

# The Tyrian Annals and Ancient Greek Chronography\*

Nikos Kokkinos

Whatever rightful criticism has been levelled through the years against Berossus of Babylon (ca. 275 BCE) and Manetho of Sebennytus (ca. 260 BCE), we have come at least to accept that both writers worked with genuine ancient documents written in their native languages, available in their homelands, in their time. Unlike previous ethnographers and ethno-chronographers who dealt with Mesopotamia and Egypt by relying on native story-telling, being mostly unable to read non-Greek sources, the Hellenistic period for the first time produced local Hellenised writers, who could work directly with original texts and which they could adequately translate into Greek. The fact of the existence today of material in cuneiform (such as *King-List A* and *Chronicle I*) and in hieroglyphic and hieratic (such as the *Abydos King-List* and the *Turin Royal Canon*), similar to what would have lain behind Berossus and Manetho, has served precisely as a catalyst to our acceptance — even if their works have survived only as fragments in much later writers, and partly corrupted.

Somewhat paradoxically, however, we seem unwilling to treat equally other regions from which relevant, original documentation has not survived. The exception is Judah, where the Hebrew books assigned to the Deuteronomist school (that is to say Deuteronomy, Joshua, Judges, Samuel and Kings) may have originally been written. For these we had no ancient remains of Hebrew or Aramaic texts (notwithstanding some reflections in the Elephantine Papyri) before the relatively recent discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls, but we were happy to accept Greek versions (backed up by the much later Masoretic Text). Though the LXX (in the strict sense of the Greek Pentateuch) is a different case to Berossus and Manetho, in that it is a direct large-scale translation of a pre-existing collection, no substantial criticism seems to have been required here. Yet, when it comes to Phoenicia, from which we have inherited some fragments in Greek translation, we have been prompt to doubt the possibility of ancient Phoenician documents lying behind the Greek. Even the fact, that the very alphabet is supposed to have been passed on to the Greeks by the Phoenicians, and that we do have a considerable corpus of unrelated Phoenician documents, inscriptions and coins,<sup>1</sup> do not seem good enough reasons to influence our judgement.<sup>2</sup>

---

\* A first draft of this paper was written back in 1985, as part of preliminary work towards the team project of *Centuries of Darkness*. A second draft was announced as forthcoming in 1992 (see P. James, I.J. Thorpe, N. Kokkinos, R. Morkot & J. Frankish, 'Centuries of Darkness: A Reply to Critics', *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 2, 127-144, at 128). Later drafts, between 2003 and 2009, were also not complete enough to publish, until now. Gratitude is owed to Professor Sir Fergus Millar for his corrections and suggestions on the final draft; he will be gracious in allowing me responsibility for failing to follow one suggestion concerning my complaints in the introduction. My thanks also go to my colleague Peter James, who is always available to listen and respond to my ideas as they are

It was perhaps best put by Fergus Millar in a seminal paper published 30 years ago. Expressing the doubts of the majority of Graeco-Roman historians (for experts in earlier periods would not be so sceptical),<sup>3</sup> against whom he struggles to build a case, and in reference to the Tyrian Annals as preserved in Josephus, who claimed to be copying Hellenistic writers, Millar wrote:

---

being formulated. Last but not least, I am grateful to Antonis Makariou, a Greek architect and friend, for his digitisation of the stemma (Fig. 1).

<sup>1</sup> See now conveniently the monumental handbook edited by V. Krings, *La civilisation phénicienne et punique: Manuel de recherché* (Leiden 1995).

<sup>2</sup> This is a curious situation which must not in any case be stated in the terms chosen by M. Bernal in his *Black Athena* (3 vols., New Brunswick, NJ 1987-2006). Such extreme views rather than promulgate a reassessment, create resistance. An overall examination of the archaeological record (C.Th. Syriopoulos, *Ἡ προϊστορική κατοίκησης τῆς Ἑλλάδος καὶ ἡ γένεσις τοῦ ἑλληνικοῦ ἔθνους*, 2 vols., Athens 1994-5; and *Οἱ μεταβατικοὶ χρόνοι ἀπὸ τῆς μυκηναϊκῆς εἰς τὴν ἀρχαϊκὴν περίοδον*, 1250-700 π.χ., 2 vols., Athens 1983-4), cannot sustain a claim for a substantial Egyptian role in the formation of Greece in the Middle and Late Bronze Age, as advocated in *Black Athena* (vol. 1, 22). As to the 'ancient' traditions in the classical literature, their historical context is missed by Bernal. His account of modern anti-Semitism, for all its worth coming from a professor of modern history, has almost nothing to do with the details of the classical evidence itself. The "Who is Older" competition between local cultures, particularly pursued from the Early Hellenistic period, with all its inventions and pseudo-chronography, has yet to be fully analysed and understood. In a way, E. Said, *Orientalism* (London 1978) and E. Hobsbawm and T. Ranger (eds.), *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge 1983), had already made the essential points to need any clarification from *Black Athena*. V. Lambropoulos, *The Rise of Eurocentrism* (Princeton, NJ 1993) has since shown the incongruousness of criticising modern anti-Semitism by employing anti-Hellenism. We should be more than content with the challenges put forward by C. Gordon, *Homer and the Bible: The Origin and Character of East Mediterranean Literature* (Ventnor, N.J. 1955; 2nd ed. 1967) and *Before the Bible: The Common Background of Greek and Hebrew Civilizations* (New York 1962; rev. ed. 1965); M. Astour, *Hellenosemitica: An Ethnical and Cultural Study in West Semitic Impact on Mycenaean Greece* (Leiden 1965; 2nd ed. 1967); R. Drews, *The Coming of the Greeks: Indo-European Conquests in the Aegean and the Near East* (Princeton, NJ 1988); W. Burkert, *The Orientalizing Revolution: Near Eastern Influence on Greek Culture in the Early Archaic Age* (Cambridge, MA 1992); and *Babylon, Memphis, Persepolis: Eastern Contexts of Greek Culture* (Cambridge, MA 2004); and M. West, *The East Face of Helicon: West Asiatic Elements in Greek Poetry and Myth* (Oxford 1997).

<sup>3</sup> In the twentieth century, F. Jacoby led the way to the condemnation of Hellenistic 'Phoenician' sources; cf. selectively, G. Garbini, 'Gli "Annali di Tiro" e la Storiografia Fenicia', in R.Y. Ebied and M.J.L. Young (eds.), *Oriental Studies Presented to Benedikt S.J. Isserlin*, Leiden 1980, 114-127; J. van Seters, *In Search of History: Historiography in the Ancient World and the Origins of the Bible* (New Haven, CT/London 1983, 195-199); more recent scepticism by D. Feeney, *Caesar's Calendar: Ancient Time and the Beginnings of History* (Berkeley/Los Angeles/London 2007), 251, n. 138; and what is described as 'devil's advocacy' by D. Henige, 'Josephus and the Tyrian Kinglist', *Transeuphratène* 38 (2009), 35-64, at 63. Partial balance was offered by B.Z. Wacholder, *Eupolemus: A Study of Judaeo-Greek Literature* (Cincinnati/New York/Los Angeles/Jerusalem 1974), 217-223; and more so by D. Asheri, 'The Art of Synchronization in Greek Historiography: The Case of Timaeus of Tauromenium', *SCI* 11 (1991/2), 52-89, at 63-65.

... even if a Hellenistic writer truthfully related having translated a document preserved at Tyre, that document may itself have been a <historical> forgery. Moreover, the contents of the archives at Tyre are always, as quoted, alarmingly early. No one claims to have used a continuous archive coming down through the Persian and Hellenistic periods; the furthest we get is from Josephus (*C. Ap.* 1.155-58), a report of a Phoenician record of the kings of Tyre down to Cyrus' time. None the less *either* what Josephus says is <just> false, *or* it was at least believed at Tyre that they possessed records which went back to the tenth century B.C.<sup>4</sup>

Millar's cautious approach conceded too much. Josephus could not, and is not known to, have invented details of the type involving king-lists, notwithstanding his frequent adoption of pseudo-literature on various issues. We also depend on him for some reasonable fragments of Berossus and Manetho. The Tyrians could not have possibly believed that they possessed records which they did not really possess, no more than the Babylonians, Egyptians or Jews believed so. If any ancient document preserved in Phoenicia in the Hellenistic period may itself have been a forgery, so it may have been in Babylon, Egypt or Israel. There should not be alarm particularly concerning records in Phoenicia going back to the tenth century BCE,<sup>5</sup> for records in Mesopotamia and Egypt are dated centuries earlier. As to whether the stress here is on the words 'continuous archive', neither Berossus nor Manetho are supposed to have found their data in a single or a single-period archive.<sup>6</sup> Modern archaeological discoveries of archives from different periods in the Near East do not seem to have inspired enough our imagination.<sup>7</sup> But also the king-lists found in the Old Testament going back to Solomon in the tenth century BCE, are supported at several points (at least back to the ninth century) by correlations with the Assyrian, Babylonian and Persian records.<sup>8</sup> It is at this level that the Tyrian Annals should be judged, and we are lucky that they too have been linked to the Assyrian and Persian chronologies at significant points, as we shall see. Therefore, while caution is of course expedient, wholesale rejection is inexpedient. We are certainly not dealing here with a case of legendary "Dictys Cretensis", whose *Ephemeris Belli Trojani* was claimed to have been written in

---

<sup>4</sup> F. Millar, 'The Phoenician Cities: A Case-Study of Hellenisation', *PCPS* 29 (1983), 55-71, at 64 — see now in F. Millar, *Rome, the Greek World, and the East*, vol. 3 (Chapel Hill, NC 2006), 32-50, at 44-45.

<sup>5</sup> The tenth century BCE is actually a conceivable terminus for a literate Near Eastern society, and much more than the 'half-life' principle for measuring Greek oral traditions in the attempt by M.B. Sakellariou, *Between Memory and Oblivion: The Transmission of Early Greek Historical Traditions* (Athens 1990).

<sup>6</sup> See G.P. Verbrugge and J.M. Wickersham, *Berossos and Manetho: Native Traditions in Mesopotamia and Egypt* (Ann Arbor, MI 1996).

<sup>7</sup> See O. Pedersén, *Archives and Libraries in the Ancient Near East, 1500-300 BC* (Bethesda, MD 1998).

<sup>8</sup> See conveniently P.J. James, I.J. Thorpe, N. Kokkinos, R. Morkot, and L. Frankish *Centuries of Darkness: A Challenge to the Conventional Chronology of Old World Archaeology* (London 1991), 166-167; G. Galil, *The Chronology of the Kings of Israel and Judah* (Leiden/New York/Köln 1996), 153-154.

Phoenician characters immediately after the Trojan War, to be “rediscovered” in his tomb at Cnossus and “translated” into Greek by the order of Nero.<sup>9</sup>

But let us first examine the question of whether the Greeks from the Late Archaic to the Early Hellenistic period — that is to say up to the time of the purportedly “official” translation of the Tyrian Annals — knew anything about Phoenician traditions, whether they thought that Phoenicia possessed records in documentary or/and monumental form, and whether they could be translated into Greek. Putting together the scraps of evidence remaining today,<sup>10</sup> which Arnaldo Momigliano in his remarkable *Alien Wisdom*, as much as Elias Bickerman in his pioneering ‘Origines Gentium’, would seem to have thought unprofitable even to discuss,<sup>11</sup> this paper hopes to be pointing to the right direction.

### From Thales of Miletus to Timaeus of Tauromenium

According to Diogenes Laertius (1.13), writing in the 3rd century CE, there were initially two major schools of philosophy: one established by Anaximander of Miletus and another by Pythagoras of Samos. Anaximander’s teacher was the famous Thales of Miletus, and Pythagoras’ teacher was the perhaps equally famous Pherecydes of Syrus. Herodotus tells us (1.170), that Thales of Miletus (flourishing around 585 BCE) was ‘a man of remote Phoenician descent’ (Θάλεω ἀνδρὸς Μιλησίου ἐγένετο, τὸ ἀνέκαθεν γένος ἑόντος Φοίνικος). Diogenes Laertius (1.22) adds that his father’s name was ‘Examyus’ (πατὴρ δὲ μὲν Ἐξάμου), which sounds Carian in origin, but who was said to have originated from a Phoenician family known as the ‘Thelidae’ (or Thalidae? — ἐκ τῶν Θηλιδῶν, οἱ εἰσι Φοίνικες). Whether this was an interpretation arising from a legend that Thales became a citizen of Miletus having arrived there along with Nileus from Phoenicia (ἦλθε σὺν Νεΐλεω ἐκπεσόντι Φοινίκης), or whether it was merely an assumption based on the fact that he had introduced certain improvements in navigation from Phoenicia (Diog. Laert. 1.23), it does not matter. It is clear enough that Thales’ successors at Miletus, namely Anaximander, Dionysius and Hecataeus, were themselves informed of Phoenician traditions (*FGrH* 687, F 1 — see below). Similarly Pythagoras, believed to have visited Egypt in the reign of Amasis (ca. 569-526 BCE; Isoc. *Bus.* 28; Diog. Laert. 8.3) via Phoenicia (Iambl. *Vit. Pyth.* 13), was also reckoned to be of Phoenician origins at least as early as the third century BCE by Neanthes of Cyzicus

<sup>9</sup> It is interesting that even in this case of literary fraud, the insistence by scholars that the Latin text was not a translation but only an invention of the fourth century CE, has been proved wrong by the discovery of a fragment of the Greek original among the papyri of Tebtunis, showing that the story, in any case, may go back to the time of Nero — N. E. Griffin, ‘The Greek Dictys’, *AJP* 29 (1908), 329-335.

<sup>10</sup> See partly now F. Mazza, S. Ribichini and P. Xella (eds.), *Fonti classiche per la civiltà fenicia e punica I: Fonti letterarie greche dale origini alla fine dell’età classica* (Roma 1988); Krings (n. 1), 31-34, 73-84; cf. E. Lipinski, *Itineraria Phoenicia* (Leuven–Paris–Dudley, MA 2004).

<sup>11</sup> A. Momigliano, *Alien Wisdom: The Limits of Hellenization* (Cambridge 1975); E. Bickerman, ‘Origines Gentium’, *CPh* 47 (1952), 65-81.

(Clem. Alex. *Strom.* 1.14/62, 2; see also Porph. *Vit. Pyth.* 1).<sup>12</sup> He was also believed to have obtained information from ‘Zaratas the Chaldaean’ according to Aristoxenus of Taras already in the fourth century BCE (Fr. 13 Wehrli = Hippol. *Ref.* 1.2.12).<sup>13</sup> Pythagoras’ teacher Pherecydes of Syrus (ironically not of Syria), who accordingly would have been broadly contemporary with Thales in the ancient view, was the son of a ‘Babys’ (Diog. Laert. 1.116, 119 — Βάβυς), a name surely oriental in origin. Pherecydes is said by the Suda (s.v. Φερεκύδης) to have educated himself by obtaining the apocryphal books of the Phoenicians (κτησάμενον τὰ Φοινίκων ἀπόκρυφα βιβλία).

The Suda’s information may or may not have been drawn directly from Herennius Philo of Byblus (64-ca. 148 CE),<sup>14</sup> who remarked that the Phoenicians were the source of inspiration for Pherecydes’ theology (*FGrH* 790, F 4: παρὰ Φοινίκων δὲ ... λαβὼν τὰς ἀφορμὰς ἐθεολόγησε). Whether this was again an assumption based on certain parallels in the narrative of Pherecydes, or whether he himself had actually mentioned having used such sources, is not important and cannot be proved. A general impression, however, that sacred “books” were known to the Greeks to have existed among the Phoenicians cannot be avoided here. The very name of ‘Byblus’, was understood by the Greeks to have been given to the city by the Phoenicians as being a known depository of books (*FGrH* 794, F3 = Schol. (Eust.) Dionys. Per. 912: ... <τὸ ὄνομα> ἀπένειμον αὐτῇ Φοίνικες, ἐφ’ ᾧ τὰς παρ’ αὐτοῖς βίβλους φυλάττει). Could Pherecydes, as early as the sixth century BCE, have got hold of a theological work in Phoenician which he managed to have translated into Greek to further his knowledge? This question may only be answered by another question. Why not? There have always been suspicions of tradition-borrowing by the Greeks from the Near East all the way back to Hesiod and Homer; the evidence is now masterly reassessed by Martin West.<sup>15</sup>

A distant echo of such Phoenician theology existing in written form is to be found precisely in the controversial Philo of Byblus, who is reported to have translated it into Greek in his *Phoinikika*. The initial collection of the doctrines was said to have been

<sup>12</sup> It could even be as early as the fourth century, if an earlier Neanthes identified recently is involved here; see S. Schorn, “Periegetische Biographie” — “Historische Biographie”: Neanthes von Kyzikos (FgrHist 84) als Biograph’, in S. Schorn and M. Erler (eds.), *Die griechische Biographie in hellenistischer Zeit* (Berlin/New York 2007), 115-156 — for example, Schorn ascribes the *Horoi Kyzikēnōn* to Neanthes the Elder whom he dates to the fourth century BCE on the basis of new fragmentary evidence of a report on Plato’s death unknown to Jacoby.

<sup>13</sup> On Aristoxenus and Pythagoras’ acquaintance with Zoroastrianism, see P. Kingsley, ‘The Greek Origin of the Sixth-Century Dating of Zoroaster’, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 53 (1990), 245-265. Heracleides of Pontus, student of Plato, is said to have written a work on Zoroaster (Plut. *Adv. Colot.* 1115A). Hermippus of Smyrna, in the late third century BCE, was claimed to have translated an enormous amount of verses by Zoroaster (Plin. *NH* 30.2.44). Oriental familiarity is displayed in the pseudo-Platonic dialogue *Axiochus*, not later than the first century BCE.

<sup>14</sup> For Philo’s dates, see N. Kokkinos, ‘A Note on the Date of Philo of Byblus’, *CQ* 62 (2012), 433-435.

<sup>15</sup> West (n. 2); cf. the Phoenician “harvest-song” in its Greek version of “Linus-song” in Homer (*Il.* 18.570-72). R. Lane Fox, *Travelling Heroes: Greeks and their Myths in the Epic Age of Homer* (London 2008), attempts to reverse the case, but based on the circular argument of archaeological conventional chronology.

made by one ‘Hierombalus’ (YRMB‘L, equivalent to YRMYHW/Jeremiah = ‘YHW will rise’), ‘a priest of the god Ἰεῦὼ (YHW?)’, and was approved by ‘Abibalus king of Berytus’ (arguably Abibaal king of Tyre, father of Hiram I, known precisely from the Tyrian Annals under discussion, as we shall see), shortly before the Trojan War (arguably in the “low” chronology of the Tyrian Annals, not that of Eratosthenes as generally assumed). This ancient collection, as claimed, was supposed to have been reworked by one ‘Sanchuniathon’ (SKHNYTN; arguably a much later character, if real, perhaps writing in the seventh century BCE after the conquest of Tyre by Sennacherib), ‘of Berytus’ (arguably of Tyre), whose work we are told was translated into Greek by Philo (*FGrH* 790, F 1). Indeed, Athenaeus (3, 126A) presents Sanchuniathon as a fellow-citizen of Mochus of Tyre, evidently a yet more recent character (perhaps writing in the sixth century BCE after the conquest of Tyre by Nebuchadrezzar II), in his work of which was to be found a similar version of Phoenician theology (*Iambl. Vit. Pyth.* 13). In any perception there would be a gap of three centuries between Hierombalus and Sanchuniathon, and another eight centuries between Sanchuniathon and Philo. Understandably, Philo’s testimony (remote and elaborate as it is) was strongly doubted by modern scholars until the unexpected discovery of the Ugaritic (Ras Shamra) tablets in 1929, which have provided original evidence for a Phoenician theology displaying at least strong shades of Sanchuniathon.<sup>16</sup> It turned out to be the exact opposite of what Pausanias (7.237-8), in his staunch Hellenic view, had first argued against the existence of an independent Phoenician theology — namely that it would have simply been based on Greek theology. Thus the idea that Thales, Pherecydes, and their disciples, could have been influenced by learning among the Phoenicians should not amaze us any longer.

