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## KASTOR ON THE FOUNDATION OF ELEUSIS

G. L. Huxley

The chronographer Kastor of Rhodes lacked the scientific rigour of his distinguished forerunners Eratosthenes and Apollodoros. He is chiefly remarkable for his attempt to assign dates to events in Greece earlier than the Fall of Troy. Many of his statements are historically questionable, but the fragments of his work, preserved mostly in the Armenian version of the Chronicle of Eusebios, repay study because they give some insight into the methods of later Greek chronography. Moreover he has a significant place in Christian chronography because his dates for events in Greek myth-history could be compared with Biblical chronology.

Here we are concerned with a basic date in Kastor's chronology of early Attica. Knowing that Professor Kajanto is a scholar of wide interests, and having recently taken pleasure in welcoming him to the Congress of F.I.E.C. in Dublin, the writer is confident that the present investigation into a byway of Greek literature will be deemed appropriate to his honorary volume.

Kastor dated the accession of the first king of the Athenians, Kekrops I., 780 years before the first Olympiad, as we learn from the Armenian version of his Attic kinglist in Book I (the Chronographia) of the Chronicle of Eusebios.<sup>1</sup> Before the time of Kekrops, according to Kastor, Attica had been desolate owing to the Flood of Ogygos. The desolation had lasted for 190 years; therefore the Flood had come 970 years before the first Olympiad. Kastor followed Eratosthenes and Apollodoros in placing Olympiad 1.1 in 776/5 B.C. Therefore he fixed the accession of Kekrops I. 780 years earlier in 1556/5 B.C. and the Ogygian Flood 190 years earlier still in 1746/5 B.C. Kastor's date for the first regnal year of Kekrops

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<sup>1</sup> F.Gr.Hist. 250 F 4, Vol. IIB p. 1142,13.

I., 1556/5 B.C., was securely determined by E. Schwartz,<sup>2</sup> from whom Felix Jacoby adopted it in his commentary to Kastor F 4.

Matters are less secure when we come to Kastor's treatment of Ogygos, because there is the problem of synchronizing Ogygos with the Argive kinglist. Schwartz, working from the Argive lists reported in Eusebios, Chronicle Book I (Kastor 250 F 3), the Excerpta Latina Barbari, Georgios Synkellos and the Chronographeion Syntomon, showed that Kastor fixed the accession of the first Argive king, Inachos, in 1856/5 B.C.<sup>3</sup> The four witnesses agree that Inachos reigned for 50 years; so Phoroneus his successor came to the throne in 1806/5 B.C. The witnesses also agree that Phoroneus ruled for 60 years; therefore the third Argive king, Apis, succeeded Phoroneus in 1746/5 B.C. This last year is also the date of Ogygos' Flood; so Ogygos according to Kastor was contemporary with the accession of Apis at Argos.

However, Eusebios, following Kastor, stated that Ogygos was a contemporary of Phoroneus, not of Apis. Jacoby noticed the difficulty: 'Ogygos ..., dessen Synchronismus mit Phoroneus F 4, p. 1139, 11ff. besonders betont wird, käme nach K.s listen mit 190 Jahren vor Kekrops (1745/4) erst unter Apis zu stehen'.<sup>4</sup> However, the difficulty vanishes, because Kastor did not only connect Ogygos with the Flood in the first year of Apis; he also mentioned the founding of Eleusis by Ogygos earlier than the Flood. Under the reign of Phoroneus, after 1806/5 and before 1746/5, the Armenian text notes (in Karst's translation) *unter diesem hat Ogygos Eleusina erbaut*.<sup>5</sup> Thus according to Kastor, whom Eusebios followed, Ogygos was a contemporary of Phoroneus, but his reign ended in the first year of Apis.

Kastor's date for the founding of Eleusis is not directly attested, but help towards determining it is given by Sextus Julius Africanus, who made use of Kastor's chronography in his attempt to synchronize Biblical with

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<sup>2</sup> Die Königslisten des Eratosthenes und Kastor, Abh.Ges.Wiss. Göttingen phil.-hist. kl. 40.2 (1894—1895) 15.

<sup>3</sup> Op.cit. (note 2 supra) 11.

<sup>4</sup> F.Gr.Hist. 250 F 3 Komm. p. 822,10—13, where Jacoby's '1745/4' should perhaps be corrected to '1746/5'.

<sup>5</sup> Kastor 250 F 3, p. 1138,2.

