

723 Eupolemos

Ted Kaizer (Durham)

BJN	Eupolemus Judaeus Palaestinus	Please fill in transliterated name here
Historian Number:	723	

723 T 1 - I. MAKK. 8, 17-22	meta [[id="723" type="T" n="1" sourcework(level1="Vetus Testamentum" level2="" level3="Machabaeorum" level4="" level5="" level6="1, 8, 17")]]
Subject: political history Historical Work: Source date: 1 st century BC Historian's date: 2 nd century BC Historical period: 161 BC	Translation
καὶ ἐπελέξατο Ἰούδας τὸν Εὐπόλεμον υἱὸν Ἰωάννου τοῦ Ἀκκῶς καὶ Ἰάσονα υἱὸν Ἐλεαζάρου, καὶ ἀπέστειλεν αὐτοὺς εἰς Ῥώμην στήσαι φιλίαν καὶ συμμαχίαν (18) καὶ τοῦ ἄραι τὸν ζυγὸν ἀπ' αὐτῶν, ὅτι εἶδον τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν Ἑλλήνων καταδουλουμένους τὸν Ἰσραὴλ δουλείᾳ. (19) καὶ ἐπορεύθησαν εἰς Ῥώμην, καὶ ἡ ὁδὸς πολλὴ σφόδρα, καὶ εἰσήλθοσαν εἰς τὸ βουλευτήριον, καὶ ἀπεκρίθησαν, καὶ εἶπον· (20) « Ἰούδας ὁ καὶ Μακκαβαῖος καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἀπέστειλαν ἡμᾶς πρὸς ὑμᾶς στήσαι μεθ' ὑμῶν συμμαχίαν καὶ εἰρήνην καὶ γραφῆναι ἡμᾶς συμμάχους καὶ φίλους ὑμῶν». (21) καὶ ἤρεσεν ὁ λόγος ἐνώπιον αὐτῶν. (22) καὶ τοῦτο τὸ ἀντίγραφον τῆς ἐπιστολῆς, ἧς ἀντέγραψαν ἐπὶ δέλτοις χαλκαῖς, καὶ ἀπέστειλαν εἰς Ἱερουσαλὴμ εἶναι παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐκεῖ μνημόσυνον εἰρήνης καὶ συμμαχίας .	And Judas selected Eupolemos son of John son of Accos, and Jason son of Eleazar, and dispatched them to Rome to establish friendship and alliance, to lift the yoke from them, for it was clear that the kingdom of the Greeks reduced Israel to slavery. And they travelled to Rome, though the road was very long, and they entered the Senate, and they answered and spoke as follows: 'Judas also known as Maccabee and his brothers and the people of the Jews have sent us to you to establish with you an alliance and peace so that we may be enrolled as your allies and friends.' And the proposal pleased them [i.e. the Romans]. And this is the transcript of the letter that they wrote in reply on bronze tablets, and sent to Jerusalem, to be there with them as a memory of peace and alliance. [The text of the treaty follows at I. Makk. 8, 23-31]

723 T 1 Commentary

This passage from I. Makk. names Eupolemos, son of John, from the priestly family of Akkos, who negotiated a treaty with the Romans in 161 BC as an ambassador for Judas Maccabee. The same story is recorded by Josephus (A.J. 12, 415-419), with the addition (419) that the decree was co-signed by Eupolemos (ἐγράφη τὸ δόγμα ὑπὸ Εὐπολέμου τοῦ Ἰωάννου παιδὸς καὶ ὑπὸ Ἰάσονος τοῦ Ἑλεαζάρου). II. Makk. 4, 11 hints at Eupolemos' reputation by stating how the pro-Syrian hellenizer Jason 'set aside the royal privileges established for the Jews through the agency of John, the father of the Eupolemos who negotiated a treaty of friendship and alliance with the Romans' (καὶ τὰ κείμενα τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις φιλόνηρα βασιλικά διὰ Ἰωάννου τοῦ πατρὸς Εὐπολέμου τοῦ ποιησαμένου τὴν πρεσβείαν ὑπὲρ φιλίας καὶ συμμαχίας πρὸς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους παρώσας). For the date, see B.Z. Wacholder, *Eupolemus. A Study of Judaeo-Greek Literature* (Cincinnati e.a. 1974), 1, n.1.

The identification of the ambassador named in I. Makk., II. Makk. and by Josephus with our fragmentary historian - because of matching dates (cf. below) and the fact that a historian with a priestly pedigree would have been an obvious choice for Judas' embassy - dates back to the early 17th century (cf. Wacholder, *Eupolemus*, 68), and has been followed nearly ever since, although most scholars have rightly emphasised that it cannot be proven. Cf., e.g., E. Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ* III.1, rev. and ed. by G. Vermes, F. Millar and M. Goodman (Edinburgh 1986), 518 ("almost certainly therefore identical"); G. Garbini, 'Eupolemo storico giudeo' in *Rend. Mor. Acc. Lincei* s.9, v.9 (1998), 627 ("praticamente sicura"); T. Rajak, *Translation and Survival. The Greek Bible of the Ancient Jewish Diaspora* (Oxford 2009), 221 ("often, and reasonably, identified").

723 T 2 - EUSEBIOS <i>Historia Ecclesiastica</i> 6, 13, 7	meta [[id="723" type="T" n="2" sourcework(level1="Eusebius Caesariensis" level2="" level3="Historia ecclesiastica" level4="" level5="" level6="6, 13, 7")]]
Subject: Judaism Historical Work: Source date: 4 th century AD Historian's date: 2 nd century BC Historical period: c. AD 200-2	Translation
μνημονεύει τε (Clemens) τοῦ πρὸς Ἑλληνας Τατιανοῦ λόγου καὶ Κασσιανοῦ ὡς καὶ αὐτοῦ χρονογραφίαν πεποιημένου, ἔτι μὴν Φίλωνος καὶ Ἀριστοβούλου Ἰωσήπου τε καὶ Δημητρίου καὶ Εὐπολέμου, Ἰουδαίων συγγραφέων, ὡς ἂν τούτων ἀπάντων ἐγγράφως πρεσβύτερον τῆς παρ' Ἑλλησιν ἀρχαιογονίας Μωυσέα τε καὶ τὸ Ἰουδαίων γένος ἀποδειξάντων.	... and he [Clement, in the <i>Stromateis</i>] makes mention of the book by Tatian <i>Against the Greeks</i> , of Kassianos, as he had also produced annals, and yet more, of Philo, Aristoboulos, Josephus, Demetrios and Eupolemos, Jewish historians, as all of those pointed out in writing that Moses and the race of the Jews have an older origin than the Greeks.

723 T 2 Commentary

Clement is said (by Eusebios) to have mentioned Eupolemos as an example of a Jewish writer who had shown that the Jews were more ancient than the Greeks.

723 T 3 - JOSEPHOS c. Ap. 1, 215-218	meta [[id="723" type="T" n="3" sourcework(level1="Josephus (Flavius)" level2="" level3="Contra Apionem" level4="" level5="" level6="1, 218")]]
Subject: Judaism Historical Work: Source date: 1 st century AD Historian's date: 2 nd century BC Historical period: 2 nd century BC	Translation
<p>ἀρκοῦσι δ' ὅμως εἰς τὴν ἀπόδειξιν τῆς ἀρχαιότητος αἱ τε Αἰγυπτίων καὶ Χαλδαίων καὶ Φοινίκων ἀναγραφαὶ πρὸς ἐκείναις τε τοσοῦτοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων συγγραφεῖς. ἔτι δὲ καὶ πρὸς τοῖς εἰρημένοις Θεόφιλος καὶ Θεόδοτος καὶ Μνασέας καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης καὶ Ἑρμογένης, Εὐήμερός τε καὶ Κόνων καὶ Ζωπυρίων καὶ πολλοὶ τινες ἄλλοι τάχα, οὐ γὰρ ἔγωγε πᾶσιν ἐντετύχηκα τοῖς βιβλίοις, οὐ παρέργως ἡμῶν ἐμνημονεύκασιν. οἱ πολλοὶ δὲ τῶν εἰρημένων ἀνδρῶν τῆς μὲν ἀληθείας τῶν ἐξ ἀρχῆς πραγμάτων διήμαρτον, ὅτι μὴ ταῖς ἱεραῖς ἡμῶν βίβλοις ἐνέτυχον, κοινῶς μέντοι περὶ τῆς ἀρχαιότητος ἅπαντες μεμαρτυρήκασιν, ὑπὲρ ἧς τὰ νῦν λέγειν προεθέμην. ὁ μέντοι [Φαληρεὺς] Δημήτριος καὶ Φίλων ὁ πρεσβύτερος καὶ Εὐπόλεμος οὐ πολὺ τῆς ἀληθείας διήμαρτον· οἷς συγγινώσκειν ἄξιον· οὐ γὰρ ἐνῆν αὐτοῖς μετὰ πάσης ἀκριβείας τοῖς ἡμετέροις γράμμασι παρακολουθεῖν.</p>	<p>Nevertheless, the records of the Egyptians, the Chaldaeans and the Phoenicians suffice as proof for our antiquity, and in addition to these so many historians of the Greeks. In addition to those quoted, Theophilos, Theodotos, Mnaseas, Aristophanes, Hermogenes, Euhemeros, Konon, Zopurion, and many others perhaps (because I have not read all the books), mentioned us not just cursorily. Many of those cited missed entirely the truth of our affairs in the earliest history, because they had not read our sacred books; however, all of them have borne witness to our antiquity, about which I am now setting out to speak. However, Demetrios [of Phaleron] (722 T 1) and Philo the elder (729) and Eupolemos do not go far astray from the truth; they deserve to be made allowances for; because it was not in their power to attend with all minuteness to our treatises.</p>