In the last quarter of the sixth century BCE, Hecataeus of Miletus, undertook a journey to Egypt in search of antiquarian knowledge in his attempt to demythologise Homer. He would have been armed with a copy of a world-map in the form of a tablet (πίναξ), first created in his local school by Anaximander (*Strab.* 1.1.11; cf. *Diog. Laert.* 2.1.2),<sup>17</sup> which Hecataeus could now hope to improve by practical observation (*FGrH* 1, F 12a = *Agathemerus* 1.1; cf. a copy apparently of the revised map, engraved on a bronze tablet, carried by Aristagoras of Miletus in his visit to Sparta, *Hdt.* 5.49). Hecataeus went to Egypt almost certainly via Phoenicia. This is based on the knowledge he shows for this country (regardless of whether he would also have obtained information from Phoenicians in Egypt — cf. *Hdt.* 2.112), as well as on the fact that in Hecataeus’ footsteps, Herodotus also visited Phoenicia (see below). Significantly, Hecataeus knows the native name of the country: ‘Chna’ (Χῆνᾶ) for Canaan (*FGrH* 1, F 21; cf. F 272), and refers to several cities in the surviving fragments, including Sidon (*FGrH* 1, F 274), and Dorus/Dora (*FGrH* 1, F 275), as well as the difficult to locate

<sup>16</sup> W.F. Albright, ‘Review of Clemen, *Die Phönikische Religion nach Philon von Byblos*’, *JBL* 60 (1941), 208-212; cf. A.I. Baumgarten, *The Phoenician History of Philo of Byblos: A Commentary* (Leiden 1981), 1-6; H.I. MacAdam, ‘Philo of Byblos and the *Phoenician History*: Ethnicity and Culture in Hadrianic Lebanon’, in N.J. Higham (ed.), *Archaeology of the Roman Empire: A Tribute to the Life and Works of Professor Barri Jones* (Oxford 2001), 189-203, at 194-196.

<sup>17</sup> See W.A. Heidel, ‘Anaximander’s Book, the Earliest Known Geographical Treatise’, *Proceedings of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences* 56 (1921), 239-288.

Gabala (*FGrH* 1, F 273), Gigglymote (*FGrH* 1, F 277), and Phoinicoussai (*FGrH* 1, F 278). He is also informed about a Phoenician city in the Argolid named Aiga (*FGrH* 1, F 276), and while he accepts that Cadmeia in Greece was founded by the Phoenicians of Cadmus (*FGrH* 1, F 119), he believes that the alphabet came to Greece not by Cadmus, but by Danaus (*FGrH* 1, F 20). This latter information would probably have been obtained from Phoenicians in Egypt (from where Danaus was supposed to have departed), even if it appears that it was also known to Hecataeus' compatriots Anaximander and Dionysius (see *FGrH* 687, F 1). The Phoenicians in Egypt would also have supplied the evidence for a local Phoenician city called Liebris (*FGrH* 1, F 316), and for cities in Libya called Canthele (*FGrH* 1, F 338b), Calamenthe (*FGrH* 1, F 348), as well as an island called Eudeipne (*FGrH* 1, F 339), and three other islands by Carthage: one called Gaulus (*FGrH* 1, F 341) and two with the same name Phoinicoussai again (*FGrH* 1, F 342; cf. F 278; or should it be Pythicoussai?). Hecataeus' inclusion in his work of Phoenician (Punic) information in the West Mediterranean is very interesting and can lead to further observations.<sup>18</sup>

Hecataeus seems to have been given access to the book of Hanno of Carthage, a travel log of a voyage south of Gibraltar outside the Pillars of Heracles, thought to have been written in Phoenician conceivably in the sixth century BCE. He refers to places such as 'Metagonium' (*FGrH* 1, F 344), identified with the Bay of Melilla in Mauretania Tingitana, which would not have easily been known to the Greeks being situated far west of Cyrene — despite an assumption that may be made that his contemporary Scylax of Caryanda (Hdt. 4.44), in his *Περίπλους*, would have covered the West Mediterranean "inside" the Pillars of Heracles (cf. *FGrH* 709, T 1 = *Suda* s.v. Σκύλαξ). Yet, Hecataeus' mention of 'Melissa' (*FGrH* 1, F 357) may only have been copied from Hanno's 'Melitta' (*Per.* 5), as this is located "outside" the Pillars of Heracles on the Atlantic coast of Morocco, somewhere south of Agadir and north of the Lixus/Draa River.<sup>19</sup> Hanno apparently had his account inscribed on a votive tablet at Carthage (Ael. Arist. *Orat.* 48), and it may have been from this inscription that the work in the Early Hellenistic period was translated into Greek, also as a *Περίπλους*, discussed later by Roman geographers (beginning with Pomponius Mela 3.90). The journey of Hanno was matched in the fifth century BCE by one of his compatriots, Himilco, with the difference that he sailed north, up to the British Isles (Plin. *NH* 2.67.169). Himilco also must have left a travel log written in his mother tongue, which would have been translated into Greek and then into Latin, or even directly into Latin, depending on how it was used centuries later by Avienus (*Ora maritima* 117-29; 380-89; 406-15). Since Herodotus (4.42), reports that Phoenicians were appointed by Pharaoh Necho II to circumnavigate Africa already in ca. 600 BCE, there should be no doubt about Phoenician journeys beyond Gibraltar in the sixth and fifth centuries BCE.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>18</sup> Cf. T. Braun, 'Hecataeus' Knowledge of the Western Mediterranean', in K. Lomas (ed.), *Greek Identity in the Western Mediterranean: Papers in Honour of Brian Shefton* (Leiden/Boston 2004), 287-348.

<sup>19</sup> See K. Μεγαλομμάτης, 'Ἄννωνος Καρχηδονίων Βασιλέως Περίπλους' (Athens 1991), 56-57, n. 11; but cf. Lipinski (n. 10), 450-451.

<sup>20</sup> See G. Sarton, *Ancient Science through the Golden Age of Greece* (Cambridge MA 1952), 298-303; R. Carpenter, *Beyond the Pillars of Hercules* (New York 1966), 81-101; J.S.

Evidently, there should also be no doubt of the existence in these centuries of Phoenician writings that could be translated into Greek and Latin. The original Greek play, perhaps of the fourth century BCE, that lies behind Plautus' play called *Poenulus* ('the little Carthaginian'), written ca. 200 BCE, portrays the Carthaginian protagonist as a multilingual character (112-13). While he introduces himself (995) as HN' BN MTNB' L LBCHDRY 'NKH ('I am Hanno son of Mattan-Ba'al, a senator?'), he is fluent both in Punic and Greek/Latin, using several Semitic words in his speech, including reciting a piece of text extending over ten lines (930-39).<sup>21</sup> At about the same time, Hannibal the military commander of Carthage, is said to have made a record of his achievements in Punic and Greek, inscribed on an altar (or on a bronze inscription attached to it) and dedicated to the temple of Juno Lacinia near Croton (Liv. 28.46.16: *titulo, Punicis Graecisque litteris insculpto*; cf. Polyb. 3.33.18: ἐν χαλκώματι; 3.56.4: ἐν τῇ στήλῃ). Mago of Carthage wrote twenty-eight (Varro, *Rust.* 1.1.10; Columella, *Rust.* 1.13) or thirty-two books (Plin. *NH* 18.5.22) on scientific farming, probably considerably earlier than the Early Hellenistic period. After the capture of Carthage in 146 BCE, the Roman Senate elected to translate this work into Latin under the orders of M. Cato the Censor, who assigned the task to 'men well versed in the Punic tongue' among whom was D. Silanus (Plin. *NH* 18.5.22; Columella, *Rust.* 1.13; cf. Varro, *Rust.* 1.1.10). Cassius Dionysius of Utica in 88 BCE wrote an epitome of 20 books in Greek, with the title Ἀγροτικὴ Οἰκονομία, which became a source for Varro (*Rust.* 1.1.10; Plin. *NH* 18.5.23) and Virgil (Columella, *Rust.* 3.15.4). Briefer epitomes were written later in the first century BCE by Diophanes of Nicaea in six books (Varro, *Rust.* 1.1.10; Columella, *Rust.* 1.10) and by Asinius Pollio in two books (Suda, s.v. Πωλίων). All versions of Mago are now lost, but a few fragments are preserved particularly in Columella. The same Mago should be the Carthaginian veterinary writer known in antiquity for his horse prescriptions (cf. Varro, *Rust.* 2.5.18).<sup>22</sup> The library and archives of Carthage were given as spoils of war to Rome's allies, the Hellenised kings of Numidia (Plin. *NH* 18.5.22). The historical books of King Hiempsal II, which were written in Punic around 80 BCE, must therefore have used precisely these archives.<sup>23</sup> Sallust (*Jug.* 17) utilised Hiempsal II's books after having them translated to him (*ex libris Punicis ... interpretatum nobis est*) by the locals. A Phoenician history or chronicle was known as late as the fourth century CE to Servius (*ad Aen.* 1.343: *Cathago a cartha, ut lectum est in historia Poenorum et in Livio*).

Besides, there are many writers whom we can assume to have been aware of literature in Phoenician in the development of their work written in Greek or Latin: from Zeno of Citium (a Phoenician colony on Cyprus), founder of the Stoic school in Athens at the beginning of the Hellenistic period; to Zeno of Sidon, also of the third century BCE, author of a work on his hometown called Σιδωνιακά (*FGrH* 791, T 1); to Hasdrubal of Carthage, renamed Clitomachus, director of the Academy in Athens from ca. 129 BCE (Diog. Laert. 4.67); to Procles of Carthage, an obscure writer of the second

---

Romm, *The Edges of the Earth in Ancient Thought* (Princeton, NJ 1992), 18-22; cf. B. Cunliffe, *The Extraordinary Voyage of Pytheas the Greek* (London 2001), 41-49.

<sup>21</sup> See L.H. Gray, 'The Punic Passages in the "Poenulus" of Plautus', *AJSLL* 39 (1923), 73-88.

<sup>22</sup> See A.M. Honeyman, 'Varia Punica', *AJPh* 68 (1947), 77-82, at 80-81.

<sup>23</sup> On Hiempsal II, see V.N. Kontorini, 'Le roi Hiempsal II de Numidie et Rhodes', *AntCl* 44 (1975), 89-99.



century BCE (Paus. 2.21.6; 4.35.4);<sup>24</sup> and to Pomponius Mela of Tingentera in Hispania Baetica (a Phoenician colony in Spain — Pompon. 2.96), geographer of the first century CE.<sup>25</sup> It is worth noting the euphemism ‘little Phoenician’ (Φοινικίδιον) for young Zeno of Citium, whose father was called Mnaseas (MNSH?), as expressed by his teacher Crates of Thebes when Zeno first arrived at Athens (Diog. Laert. 7.3). Also worth noting is the verse in an epitaph at the end of his life: ‘And if thy native country was Phoenicia, what need to slight thee? Came not Cadmus thence, who gave to Greece her books and art of writing?’ (Diog. Laert. 7.30 — εἰ δὲ πάτρα Φοίνισσα, τίς ὁ φθόνος; οὐ καὶ ὁ Κάδμος κείνος, ἅφ’ οὗ γραπτὰν Ἑλλάς ἔχει σελίδα;).

After Hecataeus, Herodotus (ca. 430 BCE) describes Tyre as a repository or archive of Phoenician traditions, a city he visited, as mentioned above, in order to confirm this particular claim (2.44). He also spent time with the Phoenician community in Memphis (2.112). Herodotus learnt that the Phoenicians have ‘lived of old’ (7.89) and this explains why they were confident in their own traditions sometimes even in disagreement with the Persians (1.5). He knows of Cadmus ‘the man of Tyre’ (2.49), and how the Cadmean letters were brought to Boeotia by Phoenicians, while their alphabet meanwhile had been adopted and transformed in Ionia (5.58) — as already testified by the Milesian writers of the sixth century BCE.<sup>26</sup> Herodotus’ older contemporary Hellenicus of Mytilene, in his lost *Kypriaka*, referred to Carpasia as having been founded by Pygmalion (*FGrH* 4, F 57 = Stephanus, s.v. Καρπασία). The question is how could Hellenicus in the fifth century BCE have known about a Phoenician colony on Cyprus established by Pygmalion (PGMLYN or P’MYTN), apparently the king of Tyre at the end of the ninth century BCE? This king, rather than a mythical Pygmalion (Ps.-Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.14.3; Schol. Dionys. Per. 195, 509), must be meant here, and anyway the latter was probably a creation based on the former historical figure.

<sup>24</sup> J.P. Sánchez Hernández, ‘Procles the Carthaginian: A North African Sophist in Pausanias’ *Periēgēsis*, *GRBS* 50 (2010), 119-132, suggests that Procles, a source of Pausanias the Periegetes, does not belong to the Hellenistic period, but that he was a contemporary sophist under Antoninus Pius.

<sup>25</sup> See R. Batty, ‘Mela’s Phoenician Geography’, *JRS* 90 (2000), 70-94.

<sup>26</sup> Herodotus’ contemporary, Democritus of Abdera, is said to have travelled extensively between Babylon and Egypt seeking original sources (Antisthenes of Rhodes *apud* Diog. Laert. 9.35), while a translation of an Oriental text, described as ‘a stela of Acicharus’ (Ἀκίκαρος), is mentioned as having being incorporated into his work (Clem. Alex. *Strom.* 1.15/69, 4). Curiously a single book on Acicharus (Ἀκίχαρος) is listed later under the name of Theophrastus of Eresus (Diog. Laert. 5.50). If this text is identical to *The Words of Ahiqar*, known in Aramaic from Elephantine and dated to the early Persian period, a Greek translation may here be attested. Later in the fifth century BCE, Thucydides (4.50) mentions the translation of an official Persian letter intercepted in Athens, which was written in Ἰασούρια γράμματα, and Choerilus of Iasus, in the fourth century BCE, is reckoned to have been the poet behind the translation of an Oriental tombstone thought to belong to legendary ‘Sardanapallus’ (Diod. 2.23.3; Athen. 8, 335F). A broad contemporary of Choerilus, Philiscus of Miletus, the teacher of Timaeus of Tauromenium, is thought by some (in view of *P.Oxy.* 2944) to have known (in translation?) of 1 Kings 3:16-28 — see J. Méléze Modrzejewski, ‘Philiscos de Milet et le judgment de Salomon: La première référence grecque à la Bible’, *BIDR* 91 (1988), 571-597.

As we know from the Tyrian Annals, linked to Assyrian chronology, Pygmalion reigned 814/3-768/7 BCE (see below). The fragments we have do not mention the foundation of Carpasia, although they do refer to Pygmalion's sister going through Cyprus on her way to founding Carthage (Joseph. *Ap.* 1.125; Just. *Epit.* 18.5). Could Hellanicus have written his *Kypriaka* based solely on Greek traditions emanating from an island with long-shared past between Greeks and Phoenicians (Hdt. 7.90)? Or could he have also known of Phoenician traditions, deriving from the Tyrian Annals before their translation in the Hellenistic period? Pseudo-Scylax (103) in the fourth century BCE clearly confirms the Phoenician origins of Carpasia, and Demetrius of Salamis later corrects the spelling of the name as 'Carbasia', associating it with the direction of the wind known in Phoenician as the *carban* (*FGrH* 756, F 1). The 'Phoenician wind', *Karbas*, was already known to Aristotle (*De ventis* 937b 2-5; cf. Theophrastus, *On Winds* F 5.62.5, ed. F. Wimmer). Later Greek writers on Phoenicia and Cyprus include stories which when demythologised may be connected to the historical Pygmalion. Philostephanus of Cyrene in the third century BCE mentions a beautiful ivory statue of Aphrodite with which 'Pygmalion king of Cyprus' had fallen in love (*FGrH* 447, F 2a & F 2b) — a story not unexpectedly elaborated later in poetry (*Ov. Met.* 10.243-97) — and Asclepiades of Cyprus, possibly in the first century BCE, refers to the eating of meat by the Phoenicians, a habit introduced only after the time of Pygmalion 'who was Phoenician by race, but who also reigned over the Cypriots' (*FGrH* 752, F 1 — τὸν γένοι μὲν Φοίνικα, βασιλεύσαντα δὲ καὶ Κυπρίων). It is unlikely that either of these stories, and particularly the latter, could instead refer to Pymiathon (given as 'Pygmalion' in Athen. 4, 167D) who was king of Citium under Alexander the Great.

In a work ostensibly attributed to Aristotle (384-322 BCE) with the title Περὶ Θαυμασίων Ἀκουσμάτων, a book of wonders apparently belonging to the genre of paradoxography, it is said that Utica had been founded 287 years before Carthage: 'as it is written in the Phoenician histories' (*Mir. ausc.* 134: ὡς ἀναγράφεται ἐν ταῖς Φοινικικαῖς ἱστορίαις).<sup>27</sup> But what written Phoenician histories? Regardless of whether this work actually postdates Aristotle by more than half of a century,<sup>28</sup> it is clear that it belongs to his Athenian Lyceum, the Peripatetic School, and Aristotle himself would indeed have been interested in Oriental material (Plin. *NH* 30.2.3; Plut. *De Is. et Os.* 48/370C-F; Diog. Laert. 1.8), and probably from the days he was a student of Plato in

<sup>27</sup> The significance of the date of Utica is discussed at the end of the paper. An older emendation of Ἰτύκη in Josephus (*AJ* 8.146; *Ap.* 1.119) has been abandoned in favour of Κίτιον on Cyprus, evidently the earliest Phoenician colony. There is no evidence, historical or archaeological, that can support the presence of Phoenicians in North Africa and the West three centuries before Carthage — see conveniently James *et al.* (n. 8), 365, n. 12; cf. C.R. Krahmalkov, 'The Foundation of Carthage, 814 B.C.: The Douimès Pendant Inscription', *JSS* 26 (1981), 177-191 (on the Pygmalion text from Carthage); M.E. Aubet, *The Phoenicians and the West: Politics, Colonies and Trade* (Cambridge 1993), 179-181 (on the Nora stele).

