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## 724 Pseudo-Eupolemos

Ted Kaizer (Durham)

BJN	Eupolemus (ps.) Judaeus	Please fill in transliterated name here
Historian Number:	724	

<b>724 F 1</b> - (III 211, 3) EUSEB. P.E. 9, 17	<code>meta[["id="724" type="F" n="1"]]</code>
<b>Subject:</b> Jewish literature, mythical past <b>Historical Work:</b> <b>Source date:</b> 4 <sup>th</sup> century AD <b>Historian's date:</b> 2 <sup>nd</sup> century BC <b>Historical period:</b> mythical / biblical past	<b>Translation</b>
<p>ταῦτα ὁ Ἰώσηπος. συνάιδει δὲ τούτοις καὶ ὁ Πολυίστωρ Ἀλέξανδρος ..., ὃς ἐν τῇ Περὶ Ἰουδαίων συντάξει τὰ κατὰ τὸν Ἀβραὰμ τοῦτον ἱστορεῖ κατὰ λέξιν τὸν τρόπον·</p> <p>(2) Εὐπόλεμος δὲ ἐν τῷ Περὶ Ἰουδαίων τῆς Ἀσσυρίας φησὶ πόλιν Βαβυλῶνα πρῶτον μὲν κτισθῆναι ὑπὸ τῶν διασωθέντων ἐκ τοῦ κατακλυσμοῦ. εἶναι δὲ αὐτοὺς γίγαντας, οἰκοδομεῖν δὲ τὸν ἱστορούμενον πύργον· πεσόντος δὲ τούτου ὑπὸ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ ἐνεργείας, τοὺς γίγαντας διασπαρῆναι καθ' ὅλην τὴν γῆν. (3) δεκάτη δὲ γενεᾷ φησὶν ἐν πόλει τῆς Βαβυλωνίας Καμαρίνη, ἣν τινες λέγουσιν πόλιν Οὐρίην (εἶναι δὲ μεθερμηνευομένην Χαλδαίων πόλιν), [ἐν τρισκαίδεκάτῃ] γενέσθαι Ἀβραὰμ [γενεᾷ], εὐγενεῖαι καὶ σοφίαι πάντα ὑπερβεβηκότα, ὃν δὴ καὶ τὴν ἀστρολογίαν † καὶ Χαλδικὴν εὐρεῖν, ἐπὶ τε τὴν εὐσέβειαν ὀρμήσαντα εὐαρεστήσαι τῷ θεῷ. (4) τοῦτον δὲ διὰ τὰ προστάγματα τοῦ θεοῦ εἰς Φοινίκην ἐλθόντα κατοικήσαι, καὶ τροπὰς ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πάντα διδάξαντα τοὺς Φοίνικας εὐαρεστήσαι τῷ βασιλεῖ αὐτῶν. ὕστερον δὲ Ἀρμενίου ἐπιστρατεῦσαι τοῖς Φοίνιξι· νικησάντων δὲ καὶ αἰχμαλωτισαμένων τὸν ἀδελφιδοῦν αὐτοῦ, τὸν Ἀβραὰμ μετὰ οἰκετῶν βοηθήσαντα ἐγκρατῆ γενέσθαι τῶν αἰχμαλωτισθέντων, καὶ τῶν πολεμίων</p>	<p>Thus far Josephus (A.J. 1, 158 ff. = 737 F 2). And with these things agrees Alexandros Polyhistor (273 F 19a) ..., who in his <i>On the Jews</i> wrote the history for this Abraham word by word as follows:</p> <p>(2) Eupolemos says in his <i>On the Jews of Assyria</i> that the city of Babylon was first founded by those who had come safely through the flood. They were Giants and built the tower read about in history; when this fell down through God's action, the Giants were scattered over the whole earth. (3) In the tenth generation, he says, in the city of Kamarine, of Babylonia, which some call the city of Ourie (and this is translated as a city of the Chaldeans), [in the thirteenth generation] Abraham was born, exceeding all in nobleness and wisdom, who also invented astronomy and the Chaldaean art, and he was well pleasing to God because he was eager in his piety. (4) And this one, because of a command of God, having gone to Phoenicia settled there, and teaching the Phoenicians the turnings of the sun and the moon, and all other such things, he pleased their king. Later the Armenians made war upon the Phoenicians; when they prevailed in battle and took his nephew prisoner, Abraham, having come to his aid with his household, came to exercise control over the captors and took the children and women of the enemies as prisoner. (5) When ambassadors</p>