723 T 3 Commentary

Eupolemos, with two others, is put in contrast to those Greek authors who were said to have ‘misrepresented the facts of our earliest history, because they had not read our sacred books’. With regard to the fact that Josephus labels Eupolemos as a Greek, rather than Jewish, author, Rajak, *Translation and Survival*, 218, n.33 (and cf. *ibid.*, 266), argued that Josephus applied “a purely linguistic definition of the description ‘Greek’ to the advantage of his own argument.”

The passage is quoted in full by Eusebius P.E. 9, 42, 3. Cf. S. Inowlocki, *Eusebius and the Jewish Authors. His Citation Technique in an Apologetic Context* (Leiden

2006), 274-278, who argued that Eusebius decided to follow Josephus and was “deliberately ambiguous” on Eupolemos’ relative Greekness/Jewishness “for apologetic reasons”.

According to some, the Demetrios mentioned in the passage must be a Jewish historian whom Josephus confused with the Athenian philosopher and politician Demetrios of Phaleron, cf. B.Z. Wacholder, *Eupolemus. A Study of Judaeo-Greek Literature* (Cincinnati e.a. 1974), 2 n.10. But it ought to be noted that Demetrios of Phaleron was librarian at Alexandria in 297, ca ten years after his exile from Athens.

The passage has raised some discussion as to which version of the scriptures Eupolemos used. Cf. Garbini, ‘Eupolemo storico giudeo’, 618, who argued that it reflects Josephus’ opinion of the biblical traditions in vogue in the second century BC, in contrast to those followed by the Pharisean orthodoxy of his own day.

<p>723 F 1a - (III 220, 13) EUSEBIOS P.E. 9, 25, 4 – 26, 1</p>	<p>meta[[id="723" type="F" n="1" n-mod="a" sourcework(level1="Eusebius Caesariensis" level2="" level3="Praeparatio evangelica [Vide: Africanus (Julius), Diodorus Siculus, Plutarchus & Porphyrius apud Eusebium Caesariensem]" level4="" level5="" level6="9, 25, 4-26, 1")]]</p>
<p>Subject: Judaism Historical Work: Source date: 4th century AD Historian's date: 2nd century BC Historical period: biblical past</p>	<p>Translation</p>
<p>καὶ περὶ Μωσέως δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς πάλιν πλεῖστα παρατίθεται, ὧν καὶ αὐτῶν ἐπακοῦσαι ἄξιον·</p> <p>Εὐπόλεμος δὲ φησι τὸν Μωσῆν πρῶτον σοφὸν γενέσθαι, καὶ γράμματα παραδοῦναι τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις πρῶτον, παρὰ δὲ Ἰουδαίων Φοίνικας παραλαβεῖν, Ἕλληνας δὲ παρὰ Φοινίκων. νόμους τε πρῶτον Μωσῆν γράψαι τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις.</p>	<p>And concerning Moses this [author, i.e. Alexander Polyhistor (273 F 19a)] again provides a lot of information that is worth hearing: Eupolemos says that Moses was the first wise man, and that he was the first to teach letters to the Jews, that the Phoenicians received them from the Jews, and the Greeks from the Phoenicians. And that Moses was the first to write down laws for the Jews.</p>

723 F 1a Commentary

This fragment quotes Alexander Polyhistor’s paraphrasing of Eupolemos, giving Moses - who is also said to have been the first Jewish law-giver - pride of place in the dissemination of the alphabet, from the Jews via the Phoenicians to the Greeks. Wacholder, *Eupolemus*, 71, refers to it as “polemical”. Cf. the very similar fragment in Clement’s *Stromata* (723 F 1b).

<p>723 F 1b - CLEM. AL. Strom. 1, 153, 4</p>	<p>meta[[id="723" type="F" n="1" n-mod="b" sourcework(level1="Clemens Alexandrinus" level2="" level3="Stromateis (Stählin O.)" level4="" level5="" level6="1, 23, 153, 4")]]</p>
---	--

	II
Subject: Judaism Historical Work: Source date: c. AD 200-2 Historian's date: 2 nd century BC Historical period: biblical past	Translation
<p>Εὐπόλεμος δὲ ἐν τῷ Περὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ βασιλέων τὸν Μωυσῆ φησι πρῶτον σοφὸν γενέσθαι, καὶ γραμματικὴν πρῶτον τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις παραδοῦναι, καὶ παρὰ Ἰουδαίων Φοίνικας παραλαβεῖν, Ἑλλήνας δὲ παρὰ Φοινίκων.</p>	<p>Eupolemos, in his <i>On the Kings in Judaea</i>, says that Moses was the first wise man, and that he was the first to teach the alphabet to the Jews, and that the Phoenicians took it over from the Jews, and the Greeks from the Phoenicians.</p>

723 F 1b Commentary

Similar to the fragment in Eusebios (723 F 1a), Moses is given pride of place in the dissemination of the alphabet, from the Jews via the Phoenicians to the Greeks. Wacholder, *Eupolemus*, 72-73, suggested that Clement may have quoted Eupolemos from a different source (Ptolemy of Mendes ?) than Eusebios did, since he had also used, according to Wacholder, a source other than Alexander Polyhistor in a different fragment of Eupolemos (723 F4).

Περὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ βασιλέων: the only attestation of this as the title of Eupolemos' work, which is generally taken as the correct one (cf. the biographical essay).

γραμματικὴν: mentioned here instead of γράμματα, which was used by Eusebios (723 F1a). Cf. Wacholder, *Eupolemus*, 73 and 77.

723 F 2a - (III 225, 18) CLEM. AL. Strom. 1, 130, 3	meta[[id="723" type="F" n="2" n-mod="a" sourcework(level1="Clemens Alexandrinus" level2="" level3="Stromateis (Stählin O.)" level4="" level5="" level6="1, 21, 130, 3")]]
Subject: Judaism Historical Work: Source date: c. AD 200-2 Historian's date: 2 nd century BC Historical period: biblical past, 10 th century BC	Translation
<p>Ἄλεξανδρος δὲ ὁ Πολύιστωρ ἐπικληθεὶς ἐν τῷ Περὶ Ἰουδαίων συγγράμματι ἀνέγραψεν τινὰς ἐπιστολάς Σολομῶνος μὲν πρὸς τε Οὐάφρη τὸν Αἰγύπτου βασιλέα πρὸς τε τὸν Φοινίκης Τυρίων τὰς τε αὐτῶν πρὸς Σολομῶντα, καθ' ἃς δείκνυται ὁ μὲν Οὐάφρης ὀκτὼ μυριάδας ἀνδρῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἀπεσταλκέναι αὐτῷ εἰς οἰκοδομὴν τοῦ νεώ, ἄτερος δὲ τὰς ἴσας σὺν ἀρχιτέκτονι Τυρίῳ ἐκ μητρὸς Ἰουδαίας ἐκ</p>	<p>Alexander who is surnamed Polyhistor records in the treatise <i>On the Jews</i> some letters of Solomon, some to Vaphres the king of Egypt, others to [the king] of the Tyrians in Phoenicia, and their [letters] to Solomon, in which it is shown that Vaphres sent him eighty thousand Egyptian men for the building of the temple, while the other (sent) an equal number, together with a Tyrian</p>

τῆς φυλῆς Δαβίδ, ὡς ἐκεῖ γέγραπται,
Ἵπέρων τοῦνομα.

master-builder, of a Jewish mother,
from the tribe of David, whose name as
written there was Hyperon.