<sup>28</sup> It is believed that Timaeus of Tauromenium, whose work stopped in 264/3 BCE, is the most recent writer known to this Book of Wonders — L. Pearson, *The Greek Historians of the West: Timaeus and his Predecessors* (Atlanta, GA 1987), 31, 54, 58; cf. P.M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* (Oxford 1972), vol. 1, 767.

the Academy.<sup>29</sup> Not to mention his rather unexpected interest in the political constitution of Carthage (*Pol.* 2.11), we know that he had received certain Egyptian and Babylonian data documenting the occultation of Mars (*Cael.* 2.12 [292a 7-9]). His awareness of the existence of Babylonian records, is clearly mentioned by Porphyry of Tyre in the third century CE, who said that Aristotle ordered Callisthenes of Olynthus to send back from Babylon lists of astronomical observations covering a period of what arguably would have read ‘1,943 years down to Alexander the Great’ (*FGrH* 124, T 3 = *Simpl. Comm. in Cael.* 2.12). The required period, in other words, would have begun with Ninus (following the chronology set up by Ctesias of Cnidus in ca. 400 BCE) and ended with Alexander’s crossing to Asia.<sup>30</sup>

Indeed before the creation of the Lyceum, the Academy showed interest in Oriental sources, if one is only to mention Plato’s pupil Eudoxus of Cnidus (ca. 408-355 BCE), who is reckoned to have used Babylonian,<sup>31</sup> as much as Egyptian evidence. He seems to have had translated a work tentatively entitled *Κυνῶν Διάλογοι*, which may only be pointing to the Dog-Star (Sirius) and its calendrical interest or Sothic chronology.<sup>32</sup>

<sup>29</sup> Cf. above n. 13; W. Jaeger, ‘Greeks and Jews: The First Greek Records of Jewish Religion and Civilization’, *JR* 18.2 (April 1938), 127-143, at 128-130, in reference to Aristotle’s early dialogue *On Philosophy*; A.-H. Chroust, ‘Aristotle and the “Philosophies of the East”’, *Rev. Metaphys.* 18 (1965), 572-580, at 576 points to evidence in the *Index Philosophorum*, mentioning a Chaldaean visiting Plato in the Academy (see col. III.31-41, belonging to Philodemus of Gadara as recovered from the papyri of Herculaneum — *P. Herc.* 164, 1021), and to the anonymous Neoplatonic work *Prolegomena to the Philosophy of Plato*, mentioning the coming of Chaldaeans to hear Plato in Athens (ed. Westerink, p. 15); cf. the discussion of P. Kingsley, ‘Meetings with Magi: Iranian Themes among the Greeks, from Xanthus of Lydia to Plato’s Academy’, *JRoyAsiaticSoc* 3.5 (1995), 173-209.

<sup>30</sup> The numeral ‘31,000 years’ (ΑΜΓ) in the text of Simplicius is almost certainly corrupt, but it is better to restore it as ‘1943’ (ΑϞΜΓ) rather than ‘1,903’ (ΑϞΓ), as argued by S.M. Burstein, ‘Callisthenes and Babylonian Astronomy: A Note on *FGrHist* 124 T3’, *Echos du Monde Classique/Classical Views* 28 (1984), 71-74, at 73, n. 9; cf. A.B. Bosworth, ‘Aristotle and Callisthenes’, *Historia* 19 (1970), 407-413, at 410-411. The uncommon *sampi* was simply dropped. The higher number agrees with the distance between the date for the beginning of the reign of Ninus in Ctesias (2277 BCE — highest possible) and the date when Alexander crossed Asia (334 BCE — standard in chronographical calculations); or in other words 2277–334=1943 (for Ctesias’ chronology, see N. Kokkinos, ‘Ancient Chronography, Eratosthenes and the Dating of the Fall of Troy’, *Ancient West and East* 8 [2009], 37–56, at 41-45). However, this does not mean that by recording the order of Aristotle, Porphyry agreed with the chronology of Ctesias!

<sup>31</sup> See Sarton (as n. 20), 447-448; W.W. Jaeger, *Aristotle* (Oxford 1948), 131-133; for the existence of such evidence from the mid-eighth century BCE, see conveniently E. Robson, ‘Scholarly Conceptions and Quantifications of Time in Assyria and Babylon, ca. 750-250 BCE’, in R.M. Rosen (ed.), *Time and Temporality in the Ancient World* (Philadelphia, PA 2004), 45-90, at 72 and references there.

<sup>32</sup> *Contra* J. Gwyn Griffiths, ‘A Translation from the Egyptian by Eudoxus’, *CQ* 15 (1965), 75-78; see O. Neugebauer, *A History of Ancient Mathematical Astronomy* (Berlin – Heidelberg – New York 1975), 676. In fact, one may wonder whether this work is somehow connected to the enigmatic documents found later, an anonymous *Παλαιὸν Χρονικὸν* of Egypt and a related *Βιβλος τῆς Σώθσεως ἢ Κυνικὸς Κύκλος*, both partly preserved in George the Syncellus. The first is claimed to predate Manetho by Syncellus (*Chron.* 56.18-26; see

Eudoxus, described as the founder of “scientific” astronomy, had undertaken a long journey to Egypt in the reign of Pharaoh Nectanebo I (380-362 BCE), establishing observatories both there and back at Cnidus, his home town, opposite the island of Cos in the south. Eudoxus’ reputation earned him the appellation ‘Endoxus’ — glorious or illustrious (Diog. Laert. 8.91). It would not be a coincidence that it was on the island of Cos that the famed Berossus (ca. 275 BCE) later settled, initiating a tradition of Babylonian astronomical learning which spread to Rhodes, the Dorian islands, and Athens, where he was honoured in effect as ‘Chrysostomus’ or golden-mouthed.<sup>33</sup> Hipparchus of Nicaea (died ca. 126 BCE), who used Babylonian evidence while working later on the island of Rhodes,<sup>34</sup> must have been close to Panaetius of Rhodes (died ca. 110 BCE), who was the teacher of famous Posidonius of Apamea (died 51 BCE), founder of the Rhodian branch of the Stoic school and apparently our earliest informant on Berossus.<sup>35</sup> Posidonius has been hailed as the new Aristotle of his time. The first opening of the school in Athens by Phoenician Zeno of Citium in ca. 300 BCE has already been mentioned above. It is interesting to note that on Zeno’s death, the succession to the school’s directorship passed consistently to philosophers of Hellenised Eastern origins,<sup>36</sup> until it reached Diogenes the Babylonian (in ca. 170 BCE), whose pupil Archdemus of Tarsus founded another Stoic branch now back in Babylon itself (Plut. *De exil.* 14). Meanwhile, Diogenes’ other known pupil, Antipater of Tarsus, took the directorship in Athens (in ca. 140 BCE) and was succeeded by the aforementioned Panaetius (in 129 BCE), the teacher of Posidonius. Posidonius’ student Athenodorus (first century BCE — Strab. 1.1.9; 1.3.12) established the Stoic branch at Tarsus (*FGrH* 746, T 3), and both Antipater and Athenodorus were recognised by Vitruvius (9.6.2) as successors of Berossus.<sup>37</sup> The history of astronomy beginning from Eudoxus, as much

---

the Loeb ed. by Waddell, App. III), while the second is now classified as pseudo-Manethonian (*FGrH* 609, FF 27-28); see Verbrugge and Wickersham (n. 6), 174-182. For discussion of both, see W. Adler, *Time Immemorial: Archaic History and its Sources in Christian Chronography from Julius Africanus to George Syncellus* (Washington, DC 1989), 55-65, 78-80, 172-175. In terms of Greek translation of Egyptian documents, one may also note here the *Oracle of the Potter*, originally translated from Demotic either in the third or second century BCE — M. Austin, *The Hellenistic World from Alexander to the Roman Conquest: A Selection of Ancient Sources in Translation*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge 2006), 569-571, no. 326.

<sup>33</sup> See N. Kokkinos, ‘Re-Dating the Fall of Sardis’, *SCI* 28 (2009), 1-23, at 17, n. 54.

<sup>34</sup> G.J. Toomer, ‘Hipparchus and Babylonian Astronomy’, in E. Leichty, M. deJ. Ellis and P. Gerardi (eds.), *A Scientific Humanist: Studies in Memory of Abraham Sachs* (Philadelphia, PA 1988), 353-362; A. Jones, ‘The Adaptation of Babylonian Methods in Greek Numerical Astronomy’, *Isis* 82 (1991), 440-453.

<sup>35</sup> Verbrugge and Wickersham (n. 6), 27-31.

<sup>36</sup> See conveniently D. Sedley, ‘The School, from Zeno to Arius Didymus’, in B. Inwood (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to the Stoics* (Cambridge 2003), 7-32.

<sup>37</sup> However, the name of ‘Athenodorus’ is only an emendation in Vitruvius’ text, and may better be emended as ‘Apollodorus’ of Athens, who was a fellow-student of Antipater of Tarsus — see N. Kokkinos, ‘Julius Cassianus, Pseudo-Thallus, and the Identity of “Cassius Longinus” in the *Chronographia* of Eusebius’, *SJC* 8 (2010), 15-28, at 16, n. 4; *contra* G.W. Bowersock, ‘Antipater Chaldaeus’, *CQ* 33 (1983), 491.

as the history of Stoicism beginning from Zeno, are subjects striking for their connections to the Near East.

Finally, we come to Timaeus of Tauromenium, who *explicitly* said that he had incurred much expense and had been put to much trouble to have the Tyrian Annals translated (*FGrH* 566, F 7 = Polyb. 12.28a.3: αὐτὸς γοῦν τηλικαύτην ὑπομεμένηκε δαπάνην καὶ κακοπάθειαν τοῦ συναγαγεῖν τὰ παρὰ Τυρίων ὑπομνήματα).<sup>38</sup> His *Historiai* stopped with the outbreak of the First Punic War in 264 BCE, and since at the time of writing he had spent fifty years in Athens (*FGrH* 566, F 34), while he died some years later presumably at an age of over ninety (*FGrH* 566, T 5), Timaeus must have been working there between 314 and 264 BCE. Interestingly, Demeas (or whoever was the Parian chronographer responsible for the Marble) also stopped his chronography in the same year 264/3 BCE. It should be noted that the Parian chronographer is surprisingly well-tuned with Lydian and Babylonian chronology.<sup>39</sup> It cannot be a coincidence that Timaeus is the earliest writer to have referred to the sister of Pygmalion by her Phoenician name Elissa (*FGrH* 566, F 82; later to be called Dido presumably locally and in Punic).<sup>40</sup> Neither can it be a coincidence that his dating of the foundation of Carthage (*FGrH* 566, F 60) has baffled commentators in all ages.<sup>41</sup> His work would have been known to Roman writers such as Naevius (ca. 269-199 BCE), Ennius (239-169 BCE), Cato (234-149 BCE) and Varro (116-27 BCE), all of whom alluded to 'Dido' (except Cato who maintained the name of Elissa) long before Virgil's *Aeneid*.<sup>42</sup> It is possible that the work Βασιλεῖς of Timagenes of Alexandria (ca. 45 BCE), whose origins might have gone back to Syria or Phoenicia (*FGrH* 88, F 13), included part of the Tyrian Annals among the different dynasties discussed in his work, and in line with Timaeus (although the Tyrian Annals had officially been translated by Timagenes' time — see later). It is also possible that Pompeius Trogus from Gallia Narbonensis (ca. 10 BCE),<sup>43</sup> followed Timagenes with his remarkable account of Elissa (*Just. Epit.* 18.4-6).

That Timaeus had suddenly obtained valuable new evidence, is clear from the fact that he found himself at a serious variance with his predecessor Philistus of Syracuse (died 355 BCE), who, although in addition the author of a work Περὶ Φοινίκης (*FGrH* 556, T 1a), was ignorant of Pygmalion's sister founding Carthage (*FGrH* 556, F 47). Timaeus, a notoriously severe critic (see *FGrH* 556, T 11, 17, 18), would have now

<sup>38</sup> Cf. F.W. Walbank, *A Historical Commentary on Polybius*, vol. 2 (Oxford 1967), 411-412.

<sup>39</sup> See Kokkinos (n. 33), 8-9; Kokkinos (n. 30), 46, n. 31.

<sup>40</sup> It may not necessarily be assumed from this c. second/first century BCE fragment (Anon., *De Mulieribus* 6; republished by D. Gera, *Warrior Women: The Anonymus Tractatus De Mulieribus*, Leiden 1996) that the name Δειδῶ (or Διδῶ) went back to Timaeus' actual text, even if a Semitic root could be proved for such a name, as argued by H. Jacobson, 'Dido', *Mnemosyne* (2005), 581-582. The anonymous writer is basically saying that the famous woman in his age was known as Θειοσσώ (presumably Greek), previously Δειδῶ (thought to be Punic) and originally Ἐλίσσα (Phoenician) as found in Timaeus.

<sup>41</sup> See Pearson (n. 28), 84-85; Feeney (n. 3), 92-93.

<sup>42</sup> See M.M. Odgers, 'Some Appearances of the Dido Story', *CW* 18, no. 19 (23 March 1925), 145-148; for background see Fraser (n. 28), 763-772.

<sup>43</sup> For the date, see T.D. Barnes, 'Two Passages of Justin', *CQ* 48, 589-593, at 592, n. 15; but if Barnes is right in setting the end date of the work based on the date of Titius in Syria, then this should be closer to 15 BCE — N. Kokkinos, *The Herodian Dynasty: Origins, Role in Society and Eclipse* (Sheffield 1998), 374-375.

rejoiced to be able to tear Philistus' ability as a historian to pieces. Where and how precisely Timaeus commissioned the translation of the Annals, which were to be found primarily in the city of Tyre (see later), is by no means a problem. Despite his complaint of how difficult the task was, not only was there in his time an enclave of Phoenicians at Piraeus (see inscriptions from Athens and Piraeus between ca. 400 and 96 BCE — *KAI* 53-60), but also a Phoenician temple of the cult of Astarte down the road in Corinth (*SEG* 36.316), a Phoenician community of wealthy merchants living on the island of Delos, and a substantial Phoenician settlement at Demetrias in Magnesia — to highlight only some of the local evidence.<sup>44</sup> By the same token, while by the mid fourth century BCE Greeks were well-established at Acre/Akko (*Dem.* 52.20; *Isae.* 4.7), Xenophon (*Hell.* 3.4.1) describes the visits of Herodas of Syracuse to Phoenicia already in 399 BCE.<sup>45</sup> But even if Timaeus was to have purchased a copy of the Tyrian Annals only made from a copy existing at Carthage, again there is no problem. Timaeus came from Tauromenium and his contacts with Sicily would not have been broken — even if he had originally been banished by the Syracusan tyrant Agathocles — not to mention that he may even have returned to Sicily at the beginning of the reign of Hieron II (from 269 BCE).<sup>46</sup>

This sweeping account of what can be put together regarding our knowledge of Phoenician literature up to the beginning of the Hellenistic period, should help to dispel doubts on whether such literature was available, whether it had drawn the attention of Greek and Latin scholars, and whether it could have been translated into Greek and Latin. With this in mind we can now move into the Hellenistic period when local ethnographers began to work on material from Phoenicia, exactly as Berossus first did on material from Babylonia, followed by Manetho from Egypt, and to a certain extent the supposed LXX translators from Judah.

### From Mochus to Laitus and Hieronymus to Philostratus

We have already mentioned that Posidonius of Apamea (135-51 BCE), founder of the Rhodian branch of the Stoic school, is apparently our earliest informant on Berossus. He is also apparently the earliest writer we know to have referred to 'Mochus' (*MWH?* — *apud* Strab. 16.2.24), whom we noted to have been a citizen of Tyre and fellow-citizen of Sanchuniathon according to Athenaeus (3, 126A). Thus Strabo, rather than Posidonius, should be the one to have assumed that Mochus was a 'Sidonian', and Sidon is connected to Mochus again later, in Iamblichus (*Vit. Pyth.* 13), but the interchange of the city names of Tyre and Sidon, and further of Byblus and Berytus, is common.<sup>47</sup> Strabo also should be the one to have assumed that Mochus 'lived before the Trojan War', as this would only seem to be based on a misunderstanding over the date

<sup>44</sup> For Delos, see R. Moutèrde, 'Regards sur Beyrouth phénicienne, hellénistique et romaine', *MUSJ* 40 (1964), 145-190, at 156-161; for Demetrias, see A.S. Arvanitopoulos, 'Θεσσαλικά Μνημεῖα: Προσωπογραφία', *Polemōn* 5 (1952/3), 33-58; for other evidence, see Kokkinos (n. 43), 63, n. 49.

<sup>45</sup> This is to ignore here the archaeological evidence of the archaic period, see conveniently J. Boardman, *The Greeks Overseas*, 4th ed. (London 1999).

<sup>46</sup> See K. Meister, 'Das Exil des Timaios von Tauromenion', *Kokalos* 16 (1970), 53-59, at 53.

<sup>47</sup> Cf. H.J. Katzenstein, *The History of Tyre*, rev. ed. (Beer Sheva 1997), 129-166.

claimed for Mochus' sources — like Sanchuniathon's source 'Hierombalus' which was supposed to belong to the time of 'Abibalus' before the Trojan War (following Tyrian low chronology and not that of Eratosthenes, as we shall see). Posidonius, who must have had access to a Hellenistic translation of Mochus, believed that the basis for the atomic theory derived from his work — presumably in reference to the development of this theory by Democritus of Abdera (ca. 430 BCE), or to its discovery by Leucippus of Miletus (earlier in the fifth century BCE). This would suggest a date not later than the sixth century for Mochus according to Posidonius. Such a date may also be reflected in the understanding of Iamblichus who has Pythagoras (in the second half of the sixth century BCE, as we saw) visiting Sidon and meeting the 'descendants' (τοῖς ἀπογόνους) of Mochus. But what was the subject of Mochus' work, which would have included hints at the atomic theory, and when was it translated?

Mochus is referred to next by Josephus (*AJ* 1.107) at the end of the first century CE. The context is the theory that world history worked in chronological cycles, such as a cycle presumably mentioned by 'Mochus' in reference to Phoenician cosmogony, and repeated by one 'Hestiaeus' and by one 'Hieronymus the Egyptian'. Josephus' statement may actually be interpreted as saying that he knew the work of Mochus, as much as the work of Hestiaeus, only through the work of Hieronymus — all three of whom had written about Phoenician matters (Μῶχος τε καὶ Ἑστιαῖος καὶ πρὸς αὐτοῖς ὁ Αἰγύπτιος Ἱερώνυμος οἱ τὰ Φοινικικὰ συγγραψάμενοι). This is to understand the words πρὸς αὐτοῖς (literally 'towards them') as 'to both of whom mention is made by Hieronymus'. In the case of Hieronymus, Josephus earlier (*AJ* 1.94) made it clear that he wrote on 'the antiquity of Phoenicia' (ὁ τὴν ἀρχαιολογίαν τὴν Φοινικικὴν συγγραψάμενος). Hestiaeus is quoted by Josephus subsequently (*AJ* 1.119), but the information may again have only come to him from Hieronymus. Hestiaeus's work was otherwise quoted in the fourth century CE by Helladius of Alexandria (*apud* Stephanus — *FGrH* 786, F 1), yet probably the latter also relied on an earlier source. In any case, assuming that Josephus knew directly only Hieronymus, the implication would be that Hestiaeus either preceded or was broadly contemporary to Hieronymus. Both must have been Hellenistic writers anyway, writing considerably earlier than Posidonius. Josephus (*AJ* 1.94) in fact places Hieronymus even earlier than Mnaseas of Patara, who is said by the *Suda* (*s.v.* Ἐρατοσθένης) to have been a student of Eratosthenes of Cyrene (ca. 295-210 BCE). But did Hieronymus know Mochus through Hestiaeus, or did both translate Mochus independently, or did they both use an even earlier translator? These are difficult questions to answer given our scanty and ambiguous evidence. That there was another writer who was said to have translated Mochus is claimed by Tatian of 'Assyria' (*Ad Gr.* 37) in the second century CE. His name was Laitus. However, from Tatian's context (as well as from other contexts in Plutarch and Clement of Alexandria) Laitus must have been writing as late as the first century CE (see below), and therefore he could not have been an original translator if the works of Hestiaeus and Hieronymus were already available.