αἰχμαλωτίσαι τέκνα καὶ γυναῖκας. (5) πρέσβειων δὲ παραγενομένων πρὸς αὐτόν, ὅπως χρήματα λαβὼν ἀπολυτρώσῃ ταῦτα, μὴ προελέσθαι τοῖς δυστυχοῦσιν ἐπεμβαίνειν, ἀλλὰ τὰς τροφὰς λαβόντα τῶν νεανίσκων ἀποδοῦναι τὰ αἰχμάλωτα. ξενισθῆναι τε αὐτόν ὑπὸ πόλεως ἱερὸν Ἀργαριζίν, ὃ εἶναι μεθερμηγεύομενον ὄρος ὑψίστου, παρὰ δὲ τοῦ Μελχισεδὲκ ἱερέως ὄντος τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ βασιλεύοντος λαβεῖν δῶρα. (6) λιμοῦ δὲ γενομένου, τὸν Ἀβραὰμ ἀπαλλαγῆναι εἰς Αἴγυπτον πανοικίαι, κάκεῖ κατοικεῖν, τὴν τε γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ τὸν βασιλέα τῶν Αἰγυπτίων γῆμαι, φάντος αὐτοῦ ἀδελφὴν εἶναι. (7) περισσότερον δ' ἰστόρησεν, ὅτι οὐκ ἠδύνατο αὐτῇ συγγενέσθαι, καὶ ὅτι συνέβη φθειρέσθαι αὐτοῦ τὸν λαὸν καὶ τὸν οἶκον. μάντιες δὲ αὐτοῦ καλέσαντος, τοῦτο φάναι, μὴ εἶναι χήραν τὴν γυναῖκα· τὸν δὲ βασιλέα τῶν Αἰγυπτίων οὕτως ἐπιγῶναι, ὅτι γυνὴ ἦν τοῦ Ἀβραὰμ, καὶ ἀποδοῦναι αὐτὴν τῷ ἀνδρί. (8) συζήσαντα δὲ τὸν Ἀβραὰμ ἐν Ἡλιουπόλει τοῖς Αἰγυπτίων ἱερεῦσι πολλὰ μεταδιδάξαι αὐτούς, καὶ τὴν ἀστρολογίαν καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τοῦτον αὐτοῖς εἰσηγήσασθαι, φάμενον Βαβυλωνίους ταῦτα καὶ αὐτὸν εὔρηκέναι, τὴν δὲ εὔρεσιν αὐτῶν εἰς Ἐνώχ ἀναπέμπειν, καὶ τοῦτον εὔρηκέναι πρῶτον τὴν ἀστρολογίαν, οὐκ Αἰγυπτίους. (9) Βαβυλωνίους γὰρ λέγειν πρῶτον γενέσθαι Βῆλον, ὃν εἶναι Κρόνον· ἐκ τούτου δὲ γενέσθαι Βῆλον (?) καὶ Χάμ· τοῦτον δὲ τὸν Χαναὰν γεννῆσαι τὸν πατέρα τῶν Φοινίκων· τούτου δὲ Χοῦμ υἱὸν γενέσθαι, ὃν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων λέγεσθαι Ἄσβολον, πατέρα δὲ Αἰθιοπίων, ἀδελφὸν δὲ τοῦ Μεστραεῖμ, πατρὸς Αἰγυπτίων. Ἑλληνας δὲ λέγειν τὸν Ἄτλαντα εὔρηκέναι ἀστρολογίαν· εἶναι δὲ τὸν Ἄτλαντα τὸν αὐτὸν καὶ Ἐνώχ. τοῦ δὲ Ἐνώχ γενέσθαι υἱὸν Μαθουσάλαν, ὃν πάντα δι' ἀγγέλων θεοῦ γνῶναι, καὶ ἡμᾶς οὕτως ἐπιγῶναι.