723 F 2a Commentary

Clement briefly refers to information given by Alexander Polyhistor (273) on Solomon's correspondence with the kings of Egypt and of Tyre with regard to the building of the Temple, but without mentioning Eupolemos. However, it clearly summarises Eupolemos' long fragment on this in Eusebios P.E. (723 F2b).

ἐκ τῆς φυλῆς Δαβίδ: mistake for 'Dan' (ΔΑΝ), cf. Jacoby's App. Crit., based on the correct information in Eusebios P.E. 9, 34, 1 (723 F 2b (34, 1)).

Ἵπέρων τοῦνομα: mistake for ὑπὲρ ὧν ἂν αὐτὸν ἐρωτήσης, cf. Jacoby's App. Crit., based on the correct information in Eusebios P.E. 9, 34, 1 (723 F 2b (34, 1)).

723 F 2b - EUSEBIOS P.E. 9, 30	meta [[id="723" type="F" n="2" n-mod="b" sourcework(level1="Eusebius Caesariensis" level2="" level3="Praeparatio evangelica [Vide: Africanus (Julius), Diodorus Siculus, Plutarchus & Porphyrius apud Eusebium Caesariensem]" level4="" level5="" level6="9, 30, 1-34, 16")]]
Subject: Judaism, Temple, correspondence Historical Work: Source date: 4 th century AD Historian's date: 2 nd century BC Historical period: biblical past, 10 th century BC	Translation
<p>(30) Εὐπόλεμος δέ φησιν ἔν τινι περι τῆς Ἡλίου προφητείας Μωσῆν προφητεῦσαι ἔτη μ̄ εἶτα Ἰησοῦν τὸν τοῦ Ναυῆ υἱὸν ἔτη λ̄ βιώσαι δὲ αὐτὸν ἔτη ρι, πῆξαί τε τὴν ἱερὰν σκηνὴν ἐν Σιλοῖ. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα προφήτην γενέσθαι Σαμουήλ. (2) εἶτα τῆ τοῦ θεοῦ βουλήσει ὑπὸ Σαμουήλ Σαοῦλον βασιλέα αἰρεθῆναι, ἄρξαντα δὲ ἔτη κατελευτῆσαι. (3) εἶτα Δαβιδ τὸν τούτου υἱὸν δυναστεῦσαι, ὃν καταστρέψασθαι Σύρους τοὺς παρὰ τὸν Εὐφράτην οἰκοῦντας ποταμὸν καὶ τὴν Κομμαγηνὴν καὶ τοὺς ἐν Γαλαδηνῆι Ἀσσυρίους καὶ Φοίνικας· στρατεῦσαι δ' αὐτὸν καὶ ἐπὶ Ἰδουμαίους καὶ Ἀμμανίτας καὶ Μωαβίτας καὶ Ἰτουραίους καὶ Ναβαταίους καὶ Ναβδαίους. (4) αὐθις δὲ ἐπιστρατεῦσαι ἐπὶ Σούρωνα βασιλέα Τύρου καὶ Φοινίκης, οὓς καὶ ἀναγκάσαι φόρους Ἰουδαίοις ὑποτελεῖν· πρὸς τε Οὐαφρῆν τὸν Αἰγυπτίων</p>	<p>(30) Eupolemos says in something on the prophecy of Elias that Moses prophesied for 40 years; then Jesus son of Nave for 30 years; that he lived for 110 years, and pitched the holy tabernacle in Silo. After these things Samuel became prophet. (2) Then, following the will of God, Saul was chosen as king by Samuel, and having ruled for 21 years he died. (3) Then David, his son, held power, who subdued the Syrians who live near the Euphrates river and Commagene and the Assyrians in Galadene and the Phoenicians; and he waged war against the Idumaeans, the Ammanites, the Moabites, the Ituraeans, the Nabataeans and the Nabdaeans. (4) And again he marched against Suron, king of Tyre and Phoenicia, and forced</p>

βασιλέα φιλίαν συνθέσθαι. (5) βουλόμενον τε τὸν Δαβὶδ οἰκοδομῆσαι ἱερὸν τῷ θεῷ, ἀξιοῦν τὸν θεὸν τόπον αὐτῷ δεῖξαι τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου. ἔνθα δὴ ἄγγελον αὐτῷ ὀφθῆναι ἐστῶτα ἐπάνω τοῦ τόπου, οὗ τὸν βωμὸν ἰδρῦσθαι ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις, καὶ κελεύειν αὐτὸν μὴ ἰδρῦσαι τὸ ἱερὸν διὰ τὸ αἵματι ἀνθρωπίνῳι πεφύρθαι καὶ πολλὰ ἔτη πεπολεμηκέναι· εἶναι δ' αὐτῷ ὄνομα Διαναθάν. (6) προστάζει τε αὐτῷ τοῦτον ὅπως τῷ υἱῷ ἐπιτρέψῃ τὴν οἰκοδομίαν, αὐτὸν δὲ εὐτρεπίζειν τὰ πρὸς τὴν κατασκευὴν ἀνήκοντα – χρυσίον, ἀργύριον, χαλκόν, λίθους, ξύλα κυπαρίσσινα καὶ κέδρινα. (7) ἀκούσαντα δὲ τὸν Δαβὶδ πλοῖα ναυπηγήσασθαι ἐν Ἑλάνοις πόλει τῆς Ἀραβίας, καὶ πέμψαι μεταλλευτὰς εἰς τὴν Οὐρφή νῆσον κειμένην ἐν τῇ Ἐρυθρᾷ θαλάσῃ, μέταλλα χρυσικὰ ἔχουσαν· καὶ τὸ χρυσίον ἐκεῖθεν μετακομίσει τοὺς μεταλλευτὰς εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν. (8) βασιλεύσαντα δὲ τὸν Δαβὶδ ἔτη μὲν Σολομῶνι τῷ υἱῷ τὴν ἀρχὴν παραδοῦναι ὄντι ἐτῶν ἑβδόμενον Ἡλεὶ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως καὶ τῶν ἑβδόμενων φυλάρχων, καὶ παραδοῦναι αὐτῷ τὸν χρυσὸν καὶ ἄργυρον καὶ χαλκόν καὶ λίθον καὶ ξύλα κυπαρίσσινα καὶ κέδρινα. καὶ αὐτὸν μὲν τελευτῆσαι, Σολομῶνα δὲ βασιλεύειν, καὶ γράψαι πρὸς Οὐαφρῆν τὸν Αἰγύπτου βασιλέα τὴν ὑπογεγραμμένην ἐπιστολήν.

(31) Βασιλεὺς Σολομῶν Οὐαφρῆι βασιλεῖ Αἰγύπτου φίλῳ πατρικῷ χαίρειν. γίνωσκέ με παρεληφότα τὴν βασιλείαν παρὰ Δαβὶδ τοῦ πατρὸς διὰ τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ μεγίστου, καὶ ἐπιτεταχότος μοι οἰκοδομῆσαι ἱερὸν τῷ θεῷ, ὃς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν ἔκτισεν· ἅμα δὲ σοὶ γράψαι ἀποστεῖλαί μοι τῶν παρὰ σοῦ λαῶν, οἳ παραστήσονταί μοι μέχρι τοῦ ἐπιτελέσαι πάντα κατὰ τὴν χρείαν, καθότι ἐπιτέτακται.