Yet, when Tertullian of Carthage (*Apol.* 19.4-6) mentions the ancient archives of the Egyptians, Babylonians and Phoenicians, and their original Hellenistic translators, he significantly puts Hieronymus on a par with Berossus and Manetho: 'We should have to unlock the archives of the most ancient races too — Egyptians, Babylonians, Phoenicians. We should have to summon their fellow-citizens through whom this

knowledge is furnished to us — to wit, one Manetho, an Egyptian and Berossus, a Babylonian, and also Hieronymus, a Phoenician, king of Tyre (*Phoenix, Tyri rex*); as well as their followers, Ptolemy of Mendes, Menander of Ephesus, Demetrius of Phaleron, King Juba, Apion, and Thallus, and any other who confirms or refutes them: [like] Josephus of Judaea, the native champion of Jewish antiquities ...'.<sup>48</sup> The late addition 'king of Tyre' for Hieronymus (emended to *Hieromus* as a result in some editions) is evidently a misunderstanding over the name of 'Hiram king of Tyre', but it is illuminating in itself, as is the ethnic 'Phoenician'.<sup>49</sup> Hieronymus may well have been a Hellenised Phoenician living in Egypt (thus generally known as 'Egyptian'), and his work on Phoenician antiquities would have included the history of the dynasty of Hiram I son of Abibaal (I shall return to this later). Further, among the sources on Hellenistic history which Porphyry of Tyre in the third century CE used in his attack on the Book of Daniel, as mentioned by Jerome (*In Dan.* prol.), there is reference not only to Posidonius of Apamea, but also to an 'Hieronymus', whom scholars assume to be Hieronymus of Cardia (ca. 300 BCE), and who seems instead to be our so-called Egyptian.<sup>50</sup> In this case his work on Phoenicia would have extended to the Hellenistic period. If so, Hieronymus would have had to have brought his narrative down to his own time, well beyond Mochus, who could only have reached the sixth century if in fact his work covered anything other than Phoenician mythology.

According to Damascius (*FGrH* 784, F 4), Mochus' work included the mythology of the Phoenicians (τὴν Φοινίκων εὐρίσκομεν κατὰ Μῶχον μυθολογίαν), an excerpt of

<sup>48</sup> While Ptolemy of Mendes (*FGrH* 611) would have followed Manetho, and Menander of Ephesus (*FGrH* 783) would have followed Hieronymus, it is not clear what Tertullian's reference to Demetrius of Phaleron (ca. 350-283/2 BCE) is supposed to mean. He was too early a scholar for both Berossus and Manetho, although his position at the court in Alexandria would favour the Egyptian connection. It may be significant that in the *Letter of Aristeeas* Demetrius is connected to the LXX translation of the Hebrew Torah — see N. Kokkinos, 'Review of *Jewish Perspectives on Hellenistic Rulers*, ed. by T. Rajak, S. Pearce, J. Aitken, and J. Dines', *JTS* 60 (2009), 627-632. Alternatively, the confusion here (as in *Joseph. Ap.* 1.218) may be with Demetrius the Jewish chronographer (evidently corrected in *Euseb. Hist. Eccl.* 6.13.7).

<sup>49</sup> Cf. also commentary on *FGrH* 787, T 1b (by C. López-Ruiz), in I. Worthington (ed.), *Brill's New Jacoby* (Leiden 2007-13). In *Expositio Totius Mundi et Gentium* 2 (*FGrH* 783, F 2b), a similar passage to Tertullian in listing experts on Egyptian, Babylonian and Phoenician records, the name Hieronymus the Phoenician (taken here to be identical to Hieronymus the Egyptian) is replaced with 'Apollonius the Egyptian'. The latter is an obscure or invented figure, whom Jacoby thought might be identified with one 'Apollonides Horapius' (*FGrH* 661) mentioned by Theophilus of Antioch (*Ad Autol.* 2.6). But in view of the parallel it would seem that the author of *Expositio*, who could not understand Tertullian's *Hieronymus Phoenix*, to which it was added *Tyri rex*, decided to replace such a "mistaken" identity with one 'Apollonius the Egyptian' who at least appeared to be known to Theophilus elsewhere (*Ad Autol.* 3.16, 26, 29).

<sup>50</sup> See Kokkinos (n. 33), 12; note that the order given there to writers on Phoenicia is now corrected as a result of the present study — writing before the birth of chronography, Hieronymus of Cardia would not have been a useful source for chronological matters to Posidonius. For the problems Hieronymus created to Diodorus, see R.M. Errington, 'Diodorus Siculus and the Chronology of the Early Diadochoi, 320-311 B.C.', *Hermes* 105 (1997), 478-504, at 480.



which he appends. This ties in with Athenaeus (3, 126A) who compares Mochus with Sanchuniathon (τὰ Φοινικικὰ συγγεγραφόσι Σαγχουνιάθωνι καὶ Μώχῳι), and partly with Diogenes Laertius (1.1) who presents Mochus as a Phoenician (Φοινικὰ τε γενέσθαι Μῶχον) in a list of ‘barbarians’ who wrote on philosophy (φιλοσοφίας ... βαρβάρων). This also ties in with Tatian (*Ad Gr.* 37), who has the Phoenician Mochus being translated by Laitus to be used in the latter’s work on the life of philosophers (τοὺς βίους τῶν φιλοσόφων ... πραγματευσάμενος). It is further not far from the supposed meeting of Pythagoras with the descendants of Mochus the naturalist prophet (Μώχου τοῦ φυσιολόγου προφήτου), among other Phoenician hierophants (Φοινικικοῖς ἱεροφάνταις), according to Iamblichus (*Vit. Pyth.* 13). Nor is it far from Posidonius’ understanding (*apud* Strab. 16.2.24) of Mochus’ hints at the atomic theory (περὶ τῶν ἀτόμων δόγμα). From the evidence at our disposal the work of Mochus, like that of Sanchuniathon, seems to have dealt only with an area which included material referring to cosmogony, mythology, theology or philosophy, hardly touching the historical times of Phoenicia. Hieronymus, therefore, unlike Hestiaeus, must have also needed to translate others sources for his history.

The statement of Tatian (*Ad Gr.* 37), nevertheless, does not make full sense throughout. He says that there were three Phoenician men who wrote on Phoenician affairs (γεγόνασι παρ’ αὐτοῖς [i.e. Φοινίκων] ἄνδρες τρεῖς), Theodotus, Hysicrates and Mochus, and that their books were translated into Greek by Laitus (τούτων τὰς βίβλους εἰς Ἑλληνίδα κατέταξεν φωνὴν Λαῖτος). However, Theodotus and Hysicrates, if indeed Phoenicians by race, were clearly Hellenised and wrote in Greek. Theodotus, most probably the epic poet of the second century BCE,<sup>51</sup> wrote about the foundation of his home town Shechem (later Flavia Neapolis) in Samaria, a Sidonian colony in the Hellenistic period (Joseph. *AJ* 11.344; 12.259, 262). He may have been a sympathiser or a convert to Judaism or Samaritanism, but he is wrongly thought by modern scholars to have been a Jew by race.<sup>52</sup> His Phoenician origins would have been known to Tatian from his teacher Justin Martyr, who had precisely the same origins, having been born himself in Neapolis. Indeed Theodotus is mentioned by Josephus (*Ap.* 1.216) among people who wrote in Greek about ‘Egyptian, Chaldaean and Phoenician records’. Hysicrates of Amisus in Pontus (around the first century BCE), among other books seems to have written a history that covered events in the Near East and he was quoted in Strabo’s lost *History*, as we know from Josephus (*FGrH* 190, F 1; cf. the quotations in Strabo, *FGrH* 190, F 2, 3, 9). In that sense he would have covered Phoenician history. But since neither Theodotus nor Hysicrates were early enough or had written in the Phoenician language, Laitus (who necessarily postdates them and thus lived around the first century CE)<sup>53</sup> could not have translated them. It seems that both were among the sources of Laitus for Phoenician affairs, and in fact Laitus may have found his excerpts of Mochus already translated in Theodotus and Hysicrates, to reinterpret Tatian. But we cannot doubt that apart from his ‘life of philosophers’ mentioned by Tatian (and perhaps echoed in Plut. *Aet. Phys.* 2.6), Laitus wrote a work on Phoenician affairs,

<sup>51</sup> C.R. Holladay, *Fragments from Hellenistic Jewish Authors, Volume II: Poets* (Atlanta, GA 1989), 51-204.

<sup>52</sup> Kokkinos (n. 43), 63, n. 50.

<sup>53</sup> *Contra* M. Stern, *Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism*, vol. 1 (Jerusalem 1976), 129.

because Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* 1.21/114, 2) says so, and presents it as subsequent to that of Menander of Ephesus (later known as of Pergamum), apparently in date and importance (Μένανδρος ὁ Περγαμηνὸς καὶ Λαῖτος ἐν τοῖς Φοινικικοῖς). Tatian also mentions subsequently that Menander had covered some of the ground to be found in Laitus (καὶ Μένανδρος δὲ ὁ Περγαμηνὸς περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν τὴν ἀναγραφὴν ἐποίησατο). We have already seen that Tertullian of Carthage (*Apol.* 19.4-6) mentioned Menander as a follower (*sectator*) of ‘Hieronymus’ and thus also subsequent in date and importance.

With Menander of Ephesus we enter deeper into the labyrinth of the relevant fragments. According to the Suda (*FGrH* 783, T 1) he was a student of Aristarchus of Samothrace (ca. 217-144 BCE), who was a student of Aristophanes of Byzantium (ca. 257-180 BCE), who was a student of the great chronographer Eratosthenes of Cyrene (ca. 295-210 BCE). We know that the latter, before moving to Alexandria (ca. 245 BCE), had been a student of Zeno of Citium in Athens, whom we saw earlier as the founder of the Stoic school and director from ca. 300 to 262 BCE. It is to be noted that at this time Eratosthenes must have met the famous Timaeus of Tauromenium, whom we also saw working in Athens between 314 and 264 BCE, and at some point obtaining a translation of the Tyrian Annals. Now Menander, as a student of Aristarchus, will have been fellow-student of Apollodorus of Athens (ca. 180-110 BCE), himself a remarkable chronographer and reviser (from 144/3 BCE) of Eratosthenes.<sup>54</sup> Further, when the Alexandrian scholars fled due to the persecution by Ptolemy VIII, shortly before the death of Aristarchus, Menander of Ephesus will have followed Apollodorus to Pergamum, and this would explain why he became thereafter known as ‘Menander of Pergamum’ (as we have seen above in reference to Tatian and Clement).

These links are of special interest, given that Menander, who must have flourished around 135 BCE (within a decade from the death of Aristarchus), is credited with the translation of the Tyrian Annals. Josephus (*AJ.* 8.144) explicitly says that he ‘translated the Tyrian archives from Phoenician into Greek’ (Μένανδρος ὁ μεταφράσας ἀπὸ τῆς Φοινικῶν διαλέκτου τὰ Τυρίων ἀρχεῖα εἰς τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν φωνὴν ...), adding that (*AJ.* 9.283) this was in the course of copying the Annals (ὁ τῶν χρονικῶν ποιησάμενος τὴν ἀναγραφὴν). In more detail, Josephus (*Ap.* 1.116) describes Menander of Ephesus as ‘writing up the acts of each king which took place among the Greeks and barbarians, after learning the history of each from the indigenous written records’ (Μένανδρον τὸν Ἐφέσιον. γέγραφεν δὲ οὗτος τὰς ἐφ’ ἐκάστου τῶν βασιλείων πράξεις τὰς παρὰ τοῖς Ἑλλήσι καὶ βαρβάροις γενομένας, ἐκ τῶν παρ’ ἐκάστοις ἐπιχωρίων γραμμάτων σπουδάσας τὴν ἱστορίαν μαθεῖν). A scholion on Dionysius Thrax the grammarian (*FGrH* 783, F 5),<sup>55</sup> who was another fellow-student of Menander under Aristarchus, seems to imply that Menander had explained that these records were at his time preserved on ‘reddish metallic (copper) plates’. According to the scholion, it was because of the *phoinikeon* colour of the metallic plates that the letters of the alphabet were called *Phoinikeia* following Menander (Φοινίκεια δὲ τὰ γράμματα ἐλέγοντο ... Μένανδρος, ἐπειδὴ ἐν πετάλοις φοινικείοις ἐγράφοντο).

But in relation to Menander, Josephus (*Ap.* 1.112) also mentions another expert on Phoenician affairs, one called Dios (*FGrH* 785). He is said ‘to be regarded as having

<sup>54</sup> See R. Pfeiffer, *History of Classical Scholarship: From the Beginnings to the End of the Hellenistic Age* (Oxford 1968), 253-257.

<sup>55</sup> See E. Dickey, *Ancient Greek Scholarship* (Oxford 2007), 77-80.

been accurate on the history of Phoenicia' (ἄνδρα περὶ τὴν Φοινικικὴν ἱστορίαν ἀκριβῆ γεγονέναι πεπιστευμένον). From the single fragment of Dius preserved in Josephus we can make a useful observation. Josephus copies a written text of almost 120 words, which he evidently had in front of him, for he repeats it in two different works, separated by a decade or so (*AJ* 8.147-9 and *Ap.* 1.112-5), very nearly identically. Further, it is evident that Dius had rephrased information extracted from Menander, the relevant fragment of whom (a fuller version than that of Dius) Josephus also copies separately, also twice (*AJ* 8.144-6 and *Ap.* 1.116-20), also very nearly identically. This means that Josephus must have had the work of Menander also in front of him. So Dius is clearly a later historian to Menander, from whom he borrowed the Tyrian Annals. The library used by Josephus is even richer. He knows one Philostratus, who wrote on 'Phoenician Histories' (Φοινικικαῖς ἱστορίαις), in which he related the events of the conquest of Tyre by Nabuchadrezzar II, after a siege of 13 years (584/3-572/1 BCE), under king Ithobalus II (*AJ* 10.228; cf. *Ap.* 1.144). The fact that Josephus (*Ap.* 1.156) finds perfect agreement between what Philostratus reported and what could be found in 'the records of the Phoenicians' (τῶν Φοινίκων ἀναγραφάς), which would not be anything other than what was already published by Menander (and borrowed by Dius), suggests that Philostratus would also have borrowed from Menander. This would make him roughly contemporary with Dius. But it is also possible that Philostratus, if an earlier character, borrowed directly from Hieronymus. A case for an earlier date could be made, based on the fact that Josephus (*Ap.* 1.144) mentions Philostratus in the same passage with Megasthenes who wrote on India at the beginning of the third century BCE.

Summarising the argument up to this point, it seems that Mochus wrote in the Phoenician language not later than the sixth century BCE, mostly concerning theology and prehistory, in a similar way to his compatriot Sanchuniathon, writing not earlier than the seventh century BCE. Sanchuniathon, if real, appears to have been long-lost and "rediscovered" according to Philo of Byblus, who claims to have translated him in the second century CE. Mochus' work was wholly or partly translated into Greek in the third century BCE by Hestiaeus and Hieronymus the Egyptian. The latter, arguably of Hellenised Phoenician origins, wrote a history down to the early Hellenistic period, and thus he must also have translated Phoenician sources postdating Mochus — such as the Tyrian Annals evidently of the late sixth century BCE (see below). A follower of Hieronymus, who also wrote a Phoenician history, was Menander in the second century BCE. Although he must have utilised the work of Hieronymus, he seems also to have worked directly with the Tyrian Annals. Later, in the first century CE, one Laitus wrote further on Phoenicia. In terms of the latter's theological material going back to Mochus, he seems to have found them translated in Hypsicrates and via him in earlier Theodotus. In terms of his historical material he would have relied on Menander the follower of Hieronymus. The order therefore would seem to be (see **Fig. 1**):

- Sanchuniathon (early to mid-seventh century BCE)
- Mochus (early to mid-sixth century BCE)
- [Tyrian Annals (late sixth century BCE)]
- [Timaeus (early to mid-third century BCE)]
- Hestiaeus (early to mid-third century BCE)

Hieronimus (middle to late third century BCE)  
 Menander (early to mid-second century BCE)  
 Theodotus (middle to late second century BCE)  
 Hypsicrates (early to mid-first century BCE)  
 [Timagenes (mid-first century BCE)]  
 Dius (middle to late first century BCE)  
 [Pompeius Trogus (late first century BCE)]  
 Philostratus (early to mid-first century CE)  
 Laitus (middle to late first century CE)

Evidently Hieronimus, rather than Menander, emerges here as the original translator of Phoenician material extending later than Mochus — namely the Tyrian Annals (to exclude Timaeus who merely made private use of them). Other little known authors of works on Phoenician history written in Greek (mainly in the later centuries), would likely have used as sources this main list of scholars. For example, Teucer of Cyzicus (first century BCE), who wrote *Περὶ Τύρου* in five books (*FGrH* 274, T 1); Asclepiades of Cyprus (probably in the same century), who wrote *Περὶ Κύπρου καὶ Φοινίκης* (*FGrH* 752, F 1); Claudius Iolaus (first century CE), who wrote *Φοινικικά* in three or more books (*FGrH* 788); Aspasius of Tyre (possibly also in the first century CE), who wrote *Περὶ Τύρου* (*FGrH* 793, T 1); and Aspasius of Byblus (second century CE), who wrote *Περὶ Βύβλου* (*FGrH* 792, T 1).

### The Tyrian Annals

So it is now time to ask: what do we know of the Tyrian Annals and how much of the surviving information can be attributed to them? We saw that Josephus (*Ap.* 1.116) describes Menander of Ephesus as ‘writing up the acts of each king ... after learning the history of each from the indigenous written records’. Also, we referred to the possibility that these records will have been preserved in the form of ‘reddish metallic (copper) plates’, following the scholion of Dionysius Thrax the grammarian (*FGrH* 783 F 5). One may imagine that such inscribed plates written in the Phoenician alphabet would have collected information from older papyrus scrolls and stone inscriptions,<sup>56</sup> since clay tablets in the Canaanite (Ugaritic) cuneiform alphabet had long gone out of use. Josephus is categorical about the existence of Phoenician records:

... as is admitted even by themselves [i.e. Greeks], the Egyptians, the Chaldaeans, and the Phoenicians ... possess a very ancient (*ἀρχαιοτάτη*) and permanent (*μονιμωτάτη*) record of the past. (*Ap.* 1.8)

<sup>56</sup> For example, cf. the Saqqarah Papyrus (*KAI* 50) and the royal funerary inscriptions (*KAI* 1-8). Most important is the mention of state book-keeping (no doubt on papyrus rolls) in the palace at Byblus (the ‘daybook’ of the king’s ‘forefathers’) in the *Report of Wenamun* 2.1-10. These papyrus rolls, as administrative records, would require a complete catalogue of rulers, in order to date contracts, leases, debts, etc., as understood also from the Turin Royal Canon — see Verbrughe and Wickersham (n. 6), 105-106.

