THE CHRISTIAN ALEXANDER

THE USE OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT IN EARLY CHRISTIAN LITERATURE

BY CHRISTIAN THRUE DJURSLEV

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DECLARATION

Submitted by CHRISTIAN THRUE DJURSLEV *to the* UNIVERSITY OF EXETER *as a thesis for the degree of doctor of philosophy in Classics and Ancient History,* November 2 2015.

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Signature: Christian Thrue Djurslev (signed)

Dedicated to the

Memory of Mary Ussher

(August 25 1951 — April 6 2015 Easter Monday).

'Eine klare zusammenfassende Lemmatasammlung zu Alexander etwa für die Patrologie gibt es nicht, doch ist zu vermuten, daß eine solche über das dargelegte hinaus kaum Neues würde bieten können.'

Gerhard Wirth, *Der Weg in die Vergessenheit – Zum Schicksal des antiken Alexanderbildes*, p. 58 n. 186.

'Amitay assumes a familiarity with Alexander that is most unlikely among the audiences to which Jesus and his followers preached.'

David Madsen, *Review of Ory Amitay* From Alexander to Jesus, *Bryn Mawr Classical Review* 2011.09.32.

Abstract

The Christian Alexander

The Use of Alexander the Great in Early Christian Literature

By Christian Thrue Djurslev

The aim of the present study is to examine how the legacy of Alexander was appropriated, altered and used in arguments in early Christian discourse (c. 200-600). There is an inventory of all the early Christian references to Alexander in Appendix 1. The structure of the thesis is conceived as an unequal triptych: it is divided into three parts with subdivisions into three chapters of varying lengths (Part III contains two chapters and the thesis conclusion). Each part is prefaced with a short description of its contents. Each chapter within those parts have a preliminary remark to introduce the principal subject area with a brief conclusion in the back of it.

Part I explores the Alexander traditions of three geographical centres of the Christian world: Alexandria (Ch. 1), Jerusalem (Ch. 2) and Rome (Ch. 3). It shows how the Jewish tales from these cities, such as the Josephan tale about Alexander's visit to Jerusalem, were used in a variety of diverging, often contradictory, ways.

Part II turns to the writings of the apologists in the second and third centuries. It discusses three prevalent themes associated with Alexander: historiography (Ch. 4), divine honours (Ch. 5) and Greek philosophy (Ch. 6).

Part III moves on to the central texts and Alexander themes in the fourth to sixth centuries. It focuses on his role in Christian chronicles, church histories and representations of their world (Ch. 7), and also the rhetorical use of the figure in Christian preaching and public speaking (Ch. 8).

Taken together, these three parts form the overarching argument that Alexander did not only fill many diverse roles in Christian representations of the remote past, but also featured in contemporary discourse on Christian culture, identities and societies, as well as in arguments made on behalf of the Christian religion itself. Indeed, the Christians frequently juxtapose the figure with distinctively Christian features, such as the life of Jesus, the Apostles, the church, sacred cities and holy spaces. They incorporate him into discourses on peace, mercy, generosity and abstinence. In other words, they repeatedly made Alexander relevant for what they considered important and, thus, created their own distinct discourse on the figure.

Contents

Abstract 7

Acknowledgements 13

A Note on Conventions 14

Introduction 15

- a. Approaches to Alexander Literature 17
- b. Current Contentions 23
- c. The Project: Practice and Theory 27
- d. Methodology 37
- e. Overview of the Argument 41

PART I 43

Chapter 1: Alexander's City 45

- Preliminaries 45
- 1.1. The Foundation of Alexandria 49
- 1.2. Civic Rights to Alexandrian Jews 55
- 1.3. The Translation of the Septuagint 59
- 1.4. The Bones of Jeremiah 63
- 1.5. The Sibylline Oracles 65
  - 1.5.1. 'Babylon proved Alexander a corpse' 67
- 1.6. Alexander's Pilgrimage to Jerusalem 71
  - 1.6.1. Origen's Version 77
  - 1.6.2. Eusebius' Versions 79
  - 1.6.3. Latin Versions 83
  - 1.6.4. Byzantine Versions 85
  - 1.6.5. General Observations 88
- 1.7. Conclusion 90

Chapter 2: Jerusalem 91

- Preliminaries 91
- 2.1. The Book of Daniel 100
  - 2.1.1. Daniel 8. The Goat of Goats 102
  - 2.1.2. Daniel 2. Translatio Imperii 108
  - 2.1.3. Daniel 7. Empires and Monsters 119

2.2. Major and Minor Prophets....125
2.3. Revelation....130
2.4. The First Book of Maccabees....136
2.5. Conclusion....142
Chapter 3: Rome....143
Preliminaries....143
3.1. The Gate of Alexander....145
3.2. Philo's Calanus....151
3.3. Mosollamus....155
3.4. Alexander, Moses and the Red Sea....155
3.5. Conclusion....156
PART II....157
Chapter 4: Revisions of Knowledge....158
Preliminaries....158
4.1. Apologetic histories....161
4.1.1. Julius Africanus....164
4.1.2. Ps.-Hippolytus....166
4.1.3. Eusebius and Jerome....168
4.2. Geography....174
4.3. Miscellanies....177
4.4. Conclusion....183
Chapter 5: Divine Honours....185
Preliminaries....185
5.1. Birth Myths....188
5.2. Death....191
5.3. Alexander's Letter of Secrets....192
5.3.1. Athenagoras' Embassy....194
5.3.2. Minucius Felix's Octavius and Ps.-Cyprian On the Vanity of Idols....195
5.3.3. Augustine's City of God....198
5.4. Conclusion....201
Chapter 6: Problems of Philosophy....203
Preliminaries....203
6.1. Leonidas of Epirus....207
6.2. Aristotle and Callisthenes....209

6.3. Conclusion....213

PART III....215

Chapter 7. Tempora Christiana....217

Preliminaries....217

7.1. Alexander Histories from the Greek East....221

7.1.1. Alexandria....222

7.1.2. Antioch....226

7.1.3. Constantinople....228

7.2. Alexander Histories from the Latin West....233

7.2.1. Hispania and North Africa....233

7.2.2. Gaul....242

7.3. Church Histories....247

7.3.1. Ps.-Gelasius of Cyzicus....248

7.3.2. Philip of Side....249

7.3.3. Socrates of Constantinople....252

7.3.4. Augustine....254

7.4. Writing a Christian World....257

7.5. Conclusion....265

Chapter 8. Alexander and Christian Figures of Power....267

Preliminaries....267

8.1. Roman Comparisons with Alexander....272

8.2. Alexander and Jesus....275

8.3. Alexander and the Apostle Paul....280

8.4. Alexander and Constantine I....282

8.5. Alexander, Barbarian Kings and Byzantine Emperors....289

8.6. Conclusion....294

Thesis Conclusion: Lights from Later Antiquity....297

Appendix 1: Inventory of Christian References to Alexander....307

Bibliography....329

a. Abbreviations....329

b. References....331

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CTD Exeter, February 2016.

A Note on Conventions

A study of this length calls for a formal outline of its academic practice and idiosyncrasies. This thesis straddles the following major academic topics: Alexander the Great, Early Christianity and Late Antiquity. Since my own academic background is in Classical Philology and Ancient History, I have made an extra effort to explain the divergences in scholarly nomenclature, *dramatis personae*, dictionaries, reference works and primary sources between these fields. Transliteration of personal names and toponyms is in accordance with the fourth edition of the *Oxford Classical Dictionary* (*OCD*⁴, 2012) for the sake of familiarity and accessibility.

The merging of academic fields causes frequent onomastic complications: 'Alexander' can denote king Alexander III of Macedon (the Great) or Alexander, the fourth-century bishop of Alexandria (who, according to the fifth-century bishop Theodoret of Cyrrhus, was also 'the Great'). Again, 'Justin' can refer to Justin Martyr or Justin, epitomiser of Pompeius Trogus' *Philippic History*. The most familiar English form of these names is used, and additional sobriquets are supplied to identify the person discussed. For instance, I write John Chrysostom instead of 'John' (more than fifty prominent ancient Christians with that name). This tendency is also apparent for the names of modern scholars as well. For instance, I use the full names of Averil Cameron and Alan Cameron to avoid confusion. The author-date system (Harvard Style) for bibliographical references is limited to the last name of the author and the date of their work. British orthography is maintained throughout what follows.

References to Christian and non-Christian authors in the notes are given in full to make consultation easier. I have in most cases preferred to translate titles of ancient works into English. Some Christian sources exist only in one or more of a range of non-Classical languages, such as Syriac, Coptic and Armenian, but most are fortunately translated into at least one modern language. The most recent critical editions and authorised translations of these texts are used and adapted as appropriate. For fuller bibliographical information, I refer the reader to Appendix 1: inventory of Christian references to Alexander, with further notices on critical editions and biographies of individual authors. All other bibliographical data are deferred to the Bibliography (abbreviations, etc.) for ease of reference.

For the sake of consistency, all references to the Old Testament (OT) and the New Testament (NT) are to the New Revised Standard Version (NRSV) in the fourth edition of the *New Oxford Annotated Bible* (*NOAB*, 2010). References to the *Alexander Romance* (*AR*) are to the so-called 'alpha recension', edited by Stoneman 2007- (ΒΙΟΣ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ) unless otherwise specified.

Introduction

The beginning of a book is of major importance. It sets forth the subject matter, establishes the aims and authority of the author and displays his intellectual ability. Accordingly, when the Church Father Jerome of Stridon (c. 347-419) prefaced his book on the life of the hermit Hilarion, he employed several rhetorical devices to impress immediately. His prayer to the Holy Spirit is an appeal to divine authority; his references to Roman historians are to profess his historical accuracy; and his allusion to Greek poets is to proclaim the epic power of his prose. Besides these, allusions to acknowledged Greek and Latin writers, and the sacred texts of Scripture, appear in equal quantity and on equal terms. The prologue of the saint's life is thus embellished with references to the literatures of Jerusalem, Greece and Rome.

One such reference is to what the great Alexander had ostensibly remarked when he visited Achilles' tomb at Troy. The king pronounced the hero happy that the *Iliad* of Homer had bestowed lasting literary fame upon his achievement. On that note, Jerome makes the self-satisfied claim that the *Life*, as the herald of Hilarion, would outdo the *Iliad* and give the saint greater glory than Homer's Achilles, whose renown was even envied by Alexander. Similarly, centuries before, the Alexander historian Arrian of Nicomedia had used the remark to proclaim the greatness of his own literary abilities. There are indeed other self-gratifying variants of the king's saying, such as in Themistius' imperial panegyric to the Christian emperor Theodosius I (347-395). It follows that Alexander's words at Troy were a stock-in-trade feature in the storehouse of rhetoric for the use of Christians and non-Christians alike. Only Jerome adds a distinct Christian detail. Alexander is here introduced by the allegorical imagery of Daniel 7:6 (a four-headed leopard with wings) and, famously, Daniel 8:5-8 (an angry he-goat that defeats a ram). These allegorical images were emblematic of the Macedonian victories over the Persian dynasty and would be effortlessly familiar to a lettered Christian, which is exactly what Jerome assumes with the laconic reference.[1]

This unproblematic blend of Biblical and Classical traditions in the prologue is suggestive of a general tendency in 'Christian' textual culture. The Christian juxtaposition and repackaging of traditional texts and tales created a variant version of antiquity for the Christian present. This is but one of the many ways in which the early Christians use the legacy of Alexander in their writings, and they all have important implications of the development of a Christian discourse on Alexander. To explore the use of Alexander in early Christian literature is thus the aim of the present work.

1 Jerome *Life of Hilarion* prologue (*SC* 508.212-5). Cf. Cicero *On Behalf of Archias* 10.24; Arrian *Anabasis* 1.12.1-5; Plutarch *Alexander* 15.9; *AR* 1.42.9-12; Vopiscus of Syracuse *Life of Probus* 1.1-2; Julian *Oration* 8.250d; Themistius *Oration* 19.339 Schenkl *et al.*; Sidonius Apollinaris *Letters* 3.13.6-8. Cf. Schlumberger 1998: 314-5; Barnes 2010: 186-7; Borgeaud 2010, Alan Cameron 2011: 764-70. For the innumerable medieval versions of the saying, see Cary 1956: 108 n. 31.

The connection between Alexander and Christianity may still not be apparent to the modern reader, but for Jerome it was clearly self-evident. The vivid imagery of Alexander as the swift leopard or the raging he-goat is taken from his reading of two Bible passages that he were to expound in his *Commentary on Daniel* (c. 407). In it, he asserts that Daniel, whom the Christians considered a prophet, had foreseen Alexander's coming. In the same way, Jerome would assert that the prophet had foreseen the Advent of Jesus Christ in Daniel 9:24-7. Through his exegesis of the Bible, the commentator made Alexander relevant to the narrative of the OT and, therefore, to Christian spirituality and what the Christians saw as 'their own' history (Ch. 2). The juxtaposition with Alexander's Trojan remark reveals that Christians could appropriate Classical and Biblical textual culture together, and viewed themselves as heirs to, if not 'owners' of, them both. To Jerome, Alexander had much to do with Christianity.

That Jerome could make such an assertion is in itself noteworthy. The fact that his Christian colleagues made similar and other remarks on Alexander have I deemed worthy of a book-length study. The figure of Alexander is very useful as a pivot for discussion because he was such a ubiquitous figure in the ancient world. The Christians could not afford to overlook him and, indeed, they embraced him. In my opinion, studying Alexander in early Christian textual culture is rewarding because we can get a better impression of the reception of the figure in antiquity itself. I share the view with other scholars that our approach should be holistic. By this I mean that, when investigating the reception of Alexander, we must not only seek to recover the legacy of Alexander in the period, culture or text we study, but also strive to learn more about the objects of study by means of the representations of Alexander that the writers choose to articulate.[2] I am convinced that this approach is fundamental for understanding the literary networks about Alexander in the ancient world, which still make weighty claims upon our attention.

What lies ahead is not the typical biography of the Macedonian king, but a study of an ancient discourse about him. The choice of topic is perhaps slightly ambitious, and the subject matter is certainly immense. The next few pages will try to situate the present study in existing scholarship and show how it contributes to existing fields.

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2 The phrase is adapted from Tolias 2013: 300 citing Briant 2012: 12. Cf. Stewart 1993: 6; Stone 2013: 3; Demandt 2013.

A. APPROACHES TO ALEXANDER LITERATURE

Approaching Alexander is a daunting task regardless of the line of inquiry pursued: few historical figures have attracted the same amount of attention and fascination from antiquity up to the present day. Indeed, we still see him on film and in the theatre; listen to songs about him; and read about him in books, on the Internet and in the newspapers. He remains a national symbol of more than one country in the Balkans. The figure features in cultures that the historical Alexander never visited, such as that of Malaysia or China. He is on the curricula of most respectable ancient history courses in higher education across the world. Already in 1897, the British archaeologist David George Hogarth (1862-1927) remarked that he needed no apology for choosing Alexander as the subject of his book because, 'Alexander has inspired a whole literature.'[3] Evidently, the intervening century has given us no reason to be defensive about studying any aspect of Alexander and his reception.[4]

As for the literature, it is ever expanding. Scholars of Alexander, past and present, have amassed book-length bibliographies to record the newest approaches, issues involved and trends in modern scholarship.[5] Revision of the history of Alexander scholarship is, however, also an important endeavour, and a recent book has done a splendid job of unveiling the oldest shrouds of the modern age: Pierre Briant's *Alexandre des Lumières*, Alexander in the Age of Enlightenment (c. 1650-1830). Briant shows how the formative years of modern Alexander studies in Europe, championed by France, Britain and Germany, were an era that sought to discover the 'real' Alexander by giving priority to the ostensibly immaculate 'Alexander Gospels,' of which Arrian is still the most well-established.[6] But Briant's analysis, of the French material in par-

3 Hogarth 1897: vii.

4 I have made a modest attempt at exploring a neglected area of modern Alexander reception by looking at the heavy metal tracks about the king. See Djurslev 2015.

5 Burich 1970; Badian 1971; Seibert 1972; Green 1991: 567-85; Carlsen 1993; Cartledge 2004: 295-316; Wiemer 2005: 192-4; Anson 2009; Roisman 2011; Bowden 2014c. A. I. Molina Marín is currently compiling a bibliography of the Alexander studies produced in the past few decades.

6 The sobriquet is inspired by Lane Fox 1992 as well as McKechnie 2001. Usually referred to as the 'Alexander historians,' this group of Roman authors reinterpreted lost first or second-hand accounts. They are arranged chronologically as follows:
(1) The seventeenth book of the *Library of History* (c. 50 BC) by Diodorus Siculus (hereafter Diodorus Siculus *Library*);
(2) Quintus Curtius Rufus, perhaps a Claudian author, composed a Latin *History of Alexander* in ten books, of which the first two are lost and the tenth incomplete (hereafter Curtius Rufus *History*);
(3) The Roman polymath Plutarch (c. 45-120) wrote the *Life of Alexander* (hereafter Plutarch *Alexander*). He also authored a two-part epideitic oration *On the Fortune or Virtue of Alexander* and incorporated many Alexander-anecdotes across his diverse essays;
(4) The Roman aristocrat Arrian (c. 92-160?) wrote a history of Alexander, normally referred to by the Xenophontic title, the *Anabasis* (hereafter Arrian *Anabasis*). His work is

ticular, demonstrates that the 'Gospellers' were really mined for anything that could help to establish and justify European trade, expansion and culture—in short, imperialism—since that was the political reality at the time. This representation of Alexander as an idealistic imperialist has had a great impact on the conceptions of the Macedonian king in modern times. For instance, the projection can be found in the classic Alexander-biographies by the Prussian Johann Gustav Droysen (1808-84) and Alexander's hagiographer, the Victorian Sir William Woodthorpe Tarn (1869-1957).[7]

Briant's tour de force has justly won acclaim by reviewers,[8] and his focus on the *Zeitgeist* in which the scholarship was carried out, its contexts, intricacies and agendas, is indeed a welcome approach in modern Alexander research. For instance, critics of the modern 'Alexander industry' have often raised concerns that scholars use the same five Roman sources to produce the same type of material repeatedly, such as biographies, prosopographies and military histories. In a review article of Briant and several other recent Alexander books, Hugh Bowden accepts the suggestion that we should re-evaluate the high status that has been given to the 'Alexander Gospels' since the Enlightenment.[9] He stresses the need for studies of Alexander in other texts

principally based on the first-hand witnesses, Ptolemy I Soter and Aristobulus of Cassandreia. He also makes reference to Alexander in *On India* and the *Events after Alexander*. For everything about Arrian, I draw mainly upon my experience as one of the translators of Arrian into Danish (see Djurslev *et al.* 2014), not the dated scholarship with *Quellenforschung*, such as Hammond 1993.

(5) The unknown Justin epitomised the *Phillipic History*, a Latin work written by the Augustan Pompeius Trogus, of which book eleven and twelve record the deeds of Alexander (hereafter Justin *Epitome*).

7 Briant 2012: 507-12. For Droysen, see Seibert 1972: 62-3; Schachermeyr 1973: 610-5; Wiemer 2005: 201-2; Bosworth 2009, 2012. For Tarn, see *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, s.v. Tarn (vol. 53, 789-80). His two volumes on Alexander appeared in 1948 when he was almost eighty years old. On Tarn's Alexander ideal, see e.g. Bosworth 1983; Holt 2003: 112-4; Ogden 2011a: 3-4; Stoneman 2012b: 1-19; Kosmin 2014: 4; McKechnie 2014. Some still subscribe to this romantic view (see e.g. Thornton 1988), although it is disappearing in scholarship.

8 Tolias 2013; Bonnet *Bryn Mawr Classical Review* (*BMCR*) 2013.12.07; Vlassopoulos 2014; Bowden 2014a; Spawforth 2015.

9 Bowden 2014a: 145-6. He aptly summarises the critiques of James Davidson and Mary Beard. To renew the very traditional field, the former suggested that Alexander's sexuality and relationships were key to understanding the man anew, whereas the latter argued that the Roman filters of Alexander literature should be studied more attentively. I do feel, however, that these points have considerable weaknesses. Even though Ogden 2011a was unaware of Davidson's review, he provided an adequate analysis of Alexander's sexuality with refreshing results, although it is still too soon to say whether they will have great impact on subsequent studies. Beard 2011 was in my view too ready to dismiss Spencer 2002

and contexts in order to understand the engagement with the king's complex legacy in ancient and modern societies.

But it is not entirely fair to say that the field of Alexander studies has been as static as such critics have asserted nor is Bowden's proposal very original. Studies of the legendary and nationalised Alexanders have proliferated alongside the more historiographical tradition. Inquiries into the diffusions of the Alexander legends even overshadowed study of the historical Alexander in the latter half of the nineteenth-century. For instance, several European and oriental traditions of the fictional *Alexander Romance* (*AR*) and related texts (in Armenian, Syriac, Arabic, Persian, Ethiopian) were translated, studied and given priority over any topic related to Alexander historiography at the time.[10] Moreover, the following century saw significant contributions to the study of the Alexander traditions of medieval Europe. Its most prolific scholar was undoubtedly Friedrich Pfister (1883-1967) whose studies remains a source of authority today.[11] The lamentably short-lived George Cary (1928-53) was the first to

(see now Welch & Mitchell 2013), while overlooking a considerable wealth of literature connected to Alexander in Rome, e.g. the very sophisticated Baynham 1998, a lucid study of the Romanness of Curtius Rufus' *History*. There is a detailed overview of previous scholarship of Alexander and Rome at Ortmann 1988: 802-806. The following studies can be highlighted: H. Christensen 1909; Bruhl 1930; Breccia 1933; Nadell 1959, Lanza 1971; Cunningham 1971; Weippert 1972; Ceaucescu 1974; Braccesi 1975; Wirth 1976 (with the ensuing discussion of the paper by Badian, Bosworth, Schachermeyr, Errington and others in the *Entretiens Hardt* series); Kienast 1969, 1982: 377 n. 42; Gillis 1977-8; Vermeule 1986. Newer studies include: Croisille 1990; Isager 1993; Carlsen *et al.* 1993; Stewart 2003: 31-4, 55-66; Stoneman 2004a; Den Hengst 2010: 68-83; Callu & Festy 2010; Smith 2011; Wulfram 2013; Welch & Mitchell 2013; Overtoom 2013. Cf. Bowden 2014c: 1-9.

10 Hogarth 1897: 281 n. 2, 'Within a very few years, we have had elaborate works produced in England by Dr. Wallis Budge on the Syriac and Ethiopic versions [of the *AR*]. The early French, the early English, and texts of the Latin versions, have been published in a generation which has seen no critical edition of Arrian or Plutarch. Articles and inaugural dissertations on this subject succeed one another in Germany [...]. Indeed, to obtain the reward of public interest for a real addition to knowledge, a scholar could not do better now than re-edit the original Pseudo-Callisthenes (*AR*), disentangling its skeins, arriving through the versions at its earliest form, and showing what amount of real tradition and genuine folklore it embodies.' For the *Zeitgeist*, see Zacher 1867; Meyer 1886 i: xi-xiii; Carraroli 1892: 6-9. Cf. Pfister 1976: 17-8. There is an overview of the works produced in this great period of *AR* studies at Seibert 1972: 222-3. The field of *AR* studies is strangely omitted in some bibliographies of Alexander studies or dismissed as an unimportant enterprise. See e.g. Cartledge 2004: 310.

11 Seibert 1972: 220 commends Pfister for his pioneering work on the legends in Germany. Pfister says in his autobiography (1989: 14) that his teacher Adolf Ausfeld (1855-1904) was his fount of inspiration, more specifically the *Festrede* on the Alexander legends Ausfeld

create a synthesis of the medieval Alexander traditions in the Latin West, and his work remains an invaluable resource because its collocation of evidence, 'scholarship's first and highest goal,'[12] is by modern standards impressive.[13] Such scholars advocated that their successors should set out on new avenues in search for Alexander(s) with care and criticism.

There are then, broadly speaking, two different scholarly traditions about Alexander. One concerns the historical person who lived at a specific time (356-323 BC) and executed a startling military campaign (especially the sources, the facts and the traditions);[14] the other focuses on the *Nachleben* of this figure in all later contexts: religious, political, social and textual. Briant's book on the French Enlightenment movement is but one of many ways of looking at latter days Alexanders. Countless other possibilities exist, such as that of the Jewish,[15] Syro-Arabic[16] and Scandinavian tradi-

delivered at Pfister's school to celebrate the birthday of Kaiser Wilhelm II (1859-1941). An intriguing idea that Pfister had from Ausfeld was that the *AR* tradition could only be understood by grasping the tradition and transmission of the Gospels (Pfister 1989: 87). Pfister's lifelong study of Alexander's tradition often touched upon the Christian tradition, but the great span of his interests did not result in a comprehensive study of the interface between the two. For a list of Pfister's works, see the *Literaturverzeichnis* in Pfister 1976. All references to Pfister's works are to this volume edited by Merkelbach *et al.* unless otherwise indicated.

12 Ogden 2013a: 2 n. 2.

13 Cary 1956 on the *Medieval Alexander* is a true *magnum opus*, posthumously published by D. J. A. Ross. Its rather ambitious aim was to 'summarize, not one but all the general and popular conceptions of Alexander the Great current in the Middle Ages,' (Cary 1956: 4). This grandiose claim has to be read alongside a passage in the preface in which Donald Robertson (1885-1961) notes that Cary's plan had been to include eastern Alexanders as well. According to Smithers 1959, it is hard to imagine so great an undertaking. The first half of the study, an overview of medieval texts and critical editions, is still viable as well as the extensive notes in the back (pp. 275-351). Cary's conclusions have been recapitulated favourably by Stone 2013: 3-6, which is a sign of their continued value. The most recent work on the medieval Alexander, Stone aside, is Zuwiyya 2011; Gaullier-Bougassas 2011; the papers printed in Stock 2015. For a basic overview of Alexander's reception, see e.g. Stoneman 2004b, 2008, 2011; Demandt 2009; Grafton *et al.* 2010 s.v. Alexander the Great. For the most recent work on Alexander in European literatures, the so-called *Alexander Redivivus* series, see e.g. Jouanno 2012; Gaullier-Bougassas 2014. For Alexander in world culture more generally, see the collection of papers in Stoneman *et al.* 2012, Stoneman in preparation.

14 See e.g. Holt 1997; Cartledge 2004 for some of the current trends in the field.

15 See e.g. Henrichsen 1860; Donath 1873; Kazis 1962; Stoneman 1994a; Amitay 2010a; Dönitz 2011: 21-26; Klęczar 2012a.

tions,[17] to name a select few. As already said, there has been a great scholarly tradition of studying Alexander in alternative literary settings, especially the Middle Ages. Indeed, during the past few decades, the rich field of *Alexander in Weltliteratur*, as Pfister called it, has continued to thrive, primarily gaining its impetus from the labours of Richard Stoneman. His publications and organisation of international conferences continue to rejuvenate the field, sowing new seeds for further study of the reception of Alexander. And so it is in this vibrant field of scholarship, Alexander in world literature, that the present study fits.

Unlike Briant and the medievalists, the present aim is not to discuss the paradigms that came about in later periods of history, but what had gone before in the Christian tradition. This discussion will attempt to answer the following research questions:

- What has Alexander to do with Christianity? Why did he matter to Christians?
- How is he represented in Christian narratives? What is new from what we are used to from the pagan sources? Wherein lie the differences/similarities? What is still there and what is omitted? Why is it so?
- What methods, literary forms, tropes, arguments, presuppositions and strategies were used to create Christian agendas, narrative effects and allusive discourse? Why were some rhetorical features deployed more than others?
- Which matters do Christians mainly associate Alexander with? Which overarching themes are apparent or absent? Why are Christians interested/uninterested in some things more than others? Why is their interest in him 'Christian'?
- Do Christians take a theological interest in Alexander? If yes, does he have any significance for dogmatic matters? For instance, for exegesis of the Bible?

16 See e.g. Spiegel 1851; Robles 1888; Nöldeke 1890; Lidzbarski 1893; A. Christensen 1910; Friedländer 1913; Anderson 1931; Czeglédy 1957; Brock 1970; Nagel 1978; Mazzaaoui 1991; Bin Seray 1994; Zuwiyya 2001; Stoneman 2003a; Reinink 2005; Van Bladel 2007; Doufikar-Aerts 2010.

17 Swedish texts: Bring 1847; Rietz 1850; Klemming 1855-62; Ahlstrand 1862. Cf. Cary 1956: 39; 50. Even though some research have been carried out on the writings of the *philalexandrotatē* Christina of Sweden (1626-1689), daughter of the Swedish king Gustavus Adolphus, a fuller study of Alexander in the Scandinavian tradition would be a welcome contribution to research. For Christina's literary activities, see Orth 1988. For an Icelandic text with Norwegian introduction: Unger 1848. Cf. Van Weenen 2009. There is an unpublished vernacular translation of a German version of the *AR* into Danish from 1630. The only modern Danish translation is from Greek Lambda, see Harsberg 1987.

- Ultimately, what changes occurred in the Alexander discourse under the influence of Christianity in the long term and why? Is there any reason to group Christian narratives together? Is there coherence or chaos?

These questions are all inspired by the line of inquiry in Briant's brilliant book just discussed. In a line, I pursue two general questions: how did Christian discourse develop the legacy of Alexander and how did Alexander's legacy shape the early Christian discourse?

The topic of this study, Alexander and Christianity, was first suggested and attempted by Richard Klein in 1988.[18] He sought to establish the general Christian judgement, *Beurteilung*, of Alexander by surveying the opinions in the writings of a group of Church Fathers, including Augustine of Hippo (354-430). He could conclude from his perusal that the Latin West resented the king because of an overly negative tradition in pagan Latin literature, whereas the Greek East praised Alexander and even represented him as a precursor for the first emperor tolerant to Christianity and, later, a convert, Constantine I (r. 306-37). To Klein, the great Alexander's empire became emblematic of the Byzantine empire under God through the prism of Constantine.[19]

It is somewhat amusing that the birthday dedicatee of the celebratory *Festschrift* Klein contributed to, the then sixty-year-old Gerhard Wirth, remained unconvinced of Klein's hypothesis. Indeed, Wirth insisted that the Church Fathers only made reference to Alexander for three reasons. First, anecdotes about Alexander were recycled in Christian texts because it was rhetorical convention to do so, and the so-called internalised classicisms, *Bildungsfloskeln,* became embellishments of Christian compositions (as in Jerome's prologue). Secondly, the king was ostensibly alluded to in the OT prophecies, just as Jerome posited by the reference to Scripture, and Christians used Alexander to expound pertinent Biblical passages of Daniel with purely exegetical concerns. Thirdly, the stories from the fictional *AR* were popular, and could not be dismissed. According to Wirth, these interests in Alexander distorted knowledge of the historical Alexander, and references were made to the figure without any sense of judgement or sense of a Christian community.[20]

Both studies were important because they were the first to treat Alexander in the writings of the Church Fathers as a united whole, even if Wirth could not find the same unity as Klein. Even though the two scholars did use non-Christian literature to compare the salient features of the non-Christian Alexander(s) with those representations of the king in the Christian texts, they gave the priority to Christian authors,

18 Klein 1988 in Will & Heinrichs 1987-8 ii. For other studies in Alexander from this great year of Alexander studies, see e.g. Bosworth 1988a, 1988b; Heckel 1988; Holt 1988; Aerts & Gosman 1988; Ross 1988.

19 Klein 1988: 925, 'Die vorliegende Arbeit ist, soweit ich sehe, der erste Versuch, dieses Thema (i.e. Alexander in patristic literature) in einer Gesamtschau zu behandlen.' Cf. Klein 1988: 929 n. 5. 'Eine Zusammenstellung einiger wesentlicher Stellen findet sich bei Eicke. Weitere Arbeiten sind mir nicht bekannt.' For previous treatments but within longer works, see e.g. Sainte-Croix 1810: 531-45; Zingerle 1885: 106-16; Carraroli 1892: 141-9; Weber 1909: 84; Cary 1954; Frugoni 1978: 21; *Lexicon des Mittelalters* (*LexMA*) i cols. 354-66. Cf. Eicke 1909: 83-90; Heuss 1977: 29; *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* (*ODB*) i s.v. Alexander the Great; Gissel 1991; Wirth 1993: 65-6; Döpp 1999: 193. For the Latin and Greek Christian conceptions, see Klein 1988: 970-1, 977-80, 987-9.

20 Wirth 1993: 58-71.

which no one else had done before. Broadly speaking, the prevailing approach of other scholars had been to study non-Christian material with laconic reference to later Christian developments. The idea was that the non-Christian story about Alexander would eventually be integrated into a Christian framework anyway and, therefore, the non-Christian story took priority, not its Christian development. Christian texts were only important insofar they could shed light on earlier material, the *AR* in particular.[21] But what Klein and Wirth argued for was that we engage with a new set of culturally and religiously coherent texts, and prioritise the Christian histories over those written by non-Christians. And it is often in the shift of emphasis that academic texts on well-studied subjects, such as Alexander, differ from their predecessors.

Given the divergence in the conclusions of Klein and Wirth, it is remarkable that no subsequent scholar has accepted, challenged or even expressed an opinion on the two hypotheses. In fact, their efforts have gone largely unnoticed. Although we may grant other scholars the excuse that both studies appeared in obscure publications and contributed little to the much greater field of the historical Alexander, it is slightly surprising that the two scholars were not at least acknowledged in the scholarship for which they were relevant. For instance, in Corinne Jouanno's magisterial monograph on the Greek *AR* traditions and its transmissions,[22] in the brilliant works of Elias Koulakiotis and Alexander Demandt,[23] or in more recent studies, the most ex-

21 One example is the various Christian texts that reinterpret Alexander's visit to the Brahmanic philosophers in India. The popular vignette is related in pagan, Jewish, and Christian literature, and exists as separate texts (Ps.-Palladius *On the Brahmans*) or as episodes within longer texts (*AR* 3.6). There are also papyri versions that contain other variants. For a general overview, see e.g. Zacher 1867: 105-7; Meyer 1886 ii: 28-34; Bekker 1889; Hoffmann 1907: 11-2; Wilcken 1923; Abel 1955: 39-40; Cary 1956; Cracco-Ruggini 1963; Hansen 1965; Berg 1970; Van Thiel 1972; Pfister 53-75; Cizek 1986: 125; Klein 1988: 941-7; Schnell 1989: 47; Wirth 1993: 66; Powers 1998; Demandt 2009: 256-71; Bosman 2010: 176; Molina Marín 2010: 148; Szalc 2011: 7; Steinmann 2012: 29-50; Stoneman 1994b, 1995, 2008: 97-103, 2012a: xxv-xxvi (with updated bibliography), forthcoming; Bosworth 2013; Kalmin 2014: 204-5. The anomalies are Cracco-Ruggini 1963 and Berg 1970 who devote considerable attention to the Christian versions but they only analyse this single episode.

22 Jouanno 2002. For other overviews of Byzantine *AR* traditions, see Gleixner 1961; Boyle 1974, 1977; Mitsakis 1967a, 1967b, 1970: 376-9; Veloudis 1969; Frugoni 1978: 16-8; Galavaris 1989; Gero 1993; Stoneman 2008: 230-2; Demandt 2009: 353-71.