(32) Βασιλεὺς Οὐαφρῆς Σολομῶνι βασιλεῖ μεγάλῳ χαίρειν. ἅμα τῷ ἀναγνῶναι τὴν παρὰ σοῦ ἐπιστολήν σφόδρα ἐχάρην, καὶ λαμπρὰν ἡμέραν ἤγαγον ἐγὼ τε καὶ ἡ δύναμίς μου πᾶσα ἐπὶ τῷ παρεληφέναι σε τὴν βασιλείαν παρὰ χρηστοῦ ἀνδρὸς καὶ δεδοκιμασμένου ὑπὸ τηλικούτου θεοῦ. περὶ δὲ ὧν γράφεις μοι περὶ τῶν κατὰ τοὺς λαοὺς τοὺς παρ' ἡμῖν, ἀπέσταλκά σοι

them to pay tribute to the Jews; but he agreed on peace with Vaphres, king of the Egyptians. (5) When David wanted to build a sanctuary for God, he wanted God to point out to him a place that was worthy of the altar. And there an angel became visible to him standing above the place, where the altar in Jerusalem was situated, and ordered him not to build the sanctuary because he was defiled with human blood and had been at war for many years; his name was Dianathan. (6) And he ordered him to entrust the building to his son, and that he should prepare the things pertaining to the construction – gold, silver, bronze, stones, cypress-wood and cedar-wood. (7) Hearing this, David built ships in Elana, a city of Arabia, and sent miners to the island Ourphe, which is situated in the Red Sea and contains gold mines; and the miners transported the gold from there to Judaea. (8) And when David had been king for 40 years, he handed over the sovereignty to his son Solomon, who was 12 years old, in the presence of the High Priest Eli and of the 12 tribal leaders, and he gave him the gold, silver, bronze, stone, cypress-wood and cedar-wood. And when he died, Solomon was king, and wrote the letter, copied below, to Vaphres, king of Egypt:

(31) King Solomon to Vaphres, king of Egypt, friend of his father, greetings. Know that I have received the kingdom from my father David through the greatest god, who also ordered me to build a sanctuary to the god who has made the heaven and the earth; and at once to write to you to send me some of your people, who will stay with me until everything that is necessary will be finished, in so far as it was ordered.

(32) King Vaphres to the great king Solomon, greetings. As soon as I had read the letter from you I rejoiced very much, and both I and all my power

μυριάδας ὀκτώ, ὧν καὶ τὰ πλήθη ἐξ ὧν εἰσι διασεσάφηκά σοι· ἐκ μὲν τοῦ Σεθρωίτου νομοῦ μυρίους, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ Μενδησίου καὶ Σεβεννύτου δισμυρίους, <ἐκ δὲ τοῦ> Βουσιρίτου, Λεοντοπολίτου καὶ Ἀθριβίτου ἀνά μυρίους. φρόντισον δὲ καὶ τὰ δέοντα αὐτοῖς καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ὅπως εὐτακτῆι, καὶ ἵνα ἀποκατασταθῶσιν εἰς τὴν ἰδίαν ὡς ἂν ἀπὸ τῆς χρείας γενόμενοι.

(33) Βασιλεὺς Σολομῶν Σούρωνι τῷ βασιλεῖ Τύρου καὶ Σιδῶνος καὶ Φοινίκης φίλωι πατρικῶι χαίρειν. γίνωσκέ με παρειληφῶτα τὴν βασιλείαν παρὰ Δαβὶδ τοῦ πατρὸς διὰ τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ μεγίστου, ἐπιτεταχότος μοι οἰκοδομῆσαι ἱερὸν τῷ θεῷ, ὃς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν ἔκτισεν, ἅμα δὲ καὶ σοι γράψαι ἀποστεῖλαί μοι τῶν παρὰ σοῦ λαῶν, οἱ συμπαραστήσονται ἡμῖν μέχρι τοῦ ἐπιτελέσαι τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ χρείαν, καθότι μοι ἐπιτέτακται. γέγραφα δὲ καὶ εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν καὶ Σαμαρεῖτιν καὶ Μωαβίτιν καὶ Ἀμμανίτιν καὶ Γαλαδίτιν χορηγεῖσθαι αὐτοῖς τὰ δέοντα ἐκ τῆς χώρας, κατὰ μῆνα κόρους σίτου μυρίους (ὁ δὲ κόρος ἐστὶν ἀρταβῶν ἕξ) καὶ οἴνου κόρους μυρίους (ὁ δὲ κόρος τοῦ οἴνου ἐστὶ μέτρα δέκα). τὸ δὲ ἔλαιον καὶ τὰ ἄλλα χορηγηθήσεται αὐτοῖς ἐκ τῆς Ἰουδαίας, ἱερεῖα δὲ εἰς κρεοφαγίαν ἐκ τῆς Ἀραβίας.

(34) Σούρων Σολομῶνι βασιλεῖ μεγάλωι χαίρειν. εὐλογητὸς ὁ θεός, ὃς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν ἔκτισεν, ὃς εἵλετο ἄνθρωπον χρηστὸν ἐκ χρηστοῦ ἀνδρός. ἅμα τῷ ἀναγνῶναι τὴν παρὰ σοῦ ἐπιστολὴν σφόδρα ἐχάρην, καὶ εὐλόγησα τὸν θεὸν ἐπὶ τῷ παρειληφέναι σε τὴν βασιλείαν. περὶ δὲ ὧν γράφεις μοι περὶ τῶν κατὰ τοὺς λαοὺς τοὺς παρ' ἡμῖν, ἀπέσταλκά σοι Τυρίων καὶ Φοινίκων ὀκτακισμυρίους. καὶ ἀρχιτέκτονά σοι ἀπέσταλκα ἄνθρωπον Τύριον ἐκ μητρὸς Ἰουδαίας ἐκ τῆς φυλῆς τῆς Δάν· ὑπὲρ ὧν ἂν αὐτὸν ἐρωτήσης τῶν ὑπὸ τὸν οὐρανὸν πάντων [καὶ ἀρχιτεκτονίαν], ὑφηγήσεται σοι καὶ ποιήσει. περὶ δὲ τῶν δεόντων καὶ ἀποστελλομένων σοι παιδῶν, καλῶς ποιήσεις ἐπιστεῖλας τοῖς κατὰ τόπον

celebrated a magnificent day upon your inheriting the kingdom from a man who was good and approved of by so great a god. As regards those things you have written me about, concerning the men who are with us, I have sent you eighty thousand, their numbers and from where they are I have made clear to you: from the Sethroitian district ten thousand, from the Mendesian and Sebennytan (districts) twenty thousand, from the Bousiritan, Leontopolitan and Athribitan (districts) ten thousand each. Give heed to the things which are needful to them and other things so that you will treat them well, and that they will return home when they are no longer needed.

(33) King Solomon to Souron, king of Tyre, Sidon and Phoenicia, friend of his father, greetings. Know that I have received the kingdom from my father David through the greatest god, who ordered me to build a sanctuary to the god who has made the heaven and the earth, and at once to write to you to send me some of your people, who will stay with us until what is required by God will be finished, in so far as it was ordered to me. I have also written to the Galilee, to Samaria, to Moabitis, to Ammanitis and to Galaditis, to supply them [i.e. the people you will send] with necessaries from the land, every month ten thousand kors of grain (a kor is six artabae) and ten thousand kors of wine (a kor of wine is ten measures). Olive-oil and other items will be supplied from Judaea, cattle slaughtered for the eating of flesh from Arabia.

(34) Souron to the great king Solomon, greetings. Blessed is the God who made heaven and earth, who has chosen a good man, the son of a good man. As soon as I had read the letter from you I rejoiced very much, and I praised God for your succession to the kingdom. As regards those things you have written me about, concerning the men who are with us, I have sent you

ἐπάρχοις, ὅπως χορηγῆται τὰ δέοντα.