... among the nations in touch with the Greeks, it was the Phoenicians who made the largest use of writing, both for the ordinary affairs of life (περὶ τὸν βίον οἰκονομίας) and for the commemoration of public events (τῶν κοινῶν ἔργων παράδοσιν) ... the facts are universally admitted. (*Ap.* 1.28)

... I shall cite the Egyptians and Phoenicians, whose evidence is quite unimpeachable (οὐκ ἄν τις ὡς ψευδῆ ... διαβάλλειν δυνηθέντος — literally ‘no one is capable of slandering it as false’). (*Ap.* 1.70)

For very many years past the people of Tyre have kept public records, compiled and very carefully preserved by the state (γράμματα δημοσία γεγραμμένα καὶ πεφυλαγμένα λίαν ἐπιμελῶς), of the memorable events in their internal history and in their relations with foreign nations. (*Ap.* 1.107)

From the available fragments of Menander in Josephus (*FGrH* 783 F 1, 3-4; and conceivably F 7 = cf. Philostratus, *FGrH* 789 F 1), it seems that the core of the original archive was a king-list (stating names, ages and reign-lengths), covering the period from the tenth to the sixth centuries BCE, on which brief historical notices had been attached in the form of major acts performed by the individual kings. Such acts included domestic and foreign affairs: from the construction of public buildings at home to the foundation of colonies overseas. This is all in keeping with oriental examples. While the king-list began only with the dynasty of Abibaal and his son Hiram I, Menander in his ‘first book’ and as an introduction to the history of Tyre, provided an account of Phoenician mythology (*FGrH* 783 F 6). This mythological part does not seem to have included any tradition referring to a dynasty before the city’s Hiram re-foundation in the tenth century BCE.<sup>57</sup> Judging from Pompeius Trogus (Just. *Epit.* 18.3.2-5), who would ultimately have drawn from Timaeus’ knowledge of the Tyrian Annals, as we have seen, Tyre was assumed to have been founded as a new city by people moving from Sidon (presumably led by Hiram and his father Abibaal — see below).

In accepting the historicity of a king-list carrying bare notices, it must be recognised that some apocryphal documents would eventually have been connected to the original record. For example, the correspondence between Hiram I and Solomon is a case in point. There is no direct evidence in Josephus that this was to be found in Menander, and yet it is likely as Josephus (*Ap.* 1.111) feels the need to reassure us: ‘Many of the letters which they exchanged are preserved at Tyre to this day.’ He even goes further in trying to convince us (*AJ* 8.55): ‘... if anyone wished to learn the exact truth, he would, by inquiring of the public officials in charge of the Tyrian archive (τῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ Τυρίων γραμματοφυλακείου δημοσίων), find that their records are in agreement with what we have said.’ That Hiram will have corresponded with Solomon is not in doubt (1 Kings 5;

<sup>57</sup> An earlier king Abimilki is known from the Tel el-Amarna letters, late in the reign of Akhenaten, conventionally ca. 1365-1358 BCE — see W.F. Albright, ‘The Egyptian Correspondence of Abimilki, Prince of Tyre’, *JEA* 23 (1937), 190-203. A ‘prince’ of Tyre given as *B(a)-‘al-ut-ar-m-g*, referred to in Papyrus Anastasi III (*ANET*, 258b-259a), during Merenptah’s Year 3, as well as an unnamed ‘king’ of Tyre in a letter from the Ugarit archive (Ch. Virolleuad, *Le Palais Royal d’Ugarit* V, Paris 1965, no. 59), not to mention a fragmentary reference to Tyre in the *Report of Wenamun* (1.28-29), are also earlier than the tenth century BCE in conventional chronology.

2 Chr 2; written communications were normal among kings from the Late Bronze Age, as archaeological archives prove). Neither should it be doubted that Solomon would have been mentioned in at least one context of the Tyrian Annals following Menander, for it is so presented (*FGrH* 783 F 1 = at *Ap.* 1.120).<sup>58</sup> Further, it would otherwise make no sense of how Josephus knew that the Temple of Solomon, to which building Hiram contributed, began to be constructed in Year 12 (*Ap.* 1.126) of the Tyrian king.<sup>59</sup> But the content of the correspondence itself (Joseph. *AJ* 8.51, 53) — now cast in formal epistolary style, complete with salutation — is based loosely on the Biblical record, and thus it must be apocryphal. What is more, the Jewish historian Eupolemus, who had previously mentioned this correspondence, had also referred to demonstrably invented letters between Solomon and a Pharaoh ‘Ouaphres’ (a name taken from the much later Apries of the 26th Dynasty). This was apparently a diplomatic attempt to balance the contemporary competition between Ptolemaic Egypt and Seleucid Syria.<sup>60</sup> Nevertheless, it is important to note that the forged letters of Solomon and Hiram must have circulated before the time of Menander, since Eupolemus appears to have written before the mid-second century BCE. Therefore it is possible that Menander found them independently of the Tyrian Annals and took them on board uncritically, followed by Josephus. In any case, it is clear that Josephus’ version of the letters does not match that of Eupolemus.

Another invention may be discerned. Menander (*FGrH* 783 F 1 = at *Ap.* 1.118; *AJ* 8.145) referred to the ‘golden pillar’ belonging to the Hellenistic temple of Zeus as a former dedication by Hiram I.<sup>61</sup> This pillar should be the one seen by Herodotus (2.44),

<sup>58</sup> The context is a ‘riddle contest’ (or ‘riddle warfare’), which was a customary way in antiquity to collect tribute by means of wit, for which Solomon was famous (1 Kings 10:1-10) — see discussion on the ‘champion riddle-warrior’ Aesop and the Greek poets by T. Compton, ‘The Trial of the Satirist: Poetic *Vitae* (Aesop, Archilochus, Homer) as Background for Plato’s *Apology*’, *AJP* 111 (1990), 330-347, at 331-333.

<sup>59</sup> Solomon began the temple in his Year 4 (1 Kings 6:37; 2 Chr 3:2) and completed it in his Year 11 (1 Kings 6:38), while Hiram was already reigning for some years under David, the father of Solomon (2 Sam 5:11; 1 Chr 14:1) — cf. A. R. Green, ‘David’s Relations with Hiram: Biblical and Josephan Evidence for Tyrian Chronology’, in C. L. Meyers and M. O’Connor (eds.), *The Word of the Lord Shall Go Forth: Essays in Honor of David Noel Freedman in Celebration of His Sixtieth Birthday* (Winona Lake, IN 1983), 373-397. This demands the intended correlation to be Solomon 4 = Hiram 12, not Solomon 11 = Hiram 12. H.J. Katzenstein’s theory (‘Is there any Synchronism between the Reigns of Hiram and Solomon?’, *JNES* 24 [1965], 116-117) that Josephus forged a link by transferring Solomon’s Year 11 to the reign of Hiram (based on *AJ* 8.62, where Year 11 is mentioned instead for Hiram), underestimates Josephus’ intelligence as it ignores the biblical information. But the fact is that in *Ap.* 1.126, written some years after the *Antiquities*, Josephus gives ‘Year 12’, contradicting Katzenstein. Unless the reading ‘Year 11’ of the *Antiquities* is a scribal error, Josephus in his later work, and upon closer examination of Menander (whom he now quotes), would have corrected his view.

<sup>60</sup> See Eupolemus, F 2 in C.R. Holladay, *Fragments from Hellenistic Jewish Authors, Volume I: Historians* (Chico, CA 1983), 119-121.

<sup>61</sup> The sentence (which is identical in both *Apion* and *Antiquities*) must have been written ambiguously in the original: ‘as to the golden pillar, the one in the [temples?] of Zeus, he dedicated’ (τόν τε χρυσοῦν κίονα τὸν ἐν τοῖς τοῦ Διὸς ἀνέθηκεν). It is not clear in which premises of Zeus (τοῖς = masculine or neuter article in accusative plural without its noun) the pillar was to be seen, apparently in Menander’s own time, and assumed to have been

together with a second of emerald, in the earlier temple of Heracles (Melkart). Eupolemus, however, claims that the golden pillar was sent to Hiram (called 'Souron') by Solomon himself,<sup>62</sup> and this time Menander evidently avoided the forged information, hence also unknown to Josephus. The Biblical record, in contrast, spoke of Hiram sending gold to Solomon for the Jerusalem Temple (1 Kings 9:11-14), and Theophilus (an unknown Hellenistic writer, apparently a Jew)<sup>63</sup> saw fit to compromise between the two stories by presenting the gold left over after the completion of the temple as being returned to Hiram by Solomon. Out of this gold then Hiram was supposed to have made a statue of his daughter which he covered with the golden pillar. Although Josephus (*Ap.* 1.216) acknowledges the existence of Theophilus as a Greek historian writing on the Jews, he again ignores this compromised scenario.

Yet the female involvement leads to potentially important information. It is implicit in the sole fragment we possess of Theophilus, that he had previously discussed the daughter of Hiram I.<sup>64</sup> The Biblical record (1 Kings 11:11) mentioned a 'Sidonian' wife of Solomon, but since Josephus (*AJ* 8.191) adds 'Sidonian and Tyrian', it would seem that Josephus is influenced here by the Tyrian Annals. Indeed, Menander (*FGrH* 783 F 2 = *FGrH* 784 F 1a = *apud* Tatian, *Ad Gr.* 37), followed by Laitus (*FGrH* 784 F 1b = *apud* Clem. Alex. *Strom.* 1.21/114, 2), is said to have referred to the marriage of Hiram's daughter to Solomon, which would further explain the strong relationship between the two kings.<sup>65</sup> In fact, a curious detail in these fragments, if not confirming outright that the original Tyrian Annals mentioned the daughter of Hiram, does betray how it would have provided local chronographers with a basis upon which to construct the Phoenician view of universal chronology. This is a separate notice under Hiram I, parallel to that of the marriage, acknowledging the visit to Phoenicia of king Menelaus of Sparta after the fall of Troy (Clem. Alex. *Strom.* 1.21/114, 2: Εἶραμος τὴν ἑαυτοῦ θυγατέρα Σολομῶνι δίδωσι καθ' οὗς χρόνους μετὰ τὴν Τροίας ἄλωσιν Μενελάω εἰς Φοινίκην ἄφιξις; cf. 117, 6: εὐρεθήσεται πάλιν Σολομῶντος [i.e. Ὅμηρος] μεταγενέστερος, ἐφ' οὗ ἡ Μενελάου εἰς Φοινίκην ἄφιξις, ὡς προεῖρηται). The Homeric tradition (*Od.* 4.83) referred to the journey of Menelaus to Phoenicia, but this may not cause over suspicion, since the interesting outcome here is that the fall of Troy would have been dated to the tenth century BCE following Hiram's (and by implication Solomon's) chronology. Such a "low" date for the Trojan War cannot have been invented in the Hellenistic period (against contemporary tide for "high" dating), because

---

erected there by Hiram. Either the pillar had been moved from an earlier temple of Heracles (Melkart) elsewhere, as known from Herodotus (2.44), or a new temple was built in the same location and renamed in the Hellenistic period. As Menander goes on to refer to Hiram rebuilding an even older double temple (to Heracles and Astarte), this may explain the plural ἐν τοῖς [ναοῖς] τοῦ Διός or ἐν τοῖς [ιεροῖς] τοῦ Διός.

<sup>62</sup> See Eupolemus, F 2 in Holladay (n. 60), 130-131.

<sup>63</sup> See Holladay (n. 60), 337-342; cf. Stern (n. 53), 126; also addendum in *Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism*, vol. 2 (Jerusalem 1980), 689.

<sup>64</sup> See also Stern (n. 53), 127.

<sup>65</sup> Compare the mention of another female in the Tyrian Annals, the famous sister of Pygmalion, who founded Carthage (Joseph. *Ap.* 1.125), and whose Phoenician name, Elissa, survived in Timaeus (*FGrH* 566, F 82). Also compare Jezebel, the daughter of king Ethbaal of Sidon, who married Ahab of Israel (1 Kings 16:31).

it was known to the earliest Greek chronographer (or rather “proto-chronographer”) of the late sixth century BCE — that is to say Hecataeus. As we saw, Hecataeus went to Egypt via Phoenicia and must also have encountered the Phoenician community in Egypt. Although, as far as is known from the fragments, he did not mention Menelaus in a Phoenician context (cf. *FGrH* 1, FF 307-8), he did calculate his own family’s generations according to a date for the fall of Troy in the tenth century BCE obtained in this journey.<sup>66</sup>

That these final fragments of Menander would have been part of the original Tyrian Annals, is supported further by the account of Pompeius Trogus, who placed the foundation of Tyre ‘a year before the fall of Troy’ (Just. *Epit.* 18.3.5: *ante annum Troianae cladis*). The conversion of this relative to absolute chronology would have easily been misconstrued in the Greek world post-Eratosthenes (and it is misconstrued even today). Taking the latter’s standard figure of 1183 BCE for the fall of Troy, the foundation of Tyre would have been assumed to be 1184 BCE. For example, Josephus, although aware of the “low” Phoenician chronology, and mostly ignoring Eratosthenes in his calculations, at least in one place does not shrink from presenting the conventional Greek dating: by calculating that Tyre was founded ‘240 years’ before the temple of Solomon (*AJ* 8.62)! Support, moreover, may be found in Porphyry (*FGrH* 260 F 34), who placed Sanchuniathon’s source ‘Hierombalus’, a contemporary of ‘Abibalus king of Berytus’, shortly before the Trojan War — arguably referring to Abibaal the father of Hiram I king of Tyre.<sup>67</sup> The date of Porphyry for the fall of Troy, anyway based on the Tyrian Annals, must have been in the tenth century BCE. The figures found in Eusebius (*FGrH* 260 F 33) and the Suda (*FGrH* 260 F 19), which are partly corrupted and reckoned to be problematic, are later calculations based on the assumption that Porphyry followed Eratosthenes.<sup>68</sup> For example, Eusebius says that Porphyry placed Moses ‘almost 850’ years before the Trojan War (that is to say 1183+850=2033 BCE following Eratosthenes), but this is far too early a date for Moses ‘to have lived in the time of Inachus’ (1856 BCE) according to Eusebius’ own chronology.<sup>69</sup>

Thus in conclusion so far, while we can say that the content of the correspondence between Hiram and Solomon was merely a version made up from material in the Bible, and that the story of Solomon sending the golden pillar to Hiram was a distortion, the rest of the information transmitted by Menander seems to have either been translated from the original Phoenician record, or at least had already been connected to it. In reconstructing the beginning part of the Tyrian Annals, the king-list under Hiram I son of Abibaal, and after stating that he had lived for 53 years and reigned for 34, must have had the following notices attached:

---

<sup>66</sup> See Kokkinos (n. 30), 47-48.

<sup>67</sup> We saw Athenaeus (3, 126A) referring to Sanchuniathon as of Tyre, and ‘Berytus’ would only be a reference to the colony as the Roman focus in the area to take all credit; cf. Baumgarten (n. 16), 45-47, and *contra* to his evaluation of P. Nautin’s work (57, n. 76).

<sup>68</sup> See comment in Kokkinos (n. 33), 11, n. 29 (on B. Croke based on R. Goulet).

<sup>69</sup> The problems of the texts in Eusebius and the Suda, and the precise date of Porphyry for the fall of Troy (identical to that of Hecataeus), are not vital to the present paper and will be discussed elsewhere.



(a) **Year/s x/xx**: his building projects, including the laying out of the ‘Broad Place’, the renovation of the temples of Heracles (Melkart) and Astarte, and the erection of the golden pillar, in the month ‘Peritius’.

(b) **Year x**: his expedition to Cyprus to claim unpaid taxes from Citium (which means that this city would have been subjugated during the reign of Abibaal).<sup>70</sup>

(c) **Year 12**: the marriage of his daughter to Solomon, a wise king famous for riddle-breaking, but who had found his match at Tyre in a youth called Abdemoun, and to whose temple in Jerusalem Hiram contributed the building material.

(d) **Year x**: the visit to Phoenicia of Menelaus after the fall of Troy.

This style of stating the regnal year for each event follows the example of the Assyrian royal annals. The same is basically the case with Berossus and Manetho.

### The Tyrian King-List

The Phoenician king-list, as a continuous line of royal succession, would originally have extended from the mid-tenth to the late sixth century BCE, a little before its composition and incorporation into the so-called Tyrian Annals, conceivably working from local archival material in the early Persian period (cf. for example the contemporary Babylonian Chronicle 1 extending from 747 to 668 BCE, and the Assyrian Eponym List from 911 to 648 BCE). The preserved fragments of this list deriving from the Hellenistic translation, concern only three “floating” segments. However, in recent decades we are fortunate to have them fixed in absolute time. The first (and longest) beginning with Eirōmos I (Hiram I) in 955/4 BCE,<sup>71</sup> stops at the end of Pygmalion’s reign in 768/7 BCE. The second (and shortest) picks the story up again with Eloulaios, at the end of whose reign (in what seems to be 697 BCE) Sennacherib conquered Tyre, having already (701 BCE) installed as king over Phoenicia one Tubail II. The gap from 768/7 to 697 BCE can be bridged by three kings found in the Assyrian records (Tubail I, Hiram II and Mettena). The third segment begins with the reign of Ithobalos II (IV if we count synonymous Tubail I and II) in 590/89 BCE and extends to the end of the reign of Eirōmos III (Hiram III) in 533/2 BCE. Concerning the second gap from 697 BCE to 590/89 BCE, one king is known from the Assyrian records, Baal under Esarhaddon in ca. 677 and 667 BCE. But the gap seems complete from ca. 667 to 590/89, with the possibility that we may know of another king from a recently published Phoenician inscription — that is to say another Hiram, father of Ithobalos II (IV), reigning some years before and to 590/89 BCE.<sup>72</sup>

<sup>70</sup> For Citium see n. 27 above.

<sup>71</sup> Strictly speaking the beginning of Hiram’s reign would be 952/1 ± 3 BCE, but the highest year possible (955/4 BCE) is surely necessary, if it is to link usefully at all to Biblical chronology. This would start Solomon’s reign in 947/6 BCE (see n. 59 above) whatever the consequences for Biblical chronology, but they need not be insuperable. His reign length would simply have not exceed the highest ‘Year 20’ mentioned in his acts (1 Kings 9:10; 2 Chr 8:1), despite the Deuteronomist’s wish to double the total to 40 years (1 Kings 11:42; 2 Chr 9:30). Josephus, for good measure, further doubles it to 80 years (*AJ* 8.211)!