23 Koulakiotis set out to exhaust the so-called 'non-historiographical' Greek Alexander traditions, but he did deliberately overlook the Greek Christians because he viewed them as their own distinct tradition. He also ignored Klein and Wirth on a list of scholarship that he offered as recompense, see Koulakiotis 2006: 13 n. 5. Koulakiotis noted the existence of Cracco-Ruggini 1963; Frugoni 1978; Harf-Lancner 1999 (a conference volume principally on the Middle Ages); Angliviel 2003; Stoneman 2004. Absent from his list are, e.g., Usener

treme case being Rowland Smith's article on Alexander and the Roman emperor Julian (r. 361-3).[24] In an innovative contribution to the use of Alexander in ancient philosophy, Richard Stoneman did not notice the existence of Klein and Wirth either. Instead he suggested that a study of Christian discourse on Alexander was desired because it would contribute to our understanding of the reception of Alexander in antiquity. In the new introduction to the second edition of his *Legends of Alexander the Great*, his preliminary thoughts appeared on the medieval Christian Alexander, but they can be supported and supplemented with a wealth of material from early Christianity, which he has overlooked.[25]

Although this short sketch of scholarship is necessarily a simplification of the doxography, a tangible pattern emerges. Investigations into this comparatively fresh field of study has not been consistently maintained in Germanophone scholarship (we shall situate the present study in the scholarly context established by Klein and Wirth in the next section). Serious study of Alexander in early Christian literature has not hitherto been undertaken in the Anglophone world, even though Stoneman has hinted at its potential and noticed some of the main problems. The present thesis is the first attempt to do so. Pioneering work within a field of research is a task that entails a

1902; Simon 1941; Ehrhardt 1945; Straub 1970; Pfister 104-12, 333-6; Buntz 1973: 6-9; Cölln *et al.* 2000: 8-9; Pfrommer 2001; Jouanno 2002: 377-87; Wiemer 2005: 191-2. None of these do, however, deal with Christian literature as a whole. For studies after Koulakiotis' otherwise excellent work (as Müller 2006 also points out) with occasional reference to the Church Fathers, see e.g. Høiris 2006: 285-97; Lienert 2007: 7-13; Harding 2008; Cataudella 2010. Klein and Wirth are also ignored in an ambitious, all-encompassing study of Alexander, *Der ganze Alexander*, by Koulakiotis' *Doktorvater* Alexander Demandt. For the laborious task, see Demandt 2009: xii. For his thoughts on the early Christian Alexander, see Demandt 2009: 418-22. Cf. Bowden 2014a: 143.

24 Smith 2011: 84 n. 132 seems only to have seen Klein's work second hand, if at all, and cites the article from the wrong volume of Wirth's *Festschrift* and 500 page numbers in the wrong direction (with different bibliographical reference to Klein's work at Smith 2011: 105). He saves no words for, or makes reference to, Wirth's contribution even if he treats much of the same material (Smith 2011: 73-85). This makes his brief conclusion on the Christian Alexander superficial and misleading (summarised on p. 84). For less incriminating omissions, see Cataudella 2010; Molina Marín 2010; Amitay 2010a; De Focara 2013; Aerts 2014; Broad 2015. There is surprisingly no article on Graeco-Roman Christianity in *Brill's Companion to Alexander Literature in the Middle Ages*, even though there is an introduction to the Alexander texts of antiquity by Stoneman.

25 For Alexander in ancient philosophy, see Stoneman 2003b: 344, forthcoming. I thank Richard Stoneman for supplying me with the proofs of the forthcoming article on Alexander, Cynics and Christian ascetics (Ancient Novel colloquium held in Lisbon 2008). For the Christianised legends, see Stoneman 2012a: xxxix-xlii.

host of difficulties that will present themselves shortly. The rest of the introduction outlines how such difficulties will be addressed.

The title of the present work is: *The Use of Alexander in Early Christian Literature* in contrast to Klein's *The Judgement of Alexander in Patristic Literature*. The change of title denotes different methodologies, aims and approaches.

Klein's focus on 'patristic' texts shows that his source material is the writings in Greek and Latin by the Church Fathers, that is the early Christian theologians. His range of sources does not only include the learned 'orthodox' bishops, including Ambrose of Milan (337-397) and the patriarch of Constantinople, John Chrysostom (c. 349-407), but also the 'heretics,' for instance the second-century Tatian. Klein's latest source is the ostensible disciple of Augustine, Paul Orosius (d. 420).[26] The term 'patristic' also implies that his focus is on those Fathers who developed the thought of the Church itself and were engaged with its major theological disputes over dogma. Reading Klein's survey, it becomes apparent that he has preferred material that is normally considered of a high intellectual and theological currency (Ambrose, Augustine, John Chrysostom). He leaves little room for what he held to be more pedestrian genres, such as Church Histories, Christian chronicles, Christian poems and hagiographies. But such genres are also important and warrant academic attention if we want to give a more holistic impression of the Christian Alexander discourse.

In other cases, Klein does not seem to have had the space to discuss texts in sufficient detail. For instance, we may turn to his analysis of the rhetorically sophisticated and philosophical treatise *Against Celsus* (c. 248). The text was written by Origen, a Christian native of Alexandria, whose prolific apologetic writing and Biblical scholarship made him both famous and infamous. Klein rightly notes in passing that the text has the first Christian reference to the fictional tale about Alexander's visit to Jerusalem, a central tale told by the Jewish historian Flavius Josephus that reverberated down the history of Christianity (Ch. 1.6).[27] Klein does not, however, notice that Origen recycles Celsus' laconic allusion to a famous saying of Alexander. The second-century pagan philosopher puts the remark into the mouth of an invented Jewish character in order to mock Jesus' aspirations to Godhead. Talking about the moment the alleged King of the Jews died upon the Cross, Celsus' Jew asks pointedly, 'Was Jesus' blood like *ichor such as flows in the veins of the blessed gods*?'[28] As is well-known,

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26 Wirth 1993: 73 offers a sporadic survey until Isidore of Seville (560-636).

27 Klein 1988: 983-4 n. 180 discusses Origen's testimony in the context of other Christian works that reproduce the story, for e.g. in Augustine, Sulpicius Severus and Theodoret of Cyrrhus. Origen is, however, not the principal route through which the tale passes into Latin (it is from Eusebius to Jerome), which escaped Klein's notice.

28 Translation is by Chadwick 1965 of Origen *Against Celsus* 2.36 incorporating Homer *Iliad* 5.340 (in italics). Cf. Origen *Against Celsus* 1.66. For the traditional use of the anecdote, see e.g. Seneca the Younger *Letters* 59.12; Plutarch *Moralia* 180e; Lucian *Dialogues of the Dead* 12.6 LCL. Cf. Bosworth 2011: 45-7.

the remark is normally attached to Alexander in his own tradition rather than to Jesus'. The allusion is normally to how sycophants had flattered Alexander with divine honours. Celsus' Jew is suggesting that Christians flattered Jesus by considering him divine even if it was clear to all that Jesus was a mortal man because he died upon the Cross. The transmission of the saying is thus very fluid: a Christian apologist cites a fictional Jewish character, invented by pagan philosopher to dismiss Jesus' divinity with a Homeric line (traditionally said by or about Alexander).[29] This says something important about the blurred boundaries of the rhetorical discourse between Christians and non-Christians, and helps us to recognise at the outset that the features of Alexander's tradition could be changed and re-applied liberally within that discourse.

Origen's masterful piece of apologetic, written almost seventy years after Celsus' pagan polemic, the so-called *True Doctrine*, prompts us to make clear what is meant by early *Christian* literature. What is it that makes Origen's response to Celsus 'Christian'? In composing his reply to Celsus who, presumably, had been dead for decades, he made use of a culturally determined set of stories from myth (both Greek and Hebrew), approaches, presuppositions and terminologies that non-Christian philosophers, including Celsus, would be acquainted with. It is Greek philosophy as opposed to a mature Christian counterpart.[30]

Herve Inglebert has argued that what sets Christians apart must be interpretation. In his erudite monograph, *Interpretatio Christiana*, he has meticulously analysed many of the developments of Christian historiography, ethnography, geography and heresiology, the study of heresy, over a wide span of time and cultural divide. He has identified certain phases in which Christians operated with methods of synchronism, synthesis and selective translation in interpreting the remote past. He has shown how Christians omit, preserve, rearrange, prioritise, subvert and develop factual accounts, legends, anecdotes, and other stories to create new Christianised pasts in order to explain and justify the presence of Christians in the present. While it is no longer certain that Christians did so exclusively to combat pagans as vigorously as Inglebert believed, Christian revisions of the traditional cultures of Rome and Jerusalem frequently seek to convey new messages with roots in rather different agendas.[31]

29 For the fluidity of Alexander's sayings, or those about him, see now Bosworth 2011.

30 See e.g. Origen *Against Celsus* 4.51-2 for the discussion of what Christians and non-Christians read for allegorical interpretation.

31 Dawson 1992 is an excellent study of the earliest developments of the cultural revision in Alexandria (Philo Judaeus, Valentinus and Clement of Alexandria). For the later parts of the Christian period, see now the *magnum opus* of Alan Cameron 2011 that discusses the crucial revisions of fourth-century Christianity in relation to the later Roman world. The

To take an example, there was nothing that could not be subverted for apologetic advantage. The church—and the Hellenistic synagogue before it—argued for the priority of OT Scripture over the wisdom of ancient Greek prose and poetry. The result is a precarious argument, elegantly expressed by Henry Chadwick:

> Moses and the prophets could be proved to be earlier than the Greek philosophers and poets, and therefore must have been the sources of their learning, so that all the mysteries of Greek philosophy are to be found expressed, even if obscurely, in the Pentateuch[.][32]

Made by numerous Jewish and Christian apologists before Origen, arguments about the hallowed antiquity of Moses simultaneously posit a sense of the great authority of Scripture and offer us evidence of how Christian apologists took pains to situate the OT within a common cultural and intellectual sphere, that is to say the one expressed in Greek terms. The discursive nature of these debates, taking place at great distance from each other in time and space,[33] reflect the Christian need to define their social identity within the societies they were part of and create the ethical constituents of their own community.[34] Since Christianity at first defined itself in close connection to Judaism, it had to reinterpret itself in relation to its origin as well as the world at large. And, as is well-known, the need was sorely felt because Christian life in the early period was turbulent, marked internally by continuous trans-

work has set the field of Late Antiquity on a new footing and is justly praised by its founder Peter Brown (Brown 2011) as well as Paschoud 2013, and the review volume edited by Testa 2013. Cf. Flower 2015 reviews this volume positively and acknowledges the contribution of Alan Cameron.

32 Chadwick 1965: ix. Cf. Van Den Hoek 1988: 48-68; Ridings 1995; Goodman 1999: 48; Potter 2014: 33-9. For the contexts in Origen, see *Against Celsus* 4.39, 6.19. Similar stories concern Alexander. For instance, Alexander took Solomon's books of wisdom out of Jerusalem and gave them to Aristotle, who translated them into Greek. Subsequently, the learned philosopher passed them off as his own writings. This story correlates with the well-known Christian story that Plato had shamelessly stolen all of his ideas from Moses during his ostensible sojourn of Egypt. For Solomon's books, see Stoneman 1994a: 44-5. For Moses, see Chadwick 1984: 13-4. For Plato in Egypt, see e.g. Ammianus Marcellinus *Roman History* 22.16.22 with Riginos 1976: 64-69. For the apologetic agenda of such stories, see in general Muhlberger 2006: 12; Burgess & Kulikowski 2013: 103-110.

33 E.g. Origen primarily argues against Celsus, but most of his sixth book really concerns the doctrines of Plato. Cf. Frede 1999: 132-3.

34 For recent studies of the Christian creation of religious identity, see Ludlow 2009: 222; Heine 2010: 220-1; Eshleman 2012; A. P. Johnson 2013. For the pagan creation of religious identity, see e.g. Swain 1999; Galli 2004.

formation of the church and faith, as well as externally in the transition from being a persecuted religious sect to the state religion of the Roman empire. Later periods brought on new challenges: the church was the uniting institution in the kingdoms of the Latin West after the fall of Rome and an imperial power in the Byzantine East.

As is clear from Origen and Jerome, Christian rhetoric was an integral part of the discourse. Christians and non-Christians were using the same literary models, modes and material, such as anecdotal material. For instance, the witty but terse remarks Jerome and Origen put into the mouth of Alexander and others are part of a literary model known as *chria* in Latin (pl. *chriae*; Greek: *chreia*, pl. *chreiai*) that was used for education and entertainment. Similarly, in sermons (Latin) and homilies (Greek), Christians made use of rhetorical devices to characterise Christian figures. The classical schema of comparison, the *synkrisis* or *comparatio*,[35] was frequently employed. If a Christian preacher compared Alexander to bishops, saints and Jesus Christ (Ch. 8), there is often something distinctively Christian at work in terms of subject matter, but the *manner* in which it is said cannot be easily severed from its roots in rhetoric. Such devices were taught in the urban schools across the empire, and they were but one of many features that constituted the common education, *paideia*, for men of letters.[36] Christians and pagans taught—and were taught by—each other in a fairly narrow and extremely conservative curriculum.

Education was important for it ensured great social mobility and economic potential for the student. By knowing the conventional texts of the educated and showing that they knew them in their writings, men of *paideia, pepaidoumenoi* or in the Latin world *literati*, aspired to be members of a literary elite.[37] In the same way, Christian

35 *Brill's New Pauly* (*BNP*) s.v. Synkrisis. Cf. Focke 1923; Mikrogianakes 1983; Flower 2013: 48.

36 Wealthy Christian aristocrats had access to the same *paideia* as their non-Christian peers, and Christians taught in the urban schools. It should be noted that not all Christians fit into this rigid education category, e.g. Aphrahat, a Syrian whose works show no sign of Roman *paideia*. For the some of the discussions of the link between Christianity and Graeco-Roman *paideia*, see e.g. Dodds 1965; Jaeger 1977; Markus 1974: 129-31; Chadwick 1984; Brown 1992: 4, 1995: 47; *EEC* 629; Gleason 1995: xx-xxiv; Averil Cameron *CAH* 13.667-73; Browning *CAH* 14.867-9; Demoen 1996; Salzman 2002: 209-11; G. Clark 2004: 12; Lieu 2004: 27-33; Grafton & Williams 2006: 73-4; Young *CHC* i: 484-500; Gemeinhardt 2007; Trapp 2007: 485-8; Averil Cameron 2008; Ludlow 2009: 43; Van Nuffelen 2011: 1, 2012: 63-114 (with examples from Orosius), 2014: 296-8; Eshleman 2012: 6-7; Van Hoof 2013; Potter 2014: 174-210; Van Hoof & Van Nuffelen 2014; Watts 2015b: 37-58; and the collection of papers in Gemeinhardt *et al.* 2015.

37 Wardman 1976: 75-6; Woodman 1988: 196-8; Kaster 1988; Russell 1989: 214-6; Irvine 1994: 13; Young 2004: 256-7; Watts 2015a.

men of letters were—even those who professed to have no formal education—concerned with the formation of a Christian textual culture to assert their own views of the world, their *Weltanschauung*. But they did so within the frameworks of existing intellectual milieus and, as it became gradually established, their own.[38]

To account for the correlations between Christian and non-Christian ways of thinking, arguing and writing in this period, the texts studied here will be from a broad range of authors who identify themselves as Christians, even if they did not write specifically on ecclesiastical subjects as such. Those writers who do not articulate a Christian identity, but clearly were Christians, such as the Byzantine editor of the beta recension of the *AR*, are also incorporated.[39] This is to recognise that Christian literature of this period was very versatile and dynamic, varying in genre, purpose and style. Hence, what presently counts as *Christian* is not the content of the text written, but the religious convictions of its author insofar it can be construed and even if it is never properly advertised.

Faith and beliefs in the antagonistic and argumentative rhetorical debates between Christian and non-Christians seem to me to be one of the principal features that characterise Christian discourse. So, in the Acts of the Apostles, when Paul was invited to speak to the Athenians and assertively told them about the Resurrection of Jesus, the assembled mob simply mocked the Apostle in disbelief.[40] No matter how hard he pleaded his case, he only convinced a few to convert on this occasion. Centuries later, the Roman emperor Julian could still subvert (or ignore) Paul's argument about the Resurrection of the Dead by asserting that the Christians worshipped a dead Jew, not a divine saviour.[41] What separates Christians and non-Christians is often a wider religious point of contention that the Christians would insist on, but non-Christians oppose. Hence it is equally important to study the texts *against* the Christians (Pliny the Younger, Celsus, Julian and the third-century philosopher Porphyry of Tyre) that stereotype Christian beliefs and identity from a non-Christian point of

38 Brown 1992: 70-5 argues that the Christian *pepaidoumenoi* created the idea of non-learning, even though they were themselves highly educated. He sees the humble narrative of Christ as the story that demanded a break with the conventional connotations of the elite and power. Cf. Brown 2012: 221-3.

39 His synchronism of Alexander's death with the birth of Jesus is what gives away his religious identity, see *AR* β 3.35. ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς τελευτῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου ἕως τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ λόγου ἐκ παρθένου σαρκώσεως ἔτη τριακόσια εἴκοσι τέσσαρα.

40 Acts 17:32.

41 Julian *Against the Galileans* 194d LCL.

view, as it is to follow the argument of a Christian text. It should not be surprising that Alexander is used often in arguments on either side.

Klein does not establish any chronological parameters for his study. Inglebert considers *early* Christianity as the period from the death of Jesus to the death of the Hispanic polymath Isidore of Seville in 636. Since he is concerned with the development of scientific (geography, ethnography, etc.) genres, these parameters make sense. In the monumental manifesto of early Christian studies from 2008, the *Oxford Handbook in Early Christian Studies* (*OHECS*), E. A. Clark argues that 'late ancient' Christianity ends in 600 around the death of the Frankish Church Father, Gregory the Great.[42] It is perhaps arbitrary to apply the western dating of Gregory to the Byzantine Christians, but the dating fits remarkably well as far as the tradition of Alexander is concerned. The seventh-century discourse of the Greek East is distinct in that rich Syriac Alexander-legends diffused back into Greek and, eventually, into Latin. For this reason, the seventh century may be considered the point at which the early Christian Alexander is replaced by the (early) Medieval Alexander studied by Cary, and it is therefore the most logical cut-off date. Hence the period under review ranges from the late second century—because Alexander is not mentioned in the extant texts before then—to c. 600. I incorporate later texts (seventh and eighth centuries) to highlight individual or arresting developments. While texts from the Middle Ages can shed light on earlier traditions, the late ancient Christian sources are given priority because of the huge contribution they make to studies of the tradition of Alexander.

Nowadays there is nothing new about studying Christian texts as *literature*. The call for Classicists to study Christian texts seriously and sympathetically was raised in the late 1980s by Dame Averil Cameron in her Sather Classical Lectures, and many have answered the call since then.[43] In transferring the subject from 'patristics' to 'early Christian studies', new approaches must be applied to the Alexander material and the study must be situated within contemporary debates, scholarship and methods. What this means in practice is that, while it is necessary to place Christian narratives within their cultural context and literary milieus as Klein did, it is equally important to show what it is about the narratives that sets them apart and makes their Alexander discourse 'Christian'. When dealing with *early Christian literature*, it must be asked what methods, literary forms, tropes, arguments, presuppositions and

42 E. A. Clark 2008: 14. Cf. *CHECL*. See also Brown 2012: xxii for the arbitrary chronological parameters studies of late antique Christianity sometimes have.

43 Averil Cameron 1991. Cf. Brown 2012: 72; Averil Cameron 2014a.

strategies were used to create Christian agendas, narrative effects and allusive discourse within an overarching Christian framework. The reason is that, if we cannot show in what ways the Christian authors did something new with their own literature, it is hard to justify a separate study of them as Klein and, later Wirth, professed to have done.

Having established what *early Christian literature* means for the present work, we come now to our title's important promise of *The* Use *of Alexander*. Pivotally, it differs in its prioritisation of 'use' over 'assessment,' 'conception' or 'judgement,' *Beurteilung*. Klein's wording is indicative of a common scholarly approach. There is a misleading notion that we, from our ever more distant vantage point, can somehow capture the personal opinions of an ancient author on a specific topic from a single quotation or a line of poetry within a longer narrative. For instance, Demandt insists on the basis of a single quotation from Jerome that the Church Father always thought of Alexander positively as the greatest Hellenistic king, even though Jerome expressly makes remarks to the opposite effect elsewhere.[44] Further, it is often believed that each author would hold on to that one opinion on that particular matter throughout their entire intellectual life, not allowing for any changes to that perception. This is simply not how discourse on a subject develops, and we have many examples of ancient authors who change their minds even about the things that they had written about.[45] The ancient world was not as static as it sometimes seems at our remove.

To Klein's credit, he did notice that no general assessment of Alexander could be extracted from the many diverse references to the king in another important Alexandrian Father, that is to say Origen's intellectual predecessor, Clement (c. 150-215). Klein conceded that it was possible that Clement simply made use of the embedded ambiguities and dichotomies the Macedonian Alexander usually brought to a text, such as the question of Greek ethnicity, and that he thus made reference to Alexander by way of making sophisticated Christian arguments within a Roman context.[46]

44 *Pace* Demandt 2009: 420. Cf. Klein 1988: 972-3; Wirth 1993: 65. For Jerome's negative impressions of Alexander, see e.g. Jerome *Against Jovian* 2.14 (*PL* 23.348), *Letter* 107 (*CSEL* 55.296; 305). For the Oxfordian idea that we cannot access the personal thoughts of ancient authors, (save for Cicero, Augustine and, perhaps, Julian), see Lane Fox 1973: 11; Ogden 2011a: 5.

45 See e.g. Cicero *Tusculan Disputations* 5.32-3 in which one of the protagonists criticises the opinion of the author by referring to a passage in the *On Duties*. He defends himself by saying that his opinions are not limited to one particular work, but change all the time. I thank Tue Søvsø for this reference.

46 Klein 1988: 948. 'Möglich wurde diese doppelte Sicht allein dadurch, dass Clemens nicht auf ein bestimmtes Alexanderbild festgelegt war, sondern die bekannten gegensätzlichen

My contention is that Klein's suggestion for Clement should be applied to *all* the authors under scrutiny. Instead of studying ancient personal perceptions—a matter of ancient psychology, which is unavailable to us today—we may still apprehend, through careful analysis and synthesis, in what ways an author *projects* him. 'Projection' is a more nuanced way of saying 'literary representation', but the term has a greater sense of agency behind it, a greater sense of conscious action as well as deliberateness on the part of the representer. It was in an author's interest for Alexander to be represented in a particular way, for instance as a Pellaean, Macedonian, Greek, Roman, king, tyrant, warlord, scientist, pagan, Jew, man, youth, active or passive. If we cannot determine what the authors thought of him personally or collectively, we may at least try to understand how he appears within the narrative of a text. By collating and comparing those texts, we may discover some general patterns in the use of Alexander's legacy in Christian antiquity. This line of inquiry is implied in *The* Use *of Alexander* and will be pursued in Christian authors as much as in the writings of the non-Christians.

With the full implications of the present title in mind, we may employ it to counter Wirth's critique recounted in the slim but complex book: *The Way into Oblivion – on the Fate of the Ancient Alexander Figure*.[47] The tone of the title suggests its hypothesis. The idea is that knowledge of the historical Alexander was in decline from the king's own times and throughout antiquity. The decline was caused by varying interests in the figure. Wirth argues that authors took interest in a standardised set of topics, *topoi*, associated with Alexander, and that the rhetorical play with these matters engendered distortions of the historicity. A *topos* (singular) could, for instance, be the relationship of Alexander and Philip. It could be explored in various ways by an orator: he could say that relationship between father and son was poor or stress that Alexander had learned everything from Philip. According to Wirth, the constant repetition and reinterpretation of such *topoi* created shifts in public perception and tradi-

Charakterzüge des Makedonen ausschliessich für seine christliche Argumentation verwendete. Er bediente sich nach Gutdünken eines reichhaltigen Quellenmaterial, das wie bei kaum einer enderen Gestalt in derart gegensätzlichen Aspekten zur Verfügung stand.'

47 Original title: *Der Weg in die Vergessenheit: zum Schicksal des antiken Alexanderbildes*.

tion.[48] Fewer and fewer orators held knowledge of the historical Alexander, and Christians were equally responsible for the decline of the discourse.[49]

Wirth's sweeping sketch of the development of Alexander's literary *Nachleben* is negative and echoes Gibbon's model of decline as an explanation for the end of Classical civilisation and learning in the 'Dark Ages.' Instead of appreciating the fact that Christian *pepaidoumenoi* were still using Alexander as 'a tool to think with,'[50] Wirth criticises the sources for apparent lack of historicity. This is unfair, especially since he knows the full implications of the rhetorical discourse, but it is also to misunderstand what we can do with the Christian texts. His book's conclusions are thus methodologically unsatisfactory. Further, his method by which the result was reached is also the most limited in its treatment of individual sources and salient themes. This is not to disparage him, but to recognise the nature of his impressive study that is meant to cover, in the most general way possible, a millennium's-worth of texts that make reference to Alexander in detail or in passing. This can only be done with a perfunctory interest in each topic. But, by doing so, Wirth has missed important patterns and even striking points that need longer labour. This fallacy is but one of the many things that the present study seeks to remedy.[51]

48 For a list of *topoi*, see Wirth 1993: 15-9. Cf. Bowie 2004: 82-3 who makes a list of the themes and topics for Alexander-related orations in the Second Sophistic. He shows that declamations set in Alexander's time were common, and there was even a formalised process of the competitions. For the period, see e.g. Anderson 1993; Borg 2004; Whitmarsh 2013.

49 Wirth 1993: 68. '[D]och auch dort verblasst in der kirchlichen Literatur des 5. Jhdts. Alexander immer mehr.' Cf. Wirth 1993: 62.

50 Stoneman 2003b: 328.

51 *Pace* the words cited on the epigraph, see Wirth 1993: 58 n. 186. 'Eine klare zusammenfassende Lemmatasammlung zu Alexander etwa für die Patrologie gibt es nicht, doch ist zu vermuten, daß eine solche über das dargelegte hinaus kaum Neues würde bieten können.'

D. Methodology

The practical and theoretical methods of my approach have been set forth above, but something needs to be said of the structure of the thesis and its inclusions and exclusions. A great quantity of data needs organisation by a governing set of principles. Some texts and authors are relevant throughout the whole study, and must be considered on a case-by-case basis. My organisation of the material is as follows. Christian readings of the Jewish tales from the Hellenistic and Imperial periods will be considered together in Part I; the writings of the second- and third-centuries apologists will be grouped together in Part II; and the texts of the fourth to sixth centuries will be collated in Part III. The first Part thus focuses on specific texts and tales, whereas the last two are largely thematic and diachronic. The data is predominantly harvested from literary texts compiled from critical editions of manuscripts, as I have deliberately chosen to exclude hermeneutic investigations into Christian papyri and inscriptions. Although such texts can clearly be considered literature as well, it would require a different sort of exploration of the Christian *corpora* on the microlevel than what will be attempted in this study (Appendix 1).

The development of a 'Christian discourse' or 'literature' is also determined by external conditions. The early Christian period is one of the most turbulent periods of world history with its own political, social and religious histories. For instance, the conditions under which Christianity spread changed radically during the fourth century when it was legalised (AD 313).[52] This is reflected in the fact that more Christian literature survives from this century than the preceding three. Indeed, more ancient texts of all kinds survive from this period than from all preceding centuries. Even if many texts from the fourth century are lost as well, we at least know the fourth century much better. But this should not license us to attribute the fourth-century use of Alexander uncritically to previous periods. One must also keep in mind that Christian literature is afflicted by the common curses well-known from antiquity: dubious author attributions, the fragmentary nature of important texts and anachronistic fictions that claim they are something they are not. Further, Christianity is characterised by its malleability, even though early Christians would insist on unity and universality. For instance, this is not the place to discuss the differences between, say, the Orthodox and Catholic Churches, but both denominations and all of their subsects would surely consider themselves Christian. Since this study is meant to lay the foundations, the primary focus must be Graeco-Roman Christianity.

Every ambitious study must regrettably make exclusions. In giving priority to Christian testimonies, we have to lessen the focus on the 'canonical,' non-Christian sources for the history of Alexander, such as Arrian's *Alexander*'s *Anabasis*. I assume

52 For historical narratives of the period and Christianity's involvement in them, see e.g. Mitchell 2007; Schott 2008.

that the reader has a certain familiarity with this sort of material, which is widely accessible to the reader elsewhere. I mainly incorporate such sources for comparison. For instance, one could mention Jerome's Alexander *chria* at Troy and its tradition.[53] I do hope, however, that some of the conclusions on the Christian material will help to dispel some scholarly myths about the more studied non-Christian Alexander material. Conversely, the Christian material, which I presume is largely unknown to the student of Alexander, is collated and articulated here for the first time. The texts must often be paraphrased or summarised for which I beg the patience of the indulgent reader.[54] I have in many cases used bullet points to get my points across and to list the bulky material, although other writers might have preferred a perfectly formed paragraph.

Needless to say, my strong emphasis on literature, I am barely able to even begin to recount the conclusions that could be drawn if material culture, including iconography, was included. Artistic representations of Alexander are a separate field of study that has its own methodologies.[55] A start has been made to the study of the pertinent pieces of Christian art, but there is currently no comprehensive study of early Christian iconography of Alexander, even though it appears to have much potential.[56] This is a *desideratum*.

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53 Strabo *Geography* 13.1.27; Diodorus Siculus *Library* 17.17.3; Pliny *Natural History* 7.108; Dio Chrysostom *Oration* 2.79; Plutarch *Alexander* 5, 8, 15.4, 26, *Moralia* 58b, 327f, 331d; Arrian *Anabasis* 1.12.2; Justin *Epitome* 11.5.12; *Itinerary of Alexander* § 8; Malalas 8.1 (192 Dindorf). Cf. Bosworth 1980- i: 100, 103; Koulakiotis 2006: 204-7; Heckel 2015.

54 There are many strands of Alexander literature to be aware of: the legendary texts about Alexander demand attention, especially the *AR*. As already said, the legendary traditions are currently the object of study for numerous contemporary scholars, and some cannot be considered here, such as Ory Amitay's book (in preparation) on the Hebrew versions of Alexander in Jerusalem (Ch. 1.6). As for the scattered status of the anecdotal material, there are important sources, such as orators (Cicero, Dio Chrysostom, Lucian, Aelius Aristides), encyclopedic writers (Pliny the Elder, Aulus Gellius, Ptolemy Chennus), philosophers (Seneca the Younger, Sextus Empiricus, Epictetus, Porphyry of Tyre), and emperors (Marcus Aurelius, Julian, Constantius). The following surveys have been helpful in gathering these sources: Hoffmann 1907; Eicke 1909; Weber 1909; Gagé 1975; Zecchini 1984; Horst 1988; Lane Fox 1997a; Döpp 1999; Stoneman 2004a; Angliviel 2003; Koulakiotis 2006; Demandt 2009; Pernot 2013.

55 The exception is Stewart 1993 for the Hellenistic image of Alexander in art and literature. Cf. the praise in Trofimova 2012; Worthington 2014: 319.

56 See e.g. Ross 1963, 1988; Frugoni 1978; Hannestad 1993; Sande 1993, 1999; Fulghum 2001: 144-6; Stewart 2003: 61-66; Dahmen 2007: 152; Kühnen 2008: 19-32; Smith 2011: 84 n. 128; Alan Cameron 2011: 560-1; Melville Jones 2015. For early medieval and European art, see e.g. Hadjinicolaou 1997; Kress 2014.

In prioritising the acknowledged Christian authors of the period, I have chosen to reduce considerably the focus on the *AR* tradition in Late Antiquity, even if there are Christian *AR* versions from the beta-recension onwards. At a recent conference on the *AR* at the University of Wroclaw,[57] it was clear that a constitutional study of the wider early Christian tradition was desired and useful to supplement the studies of the *AR*. A single study of early Christian literature cannot, however, exhaust the fertile field nor can I here venture further into examining the reception of Alexander in Late Antiquity, an umbrella term now widely used to describe the transformations of the Eurasian continent between antiquity and the Middle Ages. There are Alexander rich traditions in the non-Christian literary traditions as well; in the political, religious and social spheres of Constantinople, Rome and the Successor Kingdoms in the West; and in the literatures of the Orient and among the Arabs. It would be unwise and counterproductive to try to end such discussions even before they began. Instead, the present study is intended as a sort of a beginning, and I hope it will serve as a stimulus for further study.

57 *The* Alexander Romance: *History and Literature*, 14-17 October 2015, organised by K. Nawotka, A. Wojciechowska & Richard Stoneman. I thank the organisers for the invitation to present on the material in Ch. 3.1. I refer to this conference as 'Wroclaw 2015.'

E. Overview of the Argument

The thesis is about how the Christian writers appropriated, altered and reinterpreted the legacy of Alexander in the literature of the early Christian period (c. 200-600). There is an inventory of the references to Alexander in Appendix 1. The structure of the thesis is conceived as an unequal triptych: it is divided into three parts with subdivisions into three chapters of varying lengths (Part III contains two chapters and the thesis conclusion). Each part is prefaced with a short description of its contents. Each chapter within those parts have a preliminary remark to introduce the principal subject area with a brief conclusion in the back of it.

Part I explores the Alexander traditions of three geographical centres of the Christian world: Alexandria (Ch. 1), Jerusalem (Ch. 2) and Rome (Ch. 3). It shows how the Jewish tales from these cities had a great influence on the Christians and were used in various ways in Christian texts. Christian authors greatly alter or omit the features of these tales in order to appropriate them. The tales from the first two cities have important ramifications for the development of a Christian Alexander discourse, whereas the large literary networks of Rome also enabled the miscellaneous Jewish tales to diffuse, even if the Christians paid less attention to them.

Part II turns the attention to the Alexander discourse of the apologists in the second and third centuries. It discusses three prevalent themes associated with Alexander: apologetic historiography (Ch. 4), divine honours (Ch. 5) and Greek philosophy (Ch. 6). From the first Christian writings about history we may observe that Alexander played an important role in Christian constructions of time. The divine honours conferred upon the king were, however, greatly disliked by the apologists, who used the fact that he had died to say that he was not a divinity. Similarly, his association with important Greek philosophers was ridiculed to assert that their philosophical doctrines were naught in comparison to Christian doctrine.

Part III moves on to the central texts and themes of Alexander in the fourth to sixth centuries. It focuses on Alexander's integration into Christian history and representations of their world (Ch. 7), and the Christian use of the figure in preaching and public speaking (Ch. 8). Since the conditions for being Christian improved significantly over the course of the fourth century, the privileged intellectuals began rewriting their own history in inventive ways. These Christians more readily associate the figure with distinctively Christian features, such as the life of Jesus, the Apostles, the church, sacred cities and holy places. They incorporate him into discourses on peace, mercy, generosity and abstinence. In other words, they made Alexander relevant for what they considered important, and thus created their own distinct discourse on the figure.

PART I

Christian Appropriation of Jewish Alexander Tales

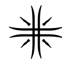
- Creating Christian Contexts -

The early Christians had a complicated relationship with Jews. On the one hand, they adhered to the principles of Jewish life and intellectual culture. On the other, they rejected the traditional ways of thinking about their literature. The aim of this first part is to trace the diffusion of stories about Alexander from the synagogue into the church and examine the Christian adaptations. Chapter 1 focuses on the stories from the Alexandrian diaspora in which rosy tales of the Macedonian king proliferated. Chapter 2 turns to the literatures of Jerusalem that represented the king as a villain. Chapter 3 explores the tales that circulated in the extensive text networks of the Roman empire. Part I as a whole demonstrates that Christians read these tales selectively and made many alterations. The modifications evidence that Christians attempted to appropriate these tales by omitting Jewish features, such as Alexander's respect for the Jewish people. The representations of Alexander, either favourable or unfavourable, conformed to the versions of the past that the Christian texts were trying to generate. Part I argues that the Christians integrated the Jewish Alexander material into their narratives in their own ways, so as to authorise Christian versions of the past that licensed the creation of a Christian present.

