Aigyptiaka*. Rather, in glorifying his own nation and homeland, each weaves a web of lies; and (2) from the fact that Egypt was first settled and ruled by Mestrem the second son of Ham, according to scripture, and uncle of Nimrod, the son of Cush, the first son of Ham, after whom even up to the present time the region is accordingly called 'Mestraia' by the Hebrews, Syrians, and Arabs.<sup>1</sup> And this is abundantly clear to all historians. All the same, I do not know how they have seen fit to arrange chronologically, just as they did for Chaldaean history, the falsehoods about the Egyptian dynasty; for they are constituted entirely of lies, as has been demonstrated solely by the truth, than which nothing is stronger.<sup>2</sup>

So now that this has been in my opinion clearly and adequately demonstrated, it is suitable to cite some small sections from Abydenos and Apollodoros concerning the same matters, and Manetho as well, so that my refutation of them will be completely

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Jos. Ant. 1.132: 'The Mersaioi (Mestraiioi) also have kept their memory alive in their name, for we in these parts all call Egypt Merse and the Egyptians Mersaioi.'

<sup>2</sup> Cf. 1 Esdr. 4.35.

verified; and lest anyone seeking to read these works be distracted with many books, I should set a limit to my discussion about them and thus move on to my treatment of the rest of the historical narrative, as far as I am able. Now what Abydenos says is in agreement, although not entirely, with Alexander:

39]

**From Abydenos  
Concerning the kingdom of the Chaldaeans<sup>1</sup>**

So much then concerning the wisdom of the Chaldaeans. Now this is what is said: Aloros was the first king of the region, and he circulated a report on his own behalf that God had appointed him as a shepherd of the people. He ruled ten sars. Now a sar is 3600 years, a ner 600 years, and a soss 60 years.

After him, Alaparos ruled for three sars. After him, Amillaros from the city of Pautibiblon reigned for thirteen sars. During his reign, a second Annedotos arose out of the sea, a demigod, similar in appearance to Oannes. After him, Ammenon from Pautibiblon ruled for twelve sars. After him Megalaros from Pautibiblon ruled for eighteen sars. Then Daos, a shepherd from Pautibiblon, reigned for ten sars. During his reign, four creatures possessed of a dual nature arose on land from the sea, whose names are these: Euedokos, Eneugamos, Eneuboulos, Anementos. And at the time of Euedoreschos, who ruled thereafter, came Anodaphos. After him, others ruled and finally Sisouthros,<sup>2</sup> so that there are in all ten kings, and the combined duration of their reign comes to 120 sars.

And as to the Flood, what he says is similar [to Alexander's account], but not identical, as follows:<sup>3</sup>

After Euedoreschos, some others ruled, as well as Sisithros.<sup>4</sup> And it was to him that Kronos foretold the coming of a great torrent of rainfall on the 15th of Desios. And he ordered him to hide everything committed to writing in Heliopolis, in Sippar. And Sisithros carried out the order, and then immediately sailed up to Armenia. And straightaway what had been predicted by the god befell him. But on the third day when the rain abated, he sent out some of the birds, to try to find out if perhaps they might see

<sup>1</sup> See Eus. 1.15.27-16.8.

<sup>2</sup> Xisouthros in Polyhistor, and Sisithros below.

<sup>3</sup> Eus. 1.16.8-29 = PE 9.12.1-5.

<sup>4</sup> Xisouthros in Polyhistor.

land somewhere rising out of the water. But as they were met by the vast gaping ocean and were at a loss where to find a haven, they returned safely to Sisithros,<sup>a</sup> and then others after them. But when he was successful with the third set (for indeed they came back with the bottoms of their feet full of mud), the gods removed him from men's sight. And in Armenia the ship used to provide the inhabitants with wooden amulets as antidotes to poison.

So see how he has restamped the Mosaic writings with a rather different verbal sense, saying that Kronos issued a command to Noah, that is Xisithros (the name upon which they all agree). But Kronos was a knave and a scourge who, as will be demonstrated, lived many years after the Flood and the building of the tower.

Add to these citations Apollodoros, the author of fantasies of similar content, who says the following:<sup>1</sup>

This is what Berossos has reported: 'First to become king was Aloros from Babylon, a Chaldaean, and he reigned for ten sars, and in succession Alaparos, and Amelon, from Pautibiblon; and then Ammenon the Chaldaean, during whose reign he says the loathsome Oannes,<sup>2</sup> the Annedotos, appeared from the Erythraean Sea.' (Which creature Alexander has predated by stating that he appeared in the first year, whereas this writer says it was after forty sars, while Abydenos states that the second Annedotos appeared after twenty-six sars.<sup>3</sup>) 'After that Megalaros, from the city of Pautibiblon, became king and reigned for eighteen sars. And after him Daonos, a shepherd from Pautibiblon, reigned for ten sars. At his time, he says that there again appeared from the Erythraean Sea the fourth Annedotos, who in bodily form was the same as the previous ones, a mixture of fish and human. Then Euedoranchos from Pautibiblon began his rule, and he reigned for eighteen sars. At his time, he says, another creature appeared from the Erythraean Sea, similar in its composite fish

<sup>a</sup> The Greek text of Mosshammer has been repunctuated to produce this translation.

<sup>1</sup> Ps.-Apollod. *FGrH* 244 F 83 = Berossos *FGrH* 680 F 3<sup>b</sup>. Cf. Eus. 1.4.18-5.22. In Eusebios, the excerpt from Ps.-Apollodoros makes up part of Alexander Polyhistor's citation from Berossos. On the identity of this Apollodoros, see Schwartz, 'Apollodoros', 2861-2.

<sup>2</sup> Text: τὸν μυσσάρων Ὠάννην. The word μυσσάρων ('loathsome') is undoubtedly an editorial insertion by a Jewish or Christian interpolator.