(2) διελθὼν δὲ Σολομῶν, ἔχων τοὺς πατρικοὺς φίλους, ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος τὸ τοῦ Λιβάνου μετὰ τῶν Σιδωνίων καὶ Τυρίων, μετήνεγκε τὰ ξύλα τὰ προκεκομμένα ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ διὰ τῆς θαλάσσης εἰς Ἰόππην, ἐκεῖθεν δὲ πεζῆι εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα· καὶ ἄρξασθαι οἰκοδομεῖν τὸ ἱερόν τοῦ θεοῦ ὄντα ἐτῶν τρισκαίδεκα. ἐργάζεσθαι δὲ τὰ ἔθνη τὰ προειρημένα, καὶ φυλὰς δώδεκα τῶν Ἰουδαίων [καὶ] παρέχειν ταῖς ἑκκαίδεκα μυριάσι τὰ δέοντα πάντα, κατὰ μῆνα φυλὴν μίαν. θεμελιῶσαι τε τὸν ναὸν τοῦ θεοῦ μῆκος πηχῶν ξ, πλάτος πηχῶν ξ, τὸ δὲ πλάτος τῆς οἰκοδομῆς καὶ τῶν θεμελίων πηχῶν δέκα· οὕτω γὰρ αὐτῶι προστάξει Νάθαν τὸν προφήτην τοῦ θεοῦ. (3) οἰκοδομεῖν δὲ ἐναλλάξ δόμον λίθινον καὶ ἔνδεσμον κυπαρίσσινον, πελεκίνοις χαλκοῖς ταλαντιαίοις καταλαμβάνοντα τοὺς δύο δόμους· οὕτω δ' αὐτὸν οἰκοδομήσαντα ξυλῶσαι ἔσωθεν κεδρίνοις ξύλοις καὶ κυπαρισσίοις, ὥστε τὴν λιθίνην οἰκοδομὴν μὴ φαίνεσθαι. χρυσῶσαι τε τὸν ναὸν ἔσωθεν χωνεύοντα πλινθία χρυσῶ πενταπήχη, καὶ προστιθέναι προσηλοῦντα ἦλοις ἀργυροῖς, ταλαντιαίοις τὴν ὄλκην, μαστοειδέσι τὸν ῥυθμόν, τέσσαρσι δὲ τὸν ἀριθμόν. (4) οὕτω δ' αὐτὸν χρυσῶσαι ἀπὸ ἐδάφους ἕως τῆς ὀροφῆς· τό τε ὀρόφωμα ποιῆσαι ἐκ φατνωμάτων χρυσῶν, τὸ δὲ δῶμα ποιῆσαι χαλκοῦν ἀπὸ κεραμίδων χαλκῶν, χαλκὸν χωνεύσαντα καὶ τοῦτον καταχέαντα. ποιῆσαι δὲ δύο στύλους χαλκοῦς, καὶ καταχρυσῶσαι αὐτοὺς χρυσίωι ἀδόλωι, δακτύλου τὸ πάχος. (5) εἶναι δὲ τοὺς στύλους τῶι ναῶι ἰσομεγέθεις, τὸ δὲ πλάτος κύκλωι ἕκαστον κίονα πηχῶν δέκα· στήσαι δὲ αὐτοὺς τοῦ οἴκου ὃν μὲν ἐκ δεξιῶν, ὃν δὲ ἐξ εὐωνύμων. ποιῆσαι δὲ καὶ λυχνίας χρυσῶς δέκα, τάλαντον ἑκάστην ὄλκην ἀγούσας, ὑπόδειγμα λαβόντα τὴν ὑπὸ Μωσέως ἐν τῇ σκηνῇ τοῦ μαρτυρίου τεθεῖσαν. στήσαι δ' ἐξ ἑκατέρου μέρους τοῦ σηκοῦ τὰς μὲν ἐκ δεξιῶν, τὰς δὲ ἐξ εὐωνύμων. (6) ποιῆσαι δ' αὐτὸν καὶ λύχνους χρυσοῦς ὁ, ὥστε καίεσθαι ἐφ' ἑκάστης λυχνίας ἐπτὰ. οἰκοδομησάτω δὲ καὶ

eighty thousand Tyrians and Phoenicians. And I have sent you a master-builder, a Tyrian man of a Jewish mother, from the tribe of Dan; that on whatsoever you will ask him of all the things under the heaven [and which are related to architecture], he will guide you and bring it about. And with regard to the necessaries and the slaves that I have sent you, you will do well to instruct the commanders in each region, so that all the necessaries will be provided.

(2) And Solomon, in the company of the friends of his father passing through mount Lebanon, along with the Sidonians and Tyrians, transported the wood which was cut by his father via the sea to lophe, and from there on foot to Jerusalem. And he started to build the sanctuary of God when he was thirteen years old. And the above-mentioned nations did the work, and the twelve tribes of the Jews supplied the hundred and sixty thousand (men) with all the necessaries, one tribe each month. He laid the foundations of the temple of God, 60 cubits in length, 60 cubits in breadth, and the breadth of the building and its foundations was ten cubits; because Nathan the prophet of God had ordered him thus. (3) And he built alternately a course of stone and a bonding of cypress-wood, binding the two courses with brazen dovetails joints weighing a talent; having thus built, he covered it from within with planks of cedar- and cypress-wood, so that the stone structure would not be visible. And he gilded the temple on the inside, casting small golden bricks five cubits long, and fixed them (to the walls) by fastening them with silver nailheads of a talent in weight, like a breast in shape, four in number. (4) Thus he covered it with gold from the ground to the ceiling; and he made the ceiling from golden coffers, and he made the roof of bronze from brazen roof-tiles, melting the bronze and casting this. And he made

τὰς πύλας τοῦ ἱεροῦ, καὶ κατακοσμήσαι χρυσίῳ καὶ ἄργυρίῳ, καὶ καταστεγάσαι φατνώμασι κεδρίνοις καὶ κυπαρισσίνοις. (7) ποιῆσαι δὲ καὶ κατὰ τὸ πρὸς βορρᾶν μέρος τοῦ ἱεροῦ στοᾶν, καὶ στύλους αὐτῇ ὑποστήσαι χαλκοῦς **μῆ**. κατασκευάσαι δὲ καὶ λουτήρα χαλκοῦν μῆκος πηχῶν κ̄ καὶ πλάτος πηχῶν κ̄, τὸ δὲ ὕψος πηχῶν ε̄· ποιῆσαι δὲ ἐπ' αὐτῷ στεφάνην πρὸς τὴν βάσιν ἔξω ὑπερέχουσαν πῆχυν ἓνα πρὸς τὸ τοὺς ἱερεῖς τοὺς τε πόδας προσκλύζεσθαι καὶ τὰς χεῖρας νίπτεσθαι ἐπιβαίνοντας· ποιῆσαι δὲ καὶ τὰς βάσεις τοῦ λουτήρος τορευτὰς (?) χωνευτὰς δώδεκα [καὶ] τῷ ὕψει ἀνδρομήκεις, καὶ στήσαι ἕξ ὑστέρου μέρους ὑπὸ τὸν λουτήρα ἐκ δεξιῶν τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου. (8) ποιῆσαι δὲ καὶ βάσιν χαλκῆν τῷ ὕψει πηχῶν δυοῖν κατὰ τὸν λουτήρα, ἴν' ἐφεστήκη ἐπ' αὐτῆς ὁ βασιλεύς, ὅταν προσεύχεται, ὅπως ὀπτάνηται τῷ λαῷ τῶν Ἰουδαίων. οἰκοδομήσαι δὲ καὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον πηχῶν κ̄ ἐπὶ πῆχεις κ̄, τὸ δὲ ὕψος πηχῶν δώδεκα. (9) ποιῆσαι δὲ καὶ δακτυλίους δύο χαλκοῦς ἀλυσιδωτούς, καὶ στήσαι αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ μηχανημάτων ὑπερεχόντων τῷ ὕψει τὸν ναὸν πῆχεις κ̄, καὶ σκιάζειν ἐπάνω παντὸς τοῦ ἱεροῦ· καὶ προσκρεμάσαι ἐκάστη δικτύι κώδωνας χαλκοῦς ταλαντιαίους τετρακοσίους· καὶ ποιῆσαι ὅλας τὰς δικτύας πρὸς τὸ ψοφεῖν τοὺς κώδωνας καὶ ἀποσοβεῖν τὰ ὄρνεα, ὅπως μὴ καθίζη ἐπὶ τοῦ ἱεροῦ, μηδὲ νοσσεύη ἐπὶ τοῖς φατνώμασι τῶν πυλῶν καὶ στοᾶν, καὶ μολύνῃ τοῖς ἀποπατήμασι τὸ ἱερόν.

(10) περιβαλεῖν δὲ καὶ τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα τὴν πόλιν τείχεσι καὶ πύργοις καὶ τάφροις. οἰκοδομήσαι δὲ καὶ βασιλεία ἐαυτῷ. (11) προσαγορευθῆναι δὲ τὸ ἀνάκτορον πρῶτον μὲν ἱερόν Σολομῶνος, ὕστερον δὲ παρεφθαρμένως τὴν πόλιν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱεροῦ Ἱερουσαλήμ ὀνομασθῆναι, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν Ἑλλήνων φερωνύμως Ἱεροσόλυμα λέγεσθαι.