Chapter 1: Alexander's City

Preliminaries

The foundation of Alexandria in Egypt was considered one of Alexander's greatest accomplishments. While the multicultural city rose to even greater power and prestige under the aegis of the Ptolemaic dynasty and under Rome, its key to political success was the memory of Alexander. The local intellectual milieux developed many legends about the city's founder, and the Alexandrian Synagogue did no differently. What was at stake was the important claim to status in the city, a sense of belonging, based upon the authority of its founder. This was essential to the Jewish community with its own religious and social identities in the Alexandrian diaspora. The literary results were powerful narratives that sought to bring the founder and the Jews into the same cultural and political orbit. The first chapter examines the ways in which this Jewish literature was exploited by Christians to stake their own claim to the traditions of Alexander's celebrated city.



The first great historian of the early church, Eusebius of Caesarea (in Roman Judea as opposed to the Cappadocian Caesarea), makes a curious synchronism in one of his works on the Gospel. He writes that 'at the time of Jaddus, Alexander founded Alexandria, as Josephus records, and having arrived in Jerusalem he worshipped God.'[1] According to the famous historian Flavius Josephus (c. AD 37-100), Jaddus was the High Priest of the Temple at Jerusalem in the days of Alexander. At no single point in Josephus' works—the *Jewish War* (c. 75 Aramaic, later adapted to Greek), the *Jewish Antiquities* (c. 94) and the *Against Apion* (c. 100)—does he record that Alexander founded Alexandria. The founder of that city needed no identification because it was self-evident from the city's name. Famously, what Josephus does say in the *Jewish Antiquities* (11.304-45) is that Alexander visited Jerusalem and sacrificed with due rites to God in the Temple. So, in juxtaposing Alexandria and Jerusalem on the authority of Josephus, is Eusebius being careless or is he being deliberately misleading?

Eusebius' geography seems confused and could indicate haste in composition. Travelling by land from Macedon to Egypt via Asia Minor, one would necessarily have to go through Syria, Phoenicia and the Levantine coast. We know that the historical Alexander had dealings with North Africans while he was besieging Tyre, but no ancient authority places the Alexandrian foundation at this time. The only text that reports an alternative route is the *AR*. In it, Alexander first went West over Italy (Rome) and North Africa (Carthage, Siwah Oasis in Libya, Alexandria, Memphis) before he

1 Eusebius of Caesarea *Proof of the Gospel* 8.2.67. κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν Ἰαδδοῦ ὁ Μακεδὼν Ἀλέξανδρος Ἀλεξάνδρειαν κτίζει, ὡς Ἰώσηπος ἱστορεῖ, ἀφικόμενός τε εἰς τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα τῷ θεῷ προσκυνεῖ.

launched the campaign against the Persians in Syria and Mesopotamia (*AR* 1.26-46). Should this be Eusebius' source it would thus be possible for Alexander to go to Egypt before arriving at Jerusalem. Scholars have suggested that Eusebius used the geography of the *AR* in other works, and he may have used it here too.[2]

The argument against this is the fact that the geographical account of Alexander's travels in Eusebius' two-book *Chronicle* (c. 313, revised in 325) is not arranged in the same way.[3] The tale of Jerusalem has its own lengthy entry, and so has the Alexandrian foundation. More importantly, Alexander goes to Jerusalem before Alexandria, which he does not do in the *Proof*. Eusebius thus gives us two disparate versions in two different texts. This would indicate that he has been creative in the *Proof*. The alternate explanation of the passage in question would be that Eusebius has rearranged the event by *hysteron proteron*, 'later earlier', a literary device that reverses the order of episodes to add emphasis to the important foundation of Alexandria.[4] If this was the case, his geography is not confused and the mistaken reference to Josephus could easily be explained: Eusebius has intentionally swapped the sequence of the foundation and the pilgrimage but placed Josephus' authorial authority up front to corroborate the information given in the entire sentence.

Yet, if we accept this, the intended juxtaposition of cities calls for further questioning. What were Eusebius' motives in doing this? Why was Alexandria added to the already powerful religious narrative of the Josephan tale? As is now well-established, the Alexandrian origins of the Jerusalem tale are undeniable, but the Alexandrian Jewish community had originally not brought Alexandria into it.[5] Instead, the Jews used the tale to convey the message that the Hebrew God had worked wonders in antiquity and directed the king to carry out his deeds. To graft Alexandria on to this story was thus Eusebius' doing. His rearrangement of the cities—placing them side-by-side—makes a different but compelling argument: the God of the Hebrews had been respected by the powerful King Alexander, who founded one of the civic centres

2 Wirth 1993: 63. Cf. Ausfeld 1907: 137.

3 The text survives principally in Jerome's Latin translation of the second book, the so-called *Chronological Tables*. The standard critical edition of the Latin is Helm's edition for the *GCS* series, vol. 47. This Alexander-narrative, hitherto neglected by scholars of Alexander, occurs at *GCS* 47.121-4 (*PL* 27.399-400) with extensive cross-references and sources at Helm *GCS* 34.2: 366-74. For the passage in the Armenian text, with Greek and Latin translation, see Aucher 1818 ii: 222-5, and for the German translation of the Armenian, see Karst *GCS* 20.197-8. The *Chronicle* will be studied more closely in Chapter 4.

4 Smyth *Greek Grammar* § 3030.

5 Momigliano 1979.

of the proto-Christian religion and converted to the true faith in Jerusalem. If the reverse is implied by the *hysteron proteron*, we notice that Alexander came to Jerusalem *before* Alexandria. It follows that Alexander had worshipped God in Jerusalem before he founded his city. The foundation was thus an event authorised by God and imbued with a sense of holiness. This is a Christian appropriation of the past: it was as much a story about Alexander as it was a story of the great antiquity of the two sacred centres of early Christianity. And it was very successful. Indeed, Eusebius' synchronism was often recycled to say that Alexander and his city mattered in Christian history.[6]

The juxtaposition of cities thus reflects the huge importance of Alexandria in Eusebius' world. 'Alexander's City,' ἡ Ἀλεξάνδρου πόλις, was Alexandria's sobriquet in Christian and non-Christian literature,[7] and the foundation of the city was a common point of chronological reference, just as we know from Livy that the foundation of Rome was. Broadly speaking, references to civic foundations were deployed in non-Christian literature to generate chronological analogues between major events, such as the ones we know from classical historiography. For instance, the mythical foundation of Troy and the Trojan wars were juxtaposed with Greek history to strengthen the sense of continuum in the Hellenic past.[8] Eusebius is thus doing nothing new in using Alexandria as a chronological marker to create links between major occasions; the originality of his juxtaposition lies in the choice of correlating Alexander's fic-

6 See e.g. *Scaliger's Chronograph* 1.6.6, 1.8.1-4 (see Ch. 7.1.1); *Easter Chronicle* pp. 357, 390 Dindorf.

7 Non-Christian testimonies: *Greek Anthology* 9.202; Pausanias *Description of Greece* 8.33.3 (hereafter Pausanias *Description*); Aelius Aristides *Oration* 25.26, 36.18; Herodian *Roman History* 7.6.1; Libanius *Epistles* 100.2, 1352.3, *Oration* 42.16. Christian testimonies: Epiphanius *On Weights and Measures* § 9; Gregory of Nyssa *Life of Gregory the Wonderworker PG* 46.901, *In Praise of Stephen Proto-Martyr* p. 26 Lendle, *On the Christian Profession to Harmonius* p. 132 Jaeger; Gregory Nazianzen *Oration* 7.6.2; Jerome *Letter* 97.1; Sozomen *Church History* 7.20.4; Socrates *Church History* 3.2; Theodoret of Cyrrhus *Church History* (*SC* 501.320); Cyril of Alexandria *Commentary on Jeremiah* (*PG* 70.1456); John of Antioch *Chronological History* fr. 157 Mariev = *Suda* s.v. Alexandros (A 2762 Adler); Procopius of Gaza *Letter* 99; Cosmas Indicopleustes *Christian Topography* 2.1; Evagrius Scholasticus *Church History* 2.5, 2.8 (twice), 2.9, 3.12, 3.13, 3.14, 3.22, 3.294.4, 4.38, 5.2, 6.24; Ps.-Venantius Fortunatus *In Praise of the Virgin Mary* l. 268.

8 The *locus classicus* is the history by the Athenian general Thucydides that dates the Peloponnesian War after the fall of Troy for which see Thucydides *Peloponnesian Wars* 1.3.1-4. For the juxtaposition of Roman history with the foundation of Alexandria, see e.g. Eutropius *Epitome* 2.7.3. Cf. Paeanius *Epitome* 2.7.3. κατὰ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν ἐνιαυτὸν Ἀλεξάνδρεια παρὰ τοῦ Μακεδόνος Ἀλεξάνδρου συνῳκίσθη, καὶ ταύτην ἐδέξατο τὴν προσηγορίαν ἡ τῆς Αἰγύπτου πάσης μήτηρ. The other Greek adaptation of Eutropius by the sixth-century Capito Lycius has not survived.

tional pilgrimage attested in Jewish and Christian literature with the much more established Alexandrian foundation that gives the synchronism a new meaning within the greater Christian message of his *Proof of the Gospel*.

Alexandria's importance for Eusebius and his fellow Christians cannot be underestimated.[9] According to church tradition, Mark the Evangelist had first preached the Gospel in Alexandria,[10] and the city remained a bastion of the Christian faith throughout Late Antiquity. The Jewish tradition shaped in the city developed early Christian thought, and Greek Christians in particular were able to maintain a strong connection with the Jewish diaspora. The texts authored by Hellenistic Jews, some also writing in the Imperial period, were read and re-read by Christians. The most famous author, who also spent time in Alexandria, is undoubtedly the aforementioned first-century Jewish aristocrat Flavius Josephus, whose historiographical and apologetic writings about Hebrew history and the life of Jesus survive solely in the Christian tradition. According to Heinz Schrekenberg, Josephus was, 'in many respects the schoolmaster of early Christianity, which presumably made thankful use of his texts and regarded them as a gift from Heaven.'[11] Indeed, Josephus was a boundless quarry of apologetic arguments readily accessible in the common Greek language, and his works were later translated into Latin and adapted (Ch. 3). An equally important Jewish figure, albeit for different reasons, is the first-century Alexandrian philosopher Philo of Judea, whose endeavours into Greek philosophy are crucial for the development of Christian allegory and interpretation of Scripture.[12]

Conversely, there are many Alexander legends of Alexandria by anonymous authors. Their contexts and dating are thus difficult to determine. Also unclear is just how early these legends were circulated among the Alexandrian Jews.[13] Yet, it is quite clear that Eusebius and other Christians accepted the Jewish tales that favourably

9 For the Jewish and Christian milieux in Alexandria, see e.g. *EEC* 455-6; Paget 2004; Gambetti 2007; Petersen 2009; Rubenson 2009; Heine 2010; Williams 2013 (Jews among Greeks and Romans); the collection of papers in Stemberger 2014; Capponi 2014; Niklas 2014. Cf. relevant entries in Méla & Möli 2014.

10 Eusebius *Church History* 2.15-6, 2.24.1; Jerome *On Illustrious Men* 11.1-2. See e.g. Barnard 1964.

11 Schrekenberg 1992: 134. For his survey of Josephus' *Nachleben* in Christian literature, see pp. 51-85 in the same volume. Cf. Schrekenberg 1984. It may be noted that the Christian apologists use Josephus in particular, see e.g. Theophilus of Antioch *To Autolytus* 3.23; Origen *Against Celsus* 4.11; Eusebius *Church History* 2.20. An important study of the Latin Josephus is about to be published, see Pollard 2015.

12 Extensive studies of Philo's afterlife in Christian thought at Goodenough 1938: 298-307; Chadwick 1984: 4; Ruina 1989: 403, 1993, 1995. For Philo himself, see *EAC* 3: 173-5.

projected Alexander as a friend and instrument of the Hebrew God. Just as Eusebius placed the foundation of Alexandria before Alexander's visit to Jerusalem, we must first explore the Alexandrian literary filters before we can discern the ramifications the tradition had for the Christian appropriation of the largely unfavourable Alexander material from the literature of Jerusalem (Ch. 2). The following argument is made upon the presumption that much early Christian literature on Alexander was filtered through the positive Alexandrian projection that hailed from the city's Jewish diaspora and, in this form, diffused into the wider Christian tradition.

1.1. The Foundation of Alexandria

2011 witnessed two different conferences on two different continents concerning Alexander in Africa. The first was convened in Wroclaw, Poland, and addressed issues with Alexander's sojourn of Egypt and Africa in general. The second, held one month later, took place in Pretoria, South Africa, and concerned Alexander's African legacy more broadly.[14] From the conference proceedings, both appearing with different publishers in 2014, it is clear that Alexandria and its influence on Alexander's *Nachleben* was a ubiquitous theme of discussion at both conferences.

Going against the scholarly tradition, one contributor at the Pretoria conference proposed that Alexander did not invest much time and effort in the foundation of Alexandria but established a military fortification there that the Ptolemies would turn into a metropolis.[15] Conversely, many of the delegates at the Polish conference sought to reinforce the traditional view that Alexander founded the city with an ambition of making it a great centre of commerce. The multitude of inconsistencies in the extant sources does indeed license several interpretations. But Timothy Howe at the Pretoria conference did not consider the conclusions reached in Fraser's fundamental

13 See e.g. the story told in 2 Targum Esther 1.4 that Alexander retrieved the throne of Solomon from Babylon and brought it back to Alexandria in Egypt. This story is reminiscent of his retrieval of the statues of Harmodius and Aristogeiton that were sent back to Athens from Babylon (Arrian *Anabasis* 3.16.7-8). Cf. Stoneman 1994a: 44. Such a tale could be in the narrative archaeology of a seventh-century Syriac tale. The anonymous author relates that Alexander brought a silver throne to Jerusalem from Alexandria, which was built for the Messiah, so that He could reign in Alexander's stead. At the Advent of the Messiah, He would also receive Alexander's crown and the subsequent crowns of all the Alexandrian kings from Alexander to Him. For this text, see Budge 2003: 146-7 [reprint].

14 Grieb *et al.* 2014; Bosman 2014. The conference organisers were clearly unaware that the conferences happened almost simultaneously. See e.g. Bosman 2014: viii, 'the first conference about Alexander in Africa, and that on African soil.'

15 Howe 2014. Cf. Hölbl 2001: 5-15, Ogden 2013b, 2013c; Lane Fox 2015: 170-2.

Cities of Alexander nor does he seem to pay due attention to the fact that Ps.-Aristotelian text *Oeconomica* refers to Cleomenes, Alexander's governor of Egypt,[16] by the cognomen 'of Alexandria,' *Alexandreus*, rather than 'of Naucratis.' Moreover, the third-century BC chronicle, extracted from a stele made of Parian marble, records that Alexandria was being built while Babylon was taken.[17] Considering the considerable building and restoration programme Alexander inaugurated elsewhere in Egypt, it seems strange to argue that he did not build the city he was most famous for.

The numerous inconsistent histories of Alexandria's foundation are an expression, Erskine argues, 'of the multiple personalities of Alexandria itself.'[18] As our point of departure, we may take the example Erskine ends his paper on: the famous bird omen revealed to Alexander when he used barley to mark out the site of the city. Flocks of birds descended upon it and ate every grain. The king's soothsayers then explained to the king that it was a good omen since the city would supply the world with food. Yet, this is but one version retold in the same way by Plutarch and the sixth-century lexicographer Stephanus of Byzantium. Many others exist.[19] For instance, the Augustan geographer Strabo does not record the detail of the birds nor the prophecies, but states succintly that the Macedonians used barley to mark out the city, which the Alexander historian Curtius Rufus claimed was an old Macedonian custom. The variations are attributable to the Alexandria or Alexander the authors wanted to project,

16 Heckel s.v. Cleomenes [1].

17 *Parian Marble FGH* 239 B 5.

18 Erskine 2013: 170. Cf. Trapp 2004 for the various traditions about the city itself, especially in the Greek tradition.

19 Stephanus of Byzantium, s.v. Ἀλεξανδρέια. Principal texts: *AR* 1.32.4; Vitruvius *On Architecture* 2.preface.4; Strabo *Geography* 17.1.6 (the workers use barley for marking roads. No birds); Valerius Maximus *Deeds and Sayings* 1.4. ext. 1 (Dinocrates outlines the city with barley. Birds come and eat it. Egyptian priests interprets this as a good omen); Curtius Rufus *History* 4.8.6. (same as Valerius Maximus, but notes that the barley is a Macedonian custom); Plutarch *Alexander* 26.8-10 (the workers use barley to outline the city walls because there is no chalk left. Otherwise same as Valerius Maximus and Curtius Rufus. Alexander leaves for Siwah); Arrian *Anabasis* 3.2.1-2 (one of the workers get the idea to use barley. No birds. Aristander of Telmessus interpret the use of barley as a good omen); *Fragmentum Sabbaiticum FGH* 151.11 (Alexander comes back from Siwah. He orders his men to outline the city with barley, no chalk. The following night birds eat the barley. Alexander said that the sign was good; others found it bad. He goes off to fight Darius); *Itinerary of Alexander* § 20 (no chalk, soldiers supply them with barley, birds, interpreters see this as a negative omen, but Alexander does not); Ammianus Marcellinus *Roman History* 22.16.7 (Dinocrates, no chalk, flour, no birds, the flour suggests a rich supply of food). Cf. Ausfeld 1907: 138 n. 7; Jouguet 1941-2; Cohen 2006: 360; Billault 2010; Erskine 2013: 183 n. 45; Grieb 2014.

to their time of writing and to their respective intellectual milieux. Since Alexandria was a multicultural metropolis, there were innumerable versions of its inception.

In 1914, Pfister drew attention to a unique foundation legend told in the gamma-recension of the *AR* (c. 800).[20] The legend, which Pfister believed was originally written by a first-century Alexandrian Jew, related the following episode about Alexander's construction of the site:

> Alexander spent some time there rebuilding the city, adorning it with numerous columns and strengthening the walls with high towers. The highest of all he built at the eastern gate, and placed on the top of it a statue of himself [...] When all of this was finished, and the city had been made exceedingly beautiful in the eyes of all, Alexander ascended the tower, stood up and condemned all the gods of the country. He proclaimed the one true God, who cannot be known nor seen nor sought out, who is surrounded by the seraphim and glorified with the name of the 'thrice holy.' Alexander made a prayer, 'O God of gods, creator of all that is visible and invisible, be my helper now in all that I intend to do.'
>
> *AR* γ 2.28.[21]

Alexander's homily on the falseness of the pagan gods and the prayer to God are a claim that the earliest Alexandria was consecrated by the same religion as the author who recorded the vignette. It remains unclear whether this was a Jew or a Christian: Reinhold Merkelbach, and the rest of the editorial board of Pfister's *Kleine Schriften*, noted that the gamma-recension of the *AR* was dependent on the slightly earlier epsilon (c. 700), which Pfister had been unaware of. To the editors, this proved that gamma was of Christian origin rather than Jewish, especially with the reference to the 'thrice holy' used in Byzantine liturgy. These conclusions have been maintained by Demandt.[22] Stoneman accepts that much of the material may have been reworked gradually by Christians, but argues that this does not preclude the possibility that the foundation story stem from Hellenistic Jewish circles. If this is true, the eighth century was merely the final date of the incorporation of a far older story.[23] The latter ar-

20 Pfister 80-103.

21 Trans. Stoneman 1991: 173-4 (adapted). N.B. Stoneman 2008: 58 wrongly references this passage to 1.28. Cf. Stoneman 1994a: 47; Mossé 2004: 177.

22 Demandt 2009: 170.

gument remains speculative, however, since it does not explain why the story is uniquely attested in this recension, with no trace of it elsewhere.

Whether Jewish or Christian in origin, the vignette is an indication of the attempts to appropriate the city within a cultural and religious discourse that differed from the pagan. For instance, the *AR* features a lengthy narrative of the pagan god Sarapis' involvement in the foundation of Alexandria, which is non-existent in the Christian tradition.[24] The Christians had other topographical interests in Alexandria. In a seventh-century pilgrim's guide, Alexandria had its entry next to other sacred spaces that mattered to Christians. There are lengthy descriptions of Alexandria's central sites, such as shrines of the Christian martyrs and the church of St. Mark. The co-author of the guide book, the Irish Adamnan (624-704), the ninth abbot of the Celtic monastery on the Scottish isle of Iona, tells us that he had written the work with assistance from the Gallic pilgrim Arculf. The work not only records his experiences from the Holy Land, but also the Near East after the Muslim conquests. The entry on Alexandria in Egypt runs thus:

> This great city, once the capital of Egypt, was originally called No in the Hebrew tongue. This populous city, named after its famous founder Alexander, king of Macedon, by a name known in the entire world: Alexandria, because it obtained its grandeur and name from its re-foundation. [...] This Alexandria, which before it was built to a gargantuan size by Alexander the Great, was called No, as already said, and was situated by the mouth of the Nile river at a place called Canopus and the city borders Asia, Egypt and Libya.
>
> Adamnan *On the Location of Holy Places* 2.30.1, 2.30.26.[25]

Adamnan's seemingly factual description based on an eye-witness account does echo earlier works of Christian geography and ethnography. For instance, Isidore records in his famous encyclopedia that Alexandria was built upon the Egyptian city No and established the boundary of Egypt and Asia.[26] That Alexandria was called by an-

23 Stoneman 2008: 58. Ory Amitay has recently reinforced Stoneman's position in a conference paper delivered at 'Wroclaw 2015.'

24 *AR* 1.33. The same passage in the Christian recension β has been heavily edited and most of it omitted.

25 Jerome *Commentary on Hosea* 2.9.5-6 (*CCSL* 76.94).

26 Isidore of Seville *Etymologies* 15.1.34.

other name in Greek and Demotic is elsewhere attested,[27] but Rhacotis, 'construction site,' was no more than a small settlement and fishing port. The alternate name No is supplied by Isidore's reading of Jerome's Latin Vulgate Bible (commenced in 382). The name occurs in a scriptural passage in the minor prophet Nahum (3:8-11) and Jerome renders the Hebrew name No-Amon from this passage as 'Alexandria.' Indeed, Jerome also made sure that this was clear in his commentary on the passage, providing an erudite digression on Alexandria and Alexandrian history.[28] Hence, certain Christians chose to associate Alexandria with a Biblical place from the OT. This is a deliberate association of cities done in order to map the contours of the Biblical landscapes on to the world around the Christians.

Isidore's and Adamnan's identification of the city thus depend on a common textual background in the Vulgate Bible of the Christian West. Yet, there was a general disagreement about the actual location of the Biblical No-Amon. Many eastern Christians believed that No should be identified with Thebes in Upper Egypt rather than Alexandria in Lower Egypt, and this reading is maintained in our modern editions of the Bible.[29] This is significant because it shows that the exegetical process of identifying the sacred sites of the Christians was by no means a linear procedure. Indeed, the fifth-century Syrian bishops Theodore of Mopsuestia and Theodoret of Cyrrhus, Antiochene advocates of a literal interpretation of the Bible, dismiss No-Amon's association with Alexandria. They do so on the grounds that notable commentators, such as Cyril of Alexandria (378-444), had vainly tried to identify obscure places (the Hebrew No) with better known ones (Alexandria).[30] Indeed, Cyril argues forcefully that No-

27 Strabo *Geography* 17.1.6; Pausanias *Description* 5.21.10; *AR* 1.32.2, 3.34.5; Stephanus of Byzantium s.v. Ῥακῶτις. Cf. Dillery 2004: 256; Ryholt 2013.

28 Jerome *Commentary on Nahum* 3.8-9 (*CCSL* 76a.562-3).

29 Nahum 3:8-10 *NRSV*. 'Are you better than Thebes (No-Amon) that sat by the Nile, with water around her, her rampart a sea, water her wall? Ethiopia was her strength, Egypt too, and that without limit; the Libyans were her helpers. Yet she became an exile, she went into captivity; even her infants were dashed in pieces at the head of every street; lots were cast for her nobles, all her dignitaries were bound in fetters.' For the modern identification of No-Amon, see e.g. D. L. Christensen 2009: 354-55; Coggins & Han 2011: 32.

30 Both bishops do, however, make their own attempts at identifying No-Amon. The former notes that there is a city in Egypt called Amon, but makes now further identification of it (Theodore of Mopsuestia *Commentary on Nahum* 3.8 *PG* 66.417-20). The latter, apparently familiar with the oracle of Siwah, makes the vague case that No-Amon was what the Greeks had considered a famous Libyan oracle, noting Alexander's trip to it (Theodoret of Cyrrhus *Commentary on Nahum* 3.8 (*PG* 81.1804). These locations do not mesh well with the idea that No-Amon was populous or the Hebrew designation. Yet, the Antiochene Bible tradition was different from the Vulgate, and the same wording might not have ap-

Amon is Alexandria because he wanted to assert the Biblical origins of the city he himself presided over.

No's re-foundation and expansion evidently casts Alexander in the role of a great founder, *ktistēs* or *conditor*. He enlarged a city of the OT that bound together the continents of Africa and Asia. This meshes well with the typical features of the (re-)foundation narratives of ancient discourse. The *AR* (1.30-33) contains the fullest collection of the Alexandrian foundation myths, but never refers to him explicitly as founder, perhaps because the myths make it so apparent.[31] Pfister and Fraser have collected most of the scattered references to Alexander *ktistēs* from canonical king's lists and astronomical dairies of Alexandrian origin, such as the second-century mathematical treatise, the *Almagest* of Claudius Ptolemy (d. 168).[32]

The principal text of their interest is, however, the eighth-century *Scaliger's Chronograph*, usually referred to by the derogatory title its eponymous editor Joseph Justus Scaliger (d. 1609) gave it: *Excerpta Latina Barbari*. Richard Burgess has recently renamed the text *Scaliger's Chronograph*, which I have adopted.[33] This text contains a very detailed Alexander narrative in colloquial Latin. The Alexandrian origin is obvious. For instance, it constantly refers to Alexander by the sobriquet *conditor*. Although the Latin translation was made rather late—Burgess has argued persuasively that this is a Merovingian witness to a late fifth or early sixth-century Alexandrian chronograph—the original Greek text had roots in the Severan age because the regnal lists of Persians, Ptolemies, and Romans end with the reign of the Roman emperor Alexander Severus (d. 235).[34] These lists, Burgess argues, derive from the elaborate *Chronograph* by the Christian Sextus Julius Africanus (d. 240). In the newest edition of the fragments of this work, the editors demonstrate that Africanus is indeed the source of Alexander's title, *ktistēs*, in *Scaliger's Chronograph* since the Severan author uses the same term on his list of Macedonian kings.[35] This is highly significant in that it attests a general tendency in the use of a local title for Alexander in Greek literature

plied to the Bible of Theodore and Theodoret. For the alternative reading, see e.g. Cyril of Alexandria *Commentary on Nahum* 2.56-7.

31 Pfister conjectures that the title of the *AR* could have contained a reference to Alexander as the founder, which Fraser 1996: 206 n. 14 accepts.

32 Claudius Ptolemy *Hypotheses* 2.160 Heiberg. Cf. Pfister 1964: 64-66; Fraser 1996: 14-5.

33 See the erudite description of this text in Burgess 2013, especially p. 42-52 for the sources of the first part of the text. His study is now the fundamental work on *Scaliger's Chronograph* and supersedes all previous scholarship on the text, even Garstad's recent introduction to and translation of it (for which, see Garstad 2012).

34 Burgess 2013: 9.

35 Julius Africanus *Chronograph* F 82 (*GCS* NF 15.245-9).

of Egypt from the imperial period, shared by both Christians and non-Christians. We will return to Julius Africanus (Ch. 4.1.1) and *Scaliger's Chronograph* (Ch. 7.1.1) below.

The title and the role as founder have wider ramifications for the representation of Alexander in antiquity. His imperial role of a civilising emperor that built cities and spread culture to the uncultured is best captured by Plutarch's famous two-part oration *On the Fortune or Virtue of Alexander*,[36] but Alexandrian Jews and Christians certainly projected Alexander in a similar fashion as far as their own city was concerned. We turn now to certain stories that reflect some of the features of this role.

1.2. Civic Rights to Alexandrian Jews

Josephus records on the authority of Strabo that the Jews had been given special civic rights in order that they could dwell freely in Alexandria.[37] This should be read alongside his other claim that both Alexander and his successor in Alexandria, Ptolemy I, had granted citizenship to the Jews because of the Jewish piety and virtue.[38] Hence the Jews had been allowed to pursue their own political and religious life since the very foundation of the city. Josephus' appeal to the royal authority of Alexander, articulated again in the polemical *Against Apion*, is not supported by Strabo. The first-century BC geographer does not explicitly refer to Alexander, even if he said that the Jews had been granted certain rights. Besides the mention of letters of Alexander and the first Ptolemies, Josephus also draws attention to several additional (but surely fictional) documents to support his argument that the Roman Caesars had not done anything to diminish the rights of the Jews in Alexandria.

The historicity of Josephus' claims has been questioned. In a comprehensive study of the Josephan apologetic, Tcherikover contextualised the Jewish claim for citizenship with passages from the anonymous 3 Maccabees and Philo's *Against Flaccus* and the *Delegation to Gaius* to argue that Josephus had made these powerful claims to respond to contemporary threats to the Alexandrian diaspora.[39] In his view, it is baseless to project the claim for Alexandrian citizenship back onto the time of Alexander, and he saw no reason why the debate about them would antedate the reign of Augustus. More recent scholarship has, however, sought to accommodate the idea that such rights, or the assumption of having the right to inhabit the city, would be essential for

36 Aelian *Miscellany* 3.23.

37 Strabo of Amasia *BNJ* 91 F 7 from Josephus *Jewish Antiquities* 14.114.

38 Josephus *Jewish War* 2.487. Cf. Josephus *Against Apion* 2.35-44, 70-2 incorporating Hecataeus of Abdera *BNJ* 264 F 22.

39 Tcherikover 1966: 315-22.

Alexandrian Jews at all times and could have had political significance before Augustus.[40] In any case, the authority is clearly stated rather than argued for. Josephus does actually not quote the letters or provide any further proof. The claim is a fiction that must have mattered to the diaspora before and after the Roman sack of Jerusalem in AD 70.

Two Christian authors use the story from Josephus. The first reference occurs in one of the three Latin translations or adaptations of Josephus by the late fourth-century Ps.-Hegesippus; the second occurs in the early fifth-century *Church History* of the Constantinopolitan layman Socrates. The former deploys the story in a lengthy oration, put into the mouth of the Jew Eleazar, who seeks to persuade his audience to commit mass-suicide in the face of a Roman siege. The latter uses it as historical fact to assert that the Christians had taken over the rights and privileges of the Alexandrian Jews.

Ps.-Hegesippus arranges the short siege of the fortress Masada in Judea (AD 74) as the very last event of the fifth and last book of his *On the Fall of Jerusalem* to create maximum emphasis on the lost course of the Jews. Having been abandoned by God, Ps.-Hegesippus argues, and faced with an impending Roman siege, Eleazar exhorts the crowd to die by their own hand for freedom. He delivers one oration on the hopelessness of the situation, and the crowd is convinced to carry out the deed. This version of the siege has to be compared to the original in Josephus' *Jewish War*: there the Masada Jews need two exhortations to be persuaded, and Josephus commends their final but fatal decision. It is noteworthy that Josephus does not grant them the important last position of the final book. Instead this honour is given to the fanatical zealots, the Jewish Sicarians, whom Josephus seems to blame for the fall of Jerusalem. Ps.-Hegesippus does, however, not commend the dead Jews at Masada at all and omits the Sicarians altogether. The alteration has the literary effect that even the best Jews, those that committed suicide at Masada, take the blame for everything by admitting to their own religious impiety on behalf of all the Jews. They had been wrong all along. This Christian account of the siege is polemically anti-Semitic on the authority of Josephus.[41]

As a minor detail within this greater Christian message, the story of the civic rights is inserted into Eleazar's speech, thus modifying a few lines in what is the second ora-

40 Fraser 1972 i: 54-5; Gruen 1998: 71-2; Erskine 2013: 179.

41 Ps.-Hegesippus *On the Fall of Jerusalem* 5.53 (*CSEL* 66.412). Cf. Josephus *Jewish War* 7.304-401.

tion in Josephus.[42] Eleazar states that the Jews had lost all their battles against the Romans. On his general list of battles lost, he gives special attention to Alexandria (in Josephus, it is Egypt more broadly). Here Alexander had used the zeal of the Alexandrian Jewry to keep the Egyptians in check, and the king had given each people different places of residence, so that their cultures and religious practices would not be mixed together. Even so, Jews and Egyptians still collided occasionally, but Alexander was able to quell the conflicts and dispense justice. Conversely, the Romans had little patience for the Jewish fanaticism and routed 50,000 citizens (the number is 60,000 in Josephus). The Romans outdo Alexander in cruelty.

This adaptation of the Josephan version is important because neither of Eleazar's exhortations in Josephus feature Alexander. Ps.-Hegesippus has borrowed the Alexander vignettes from elsewhere in Josephus and grafted them onto the Masada story. This has two effects:

On the one hand, his representation of Alexander in this story echoes the famous Livian comparison of Alexander and Rome.[43] Ps.-Hegesippus' Eleazar is portraying the Romans as more terrifying and, therefore, more powerful than Alexander. The author also makes good use of that *topos* elsewhere. He lays it into the mouth of Herod Agrippa II, who argues that there was nothing special about Alexander because his campaigns were one long flight away from Rome.[44] Alexander was a coward because he did not want to fight them.

On the other, Ps.-Hegesippus' representation of Alexander as a good king and just arbiter between the cultural milieux of his own city Alexandria is noteworthy. The themes of justice and kingship are normally associated with Alexander,[45] but not always with basis in the tradition emanating from Alexandria. As shall be argued below, the representation of Alexander as a righteous ruler and friend of the Jews in his own city is a salient feature of the literary tradition of the Alexandrian Jewry, which is modified by the Christians.

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42 Josephus *Jewish War* 7.369.

43 Livy *Roman History* 9.17-9. For this digression, see Biffi 1995: 47-52; Spencer 2002: 42-5, Morello 2002: 77-8; Ligeti 2008: 48-9. For later Livian echoes, see e.g. Ammianus Marcellinus *Roman History* 30.8.4-5; Orosius *History against the Pagans* 3.15.10 (hereafter Orosius *History*; Paul the Dean *Roman History* 2.9.

44 N.B. this is the only unfavourable comparison of Rome and Alexander, Ps.-Hegesippus *On the Fall of Jerusalem* 2.9 (*CSEL* 66.149-50) (*CSEL* 66.149-50).

45 See e.g. Vitruvius *On Architecture* 2.preface.1 for a passing remark on Alexander dispensing justice. Cf. Curtius Rufus *History* 4.10.34.