<sup>72</sup> A. Lemaire, ‘Inscription royales Phéniciennes sur bateau Motif’, in M. Heltzer and M. Malul (eds.), *Teshurot LaAvishur: Studies in the Bible and the Ancient Near East in Hebrew and Semitic Languages* (Tel Aviv/Jaffa 2004), 117\*-129\*, identifies ‘Hiram’ in the new text

In regard to Segment 1, and to avoid a long discussion, four tables have been prepared summarising the evidence from the point of view of names and numbers (see **T 1-4**). In most cases the variant readings have been checked against the medieval manuscripts, as the printed editions carry some mistakes. The names used in **T 2-4** have been chosen as probably the closest to the original Greek of Josephus (not necessarily to that of Menander, or of course to the lost Phoenician) after a study of **T 1**. The individual reign lengths (**T 2**) have been reconstructed based on the consistency of the “totals” as given by Josephus throughout the manuscript tradition.<sup>73</sup> The breakthrough in the absolute dating of Segment 1 of the Tyrian King-List (**T 4**) came in 1951 when a marble slab from Assur was published giving the annals of the first twenty campaigns of Shalmanaser III, inscribed in 838 BCE.<sup>74</sup> In his eighteenth year (Nisanu 841 to Addaru 840 BCE in the Mesopotamian calendar), the Assyrian king conducted a campaign in the west (almost certainly in the spring of 841 BCE)<sup>75</sup> and received tribute from various rulers including one *Ba-’a-li-ma-an-zer* of Tyre. It has been shown that this Tyrian king can only be identified with ‘Balezeros II’ the son of ‘Ithobalos I’.<sup>76</sup> The alternative ‘Balbazeros I’ (conceivably the same name) the son of ‘Eirōmos I’ (the contemporary of Solomon), is placed too early in the Tyrian Annals for any meaningful synchronism to biblical chronology. The identification with Balezeros II is particularly valuable, because his short reign of 6 years (see **T 2**) means that Segment 1 can be pinned down to a  $\pm 3$  margin of error, with Tishri 842 to Elul 841 (in the Phoenician calendar) as the middle year of the reign. In other words, if, on the one extreme, 842/1 was Year 1 of Balezeros, then his reign would run to 837/6 BCE. If, on the other extreme, 842/1 was Year 6 of Balezeros, then his reign would have started in 847/6 BCE. The maximum extent is precisely covered by a reign given as 844-839 ( $\pm 3$ ). However, on Biblical considerations the highest possible placement is required and so 847/6-842/1 BCE is followed here. This sets the reign of Hiram I at 955/4-922/1 BCE when the king-list began.

In regard to Segment 2 (**T 5**), which consists of only one king (Ελουλαῖος — Joseph. *AJ* 9.284-7), we are again fortunate to have him referred to as *Lu-li-i* in the

---

with Hiram III and imagines a co-regency with a son of his called ‘Ittobaal’ [V] shortly before 533/2 BCE. There are problems with this view and J. Elayi, ‘An Updated Chronology of the Reigns of Phoenician Kings during the Persian Period (539-333 BCE)’, *Transeuphratène* 32 (2006), 11-43, prefers to date Ittobaal after 533/2 BCE. Yet it seems preferable to identify ‘Ittobaal’ with Ithobalos II (IV), and therefore his father, an unknown ‘Hiram’, would have reigned shortly before 590/89 BCE. A slightly earlier date would suit this inscription and we would be closing part of the gap.

<sup>73</sup> This is an unassailable point, which contradicts previous reconstructions, for example E. Lipinski, ‘Ba’li-Ma’zer II and the Chronology of Tyre’, *Rivista degli Studi Orientali* 45 (1970), 59-65, at 63-64; W.H. Barnes, *Studies in the Chronology of the Divided Monarchy of Israel* (Atlanta, GA 1991), 49-50; Galil (n. 8), 163-165.

<sup>74</sup> F. Safar, ‘A Further Text of Shalmanaser III from Assur’, *Sumer* 7 (1951), 3-21 and pls. I-III.

<sup>75</sup> J. Hughes, *Secrets of the Times: Myth and History in Biblical Chronology* (Sheffield 1990), 182-184.

<sup>76</sup> Lipinski (n. 73), 61-62.

Annals of Sennacherib.<sup>77</sup> The Tyrian Annals have his reign lasting 36 years, the end of which saw the five-year siege of Tyre by one ‘[Σ]ελάμψας’.<sup>78</sup> Josephus’ understanding of Menander’s entry on Eloulaios is at fault when it comes to the identification of the Assyrian king involved in the siege. The name seems to have been corrupted already at the time of Josephus, who decided that it sounded closer to Shalmaneser V (*AJ* 9.287), a king he had previously mentioned as ‘Σαλμανάσσης’ (*AJ* 9.277 at the fall of Samaria), rather than to Sennacherib, whom he mentions later as Σενάχειρος (*AJ* 10.1).<sup>79</sup> But Shalmaneser V ruled only between 727 and 722 BCE, and after spending 726/5 BCE at home (Eponym List) was busy for three years with the siege of Samaria (2 Kings 17:5; 18:10), let alone the lack of a campaign to Tyre on record. Thus ‘[S]elampas’ can only be Sennacherib, and the mention of ‘Luli’ in the latter’s Annals should clinch the case. However, an apparent problem is the length of Eloulaios’ reign. On the assumption that the 36 years ended in 701 BCE, when Sennacherib campaigned in the west, Eloulaios would have started his reign in 736 BCE. This is impossible for we know that Hiram II was ruling probably until 734 BCE (735/4 in the Phoenician calendar), followed by Mettena II ruling apparently to 733 BCE (734/3 in the Phoenician calendar) or even 732 BCE (733/2 in the Phoenician calendar).<sup>80</sup> A solution to this problem, working through

<sup>77</sup> See Katzenstein (n. 47), 221, 224; but his reconstruction of the events by reading into Menander (222), by attributing the siege of Tyre to Shalmaneser V (225, 227), and by extending Luli’s reign to 694 BCE (223, 257) cannot hold water.

<sup>78</sup> This is restored (following B. Niese) from the best reading in Codex Oxoniensis (fifteenth century), since Codex Regius Parisinus (fourteenth century) only has ‘..άμψας’ (two missing letters). Other MSS are simply suggestive in reading πέμψας (turning the corrupted name into a verb, ‘he sent’), which makes no sense in the context and leaves the Assyrian king unnamed, when Josephus (*AJ* 9.283) specified that his name is to be found in Menander whom is about to quote. The Latin version of Cassiodorus has borrowed the name of *Salamanassis* from *AJ* 9.287, which is only Josephus’ understanding of Menander’s [Σ]ελάμψας, and thus has no independent strength.

<sup>79</sup> This is the reading in both strong MSS — Codex Parisinus and Codex Oxoniensis.

<sup>80</sup> Hiram II followed a ‘Tubail’, who is mentioned in Tiglath-pileser III’s Iran stele (III.A.6, dated to 742/1, 741/0 or 740/39 BCE, with the latter being more probable — see Galil [as n. 8], 63), and whose name thus should be restored as the missing name of the king of Tyre in Ann. 21.7 (ed. Tadmor). This annal unit apparently falls within ‘Year 3’ (as restored in Ann. 17.2) of Tiglath-pileser (743/2 BCE). H. Tadmor’s reassignment (*The Inscriptions of Tiglath-Pileser III King of Assyria*, Jerusalem 1994, 28, 219, 268) of Ann. 21 to 739/8 is neither certain nor convincing. Tubail may well be the successor of Pygmalion, thus closing the gap between Segments 1 and 2. Hiram II first appears in 738 BCE (Ann. 13\*.11/27.2), almost certainly in what would be Year 8 of Tiglath-pileser III’s Annals. The second and last reference to him in tablet ND4301+ (Summ. 9, rev. 5) is dated here to 734 BCE (in the Mesopotamian calendar). This is on the assumption that it relates to the campaign against Philistia (Eponym List), the outcome of which is reflected in the list of kings in tablet K3751 (Summ. 7, rev. 7-12) who survived the campaign (but clearly not Hiram II) and paid tribute to Assyria. The campaigns against Damascus in 733 and 732 BCE (Eponym List), which could be claimed instead for the death of Hiram II, create tension with the Tyrian chronology, since Mettena II succeeded him (Summ. 7, rev. 16) before the latest possible beginning of Eloulaios’ reign in 733/2 BCE (in the Phoenician calendar). The fact that Hiram II is mentioned together with Rezin of Aram (in tablet ND4301+) need not determine his placement at the Damascus campaigns, for these could have been undertaken due to

the fragments of the Assyrian evidence, is briefly as follows.<sup>81</sup> Eloulaïos was king of much of Phoenicia (Sidon, several coastal cities and Tyre) until 701 BCE when Sennacherib attacked. Eloulaïos had to retreat from Sidon to his island fortress Tyre ('into the midst of the sea'), which was put under siege for the next five years (701-697 BCE), evidently in the absence of the Assyrian king. In the last year, as Tyre was falling, Eloulaïos escaped again, now to Cyprus (as it happens further 'into the midst of the sea'), where he seems to have been assassinated after a plot energised by Sennacherib. So his reign spanned 733/2-698/7 BCE (36 years in inclusive reckoning). Meanwhile, a new king, Tubail II (*Tu-ba-'-lu*), had been put over Sidon and the coastal cities since 701 BCE (but of course not over the island of Tyre which held on for five years under Eloulaïos). The earliest version of Sennacherib's Annals (Rassam Cylinder — 700 BCE) does not mention Tyre or Cyprus by name, nor does it mention the 'death' of Luli. Cylinder C (697 BCE — date restored) is the first document to mention Luli's death or assassination (as *shad-dā-shu êmid* is currently understood). Tyre and Cyprus appear only from 694 BCE (Bull 4). Providing that the restored date of Cylinder C is accurate,<sup>82</sup> Luli's reign on Tyre must have stopped at the end of the five-year siege (697 BCE).<sup>83</sup>

---

unrest after Rezin's death (but cf. Hughes [n. 75], 201-3). Mettena II would have been placed on the Tyrian throne after the death of Hiram II in 734 BCE, and his tribute may be dated during the first or second campaign against Damascus in 733 or 732 BCE (in the Mesopotamian calendar), even if its position in K3751 (composed after 729/8 BCE) gives the impression of a date perhaps as late as 731 BCE — for it may only be an impression.

<sup>81</sup> N. Na'aman, 'Sargon II and the Rebellion of the Cypriote Kings against Shilṭa of Tyre', *Orientalia* 67 (1998), 239-247, has put forward a theory by which the fall of Tyre at the time of Luli is placed in the early years of Sargon II (i.e. 720 BCE), creating havoc to the Tyrian Annals. But since this theory is based on a (his) restoration of a king *Si-il-ṭa* (mentioned in Sargon's Annals and previously thought to be one of seven kings of Cyprus) as being an unknown king of Tyre replacing Luli, it is here ignored. Na'aman's reconstruction is variously problematic and his understanding of Josephus' text weak. A king 'Milkiram' assumed to be of Tyre around 750 BCE, as proposed by A. Lemaire ('Milkiram, nouveau roi Phénicien de Tyr?', *Syria* 53 [1976], 83-93), is also ignored here.

<sup>82</sup> The restoration of the eponymy (already in G. Smith, *A History of Sennacherib* [London 1878], 14; not seen by W.R. Gallacher, *Sennacherib's Campaign to Judah: New Studies* [Leiden 1999], 10, n. 23; cf. E. Frahm, *Einleitung in die Sanherib-Inschriften* [Vienna 1997], T 10) as '[*Nabu-dur*]u-sur' for year 697 seems to be supported by a following word '[*Tam*]-num-na' as the place of his governorship (known in the Eponym List). However, names of later governors could also be restored here, '[*Ashur-be*]u-sur' (695), '[*Nabu-ken*]u-usur' (690), '[*Nabu-sharr*]u-usur' (682), but with no matching place if this is what is required by [...]num-na. I have no access and I am not qualified to check the original Cylinder C.

<sup>83</sup> Katzenstein's (n. 47) extension of Luli's reign to 694 BCE (n. 77 above) could help the squeezed placement of Mettena II (above n. 80), but given that the siege of Tyre by Sennacherib is dated here to 701-697, the assumption will have to be made that Luli continued counting his regnal years in exile and after the fall of Tyre — not impossible (cf. Jehoiachin of Judah) but not convincing for the annals of a particular city. Ultimately, Katzenstein's position depends on the date of Cylinder C, which he ignores (223-4). Instead, he goes round the problem by doubting the meaning of *shad-dā-shu êmid*, which he translates as 'disappeared' and not 'died'.

In regard to Segment 3 (T 6), the synchronism of Year 14 of the last king, Hiram III [IV], with Year 1 of Cyrus (539/8 BCE in the Phoenician calendar), as given by Josephus (*Ap.* 1.159), sets the dates back to the beginning of the reign of Ithobalos II [IV] in 590/89 BCE. It also sets the 13 years of the siege of Tyre by Nebuchadrezzar II (*Ap.* 1.156) between 584/3-572/1 BCE, since the siege began in Ithobalos' Year 7 (*Ap.* 1.159). Amazingly this links with the chronology of Ezekiel, who places the end of the siege precisely at 572/1 (Ez 29:17). He refers to 'Year 27' of Jehoiachin's Exilic Era, which began in 598/7 BCE (in the Hebrew calendar).<sup>84</sup> Such a link could not have been verified or calculated by Josephus, or any Hellenistic Jewish chronographer, for the chronology of the exile in his time continued to be inflated by at least 73 years.<sup>85</sup>

### Timaeus, Carthage and Greek Chronography

As we saw earlier, though some knowledge of ancient Phoenician literary or documentary evidence must have existed among the Greeks from as early as the sixth century BCE, it was Timaeus of Tauromenium, working in Athens between 314 and 264 BCE,<sup>86</sup> who seems first to have obtained a translation of the Tyrian Annals for private use. This changed his worldview of the past and had a significant influence on the way he reshaped Greek chronography. His dating of the foundation of Carthage, a mystery among modern commentators, can now be comprehended. According to Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*Ant. Rom.* 1.74.1 = *FGrH* 566, F 60), Timaeus placed it in the thirty-eighth year before the first Olympiad, while he equated this year also with the founding of Rome:

As to the last settlement or founding of Rome, or whatever we ought to call it, Timaeus of Sicily, following what principle I do not know (οὐκ οἶδ' ὅτω κανόνι χρησάμενος), places it at the same time as the founding of Carthage (ἄμα Καρχηδόνι κτισομένη γενέσθαι), that

<sup>84</sup> Jehoiachin was captured on '2 Adar' 597 BCE, near the end of 'Year 7' (in the Mesopotamian calendar) of Nebuchadrezzar II (*ABC* 5, rev. 12; cf. Jer 52:28). The last year of Jehoiachin's reign (Year 11) had begun in Tishri 598 (in the Hebrew calendar), and so 598/7, or accurately the period from Adar to Tishri 597 BCE, became Year 1 of his exilic chronology (when Nebuchadrezzar had entered his 'Year 8'; cf. Kings 24:12). Ezekiel is consistent throughout in adopting the Exilic Era of Jehoiachin: Years 6 (8:1); 7 (20:1); 9 (24:1); 10 (29:1); 11 (26:1, 30:20, 31:1); 12 (32:17, 33:21, 32:1); 25 (40:1); 27 (29:17). The exception is Ez 1:1, where 'Year 30' is equated with Year 5 of the exile (thus 594/3 BCE), creating something of a mystery to commentators, but which would represent either Ezekiel's age or the time since the discovery of the Book of the Law (622/1 BCE) in Year 18 of Josiah (2 Kings 22:3, 8; 23:23), or both.

<sup>85</sup> See N. Kokkinos, 'Second Thoughts on the Date and Identity of the Teacher of Righteousness', *SJC* 2 (2003), 7-15 at 8-10.

<sup>86</sup> For Timaeus, see A. Momigliano, 'Athens in the Third Century B.C. and the Discovery of Rome in the Histories of Timaeus of Tauromenium', in *Essays in Ancient and Modern Historiography* (Oxford 1977), 37-66; Pearson (n. 28), 37-51; F.W. Walbank, 'Timaeus' views on the Past', *SCI* 10 (1989/90), 41-54; K. Meister, 'The Role of Timaeus in Greek Historiography', *SCI* 10 (1989/90), 55-65; Ch. Habicht, *Athen: die Geschichte der Stadt in hellenistischer Zeit*, München 1995, 159-161; cf. Feeney (n. 3), 47-52.

is in the thirty-eighth year before the first Olympiad (ὀγδόω και τριακοστῶ πρότερον ἔτει τῆς πρώτης ὀλυμπιάδος).<sup>87</sup>

It is interesting that Dionysius does not question the basis of Timaeus' chronology for Carthage, but only his basis of the equation with Rome. We may assume that the Olympic calculation itself belongs to Timaeus, and not to Dionysius, since the former is known to have used the list of the Olympic victors as a yardstick (Polyb. 12.11.1). The question of course is on which year had Timaeus set the beginning of the Olympiads? In Dionysius' (and all modern commentators') mind,<sup>88</sup> following Eratosthenes, this year was 776 BCE, and therefore the foundation of Carthage (and of Rome), according to Timaeus, would have been 814 BCE (or 813 in inclusive reckoning).<sup>89</sup> But this may not be so. In regard to the fall of Troy, Timaeus maintained a date ten years higher than that of Eratosthenes (1193 instead of 1183),<sup>90</sup> and it is thus possible that this difference was also reflected on his Olympiad chronology (so 786 instead of 776). Such a higher date, which would have placed the foundation of Carthage at 823 BCE, would be supported by Pompeius Trogus (Just. *Epit.* 18.6.9), who gives seventy-two years before Rome for Carthage. Assuming that Trogus followed the Polybian 751 BCE as the foundation of Rome, which was also the opinion of Dionysius (*Ant. Rom.* 1.74.2-3), in contrast to Timaeus, then Carthage would have been founded in 823 BCE in agreement with Timaeus. We saw earlier that Pompeius Trogus will have ultimately drawn from Timaeus in Phoenician matters.

But whether it is 823 or 813 BCE for Carthage, Timaeus was very close to achieving absolute chronology. Without help from Berossus or Manetho, and with no pressure from Biblical chronology, Timaeus could not have arrived at a more accurate date from the Tyrian Annals alone. We are now able to refine his date. Looking at T 4, Pygmalion's Year 7, during which his sister founded the city in North Africa (Joseph. *Ap.* 1.125), was 808/7 BCE — and this is the highest possible year for this event. The difference of five or fifteen years between Timaeus and reality is a much better result

---

<sup>87</sup> Cicero (*Rep.* 2.23) had already mentioned (no doubt following Timaeus) the thirty-eight years before the first Olympiad.

<sup>88</sup> However, P.-J. Shaw, *Discrepancies in Olympiad Dating and Chronological Problems of Archaic Peloponnesian History* (Stuttgart 2003), 30, 242, has argued (referring also to S. Heidrich) against the *a priori* acceptance of 776 BCE as the basis for all calculations, especially of data predating Eratosthenes. The attempt of P. Christesen, *Olympic Victor Lists and Ancient Greek History* (Cambridge 2007), 146-157, 491-504, to support the old assignment of '776 BCE' to Hippias at the end of the fifth century BCE lacks real evidence and his hypotheses are problematic. The origin of this date has to be discussed elsewhere.