(12) συντελέσαντα δὲ τὸ ἱερόν καὶ τὴν πόλιν τειχίσαντα ἐλθεῖν εἰς Σηλώμ, καὶ θυσίαν τῷ θεῷ εἰς ὀλοκάρπωσιν προσαγαγεῖν βοῦς χιλίους. λαβόντα δὲ τὴν σκηνὴν καὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον καὶ τὰ σκευῆ,

two bronze pillars and covered them with genuine gold, with the thickness of a finger. (5) The pillars were as high as the temple, and the width of each pillar was ten cubits in the round; and he erected one to the right of the house [i.e. temple] and one to its left. And he made ten golden lampstands, each a talent in weight, taking as an example the one placed by Moses in the tabernacle of the testimony. He placed them on either side of the sacred enclosure, some to the right and some to the left. (6) And he made 70 golden lamps, so that seven would burn on each lampstand. He built the gates of the sanctuary and adorned them with gold and silver, and covered them with coffers of cedar- and cypress-wood. (7) He also made a portico towards the north side of the sanctuary, and supported it with 48 bronze pillars. And he built a bronze basin of 20 cubits length and 20 cubits width, and 5 cubits height; he made a brim for it on the outside around the base rising up one cubit, for the priests to climb on to clean their feet and wash their hands. He also made the twelve pedestals of the basin cast in a mould and worked in relief and of a man's height, and placed them under the basin from behind, right of the altar. (8) He also made a bronze platform of two cubits height opposite the basin, so that the king could stand upon it whenever he worshipped, in order to be seen by the Jewish people. He also made the altar of 20 cubits by 20 cubits, and twelve cubits in height. (9) He also made two bronze rings wrought in chain fashion and placed them on devices which rose above the temple 20 cubits high, casting a shadow over the whole sanctuary; and he hung four hundred bronze bells weighing a talent on each lattice-work; and he made the entirety of lattice-works such that the bells would make noise and scare away the birds, so that none would go and sit on the sanctuary nor

ἃ ἐποίησε Μωσῆς, εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα ἐνεγκεῖν, καὶ ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ θεῖναι. (13) καὶ τὴν κιβωτὸν δὲ καὶ τὸν βωμὸν τὸν χρυσοῦν καὶ τὴν λυχίαν καὶ τὴν τράπεζαν καὶ τὰ ἄλλα σκευὴ ἐκεῖ καταθέσθαι, καθὼς προστάξει αὐτῷ τὸν προφήτην. προσαγαγεῖν δὲ τῷ θεῷ θυσίαν μυρίαν, πρόβατα δισχίλια, μόσχους τρισχιλίους πεντακοσίους. (14) τὸ δὲ σύμπαν χρυσίον τὸ εἰς τοὺς δύο στύλους καὶ τὸν ναὸν καταχρησθὲν εἶναι τάλαντα μυριάδων υξ· εἰς δὲ τοὺς ἥλους καὶ τὴν ἄλλην κατασκευὴν ἀργυρίου τάλαντα χίλια διακόσια τριάκοντα δύο· χαλκοῦ δὲ εἰς τοὺς κίονας καὶ τὸν λουτήρα καὶ τὴν στοὰν τάλαντα μυρία ὀκτακισχίλια πενήκοντα. (15) ἀποπέμψαι δὲ τὸν Σολομῶνα καὶ τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους καὶ τοὺς Φοίνικας, ἐκάστους εἰς τὴν ἑαυτῶν, ἐκάστῳ χρυσοῦ σίκλους δόντα δέκα· τὸ δὲ τάλαντον εἶναι σίκλον. (16) καὶ τῷ μὲν Αἰγύπτου βασιλεῖ Οὐαφρῆι ἐλαίου μετρητὰς μυρίους, φοινικοβαλάνων ἀρτάβας χιλίας, μέλιτος δὲ ἀγγεῖα ἑκατὸν καὶ ἀρώματα πέμψαι· τῷ δὲ Σούρωνι εἰς Τύρον πέμψαι τὸν χρυσοῦν κίονα τὸν ἐν Τύρῳ ἀνακείμενον ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Διός.

build a nest in the coffers of the gates or the porticoes and defile the sanctuary with dung.

(10) He also surrounded the city of Jerusalem with walls and towers and trenches. And he built a palace for himself. (11) God's dwelling was first called the sanctuary of Solomon, but later, corruptly, the city was named Jerusalem after the sanctuary, but by the Greeks it was named Hierosoluma.

(12) When he had completed the sanctuary and fortified the city he went to Selom and made an offering to God of thousand cattle in a whole burnt-offering. Taking the tabernacle, the altar and the vessels, which Moses had made, he carried them to Jerusalem and placed them in the house [of God]. (13) And he also placed there the ark, the golden altar, the lampstand, the table and the other vessels, as the prophet had ordered him. And he offered to God an immense sacrifice, two thousand small cattle, three thousand five hundred calves. (14) The total gold spent on the two pillars and the temple was 460 x ten thousand [i.e. 4,600,000] talents; the silver for the nails and the other fixed assets one thousand two hundred and thirty-two talents; and the bronze for the columns, the basin and the portico, eighteen thousand and fifty talents. (15) Solomon dismissed both the Egyptians and the Phoenicians, each to their own home, having given to each man ten golden shekels; a shekel is a talent. (16) And to Vaphres the king of Egypt he sent ten thousand measures of olive-oil, one thousand artabae of dates, one hundred vessels of honey and spices; to Souron in Tyre he sent the golden column which is dedicated in Tyre in the sanctuary of Zeus. [followed by fragment of Theophilus, 733 F 1, and another fragment of Eupolemos, 723 F 3].

723 F 2b Commentary

This, the longest, fragment of Eupolemos briefly summarises the history from Moses to David, before it quotes at length from what it claims to be the actual correspondence between Solomon and the kings of Egypt and Phoenicia, with regard to their assistance in the building of the Temple. It then gives an extremely detailed account of the actual building process. For the most in-depth treatment of this fragment, see Wacholder, *Eupolemos*, 129-201.

(30, 1) ἔν τινι περὶ τῆς Ἡλίου προφητείας: It is hard to see how the title *On the prophecy of Elias* can cover this (or any other) fragment of Eupolemos, and the text is generally viewed as belonging to *On the Kings in Judaea*. Cf. J. Freudenthal, *Alexander Polyhistor und die von ihm erhaltenen Reste jüdischer und samaritanischer Geschichtswerke. Hellenistische Studien, Heft II* (Breslau 1875), 208-209, and biographical essay. It has also been proposed that *On the prophecy of Elias* was the title of a chapter, and that Ἡλεὶ ought to be read instead, possibly with the mention of the high priest Eli later in the fragment (at 30, 8) in mind. Cf. Jacoby's App. Crit., and for discussion also Wacholder, *Eupolemos*, 22-23, and Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People* III.1, 517.

Jesus son of Nave = Moses' successor, Joshua son of Nun

(30, 3) The surprising reference to David as son of Saul has of course raised plenty of discussion, and a 13th-century scribe even corrected the apparent error into γαμβρός, 'son-in-law'. Cf. Wacholder, *Eupolemos*, 130; J.R. Bartlett, *Jews in the Hellenistic World. Josephus, Aristea, the Sibylline Oracles, Eupolemos* (Cambridge 1985), 62-63. Garbini, 'Eupolemo storico giudeo', 619, suggested that the author simply gave preference to a different textual tradition than the one which later became canonical.

On the various peoples mentioned here, and their relevance, cf. Wacholder, *Eupolemos*, 137-139; Bartlett, *Jews in the Hellenistic World*, 63; esp. E.S. Gruen, *Heritage and Hellenism. The Reinvention of Jewish Tradition* (Berkeley – Los Angeles – London 1998), 138 and 140-141.

(30, 5) εἶναι δ' αὐτῷ ὄνομα Διαναθάν: Rajak, *Translation and Survival*, 224, viewed the angel Dianathan as one of Eupolemos' "cast of characters" that illustrated how "the kinds of elaboration [the Jewish-Greek authors] engaged in were sometimes in keeping with the other-worldly speculations which we find in Jewish texts of the period written in Hebrew and Aramaic." For most scholars, however, it concerns a textual error, for which different solutions have been proposed, based on the appearance of the prophet Nathan later in the same fragment (at 34, 2): ἄγγελον δ' αὐτῷ ἔπεμψε διὰ Νάθαν, '[God] sent him a message through Nathan' (cf. Jacoby's App. Crit.), or, as proposed by J. Strugnell, in Wacholder, *Eupolemos*, 143, n.53, εἶναι δ' αὐτῷ <προφητήν> ὀνομάτι Νάθαν, 'the name of this prophet was Nathan', the latter emendation also accepted by R. Doran, 'The Jewish Hellenistic historians before Josephus' in H. Temporini and W. Haase (eds.), *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* II.20.1 (Berlin 1987), 266, n.55.

(30, 8) Eli: Rajak, *Translation and Survival*, 224, gave this as an example of how Eupolemos "modifies biblical chronology", arguing that "such a sometimes mystical,

sometimes fanciful, but by no means frivolous approach is utterly at home in the genre of 'rewritten Bible' surviving in other ancient languages ..."