Socrates incorporates the Josephan story into a version of the final conflict between Christians and Jews in the Alexandria of 414. The famous bishop Cyril incited a Christian mob to drive out the Jews because they had retaliated severely after a series of Christian persecutions of them. Socrates asserts that the Jews, who had lived in Alexandria since the time of Alexander, were stripped of all they owned and cast out.[46] While it is evident that he posits the story as historical fact to show how long the Jews had lived there, he is perhaps also making the claim that the Christians, under Cyril's direction, came to enjoy that privilege rightfully from that day onwards. Socrates' characterisation of Alexander in this instance is less detailed than that of Ps.-Hegesippus, but his remark is indicative of one of the most common uses of the figure in Christian antiquity, namely as an emblem of a specific period of time. This, in turn, says something crucial about the ancient views on how Alexander completely dominated the period he lived in and the Hellenistic period which immediately followed. That this is the case can be seen in the many versions, Jewish and Christian, of the legendary story about the inception of the Septuagint. This text was the first Greek translation of the Torah's first five books, that is to say the Mosaic books of the Christian OT: Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers and Deuteronomy.[47]

46 Socrates Scholasticus *Church History* 7.13. Cf. Cassiodorus *Church History* 11.11.9.

47 Legend has it that the translation was commissioned by Ptolemy I Soter or Ptolemy II Philadelphus. It was allegedly made by 70 (or 72!) Jewish Elders in Alexandria. In Christian literature this translation was the most authoritative because the Jews were thought to have been under divine direction since they had all translated the Hebrew books into 70 identical Greek books, although they had had one cell each. Later editions of the Greek Scriptures, including the many other books of the OT, by Aquila of Sinope, Symmachus the Ebionite and Theodotion of Ephesus were circulated from the second century AD onwards (Augustine *City of God* 18.43). Scripture in Hebrew was unavailable, or even undesired, among the Christians. There are two exceptions to this rule: Origen's *Hexapla*, a rendition of Scripture in six columns (Hebrew, transliterated Hebrew in Greek letters, Aquila, Symmachus, Septuagint and Theodotion) for comparative study, and Jerome's Vulgate Bible. For the history of the Septuagint, see e.g. *Letter of Aristeas*; Josephus *Jewish Antiquities* 12.11-118, *Against Appion* 2.45-7. Cf. Tarn & Griffith 1952: 223; Fraser 1972 i: 689-703; *EEC* 72; Lane Fox 1991: 92; N. L. Collins 2000; Lieu 2004: 31-2, 38-9; Paget 2014.

1.3. The Translation of the Septuagint

The *Letter of Aristeas* (c. 200 BC), the elusive second-century BC 'Aristobulus the Jew'[48] and Josephus do not attach the name of Alexander to the legend of the Septuagint, but Philo does.[49] The Alexandrian philosopher notes in passing that the commissioner of the translation, Ptolemy II Philadelphus, was the third in succession from Alexander since that king secured Egypt. Ptolemy II is thus in direct line of descent from the Founder. Philo's casual remark, written almost three centuries after the death of Ptolemy II, is evidence of how Alexandrians saw the continuity in the reign of Alexandrian kings from Alexander himself to the end of the Ptolemaic dynasty (306/5-30 BC). Philo is thus a witness to the long-lived success of the early Ptolemaic language of legitimacy that appropriated Alexander as the Ptolemaic precursor.[50] In Philo's passage, Alexander may not have had anything to do with actual Septuagint translation itself, but he was recognised as a key individual in the formation of the dynasty and a marker of the time after which the translation was carried out.

We have already seen that this method of dating events to the time of Alexander was a feature of the Alexandrian foundation myths, the tale of the civic rights and the Septuagint legend. According to Quintilian, the Roman teacher of rhetoric, saying that an event happened now, formerly, under Alexander or during the siege of Troy was a way of making a more general dating, as opposed to saying that something happening specifically during the day or night, or in the summer or the winter.[51] It is notable that he is using these 'Greek' events as examples rather than events from Roman history, but it also proves that Alexander's reign defined a distinct period. This Graeco-Roman technical practice seems to have been taken over by the Jews and the

48 Wasserstein & Wasserstein 2006: 27-35 argue that the fragments of this figure are Christian invention. *Contra EAC* 2: 309.

49 Philo *Life of Moses* 2.29.

50 The link between Alexander and the Ptolemies is particularly apparent in Ptolemaic court poetry, most recently discussed by Strootman 2014.

51 Quintilian *Institutions* 5.10.42. For the practice of dating events to Alexander's reign, see e.g. Polybius *Histories* 2.71.5, 8.10.11; Cornelius Nepos *Eumenes* § 4; Dionysius of Halicarnassus *On Ancient Orators* § 1, *Roman Antiquities* 1.2.3, *To Ammaeus* § 5 (§ 12), *On Dinarchus* § 2; Diodorus Siculus *Library* 1.4.6; Justin *Epitome* 2.4.32; Hyginus *Fables* 219.5; Claudius Ptolemy *Almagest* 1.1.204, 1.1.206, 1.1.234, 1.1.256, 1.1.369, 1.1.374, 1.2.352, 1.2.386 Heiberg, *Hypotheses* 2.80, 2.84, 2.88, 2.92, 2.96, 2.100, 2.104 Heiberg; Diogenes Laertius *Lives of the Philosophers* 10.1; Zosimus *New History* 1.1-4. For the revision of time in the ancient world, see now K. Clarke 2008.

Christians. They used Alexander as the same historical marker.[52] This highly significant use of Alexander will echo throughout this study with more or less intensity.

To return to the Septuagint, the development of the early Christian reception of the legend went in two major directions:

1. In the Greek apologetic tradition, certain Church Fathers posited that there were several translations of the Septuagint before the one made by the Ptolemies.[53] This assertion licensed the argument that the books of Moses had been in circulation much earlier than the Ptolemies, and the apologists used this to argue that the Greek philosophers Plato and Pythagoras had borrowed all their philosophical concepts from the Pentateuch. As we saw in the Introduction, this is the same basic argument that Origen used against Celsus to repudiate the pagan claim for the priority of Greek poets and philosophers. Asserting the cultural priority of the Hebrew Patriarchs whose piety and wisdom Christians laid claim to was very vital for the Christian promotion of Christianity as a philosophy. Alexander's importance for this alternative Septuagint computation lies not in his alleged role in the Ptolemaic dynasty (Philo), but in the vague date of his Persian wars (Clement of Alexandria and Eusebius) or the reign of Philip and Alexander (Ps.-Justin). The late third-century *Exhortation to the Greeks* attributed to Justin Martyr shows this tendency clearly. To posit the priority of the Pentateuch, the author postulates that Socrates, Plato and Aristotle had lived long after Moses. He uses the famous *Philippics* by the fourth-century BC statesman Demosthenes to assert that the philosophers had lived closer to Philip and Alexander, and Alexander's association with Aristotle is concluded by reference to those authors, who had recorded the deeds of Alexander.[54] In many ways, the argument is akin to the apologetic method Eusebius had used when he posited genuineness of the Jerusalem tale by the

52 See e.g. Tatian *Against the Greeks* § 36; Clement of Alexandria *Exhortation* 4.54.3, 10.97.1, *Miscellany* 1.21.139, 1.22.150; Ps.-Justin Martyr *Exhortation to the Greeks* § 5; Methodius *On the Resurrection* § 28. For the widespread use in later periods, see Arnobius *Against the Nations* 1.5; Eusebius *Commentary on Isaiah* 17:3 (*GCS* 9.114), *Preparation for the Gospel* 4.16.19, 9.4.6, 10.11.8, 10.14.17, 13.12.1, *Proof of the Gospel* 8.4.10, *Eclogue of Prophecies PG* 22.1181-4, *On the Psalms PG* 23.944; Epiphanius *Against Heresies PG* 41.183; Basil of Seleucia *Homily* 39 (*PG* 85.421); Evagrius Scholasticus *Church History* 3.29.

53 Clement *Miscellany* 1.150.1-3; Eusebius *Preparation for the Gospel* 9.4.6, 9.6.7, 13.12.1; Ps.-Justin Martyr *Exhortation to the Greeks* § 12. Wasserstein & Wasserstein 2006: 32 omits Ps.-Justin Martyr.

54 For the Attic orators on Alexander, see e.g. Gunderson 1981; Koulakiotis 2006: 23-58.

juxtaposition of it with Alexander's foundation of Alexandria. If an assumption about something was widely known (that the philosophers lived close to the time of Alexander, Alexandria), it could be used to corroborate something more questionable (that they had derived their knowledge from Moses, Jerusalem). This latter piece of logic relies on the ancient idea of the transmission of learning. If some philosophical concept could be proven to be more ancient than another, it follows that the later insight derived its insight from the former (Ch. 4).

2. The Philonic feature of alluding to Alexander in relation to the Ptolemies was widely maintained in Christian literature. It does, however, not occur in the earliest Christian martyrs and apologists: Justin Martyr (d. 165), the heresiologist Irenaeus of Lyons (d. 200) and the Carthaginian Father of the Latin Church Tertullian (c. 160-225).[55] From the fourth-century lectures of Cyril of Jerusalem delivered to Christian catechumens, who had yet to be baptised, to the sixth-century chronicler John Malalas from Syrian Antioch, the Septuagint legend was prefaced with allusions to Alexander's name. This is an important tendency both in the East and in the West.[56]

The differences between the two versions are tangible. The former uses Alexander to develop an argument on behalf of Christian philosophy independently of the Alexandrian tradition, whereas the latter emphasises Alexander's link to the Ptolemies to embed the narrative with a sense of historical grounding. The latter naturally contains the apologetic assertion that the Septuagint was ancient and from an important period of time. There are notable variations of Alexander's involvement: in Cyril of Jerusalem and his younger contemporary Filastrius of Brescia the figure is a chronological marker as he is in Philo; in the anonymous sixth-century *Dialogue of Timothy and Aquila*, we are told that he transferred his kingdom to his four foster-brothers An-

55 Justin Martyr *First Apology* 1.32, *Dialogue with Trypho* § 68, § 71; Irenaeus of Lyon *Against Heresies* 3.21.2; Tertullian *Apology* § 18; Ps.-Justin Martyr *Exhortation* § 13. Cf. Wasserstein & Wasserstein 2006: 95-109.

56 Julius Africanus *Chronograph* F 86 (*GCS* NF 15.254-5); Cyril of Jerusalem *Instructions* 4.34; Filastrius of Brescia *Catalogue of Heresies* § 142; Jerome *Commentary on Daniel* 9.24 (*CCSL* 75a.871; *PL* 25.545); Ps.-Epiphanius *Weights and Measures* § 9; Augustine *City of God* 18.42; Basil of Seleucia, *Homily* 39 (*PG* 85.421); Theodoret of Cyrrhus *Commentary on the Psalms* (*PG* 80.864); Isidore of Seville *Etymologies* 6.3.5, *Major Chronicle* § 200; *Dialogue of Timothy and Aquila* pp. 90-1 Conybeare; John Lydus *On the Months* p. 103 Wüensch; Malalas 8.7 (197 Dindorf). Cf. Wasserstein & Wasserstein 2006: 113-31.

tiochus, Philip, Seleucus and Ptolemy before the author goes on to recount a variant of the Septuagint story.[57]

The fullest account of the connection between Alexander and the Ptolemies in relation to the Septuagint from Christian antiquity was written by Augustine:

> One of the Ptolemies, kings of Egypt, was eager to know and possess these sacred books [i.e. the Septuagint]. After the reign of Alexander of Macedon, surnamed 'the Great,' which, though amazing in the highest degree, was not lasting in the least—he had subdued all Asia and indeed almost the whole world, partly by force of arms, partly by terror, and among other parts of the east had entered and won Judea also—his generals did not peaceably divide that vast empire upon his death, but rather dissipated it by wars, so as to lay everything waste. Egypt then went on to have Ptolemies as her kings, the first of whom, the son of Lagus, carried off many captives from Judea into Egypt. But his successor, another Ptolemy called Philadelphus, permitted all whom the first Ptolemy had brought in as captives to depart as free men. More than that, he sent royal gifts to the temple of God, and begged Eleazar, who was then the high priest, to give him a copy of the Scriptures[.]
>
> Augustine *City of God* 18.42 LCL (adapted).

The remainder of this chapter outlines his version of the Septuagint.[58] This is a sophisticated, more balanced, narrative that is distanced to the Philonic ones that tend to glorify the Alexandrian dynasty. In reading Augustine's less enthusiastic version of Hellenistic history, we notice that Alexander is once more projected as the creator of the Hellenistic world, and his Successors, who claimed their piece of the spoils, are only legitimate through that claim. The emphasis on arms and terror shows the gloom with which we should view the legacy of Alexander to his Successors. Augustine argues that those days were filled with long-lasting wars and no sign of peace. To complete this picture, he also adds the new feature of what actually happened to the Jews of Judea at the same time. Ptolemy I made slaves of the Jews; his son considered them interesting. The heightened focus on the Jewish perils under Ptolemy I stresses the state of despair among the war-torn peoples, and the kings are characterised negatively for the things they did, except Ptolemy II. It is striking that his benevolence stands out in contrast to all of his predecessors. But, as it turns out,

57 For the background of this detail, see Chapter 2.3.

58 In the closest study of Augustine and Alexander, the passage is noted but not discussed: Harding 2008: 115. Cf. Klein 1988: 982.

Augustine only mentions Ptolemy II's kindness because he wants to posit that Providence fuelled Ptolemy's wish to possess a translation because it licensed the argument that Scripture was translated by divine will.

It is worthy of note that his version imbues the legend with a Christian argument: the sacred books were only completed by divine intervention, so that it could ultimately lead to the conversion of the pagans. This did not happen, however, until the coming of Christ and the church. It is implied that only the Christians held the true understanding of Septuagint Scripture and could use it for what it was truly intended, namely Christian mission. Such an argument is part of one of several greater strategies of Augustine's famous polemic. In portraying Hellenistic history with many calamities and great pessimism, he professes that every event leading up to the Advent of Jesus was more gruesome than what followed after the saviour had appeared. Only God's grace and mercy through the sacrifice of the Son—the most important message of the NT—was what could lead to salvation. The emerging representation of Alexander from this passage is thus negative because all of Hellenistic history was negative in Augustine's projection within the wider context of the *City of God*.

We shall return to Augustine repeatedly in what follows, but we should note here that while it might seem that the Septuagint legend generally gave the Ptolemies a positive reception in the Christian world, there was an alternative tale told about the first Ptolemy. The Christian apologists derided him for bringing the cult-statue of Sarapis, the venerated pagan deity so well-established in Alexandrian cult, from the Pontic region to Egypt.[59] Hence Ptolemy's *Nachleben* was not uniformly positive in the Christian tradition either. The importation of seemingly foreign religion brings us onto the next Alexandrian tale that introduces the OT prophet Jeremiah as an indigenous protector of Alexandria.

1.4. The Bones of Jeremiah

Together with his disciple Sophronius the Sophist, the future Patriarch of Jerusalem (d. 638), John Moscus spent much of his life touring the eastern world before ending his life in Rome (d. c. 616). The Byzantine ascetic, for some time a monk at the monastery of Theodosius the Cenobiarch near Jerusalem, recorded his many encounters with other monks and hermits, and one of these meetings took place in Alexandria. Here he told Sophronius:

59 See e.g. Clement of Alexandria *Exhortation* 4.48.2; Origen *Against Celsus* 5.38. For Serapis/Sarapis, see e.g. Stambaugh 1972; Takásc 1995; Pfeiffer 2008.

> 'Let us go to the Tetrapylum and wait there.' It was a place held in great reverence in Alexandria, for it is said that Alexander, the founder of the city, brought the bones of the prophet Jeremiah out of Egypt and reburied them there.
>
> John Moscus *Spiritual Meadow* § 77.

The so-called Tetrapylum, Stoneman suggests, should be identified with the tower of the eastern gate from which Alexander gave his homily on the falseness of the pagan gods, according to the gamma-recension of the *AR*.[60] As it is represented in the text, the Tetrapylum was evidently a local landmark that Christians held in high esteem, for John Moscus finds three blind monks there. While we shall return to the importance of Alexander in Christian discourse on geography below (Ch. 7.4), it is admittedly less clear from this vignette why the founder should be associated with the venerated prophet and transfer his relics to Alexandria. The answer is awkwardly expressed in three groups of texts, two recensions of the *Life and Death of the Prophets*, pseudo-nomously attributed to Epiphanius—bishop of Salamis on Cyprus—and the seventh-century *Easter Chronicle*. When brought together and overlapped, the texts with their variations and omissions form a coherent narrative:

Jeremiah had been stoned to death by the locals of the Egyptian Daphnae (Tell Defenneh) and buried in the region of the Pharaoh's palace. In death, the remains of the prophet repelled the asps and crocodiles from the land as he had done with prayers in life. The author then mentions, a unique first-person statement in Ps.-Epiphanius, that he had heard from some old men, descended from Antigonus and Ptolemy, that Alexander had visited the tomb of Jeremiah and learned of the mysteries relating to him. The king brought the bones to Alexandria and respectfully arranged them in a circle that warded off reptiles from the city. Alexander then filled the circle with good serpents that would purge bad ones already within the circle.[61]

Alexander's circle, perhaps made of cremation ash rather than the actual bones, was made around the entirety of Alexandria. This would echo the foundation myth

60 Stoneman 2008: 57-8.

61 Ps.-Epiphanius *Life and Death* p. 9-10, pp. 61-2; *Easter Chronicle* pp. 293-4 Dindorf. The summary is inspired by the translation in Ogden 2013a: 293-4, which is partially recycled in Djurslev & Ogden forthcoming. The pertinent parts of the Greek texts are reprinted from Schwemer in Barbantani 2014: 228-32 with helpful commentary. It supersedes the text reprinted in Pfister 351-2 (Anhang A). For the date and discussion of the passage, see Pfister 93-5; 324; Cary 1956: 132; Satran 1995: 112; Fraser 1996: 19; Stoneman 1994a: 46, 2008: 57; Demandt 2009: 170; Klęczar 2014.

about the spreading of barley, as we noted above. The detail is noteworthy in that it makes us think of the origins and literary networks of such myths. Indeed, if the barley myth stemmed from early Alexandria (late fourth century BC?), then nothing prevents the Jeremiah tale to have come from the contemporary, or slightly later, Jewish diaspora of the city, as was suspected by Ogden, hypothesised by Schwemer and accepted by Barbantani.[62]

It hardly needs saying that, in casting Alexander as the pious founder and associate of the reptile-averting OT prophet, we have here a unique branch of a local tradition. Presumably, the choice fell on Jeremiah because he, like Alexander, had a natural proximity to Egypt. For instance, they were both buried there. It is important to note that Jeremiah was not normally the OT figure associated with Alexander; that honour belonged to the Hebrew youth Daniel, who was believed to have prophesied the rise of Alexander while living at the Babylonian court of Nebuchadnezzar II (c. 605-562 BC) and some of his successors.[63] Yet, the projection of Alexander created here by Christian appropriation is striking. On par with Alexander's homily on idolatry delivered from a tower in Alexandria, this is perhaps the most striking representation of Alexander that we have seen yet, and it anticipates what is still to come. From Biblical prophets we turn now to the pagan prophetess known as the Sibyl.

1.5. The *Sibylline Oracles*

The mystic nature of the poetic utterances attributed to the enigmatic Sibylline seer(s), that is the Judeo-Christian compilation known as the *Sibylline Oracles*, has received scholarly attention since they were rediscovered in the sixteenth century.[64] The popularity of the Sibylline prophecy was also current in Christian antiquity. For instance, some even considered one Sibyl a 'Hebrew prophetess.'[65] The Judeo-Chris-

62 Barbantani 2014: 232. Cf. Ogden 2013a: 295-7 for the sophisticated argument that the Jeremiah tale could be a literary model for the stories told about the equally snake-repellent Psylli.

63 This is also clear from the exegesis of Jeremiah by several Church Fathers: Alexander is sometimes used for clarifying the prophetic lines but there is no further association between them. See e.g. Jerome *Commentary on Jeremiah* 5.7-9 (*CCSL* 74.67); Theodoret of Cyrrhus *Commentary on Jeremiah* 46.16 (*PG* 81.712). For Alexander and Daniel, see Chapter 2.

64 Buitenwerf 2003: 6-64 for a history of the editions of, and the scholarship on, the *Sibylline Oracles* from 1540 to 1998.

65 Clement of Alexandria *Exhortation* 6.77.4; Theophilus of Antioch *To Autolycus* 2.9. Cf. Aelian *Miscellany* 12.35; Pausanias *Description* 10.12.5. For the sophisticated argument, see Hooker 2008: 202-9.

tian origin of the oracles that date from the second century BC to the seventh AD is unmistakable. Hooker's thesis and Brocca's recent book have explored this profound reception of the composite compilation of the *Sibylline Oracles* in Christians writers.[66] The figure, who foretells in the epic verse of Greek hexameter, is ubiquitous in early Christian literature from as early as the second-century *Shepherd of Hermas*. To give some examples of the types of texts she features in, we may note that reference is made to her in the late second-century apologetic philosophers Tatian of Syria and Athenagoras of Athens; in their contemporary Antiochene chronicler, Theophilus; and the Latin grammarian and rhetor Lactantius, who advised Constantine I and tutored his son Crispus in the Roman city of Trier.

Of these select testimonies, only Lactantius connects the Sibyl with Alexander.[67] On his famous list of ten Sibylline prophetesses from different regions, he posits on the authority of the first-century BC Roman antiquarian Varro that the first oracle was Persian and that she spoke of Alexander. Varro, Lactantius asserts, had read that in the *Life of Alexander* by the third-century BC Nicanor.[68] Lactantius' preservation of two Hellenistic testimonies to that Sibyl and an analysis of the Alexander prophecies of books three and eleven of the *Sibylline Oracles* prompted Gunderson to make the case that Nicanor was ultimately the source of these negative Persian prophecies.[69] More recent scholarship on the literary composition and manuscript tradition of the prophetic poems of book three and eleven does, however, not suggest the link to Nicanor, but argue that the book three had roots in Hellenistic Judaism of first-century Asia, although Egypt has also been suggested. While Gunderson's observations seem sound at a glance, the multifaceted nature of the evidence he collates just to determine the image of Alexander in the *Sibylline Oracles* is not entirely unproblematic, as he himself admits. Whether or not the Jewish author of the third book had read Nicanor, like Varro seemingly had, remains speculation, but he was certainly a Hellenist of the same century as Varro.

Besides Gunderson's pioneering study, scholars of Alexander have paid very little attention to the rich representations of the king in the *Sibylline Oracles*. This is a shame because they tell us much about the negative use of the figure not only in Helleno-Jewish contexts outside Alexandrian tradition, but also in the wider literary con-

66 Hooker 2008; Brocca 2011. Cf. J. J. Collins 1986: 421-59; Parke 1988: 152-70; Lightfoot 2007: part I; Drobner 2007: 43-5.

67 Lactantius *Divine Institutes* 1.6.8.

68 Nicanor *FGH* 146 F 1a; b. Cf. Fraser 1972 i: 710 n. 232; Heckel s.v. Nicanor [5].

69 Gunderson 1977: 64-66. Cf. Fraser 1972 i: 708-16; Potter 1994: 75-6; Stoneman 1994a: 38; Buitenwerf 2003: 304-20. On apocalyptic writing, see Chapter 2.

texts of the Hellenistic world. In the third Sibylline Oracle, the Alexander prophecy is prefaced with the impending doom over Europe and Asia: the race of Cronus, bastards and slaves, will conquer Babylon and master every land under the sun. They shall perish because of their evil deeds, but their name shall survive among the much-wandering later generations, ὀψιγόνοισι πολυπλάγκτοισιν (3.381-7). The purple-clad man of no faith will come to pillage affluent Asia, a savage stranger to justice and fiery because the light of a thunderbolt had raised him up (388-91). Bearing a heavy yoke, the Asian lands shall imbibe much blood, but Hades will ensure that the man will disappear completely, πανάιστον (392-3). The historical contents of the prophecy are further embellished with Biblical allegories of plants and horns: the root left behind after Alexander III will be cut down (Alexander IV); ten horns will rise (the Successors?) from which the killer of the root (Cassander?) will plant a new shoot, but he will be killed by his own men before a new horn grows up (394-400).[70] Given the vivid symbolic imagery phrased in Homeric hexameter, this is a powerful representation of Alexander that deserves independent study alongside the other references to the king in the *Sibylline Oracles*.[71]

From Hooker's work it becomes clear that it is only the second-century Alexandrian Father Clement, who grafts a Sibylline Alexander reference onto another story (of which more below). This unique mention in a Christian author is, however, a bit disappointing if we consider the richness of the allusions to Alexander in the Sibylline corpus as a whole. Despite Hooker's arguments to the contrary, Eusebius' Alexander digression in the famous *Life of Constantine* shows similarities with the third Sibylline Oracle; it is possible that he could have used it directly (Ch. 8). Many other ominous prophecies of Alexander from non-Christian backgrounds have influenced Christian writers, and they will be addressed as they manifest themselves. For now, we shall pick up on Hooker's analysis of Clement's Sibyl.

1.5.1. 'Babylon proved Alexander a corpse'

Philosopher, preacher and theologian Clement was one 'of the greatest of the early Christian writers.'[72] The high praise occurs in the introduction to Trapp's translation of the philosophical *Orations* of Clement's contemporary Maximus of Tyre, a pagan

70 Buitenwerf 2003: 227-229.

71 *Sibylline Oracles* 3.388-400, 4.88-94, 5.6-7, 11.102-8, 11.195-219 Geffcken. We will return to these references throughout. Buitenwerf 2003 prefers the edition of Geffcken's standard edition of 1902 to that of Kürfess 1998. The third Sibylline Oracle is quoted but not studied in Pfister 314; Stoneman 2008: 51.

72 Trapp 1997: l.

rhetor of philosophy who could afford to overlook Christianity completely. On the same page Trapp goes on to say that Clement was:

> [N]ot merely Maximus' equal, but easily his superior, in range, depth, and sheer panache. The quality of Clement's work can of course be brought out by the comparison with that of other Christian writers alone, but the addition of the *Orations* (i.e. those by Maximus of Tyre) to the frame of reference can usefully be made to serve as a further, external check, confirming that his claims to fine writing, and to effective preaching, could stand up before any audience of the day, not only within the narrower circle of Christian believers.

Clement's wide reading and phenomenal literary skill are indeed apparent across his extant *oeuvre*, known as the famous trilogy: the *Exhortation to the Greeks* (*Protrepticus*), the *Pedagogue* (*Paedagogus*) and the *Miscellany* (*Stromata*, 'patchwork'). Stories and texts of classical, Hellenistic, Roman, Jewish, Biblical and Christian origin are merged to create an aura of authority around his arguments, and his allusions to Alexander are vivid. One reference to Alexander in Clement which Hooker pointed out has a novel incorporation of a Sibylline verse.

In the pertinent chapter of his *Exhortation*,[73] Clement is responding to the common pagan criticism that the Christians had abandoned the customs of the fathers, that is the pious conduct of previous generations. Their religion was new and derivative of far older, purer systems. According to this line of argument, Christianity was untrue. Clement's counterargument develops along the lines of the truism that children will not stay children forever: they will grow up to become virtuous themselves if they have the right ethical development. He posits that Christianity, as a religion and a philosophy, provides the best model for progress in virtue. The ethical system of Christianity is therefore a vast improvement in comparison to the customs of the fathers. This licenses him to assert what the ancestors had gotten wrong and, in the part of the section that relates to Alexander, he focuses upon the worship of false gods, that is idols.

To repudiate idol worship Clement alludes to a particular *paradeigma* of Alexander. He states that the men who dared to deify Alexander as the thirteenth god were clearly wrong because he was the one ' who Babylon proved a corpse,' ὃν Βαβυλὼν ἤλεγξε νέκυν. Then follows a *chreia* from the fourth-century BC Theocritus, a Chian

73 Clement of Alexandria *Exhortation* 10.96.4 partially incorporating *Sibylline Oracles* 5.6. Cf. Klein 1988: 940-1; Wirth 1993: 61.

philosopher whom Clement, among others, greatly commended. This person sarcastically remarked upon the death of Alexander that mortal men should be of good cheer now that the gods were dying before men.[74] The juxtaposition of *paradeigma* and *chreia* to criticise the sacrilegious flatterers, who impiously believed that mortals might be made immortals, is striking. The story is not aimed at Alexander himself, but at the very pagan practice. In doing so, it also criticises contemporary religious practices by bringing together some of the typical features of religious discourse, such as the mortality of men to repudiate their aspirations to godhood. We also witnessed this tendency in Celsus' and Origen's use of the ichor-*chreia*, laid into the mouth of Celsus' Jew. To Celsus, Jesus' blood was not ichor and, therefore, he was not divine (Introduction).[75] But, as already said, Clement integrates the same feature of human fatality from the fifth Sibylline Oracle.

Clement's laconic allusion to the Sibylline verse seems ornamental at first glance. For instance, he does nothing to assert the higher, prophetic value of the Sibyl. According to Hooker, he does make a minor but important adaptation of the line: the word for corpse, *nekus*, is made part of the previous verse than the one it belongs to in the fifth Sibylline Oracle. This means that the actual Sibylline verse, 'Babylon confounded him and gave a corpse to Philip,' is altered. Clement thus omits Alexander's *own* pretensions to godhood, which Babylon contradicted, and the whole bit about Philip.[76] As the Sibylline Oracle goes on to list Zeus and Ammon, we know that the Philip referred to must be Alexander's human father. The Sibylline texts makes a strong argument about Alexander's aspiration to godhood: his death proved that his father was Philip, not Zeus or Ammon, which was sometimes assumed in the literary tradition. To Clement, however, it was enough to make the more general observation that Alexander's death in Babylon removed every thread of doubt that he was a god. The alteration of the very verse he uses is a more economic way of arguing the same case about idolatry that the Sibylline author had done, albeit in a more general way.

While Clement's philological work has not been noticed by scholars of Alexander, it shows once again how Christians rearranged traditional material to situate their own interests within ancient discourse more broadly. The greater Christian message of this chapter of the *Exhortation* and merging of features from Jewish and classicising traditions are what make Clement's observation Christian, although it does not

74 This Theocritus appears to have made many a pointed remark on the mortality of Alexander, see e.g. Athenaeus *Sophists at Supper* 12.540 Kaibel. Cf. Aelian *Miscellany* 9.37.

75 See the general introduction.

76 Hooker 2008: 210-11.

immediately stand out among the other ancient texts that discuss Alexander's incorporation into the pantheon. It is worth briefly comparing the thirteenth-god vignette with a similar version found among the other testimonies.[77]

There is an important version in Clement's near contemporary, Lucian of Samosata (Samsat, Turkey). Apparently, the posthumous deification was to happen in Egypt. According to Lucian, Ptolemy had promised to bring Alexander back there to make him the thirteenth god among the Egyptians. This passage occurs in his satirical *Dialogues of the Dead* and is part of a longer rebuttal of Alexander's achievements, laid into the mouth of the dead philosopher Diogenes. In the *Dialogue*, the equally dead Alexander chanced upon the Cynic in the Underworld. Diogenes, slightly surprised to see the deified conqueror, immediately scolds Alexander and the flatterers, who still worshipped him and had built him temples. Diogenes could see clearly that they were in error, because Alexander was really to be found among the ranks of the dead. If we compare Lucian's piece with Clement, we notice that the Christian Father is merely using the widely acknowledged *topos* that the idea of human deification was laughable because humans die. Those who worship dead kings are thus ridiculed in both Lucian and Clement. The different literary settings of their two texts also show that the same *paradeigma* could very easily be re-located and re-contextualised.

In the Christian discourse, this *paradeigma* is well-attested. In a short 1902 article 'Divus Alexander,' Usener made the argument that John Chrysostom was the sole witness to the curious report that the Roman senate had deified Alexander as the thirteenth god. In Usener's view, this could only be the Roman emperor Severus Alexander. John, he argued, had erroneously confused the emperor with the conqueror.[78] Ironically, the reverse of John's ostensible error was a common mistake in Christian antiquity. For instance Epiphanius of Salamis had to clarify whenever he spoke of Severus Alexander, son of Julia Mammea, rather than Alexander of Macedon. It follows that to Epiphanius and his Cypriot readers the Macedonian Alexander was greater than the short-lived Severan emperor.[79] This king was the default Alexander.

77 Lucian *Dialogues of the Dead* 13.2-3 LCL (Egypt and the Ptolemies); Athenaeus *Sophists at Supper* 6.251b (Athenians and Demades); Aelian *Miscellany* 5.12 (Demades and Athenians), 12.64 (Egypt); Valerius Maximus *Deeds and Sayings* 7.2.ext13 (Demades). For the unlikely possibility that the *chreia* should be associated with Philip II instead, see Apsines *On Rhetoric* 1.221 Spengel-Hammer. Cf. Dreyer 2009: 229.

78 Usener 1902. The passage occurs in John's twenty-sixth homily on Paul's second letter to the Corinthians (*PG* 61.580-1). See further below (Ch. 8.2).

79 Epiphanius *Ancoratus* § 60.4.

In hindsight we know that Usener was wrong, but his hypothesis stood until Straub's 'Divus Alexander, Divus Jesus,' appeared in 1970. Straub made clear that Usener had not noticed that the thirteen god anecdote was a *paradeigma* nor had he discovered all the earlier versions in ancient literature (Lucian, Clement, Aelian) from which it became quite obvious that John Chrysostom had had Alexander the Great in mind. More importantly, Straub argued, Chrysostom's story had become conflated with the following legend: Pontius Pilate, the Roman prefect who had reluctantly agreed to crucify Jesus, sent a message to the Roman senate, asking for Jesus to become a god upon his death.[80] In Straub's view, the Antiochene preacher had erred because he had associated the similar stories told about Alexander and Jesus.

The interaction of stories is, as said before, very fluid. Again, we can refer back to the ichor-anecdote of Celsus and Origen: something said of, or by, Alexander could be applied to Jesus' tradition within ancient discourse (introduction). It thus seems superficial to speak of error in the designation of who made Alexander a god. The features of *exemplum* literature were by nature meant to be negotiated. For instance, Clement had not indicated who made Alexander a god; Lucian posited that it was the Egyptians; Valerius Maximus, Athenaeus and Aelian said that it was the Athenians; John Chrysostom said that it was the Romans. For good measure, it should be noted that the mid-sixth century Gazaen sophist, the Christian Aeneas, asserted that it was the Athenians.[81] Indeed, his testimony demonstrates that he knew the story as much as Athenaeus or Aelian. These variations were possible because the story was constantly revisited. Whether it was within the satirical dismissal of divine honours or Christian exhortations to abstain from idolatry, the Alexander *paradeigma* served a purpose and was remembered. The fuller ramifications of Alexander's divine honours in Christian discourse are addressed below (Chs. 5, 7.3).

1.6. Alexander's Pilgrimage to Jerusalem

As we saw in the beginning of this chapter, Eusebius' synchronism of the foundation of Alexandria and the Josephan tale about Alexander's entry into Jerusalem reverberated throughout the history of Christianity. I argued that the Josephan tale licensed Christians to posit that God had had a great influence on history and that this helped to develop Alexander's *Nachleben* positively in Christian literature. Yet, for all that the text in Josephus has received so much scholarly attention in the past, few have appre-

80 Straub 1970: 464-5.

81 Aeneas of Gaza *Theophrastus* p. 18.

ciated the early Christian developments.[82] For instance, Demandt states laconically that the tale became canonised in early Christian literature.[83] Klein devotes only a couple of pages to the matter and Wirth omits it,[84] even though Pfister once argued that the Josephan version was what made Alexander truly relevant for Christians.[85] Study of the medieval versions has definitely overshadowed studies of the origins and early Christian reception of the tale.[86]

The origins of Josephus' great historical fiction have naturally been of much debate. There are several Hebrew versions besides Josephus' Greek narrative that show independence from the Josephan tradition.[87] Momigliano was the first to suggest that the tale, as it is related in Josephus, actually concerned debates about Alexandria in the mid-second century BC, and his suggestion of an Alexandrian origin of the tale has since been accepted in scholarship. Indeed, the composition of such fictional tales, Gruen argues, does fit in with the defensive agendas of the Hellenistic and Roman Jews, who had to make themselves a living in a world in which they were a minority.[88] Presenting fiction as historical reality, as it is done in 3 Maccabees about the Jewish relationship to the Ptolemies, was one way for the Hellenistic Jews to argue the case for their own political survival in the Greek and Roman worlds.[89] Josephus' version should be understood in this context.