<sup>3</sup> The parenthetical statement is an insertion by Synk. confirming the contradictions between the reports about ante-diluvian Babylonia.

and human form. His name was Odakon. And he says that all of these creatures explained in detail the matters spoken of summarily by Oannes.' (Concerning this, Abydenos says nothing.<sup>1</sup>) 'Then Amempsinos, a Chaldaean from Larancha, began his rule; the eighth king, he reigned for ten sars. Then Otiartes, a Chaldaean from Larancha, began his rule, and reigned for eight sars. When Otiartes died, his son Xisouthros reigned for eighteen sars. At his time, he says, the great flood took place. Altogether this would come to ten kings, and 120 sars.'

41] I have offered these citations from (those) who boast about things Chaldaean: Alexander Polyhistor, Abydenos, and Apollodoros. I do this in order to refute their irrational and fictitious thinking and to benefit those who read them and those of our historians who, while appealing to them as witnesses, are as a result harmed instead; and I do this so that they may not believe that what they say is truthful. Now it remains to treat small passages from the writings of Manetho of Sebennyptos concerning the dynasty of the Egyptians. At the time of Ptolemy Philadelphos, he was serving as a high priest of the temples of idols in Egypt, [and wrote a work] on the basis of monuments lying in the Seriadic land, inscribed, he says, in a sacred language and priestly characters by Thoth, the first Hermes, and translated after the Flood from the sacred language into Greek wording with hieroglyphic characters. They were committed to books by Agathodaimon the son of the second Hermes, father of Tat, in the shrines of the holy places of Egypt.<sup>2</sup> [This work] Manetho dedicated to the above Philadelphos, Ptolemy II, in the *Book of Sothis*, writing in precisely the following words:

<sup>1</sup> This is a comment by Synk.

<sup>2</sup> Synk.'s description of the translation of the monuments of Hermes after the flood is riddled with difficulties, not the least of which is the curious statement that the ante-diluvian stelae of Hermes were 'translated after the flood from the sacred language into Greek wording with hieroglyphic characters.' W. Scott suggests that the entire passage has been corrupted by omissions and faulty reinsertions by copyists. For his attempt to reconstruct the original text, see *Hermetica*, iii (Oxford, 1926), 491. For a parallel Jewish legend about monuments inscribed by ante-diluvian generations, see Jos. *Ant.* 1.70-1. According to Josephos, Seth and his descendants were said to have erected brick and stone monuments before the flood and deposited them in the land of Seiris. In this way, they hoped to protect their astronomical discoveries from destruction by flood or fire. On the legendary land of Seiris, see G. J. Reinink, 'Das Land "Seiris" (Šir) und das Volk der Serer in jüdischen und christlichen Traditionen', *JSJ* 6 (1975), 72-85.

### Letter of Manetho of Sebennyptos to Ptolemy Philadelphos<sup>1</sup>

To the great king Ptolemy Philadelphos Augustus, Manetho the high priest and scribe of the holy shrines in Egypt, from Sebennyptos and dwelling at Heliopolis, greetings to my Lord Ptolemy:

It is our obligation, greatest king, to consider all those matters about which you wanted us to inquire. So, then, as you are doing research about the future of the universe, in response to your request, I will produce for you those sacred books composed by our forefather Hermes Thrice-Greatest of which I was aware. I bid you farewell, my lord King.

This is what he says about the translation of the books by the second Hermes. Now after this, he also narrates about the five Egyptian classes [of kings] in thirty dynasties, called by them gods, demigods, spirits of the dead, and mortal men. About them Eusebios Pamphilou makes mention in his *Chronika*, speaking as follows:<sup>2</sup>

The Egyptians string together a long and silly succession of myths about gods, demigods, and besides them the spirits of the dead and other mortal kings. And the most ancient among them used to say that the years were lunar, consisting of 30 days.<sup>4</sup> And the demigods who succeeded them used to call three-month years 'horoi'.<sup>b3</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Text: οἱ γὰρ παρ' αὐτοῖς παλαιότατοι σεληνιαῖους ἔφασκον εἶναι τοὺς ψ' τριμηνιαίους τοὺς ἐνιαυτοὺς ἐξ ἡμερῶν λ' συνεστῶτας. The words τοὺς ψ' τριμηνιαίους ('the 700 three-month periods'), which make no sense in this context, have been omitted in the translation.

<sup>b</sup> Text: τοὺς ψ' τριμηνιαίους ('the 700 three-month periods'). Following Jacoby, emended to τοὺς τριμηνιαίους (but see above, p. 45 = Moss. 34.30).

<sup>1</sup> Ps.-Manetho, *FGrH* 609 F 27. The anachronisms in the letter that follows reveal this work of Egyptian Hermetism to be a later forgery. In the time of Manetho (3rd c. BC) the royal title Σεβαστός (= 'Augustus') and the epithet 'Thrice-Greatest' applied to Hermes were unknown. For analysis of this letter, see Laqueur, 'Manetho', 1100-1; Adler, *Time Immemorial*, 58-60; Scott, *Hermetica*, iii. 491-2; Fowden, *Hermes*, 30-1.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Eus. 1.63.23-64.7.

<sup>3</sup> Eusebios appears to be claiming that during this period in Egyptian history, three-month years were given the name 'horoi' in recognition of the Egyptian demigod Horos. See above, p. 25 (= Moss. 19.9), where Synk. identifies Horos as the first of the Egyptian demigods. This would also establish a connection between the ancient Egyptian trimestrial year and the Greek words ὥρος ('year') and ὥρα ('season'). Cf. Diod. Sic. 1.26.5, according to whom Egyptian priests claimed that the primitive Egyptian year at one