τῶν ἱβ φυλάρχων: on Eupolemos' choice of terminology for the 12 tribal leaders, cf. Bartlett, *Jews in the Hellenistic World*, 66-67.

(31 - 34, 1) The correspondence of Solomon with the king of Tyre is based on I. Kgs. 5: 15-25 and II. Chron. 2: 2-15 (Souron for Hiram). There is no biblical basis for the correspondence with the king of Egypt, and Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People* III.1, 518, calls it "a free imitation of this model". Eupolemos may have added it because an Egyptian king of a similar name possibly helped the Jews in the 6th century BC (for references, cf. Bartlett, *Jews in the Hellenistic World*, 64). It is generally accepted that the correspondence is presented "in the style traditional in Hellenistic historiography", thus Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People* III.1, 518; cf. Bartlett, *Jews in the Hellenistic World*, 68. Gruen, *Heritage and Hellenism*, 141-143, discussed it as "sheer invention" (141), but T. Rajak, 'The sense of history in Jewish intertestamental writing', in ead., *The Jewish Dialogue with Greece and Rome. Studies in Cultural and Social Interaction* (Leiden 2001), 11-37, argued that Eupolemos "may have believed all the letters he cited to be authentic" (29).

(33) On the term ἀρταβῶν and its possible implications, cf. Garbini, 'Eupolemo storico giudeo', 624.

(34, 8) κ̄ ('20'), apparent error for κς ('25'). References in Jacoby's App. Crit.

(34, 11) Wacholder, *Eupolemos*, 204-206, interpreted these lines on Jerusalem's name as showing the author's polemical stance, contra e.g. J. Giblet, 'Eupolème et l'historiographie du Judaïsme hellénistique' in *Mélanges Gonzague Ryckmans. Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses* 39 (1963), 539-554.

(34, 16) According to Theophilus (733 F 1, which is the passage following directly in Eusebius P.E. 9, 34, 19), 'Solomon sent the surplus gold to the king of Tyre, who made a lifesize likeness of his daughter and decorated the statue's golden column with a covering'. Cf. the discussion in Wacholder, *Eupolemos*, 15 and 217-223. Gruen, *Heritage and Hellenism*, 145-146, emphasised that Eupolemos saw "no inconsistency" in Solomon's diverse religious allegiances.

<p>723 F 3 - (III 228, 20) EUSEBIOS P.E. 9, 34, 20</p>	<p>meta[[id="723" type="F" n="3" sourcework(level1="Eusebius Caesariensis" level2="" level3="Praeparatio evangelica [Vide: Africanus (Julius), Diodorus Siculus, Plutarchus & Porphyrius apud Eusebium Caesariensem]" level4="" level5="" level6="9, 34, 20")]]</p>
<p>Subject: Judaism Historical Work: Source date: 4th century AD Historian's date: 2nd century BC Historical period: biblical past, 10th century BC</p>	<p>Translation</p>
<p>ποιῆσαι δέ φησιν ὁ Εὐπόλεμος τὸν</p>	<p>Eupolemos says that Solomon also</p>

Σολομῶνα καὶ ἀσπίδας χρυσαῖς χιλίας, ὧν ἑκάστην πεντακοσίων εἶναι χρυσῶν. βιώσαι δὲ αὐτὸν ἔτη πενήκοντα δύο, ὧν ἐν εἰρήνῃ βασιλεῦσαι ἔτη μ̄.	made a thousand golden shields, each of which weighed five hundred shekels of gold, and that he lived fifty-two years, of which he reigned 40 in peace.
--	---

723 F 3 Commentary

This fragment belongs to the long 723 F 2b, but is separated from it by a fragment of Theophilus (733 F 1), on which see the commentary on 723 F 2b (34, 16).

723 F 4 - (III 208) CLEM. AL. Strom. 1, 141, 4	meta [[id="723" type="F" n="4" sourcework(level1="Clemens Alexandrinus" level2="" level3="Stromateis (Stählin O.)" level4="" level5="" level6="1, 21, 141, 4")]]
Subject: Judaism Historical Work: Source date: c. AD 200-2 Historian's date: 2 nd century BC Historical period: biblical times, 158/7 BC, 40 BC	Translation
ἔτι δὲ καὶ Εὐπόλεμος ἐν τῇ ὁμοίᾳ πραγματείᾳ τὰ πάντα ἔτη φησὶν ἀπὸ Ἀδάμ ἄχρι τοῦ πέμπτου ἔτους Δημητρίου βασιλείας, Πτολεμαίου τὸ δωδέκατον βασιλεύοντος Αἰγύπτου, συνάγεσθαι ἔτη ερμθ · ἀφ' οὗ δὲ χρόνου ἐξήγαγε Μωυσῆς τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ἐξ Αἰγύπτου ἐπὶ τὴν προειρημένην προθεσμίαν, συνάγεσθαι ἔτη [δισ] χίλια πεντακόσια ὀγδοήκοντα. ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ χρόνου τούτου ἄχρι τῶν ἐν Ῥώμῃ ὑπάτων † γαίου δομετιανοῦ κασιανοῦ συναθροίζεται ἔτη ἑκατὸν εἴκοσι.	(Philo 729 T 2) Still, Eupolemos in a similar treatise says that all the years from Adam up to the fifth year of the reign of Demetrios, the twelfth of Ptolemy who reigned over Egypt, when added up, are 5,149 years; and from the time that Moses led the Jews out of Egypt until the above-mentioned fixed time, when added up, are [two] thousand five hundred and eighty years. From that time until the consuls in Rome, Gaius Domitianus [and] Asinius, hundred and twenty years are put together.

723 F 4 Commentary

This fragment in Clement is a key passage for the study of Eupolemos as it provides information about his date, though the references given do not correspond precisely: the 5th year of Demetrios I Soter would be 158/7 BC, the 12th year of Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II Physcon one year earlier. In general, on 'Hellenistic biblical chronologies', see Wacholder, *Eupolemos*, 97-128, and for all calculations and further references, cf. Jacoby's App. Crit.; Freudenthal, *Alexander Polyhistor*, 212-215; Wacholder, *Eupolemos*, 40-42; Bartlett, *Jews in the Hellenistic World*, 7 and 58.

[δισ] χίλια: Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People* III.1, 519.

γαίου δομετιανοῦ κασιανοῦ: the final lines were obviously added later. Cn. Domitius Calvinus and C. Asinius Pollio were the consuls in 40 BC. Cf. Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People* III.1, 520; Gruen, *Heritage and Hellenism*, 140, n.10.

Wacholder, *Eupolemus*, 60, n.140, suggested that Eupolemos had used Ptolemy of Mendes as a source for this passage.