The passage is too long to relate in detail, and the Christians were mainly interested in some specifics, such as the pious Alexander's obeisance. Whereas most scholars have concentrated on the Jewish agendas of Josephus' tale, the following pages will focus on its Hellenistic features that would be readily recognisable to a

82 Spak 1911: 20-1 could already refer to more than ten expositions of the Josephus tale, including those by scholarly giants, such as Droysen, Mahaffy, Niese, Kaerst, Beloch and Meyer. See further Bassfreund 1920: 24; Marcus 1926 vi: 512-32; Simon 1938, 1941; Tarn & Griffith 1952: 210; Lida 1956-7; Momigliano 1979; Seibert 1972: 103-7 (detailed discussion of scholarship); Pfister 95-103; Delling 1981; S. Cohen 1983; Feldman 1988: 367-9; Stoneman 1994a: 40-5; Gruen 1998: 179; Jouanno 2002: 378-81; Schäfer 2003: 5-7; Amitay 2010b; Klęczar 2012b; Tropper 2013: 113-56.

83 Demandt 2009: 189. He gives some examples of authors that, like Eusebius, accept the tale, but he does not say in what ways they alter it. Cf. Stoneman 1994a: 40 n. 11.

84 Klein 1988: 983-4.

85 Pfister 327.

86 Cary 1956.

87 For the Hebrew versions of the Jerusalem tale, see e.g. Gruen 1998: 190; Amitay 2006; 2010b: 59 n. 1; Kleczar 2012a.

88 Gruen 1998: 189.

89 S. R. Johnson 2004.

Graeco-Roman readership. That reading is important, for it anticipates some of the ways in which Graeco-Roman Christians would expect readers to be familiar with the apologetic message. This message would be clear, even if it was just a passing mention, as we saw in Eusebius. But before this analysis is done, I shall provide a highly selective summary of the tale, as it appears in book 11 of the *Jewish Antiquities*, with emphasis on the traits of Greek historiography:

> (§§ 304-6) Philip II dies in Aegae murdered by Pausanias. Alexander rises to royal power, marching swiftly upon the Granicus river, Lydia, Ionia, Caria and Pamphylia.
>
> (§§ 306-12) The High Priest of the Temple, Jaddus, is not only troubled by the marriage of his brother's daughter to a Persian satrap, but also by the news of Alexander's rapid advance.
>
> (§§ 312-20) Alexander swiftly descends upon Cilicia, defeating Darius at Issus. The siege of Tyre requires reinforcements, and Alexander dispatches a request for assistance to Jaddus. He gracefully declines, referring to an oath that compels the Jews not to fight the Persians. The message ignites Alexander's temper. He levels Tyre and marches upon Gaza.
>
> (§§ 321-8) The siege of Gaza ends with Macedonian victory, and the Jewish community in the nearby Jerusalem fears its destruction. Alexander marches on the city.
>
> (§§ 329-39) The Jews greet the Macedonian king. When he sees the splendour of their garments, he approaches alone. He sees the name of God on Jaddus' headgear. After he has prostrated himself before the name, Yahweh, the Jews are relieved, but Alexander's troops are puzzled. The general Parmenion demands an explanation. Alexander promptly replies that he did not prostrate himself before the High Priest but in front of the god whom the Jews worship. In fact, that god had visited Alexander in a dream when the king was still in Dium, Macedon, and the deity had promised him victory over the Persians.[90] Jaddus instructs Alexander in how to offer sacrifice in the Temple. On that occasion, the Book of Daniel is read for them, and Alexander is recognised as the subject of its proph-

90 For the dreams of Alexander in Josephus, see T. Kim 2003.

ecies. Guided by divine Providence, he would become the master of Asia. The Jews were granted the right to live by their own laws, and some of them even joined Alexander's army in its successful campaign.

(§§ 340-5) Alexander promises to return to settle a religious matter at a later stage.[91]

In contrast to this rich tale, Pliny is the only Roman source to report Alexander's campaign in Judea, and he does so very briefly and without note of Jerusalem.[92] Josephus' narrative is, however, a carefully balanced tale, situated somewhere between history and fiction. The distinct historicising features of Philip's death, the outcome of Issus and the siege of Gaza are unsubtly integrated into the romanticised account of the Jerusalem visit. Even in the climatic meeting between king and High Priest, there are vignettes that we recognise from ancient Alexander histories: the short exchange with the foremost general Parmenio,[93] the military and religious importance of the city Dium[94] and the prophecies of his imminent Macedonian victory, such as the Gordian Knot.[95] These embedded elements provide a frame for the narrative in order to posit a sense of historical authenticity.

Yet, the incorporation of familiar features is clearly undertaken to support the important messages in the Jerusalem segment. The respectful treatment of the Jews and the quickest conversion in history are at the heart of the tale.[96] Josephus has already suggested in book 2 that Alexander conquered the Persians by the will of God. He asserts that God granted passage for Alexander to cross the Pamphylian Sea, so that the king could conquer Persia (Ch. 3.4). The divine assistance is also strongly asserted at the very beginning of book 12—book 11 ends with the Jerusalem tale—where the author reiterates that Alexander ended his life when the mission was accomplished.[97]

91 The summary salutes Sørensen 2007: 3-7. Cf. Stoneman 1994a: 39-40.

92 Pliny *Natural History* 12.117.

93 Heckel s.v. Parmenio.

94 Dium was the religious and military centre at the foothills of Mt. Olympus, see e.g. Stephanus of Byzantium s.v. Δῖον. Cf. Worthington 2014: 135.

95 Marsyas of Philippi *FGH* 136 F 4; Strabo *Geography* 12.5.3; Arrian *Anabasis* 2.3; Curtius Rufus *History* 3.1.14-18; Plutarch *Alexander* 18.2-3; Justin *Epitome* 11.7.2-16; Zenobius *Epitome* 4.46. Cf. Seibert 1972: 92-7; Worthington 2014: 159.

96 Stoneman 2008: 50.

97 See e.g. Josephus *Jewish Antiquities* 2.348. τὸ Παμφύλιον πέλαγος καὶ ὁδὸν ἄλλην οὐκ ἔχουσι παρέσχε τὴν δι' αὐτοῦ καταλῦσαι τὴν Περσῶν ἡγεμονίαν τοῦ θεοῦ θελήσαντος[.] Cf. Josephus *Jewish Antiquities* 12.1. Ἀλέξανδρος μὲν οὖν ὁ τῶν Μακεδόνων βασιλεὺς καταλύσας

According to Josephus, Alexander himself confirms that this was his purpose by his actions in the Temple.[98] Josephus' final notes that the Jews were allowed to govern themselves—which we also saw in the vignette of Jewish civil rights in Alexandria—and to participate in the campaigns embed them in Hellenistic history as an important and independent people that mattered at the crucial time that history was created by Alexander. It is a fiction that claims that the Jews should continue to enjoy such rights under Rome because they had done so since the days of King Alexander.

The Jerusalem story is a literary set-piece that explains and corroborates the notion of the culmination of Biblical prophecy in Alexander's lifetime. Lieman phrases the transition well, 'For Josephus, the Biblical period ended with the close of the Persian period and the rise of Alexander the Great.'[99] By 'Biblical period,' Lieman means the last days of the OT prophets whose final prophecies concerned the reign of Alexander. Hence, for Josephus, Alexander's life marked the end of an epoch and the beginning of new.

The idea that Alexander's reign was a high point in history was not new. Clement of Alexandria says on the authority of the third-century BC Eratosthenes of Cyrene that the first studies of Greek chronography began with the Trojan Wars and ended with Alexander.[100] There are other examples of such chronographic studies in the second century AD. A contemporary with Plutarch, Jason of Argos, wrote *On Greece* in four books that culminated with Alexander and the immediate aftermath;[101] the Hadrianic Cephalion wrote a historical miscellany entitled the *Muses* that began with the Assyrian king Ninus and his queen Semiramis and ended with Alexander;[102] and the acknowledged Alexander historian Arrian integrated Alexander into the title of his now fragmentary *Events after Alexander*. It follows that Alexander as high point in the chronographic feature of Josephus' account would not surprise his Graeco-Roman

τὴν Περσῶν ἡγεμονίαν καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν τὸν προειρημένον καταστησάμενος τρόπον τελευτᾷ τὸν βίον.

98 Bruce 1990: 22-3 notes that the text gave the apocalyptic prophecies of the Book of Daniel (Ch. 2) a positive meaning for the Jews and was yet another argument that helped to accommodate the notion that one of antiquity's greatest symbols of power, Alexander, had bowed down before an even greater, divine power. Cf. Sørensen 2007: 33; Tropper 2013: 134-6.

99 Lieman 1988: 51.

100 Eratosthenes of Cyrene *BNJ* 241 F 1a from Clement of Alexandria *Miscellany* 1.21.138.

101 *BNJ* 94 T 1 with commentary.

102 *BNJ* 93 T 1; 2a; 5.

audience, although Josephus' representation of the remote past was embedded with much material from the OT Bible.

Another feature that would be recognisable was the temple narrative. Actions and stories of this kind were ubiquitous in the Greek and Roman worlds. Typically, items and monuments were dedicated in temples to show respect for the gods the temples housed. For instance, Alexander's favourite sculptor Lysippus made an extremely large and very famous group of equestrian statues in bronze to be set up in a temple in Dium, and the grandiose monument was later moved to Rome by Metellus Macedonicus (d. 115 BC).[103] The literary tradition also preserves many accounts of this widespread custom. For instance, Arrian records that Alexander sent 300 suits of Persian armour to be hung up at the Athenian Acropolis inscribed with the words, 'Alexander, the son of Philip, and the Greeks except the Spartans dedicate these offerings from the peoples that inhabit Asia.'[104] When Arrian's younger contemporary, the travel-writer Pausanias, came to temple of Asclepius in Gortyn on Crete, he could still see the spearhead of Alexander's spear, although he knew that Alexander had dedicated both his spear and his breastplate.[105] Similarly, the so-called *Lindian Chronicle* (99 BC), discovered in Lindos on Rhodes by Danish archaeologists Kinch and Blinkenberg in 1904, registered that Alexander had dedicated caltrops to it.[106]

Squillace is surely right in arguing that Alexander's dedication of caltrops naturally had an original and very specific context when the dedications were made. We should, however, also contemplate the literary effect and testimony of the *Lindian Chronicle*. It was a memoir as well as a technical text: it was a long, repetitive and technical list of mythical and historical figures who had visited the sanctuary. The

103 The group presented Alexander in front of his thirty-four Companions on horseback that died in the first clash with the Persian enemy at the Granicus River (334 BC). Alexander naturally did not die in this encounter, yet Stewart argues that the king was put up front to make a synoptic story of the tale. The group represented that his men died but he fought on and won. Comprehensive collection of sources at Stewart 1993: 388-90 with commentary at pp. 123-130.

104 Arrian *Anabasis* 1.16.7.

105 Pausanias *Description* 8.28.1. Cf. *Greek Anthology* 6.97 (the Augustan Antiphilus of Byzantium). Δοῦρας Ἀλεξάνδροιο· λέγει δέ σε γράμματ' ἐκεῖνον / ἐκ πολέμου θέσθαι σύμβολον Ἀρτέμιδι / ὅπλον ἀνικήτοιο βραχίονος. ἆ καλὸν ἔγχος, / ᾧ πόντος καὶ χθὼν εἶκε κραδαινομένῳ. ἵλαθι, δοῦρας ἀταρβές, ἀεὶ δέ σε πᾶς τις ἀθρήσας / ταρβήσει, μεγάλης μνησάμενος παλάμης. For the *topos* of Alexander's spear, see e.g. Ps.-Demetrius of Phalerum *On Style* § 284. τοῦτο τὸ ψήφισμα οὐκ ἐγὼ ἔγραψα ἀλλ' ὁ πόλεμος τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρου δόρατι γράφων. Cf. Arrian *Anabasis* 1.15.6; Maximus of Tyre *Orations* 32.9. Cf. Stewart 2003: 36, Koulakiotis 2006: 50; Fountoulakis 2014.

106 *Lindian Chronicle* § 38. Cf. Higbie 2003; Squillace 2013.

text was produced so many years after those dedications supposedly took place. The record was a textual claim that the Athena's temple at Lindos had held a status of reverence across the Hellenistic world in the almost legendary past and, therefore, deserved to remain significant in the Romano-Greek world of the first century BC.

In Josephus, Alexander does not leave anything behind in the Temple at Jerusalem. He makes the sacrifices, is read some indeterminable prophecies, grants the Jews what they wish and allows whoever so wishes to follow him. These alternative blessings are noteworthy because they say something about the civil and religious rights that Jews wanted to claim within a wider Graeco-Roman world. Yet, the rights granted also work the other way around: Josephus' account is an enduring record that Alexander respected the Temple and that this could still be seen in the scriptural prophecies of the Book of Daniel (Ch. 2), for the king had fulfilled them. Josephus' juxtaposition of the tale and Scripture is thus the literary guarantee that Alexander had in fact acted in accordance with the divine will, besides giving all the other promises and privileges that Josephus had recorded. The Josephan tale may be creative history but, as we have seen, it makes the absolutely essential claim that the pagan Romans should respect the contemporary sanctuaries of Jews because Alexander had done so with the Temple, which had been destroyed by the time Josephus wrote the *Jewish Antiquities*.

1.6.1. Origen's Version

Eusebius was not the first Christian to recognise the apologetic potential of the Josephan tale. His intellectual predecessor in Caesarea, Origen, had done so more than half a century before, in his response to Celsus' criticism of Christianity.

As is a typical feature of the *Against Celsus*, Origen begins a section with a quotation from Celsus' *True Doctrine* that he wishes to repudiate. In this instance, the pagan philosopher had argued that the Jews had not been in any special favour with God, had not had unique experiences with angels nor had exclusive access to a promised land. Origen dismisses the claim about the special favour with the statement that even non-Jews referred to God as 'God of the Hebrews.' To Origen, everyone but Celsus recognised that God was associated with the Hebrews from the beginning. In order to offer evidence of God's support of the Hebrews, Origen recycles the following account of the Jerusalem tale:

> And because they [i.e. the Jews] were in favour with God—as long as they were not forsaken [i.e. before the coming of Jesus Christ]—they continued to be protected by divine power, even

> though they were few in number. Not even in the days of Alexander of Macedon did they suffer anything at his hands, despite the fact that they would not take up arms against Darius because of certain agreements and oaths. They also say that the High Priest clothed himself in his sacerdotal vestment at that time and that Alexander bowed before him, saying that he had seen a vision of a man in this very dress, who proclaimed to him that he would bring the whole of Asia under his rule.
>
> Origen *Against Celsus* 5.50.[107]

Using this piece of circumstantial evidence to authorise that the Jews were loved by God, the argument abandons the Jews to promote the Christians. Origen asserts that His care and grace was transferred to the Christians at the Advent of Jesus Christ. The apologist then posits that this is the reason why the Romans have been unable to bring the Christians down. The hand of God was fighting for the Christians and spread the Gospel from Judea to the rest of the world.

The apologetic argument is ingenious. Origen aligns the antiquity of the Jews and Alexander in an unsubtle juxtaposition with the contemporary Christians and the Romans. The result not only establishes a firm connection between Jews and Christians, but also claims a historical continuity in the persecutors (Alexander, Rome) and the persecuted (Jews, Christians). But, with Alexander's submission to the High Priest, he seems to make a strong suggestion. Since Alexander recognised and respected the power of the Jewish religion, Origen advises, it would be wise if the Romans too bowed down to the legitimate heirs of the Jewish heritage and their God.

The truncated Alexander narrative lacks many of the features of the Josephan version, but contains enough material to give a general gist of it. He expects his reader to know that Alexander went on to be successful in his campaign which corroborates the truth of the vision given to him by God. The inclusions are admittedly less significant than the omissions. We note that Origen maintains:

- The idea that Alexander went up against Jerusalem because the Jews did not support him in the war because oaths they had taken.
- The respectful meeting between the High Priest and the king.
- Alexander's dream and the prophecy of his mastery of Asia.

107 Trans. Chadwick 1965: 303-4 (adapted).

Conversely, he omits everything that pertains to Alexander's prayers in the Temple, to Scripture, to Alexander's acceptance of Jewish rights and to the Jewish soldiers in Alexander's army. In other words, Origen leaves out everything that makes the Josephan version distinctively Jewish. Instead, he maintains only those Josephan features that could appear to be Christian or even Hellenistic, such as a god's manifestation in a dream (theophany), echoing the multitude of prophecies that concerned Alexander's conquest of Asia. The respect for the High Priest Jaddus is central and explained along the same lines as in Josephus. By his obeisance Alexander showed his respect for God as much as the High Priest. It follows on from Origen's outline that Alexander became an instrument of God and only happened to aid the Jews because Jesus Christ had not yet come. This, in turn, implies that the king would have shown the same courtesy to the Christians, just as the Romans should do, in Origen's view. The alteration of the very meaning of the tale is thus distinctively Christian and used on behalf of the contemporary Christians.[108]

1.6.2. Eusebius' Versions

Unlike Origen, Eusebius makes it explicit in the *Proof of the Gospel* that Alexander worshipped God. He too does not mention the Temple or any of the rights granted to the Jews. In recounting the tale so succinctly and matter-of-factly, he claims that the visit was as historical as the foundation of Alexandria was.

I noted that Eusebius took a different approach in his *Chronicle*. Since this work has a very peculiar character, a short section must be devoted to its context. It was completed in circa 311, edited and republished in its final form in 325, with minor moderations made in the following year.[109] The *Chronicle* was divided into two books: the first, *Epitome*, was a long list of kings with the chronology of their reigns, and the second, *Chronological Tables*, was a chronological overview of their exploits and related events, for instance the flourishing of certain authors, such as Demosthenes and Cicero. The organisation of these tables, the X-axis (list of kings) and Y-axis (passing of years) in comparable columns, were original and intellectually persuasive to the ancient mind. For instance, the text made clear to the reader that Alexander had been born 1660 years after Abraham, the first Biblical Patriarch, had died. When faced

108 Although previous scholarship has noticed the very first Christian testimony to the legend in Origen, scholars have not remarked upon these significant changes. See e.g. Klein 1988: 982-5; Wirth 1993: 59 n. 188; Demandt 2009: 189.

109 For the complex argument for the date and the revision, see now Burgess & Kulikowski 2013: 123 n. 89. For the nature of this work, see Grant 1980: 3-9; Grafton & Williams 2006: 133-43; A. P. Johnson 2014: 87-9.

with such numbers, it was difficult to argue for the priority of Alexander over the Hebrews. The synchronism of classical kings and Roman emperors with OT and NT episodes is a defining Christian trait of the entire work.

Eusebius incorporates the Jerusalem tale into his outline of Alexander's reign in the *Tables* (Ch. 4). He records that Alexander: came to Judea, sacrificed to God, honoured the high priest and appointed Andromachus to govern Judea.[110] Andromachus was soon killed by the Samaritans, adherents to the Abrahamic religion that believed in the holiness of Mount Gerizim over Jerusalem. Alexander retaliated by suppressing the Samaritan rebellion and resettling the region with Macedonians.[111] This narrative takes the Judean visit in a different direction. Alexander is evidently still the respectful conqueror, who accepted the existence of the Hebrews and recognised the true divinity of their God, but more is changed.

Eusebius' juxtaposition no longer lies in cities but in lands. It is Judea in opposition to Samaria. He lingers long over the strange vignette about the Samaritan murder of Andromachus, who was burned alive by the Samaritans, according to Curtius Rufus.[112] It is noteworthy that this detail is not in Josephus. Instead, in the end of his digression,[113] Josephus notes that the Samaritans came to Alexander and declared themselves to be true Jews in order that they could share in the rights Alexander had just conferred upon the Jews of Judea. But, after Alexander had questioned them, it became clear that they were not Jews. The king promised to decide their fate when he returned from his campaign.

The discrepancy between the accounts of Josephus and Eusebius is clear from the fact that the latter does not leave the door open for the Samaritans. The Samaritan rebellion in Eusebius seems to be Alexander's final answer to the Samaritan question posed in Josephus' version. Alexander returned immediately and obliterated them. It is true that no rights are granted to the Jews or the Samaritans in Eusebius' version, but no matter what, the Samaritans must be punished for the murder of the Macedonian governor. This raises another question: why does Eusebius judge the Samaritans so severely? The answer may lie in the Christian tradition rather than the Jewish.

According to the second-century Irenaeus of Lyon, Samaria was the fount of all heresy, this being embodied in the figure of Simon Magus of Samaria.[114] This magician, who was baptised by Philip, plays a minor role in the NT, primarily discoursing

110 Heckel s.v. Andromachus [1] and [2].

111 For the text, see p. 46, n. 3, above.

112 Curtius Rufus *History* 4.7.10-11. Cf. Schäfer 2003: 4-5.

113 Josephus *Jewish Antiquities* 11.340-5.

with the Apostle Peter in Acts 8:9-24. He has, however, a terrible *Nachleben* in Christian tradition. Other apologists and the elaborate apocryphal *Acts of Peter*, *Acts of Peter and Paul* and the *Pseudo-Clementine Homilies* joined Irenaeus in stipulating that Simon was the ultimate source of all heresy because of his belief in his own divinity, his enmity towards Peter and for his practice of ungodly magic. These texts present a reality in which the Simonean heresy continued and developed into the dangerous sects, such as the Marcionites and Valentinians. The religious leaders of these groups, such as Marcion,[115] were allegedly opponents to the 'orthodox' Christians, such as Irenaeus and Tertullian, who made that distinction themselves. Orthodoxy was best defined by what it was not, and the apologists endeavoured to differentiate themselves from the heretical sects that also claimed to be true Christians. Irenaeus' establishment of a genealogy of heresy in Samaria was thus important because the Christian apologists were concerned with the construction of Christian orthodoxy.[116]

It is this ideological thinking that seems to drive Eusebius' narrative: one might see his version of the tale as designed to retroject the Simonean heresy back in time to Alexander's day, so as to claim that the region had always been infected by heretics. Simon Magus was thus not the origin of heresy, but the very region was. It is a claim that the geographical location had a long-established tradition that both Jews and Christians had to combat. It seems to me that this is why Eusebius juxtaposes the accounts of Josephus and Curtius, namely to define the 'heretical region' of Samaria. If this is true, the Eusebian version also posits that Samaria was purged briefly by Alexander. This would suggest that Eusebius sought to contextualise Alexander as a king that restored justice to Judea and befriended only the 'orthodox.' The rebellion of the heretical Samaritans forced Alexander's righteous hand. The king is not only projec-

114 Irenaeus *Against Heresies* 1.23.2 with Grant 1997. For a vivid portrait of Simon, see Edwards 1997. Cf. Zwierlein 2013: 23-7.

115 See now Lieu 2015 for this figure.

116 Heresy genealogies were a type of writing artificially constructed to assert the origin of a given heresy by showcasing the development of it in relation to newer ones and to connect the heretical teachers with each other, such as Simon and Valentinus, the founder of Valentinianism. Such polemic texts were closely connected with the agenda of demonstrating what teachings were 'orthodox' and assert that the 'orthodox' teachers had had their knowledge from Jesus via the Apostles and Apostolic Fathers. By showing the negative developments among the heretics, it was was possible to argue for the positive developments in orthodoxy, as well as a way of creating continuity in the transfer of the 'true' teachings of the Church. Exhaustive collection of sources at Haar 2012: 83-116. Cf. Butler 1948; Flusser 1975: 18-20; Inglebert 2001b: 414-8; Ferreiro 2003: 54-6, 2005. For the heresy genealogies of Simon Magus, see now Eshleman 2012: 18-20, 213-5.

ted as a pious follower of God, but also a champion of orthodoxy. Arguably, this projection fits nicely into the prevalent pattern traced in this chapter. Alexander was a celebrated royal figure in the Alexandrian literature of the Jewish diaspora, and the Christians developed these representations of the king in their own ways.

Before we go on to analyse later versions of the Josephan tale, our early observations on Origen and Eusebius point to the following conclusions:

- Our readings suggest a favourable representation of Alexander from different sources and for different reasons than Klein proposed. He assumed that the positive projections of Alexander were only known to Christians via pagan authors, and that this positive strand was influenced by Constantine's conversion to Christendom.[117] These authors, Origen more so than Eusebius, predate the rise of Constantine and make use of the Jewish literature from the Alexandrian diaspora, which makes Klein's conclusion misleading.
- We have also noticed that the Christian authors have greatly reworked the Josephan version, which has not hitherto been detected by scholars. Demandt is not correct about the canonical status of the tale in Christian narrative. Each allusion to it is a new adaptation with new meanings. Very little of the Josephan context is maintained. There are even variations of the tale in the same author. Eusebius creates two disparate versions in the *Chronicle* and in the *Proof of the Gospel*. It was shown that the principal tools to produce new narratives were juxtaposition and omission.
- The versions of Eusebius and of Origen convey distinctly Christian messages that scholarship has overlooked. These have been contextualised individually in our readings.

Eusebius' *Chronicle*, as a powerful apologetic tool, diffused widely into early Christian literature (Ch. 7). Famously, Jerome translated the second book, the *Chronological Tables*, into Latin in 380.[118] It is less known that Jerome's friend, the Spanish proconsul Nummius Aemilianus Dexter, translated the first book of the *Chronicle* into Latin, but this work unfortunately does not survive. The original Greek version of Eusebius' complete *Chronicle* is not extant because it was reworked many times. For instance, the theologian Diodorus of Tarsus (d. 390) ostensibly 'corrected' Eusebius'

117 *Pace* Klein 1988: 974.

118 Williams 2006: 277.

Chronicle in the same period it was translated and adapted into other ancient languages.[119] Just as Eusebius had revised the chrological works of his apologetic predecessors, so did later Christians engage, alter and modify his *Chronicle*. Jerome's translation work was what brought the Jerusalem tale into Latin Christianity.

1.6.3. Latin Versions

Jerome's translation of the *Tables* naturally reproduces much from its source, but it is not without minor modifications (Ch. 4). Yet, there are no major changes to the story of Jerusalem and Andromachus. The detail remains that the Samaritans killed him, but now it is also stated that Alexander dismissed him. Yet, Alexander still returned to strike down the rebellion. Jerome notes that the king was received well by the Jews, offered sacrifices to God and conferred many honours upon the High Priest of the Temple.

Jerome's recycling of the Jerusalem tale did not have the same effect in the Christian historiography of the Latin world. It was mostly omitted in universal chronicles, just as Alexander was sometimes omitted in world histories of Rome (Ch. 7). The tendency to omit the Christianised tale in Latin historiography is one of the main differences between East and West, and this would suggest a different approach to Alexander in the Latin part of the world. Indeed, the Latin writers that do preserve it either have connections to the East or follow Jerome's account because of his repute as one of the most learned men of the Church. This does not mean that the Christian reception of Alexander was necessarily more unfavourable in the West than in the East, but rather that western Christians had different concerns in their historiography, such as a focus on the history of Rome.

The following survey shall deal with the relatively few Latin testimonies. The discussion shall be confined to a list format, and important versions shall receive fuller treatments elsewhere.

1. The hagiographer of St. Martin of Tours (316-97), Sulpicius Severus of Aquila, wrote a two-book *Holy History* (c. 403). This engaging history of the world from Creation to his own time contains a longer prose account of Alexander's reign in which the Jerusalem tale is embedded (Ch. 7.2.2).
2. Jerome's *Commentary on Daniel* (c. 407) contains two references to the Jerusalem tale: the latter is a translation of the section in Eusebius' *Proof of the Gos-*

119 Burgess & Kulikowski 2013: 125-6 for what remains of Eusebius' *Chronicle* in Greek, Latin, Armenian and Syriac.

pel that concerned Alexandria and Jerusalem;[120] the former is more independent from the version in Jerome's *Chronicle* and his translation of the *Proof*. He uses the Jerusalem tale to support his reading of a scriptural passage, which is fascinating because it shows that he posited that the fictional tale was a historical truth, so that it could corroborate his exegetical endeavours. In the scriptural passage, the prophet Daniel has just helped the Babylonian king understand what his dream meant, and the king praises him and his god in return. Jerome then explains that, 'And so it was not so much that he [i.e. Nebuchadnezzar] was worshipping Daniel as that he was through Daniel worshipping the God, who had revealed the holy secrets. This is the same thing that we read Alexander the Great, King of the Macedonians, did in the high priesthood of Jaddus.'[121] He then goes on to say that if the reader does not accept this piece of proof, then he must still agree to the fact that Nebuchadnezzar came to know God through his servant Daniel. Hence Alexander's act of supplication before the High Priest corroborates the action of Nebuchadnezzar.

3. Augustine incorporated the tale into the eighteenth book of his monumental *City of God* (c. 426).[122] It is noteworthy that he is the only Christian author who seeks to represent Alexander's piety negatively. It shall be argued that he did so because of his unfavourable representation of Hellenistic history (Ch. 7.3.4).
4. Isidore's *Major Chronicle* was made in two recensions between 615-26. Both recensions preserve the Jerusalem tale. Isidore does not add anything to Jerome's account from the *Chronicle*, but omits Andromachus and the Samaritians. Alexander worshipped God in the Temple.[123]
5. The mid eighth-century Latin translation of *Scaliger's Chronograph* offers significant changes to the tale, but those are due to its Greek origins (Ch. 7.1.1).
6. In his *On the Reckoning of Time* (c. 725), the Venerable Bede maintains the account in Jerome's *Chronicle* verbatim.[124]

120 Jerome *Commentary on Daniel* 9.24 (*CCSL* 75a.872; *PL* 25.545) = Eusebius *Proof of the Gospel* 8.2.67.

121 Jerome *Commentary on Daniel* 2.47 (*CCSL* 75a.796; *PL* 25.504). Trans. Archer 2009. For Daniel 2:47. 'The king [i.e. Nebuchadnezzar] said to Daniel, "Truly, your God is God of gods and Lord of kings and a revealer of mysteries, for you have been able to reveal this mystery!"'

122 This is not noticed by Harding 2008.

123 Isidore of Seville *Major Chronicle* §§ 193-5.

1.6.4. Byzantine Versions

Given the early prevalence of the tale in Origen and Eusebius, Byzantine members of the clergy were more inclined to integrate the tale and its variations into their narratives. It is noteworthy that, just as in the Latin Church, it could be deployed in all sorts of prose genres, although never in poetry. Again, I list the attestations individually.

1. The late fifth-century Greek original of *Scaliger's Chronograph*, an Alexandrian compendium of history, preserves a unique variation of the tale (Ch. 7.1.1).
2. The (mid or late) fifth-century *Commentary on Daniel*, falsely attributed to the Antiochene preacher John Chrysostom, incorporates the tale into an exposition of a Biblical passage, just as Jerome did. He records what is also in Josephus, that Alexander bowed down before the Jews because they showed him the Book of Daniel. Greeks, he alleges, were very easily persuaded by true prophecy.[125] Again, this showcases the great apologetic value of the tale in that it could show that Scripture was meant for the conversion of pagans.
3. The important exegete and classically steeped orator, Procopius of Gaza (d. 528), notes in passing that Cyrus, Darius and Alexander treated the Temple well and supported the Jews. Like Jerome, he insists that several pagan kings understood the importance of the religion and wished to promote it. Unlike Jerome, he asserts that Alexander was convinced to bow down before the High Priest because of his appearance and his clothing.[126] The clothing detail seems to come into the Christian tradition via Origen and is often maintained.
4. The strange travel account by a mid-sixth century monk, Cosmas Indicopleustes of Alexandria, supports Klein's hypothesis about Constantine and Alexander.[127] Like most of his Christian colleagues, Cosmas recycles the Jerusalem tale as a witness to the power of God. He strangely synchronises Alexander's reign and the Trojan War, which is a way of showing the antiquity of the tale. He moves on to note that Alexander bows before the High Priest, is questioned by his men and explains to them that he has seen the figure in a dream. In the dream, Alexander is given a special sign from God to, 'Go forth to vic-

124 Bede *On the Reckoning of Time* p. 488. Cf. Bede *Commentary on Nehemiah* 12:10-11 (*CCSL* 119d.342).

125 Ps.-John Chrysostom *Commentary on Daniel* 7 (*PG* 56.232-4).

126 Procopius of Gaza *Commentary on Isaiah* 15 (*PG* 87b.2629).

127 Cosmas Indicopleustes *Christian Topography* 12.14.

tory,' echoing the sign of the Cross given to Constantine before the Battle of the Milvian Bridge in AD 312. Constantine was also told in a dream, 'by this sign conquer,' and duly put the cross on his soldiers' shields, according to his contemporary Christian hagiographers.[128]

5. The seventh-century *Easter Chronicle*, of Constantinopolitan origins, reproduces the Eusebian synchronism discussed at the beginning of this chapter.[129]
6. The so-called *Sacred Parallels*, an anthology of quotations attributed to John of Damascus (676-749), was a handbook of Christian rhetoric that contains a single reference to the tale.[130] Just like Procopius of Gaza, the emphasis is on the clothing of the High Priest and Alexander's prostration before the name of God. The name of Parmenio is known to Ps.-John, and Alexander confirms that he has prayed to God and His priesthood. In this anthology of *chreiai*, a point is made of letting Alexander speak for himself to corroborate the tale.
7. George Syncellus (named after a high office in Constantinople), the great Byzantine chronographer, gives the same version as in Eusebius *Chronicle*.[131]
8. In his Syriac *Commentary on Daniel* by the exegete Isho'dad of Merv (fl. mid-ninth century), the visit to Jerusalem is juxtaposed with the death of Darius. Alexander first kills Darius and then enters the Temple, worships God and honours the place with many gifts. The sequence suggests that Alexander recognised his purpose and thanked God for the power to achieve the goal of his conquest.
9. Jouanno has drawn attention to the incorporation of the tale in the Greek *AR* tradition (from the epsilon-recension onwards) and the medieval Greek testimonies to the tale in the Byzantine chronographers, historians and biographers: George the Sinner (fl. ninth century), Simeon Magister (second half of the tenth century), George Kedrenus (fl. 1050s), John Zonaras (fl. twelfth century) and Michael Glycas (fl. twelfth century), to name a few.[132]

128 Eusebius *Life of Constantine* 1.28.2; Lactantius *Deaths of the Persecutors* 44.5. Cf. Flower 2012: 287-8.

129 *Easter Chronicle* pp. 357, 390.

130 Ps.-John of Damascus *Sacred Parallels PG* 95.1549.

131 George Syncellus *Chronicle* p. 314 Mosshammer.

132 Jouanno 2002: 379 n. 319. Cf. Jouanno 2001.

It is likely that the tale was recorded in the following histories as these chronographers would cover the Macedon kings. There is no way to know for certain because only the authors' names are still known:

- Fourth century: Metrodorus *Chronicle* (Photius *Library* cod. 115) and Andreas, brother of Magnus the bishop, *Chronicle*.
- Before 390. Diodorus of Tarsus *Chronicle* (*Suda* s.v. Diodoros (D 1149 Adler).
- After 395. Heliconius *Epitome* (*Suda* s.v. Helikonios (E 851 Adler).
- c. 400. Panodorus of Alexandria *Chronicle* (from George Syncellus).[133]
- c. 412. Annianus of Alexandria *Chronicle* (from George Syncellus).

We know that the tale was not recorded in other exegetical commentaries, treatises and the following historiographical works:

- 221. Julius Africanus *Chronograph* (Ch. 4.1.1).
- 235. Ps.-Hippolytus of Rome *Collection of Chronologies* (Ch. 4.1.2).
- Anonymous *Chronograph of 334*.
- Anonymous *Chronograph of 354*.
- 518. Eustathius of Epiphania *Epitome*.
- c. 550. John Malalas *Chronograph*.
- 590. Agathias Scholasticus *History*.
- c. 620. John of Antioch *Chronological History*.
- 630. Theophylact Simocatta *History*.