<sup>89</sup> Cf. Velleius (1.12.5) referring to 667 (editio princeps) years for the existence of Carthage to its destruction in 146 BCE — thus 813 BCE (or 812 inclusively). Also Servius (*Comm. in Verg.* 1.12) has Carthage being built 60 years before the founding of Rome, taking this as 754/3 BCE (evidently following Varro) — thus 814/3 BCE. Velleius (1.6.4) similarly (despite corruptions) gives 65 years before the founding of Rome, but taking this as 748 BCE (evidently following Fabius Pictor) — thus 813 BCE (or 812 inclusively). Yet, Velleius (1.8.4) is also happy to reckon Rome from 754/3 BCE (evidently following Varro; for the latter's date, see A.T. Grafton and A.M. Swerdlow, 'The Horoscope of the Foundation of Rome', *CPh* 81 [1986], 148-153). Eusebius places Rome's beginning in 755 BCE (Ol. 6.2; Latin, ed. Helm 88a), but the case of Rome will not be discussed here.

<sup>90</sup> Kokkinos (n. 30), 40, n. 11.

than any normal calculation which could be performed in his age, when Year 1 of Cyrus' beginning in Persia had yet be lowered by thirty years in Greek chronography.<sup>91</sup> But how radical overall this re-dating of Carthage was, can only be appreciated when compared to the previously conventional date. Faithful to the old heroic chronology, Philistus of Syracuse, Timaeus' predecessor, had dated Carthage to 1215 BCE according to Eusebius' calculation (*FGrH* 556 F 47).<sup>92</sup> For Timaeus to be able to take such a bold step of monumental proportions, a radical revolution in the Greek chronographic thought of his age, uprooting the tradition from its heroic past and moving it forward into history by four centuries, he must have had to produce uniquely strong evidence — the Tyrian Annals.

What is surprising is that this uprooting also took Rome along. Timaeus did exactly the same to the dating of Rome, but here we cannot know (and nor could Dionysius) on what basis, other than perhaps political considerations of chronological symmetry between the two currently important cities.<sup>93</sup> In the case of Rome, an extra dimension is created. Arnaldo Momigliano raised his hands by stating that it is 'obscure how Timaeus could reconcile a foundation of Rome in the year 813 with his assertion that the Trojan War took place about 1200 [read 1193]'.<sup>94</sup> Timaeus (*FGrH* 566, F 59) had accepted the connection of the founding of Rome with the Trojan prince Aeneas, having being shown "archaeological" evidence at Lavinium (in the form of a 'Trojan' stone vessel with iron and bronze heralds' wands) which convinced him.<sup>95</sup> His decision to set Rome's beginning in 823 or 813 apparently does not make any sense against his own date for the Trojan War. Eratosthenes (*FGrH* 241 F 45), the famous chronographer and successor of Timaeus, must have paid no attention, as he continued to regard Romulus as the grandson of Aeneas, or did he have a different understanding of Timaeus knowing more about his work than we do?

This question leads to another and more important one. Why Timaeus' date for Troy anyway is not in the tenth century BCE, following the Tyrian Annals? No provable answer is possible, but he may well have worked simply with two chronologies

<sup>91</sup> See Kokkinos (n. 85), 9; Kokkinos (n. 30), 41; cf. Kokkinos (n. 33), 7, n. 28.

<sup>92</sup> One may wonder how Eusebius calculated the information he found (directly or indirectly) in Philistus. Did Philistus say '32 years before the fall of Troy', which could be calculated via Eratosthenes as  $1183+32=1215$ ? Or in fact  $1182/1+33/4=1215$ , as our modern interpretation of Eusebius' table results in a slightly lower Eratosthenian date (Latin, ed. Helm 60a-62b). But surely Philistus in his age (died 355 BCE) could only have followed the dating of Troy as found previously, for example in Ctesias (and Herodotus before him), placed at 1275 BCE (Kokkinos [n. 30], 45, 52-3), so Eusebius ought to have given  $1275+32/4=1307/9$ . Cf. Soph., *Triptolemus* (F 542, ed. Nauck = Schol. Eur. *Tro.* 220); Eudoxus of Knidus (F 83, ed. Gisinger = Schol. Eur. *Tro.* 221); and Appian (*Pun.* 8.1.1). Eusebius of course knew other chronologies for Carthage, one placed at 1039 BCE (which he favoured but calculated probably wrongly for what he says:  $1182/1-133=1049/8$ ; Helm 69b), another placed at 1014 BCE (Helm 71b), and a final one at 850 BCE (presumably Timaeian but wrong again; Helm 81b).

<sup>93</sup> See conveniently the eloquent discussion of Feeney (n. 3), 52-57, 92-95.

<sup>94</sup> Momigliano (n. 86), 55.

<sup>95</sup> See concisely with documentation T.J. Cornell, *The Beginnings of Rome: Italy and Rome from the Bronze Age to the Punic Wars (ca. 1000-264 BC)* (London/New York 1995), 63-68.

simultaneously,<sup>96</sup> like Herodotus, Josephus and arguably Porphyry (mentioned above). Some indirect evidence may be present. Appian (*Pun.* 8.1.2) says that at the Roman intervention in Sicily (which began in 264 BCE — Polyb. 1.10.1-11.2), seven hundred years (ἑπτακόσιοις δ' αὐτοὺς ἔτεσιν) had passed since the foundation of Carthage. This places the event at 964 BCE, which is odd in lying between the heroic and historic dates for Carthage known from the other sources. But Appian (*Pun.* 8.1.1) also says that Carthage was founded by Dido fifty years before the fall of Troy (ἔτεσι πενήκοντα πρὸ τῆς ἀλώσεως Ἰλίου), which places the latter at 914 BCE in his scheme. This late tenth century date for Troy, given the previous round figure of 700 mentioned by Appian, is very close to the low chronology (ca. 940/937 BCE) for the Trojan War in the Tyrian Annals. Appian seems to be lumping together two traditions, one regarding the foundation of Carthage as an event belonging to the heroic age and another reckoning the fall of Troy as an event of the tenth century.

Finally, mention was made earlier of the *Peri Thaumasiōn Akousmatōn*, attributed to Aristotle, but which emanates from his school, with Timaeus (264 BCE) being the most recent source used by it. As this work cites a fragment (134) from 'Phoenician histories', one would have thought that the information may be relevant to Timaeus. This fragment claims to be reading the foundation date of Utica as having occurred 287 years before Carthage, and since Carthage in Timaeus' reckoning was dated to 823 or 813 BCE, Utica would date to 1110 or 1100 BCE. Yet Timaeus' source, the Tyrian Annals, began only in the tenth century BCE, and the scale here betrays a chronological placement in the heroic not the historical period. Thus the predecessor of Timaeus, Philistus (died 355 BCE), comes to mind. Indeed, we know that the latter is supposed to have written a book *Περὶ Φοινίκης* (*FGrH* 556 T1a). The calculation is confirmed later in Pliny (*NH* 16.79.216), who mentions 1178 years for the lasting of the beams at Utica to his time of writing in 77 CE. Here again we see an example of lumping together of two traditions: the dating of Carthage in the historic period by Timaeus, based on the Tyrian Annals, combined with the antiquity of Utica in the heroic period by Philistus.

## Conclusion

The role of Phoenician material in Greek culture was far more significant than previously realised. An examination of the extant fragments of literary evidence from the late archaic to the beginning of the Hellenistic period, from Thales of Miletus to Timaeus of Tauromenium, shows that the Greeks were not ignorant of Phoenician theological traditions, nor were they ignorant of the existence of Phoenician historical records which could be translated from documents or/and monuments. Timaeus' private use of such records is clearly testified, evidently explaining his extraordinary knowledge for dating the foundation of Carthage. Indeed, later in the Hellenistic period, local ethno-chronographers more specifically began to work on material from Phoenicia, exactly as Berossus first did with material from Babylonia, followed by Manetho in Egypt, and to a certain extent (as it is a different case, since a native collection had already been previously put together here) the supposed LXX translators from Judah. It

<sup>96</sup> Two chronologies, though not one in the tenth century, had also been suspected by Jacoby (*FGrH* 566 Komm. 564-565).



is worth asking then what Tyrian documentation there was, who undertook to translate it into Greek, how much of it can have been original, and whether its chronography indeed forms a wider pattern?

Looking closer at the evidence, it seems that one Mochus had written in the Phoenician language no later than the sixth century BCE, mostly concerning theology and prehistory, following a compatriot of his, one Sanchuniathon, conceivably writing not earlier than the seventh century BCE. Sanchuniathon, if real, appears to have been “rediscovered” by Philo of Byblus, who claims to have translated him in the second century CE. Mochus’ work was wholly or partly translated into Greek in the third century BCE by Hestiaeus and by Hieronymus, the so-called “Egyptian”. Arguably of Hellenised Phoenician origins, the latter wrote a history down to the early Hellenistic period, and thus he must have translated Phoenician sources postdating Mochus — such as the so-called Tyrian Annals, evidently of the late sixth century BCE (on internal evidence). Hieronymus was followed by Menander, who also wrote a Phoenician history in the second century BCE. While conceivably utilising the work of Hieronymus, Menander is said to have worked also directly with the Tyrian Annals. Two later historians, Dius in the first century BCE and Philostratus probably in the first century CE, seem to have copied Menander, while late in the first century CE, Laitus wrote further on Phoenicia. The latter’s theological material going back to Mochus, seems to have been found translated in earlier Hysicrates and via him in even earlier Theodotus. Laitus’ historical material would have been borrowed from Menander the follower of Hieronymus. Evidently Hieronymus, rather than Menander, was the original translator of Phoenician material extending later than Mochus — namely the Tyrian Annals.

But what were the Tyrian Annals, and how much and what kind of information can be attributed to them? The extant fragments are preserved primarily in Josephus. It seems that the core of the original archive was a king-list (stating names, ages and reign-lengths), covering the period from the tenth to the sixth centuries BCE, on which brief historical notices had been attached relating major acts performed by the individual kings. This is all well in keeping with other oriental examples, notably the Assyrian and Babylonian. As time went on, however, apocryphal material were connected inevitably to the original record, such as the correspondence between Hiram and Solomon, and the story of Solomon sending the golden pillar to Hiram. Yet, the report of the marriage of Hiram’s daughter to Solomon, said to have been mentioned by Menander and Laitus, is a point of some significance to Greek chronography, for it was placed around the time of the Trojan War, as testified by Clement of Alexandria. Such a “low” dating for the fall of Troy in the tenth century BCE, cannot have been, and was not, invented in the Hellenistic period, since it was already known to Hecataeus of Miletus, who had collected Phoenician information in the late sixth century BCE.

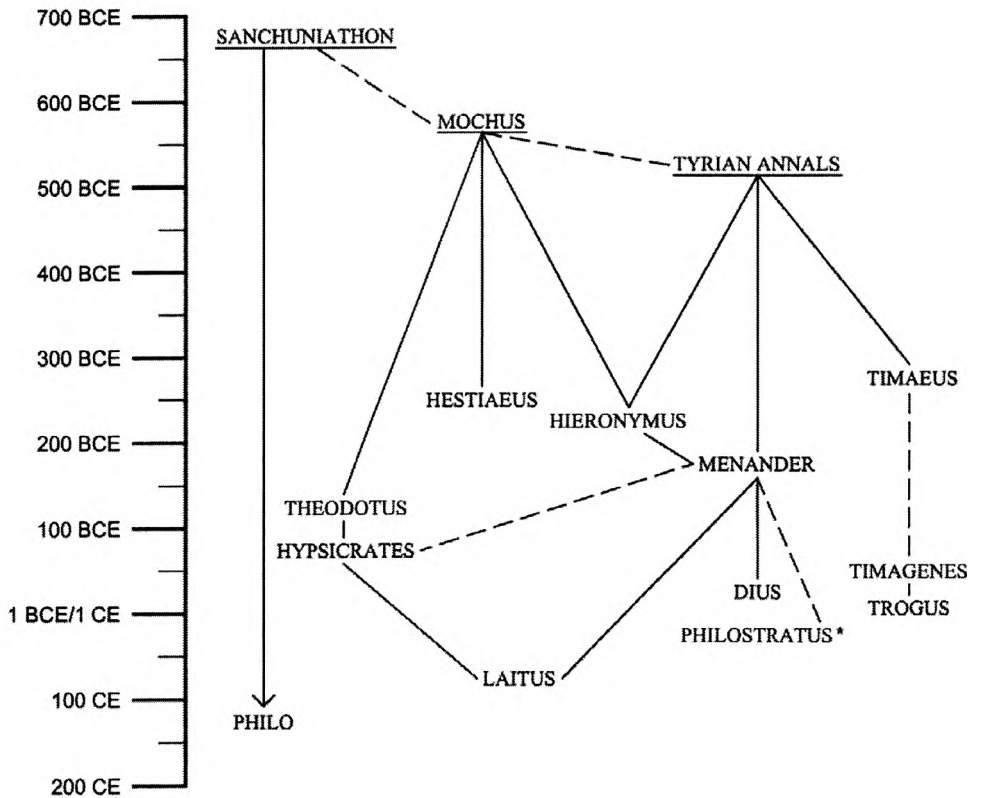
The Phoenician king-list, as a continuous line of royal succession from the mid-tenth to the late sixth century BCE, will have been composed no doubt working from local archival material in the early Persian period — similarly to the Babylonian Chronicle 1 extending from 747 to 668 BCE, and the Assyrian Eponym List from 911 to 648 BCE. The preserved fragments deriving from the Hellenistic translation concern three “floating” segments which can be pegged in absolute time. A refined new analysis has been offered here. According to this, the first segment begins with Eirōmos I (Hiram

I) in 955/4 BCE, and stops at the end of Pygmalion's reign in 768/7 BCE. The second covers only the reign of Eloulaios, at the end of which (seemingly at 697 BCE) Sennacherib conquered Tyre, having already (701 BCE) installed as king over Phoenicia one Tubail II. The gap from 768/7 to 697 BCE can be bridged by three kings found in the Assyrian records: Tubail I, Hiram II and Mettena. The third segment extends from the reign of Ithobalos II in 590/89 BCE to the end of that of Eirōmos III (Hiram III) in 533/2 BCE. Concerning the second gap from 697 BCE to 590/89 BCE, one king is known from the Assyrian records: Baal under Esarhaddon in ca. 677 BCE and 667 BCE. Also another Hiram, father of Ithobalos II (IV), may well have reigned some years before and up to 590/89 BCE, as revealed from a Phoenician inscription.

By making use of the Tyrian Annals, Timaeus came very close to achieving an absolute date for the founding of Carthage. Whether his estimate represents 823 or 813 BCE (before his time placed as early as 1215 BCE), it is not far from the real date of 808/7 BCE (the highest possible year for the beginning of Elissa's mission towards Libya) that can be calculated from Pygmalion's Year 7. Timaeus' bold move changed the entire perspective of ancient Greek chronography, radically shifting the focus from a vague heroic past into a decidedly realistic historical context. His move took also the foundation of Rome along, with serious repercussions for the way the origins of this city had previously been perceived. The Tyrian Annals had further surprises in store: the date of the fall of Troy, which, from the Phoenician chronographic perspective, was firmly placed in the tenth century BCE. This was perfectly consistent with the Timaeian downwards slipping of events towards the historic period, but something that Greek chronographers evidently found difficult to swallow in their political desire to claim a higher antiquity for their own cultural past. So it has to be assumed that Timaeus was compelled to work with both systems of chronography, "high" and "low", for he apparently acknowledges the fall of Troy at 1193 BCE. In this double acceptance he will not have been alone, given what we know of Herodotus (reporting on Hecataeus), and what we can gather from Josephus and Porphyry who based themselves on the Tyrian Annals.

University College London

**Figure 1: Tyrian Annals Stemma**  
 (continuous line = assumed connection; broken line = hypothetical connection)



\*A case for an earlier date (in the 3rd century BCE) for Philostratus could be made (see main text).

**Table 1: Name variants in the textual tradition for Segment 1 of the Tyrian King-List  
(Menander *apud* Josephus, *Against Apion* 1.117-126; cf. *AJ* 8.324)**

1	2	3	4	5	6
Ἀβίβαλος Abibalos	<i>Abibalus</i>	Ἀβείβαλος Abeibalos	Ἀβίβαλος Abibalos	<i>Abibal</i>	Ἀβίβαλος Abibalos
Ἐἱρώμος* Eirōmos	<i>Iromus**</i>	Ἱερωμένος Hierōmenos	Ἱρωμος Irōmos	<i>Hiromos</i>	Σίρωμος Sirōmos
Βαλεάζερος Balezeros	<i>Balbazerus</i>	Βάζωρος Bazōros	Βααλζάβερ Baalzaber	<i>Bahalbazeros</i>	Βααλβάζερος Baalbazeros
Ἀβδάστρατος Abdastratos	<i>Abdatratus</i>	--	Ἀβδάσταρτος Abdastartos	<i>Abdastartos</i>	Ἀβδάσταρτος Abdastartos
<i>Anonymous?</i>	--***	--	<i>Anonymous?</i>	<i>Anonymous?</i>	<i>Anonymous?</i>
Ἄσταρτος Δελαιαστάρτου Astartos [son] of Delaiastartos	<i>Metusastartus</i> [ <i>filius</i> ] <i>Leastarti</i>	Μεθουάσταρτος Methouastartos	Ἄσταρτος Ἐλεστάρτος Astartos Elestartos	<i>Astartos</i> [ <i>son</i> ] of <i>Eleastartos</i>	Ἄσταρτος Ἐλεαστάρτου Astartos [son] of Eleastartos
Ἀσέρυμος Aserymos	<i>Astirimus</i>	Ἀθάρυμος Atharymos	Ἀσθάρυμος Astharymus	<i>Astharimos</i>	Ἀσθάρυμος Astharymus
Φέλλης Phellēs	<i>Pelles</i>	Ἑλλης Hellēs	Φέλλης Phellēs	<i>Phelis</i>	Φέλλης Phellēs
Εἰθόβαλος**** Eithōbalos	<i>Ithobalus</i>	Ἰουθόβαλος Iouthōbalos	Ἰθόβαλος Ithobalos	<i>Ithobalos</i>	Εἰθόβαλος Eithobalos
Βαδέζωρ Badezōr	<i>Badezodus</i>	Βάζωρος Bazōros	Βαλιζώρος Balizōros	<i>Balezoros</i>	Βαλέζερος Balezeros
Μάτγηνος Matgēnos	<i>Mettinus</i>	Μέττηνος Mettēnos	Μέτηνος Metēnos	<i>Maetenos</i>	Μέτηνος Metēnos
Φυσμαλίου ( <i>sic-nominat.</i> ) Physmalios?	<i>Pigmalion</i>	Πυγμαλίων Φυγμαλίουμ Pygmalion Phygmalionum	Μυγδαλίων Φυσμαλίωνος Mygdalion [son] of Physmaslion	<i>Physmanon</i>	Μυγδαλίων Φυσμανοῦν Mygdalion Physmanoun

1 = Josephus in Codex Laurentianus Graecus (pluteus 69, codex 22 — 11th cent. AD)

2 = Josephus in Latin version by Cassiodorus (wrote in the 6th cent. AD — earliest MS  
[Codex Laurentianus Latinus, pluteus 66, codex 2] 11th cent. AD)

3 = Josephus *apud* Theophilus (wrote ca. AD 180 — earliest MS 11th cent. AD)

4 = Josephus *apud* Eusebius (Greek *apud* Eklogē Historiōn — 15th cent. AD)

5 = Josephus *apud* Eusebius (Armenian version — 13th cent. AD)

6 = Josephus *apud* Syncellus (wrote ca. AD 810 — best MS 11th cent. AD)

\* Χείραμος (Joseph. *AJ* 8.144-6 [V]; Joseph. *AJ* 7.66 [SP]); *Chiram* (Joseph. *AJ* 7.66 [Latin]);  
 Ἰέρωμος (Joseph. *AJ* 7.66 [O]); Εἶραμος (Joseph. *AJ* 7.66 [M]).