<p>723 F 5 - * (III 229, 24) EUSEB. P.E. 9, 39</p>	<p>meta[[id="723" type="F" n="5"]]</p>
<p>Subject: Judaism, prophecy Historical Work: Source date: 4th century AD Historian's date: 2nd century BC Historical period: early 6th century BC</p>	<p>Translation</p>
<p>ἐπὶ τούτοις καὶ τῆς Ἱερεμίου προφητείας τοῦ Πολυίστορος μνήμην πεποιημένου κείσθω τοίνυν καὶ αὕτη·</p> <p>(2) εἶτα Ἰωναχεῖμ· ἐπὶ τούτου προφητεῦσαι Ἱερεμίαν τὸν προφήτην. τοῦτον ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ ἀποσταλέντα καταλαβεῖν τοὺς Ἰουδαίους θυσιάζοντας εἰδώλῳ χρυσῶι, ᾧ εἶναι ὄνομα Βάαλ. (3) τοῦτον δὲ αὐτοῖς τὴν μέλλουσαν ἀτυχίαν δηλῶσαι· τὸν δὲ Ἰωναχεῖμ ζῶντα αὐτὸν ἐπιβαλέσθαι κατακαῦσαι· τὸν δὲ φάναι τοῖς ξύλοις τούτοις Βαβυλωνίοις ὀψοποιήσειν, καὶ σκάψειν τὰς τοῦ Τίγριδος καὶ Εὐφράτου διώρυγας αἰχμαλωτισθέντας. (4) τὸν δὲ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων βασιλέα ἀκούσαντα Ναβουχοδονόσορ τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἱερεμίου προμαντευθέντα παρακαλέσαι Ἀστιβάρην τὸν Μήδων βασιλέα συστρατεύειν αὐτῶι. (5) παραλαβόντα δὲ Βαβυλωνίους καὶ Μήδους, καὶ συναγαγόντα πεζῶν μὲν ὀκτωκαίδεκα, ἰπέων δὲ μυριάδας δώδεκα καὶ [πεζῶν] ἄρματα μυρία, πρῶτον μὲν τὴν Σαμαρεῖτιν καταστρέψασθαι καὶ Γαλιλαίαν καὶ Σκυθόπολιν καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῇ Γαλαδίτιδι οἰκοῦντας Ἰουδαίους, αὐθις δὲ τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα παραλαβεῖν, καὶ τὸν Ἰουδαίων βασιλέα Ἰωναχεῖμ ζωγρῆσαι. τὸν δὲ χρυσὸν τὸν ἐν τῷ ἱερῶι καὶ ἄργυρον καὶ χαλκὸν ἐκλέξαντα εἰς Βαβυλῶνα ἀποστεῖλαι χωρὶς τῆς κιβωτοῦ καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ πλακῶν· ταύτην δὲ τὸν Ἱερεμίαν κατασχεῖν.</p>	<p>And besides this (Aristeas Ep. ad Phil. 88-90), as Polyhistor has made mention of the prophecy of Jeremiah (273 F 19a) ... and let this therefore be laid down: then Jonachim, in whose time the prophet Jeremiah prophesied; sent by God, he found the Jews sacrificing to a golden idol whose name was Baal; he disclosed to them the ill-luck that was to come; and Jonachim tried to burn him alive; and he said that with these pieces of wood they shall bake food for the Babylonians and that they, taken captive, shall dig the canals of the Tigris and the Euphrates. Nebuchadnezzar, king of the Babylonians, who had heard the prophecies of Jeremiah, invited Astibares, king of the Medes, to join him in a campaign. Taking both Babylonians and Medes, and bringing together one hundred eighty thousand infantry, one hundred twenty thousand cavalry and ten thousand chariots, he first overran Samaria, the Galilee and Scythopolis, and the Jews living in the Galaditis, and afterwards he took Jerusalem and made Jonachim the king of the Jews prisoner. Picking out the gold that was in the sanctuary, and the silver and the bronze, he sent it to Babylon, apart from the ark and the tablets that were in it – Jeremiah kept that one. [followed by citations from Josephus (Berossos 680 F 8) and Abydenos]</p>

723 F 5 Commentary

This fragment tells how Jeremiah had predicted the exile, and how the Babylonian king Nebuchadnezzar then conquered Jerusalem. As far as the actual text is

concerned, it is not ascribed to Eupolemos, but the heading in nearly all the manuscripts is 'Eupolemus' On the Prophecy of Jeremiah, Same', cf. Wacholder, *Eupolemus*, 227, n.1. In addition, Freudenthal, *Alexander Polyhistor*, 208-209, argued on the basis of a similarity in word-choice that it ought to be ascribed to Eupolemos. This has been accepted by nearly all scholars (e.g. Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People* III.1, 518), though it ought to be noted that Jacoby listed this fragment separately - following the other fragments of Eupolemos - under the header 'Ohne Autornamen'. However, Garbini, 'Eupolemo storico giudeo', 617, has raised fresh doubts, by drawing attention to the strong similarities between this passage and various apocryphal works concerning Jeremiah.

On the final lines, cf. R. Doran, 'The Jewish Hellenistic historians before Josephus' in H. Temporini and W. Haase (eds.), *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* II.20.1 (Berlin 1987), 269.

723 Biographical Essay

From the fragments it is clear that Eupolemos had a strong interest in the Temple, and most scholars have viewed him as a Jew, or even a Jewish priest, regardless his identification - which in itself is extremely plausible, cf. commentary on 723 T 1 - with Judas Maccabee's ambassador Eupolemos who is mentioned in I. Makk., II. Makk. and by Josephus. However, his Jewishness is still denied by some, e.g. L.H. Feldman, *Judaism and Hellenism Reconsidered* (Leiden - Boston 2006), 122-123. Jerome, who built on Clement, labels Eupolemos a Jewish, anti-pagan writer (De vir. ill. 38).

If the identification with the ambassador is correct, Eupolemos belonged to the priestly family of Akkos, cf. Wacholder, *Eupolemus*, 8, n.34; Gruen, *Heritage and Hellenism*, 139, n.6. The ambassador's story is set in 161 BC, and the calculations of Clement imply that Eupolemos wrote in ca 158/7 BC. Various scholars have argued that the author's Greek is poor and his writing style is Hebraic. Cf. Freudenthal, *Alexander Polyhistor*, 109; T. Rajak, 'The sense of history in Jewish intertestamental writing', in ead., *The Jewish Dialogue with Greece and Rome. Studies in Cultural and Social Interaction* (Leiden 2001), 11-37, at 28.

Three possible titles for Eupolemos' work have been transmitted in the fragments, *On the Kings in Judaea* by Clement (723 F 1b), *On the Prophecy of Elias* by Eusebios (723 F 2b, but cf. commentary, at 30, 1), and *On the Jews of Assyria* (or simply *On the Jews*) in a passage traditionally attributed to an anonymous author conventionally labeled as Pseudo-Eupolemos, but that should according to a number of scholars be reinstated as belonging to Eupolemos, as that text itself indeed says (cf. commentary on this passage under the header of Pseudo-Eupolemos, 724 F 1; Freudenthal, *Alexander Polyhistor*, 82-92 and 207-209; Wacholder, *Eupolemus*, 21-25). Since serious doubts can be cast on both *On the Prophecy of Elias* and *On the Jews (of Assyria)*, most scholars agree that Περὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ βασιλέων, as given by Clement, is the correct title, and that all available fragments come from this very work. Cf. F. Fallon, 'Eupolemus' in J.H. Charlesworth, *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* 2 (New York 1985), 862; Gruen, *Heritage and Hellenism*, 138, n.1.

Garbini, 'Eupolemo storico giudeo', 623-626, put forward the hypothesis that Eupolemos' work is preserved not only in the fragments, but also - unacknowledged

of course - in a number of passages in Josephus' Antiquities (for a different take on the matter, with further references, see Wacholder, Eupolemos, 52-57).

Support of the view that the fragments which are conventionally (since Freudenthal) ascribed to 'Pseudo-Eupolemos' (or at least the longest of those two) ought really to be attributed to Eupolemos too (as indeed Alexander Polyhistor himself did) has recently become more vocal. Cf. R. Doran, 'Pseudo-Eupolemos' in J.H. Charlesworth, *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha 2* (New York 1985), 875-876, followed by Garbini, 'Eupolemo storico giudeo', 614-616. For further references, see the discussion of the fragments of Pseudo-Eupolemos (724).

723 Bibliography

- J.R. Bartlett, *Jews in the Hellenistic World. Josephus, Aristeeas, the Sibylline Oracles, Eupolemos* (Cambridge Commentaries on Writings of the Jewish and Christian World, 200 BC to AD 200 I.i) (Cambridge 1985).
- R. Doran, 'The Jewish Hellenistic historians before Josephus' in H. Temporini and W. Haase (eds.), *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* II.20.1 (Berlin 1987), 246-297, at 263-270.
- F. Fallon, 'Eupolemos' in J.H. Charlesworth, *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha 2* (New York 1985), 861-872.
- J. Freudenthal, *Alexander Polyhistor und die von ihm erhaltenen Reste jüdischer und samaritanischer Geschichtswerke. Hellenistische Studien, Heft II (Jahresbericht des jüdisch-theologischen Seminars "Fraenkel'scher Stiftung")* (Breslau 1875), 105-130.
- G. Garbini, 'Eupolemo storico giudeo' in *Rend. Mor. Acc. Lincei* s.9, v.9 (1998), 613-634.
- J. Gibley, 'Eupolème et l'historiographie du Judaïsme hellénistique' in *Mélanges Gonzague Ryckmans. Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses* 39 (1963), 539-554.
- E.S. Gruen, *Heritage and Hellenism. The Reinvention of Jewish Tradition (Hellenistic Culture and Society XXX)* (Berkeley – Los Angeles – London 1998).
- E. Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ* III.1, rev. and ed. by G. Vermes, F. Millar and M. Goodman (Edinburgh 1986), 517--521.
- B.Z. Wacholder, *Eupolemos. A Study of Judaeo-Greek Literature (Monographs of the Hebrew Union College III)* (Cincinnati e.a. 1974).

SubSection head

Normal paragraph with text and links to other lemma's.

Normal paragraph with text.

Normal paragraph.