To explain why the tale does not feature in these works, we should clarify that the first four texts are merely lists of kings and emperors, and there are no detailed digressions on significant events. We do not possess Eusthathius' *Epitome* but it was possibly the source of Malalas, who does not record the tale. Hence it seems plausible that both Eustathius and Malalas did not record the tale in their Alexander histories. Agathias and Theophylact do not treat Alexander's reign as a whole, although they do make allusions to the king using some of the most classicising features, such as the

133 Adler 1983.

Plutarchaean discourse on Alexander's competition with the goddess Fortune.[134] John of Antioch survives only in fragments, but none of his Alexander stories are of a Jewish origin.

A possible reason why the tale was not generally included in exegesis of the Bible is that the commentators, by reading the ostensibly divine words of the prophets as if alluding to Alexander, already made clear that the king was the instrument of God. That the Byzantine pagans did not recycle the Jerusalem tale is evidenced by Zosimus (fl. c. 500). With striking similarity to Eusebius' synchronism, he writes that Alexander went to Egypt to pray to Zeus Ammon and began to found Alexandria.[135] There is thus a difference in location and divinities: the trip to Jerusalem is clearly a Christian development in Byzantine histories and a feature of Christian apologetic historiography.

1.6.5. General Observations

Having identified a variety of individual contexts and agendas in using the Jerusalem tale, some prevalent patterns emerge.

1. The discussion has shown that Eusebius is the only Christian who makes a reference to Josephus' tale: to every other Christian, the tale is accepted as a fully Christian tale. The variations from Origen onwards are evidence of this. The tale was always altered in some way, so that it could be used for Christian purpose. It is generally used more in the Greek texts than in the Latin texts. There is, however, the same interest in maintaining the authoritative versions of Jerome and Eusebius, respectively. There is of course some variety in individual versions, especially the later testimonies (Cosmas, Isho'dad). For instance, Ps.-John of Damascus' additions to the text, such as letting Alexander speak for himself, reveal that minor modifications to the authoritative versions were accepted. His preservation of the tale is noteworthy because no one in the West puts the tale into an anthology of arguments to use on behalf of Christianity, which says something about its purpose. For instance, Origen used it to make strong arguments on behalf of the Christians.

134 Theophylact Simocatta *History* 4.13.11.

135 Zosimus *New History* 1.4.2. αὐτὸς [i.e. Alexander] δὲ παρελθὼν ἐπὶ τὴν Αἴγυπτον, τῷ τε Ἄμμωνι προσευξάμενος καὶ τὰ περὶ τὸν Ἀλεξανδρείας οἰκισμὸν εὖ μάλα διοικησάμενος ἐπανῄει τὰ λειπόμενα τοῦ πρὸς Πέρσας πολέμου πληρώσων.

2. I have noted that the principal way to alter the narrative was by omission, such as omissions of Jewish privileges. One thing that Christians generally add is gifts to the Temple, which is not in Josephus. This feature of Alexander giving gifts seems to originate with Sulpicius Severus at the turn of the fifth century. This later development makes sense in the context of the rise of the church: imperial donations became a stable part of church revenues in the fifth century. Non-Christians of course gave gifts to their sanctuaries too, but the Christianised tales of the Jerusalem visit often add gifts, which makes it differ from the Josephan version.
3. The tale was primarily recycled and repackaged for apologetic usage. Much early Christian literature is naturally apologetic by nature, but it is clear that the tale was useful because of the tale's versatility. It is not genre specific: it occurs in any type of text, especially those that seem to make an apologetic argument against non-Christians. Alternatively, it was also used in Christians writing to edify fellow Christians. The tale is not canonised from Josephus because features could be added or removed as appropriate. Yet, the core of it was posited as historical truth to promote the idea of the presence of God in history.

1.7. Conclusion

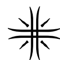
Chapter 1 has illustrated some of the ways in which Christians appropriate Jewish tales from Alexandria. It has been shown how many Jewish features were omitted, re-arranged or reinterpreted to generate new narratives of Alexander's respect for God and the prophets whom the Christians lay claim to. Except in the case of Augustine, Alexander shows genuine recognition of the religion, which is important because he himself recognises his own purpose in providential history. What the Christians generally remove is the privileges that Alexander grants to the Jews in the Josephan tales (Ch. 1.2, 1.6), whereas they can accept tales wholesale if there is no indication of Jewish content or context (Ch. 1.4, 1.5). These alterations of the Jewish tales help the Christians to appropriate them and to contextualise the stories in arguments on behalf of the Christian religion. Through these stories about the Founder, Christians could annex Alexandria as their own hallowed city.

And so, since Alexander travelled from Alexandria to Jerusalem in Eusebius, the Alexander traditions of that city will be the subject of the next chapter.

Chapter 2: Jerusalem

Preliminaries

Alexandrian memories of Alexander were positive, but his reception in Jerusalem was negative. The king's conquest of what was to become the Roman province of Judea was consolidated by the sack of the cities of Tyre and Gaza (332-331 BC). After Alexander, Judea was at the mercy of the dreaded kings of the Hellenistic world. Following the Maccabean Uprising (168-160 BC) and the establishment of the Hasmonean dynasty (c. 140-37 BC), the Jews immersed themselves in the Hellenistic textual culture. Central prophetic and historical texts stem from this period of Seleucid oppression. Biblical texts, such as the Book of Daniel, were written within this context of foreign Greek rule. The opening versions of 1 Maccabees refers to Alexander as a vainglorious tyrant. As fundamental texts of sacred Scripture, believed to be divine writings through which the voice of God reached His people, these documents demanded extensive commentary in Judaism and Christianity. The aim of this chapter is to show how and why Christians made Alexander relevant for their spiritual reading of the Bible.



A short treatise on Christ and the Antichrist (c. 203) is found among the many writings in the corpus attributed to Hippolytus, the elusive bishop of third-century Rome. Origen himself is said to have heard him preach in the streets of Alexandria.[1] Harmonising select passages of the OT Daniel and the Revelation of John, Hippolytus sought to show what would happen when Christ and the Antichrist clashed at the end of days. He also sought to determine when that final day would come. His alignment of the prophetic contents of the two works rests upon the assumption that Revelation, even today not considered canonical in the Orthodox Church, was divinely inspired by the same God that had granted prophetic insight to the pious Daniel, who had ostensibly been in exile in the Babylon of the sixth century BC.[2] The Book of Daniel is, however, really a literary product of the Palestinian Jews datable to the Maccabean uprising against the Seleucids in the 160s BC, and the apostolicity of Revelation has been disputed since antiquity. Therefore the actual authority lies in Hippolytus' personal belief in the alleged sanctity of the two texts, and that they could be used for the purpose of determining the time of the end. The feature of eschatology was inherited from Judaism. Christians changed it to refer to the rise and fall of the

1 For the date, see now Cerrato 2002: 154-5. Discussions of the Antichrist are attested in the apologists, see e.g. Irenaeus of Lyons *Against Heresies* 5.26-30; Origen *Against Celsus* 6.46.

2 For Daniel and his book, see now *EAC* 1: 665-666.

Antichrist, the Second Coming of Jesus Christ and the eternal kingdom that God would establish on Earth once Evil had been eradicated.[3]

It is within the context of expounding the future events that would lead to the ostensibly imminent Apocalypse that Hippolytus makes two passing references to Alexander's conquests. They are based on his exegesis of two separate chapters in Daniel. We have already alluded to the immense importance of these Danielic chapters (Ch. 1.6), and here follows a comprehensive summary of the two because they are relevant for what follows:

Daniel 2 After the Chaldean soothsayers' failure to interpret his disturbing dream, the Babylonian king Nebuchadnezzar turns to the Hebrew prophet for aid (2:1-16). God grants Daniel the knowledge of the dream's contents, and he can explain it to the king (17-23). Having saved the fellow wise men of Babylon, who were unable to understand the dream, he tells Nebuchadnezzar that no man can explain the dream but God (24-28). He goes on to say that the contents have been revealed to him, so that the king can know what is going to happen (29-30). Daniel describes how the king has seen an enormous statue with a head of gold, a torso of silver, a belly and thighs of bronze, and legs of iron; it had feet of iron mixed with clay. A rock was cut out of a mountain and struck the statue, so that it was completely destroyed. The stone, however, grew into a new mountain that filled the entire earth (31-35). Daniel's interpretation (via God) follows: the current king is the head of gold; the silver is the subsequent lesser kingdom; the bronze is the next kingdom that will rule the earth; and the iron is the fourth that will annihilate everything (36-43). The stone that grows is the eternal Kingdom of God that will endure forever (44-45). Nebuchadnezzar acknowledges the truth of Daniel's words, honours him with gifts and gives him a place at court (46-49).

3 For Jesus and prophecy, see e.g. Matthew 5:17; John 1:45; Luke 7:28, 16:16; Acts 2:17, 8:34-6, 13.16-23, 24.14-6; 2 Peter 1:19-21; Ignatius of Antioch *To the Philadelphians* § 8; *Epistle of Barnabas* §§ 12-16. Cf. Rowland 2010: 412-3; *EAC* 1: 837-40.

Daniel 7 The prophet has a vision of a great wind blown sea from which four beasts emerge (7:1-3). The first appears to be a winged lion whose wings are torn off, so that it stands on the ground on two legs (4). The second seems as if a bear with three ribs in its mouth (5). The third is a leopard-like beast with four bird like wings and four heads to whom authority was given (6). The fourth beast, unlike any other in form and monstrosity, has ten horns and exterminates all in its path (7). A small horn appears and speaks boastful words about the end of days and the Son of Man (8-14). Daniel seeks to know the meaning of the vision, and an unidentified bystander (the archangel Gabriel?) relates that the four beasts are the future kingdoms (15-17). The rest concerns the fourth beast and the little horn (18-28).[4]

Hippolytus, to whom is also attributed the earliest surviving commentary on Daniel (c. 202),[5] argues in his shorter treatise that Alexander is indicated by the belly and thighs of brass in the statue of Daniel 2 and by the leopard of Daniel 7.[6] The former is simply assumed rather than explained, whereas the latter is for Hippolytus confirmed by the detail that the four heads and wings of the leopard symbolise the four Successors who were left to rule Alexander's empire. The apparent lack of detail is not surprising. The author is after all concerned with the more important figures of Christ and the Antichrist, and the other world kingdoms can be presupposed rather than argued for. He does, however, go through the sequence of empires briefly. By juxtaposing the visions, Hippolytus posits that the golden head and the lion are Babylon; the silver torso and bear are Persia; the brazen belly and leopard are the

4 The bizarre features of the four beasts are mystical and arcane. According to Porter 1983, the monsters can be explained to an extent by metaphor analysis. He has argued that the author of Daniel 7 created the mantic monsters from existing metaphors of the shepherd king. For instance Daniel's reference to them as symbols of prophecy correlate to similar 'mantic monster'-imagery in eschatological Near Eastern texts. From there the motif diffused across Jewish apocalyptic eschatology and eventually into early Christian eschatology: the Revelation dragon is the prime example of eschatological animal imagery. Cf. Wirth 1993: 24 n. 68 for the literature on *Chaostiere*.

5 There is a dishearteningly long list of lost Daniel commentaries at Cerrato 2002: 17-22. Cerrato contends that there were probably more lost commentaries than we have extant. Cf. Momigliano 1963: 53. Eusebius of Caesarea *Church History* 6.7.1 relates that a certain Jude was the first to author a commentary on Daniel. For the Jewish exegesis of Daniel and its use of Alexander, see Van Bekkum 2008. Cf. Amitay 2010a: 110-11.

6 Hippolytus *On Christ and the Antichrist* §§ 24, 28, 32. Cf. De Boer 1985: 194.

Macedonians; and the iron legs and fourth beast are Rome. The horns of the fourth beast were future Roman emperors. His synthesis creates the image of a sequential progression of empires that helps to define the climatic events of history that will eventually lead to the apocalyptic end and Kingdom Come in the not so distant future. Even if his treatise was not the typical exegetical commentary, that is a line-by-line discussion of the text, his assumptions about the eschatological fulfilment of God's plan in Revelation were the same as in his more extensive commentary on Daniel. Hippolytus' treatise thus becomes a holistic demonstration of the Gospel by the relation of the OT to the NT. A particularly Christian understanding of the unity of the Biblical texts informs the methodologies used in his work. Reading prophetic Scripture in this way, Hippolytus thus makes Alexander relevant for God's plan.[7]

The eschatological expectations of the Christian Hippolytus are, of course, not the same as those of the Jewish compiler of the OT Daniel who had lived five centuries prior to the shadowy bishop. The end of days was already upon the Jews back then. The Seleucids had taken over Judea and oppressed the Jews. The apocalyptic text of Daniel was written as 'resistance literature,' a typical literary response to being oppressed by foreign forces,[8] and the prophetic aims have to be understood within the context of the Jewish hopes of liberation from Seleucid rule. As for Daniel 7, Casey argues that the Judean 'Daniel' had envisaged Alexander as the third beast but, alongside his Successors, also a part of the fourth.[9] The consequence of the original interpretation was that the ten horns on the fourth beast were in fact the Seleucid kings, and the little horn was Antiochus IV Epiphanes (r. 175-164 BC). The only logical and chronological possibility of the culmination of the prophecy was the revolt of the Maccabean Jews against Antiochus. As is well-known, the freedom-fighters defeated Antiochus, and this was interpreted to mean that the Maccabeans had saved God's people. The Danielic Apocalypse thus happened in the second century BC, and the Maccabean rule was symbolised by the stone that became the mountain that filled the earth. Their kingdom, divinely sanctioned by authoritative Scripture, would endure forever. Although history tells us that the Maccabean and Hasmonean dynasties did not last—except in the works of the Ps.-Ephrem and Cosmas Indicopleustes, who argued that the efforts of the Maccabean Jews were later fulfilled typologically in the

7 Hippolytus *Commentary on Daniel* 4.7 (*GCS* NF 7.210). For Alexander in ancient prophecies in general, see e.g. Kampers 1901; Pfister 301-47; Gunderson 1977: 64-6; Parke 1988: 125; Potter 1994: 75-6.

8 Portier-Young 2011.

9 Casey 1979: 62. Cf. Heaton 1956: 174; Rowley 1964: 70-137; Inglebert 2001b: 347-9.

Advent of Jesus Christ—this interpretation of Daniel as a text of the Maccabean resistance is the prevailing one in modern scholarship on the Bible.[10]

The early Christian interpretations of Biblical prophecy—exegetical, philological and hermeneutical—were laborious and vital for the earliest construction of religious identities among the Christians. The variance was possible because of the vagueness and arcane nature of the Biblical prophecies that licensed many interpretations. There were, for instance, no official identification of the kingdoms of Daniel 2 (save for that of Nebuchadnezzar who was the head of gold), which licensed each reader to select the identities liberally and thus systematically structure the past as he saw fit. In other words, each exegete was able to argue the identities of the empires because there was no formal interpretation. Yet, we must keep in mind the divine prophecies were contested territory between the synagogue and the church. They mattered because they were communications ostensibly delivered directly from God: religious readers believed that reading scriptural prophecies was revelation of the divine will and only the exegete, who had true mastery of the meaning of the text, could access it. What the Apostle Peter writes is therefore curious:

> First of all, you must understand this: no prophecy of Scripture is a matter of one's own interpretation, because no prophecy ever came by human will, but men and women moved by the Holy Spirit spoke from God.
>
> 2 Peter 1:20-1.

But the Apostle's words do in fact form a Christian argument. He insists that each Biblical prophecy had a singular and unequivocal interpretation—even if we have already seen that they did not—so that he can claim that only the Christians had the key to understand Scripture correctly through the teachings of Jesus. On that tenuous basis, Peter and Christians after him could also make the even more nebulous claim that they had exclusive and true understanding of the Mosaic law, which the contemporary Jews had apparently misunderstood. The Christians thus represented themselves as more righteous than their alleged Hebrew forefathers and far more lawful

10 The fact that Alexander is referred to as a ten-horned beast in the third Sibylline Oracle seems to corroborate the modern reading, for which see *Sibylline Oracles* 3.388-400, especially ll. 396-400. Cf. Eicke 1909: 84-5; Gunderson 1977: 56; Mendels 1981: 330-2; Inglebert 2001b: 343-4; Stoneman 2008: 51; Demandt 2009: 292; Amitay 2010a: 204. For Alexander in eschatological prophecy of the Hellenistic period, see e.g. Ps.-Lycophron *Alexandra* 1434-1445. Cf. Pfister 316-9; Fountoulakis 2014; Hornblower 2015.

than the contemporary Jews who had misinterpreted the Law.[11] This was done in order to counter Jewish arguments against the Christians that *they* had misunderstood Mosaic law because the teachings of Jesus had misled them.

Naturally, this type of argument was no covert operation but one that defined religious identity between the two groups. If a reader, Jew or Christian, made an exegetical explanation of a prophetic passage, he did so on the assumption that he had perceived the inherent divine meaning of the normally obscure scriptural premonitions. He had understood the message God revealed in the text. Making a claim on the basis of a reading of Scripture was thus regarded as more powerful than seeking the authority of any other typical ancient text because of divine authority. It is also noteworthy that understanding Biblical prophecy is the biggest apple of discord between Origen and Celsus' imaginary Jew.[12] Reading the OT prophecies differently is what divided church and synagogue. According to Simonetti, 'Jews and Christians were divided precisely by their fundamental evaluation of the sacred text. Jews read in it the expectation of the Messiah; Christians the demonstration that the awaited Messiah had come in the person of Jesus.'[13] Just as in the argument about the understanding of Mosaic law, contemporary Jews could argue that Christians misappropriated Scripture by positing that the OT prophecies prefigured Jesus as the Christ. The Christians could respond, in turn, that Jesus was what made all of Scripture make sense. Appropriating the OT books and prophecies as 'Christian' texts was a principal task in the Christian communities because, 'reception and appropriation is the exegetical process whereby readers make the text their own.'[14] By interpreting Scripture in their own ways, Christians made a claim to God's grace, instructions and revelations for themselves.

What is intriguing about the Christian reading of the prophetic passages that allude to Alexander is that, even if they diverge in meaning, they represent systematic Christianised projections of the past on the basis of Biblical authority. All Christian readers considered these prophecies to be part of an authoritative Jerusalem literature that needed careful study for spiritual benefit, the creation of religious community and directives for the future. The alternative allegorical imagery of the statue and the leopard, as well as the assumed sanctity of the OT, provided an altogether dif-

11 Heine 2010: 223-4.

12 Origen *Against Celsus* 2.4, 2.8, 2.12, 2.15, 2.28-9, 2.37, 2.79, 3.17, 7.4. The Jewish opponent mainly features in book 2.

13 Simonetti *EAC* 1: 897.

14 Young 1997: 27. Cf. Kraus 2002 about the authority of ancient commentary.

ferent approach to the Alexander figure. It was Hellenistic history as a constituent of salvation history, that is the continual grace of God and the prefiguration of Jesus. Pfister explained the development long ago: the actualisation of Alexander in the Jewish and Christian readings of the OT texts engendered a sanctification, *Heiligung*, of the figure.[15] This meant that Alexander's campaigns were conceived by Jews and Christians as if within the presumed sacred sphere of Biblical history. The king was guided unwittingly by the Providence of God and his life was expressed in Biblical terminology that differed fundamentally from the pagan Alexander histories that did not have a foundation in the Biblical texts.

To take a different example of the alternate terminology, we may turn to the earliest extant synoptic summary of Alexander's life narrated in 1 Maccabees (Greek version c. 103 BC):

> After Alexander, son of Philip, the Macedonian, who came from the land of Kittim, had defeated King Darius of the Persians and the Medes, he succeeded him as king (he had previously become the king of Greece). He fought many battles, conquered strongholds and put to death the kings of the earth. He advanced to the ends of the earth, and plundered many nations. **When the earth became quiet before him, he was exalted and his heart was lifted up**. He gathered a very strong army and ruled over countries, nations and princes, and they became tributary to him. After this he fell sick and perceived that he was dying. So he summoned his most honoured officers, who had been brought up with him from youth, and divided his kingdom among them while he was still alive. And after Alexander had reigned for twelve years, he died.
>
> 1 Maccabees 1:1-7.

Admittedly, the account is very descriptive with notable influences of romantic historiography—the death of Darius[16] and the Will[17]—and the culture-specific geographical knowledge (Kittim). But the poignant line on how his heart was lifted up refers to his swollen pride and sinful ambition. The terms have linguistic parallels to the pride of Biblical figures, such as Ezekiel's prophecies about the prideful fall of the

15 Pfister 319-21.

16 A variant tale in which Alexander kills Darius is mentioned by Diodorus Siculus *Library* 17.73.4. Cf. Arrian *Anabasis* 3.21.10; Justin *Epitome* 11.15.1-14; Curtius Rufus *History* 5.13.15-25; *AR* 2.20.

17 Ausfeld 1895, 1901; Bosworth 2000.

king of Tyre, a man who thought himself a god and so was brought low by God.[18] As is so basic to the OT narratives of the rise and fall of kingdoms, it is God who raises up kings and make them fall should their vainglory or sin consume them. Eusebius explains in an exposition of Daniel 2 and 7:

> It is fitting that the king [i.e. Nebuchadnezzar]—who prized the substances deemed precious among people [i.e. gold, silver, brass and iron]—should identify these substances as the kingdoms that held sovereignty at different times in the life of humankind [i.e. Daniel 2], but the prophet should describe these same kingdoms under the likeness of beasts [i.e. Daniel 7], in accordance with the manner of their rule.[19] Moreover, the king—who was puffed up in his own conceit and prided himself on the power of his ancestors—is shown the vicissitude to which affairs are subject and the end destined for all the kingdoms of the earth. This is done in order to teach him humility and understand that there is nothing lasting among people but only that which is appointed to the end of all things: the kingdom of God.
>
> Eusebius *Proof of the Gospel* 15.1.[20]

Eusebius understands that Nebuchadnezzar will eventually be struck down by God and his empire transferred to others. In seeing the history of Biblical kings and their sinful fallings in this particular way, we can note that the pride is not unlike the well-established *topos* of puffed-up pride, *typhos*, abundantly attested in Alexander's tradition.[21] But the language used to describe the strikingly similar phenomenon is based on two different textual traditions. This choice of an alternative textual foundation and the belief in the sanctification of history (ending with the kingdom of God) are what sets apart many interpretations of Alexander's impact in the Jewish and Christian worlds. We should not, however, generalise and assume that every single

18 Ezekiel 28: 2. καὶ σύ, υἱὲ ἀνθρώπου, εἰπὸν τῷ ἄρχοντι Τύρου Τάδε λέγει κύριος Ἀνθ' ὧν ὑψώθη σου ἡ καρδία, καὶ εἶπας Θεός εἰμι ἐγώ, κατοικίαν θεοῦ κατῴκηκα ἐν καρδίᾳ θαλάσσης, σὺ δὲ εἶ ἄνθρωπος καὶ οὐ θεὸς καὶ ἔδωκας τὴν καρδίαν σου ὡς καρδίαν θεοῦ. Cf. 28:5. ὑψώθη ἡ καρδία σου ἐν τῇ δυνάμει σου. For contrast, see the positive uses of ὑψώθη about Abraham (Genesis 24:34); Isaac (Genesis 26:13); Moses (Deuteronomy 7:14, 17:20); Solomon (2 Chronicles 1:1).

19 A common line of argument: the prophet had seen monstrosities, whereas the king had seen different metals. This Christian invention is the result of merging Daniel 2 and 7.

20 Trans. *ACCS* 13.169 (modified).

21 See e.g. Seneca *On Benefits* 5.6; Philo *On the Cherubim* § 19.63-4; Marcus Aurelius *Meditations* 9.29, 12.27. Cf. Hoffman 1907: 99; Klein 1988: 979 n. 93; Stoneman 1994a: 37, 2012a: xxxvi.

Christian text makes use of this material; the Biblical reservoir of story could be deployed freely. Needless to say, we shall be concerned with the developments in those works that do in fact make use of the Biblical texts.

Although the meaning and the reception of Alexander in Daniel and 1 Maccabees have very often been remarked upon in passing,[22] no serious Alexander-oriented research has ever been done in the reception of these Biblical references in Christian authors, such as the neglected Hippolytus. For instance, not even Pfister noticed that Hippolytus' treatise is the first extant text to bring Alexander and Christian eschatology together in a direct way through Daniel and Revelation.[23] After a brief investigation of the Biblical commentaries, Wirth supposed that it would be futile to study Alexander in *Heilsgeschichte* because the variations in Biblical interpretation were simply too great.[24] But Wirth is wrong in assuming that no prevailing tendencies can be found, as we shall witness. It is not true either that we cannot delineate some new paradigms, which will be clear as they emerge.

Daniel, as a canonical work of Scripture in the Christian view, must be dealt with first before we turn to 1 Maccabees. The prevalence of the former is attested by the countless commentaries on it, whereas we possess no commentaries on the latter prior to the one published by the Frankish polymath Hrabanus Maurus (d. 856), a younger contemporary of the learned Alcuin of York. In analysing Daniel, we shall also briefly examine Christian commentaries on the twelve minor prophets and Revelation to show how Christian readings of Daniel influenced exegesis of OT and NT prophecies.

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22 For the scholarly tradition, see e.g. Sainte-Croix 1810: 531-5; Zingerle 1885: 106-9; Carraroli 1892: 141-3; Barton 1898: 79; Kip 1919; Torrey 1925; Swain 1940: 1; Dancy 1954: 55-6; Schnell 1989: 47; Lane Fox 1991: 198; Hartmann & Di Lella 1993: 408; Momigliano 1994: 31; Stoneman 1994a: 40, 2008: 50-1; Inglebert 2001b: 342-69 (exhaustive); Niskanen 2004: 2; Mossé 2004: 186; Botha 2006: 120; Liljegren 2006: 244; Lienert 2007: 7-9; Sørensen 2007: 23-4; Demandt 2009: 419-26; Amitay 2010a: 110-3; Baronowski 2011: 35 (Daniel), 55 (1 Maccabees); Scolnic 2014: 158.

23 Pfister 333 argues that Julius Africanus' *Chronograph* (AD 220-1) was the first Christian to bring Christian eschatology and Alexander together, but Hippolytus' treatise is earlier.

24 Wirth 1993: 69. 'Ein Widerspruch zwischen dem Alexander der Heilsgeschichte hatte viele Variationsmöglichkeiten.' Cary, Klein and others have given one-sided answers dependent on the material that they examined: Cary, who focused on Jerome above all, found that there was no sanctity of Alexander, see e.g. Cary 1956: 118-42. Cf. Wirth 1993: 59; Demandt 2009: 427-30. Klein contended that the sanctification of Alexander might be a possibility in the East, see Klein 1988: 502-4. Cf. Wirth 1993: 69 n. 228.

2.1. The Book of Daniel

According to Cary, the Book of Daniel was the single most important text for the formation of a theological conception of Alexander in the Middle Ages.[25] His study went as far back into Late antiquity as Jerome's commentary from 407, because Cary thought that Jerome 'presented in his commentary an interpretation which was almost invariably upheld by later writers.'[26] This is, however, not an accurate statement when applied to the Greek East that produced many more commentaries than the Latin West. Cary is also silent about the well-established exegetical tradition prior to Jerome, so crucial for the Church Father's own exegesis.[27] Williams argues that Jerome was in fact severely criticised by his contemporaries for the formatting of his Daniel commentary: he did not include every word, or even every line of the prophet, which was normally the standard procedure.[28] In other words, Cary's discussion of the periods outside his purview is tenuous, and an analysis of the early Christian readings of Daniel is desired.

By way of beginning we may tabulate chronologically the extant or fragmentary commentaries on Daniel up until the fifth century:

- c. 202. Hippolytus of Rome *Commentary*. Most of it is extant alongside the aforementioned treatise and a range of *scholia*.
- Before 250. Origen *Commentary*. Completely lost save for fragments in the *catenae*.
- Early fourth century. Eusebius of Caesarea *Commentary*. Completely lost save for fragments in the *catenae*.
- c. 370. Ps.-Ephrem *Commentary*. Syriac commentary that partially survives.[29]
- Fourth century. Didymus the Blind *Commentary*. Completely lost save for fragments in the *catenae*.
- Fourth century. Apollinaris of Laodicea *Commentary*. Completely lost save for fragments in the *catenae*.[30]

25 Cary 1956: 118-42. Cf. Wirth 1993: 59; Demandt 2009: 427-30.

26 Cary 1954: 100 = Cary 1956: 120. Cf. Demandt 2009: 215.

27 Lacocque 1979; J. J. Collins 1984, 1998; Davies 1985; Schatkin 1970; Koch 1980; Heine 2002: 1-2; Williams 2006: 66-7.

28 Williams 2006: 112.

29 Botha 2006.

30 Lietzman 1904: 150. Cf. Williams 2006: 112; Ludlow 2009: 135.

- Fourth century. Titus of Bostra *Commentary*. Completely lost save for fragments in the *catenae*.
- c. 407. Jerome *Commentary*. This work survives in its entirety.
- 410s. Theodoret of Mopsuestia *Commentary*. Completely lost save for fragments in the *catenae*.
- 420s. Cyril of Alexandria *Commentary*. Completely lost save for fragments in the *catenae*.
- 430s. Polychronius of Apamea *Commentary*. Some of it survives in extensive fragments.[31]
- 433. Theodoret of Cyrrhus *Commentary*. This Greek work survives completely.
- The mid, or late, fifth century. Ps.-John Chrysostom *Commentary*. Much of this text survives.

Besides these commentaries, we learn from Jerome's preface to his *Commentary* that lengthy exegesis of Daniel had been carried out by the pagan Porphyry of Tyre in his twelfth book of the fifteen-volume *Against the Christians*. The philosopher had questioned the Christian nature of the prophecies by arguing that Daniel 2 and 7 culminated in the Maccabean past, which was the original context of the Palestinian Daniel. Christians could not, however, accept that conclusion. Before Jerome's attempt to repudiate the philosopher, Methodius of Olympus, Eusebius of Caesarea and Apollinaris of Laodicea had already responded by asserting that the prophecies concerned Jesus, not the Maccabees. In conjunction with the philosopher, we should also note here that the Jews compiling the *Babylonian Talmud* did not consider Daniel a prophet, and so the Christian claim that Daniel *was* a prophet of God was critical because his prophecies were so important for the Advent of Jesus. Hence both pagans and Jews had robbed Daniel of his link to God, but Christians maintained his authority.[32]

It is thus clear that the Danielic prophecies and the status of Scripture were a cause of conflict between the intellectual traditions between the original author of Daniel, the Jews, the pagans and the Christians. Yet, the Book of Daniel was regarded by Christians and non-Christians as a text worthy of serious study and religious argument.

31 Inglebert 2001b: 348; Cook 2004: 194-5.

32 *ACCS* 13: 152.

The principal pattern left to us by the extant texts seems to be that Christian exegesis of Daniel was arguably an eastern endeavour and an important endeavour in repudiating non-Christians. As is clear from Hippolytus' treatise, the major prophet Daniel could be interpreted to foreshadow Christ and the Antichrist and, therefore, held high importance. Indeed, that was why Porphyry got so many responses to his criticism of that particularly Christian appropriation of the Danielic prophecies. The large number of Greek commentaries in comparison with the number of Latin analogues give us the impression that Byzantine Christians engaged more often with Alexander and the Hellenistic history that Daniel had prophesied. This helps to explain the favourable reception of the king in the East. If his campaigns were asserted to be a major culmination in, and confirmation of, the steady progression of the salvation narrative, it makes sense that the Byzantine Christians wanted to be associated with him. They could afford to overlook the negative traits the figure was sometimes characterised by, such as pride.

To analyse these tendencies in more detail, we proceed through each Danielic prophecy that was interpreted to concern Alexander and analyse the salient features in the Christian uses of each one in turn.

2.1.1. Daniel 8. The Goat of Goats.

If Hippolytus made only two direct references to Alexander from Daniel 2 and 7 in his treatise, his commentary pointed out all the allusions to Alexander in Daniel. In his view, Alexander features in Daniel 8 with cross-references elsewhere in Daniel (I omit Daniel 10:20 and 11:3-4 since they both refer to the same thing, namely the rise of a Greek king to destroy Persia).[33] Daniel 8 is perhaps the most well-known story in Alexander scholarship. The prophet speaks of a two-horned ram that is defeated by a one-horned he-goat. The goat subsequently becomes great but dies at the height of its power. The prophecy is less vague than Daniel 2 and 7 because the author relates that God ordered the archangel Gabriel himself to expound the vision to Daniel. The angel explained to Daniel that his premonition concerned the end of time. The ram symbolised the two kings of Media and Persia (two horns), and the he-goat was the king of Greece, its horn the first king (Alexander). The four horns were his successors that

33 Omitted by Amitay 2010a: 111. For the Greek-ness of Alexander, see e.g. Jerome *Commentary on Daniel* 10.20b (*CCSL* 75a.895-6; *PL* 25.557). 'And let no one be disturbed by the question as to why mention is made of the prince of the Greeks or Hellenes rather than of the Macedonians. For Alexander, king of the Macedonians, did not take up arms against the Persians until he had first overthrown Greece and subjected it to his power.' (trans. Archer 2009, adapted).

would not have the same power. Again, the Successors are not identified, and this task is left to the exegete. In the exegesis of Hippolytus' contemporary Origen, the vision is retold in this way:

> Another instance in the same prophet: the affairs of Darius and Alexander, of the four Successors of Alexander, the king of Macedon, and of Ptolemy, the regent of Egypt, surnamed Lagus, were foretold in this way: 'Behold, the he-goat of goats (ὁ τράγος τῶν αἰγῶν) set out from the west across the surface of the entire earth. It had a horn between its eyes. It came to the two-horned ram, which I saw standing on the bank of the river Ubal, and the he-goat hurried headlong upon the might of the ram. I saw it reach the ram, rage at it, strike it down and crush its two horns. The ram had no power to stand before the he-goat; it threw the ram to the ground, trampled over it with no possibility for the ram to break free from the he-goat's clasp. The he-goat of goats grew great. While it was strong, its great horn was broken, and four smaller horns rose from it and dispersed to the four winds of the sky. From one of these, a strong and remarkably great horn went towards the south west in which the sun sets.'
>
> Eusebius *Preparation for the Gospel* 6.11.25 incorporating Origen *Commentary on Genesis* 1.8 (*PG* 12.60).[34]

Bodenmann notes that Origen's unique incorporation of Ptolemy as the south-west bound horn projects him in the role of the wicked Antichrist,[35] the eschatological figure that is also referred to elsewhere in Daniel and his commentators.[36] Yet, this is hardly the context in which Origen deploys the scriptural passage. It occurs in an exposition in which he is arguing for the truth of divine revelation of God in Scripture. He posits this by a series of references to fulfilled prophecies in the OT and NT.[37]

34 *Philocalia* 23.5 (p. 192 Armitage). Cf. Ps.-John Chrysostom *Homily on Luke* 2.2. (*PG* 50.234).

35 Bodenmann 1986: 283.

36 This is the standard in subsequent expositions of the passage from Hippolytus onwards. These accounts mostly concerns Antiochus, the Temple of Jerusalem and the rise of the Maccabean freedom-fighters, who restored the sanctity of the Temple. See e.g. Jerome *Commentary on Daniel* 8.5b-9a (*CCSL* 75a.852-3; *PL* 25.536); John Chrysostom *Homily against the Jews* 5.7.4; Theodoret *Commentary on Daniel PG* 81.1444-7; Ps.-Caesarius *Questions* 218.270-80.

37 We have Origen's lengthy exegesis of this Genesis passage on good authority: not only is it extracted in full by Eusebius, but also by the *Philocalia*. In the latter work, Basil of Caesarea and Gregory Nazianzen reproduce a fairly long, coherent citation.

Origen inserts the quoted passage into a repetitive list to allege that only the Holy Spirit was capable of giving true insight into future events. If Scripture had prophesied these historical events correctly, it follows that the rest of the scriptural prophecies must also be unquestionable truths, and that only the Christian commentator had the exegetical tools to understand them properly.