\*\* *Ironius* [Re]; *Iram* [C]; *Yram* [P].

\*\*\* Abdastartos was killed by four (three — Syncellus) brothers, the elder of whom became king, followed by two others. While Codex Laurentianus implies an anonymous elder brother, its text is corrupt. The Latin version of Cassiodorus translates μεθ' οὗς Ἄσταρτος as *Metusastartus* (cf. Theophilus), and accepted by Niese. Chronological reconstruction here supports this view (see Table 2).

\*\*\*\* Ἰθώβαλος (Joseph. *AJ* 8.324)

**Table 2: Regnal years in the textual tradition for Segment 1 of the Tyrian King-List (Menander *apud* Josephus, *Against Apion* 1.117-126; cf. *Ant.* 8.144-146)**

KINGS	1	2	3	4	5	6	RECONSTR.
Eiromos	[34]*	34*	--**	34	34	34	<b>34</b>
Balbazeros	7	7	17	7	17	17	<b>17</b>
Abdastartos	9	9	--	9	9	9	<b>9</b>
<i>Anonymous?</i>	12	--	--	--	--	--	--
Metusastartos	12	12	12	12	12	12	<b>12</b>
Astharymos	9	9	9	9	9	9	<b>9</b>
Phelles	8 mo.	8 mo.	8 mo.	18 mo.	8 mo.	8 mo.	<b>8 months</b>
Ithobalos	32	32	12	32	32	32	<b>32</b>
Balezeros	6	6	7	18	8	8	<b>6</b>
Mattenos	9	9	29	25	29	25	<b>29</b>
Pygmalion	47	40	7	47	47	47	<b>47</b>
Total <u>given</u> to Year 7 of Pygmalion (=Carthage)	<b>155.8</b>	<b>155.8</b>	<b>155.8</b>	155.18	<b>155.8</b>	--	
Total from figures	137.8	125.8	93.8+	153.18	157.8	153.8	<b>155.8</b>
Total <u>given</u> from Year 12 of Eiromos (=Temple) to Year 7 of Pygmalion (=Carthage)	<b>143.8</b>	<b>143.8</b>	133.8	143.18	<b>143.8</b>	<b>143.8</b>	
Total from figures	125.8	113.8	[115.8]	141.18	145.8	141.8	<b>143.8</b>

- 1 = Josephus in Codex Laurentianus Graecus (pluteus 69, codex 22 — 11th cent. AD)
- 2 = Josephus in Latin version by Cassiodorus (wrote in the 6th cent. AD — earliest MS [Codex Laurentianus Latinus, pluteus 66, codex 2] 11th cent. AD)
- 3 = Josephus *apud* Theophilus (wrote ca. AD 180 — earliest MS 11th cent. AD)
- 4 = Josephus *apud* Eusebius (Greek *apud* Eklogē Historiōn — 15th cent. AD)
- 5 = Josephus *apud* Eusebius (Armenian version — 13th cent. AD)
- 6 = Josephus *apud* Syncellus (wrote ca. AD 810 — best MS 11th cent. AD)

\* Both Laurentianus Graecus and Latinus have ‘34’ in connection to the age (rather than the reign) of Eiromos (*Ap.* 1.117), but only by missing out part of the sentence. Josephus elsewhere is clear that ‘34’ was the length of the reign (*AJ* 8.144).

\*\* Theophilus omits the length of this reign, though he mentions ‘Year 12 of Eiromos’ (*Ad Autol.* 3.22).

**Table 3: Age at death variants in the textual tradition for Segment 1 of the Tyrian King-List (Menander *apud* Josephus, *Against Apion* 1.117-126)**

KINGS	1	2	3	4	5	6	Reconstruction
Eiromos	--	--	53	53	53	53	53
Balbazeros	43	43	43	43	43	--	43
Abdastartos	29	20	--	39	39	--	39
Metusastartos	54	44	54	54	54	--	54
Astharymos	54	54	58	58	58	--	58
Phelles	50	50	50	50	10	--	50
Ithobalos	68	48	40	48	48	--	68
Balezeros	45	45	45	45	45	--	45
Mattenos	32	32	32	32	32	--	32
Pygmalion	56	56	56	58	58	--	58

1 = Josephus in Codex Laurentianus Graecus (pluteus 69, codex 22 — 11th cent. AD)

2 = Josephus in Latin version by Cassiodorus (wrote in the 6th cent. AD — earliest MS [Codex Laurentianus Latinus, pluteus 66, codex 2] 11th cent. AD)

3 = Josephus *apud* Theophilus (wrote ca. AD 180 — earliest MS 11th cent. AD)

4 = Josephus *apud* Eusebius (Greek *apud* Eklogē Historiōn — 15th cent. AD)

5 = Josephus *apud* Eusebius (Armenian version — 13th cent. AD)

6 = Josephus *apud* Syncellus (wrote ca. AD 810 — best MS 11th cent. AD)

**Table 4: Absolute chronology and ages at accession for Segment 1 of the Tyrian King-List**

KING	LENGTH OF REIGN	BCE	AGE AT DEATH	YEAR OF BIRTH	AGE AT ACCESSION
Eiromos I	34	955/4-922/1	53	974/3	19
Balbazeros I	17	922/1-906/5	43	948/7	26
Abdastartos	9	906/5-898/7	39	936/5	30
Metusastartos	12	898/7-887/6	54	940/39	42
Astharymos	9	887/6-879/8	58	936/5	49
Phelles	8 months	879/8-878/7	50	927/6	49
Ithobalos I	32	878/7-847/6	68	914/3	36
Balezeros II	6	847/6-842/1	45	886/5	39
Mattenos I	29	842/1-814/3	32	845/4	3
Pygmalion	47	814/3-768/7	58	825/4	11
	Total: 195 +8 months	Total: 187 “antedating”			

Balbazeros I son of Eiromos I (Joseph. *Ap.* 1.121)

Abdastartos son of Balbazeros I (Joseph. *Ap.* 1.122)

Metuastartos co-killed Abdastartos (Joseph. *Ap.* 1.122)

Ashtarymos brother of Metusastartos (Joseph. *Ap.* 1.123)  
 Phelles brother of Metusastrartos and Astharymos (Joseph. *Ap.* 1.123)  
 Phelles killed Astharymos (Joseph. *Ap.* 1.123)  
 Ithobalos I [the priest of Astarte] killed Phelles (Joseph. *Ap.* 1.123)  
 Ithobalos I [son of Abdastartos?]  
 Balezeros II son of Ithobalos I (Joseph. *Ap.* 1.124)  
 Mattenos I son of Balezeros II (Joseph. *Ap.* 1.125)  
 Pygmalion [son of Mattenos I?]

**Table 5: Suggested Absolute Chronology for Segment 2 of the Tyrian King-List (Menander *apud* Josephus, *Antiquities* 9.284-7) based on the synchronism of Eloulaios Year 36 = Luli 697 BCE in the Assyrian Records**

KING	LENGTH OF REIGN	BCE
Tubail I	26?	768/7-743/2?
Hiram II	9?	743/2-735/4?
Mettena II	3?	735/4?-733/2
<b>Eloulaios</b>	<b>36</b>	<b>733/2-698/7</b>
Tubail II	5	702/1-698/7
	+21?	698/7-677/6?
Baal	10?+	677/6-668/7?+
Hiram [III]		-590/89

**Table 6: Absolute Chronology for Segment 3 of the Tyrian King-List (Menander/Philostratus *apud* Josephus, *Against Apion* 1.156-9; cf. 1.144; *Antiquities* 10.228), based on the synchronism of Hiram III Year 14 = Cyrus Year 1 (539/8 BCE in the Phoenician calendar) as given in 1.159.**

KING	LENGTH OF REIGN	BCE
Ithobalos II (IV)	19	590/89-572/1
Baal II	10	572/1-563/2
Eknibalos	2 months	
Chelbes	10 months	563/2-562/1
Abbaros	3 months	562/1-561/0
Mytynos III & Gerastratos	6	561/0-556/5
Balator	1	556/5-555/4
Merbalos	4	555/4-552/1
Hiram III (IV)	20	552/1-533/2

**Tyrian King-List: Tenth to Sixth Centuries**

Segment 1: Menander *apud* Josephus, *Against Apion* 1.117-126; cf. *Antiquities* 8.324

Segment 2: Menander *apud* Josephus, *Antiquities* 9.284-7;

Segment 3: Menander/Philostratus *apud* Josephus, *Against Apion* 1.156-9; cf. 1.144; *Antiquities* 10.228

955/954	— Abibaal Year xx = Hiram I Year 1 [34 = 955/4-922/1 BCE]	
954/953	— Hiram I Year	2
953/952		3
952/951		4
951/950		5
950/949		6
949/948		7
948/947		8
947/946		9
946/945		10
945/944		11
944/943	12 = <b>Work on Jerusalem Temple Year 1</b> (Joseph. <i>Ap.</i> 1.126)	
943/942	13	<b>2</b>
942/941	14	<b>3</b>
941/940	15	<b>4</b>
940/939	16	<b>5</b>
939/938	17	<b>6</b>
938/937	18	<b>7</b>
937/936	19	<b>8 (incl. reckoning)</b>
936/935	20	
935/934	21	
934/933	22	
933/932	23	
932/931	24	
931/930	25	
930/929	26	
929/928	27	
928/927	28	
927/926	29	
926/925	30	
925/924	31	
924/923	32	
923/922	33	
922/921	— Hiram I Year 34 = Balbazeros I Year 1 [17 = 922/1-906/5 BCE]	
921/920	— Balbazeros I Year	2
920/919		3
919/918		4
918/917		5
917/916		6
916/915		7
915/914		8
914/913		9
913/912		10
912/911		11
911/910		12
910/909		13



909/908	14
908/907	15
907/906	16
906/905 — Balbazeros I Year	17 = Abdastartos Year 1 [9 = 906/5-898/7 BCE]
905/904 — Abdastartos Year	2
904/903	3
903/902	4
902/901	5
901/900	6
900/899	7
899/898	8
898/897 — Abdastartos Year	9 = Metuastartos Year 1 [12 = 898/7-887/6 BCE]
897/896 — Metuastartos Year	2
896/895	3
895/894	4
894/893	5
893/892	6
892/891	7
891/890	8
890/889	9
889/888	10
888/887	11
887/886 — Metuastartos Year	12 = Astharymos Year 1 [9 = 887/6-879/8 BCE]
886/885 — Astharymos Year	2
885/884	3
884/883	4
883/882	5
882/881	6
881/880	7
880/879	8
879/878 — Astharymos Year	9 = Phelles Year 1 [8 months = 879/8-878/7 BCE]
878/877 — Phelles Year 1 = Ithobalos I Year	1 [32 = 878/7-847/6 BCE]
877/876 — Ithobalos I Year	2
876/875	3
875/874	4
874/873	5
873/872	6
872/871	7
871/870	8
870/869	9
869/868	10
868/867	11
867/866	12
866/865	13
865/864	14
864/863	15
863/862	16
862/861	17
861/860	18
860/859	19
859/858	20
858/857	21
857/856	22

856/855	23
855/854	24
854/853	25
853/852	26
852/851	27
851/850	28
850/849	29
849/848	30
848/847	31
847/846 — Ithobalos I Year 32 = Balezeros II Year 1 [6 = 847/6-842/1 BCE]	
846/845 — Balezeros II Year 2	
845/844	3
844/843	4
843/842	5 (841) <i>Balezeros II in Shl III Assur Slab</i>
842/841 — Balezeros II Year 6 = Mattenos I Year 1 [29 = 842/1-814/3 BCE]	
841/840 — Mattenos I Year 2	
840/839	3
839/838	4
838/837	5
837/836	6
836/835	7
835/834	8
834/833	9
833/832	10
832/831	11
831/830	12
830/829	13
829/828	14
828/827	15
827/826	16
826/825	17
825/824	18
824/823	19
823/822	20
822/821	21
821/820	22
820/819	23
819/818	24
818/817	25
817/816	26
816/815	27
815/814	28
814/813 — Mattenos I Year 29 = Pygmalion Year 1 [47 = 814/3-768/7 BCE]	
813/812 — Pygmalion Year 2	
812/811	3
811/810	4
810/809	5
809/808	6
808/807	7 = <b>Pygmalion' sister to Carthage</b> (Joseph. <i>Ap.</i> 1.125)
807/806	8
806/805	9
805/804	10
804/803	11

803/802	12
802/801	13
801/800	14
800/799	15
799/798	16
798/797	17
797/796	18
796/795	19
795/794	20
794/793	21
793/792	22
792/791	23
791/790	24
790/789	25
789/788	26
788/787	27
787/786	28
786/785	29
785/784	30
784/783	31
783/782	32
782/781	33
781/780	34
780/779	35
779/778	36
778/777	37
777/776	38
776/775	39
775/774	40
774/773	41
773/772	42
772/771	43
771/770	44
770/769	45
769/768	46
768/767 — Pygmalion Year	47 = Tubail I Year 1 [28? = 768/7-741/0 BCE?]
767/766 — Tubail I Year	2
766/765	3
765/764	4
764/763	5
763/762	6
762/761	7
761/760	8
760/759	9
759/758	10
758/757	11
757/756	12
756/755	13
755/754	14
754/753	15
753/752	16
752/751	17
751/750	18

750/749	19
749/748	20
748/747	21
747/746	22
746/745	23
745/744	24
744/743 = 25 (743) <i>Tubail I [restored] in Tgl Ann 21.7 (L. 1.769)</i>	
743/742	26
742/741	27 (740?) <i>Tubail I in Tgl Iran stele IIIA.6</i>
741/740 — Tubail I Year 28? = Hiram II Year 1 [7? = 743/2-735/4 BCE?]	
740/739 — Hiram II Year 2	
739/738	3 (738?) <i>Hiram II in Tgl Ann 13.11*/27.2 (L. 1.772)</i>
738/737	4
737/736	5
736/735	6 (734?) <i>Hiram II in Tgl ND 4301+ = Summ. 9, rev. 5</i>
735/734 — Hiram II Year 7 = Mettena II Year 1 [3? = 735/4-733/2 BCE?]	
734/733 — Mettena II Year 2 (733?) <i>Mettena II in Tgl Summ. 7, rev. 16 (L. 1.803)</i>	
733/732 — Mettena II Year 3 = Eloul Year 1 [36 = 733/2-698/7 BCE]	
732/731 — Eloul Year 2	
731/730	3
730/729	4
729/728	5
728/727	6
727/726	7
726/725	8
725/724	9
724/723	10
723/722	11
722/721	12
721/720	13
720/719	14
719/718	15
718/717	16
717/716	17
716/715	18
715/714	19
714/713	20
713/712	21
712/711	22
711/710	23
710/709	24
709/708	25
708/707	26
707/706	27
706/705	28
705/704	29
704/703	30
703/702 = 31 (700) <i>Luli and Tubail II in Sen Ann (Rassam Cyl)</i>	
702/701 = 32 = <b>Siege of Tyre 1</b> (701-697 BCE — Joseph. <i>AJ</i> 9.287)	
701/700	33 2
700/699	34 3
699/698	35 4
698/697 — Eloul Year 36 = <b>Siege 5</b> = Tubail II Year 5 [25? = 702/1-678/7 BCE?]	

697/696		6
696/695		7
695/694		8
694/693		9
693/692		10
692/691		11
691/690		12
690/689		13
689/688		14
688/687		15
687/686		16
686/685		17
685/684		18
684/683		19
683/682		20
682/681		21
681/680		22
680/679		23
679/678		24
678/677	— Tubail II Year 25? = Baal Year 1 [11+? = 678/7-668/7+? BCE]	
677/676	— Baal Year 2 (677) <b>Baal in Esrh NinA</b>	
676/675	3	
675/674	4	
674/673	5	
673/672	6	
672/671	7	
671/670	8	
670/669	9	
669/668	10	
668/667	11	(667) <b>Baal in Ashb PrC</b>

**HIATUS TO SOME YEARS BEFORE 590/589**

**Hiram [III] father of Ithobalos II [IV] mentioned in new inscription**

590/589	— Hiram [III] Year xx = Ithobalos II [IV] Year 1 [19 = 590/89-572/1 BCE]	
589/588	— Ithobalos II [IV] Year 2	
588/587	3	
587/586	4	
586/585	5	
585/584	6	
584/583	7 = <b>Siege of Tyre Year</b>	1 (584/3-572/1 BCE) = Joseph. <i>Ap.</i> 1.159
583/582	8	2
582/581	9	3
581/580	10	4
580/579	11	5
579/578	12	6
578/577	13	7
577/576	14	8
576/575	15	9
575/574	16	10
574/573	17	11
573/572	18	12
572/571	— Ithobalos II Year 19 = <b>Siege 13</b> = Baal II Year 1 [10 = 572/1-563/2 BCE]	

571/570	— Baal II Year 2	
570/569		3
569/568		4
568/567		5
567/566		6
566/565		7
565/564		8
564/563		9
563/562	— Baal II Year 10 = Eknibalos + Chelbes [02+0.10 = 563/2-562/1 BCE]	
562/561	— Eknibalos + Chelbes = Abbaros [0.3 = 562/1-561/0 BCE]	
561/560	— Abbaros [0.3] = Myttynos III & Gerastratos Year 1 [6 = 561/0-556/5 BCE]	
560/559	— Myttynos & Gerastratos Year 2	
559/558		3
558/557		4
557/556		5
556/555	— Myttynos & Gerastratos Year 6 = Balator Year 1 [1 = 556/5-555/4 BCE]	
555/554	— Balator Year 1 = Merbalos Year 1 [4 = 555/4-552/1 BCE]	
554/553	— Merbalos Year 2	
553/552		3
552/551	— Merbalos Year 4 = Hiram III [IV] Year 1 [20 = 552/1-533/2 BCE]	
551/550	— Hiram III [IV] Year 2	
550/549		3
549/548		4
548/547		5
547/546		6
546/545		7
545/544		8
544/543		9
543/542		10
542/541		11
541/540		12
540/539		13
539/538	= 14 = <b>Cyrus Year 1</b> (in the Phoenician calendar) = Joseph. <i>Ap.</i> 1.159	
538/537		15
537/536		16
536/535		17
535/534		18
534/533		19
533/532		20