came to him, for him to take money as ransoming, he did not choose to trample upon the unfortunate ones, but when receiving nourishment for his servants, he handed over the prisoners. He was received as a guest by the temple Argarizin of the city, which is translated as mountain of the Highest, and received gifts from Melchizedek, who was priest of God and was king. (6) When a famine occurred, Abraham escaped to Egypt with his whole household and settled there, and the king of the Egyptians married his wife, when he [i.e. Abraham] had said that she was his sister. (7) He [i.e. Eupolemos] records even more remarkable detail, namely that he [i.e. the king] could not have intercourse with her and that as a result his people and his house were perishing. And when he called for the diviners, they told him this, that the woman was not a widow; and the king of the Egyptians found out as follows, that she was the wife of Abraham, and he gave her back to her husband. (8) And Abraham, living in Heliopolis with the priests of the Egyptians, taught them many new things, and he was the one who introduced astronomy and the other arts to them, saying that the Babylonians and he himself had found out these things, tracing their invention to Enoch, and this one [i.e. Enoch] was the first to invent astronomy, not the Egyptians. (9) Because the Babylonians say that Belus was the first, who is Kronos; that from him Belis and Cham were born; and this one [i.e. Cham] begot Chanaan, the father of the Phoenicians; and that from him a son Choum was born, who is called by the Greeks Asbolos, the father of the Ethiopians and the brother of Mestraeim, the father of the Egyptians. The Greeks say that Atlas discovered astronomy; and that Atlas is the same as Enoch. And that Enoch had a son Mathousalal, who came to know all things through the angels of God, and that we thus came to learn (everything).

## 724 F 1 Commentary

This fragment about Abraham, presented by Alexander Polyhistor (273) as coming from Eupolemos (723), has been treated since J. Freudenthal, *Alexander Polyhistor und die von ihm erhaltenen Reste jüdischer und samaritanischer Geschichtswerke. Hellenistische Studien, Heft I* (Breslau 1874), 82-103, as belonging to a different, anonymous author. In recent years, however, some scholars have argued again that Polyhistor's attribution to Eupolemos is correct. Cf. commentary below, and the biographical essay.

(2) ἐν τῷ Περὶ Ἰουδαίων τῆς Ἀσσυρίας: an otherwise unknown title of a work by Eupolemos (see the discussion at 723). Freudenthal, *Alexander Polyhistor*, 89, - followed by others, e.g. R. Doran, 'Pseudo-Eupolemos' in J.H. Charlesworth, *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha 2* (New York 1985), 880 - argued that the title should have been given as *On the Jews*, interpreting τῆς Ἀσσυρίας as belonging with πόλιν Βαβυλῶνα, 'the city of Babylon, of Assyria'. But cf. G. Garbini, 'Eupolemo storico giudeo', *Rend. Mor. Acc. Lincei* s.9, v.9 (1998), 616, n.14.

(3) Χαλδαίων πόλιν, together with ὄρος ὑψίστου (5), one of two places for which B.Z. Wacholder, 'Pseudo-Eupolemos' two Greek fragments on the life of Abraham', *HUCA* 34 (1963), 88, with n.32, argued that they indicate that the author used the Hebrew bible alongside the LXX. Cf., in contrast, N. Walter, 'Zu Pseudo-Eupolemos', *Klio* 43-45 (1965), 284-286.

Χαλδαικὴν, 'the Chaldaean art', i.e. astrology.

(4/5) the war episode is a midrash on Genesis 14; the nephew is Lot (14: 12-16).

(5) Ἀργαριζίν: the fact that Abraham's meeting with the priest Melchizedek is located specifically at this place was the main reason for Freudenthal (and still is for most scholars) to look for a Samaritan author behind this fragment, rather than the Jewish Eupolemos (723), since Mt Gerizim was the holy place for the Samaritans, whereas the 'real' Eupolemos gave pride of place to the Temple at Jerusalem (723 F 2b). For discussion, cf. Wacholder, 'Pseudo-Eupolemos' two Greek fragments', 106-107, and for different opinions, cf. references in biographical essay. Cf. esp. Garbini, 'Eupolemo storico giudeo', 615 with n.10-12, who emphasises that the text gives Argarizin as the name of the temple, not of the city, and who draws attention to the relatively uncommon construction of ὑπὸ followed by accusative.