To this end, Origen needs to persuade his reader that he has understood it correctly. He goes on to preface the extract of Daniel with a historicising interpretation that authoritatively maps out the scriptural relation to historical events one by one: Darius' defeat, the emergence of Successors and the rise of Ptolemaic Egypt. The real persuasive power of Origen's argument is that the prophecies were mapped onto events that had already happened. This imbues the interpretation with credibility. More subtly, Origen asserts his reading of Scripture without any reference to Gabriel's words that this would happen at the end. By omitting Gabriel's warning, eschatology is thus omitted from the narrative. So, in making the list and rearranging the meaning of the Danielic prophecy, the exegete omits the eschatological features to emphasise the positive outcome of Alexander's reign, namely the rise of the Ptolemaic dynasty, which Origen's readership in Roman Alexandria would undoubtedly appreciate.[38] Not only does he change the very meaning of the apocalyptic prophecy to accommodate Christian argument, but also adapts it in a way that resonates well with the targeted audience whom he wanted to be persuaded.

That Origen once again projects Alexander's campaigns as the foundation of the Alexandrian empire of the Ptolemies is no surprise. We have noted that he was the first Christian to integrate the laudatory Jerusalem tale into Christian narrative, but his fellow Christians, such as Julius Africanus, had also commended Alexander for being the founder of Alexandria. We witness how the Jerusalem literature (Daniel) was filtered through the favourable Alexandrian diaspora to associate the nascent Christian religion with the great historical figures. Origen completes the picture of an Alexander that has fulfilled the divine will. After his early death the Alexandrian empire, divinely sanctioned through prophecy, is established. We may note that Origen and Africanus are joined by Hippolytus, who also uses Alexander positively because the king marks a significant part of the salvation narrative. Indeed, using a verbatim quotation from his contemporary Sextus Empericus, Hippolytus posits that no one born in the days of Alexander could rival him.[39] As already said, this is an important obser-

38 For the Alexandrian origin of Origen's *On Genesis*, see Heine 2003: 63-73. Cf. Heine 2010.

39 Hippolytus *Refutation* 4.5.5 Markovitch. οὐθεὶς γοῦν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τῷ Μακεδόνι γέγονεν ἴσος, πολλῶν κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην ὁμοίως ἀποτεχθέντων αὐτῷ. Cf. Sextus Empiricus *Against the*

vation because it refutes Klein's argument that that Greek Christians did not generally stress the importance of Alexander's imperial power until the reign of Constantine I.[40]

The interplay of prophecy and power is embedded in this use of Alexander's story. Historical reality and divine prophecy work both ways. Alexander's well-known historical conquest of Persia reinforced the idea that Daniel, as he is represented in the text, had truly foreseen the future from Nebuchadnezzar's Babylon (even if the text was compiled almost two-hundred years after Alexander), a belief that Christians took pains to stress in order that the absolute credibility of God's word was asserted. Daniel 8 was also an excellent prophecy for apologetic argument among the Jews. As Bruce noticed, '[O]f the four visions Daniel 7-12, the only one which Josephus reproduces at any length is the vision of the ram and the he-goat of chapter 8.'[41] Arguably, the prophecy is persuasive in the same respect as it is in Origen. Josephus claims that Daniel's words were true for no one could question that Alexander had defeated Darius. Josephus and Origen even used similar strategies in authorising their narratives, just as they did in the case of the Jerusalem tale. So, Josephus had too removed the eschatological features of Daniel 8 to make a convincing argument, just like Origen would later do.

There are other contributing factors to why Daniel 8 was more appealing to deploy than the other prophecies. It was less vague than other prophecies and, therefore, needed less exegesis to be made more persuasive. For instance, the identification of the two animals is made in the text itself, through the voice of Gabriel. We know that the he-goat had always been emblematic of the Macedonian regal power. Slotki made the observation on the Hebrew text that the he-goat 'is a symbol for Alexander the Great, the founder of the Greek empire, chosen perhaps because of the he-goat figures in the legends of the House of Macedon and in Macedonian place-names.'[42] It is certainly true that the Macedonian rulers were often represented as goat-herders or aided by goats. A common literary motif is that the gods deployed goats to show the Macedonian kings where their principal cities were to be founded,[43] and these threads of narrative are frequently woven into Alexander's own foundations, for in-

Mathematicians 5.89.

40 Klein 1988: 973-4.

41 Bruce 1990: 22. Bruce devotes considerable attention to Josephus *Jewish Antiquities* 10.269-76. Cf. John Chrysostom *Homily against the Jews* 5.7.2-7.

42 Slotki 1973: 65. Cf. Froom 1950: 130-1.

43 A lucid table of this in Ogden 2011a: 59. Oracular goats are criticised harshly by Clement of Alexandria *Exhortation to the Greeks* 2.11.3. Cf. Braund 1994: 22-4; Ogden 2011a: 58-65.

stance Aegae ("Goat Town") in Cilicia.[44] In an amusing *chreia*, Plutarch also refers to the goat as an animal of power: the Macedonian soldiers assured Alexander that they would defeat the Persian enemy because their clothes smelled so much of goat that the enemy would flee before them.[45] The compiler of Daniel 8 must have been aware of such latent associations between goats and Macedonian royal power. It is noteworthy that the he-goat is described as the 'he-goat of goats', *tragos tõn aigõn*, a word-play on 'king of kings,' *basileus basileõn*.[46]

The qualities of the he-goat are predominantly positive. According to Theodoret, its speed is unsurpassed (a goat is faster than a ram!) and the horn signifies the shrewdness, intelligence and sagacity of Alexander's thought.[47] Besides imbuing him with these qualities known from the *AR*,[48] Theodoret even gives an outline of Alexander's conquests in the same passage, saying that the he-goat had subjugated Egypt, conquered Darius in Cilicia and went through Syria, Phoenicia and Palestine before he crushed Persia. Like Theodoret, Jerome takes the opportunity to imbue the Biblical narrative with a sense of compelling historicity:

> This [i.e. the he-goat] was Alexander, the king of the Greeks, who after the overthrow of Thebes took up arms against the Persians. Commencing the conflict at the Granicus River, he conquered the generals of Darius and finally smashed against the ram himself [i.e. Darius] and broke in pieces his two horns, the Medes and the Persians. Casting him beneath his feet, he subjected both horns to his own authority. *And* (*he had*) *a large horn*. This refers to the first king, Alexander himself. When he died in Babylon at the age of thirty-two, his four generals rose up in his place and divided his em-

44 *AR* β 2.23. ἀκούσας [i.e. Alexander] αὐτὸν [i.e. Darius] μετὰ πολλῶν ὄντα βασιλέων καὶ σατραπῶν περὶ τὸν Ἰσσιακὸν κόλπον συλλαβὼν αἶγας πλείστας καὶ συνδήσας λαμπάδας εἰς τὰ κέρατα αὐτῶν ἐξήγαγον νυκτός. οἱ δὲ ἰδόντες ἡμᾶς εἰς φυγὴν ἐτράπησαν δόξαντες πολὺ εἶναι τὸ στρατόπεδον. καὶ οὕτως τὴν κατ' αὐτῶν νίκην ἐτροπωσάμην. ἐφ' ᾧ καὶ πόλιν ἔκτισα Αἶγας προσονομάσας. Cf. Solomon's stratagem of goats and torches in Judges 15:3-5.

45 Plutarch *Moralia* 180b. Cf. Arrian *Anabasis* 7.9.2, Dio Chrysostom *Oration* 4.70-2.

46 Daniel 8:5. Cf. 1 Kings 10:23; Ezekiel 26:7; Daniel 2:37; Ezra 7:12; 1 Timothy 6:15; Revelation 19:16.

47 Theodoret of Cyrrhus *Commentary on Daniel PG* 81.1441. τράγον δὲ αὐτὴν ὠνόμασε διὰ τὸ ταχὺ καὶ εὐκίνητον· τοῦ κριοῦ γὰρ ὀξύτερος ὁ τράγος [...] Ἓν δὲ κέρας θεωρητὸν, τουτέστιν, ἐπίσημον καὶ περίβλεπτον, αὐτὸν καλεῖ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον· ἀναμέσον δὲ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν τοῦ τράγου φῦναι λέγει τὸ κέρας, διὰ τὸ ἀγχίνουν, καὶ συνετὸν, καὶ πυκνὸν τῶν τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου φρενῶν.

48 Klein attributed these projections to the influence of the *AR* in which Alexander is clever, *phrenērēs*. For the epithet, see *AR* 1.16.5, 1.19.5, 2.13.2, 2.16.1, 3.3.3, 3.19.8, 3.26.7. Cf. Pfister 1964: 66-8; Koulakiotis 2006: 208-11.

pire among themselves. [...] *But they shall not rise up with his power*. No one was able to equal the greatness of Alexander himself.

Jerome *Commentary on Daniel* 8.9a
(*CCSL* 75a: 853-4, *PL* 25.536).[49]

Like Hippolytus, Origen and Julius Africanus before him, Jerome commends Alexander as the single most important individual of Hellenistic history. But he does so on the basis of the Biblical account interspersed with classicising material. As we shall continue to witness, the Bible gave early Christians an alternative frame of reference and powerful allegorical imagery to recount the events of history.

The previous pages have shown that there is then ample evidence that Christians made extensive use of this prophecy. The Christian use of it is, however, not just an attempt to appropriate Alexander in providential history, but also an attempt to appropriate the text as Christian. If Daniel had prophesied the victories of Alexander correctly, Christian commentators could follow up with the assumption that the same prophet had seen their Christ Jesus. That this is the case can be seen in a homily *Against the Jews* by the fourth-century John Chrysostom. His succinct statement, 'The ram is Darius, the Persian king; the he-goat is the Greek king, Alexander of Macedon,' indicates that the congregation needed little introduction to the imagery of Biblical history.[50] But, as his line of argument progresses, it becomes clear that this piece of history is just another building block in his religious argument about how to read Scripture with Christian eyes. Other bishops would also assert the authority of this Danielic prophecy by expounding the other major and minor OT prophets, just as

49 Trans. Archer 2009. For the remarkable greatness of Alexander's enterprise, see Livy *Roman History* 45.9. Cf. the abundant examples of Alexander's greatness, such as e.g. Arrian *Anabasis* 7.30.1; Diodorus Siculus *Library* 20.81.3; Dio Chrysostom *Oration* 4.1; Florus *Epitome* 1.23 (First Macedonian War); Suetonius *Augustus* § 18; Dio Cassius *Roman History* 51.16.5. There were also early Hellenistic *chreia* that emphasised the greatness of Alexander, see e.g. the poignant simile attributed to the Athenian Demades. He had said that the Macedonians, with the loss of Alexander, were like the Cyclops that had lost its eye (Demetrius of Phalerum *On Style* § 284; Plutarch *Galba* 1.4, *Moralia* 181f, 336f-337b; Eunapius *Select Sentences* 36). For Koulakiotis' subtle argument about how Alexander was considered emblematic of the whole Macedonian people, see Koulakiotis 2006: 166-7. His argument is based on Plutarch's three speeches *On the Fortune of the Romans, On the Fortune or Virtue of Alexander* and *On the Fortune of the Athenians*.

50 John Chrysostom *Homily Against the Jews* 5.7.1. Cf. Ps.-John Chrysostom *Synopsis of Scripture* (*PG* 56.383). προφητεύει πῶς Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Μακεδὼν κατέλυσε τὴν βασιλείαν Περσῶν· τὸν μὲν κριὸν τὸν βασιλέα Περσῶν λέγων, τὸν δὲ τράγον Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν Μακεδόνα. Cf. Aphrahat *Of Wars* § 5.

Jerome had done.[51] Indeed, in Jerome's *Commentary on Isaiah*, he may simply refer to Alexander as 'the he-goat,' *hircus*, on the presupposition that his readers will know who that sobriquet refers to immediately, just as he expected when he introduced the *chreia* of Alexander at Troy in the prologue of the *Life of Hilarion*.[52] By deploying Daniel 8 like this, Christians create an alternative frame of reference to Alexander outside the commentaries of Biblical exegesis which only Christians could appreciate the full extent of.

2.1.2. Daniel 2. *Translatio Imperii*

In the acknowledged *East Face of Helicon*, the late Martin West situates the statue of Daniel 2 within the context of Greek (Hesiod) and Iranian (Zoroastrian) myths. He argues that the symbolism of the metals as successive historical ages or kingdoms is a common mythic motif of Greek and Near Eastern literature.[53] The Danielic metal allegory is thus a vivid literary embellishment that ties into traditional ways of thinking about past and present. The feature of eschatology, namely the teleological end which would result in the promised kingdom that would last for evermore, is also current in Iranian thought, but not in Greek. In the Greek and Roman historiography, it was a common idea that world kingdoms followed each other, so as to make history cyclical. This sequential reading of the past is normally referred to as 'transfer of empires,' *translatio imperii*, and does not include the allegory of metal.[54]

51 Theodoret of Cyrrhus *Commentary on Jeremiah* 50:8-10 (*PG* 81.741). οὕτω καὶ ὁ θεσπέσιος Δανιὴλ τὸν μὲν Ἀλέξανδρον εἶδε τράγῳ ἀπεικασθέντα, τὸν δὲ Δαρεῖον κριῷ.

52 Jerome *Commentary on Isaiah* 5.20.1 (*PL* 24.189). For other collections of primary references to Daniel 8, see e.g. Cary 1954: 101 n. 4; Wirth 1993: 64 n. 206.

53 West 1997: 312-9. The *locus classicus* is Hesiod *Works and Days* 106-201 (mythic ages of gold, silver, bronze, iron). For the variations of the sequence in Daniel, see e.g. Swain 1940: 1; Markus 1970: 47-8; Collins 1977: 37-40; Kock 1980: 194-5; Wirth 1993: 23; Momigliano 1994: 32-5; Potter 1994: 186-9; Atkinson 2000: 308-11; Niskanen 2004: 27-31; Grafton & Williams 2006: 144-6; Roberto 2011: 114-5. N.B. Lane Fox 1991: 334 mistakes Daniel 3 for Daniel 2.

54 For the term, see *EEC* 850; Goez 1958: 3-10; Roberto 2011: 72. For the early Greek development of the sequence, see e.g. Herodotus *Histories* 1.95, 1.130; Demetrius of Phalerum *On Fortune* F 81 Wehrli from Polybius *Histories* 29.21. For Greek historians at Rome, see e.g. Polybius *Histories* 1.2 and especially Diodorus Siculus *Library* 37.1.4. ἑξῆς δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Μακεδόνος ὑπερβαλλούσῃ συνέσει καὶ ἀνδρείᾳ τῶν Περσῶν τὴν ἡγεμονίαν καταπολεμήσαντος, Ῥωμαῖοι κατὰ τοὺς νεωτέρους καιροὺς δορίκτητον ἐποιήσαντο τὴν Μακεδονίαν. Cf. Swain 1940: 5-6; Flusser 1972; Mendels 1981: 335; De Boer 1985; Kratz 1991; Momigliano 1994: 24; Atkinson 2000: 308; Inglebert 2001b: 342-3; Koulakiotis 2006: 87 n. 335; Wiesehöfer 2013.

The first attempt to reconcile the Danielic text with Hellenistic historiography was carried out by Josephus.[55] Discussing the metals of the statue, he employs the same sequence as Hippolytus would: Babylon was gold; Persia silver; Macedon bronze; and Rome iron. Unlike Hippolytus, Josephus only alludes to the eschatological feature of the stone that will destroy the statue, because he does not want to discuss what happens next. His reluctance to relate the apocalyptic outcome of Daniel 2 has frequently been read by scholars as a consequence of his dependency on Roman patronage, but it could also be interpreted as a hallmark of a Hellenistic historian who is true to his work and genre.[56] Just as in his version of Daniel 8, the Jewish Hellenist has removed one of the defining features of the Danielic text.

Other Hellenistic Jews could deploy an alternative *translatio imperii* without direct reference to Daniel or a very specific sequence. Towards the end of a treatise, Philo posits that the world of men was changeable, but not God: Greece was once great but was taken over by Macedon; Persia too lost its prosperity to Macedon; Parthia became greater than Persia; and the dominion of Egypt passed away like a cloud. He asks rhetorically what had happened to the cities of Ethiopia, Libya and the greatness of Carthage; indeed, the whole world of Europe and Asia. He then uses the allegorical image of a ship tossed between the waves on a stormy sea to say that the Providence of God, which was known to common men as Fortune, oversaw human affairs. One day, Philo argues, God would see to it that the world was turned into one city (Rome?), governed by a democracy.[57] Hence Philo uses these changeable empires as a defensive argument about God's unchanging care for mankind: only God was eternal, the earthly empires not. The author thus posits that the eschatological culmination of the eternal kingdom lies in the future.

These readings gave at least four models of interpretation among the Christians: (1) eschatological interpretation of the four kingdoms and the devastating and everlasting fifth empire; (2) the Josephan model that makes use of Daniel but discards eschatology; and (3) the Philonic model concerning Providence;[58] and (4) the typical Graeco-Roman *translatio imperii* sequence without Daniel (or Providence).[59] These four strategies are outlined in tabular form and discussed in turn.[60]

55 Josephus *Jewish Antiquities* 10.195-210, 266-81. Cf. *Sibylline Oracles* 4.49-114.

56 Bruce 1990: 19-20; VanderKam & Adler 1996: 212-3. *Contra* Gruen 2013: 264.

57 Philo *On the Unchangeable God* §§ 173-7.

58 Only used by Gregory of Nyssa *On Fate* 3.2.54.

59 See e.g. Clement of Alexandria *Miscellany* 1.21.140. Cf. Julius Africanus *Chronograph* F 89.53-7; Arnobius *Against the Nations* 1.5; Moses of Chorene *History of Armenia* 1.32-2.1.

We begin with (1). The purest eschatological reading of Daniel occurs in the oriental traditions. The Syriac world was on the periphery of the Roman world, and it was thus often under pressure from the empires of the further East. Peripheries are more frequently subject to change[61] and, therefore, more inclined to adopt expectations of change. It is noteworthy that these attestations always depend on the Danielic sequence unlike the Greek and Latin Christians:[62]

Authors and Texts	**Sequence of Empires**
Daniel 2 and 7 (c. 163 BC); Syriac Bible, the Peshitta (second century AD); Report in Theodoret *Commentary on Daniel PG* 81.1305; Cosmas Indicopleustes *Christian Topography*.	Babylonians (Nebuchadnezzar), Medes, Persians, Macedonians (Alexander and the Successors).
Porphyry *Against the Christians* (late third century AD); Polychronius of Apamea *Commentary on Daniel* (c. 380).	Babylonians, Medes and Persians, Alexander, Successors.
Ps.-Ephrem of Nisibis *Commentary on Daniel* (c. 363).	Babylonians, Medes, Persians, Macedonians.
Aphrahat of Persia *Demonstration* 5.15-9 (337), *Demonstration* 22.25 (346).	Babylonians, Medes-Persians, Macedonians, Romans. Babylonians, Medes-Persians, Alexander, Macedonians and Romans.

Theodoret, Cosmas, Porphyry and Polychronius wrote in Greek. Theodoret does not agree with the listed sequence he has found in an anonymous writer and argues that the final empire is Rome, at least until the stone comes. He is thus repudiating the view of a fellow Syrian Christian.

60 The following tables lay out an updated version of the various interpretations of the *translatio imperii* sequence, as they have been collated by Inglebert 2001b: 362-4. An asterisk marks that the sequence is based on the Danielic sequence.

61 Braund 1994: 3.

62 Eschatological features of Jewish prophecy at Baronowski 2011: 33-8.

As already said, Cosmas noted that the efforts of the Maccabeans were fulfilled in Jesus, and he seems to follow the Syriac tradition of Ps.-Ephrem and the Persian Aphrahat who offers the exact same interpretation. Yet, in one of his homilies delivered in 337, Aprahat's argument is more subtle. He asserts that pagan Rome was the fulfilment of the Macedonian kingdom since they had won over them.[63] Then he goes on to suggest that fourth empire of pagan Rome had passed when the Christian Constantine ascended the throne. Constantine was the stone of Daniel 2 and, therefore, the Messiah of the Second Coming whose reign would be everlasting. This has to be understood within the political context of Rome and the Orient. As Barnes once suggested, Aphrahat's aim was to persuade Constantine to come to the rescue of the Syriac Christian communities from the threat of Sassanid Persia. He did so by implying that Constantine was divinely sanctioned to succeed in this endeavour. Unfortunately, when the homily was delivered in mid 337, Constantine was dead.[64]

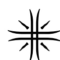
Porphyry's authoritative interpretation was problematic because he did not see the typological fulfilment of the Maccabees in Jesus. He sought to demonstrate the prophecies had been fulfilled and that the Christians were wrong in assuming that the OT prophecies concerned them. In doing so, he subscribed to the Syriac exegesis, but removed what generally constituted the spiritual reading among Christian readers. Much exegesis of Daniel was made in response to Porphyry's challenge, and this is perhaps another reason why more exegesis of Daniel was carried out in the East. In the Christian view, the nefarious Porphyry had made a claim to sacred Scripture that needed repudiation, and Byzantine Christians rose to the task of answering him because it helped define the features of their own faith and beliefs. The Syriac Christians, who may at a glance seem to agree with Porphyry in terms of the sequence of empires, made sure to bolster their own interpretations that clearly distinguished them from the pagan philosopher.

The emerging projection of Alexander is typically negative because of his association with eschatology, the oppressive Seleucids and the rise of Antiochus. He is a pagan king to whom God lent His strength because Persia had sinned. Theodoret and Cosmas are the only Christians in this tradition who represent Alexander positively. It is, however, not surprising that Cosmas favoured Alexander. He was an Alexandrian monk that admired the Byzantine empire. Similarly, Theodoret was a Syrian

63 Aphrahat *Of Wars* 5.18-19. The last pagan emperor of Rome he mentions by name is Septimus Severus, although he seems to have mistaken him for Galerius. Cf. Lichtenberger 2011.

64 Barnes 1985: 134.

bishop who breathed Hellenism and found in Alexander a great figure that foreshadowed the rise of the Byzantine world. As we shall see (Ch. 7), these views are expressed explicitly in Byzantine exegesis and historiography.



The Josephan model (2) that avoided explicit eschatology attracted many Christians as the following table makes clear.

Authors and Texts	Sequence of Empires
First Christian Tradition Irenaeus of Lyons *Against Heresies* 5.26-30*;[65] Hippolytus *Commentary on Daniel**, *On Christ and the Antichrist**; Origen *On Genesis* 3.5 from Eusebius *Preparation for the Gospel* 6.11.24*; Eusebius *Demonstration of the Gospel* 15.1; Eudoxius the philosopher (Inglebert); Ps.-John Chrysostom *Commentary on Daniel* 2.31-45, 7.2-7*; Hesychius of Jerusalem (Inglebert); *Easter Chronicle* p. 362 Dindorf*.	Babylonia, Persia, Macedon, Rome.
Second Christian Tradition Titus of Bostra *On Luke PG* 18*; Isidore of Pelusium *Letter* 218 (*PG* 78.360)*; Theodoret of Cyrrhus *Commentary on Daniel* 2 (*PG* 81.1305-8)*.	Assyria-Babylonia, Perso-Media, Macedon, Rome.

There are two traditions here because there is a slight variation in the kingdoms designated. It is impossible to ascertain what caused the variation.

The first tradition originates in Lyons. Prior to the appearance of Hippolytus' treatise on the Antichrist, the local bishop Irenaeus wrote about the wicked reign of the Antichrist as a part of his polemical *Against Heresies*. The work was devoted to the chastisement of Gnostic sects, religious communities led by powerful leaders who interpreted Scripture with their own dogma, teachings and sometimes alternative set of

65 Cf. Justin Martyr *Dialogue with Trypho* § 31. The sequence is rather unclear in both cases, but both of them end with Rome.

texts, such as their own Gospels. Using what he conceived as Scripture, Irenaeus used the prophecies of Daniel and John to dismantle the Gnostics' heretical interpretations about the end of days. His task was similar to that of Hippolytus, although he was more polemical. He sought to define orthodoxy by the repudiation of heretics, whereas Hippolytus pedagogically explained to the addressee of his treatise, Theophilus, how Daniel and John had spoken of the same matters. They both offer versions of how Rome was to fall and turn into ten succeeding democracies before the coming of the Antichrist (Daniel's statue had ten toes). Reading these two authors say something crucial about the eschatological hopes among the apologists that were not shared by their non-persecuted successors of the fourth and fifth centuries.

Irenaeus and Hippolytus are unique because the majority of Christians in the two traditions use Daniel 2 to explain the sequence of the four empires, but do not speak of the fifth. In the words of Drobner, the Christians had realised that the 'Parousia of the Lord was indeed delayed to an unforeseeable time and so the permanent establishment of Christianity on earth was necessary.'[66] In the Latin world, we find a very similar schema.

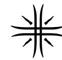
Authors and Texts	**Sequence of Empires**
First Christian Tradition Ps.-Hegesippus *On the Fall of Jerusalem* 5.15.1*; Sulpicius Severus *Chronicle* 2.3*; Jerome *Commentaries on the Prophets** (Ch. 2.2.); Augustine *City of God* 20.23.1*;	Assyria-Babylonia, Persia, Macedon, Rome.
Second Christian Tradition Orosius *History* 2.1.4-6, 7.2;[67] Quodvultdeus *Book of the Promises and Prophecies of God**.	Babylon (Assyrians, Medes, Babylonians, Persians), Macedon and Carthage, Rome.

Arguably, what is noteworthy here is the second tradition that sees the Asian empires as a united whole and Macedon as the second empire, which it is in no other extant tradition. Carthage is incorporated as an empire, which is a defining feature of Orosius' *History*; the historian was well-travelled in North Africa and came to

66 Drobner 2007: 63. Cf. Burgess & Kulikowski 2013: 114-5.

67 Van Nuffelen 2012: 46-7.

Carthage many times during his travels. Quodvultdeus was a Carthaginian bishop of the Nicene faith, and like Orosius, associated with Augustine. His office in the bishopric was long (c. 420-440) before he was sent in exile to Naples in Italy by the Arian Vandals who sent away all Nicene bishops. Both Orosius and Quodvultdeus thus had an interest in glorifying the history of Carthage, but also in emphasising its allegiance to Rome through its loss in the Punic Wars (264-146 BC). In doing so without reference to the stone that would break the fourth empire, they show how truly successful and powerful Rome had been. Using the Daniel sequence in this way shows how dynamic the divine word was in the pens of the Christians.



Since Philo's usage (3) is only used succinctly by one of the three great Cappadocian Fathers, Gregory of Nyssa, we arrive now at (4). These are not based on prophecy and everyone, besides Demetrius of Phaleron, aimed ultimately to aggrandise Rome, just like Orosius and Quodvultdeus.

Authors and Texts	Sequence of Empires
Classicising Traditions Demetrius of Phaleron *On Fortune* F 81 Wehrli from Polybius *Histories* 29.21.3-7;[68] Polybius *Histories* 1.2.2-7;[69] Pompeius Trogus *Philippic History* from Justin *Epitome* (1.1.1-4; 1.3.5; 1.6.17-7.1; 41.1.1-9; 43.1.1); Aemilius Sura *FRH* 103 from Velleius Paterculus *Roman History* 1.6.6; Dionysius of Halicarnassus *Roman Antiquities* 1.2.2-3.1-5; Appian *Roman History* preface § 9; Aelius Aristides *Oration* 1.234; Themistius *Oration* 31.354 (Cf. Synesius *On Kingship* § 14); Zosimus *New History* 1.1-5.	(Rule passed from Persia to Macedon), Assyria, Media, Persia, Macedon, Rome. Greece, Persia, Macedon, Rome.
Christian Classicising Tradition Tertullian *Against the Nations* 2.17.18-9, *Apology* 26.2;	Babylon, Persia, Macedon, Rome.

68 Deininger 2013: 78-9.

69 Alonso-Nunez 1983. Cf. Bowden 2014a: 68.

Ps.-Cyprian *On Idols* 5;	
Minucius Felix *Octavius* 25.9-12; Lactantius *Divine Institutes* 7.15.19;	Assyria, Babylon, Persia, Macedon, Rome.
Eusebius *Commentary on Psalm 50* (*PG* 23.944);	Assyria, Persia, Macedon, Rome.
Claudian *On Stilicho's Consulship* 3.164-67; Rutilius Namatianus *Voyage Home* 83-6;	Assyria, Media, Persia, Macedon, Rome.
Cyril of Jerusalem *Instructions* 15.13; Jordanes *Roman History MGH* AA 5.1.9;	Assyria, Media, Persia, Macedon, Rome.
Agathias *History* 2.25.7-9;	Persia, Macedon, Rome.
Suda s.v. Assyrioi (A 4289 Adler).	Assyria, Media & Persia, Macedon, Rome.

Philo asserted that the Providence of God was normally known to intellectuals as Fortune, and many of the listed histories of Rome declare that Fortune played a significant role in history. Fortune and providence seem to have been used interchangeably.[70] For instance, the Byzantine historian Zosimus, an erudite pagan at the court of Anastatius I (r. 491-518), notes in his preface that Rome could not have achieved what it had without divine providence directed either by Fate, by the stars or by the will of the gods.[71] Yet, his preface also draws upon Polybius' idea of Fortune's direction of history. The ambiguity is apparent in Alexander's own tradition. Arrian's famous assessment of his hero's achievements in the epilogue of the *Anabasis* revolves around the themes of Fortune and providence, but the biographer asserts that Alexander was so mighty that his deeds only made sense if they were assisted by the god. Accordingly, it was not without the help of a god that Arrian himself had put the acts of Alexander into writing.[72] In the later recensions of the *AR* and Ps.-Palladius' *On the Brahmans* the manifestation of providence is made more apparent. In the latter, Alexander is directed by providence, *pronoia*, here embodied by the goddess Sophia, seemingly a stand-in for Athena, whom the king initially prays to. This false demon is eventually exorcised when Alexander realises its evil intent and, even though he can-

70 There are many other examples of this. For the Jews, see e.g. Philo *On Providence* from Eusebius *Preparation for the Gospel* 7.21, 8.14. Cf. Montefiori 1893: 528-60; Cohen 1983: 372-4; Frick 1999: 176-89. For the Stoics, see e.g. Epictetus *Discourses* 1.6; Marcus Aurelius *Meditations* 2.3, 4.9, 4.36, 5.8, 5.30, 6.36, 6.40, 6.42, 6.43. Cf. Long 2002: 142-7, 2006: 269-73. For Polybius and Fortune, see e.g. Polybius *Histories* 1.84.10, 8. 17.3, 10.11.9, 23.17.10. Cf. Swain 1989: 277-8; Sacks 1990: 37.

71 Zosimus *New History* 1.1.2.

72 Arrian *Anabasis* 7.30.1-3.

not abide by the peace-loving Indian philosophers whom he visits (Ch. 3), he becomes aware of true Providence.[73] In the recensions of the *AR*, the editors and translators seem to chosen to eschew Fortune for the sake of Providence.[74] It was no problem then that Christians substituted Fortune for Providence.

The absence of Fortune in Christian narratives is striking. It is never associated with Alexander across a wide range of historiographical texts, such as Orosius' *History*, and it never occurs in the Biblical commentaries that drew upon the alternative scriptural material. Only truly classicising Christians ever used the *topos* of Fortune in genres that invited classical style, such as Alcuin's classicising poetry or Theophylact Simocatta's court historiography.[75] But the vast majority of learned Christians and Biblical commentators never once allude to Fortune and Alexander together. Instead, they made statements to the effect that Providence was highlighted. For instance, Jerome said of Alexander's power and success that it 'did not result from Alexander's bravery but from the will of God.'[76]

I would suggest that the Christians' use of the successive ages of the world in Daniel 2—and the Danielic prophecies more generally—contributed to create this effect in Christian histories of Alexander: Fortune was replaced with God's Providence. This is of major importance because Fortune is so often associated with Alexander by pagans. For instance, as we saw in the case of the rhetorical speeches of Plut-

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73 Ps.-Palladius *On the Brahmans* 2.31 (demon); 2.34 (Alexander's apology to God for his allotted fate).

74 The *AR* refers consistently to Fortune, see *AR* 1.8.4, 1.17.1, 1.18.6, 2.15.2, 3.33.7. Cf. Julius Valerius *AR* 3.35. For *pronoia* in the *AR* β, edited by a Christian, see 1.1, 1.14, 1.34, 1.38, 2.7, 2.20, 3.5, 3.5, 3.25. Cf. *AR* Arm. § 286. 'This life [of Alexander] that was directed by Providence above ended in man's common death.' Cf. Theodoret of Cyrrhus *Commentary on Daniel* 11 (*PG* 81.1501-4).

75 One of Alcuin's poetic compositions concerns the first Viking raid on England that destroyed the famous monastery at Lindisfarne, a Northumbrian centre of spirituality and learning. In it, Alcuin refers to the Alexander's death and the whims of Fortune. See Alcuin of York *On the Ruin of the Monastery at Lindisfarne* 9.35-6 (quoted at Cary 1956: 194 n. 93). For further Christian uses of Alexander and Fortune, see e.g. Ps.-Hegesippus *On the Fall of Jerusalem* 5.19 (*CSEL* 66.340); *Greek Anthology* 16.122; Fulgentius *Ages of the World and Men* p. 164, 10-1 Helm; Theophylact Simocatta *Histories* 4.13.11-2.

76 Jerome *Commentary on Daniel* 7.6 (*CCSL* 75a.842; *PL* 25.530). *ostendit non Alexandri fortitudinis sed domini uoluntatis fuisse*. Cf. Cary 1954: 100 = Cary 1956: 120; Pfister 319-21. For the Greek tradition, see e.g. Theodoret of Cyrrhus *Commentary on Daniel* 7 (*PG* 81.1417). *ἐξουσίαν δὲ ἔφη δεδόσθαι τῷ θηρίῳ,* ἐπειδὴ καὶ ὧν οἱ πρὸ αὐτοῦ μὴ ἐκεκρατήκεισαν, οὗτος ἐδείχθη κρατῶν, ἀλλ' ὅμως καὶ ἡ πάντων περιγενομένη βασιλεία τέλος ἐδέξατο. Cf. Ps.-John Chrysostom *Commentary on Daniel* 7 (*PG* 56.230).

arch, Alexander had to enter a contest with Fortune to prove that his own virtue outdid Fortune. Indeed, as Koulakiotis argues, the Greek discourse on the Fortune of Alexander can be traced back to the days of Alexander himself, and the *topos* has been an integral part since that time.[77] It emerges in the historiography of Augustan Rome —in the historian Livy in particular—and it pervades the imperial texts. The Christian preference for Providence on the basis of the Biblical prophecies thus make the *topos* of Fortune disappear from their own texts. This is an important development.

This well-attested tendency to remove fickle Fortune from Alexander's history by incorporating Daniel 2 tells us much about how early Christians sought to harmonise the histories they told of the remote past. Their endeavour was the juxtaposition of Biblical and classicising histories on a very grand scale. The past was important because Christians believed that Biblical prophecy had culminated with the Advent of Jesus Christ and begun the salvation narrative promised by the Gospellers and the Apostles. The OT prophecies were a useful tool to the Christians. They suspended the sense of time and allowed for a sequential past to progress until that Advent. Alternatively, they could be juxtaposed with NT prophecy to predict the unforeseeable future (Irenaeus, Hippolytus). In any event, the prophetic texts could always be interpreted by the commentators to construct and justify the eschatological reality of the present moment whether the end was near or far away.