Greek tradition.<sup>6</sup> We learn from Malalas that Africanus reported the number of regnal years of Ogygos in Attica together with the length in years of the desolation caused by the Ogygian Flood.<sup>7</sup> Unfortunately the figures are corrupt in the text of Malalas, but in the same passage of Malalas it is said that Ogygos was a contemporary of Joshua. It is also clear that in the third book of his *Chronicon* Africanus referred to Ogygos as founder of Eleusis and declared him to be contemporary with Moses and the Exodus.<sup>8</sup> Africanus dated the Exodus 1020 years before the first Olympiad and 1236 years before the accession of Kyros; the latter event was assumed by Africanus to have occurred at the beginning of the 55th Olympiad, that is in 560 B.C.<sup>9</sup> Thus in the chronology of Africanus the Exodus occurred in 1796/5 B.C. and Ogygos was alive at the time.

Africanus believed that the punishment of Attica by flooding was connected with the divine punishment of the Egyptians by plagues at the time of the Exodus. In support of his opinion he cited a theory asserting that the early Athenians were of Egyptian origin.<sup>10</sup> However, it does not follow that in linking the plagues with the flood he made the two afflictions coeval and dated them both in 1796/5 B.C. Instead, he could claim that fugitives from the plagues in Egypt came to Attica, where they were subsequently punished. The speculation found support in the chronology of Kastor: for the Rhodian chronographer's date for the Ogygian Flood was fifty years later than the year assigned to the Exodus by Africanus. In the reconstruction of events in Africanus' *Chronicon* Egyptian fugitives came, after the plagues and the Exodus in 1796/5 B.C., to Attica, where they were received by Ogygos the founder of Eleusis. Later, in 1746/5, they were punished by divine action — together with their benefactor Ogygos they were ruined by the Flood.

Whence, then, did Africanus obtain his date for the Exodus, an out-

<sup>6</sup> H. Gelzer's *Sextus Julius Africanus und die byzantinische Chronographie* (repr. Burt Franklin, New York 1967) is still basic to the study of later Greek chronography, but it offers no direct assistance towards the solution of the Ogygian problem examined here.

<sup>7</sup> P. 61,22—62,6 ed. L. Dindorf (Bonn 1831).

<sup>8</sup> F xxii, p. 273,13 Routh (*Reliquiae Sacrae* II<sup>2</sup>). Migne, P.G. 10.76c.

<sup>9</sup> F xxii Routh<sup>2</sup>. P.G. 10.76—77.

<sup>10</sup> F xxii, p. 277,16 Routh<sup>2</sup> (*Anaximenes of Lampsakos*, F.Gr.Hist. 72 F 20a).

standing event in his chronological scheme? It is at least highly probable that it came to him from Kastor. 1796/5, we may suggest, was Kastor's date for the founding of Eleusis. The year falls neatly within the reign of Phoroneus at Argos, between 1806/5 and 1747/6, and so is fully in accord with Kastor's early Attic chronology.

One more detail reveals the close connection between the Attic chronology of Kastor and the third book of Africanus' *Chronicon*. Africanus claimed not only that Ogygos was a contemporary of Moses and the Exodus but also, as we see from Malalas,<sup>11</sup> that he was a contemporary of Joshua the successor of Moses. Since in the chronology of Africanus forty years were allowed from the Exodus to the death of Moses,<sup>12</sup> Joshua's leadership began forty years after 1796/5, in 1756/5. So Joshua's rule began ten years before the date of the Ogygian Flood in Kastor's chronology, and since according to Africanus Joshua ruled for 25 or 27 years,<sup>13</sup> Ogygos and Joshua were contemporary.

We conclude that among the dates given in Africanus, *Chronicon* III were the following:

- B.C. 1796/5 The Exodus. *Foundation of Eleusis by Ogygos.*  
 Flight of some Egyptians to Attica.  
 1756/5 Death of Moses. Succession of Joshua.  
 1746/5 *Flooding of Ogygos and Egyptians in Attica.*  
 1556/5 *Accession of Kekrops I. at Athens.*

The italicised items and their dates came to Africanus from Kastor. The stages of transmission are not known, but we may note finally that the Attic was not the only Greek kinglist in Kastor to have been used by Africanus: in the *Excerpta Latina Barbari* the Sikyonian kinglist depends upon Kastor's list and Africanus is mentioned because he gave a figure for the total number of regnal years in the list.<sup>14</sup> The synchronising in the *Excerpta* of the Exodus with Leukippos, eighth king of Sikyon, may well also be due to Africanus.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>11</sup> Note 7 *supra*.

<sup>12</sup> Africanus F xxii, p. 274,14 Routh<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>13</sup> F xxii, p. 274,15 Routh<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>14</sup> 39b.5—6 (ed. A. Schoene, *Eusebii Chronicorum Libri Duo* I (repr. Dublin and Zürich 1967) 216).

<sup>15</sup> 39b.19—22 Schoene.