ὄρος ὑψίστου: cf. commentary above, on Χαλδαίων πόλιν (3).

Berosos' *Babyloniaka* will have been a main source for the fragment, cf. Walter, 'Zu Pseudo-Eupolemos', 289, and id., 'Pseudo-Eupolemos (Samaritanischer Anonymus)' in id., *Fragmente jüdisch-hellenistischer Historiker*. W.G. Kümmel (ed.), *Jüdische Schriften aus Hellenistisch-Römischer Zeit* 1.2 (Gütersloh 1976), 139. On the relevance of the Pseudo-Eupolemos fragments for our understanding of the *Book of Giants* from Qumran, see L.T. Stuckenbruck, *The Book of Giants from Qumran. Texts, Translation, and Commentary* (Tübingen 1997), 32-40.

Doran, 'Pseudo-Eupolemos', 875-876, and id., 'The Jewish Hellenistic historians before Josephus' in H. Temporini and W. Haase (eds.), *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* II.20.1 (Berlin 1987), 270, strongly argued that this fragment should be added to those of Eupolemos (723). Cf. the discussion in support of this view by Garbini, 'Eupolemo storico giudeo', 614-616.

<b>724 F 2</b> - (III 212, 4) EUSEB. P.E. 9, 18, 2	meta[[ id="724" type="F" n="2"]]
<b>Subject:</b> Jewish literature, mythical past <b>Historical Work:</b> <b>Source date:</b> 4 <sup>th</sup> century AD <b>Historian's date:</b> 2 <sup>nd</sup> century BC <b>Historical period:</b> mythical / biblical past	<b>Translation</b>
<p>ἐν δὲ ἀδεσπότης εὗρομεν τὸν Ἀβραὰμ ἀναφέροντα εἰς τοὺς γίγαντας. τούτους δὲ οἰκοῦντας ἐν τῇ Βαβυλωνίᾳ διὰ τὴν ἀσέβειαν ὑπὸ τῶν θεῶν ἀναιρεθῆναι, ὧν ἓνα Βῆλον ἐκφεύγοντα τὸν θάνατον ἐν Βαβυλῶνι κατοικῆσαι, πύργον τε κατασκευάσαντα ἐν αὐτῷ διαιτᾶσθαι, ὃν δὴ ἀπὸ τοῦ κατασκευάσαντος Βήλου Βῆλον ὀνομασθῆναι. τὸν δὲ Ἄβραμον τὴν ἀστρολογικὴν ἐπιστήμην παιδευθέντα πρῶτον μὲν ἔλθεῖν εἰς Φοινίκην καὶ τοὺς Φοίνικας ἀστρολογίαν διδάξαι, ὕστερον δὲ εἰς Αἴγυπτον παραγενέσθαι.</p>	<p>[following a fragment from Artapanos, 726 F 1]  But in anonymous works we found that Abraham traced back his ancestry to the Giants; that these, living in Babylonia, were killed by the gods because of their ungodliness; that one of them, Belos, escaping death, had settled in Babylon, and lived in a tower that he had built, named Belos after the Belos who had built it; and that Abram, who was educated in the science of astronomy, first went to Phoenicia and taught the Phoenicians astronomy, and later came to Egypt.  [followed by fragment from Molon, 728 F 1]</p>

## 724 F 2 Commentary

Seemingly a shorter version of the previous fragment (724 F 1), on Abraham's lineage going back to the Giants, on the building of the tower in Babylon by the Giant Belos, and on Abraham's teaching of astronomy to the Phoenicians and the Egyptians. I. Müller, *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum* III (Paris 1849), 212-213, still wanted to attribute this fragment to Artapanus (726), but Freudenthal, *Alexander Polyhistor*, 14 and 90, argued that it had to come from Alexander Polyhistor (273), as Artapanus never refers to his sources, unlike this fragment (ἐν δὲ ἀδεσπότης). Since Freudenthal, 90-91, the fragment has been interpreted as either an abridged version of the longer fragment he attributed to Pseudo-Eupolemos (724 F 1), or at least as something that went back to the same original source as the longer fragment. Cf. Wacholder, 'Pseudo-Eupolemos' two Greek fragments, 83-113 [but cf. id., *Eupolemos. A Study of Judaeo-Greek Literature* (Cincinnati e.a. 1974), 287, n.112], and E.S. Gruen, *Heritage and Hellenism. The Reinvention of Jewish Tradition* (Berkeley – Los Angeles – London 1998), 150, n.52: "The second [fragment] reproduces the principal themes of the first and seems to be no more than a garbled summary." On specific similarities between this text and 724 F 1, cf. L.T. Stuckenbruck, "The "angels" and "giants" of Genesis 6:1-4 in second and third century BCE Jewish interpretation: reflections on the posture of early apocalyptic traditions' in *Dead Sea Discoveries* 7,3 (2000), 358-362. However, Walter, 'Pseudo-Eupolemos (Samaritanischer Anonymus)', 137-138, argued that the various details in this fragment could not possibly be attributed to a single author, and drew attention to the fact that the passage actually talks about its sources in the plural (ἐν δὲ ἀδεσπότης εὗρομεν). Doran, 'Pseudo-Eupolemos', 878, then concluded that the passage - "a potpourri of traditions, most probably thrown together by Alexander Polyhistor out of disparate elements" could not belong to either Eupolemos or Pseudo-Eupolemos (if the latter actually existed), or indeed to any individual author. Cf. id., 'The Jewish Hellenistic historians before Josephus' in H. Temporini and W. Haase (eds.), *Aufstieg und Niedergang der*

*römischen Welt* II.20.1 (Berlin 1987), 270. Doran is followed by Garbini, 'Eupolemo storico giudeo', 614.

## 724 Biographical Essay

The existence of a separate author conventionally known as 'Pseudo-Eupolemos' is based on the hypothesis of Freudenthal, *Alexander Polyhistor*, 82-103, who attributed to him the two fragments quoted above: a longer passage which Alexander Polyhistor (273) actually explicitly attributes to the 'real' Eupolemos (723), and a shorter passage which is often viewed as a summary of the longer one. Freudenthal's main reason for postulating a separate Pseudo-Eupolemos was the reference to Ἀργαριζίμ, Argarizin or Mt Gerizim, the holy place of the Samaritans, as the 'mountain of the Highest', from which Pseudo-Eupolemos came to be interpreted as a Samaritan writer. In addition, the fragments of Pseudo-Eupolemos were said - again in contrast to those of the 'real' Eupolemos (723) - to be of a more syncretistic nature, to give primacy to Abraham rather than to Moses, and to emphasise the Phoenicians. Cf. 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), 529. Freudenthal's hypothesis of Pseudo-Eupolemos as a Samaritan writer is still followed by many, if not most, e.g. by Walter, 'Pseudo-Eupolemos (Samaritanischer Anonymus)', and by L.H. Feldman, *Judaism and Hellenism Reconsidered* (Leiden - Boston 2006), 74 and 125. Not everybody is convinced though. Cf. F. Millar, 'The background to the Maccabean revolution', *JJS* 29 (1978), 6, n.12 [= id., *The Greek World, the Jews, & the East. Rome, the Greek World, and the East* 3, eds. H.M. Cotton and G.M. Rogers (Chapel Hill 2006), 73, n.13], who emphasised that mention of Mount Gerizim does not necessarily imply that the author is Samaritan. Similarly, Gruen, *Heritage and Hellenism*, 147-148, at 147: "the basis for that construct has less solidity than is usually assumed." On the date (first half of the second century BC ?) and place (Egypt ?, Samaria ?) of writing, cf. Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People* III.1, 529-530. However, it has also been questioned whether the two fragments assembled under this header are actually from a single author. Doran, 'Pseudo-Eupolemos', and id., 'The Jewish Hellenistic historians before Josephus', followed by Garbini, 614-616, argued that Alexander Polyhistor (273) was right to attribute the longer fragment (724 F 1) to Eupolemos, and that the second fragment, the alleged summary (724 F 2), is based on altogether different sources. See also the discussion of the fragments of Eupolemos (723).

## 724 Bibliography

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### ***SubSection head***

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