It is now clear that Daniel 2 was, for all purposes, conceived of as Christian literature and so, since the different metals of the statue were an oriental motif, they needed explaining. As we have seen, Alexander's Macedon was usually third in the sequence and, therefore, the bronze. Josephus had given the seemingly plausible aetiology that army of the third empire was Macedon, because its soldiers were armed with brazen armour.[78] Jerome takes another route:

77 Koulakiotis 2006: 44-5.

78 Josephus *Jewish Antiquities* 10.208-9. τὴν δὲ ἐκείνων ἕτερός τις ἀπὸ τῆς δύσεως καθαιρήσει **χαλκὸν ἠμφιεσμένος**, καὶ ταύτην ἄλλη παύσει τὴν ἰσχὺν ὁμοία σιδήρῳ καὶ κρατήσει δὲ εἰς ἅπαντα διὰ τὴν τοῦ σιδήρου φύσιν·

> Now the Macedonian kingdom is properly termed brazen, for among all the metals bronze possesses an outstanding resonance and a clear ring, and the blast of a brazen trumpet is heard far and wide, so that it signifies not only the fame and power of the empire, but also the eloquence of the Greek language.
>
> Jerome *Commentary on Daniel* 2:34 (*CCSL* 75a.794; *PL* 25.504).[79]

The aetiology of language is corroborated by Roman ideas of the beauty of the Greek language,[80] and other commentators followed Jerome in positing this.[81] Jerome's younger contemporary, Cyril of Alexandria, also alleged that the Greek 'were clear in their speech, not having the darkness of the barbarians' language.'[82] Yet, other Christians seem to have known that what mattered was the historical succession of world empires, which was the main reason why the Macedonians ever became associated with the bronze of the statue.

The tendency to associate the bronze with Alexander's army was strong in the Latin West and Greek East, and the allegory became fully embedded in Christian conceptions of the distant past and its relation to the Christian present. At the end of the first book of the *Life of Columbanus* his seventh-century hagiographer writes a poem about the celebration of the feast of the Celtic saint.[83] The monk Jonas of Bobbio in Italy embellishes the panegyrical poem with *comparationes* of the monastic communities established by Columbanus and the figures of the great past. He uses the Daniel 2 sequence (Babylon, Persia, Media, Macedon identified by the different metals) to assert that the soldiers of Christ were more powerful than any empire of the past and to say that not even Homer or Vergil would be able to praise the Christian saint properly. Finally, he makes a catalogue of ancient heroes (Hannibal, Porus, Scipio, Julius Caesar) who would be unworthy to join the feast with the Christian

79 Archer 2009: 32.

80 Quintilian *Institutes of Oratory* 12.10.27-39. Cf. Stanford 1943: 17-20.

81 Ps.-John Chrysostom *Homily on Luke* 2.2 (*PG* 50.797). *τρίτη βασιλεία ἀναστήσεται ἡ χαλκῆ*, ἡ τῶν Ἑλλήνων βασιλεία καὶ Μακεδόνων· ὅπου Ἀλέξανδρος ὢν ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι, ζεύξας ἐπέδραμε τῇ Περσίδι, καὶ κατέλυσε μὲν τὸν Δαρεῖον, ὑπὸ δὲ τὴν ἰδίαν ἐξουσίαν ἤγαγε τὴν ἀρχήν. χαλκῷ τοίνυν παρεβλήθη, **διὰ τὸ εὔηχον τῆς ὁμιλίας καὶ τῆς γλώττης.** Ἕλληνες γὰρ οἱ σὺν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος, ὑπάρχοντες εὔγλωττοι τὴν ὁμιλίαν, χαλκῷ παρεβλήθησαν· χρυσὸς γὰρ λαμπρὸς μέν ἐστιν, οὐ μὴν εὔηχος· ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ὁ ἄργυρος χαλκὸς δὲ τῇ μὲν ὕλῃ ἐλάττων, εὔηχος δέ ἐστι κατὰ τὴν ἠχήν.

82 Cyril of Alexandria *Commentary on Zechariah* 6. Trans. Hill 2006b (adapted). Cf. Jerome *Commentary on Ezekiel* 12.40.

83 Jonas of Bobbio *Life of Columbanus MGH* SS M 4 p. 109 (*MGH* SS M 37 p. 225).

monks and abbots. In this syncretic amalgamation of literatures, Daniel 2 seemingly holds the same place as Jerome had given Daniel 7 and 8 in his preface of the *Life of Hilarion*, namely next to Homer. Jerome's preface was fascinating because of his juxtaposition of the Biblical and the classical traditions. It was made in the cultural context of the fourth century's negotiation of *paideia* and Christian identities. For the monk Jonas, around 250 years later, there was no question that the pasts of Daniel, Homer and Alexander were wholly enshrined in Christian life and literature.

2.1.3. Daniel 7. Empires and Monsters

While the prophecy of the four beasts (lion, bear, leopard, monster) does not feature the same amount of Alexander history as the story of the he-goat and the ram, it is nonetheless significant for the development of the reception of Alexander in Biblical exegesis and Christian literature in general.[84] Its complexity is more challenging than the previous prophecies: it combines the features of eschatology and successive historical empires known from Daniel 2 (the four beasts each embody a kingdom) with the vivid animal imagery of Daniel 8.[85] As we have seen, Christians saw a unity in Daniel 2 and 7, but also with Daniel 8. For instance, the four heads of the leopard were interpreted to be four Successors (of varying identities),[86] just as the four horns that emerged from the broken goat horn of Daniel 8 were emblematic of the Successors. Another instance is Hippolytus' juxtaposition of the animals of Daniel 7 and 8 to claim that Daniel's narrative of successive empires (up until the leopard) had culminated with the victory of the he-goat over the ram, evidently reserving the fourth beast and its ten horns for the future.[87]

These interpretations are important. They demonstrate that the majority of Greek and Latin Christians posited that the Danielic prophecies were fully embedded in the

84 Lane Fox 1991: 331-7.

85 Interpretation of the prophecies is also made more difficult owing to the problematic composition of the original text. It comprises several parts: 1:1-2.4a and 8-12 are Hebrew, 2:4b-7:28 are in Aramaic and Greek additions of the great stories of Susanna, prayer of Azariah, the song of three Jews and Bel and the dragon (Levine in *NOAB* p. 1234). Since there are discrepancies between the variant versions of Daniel, it was a critical Christian priority to unite the divergent parts by exegesis. See e.g. Porter 1983: 7; Anderson 1984: 77-81; Collins 1984: 27-8.

86 Hippolytus *On Christ and the Antichrist* § 24, Jerome *On Daniel* 7.6 (*CCSL* 75a.842-3; *PL* 25.530). Cf. Pfister 90. It was part of a common Roman discourse to discuss the Successors of Alexander as four or five greater kingdoms, see e.g. Cornelius Nepos *On Kings* § 3 (Antigonus, Demetrius, Lysimachus, Seleucus, Ptolemy). Cf. Arrian *Anabasis* 7.22.5 for Seleucus being the greatest king among these.

87 Hippolytus *On Christ and the Antichrist* § 32.

distant past (especially Daniel 8), but some of them were still valid for Christian concern within the grander scheme of the future. The ones of the past also confirmed that the prophet had in fact been right about his premonitions, which were argued to have come from God, and therefore lend plausibility to the idea that the prophet would be right about what he said of the future as well.

As a way into the exegesis of Daniel 7, we may remind ourselves of Eusebius' understanding of the relationship between Daniel 2 and 7: the former had shown different metals to impress the king; the latter had shown the true hideousness of the monster-like empires that would devour the world.[88] The previous tables containing the Christian interpretation of Daniel 2 thus also apply to Daniel 7. They follow the following pattern. In those interpretations in which Alexander's kingdom is bronze, the king is also considered to be the third beast (Daniel 7:6); in the oriental traditions that generally claim that he signifies the iron, he is the fourth beast (Daniel 7:7). The Syriac exegete Ps.-Ephrem relates how he believed that the latter was the case:

> This [i.e. the fourth beast] is Alexander, king of the Greeks, and the prophet says that he is similar to iron, which is the hardest among metals. He adds that the beast is armed with iron teeth, and with this symbol he indicates Alexander's powerful armies, which nearly subdued all kings. Then he adds that the beast was seen while devouring or trampling all that came its way, while destroying everything. With these words, he predicted that Alexander would have attacked the

88 It is not inconceivable that the monsters of Daniel 7, emblematic of successive empires, have a literary resonance with the dead child omen of the *AR* 3.30 (cf. *Liber de Morte* § 90-4 Thomas; *AR* Arm. § 259; Isidore of Seville *Etymologies* 11.3.5). The story goes that a Babylonian woman gives birth to a dead child. The boy is human from the navel and up (symbolising Alexander), but it has five living animal features for legs (lion, wolf, panther, dog, and boar symbolising his generals). Immediately realising the significance of the omen, the woman takes the child to Alexander's court. Surprised by it, he demands an explanation, and the Chaldaeans are unable to give him an adequate answer until their chief interpreter returns. This man reacts strongly to the portent, saying that the king is no longer to be counted among the living since he is the dead boy. He continues by saying that the heads of the animals represent the generals, who are with Alexander at the moment of his death. The Successors to Alexander are thus represented as wild and fierce beasts that each in turn will rule a part of the empire. Baynham 2000: 259 suggests that, 'my feeling is that the author may not have intended any specific attribution [of each Successor]. Instead the number of the animals, their strength and savagery are the most important factors. They are not gentle or passive creatures, but violent and territorial.' She does, however, not seem to be aware of the possible literary context of Daniel 7 nor has this been suggested elsewhere. It is not impossible that Daniel 7 is an elaboration of the motif of the *AR* or vice versa, depending on how one dates either text.

> vastness of almost all provinces, would have robbed their inhabitants and would have left their fields and estates to his soldiers for pillage and destruction. It would seem as if he had squeezed the entire world and all its precious things under a press and had offered all to his soldiers in order that they might trample upon it.
>
> Ps.-Ephrem *Commentary on Daniel* 7.7.[89]

This singular passage is one of the most vivid and elaborates on the monstrosity of Alexander without the typical features of Graeco-Roman narrative, such as the killing of his companions or his lust for blood that Orosius speaks of (Ch. 7.2.1). But the eastern author still integrates the *topos*, traditionally attested in Graeco-Roman tradition, that Alexander came to Asia as if a robber who came to loot booty.[90] As a symbol of the greatest monster of Daniel 7, Alexander's campaigns are clearly projected unfavourably. His older Persian contemporary Aphrahat considered Alexander the third beast, 'because he was as strong as a leopard,'[91] and favourably presented the narrative of Daniel 8. The difference between the two is clear and shows how the projection of Alexander could vary from author to author, even in local church traditions.

Hippolytus and Jerome offer the only slightly negative comments. The former correlates the Greek empire with the four-headed and four-winged leopard of Daniel 7 because the Greeks were sharp in thought, inventive in logic and cruel in heart, just the leopard was many-coloured, quick in doing harm and drank the blood of man.[92] The latter associates the beast with the bronze of Daniel 2 and suggests a comparison between Greeks and the leopard because it is swift, impulsive and charges to shed blood until the moment it dies.[93] But both explicate that they seek to characterise the Greeks in general rather than single out Alexander.[94]

89 Trans. *ACCS* 13.226 (adapted).

90 Cicero *On the Republic* 3.24; Seneca *On Benefits* 1.13 (*felix temeritas*); Lucan *Pharsalia* 10.21 (*felix praedo*); Plutarch *On the Fortune or Virtue of Alexander* 330d; Augustine *City of God* 4.4; Orosius *History* 3.20.9; Fulgentius *Ages of the World and Man* p. 166, 21-3 Helm.

91 Aphrahat *Of Wars* § 18.

92 Hippolytus *Commentary on Daniel* 4.3.6. The specific qualities highlighted here seem to hint at the Greek philosophers in particular. The pointed comment directed towards Greek intelligence may also be a notion developed in his *Refutation of all Heresies* 1.1-19 in which he criticises Greek philosophy and its influences in similar terms.

93 Jerome *Commentary on Daniel* 7.6 (*CCSL* 75a.841-2; *PL* 25.529-30). At a glance, it does seem as if Jerome thinks of Alexander as the leopard since Alexander was constantly on the warpath before his untimely death.

94 Ignatius of Antioch *To the Romans* § 5 makes a most explicit comparison between a Greek-speaking band of soldiers and vicious leopards.

In the Byzantine world, there is expectedly considerable evidence to suggest that the negative views on the third beast were revised as the Greek empire gradually was established in Constantinople. Lane Fox argues with reference to Eusebius' *Life of Constantine* (c. 339) that Daniel, as a prophet of Greek empire, was highly regarded in the imperial city,[95] and his prophecies were soon integrated into the narrative of Byzantine power, an empire preordained by God. As already hinted at, the parallels of power between Alexander and Constantine were unsubtly suggested by shared prophetic experiences before their respective conquests (Cosmas Indicopleustes). The legendary narratives about the culmination of the prophecies in their respective Greek empires were developed and proliferated.[96] First, we read a fifth-century Byzantine revision of Hippolytus:

> This [i.e. the leopard] is Alexander, king of the Macedonians, who conquered the world. Nothing was faster than him; no one has been more quick. He was impetuous and fast, just as this beast. *Four wings of a bird were on its back*. This is because he took everything by force. For taking thirteen Persian positions, he conquered everything. Do you see his swiftness? This is indicated by both the form of the beast and the wings. He traversed the world.
>
> Ps.-John Chrysostom *Commentary on Daniel* 7 (*PG* 56.230).[97]

Then, in the genuine works of John Chrysostom, we find a similar line of thought in a homily delivered to his congregation sometime after he had taken over the bishopric at Constantinople (after the autumn of 397):

> Before the Advent of Christ, the Macedonian people was eminent and more widely known than the Romans. The conquest of Macedon was what made the Romans famous. For the stories about the Macedonian king, who set out from a village to vanquish the world, surpass every tale. **This is also why the prophet envisaged him as a winged leopard that symbolised his speed (τὸ τάχος), strength (τὸ σφοδρὸν), fiery spirit (τὸ πυρῶδες) and the sudden flight over the world with trophies of victory.** They say that, when he was told by some philosopher that there were countless worlds, he sighed heavily knowing that he had not yet

95 Lane Fox 1986: 647 (Eusebius *Life of Constantine* 3.49). Cf. Rautman 2010.

96 Lane Fox 1986: 662 for Constantine and the divine.

97 Wirth 1993: 65 n. 209.

> conquered one among many. He was of such a high mind (μεγαλόφρων), greatness of soul (μεγαλόψυχος) and celebrated everywhere. The glory of the people went forth with the name of the king. For his name was: 'Alexander the Macedonian.' Because he was commonly celebrated, the things that took place then have rightly been admired everywhere. For nothing can cover the renowned. Hence the achievements of the Macedonians were no less distinguished than those of the Romans.
>
> John Chrysostom *Second Homily on 1 Thessalonians* 1.8-10 (*PG* 62.399).

The oration, embellished with acknowledged Alexander *paradeigmata* alongside the leopard of Daniel 7, is clearly an expression of the power and vitality of Alexander's legend in late fourth-century Constantinople. The leopard is clearly emblematic of imperial and powerful traits. It may be noted that the projection of Alexander as a powerful individual of high mind and soul could have a negative connotation if seen in the context of Christian humility,[98] but there is no evidence elsewhere in John Chrysostom's work that we should treat the specific terms used here as inherently negative. Indeed, even the *chreia* suggesting Alexander's insatiable longing for more land or worlds—typically used as criticism for his hunger after power and, therefore, a very non-Christian character trait—is incorporated to propose that fame is desirable.[99] Finally, several juxtapositions of Macedon and Rome (through Constantinople) establish and emphasise a historical link between the Macedonian world of the past and the Byzantine world of John Chrysostom's present.

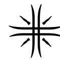
In order to understand properly the strong emphasis John places on Alexander's fame, it is necessary to go back to the context of the homily. The passage occurs at the very beginning of the homily: the preacher expounds the following line in Paul's letter, 'For the word of the Lord has sounded forth from you not only in Macedonia and Achaia, but in every place where your faith in God has become known, so that we have no need to speak about it.'[100] John Chrysostom argues that the Gospel, unlike the local praises of virtuous men, has been spread to the furthest corners of the earth and its message has been understood equally well everywhere it went. To demonstrate that the Apostle's (and his own) words were not empty boasts, he brings in the

98 Daniël Den Hengst made this suggestion to me at Fondation Hardt in May, 2015.

99 The *chreia* is used positively in Valerius Maximus *Deeds and Sayings* 8.14.ext2; Plutarch *Moralia* 466d-e. It is used negatively in Aelian *Miscellany* 4.29.

100 1 Thessalonians 1.9.

Macedonian fame as a *paradeigma*. The wide diffusion of the renown of Alexander licenses John Chrysostom to argue that the Gospel also could spread far and wide, as it indeed had in the late fourth century. He uses the fact that the memory of Alexander was still strong both in the past—as in the Byzantine present—to illustrate the way in which the Gospel had also lingered long in ancient memory. This is the single most striking religious argument: the greatness of Alexander is made analogous to the alleged glory of the Gospel. If the Macedonian king could be used to corroborate the religious mission of what had originally been a small sectarian movement, he could clearly be deployed in every type of Christian argument.[101]



The Byzantine Christians clearly had an interest in maintaining the projection of Alexander as a powerful Greek empire builder, and they revised Biblical interpretations to make this image. It has been shown that Biblical textualism and exegesis were a particularly powerful tool in making this cultural revision. To take more examples: John Chrysostom was joined by another eastern exegete, Theodoret of Cyrrhus, whose remarks on Alexander are generally of favourable character. Theodoret's leopard is emblematic of Alexander's speed and wit.[102] He clarifies that its four wings are an allusion to 'the empire of Alexander that prevailed over the four quarters of the world.'[103] This is again a clear reference to the world empire Byzantine Christians could lay claim to in Theodoret's day. By the time of the Byzantine emperor Justinian I (d. 565), the allusion to the third beast had become wide-spread and formalised as an ornamental feature that could be effortlessly integrated into narratives to signify Alexander's rapid conquests of the East.[104] The Greek Christians thus revised not only the meaning of the text of Daniel itself and Jewish readings of it, but also previous Christian readings in order that Byzantine conceptions of their divinely sanctified empire and its revered predecessor Alexander could be established and maintained.

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101 The passage is declared 'interessant' by Wirth 1993: 65 n. 210, who fails to recognise any of the clearly Christian agendas.

102 Theodoret *Commentary on Daniel* 7 (*PG* 81.1417). καὶ μάλα προσφόρως παρδάλει τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἀπείκασε, διὰ τὸ ταχὺ καὶ ὀξὺ καὶ ποικίλον.

103 Theodoret *Commentary on Daniel* 7 (*PG* 81.1419). Trans. Hill 2006a: 183.

104 Malalas § 193 Dindorf. καὶ εὐθέως ὡς πάρδαλις ἐκεῖθεν ὁρμήσας ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος, ἅμα τοῖς σὺν αὐτῷ στρατηγοῖς παρέλαβε πάσας τὰς χώρας. Cf. Ps.-John Chrysostom *Homily on Luke* 2:2 (*PG* 50.798).

2.2. Major and Minor Prophets

As already indicated by the story about Jeremiah's bones (Ch. 1.4), Daniel was not the only Hebrew prophet associated with Alexander. Lactantius, who also knew of the Sibyl's utterances about Alexander, said that Zechariah flourished in the days of Alexander and Darius.[105] Zechariah, the eleventh of the twelve minor prophets of the Christian OT, is currently believed to have prophesied in the 520s BC, almost two hundred years before Alexander's death. If Lactantius' synchronism is slightly erroneous, it is probably because ancient chronology was seriously complicated by many different calendars in each culture. Furthermore, he did not have access to any of the chronological tools for computations that came about later. As we have seen, the time of Alexander was considered a chronological marker of a historical epoch, and it was constantly used by ancient authors to create historical connections in the past. His attempt to embed a minor Biblical prophet in a vast past is genuine and demonstrates how much attention Alexander attracted and just how much the figure defined that period.

Alexander's association with the Biblical prophets and, in turn, their prophetic premonitions of his victories were crucial to corroborate and expound. In the Book of Daniel, we witnessed that the figure was the subject of several prophecies, and the imagery of those passages could be recycled in other works. For instance, Jerome recycles both the image of the leopard and the he-goat in the prologue of the *Life of Hilarion*. More importantly, these allegorical creatures could be used to explain other significant passages in the other prophets. In his exegesis of Jeremiah's prophecy about the destruction of the Chaldeans (50:8-10), Theodoret of Cyrrhus can assert that Alexander as the he-goat of Daniel 8 fulfilled this prophecy (the goat imagery is particularly suitable for his commentating on this passage since Jeremiah had proclaimed that the Hebrews should be like he-goats before the herds).[106] Theodoret based his explanation of one major OT prophet with a prophecy in another and thus gives us a glimpse of the alternative self-referencing tradition that Christians were trying to construct around the Bible. This Biblical textualism is of course a striking feature of early Christian texts, but it is important to highlight that this Alexander material is clearly significant for the development of early Christian literature as a whole and Alexander's role in that discourse.

105 Lactantius *Divine Institutes* 4.14.

106 Theodoret of Cyrrhus *Commentary on Jeremiah* 50:8-10 (*PG* 81.741).

No Christian was more inclined to use Alexander in Biblical exegesis than Jerome. This is perhaps not surprising since he was among the clergymen most steeped in the Graeco-Roman Classics in which Alexander was ubiquitous. But the Alexander material he uses comes primarily from the Bible. Indeed, Alexander features more in his Bible commentaries than in his hagiography, sermons and treatises. The king appears in most of his commentaries on the OT prophets: the major prophets Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel and Daniel; several of the minor prophets Hosea, Joel, Amos, Nahum and Zechariah.[107] Features of the Danielic Alexander imagery (leopard, he-goat) occurs in Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel and Zechariah. In the same and other commentaries, other uses of Alexander occur: references to Alexander's Alexandria proliferate (Isaiah, Hosea, Nahum), details from 1 Maccabees (Isaiah, Amos), the time of Alexander as a historical period (Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Amos)[108] and recondite details, such as the cup of poison he drank in Babylon and his swift victories until the campaign in India (Jeremiah). The wealth of material Jerome commands, the contexts and texts he uses it in and the juxtapositions of Biblical and classical he makes are testimony to the relevance of Alexander in the intellectual discourse of late fourth-century Christianity.

To take an example, we turn to his commentary on Jeremiah. Just as Theodoret used Daniel to understand one of Jeremiah's lines, so too does Jerome use Daniel to explain a different prophecy with the animal features of lion, wolf and leopard:[109]

> The phrase, 'a wolf from the desert shall destroy them,' signifies the Medes and the Persians, which Daniel portrays in his vision as a, 'bear,' in whose mouth were three rows. The phrase, 'a leopard is watching against their cities,' prefigures the onslaught of Alexander and the quick advance from the West to India. He calls him a, 'leopard,' because of his inconstancy, and since he contended against the Medes and the Persians after having subjected many nations to himself. And of this leopard it [i.e. Daniel 7:6] says, 'And the beast had four heads, and dominion was given to it.' **But since he [i.e. Jeremiah] is not prophesying about the future or of things that are now about to take place, but is narrating the history of the past, he passes over the Roman empire in silence**, although the Ro-

107 For the references, see Appendix 1 s.v. Jerome of Stridon.

108 Eusebius of Caesarea *Commentary on Isaiah* 1.72.

109 Jeremiah 5:6. 'Therefore a lion from the forest shall kill them, a wolf from the desert shall destroy them. A leopard is watching against their cities; everyone who goes out of them shall be torn in pieces because their transgressions are many, their apostasies are great.'

> man empire may be spoken of by the phrase, 'everyone who goes out of them shall be torn in pieces.'
>
> Jerome *Commentary on Jeremiah* 1.95 (*CCSL* 74.53-4).[110]

It is noteworthy that the commentary is so repetitive, reproducing the same phrases repeatedly and offering singular explanations with cross-references to the Book of Daniel. The repetitiveness is a typical feature of the commentary genre. By constantly repeating his interpretations, the author seeks to posit that his reading of individual passages is right and licensed by the text itself.

Jerome's explanation that Jeremiah is narrating the events of the past should be understood from Jerome's perspective: it is the exegete, not Jeremiah, that brings in the prophesy of Rome, soon to be fulfilled. These exegetical comments are perhaps the best example of how we are to understand the general relationship between the prophetic landscapes of past and present. History before Rome was thoroughly embedded into a sequence of successive empires, supported by other OT prophecies but especially by Daniel 2 and 7, that foreshadowed the coming of Rome. This is a tendency among the Roman Christians in the East and the West. Seeing the narrative of Biblical prophecy in this way was crucial for the Christian conception that the imperial peace had only come about in the reign of Augustus, the *pax Romana*, because the Advent of Jesus Christ happened to coincide with his tenure. Indeed, some claimed that Augustus abolished the Roman Republic, the rule of many, inspired by the monotheistic Christianity.[111]

The single most striking exegetical exposition of such a sequence occurs in Cyril's commentary on the sixth chapter of Zechariah,[112] the same prophet that Lactantius

110 Trans. Graves 2011: 34-5 (adapted). For the Danielic prophecy having already been fulfilled, see e.g. Theophilus of Antioch *To Autolycus* 1.14.

111 Inglebert 1996a: 24 cites the apologists Melito of Sardes, Origen (*Against Celsus* 2.30) and Eusebius (*Church History* 4.26, *Preparation for the Gospel* 1.4.2-4).

112 Zechariah 6:1-8. 'And again I looked up and saw four chariots coming out from between two mountains—mountains of bronze. The first chariot had red horses, the second chariot black horses, the third chariot white horses, and the fourth chariot dappled-grey horses. Then I said to the angel who talked with me, "What are these, my lord?" The angel answered me, "These are the four winds of heaven going out, after presenting themselves before the Lord of all the earth. The chariot with the black horses goes toward the north country, the white ones go toward the west country, and the dappled ones go toward the south country." When the steeds came out, they were impatient to get off and patrol the earth. And he said, "Go, patrol the earth." So they patrolled the earth. Then he cried out to me, "Lo, those who go toward the north country have set my spirit at rest in the north country."'

erroneously dated around the reign of Alexander. Zechariah speaks of four mighty chariots draw by horses of different colours that come out from behind two mountains made of bronze. Cyril interprets each chariot to be a different empire:

1. The first was drawn by red horses, and they are the Chaldeans or Babylonians because they were blood-thirsty and caused bloodshed in Judea and Samaria.
2. The black steeds of the second chariot indicate the kingdom of Media and Persia under Cyrus because of the devastation they inflicted upon the Babylonians. The colour suggests mourning and death.
3. Third are the white horses symbolising Alexander's kingdom because Greeks were effeminate, *habrodiaitos*, clad in white clothing and had clear speech unlike the 'barbarians.'
4. The dapple-grey horse of the fourth chariot is Rome on account of their power.

Then he turns to the directions in which the chariots went, but he modifies the Biblical text to say that the black horses went towards the north, the white horses followed them and the dapple-grey steeds went to the south. He goes on to suggest that the black and white horses went to the Babylonian kingdom, saying:

> Both of them [i.e. Cyrus and Alexander, the champions of the two chariots] attacked the land of the Chaldeans and took it by force. The first was Cyrus and then after him Alexander, who even overpowered Darius himself around the so-called Issus, a city in Cilicia,[113] killing countless numbers of Persians. At any rate, they say a mighty pile of bones was heaped up of those who fell there,[114] and an inscription was made to this effect:
>
> By the walls of Issus near the stormy billows of Cilicia we lie, countless hordes of Persians, following former king Darius on his last journey. This is the deed of Alexander of Macedon.

113 Cyril is clearly in error here because the city was built after the battle at the Issus river (or at a later stage). For this, see Cohen 2006: 73-6; Dahmen 2007: 21; Stoneman 2008: 108-9.

114 Arrian *Anabasis* 2.11.8 says that a gulf bridged by the Persian dead allowed the Macedonians to pursue the remainder of the defeated Persian army.

Cyril of Alexandria *Commentary on Zechariah* 6
(2.359-60 Pusey, *PG* 72.96) incorporating Antipater
of Sidon *Epigrams* (*Greek Anthology* 7.246).

He continues his exegesis of this chariot image with the note that Cyrus and Alexander were God's punishment for the Babylonians' cruel actions against Judea and, eventually, discusses what the Romans did in the south (Carthage).[115]

Cyril's level of detail in the description of Alexander's campaigns is only matched by singular passages in Eusebius and Jerome: the exposition of why the Greeks were symbolised by the white colour is unique, although we have seen above that there was a *topos* of Greeks speaking clearly. As for the incorporation of the epigram of second-century BC Antipater of Sidon, this is rarely done in exegesis, but sometimes in historiography. John Malalas notes the existence of a fountain in Antioch named after Alexander's mother Olympias because the water's taste had apparently reminded the king of his mother's milk.[116] The integration of such information shows how Biblical exegesis was not only serious scholarship but also a literary text that needed embellishing by rhetorical devices. We see clearly that the arrangement of material is masterfully done by Cyril. He begins with the alternative *translatio imperii* sequence licensed by the different colours of the horses; he modifies the Biblical text to enable him to talk about the sack of Babylon by Persians and Macedonians; he embellishes the Alexander narrative richly with classicising poetry; and finally he returns to the idea of divine providence that caused the destruction of the Babylonians. Once again, Cyrils' exegesis evidences that Biblical commentaries imbue Alexander with a different purpose and understanding of the king's aims because of the integration and rearrangement of traditional texts and OT Scripture. The result is Christian because it is a Christian interpretation of what these texts mean together when overlapped and synthesised. We shall now see how Christians deployed Alexander in a similar manner when they read the only prophetic book of the NT.

115 Jerome *Commentary on Zechariah* 1.6.8 (*CCSL* 76a.793-4) interprets those that go to the north country to be emblematic of Alexander's destruction of the Medes and the Persians. Alexander is projected as the instrument of God who punishes the oppressive powers of the east and sets the world at peace.

116 Malalas 10.10 (234 Dindorf). Cf. Libanius *Oration* 11.73-4; *Greek Anthology* 9.699. ἔνθεν Ἀλέξανδρος Μακεδὼν πίεν ἀγλαὸν ὕδωρ· / μητρὸς δ' εἶπε γάλακτι πανείκελα ῥεύματα πηγῆς, / ᾗ καὶ Ὀλυμπιάδος πόρεν οὔνομα, σῆμα δὲ τοῦτο. This sort of passage could have been incorporated into Carney 2006.

2.3. Revelation

For you can never be sure of the hour when the Lord may be coming.[117]

It has been shown that the Alexander figure of the Christian readings of Daniel was redeployed in exegesis of other OT prophets. The following explores the incorporation of Alexander into the exegesis of Revelation. This may seem curious: Revelation is a completely Christian text and concerns the future, not the past Alexander was fully embedded in. Yet, the osmosis of eschatological motifs between Daniel and Revelation helped to integrate Alexander into the progressive narrative leading towards the Christian future. He was seen as part of a longer narrative of history that had begun in the past of Danielic prophecy, culminated in the days of Jesus and would eventually culminate again at an unknown time. It must be said at the outset that his role in Daniel was much more important to eastern Christians, and only a handful of the same commentators that commented on Daniel bring Alexander into their exegesis of the final book of the NT.

Revelation is one of the most remarkable texts of Christian antiquity and deserves a short introduction. The apocalyptic text is the only prophetic book of the NT and supposedly contains visions revealed to John the Evangelist by Jesus. The contents concern the end of the world and the promised Kingdom Come. To this end, the text employs mystical allegories and arcane numerology, a type of prophetic calculation. For instance, 666 is the number of the beast that will come at the end (Revelation 13:18). Some of the most well-known symbolic imagery of western culture features: allegorical dragons, fallen angels, the seven seals and trumpets, the four horsemen and the Whore of Babylon (Revelation 17). These mystic creatures are naturally interpreted as types of earthly evil and sin. Early Christian exegesis of Revelation focus on the process and divine message that would guide them to this promised, final goal.

While many commentators agree on specific interpretations of certain passages, they often disagree on minor matters. Take for example the identity of the red dragon of Revelation 12:3 that every commentator identifies as Satan. But its seven heads are interpreted in different ways. For the third-century martyr Victorinus, they were seven Roman emperors; for the fourth-century African theologian Tyconius, seven alien kings; for the elusive but erudite Byzantine Oecumenius, seven tyrants; for the spiritual exegete Andrew of Caesarea, the seven evil forces (as opposed to the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit).[118] It follows that most details were open to interpretation in a fairly flexible system of exegesis, as the other prophetic books of Scripture were.

117 Matthew 24:42; Luke 12:40; Mark 13:35; 37; *Diadichē* 16.1. Cf. Ludlow 2009: 7.

Since there were no theological disputes over Revelation in the Latin West, the first extant homilies/sermons with extensive quotations of Revelation are as early as the founder of the Latin church tradition, Tertullian. Like the sections above on Daniel and the minor OT prophets, it is not presently beneficial to survey the thousands of quotations of Revelation that occur across the corpus of early Christian literature, but we can make lists of the known ancient commentaries on Revelation.

The Greek Christians produced the following works on Revelation:[119]

- c. 180. Melito of Sardis *On the Antichrist and Revelation* (lost).
- c. 203. Hippolytus *On Christ and the Antichrist*.
- Before 250. Origen *Scholia on Revelation* (lost).
- Before 398. Didymus the Blind *Commentary on Revelation* (lost).
- Late sixth century. Oecumenius (of Alexandria?) *Commentary on Revelation*.*
- After Oecumenius, perhaps early seventh century. Andrew of Caesarea *Commentary on Revelation* (pp. 186-7 Schmid).

There are also some Latin commentaries on Revelation:[120]

- 270s. Victorinus of Pettau.*
- 370-90s. Tyconius.*
- 410s. Jerome of Stridon (d. 420), revision of Victorinus.*
- 530s. Apringius of Beja.*
- 542. Caesarius of Arles *Sermons on the End*.*[121]
- 560. Primasius of Hadrumetum.*
- c. 600. Paterius (Disciple of Gregory the Great).*
- c. 735. Bede *Commentary on Revelation* 2.21 (*CCSL* 121a.401).

118 In the early Christian tradition, the seven gifts are wisdom, understanding, prudence, knowledge, fortitude, piety and fear of the Lord for which see e.g. Victorinus *Commentary on Revelation* 1.4; Primasius of Hadrumentum *Commentary on Revelation* 2.5; Gregory the Great *Homilies on Ezekiel* 2.10.17. The seven blessings of the Holy Trinity asserted by Paul in Ephesians 2:3-14 do not seem to prioritise the same virtues.

119 An asterisk indicates that Alexander is not mentioned.

120 The later commentaries of Autpert Ambrose (781), Beatus of Liébana (c. 800), Haymo of Halberstadt (before 853) incorporate the Gog and Magog story (Ch. 3.1) and therefore represent a medieval development that cannot be pursued here. See e.g. Haymo of Halberstadt *Commentary on Revelation* (*PL* 117.1186).

121 Studied extensively by Klingshirn 1994.

In the commentaries Alexander features, he is primarily read into two different chapters (more below),[122] but he is also grafted onto the passage of Revelation 19:10 by Oecumenius, who reads Daniel 10:20 into Revelation.[123] Oecumenius' allusion is rather laconic, since he does not elaborate on who the prince of Greece from the Daniel passage is. But it shows quite well how Daniel 10:20 was assumed to be familiar to all Christians and that the Danielic text could be used to read Revelation, just as Hippolytus had done. The rest of the discussion concerns the two principal passages of Revelation that Alexander is sometimes read into.

1. Revelation 13:1-2. The beast emerging from the sea is similar to the red dragon, but comprises different animal features. It looks like a leopard, with feet like a bear and a mouth like a lion. The similarity with the four beasts of Daniel 7 was soon expounded by Greek commentators Hippolytus and Andrew to assert that the apocalyptic tradition, begun in Daniel 7, was confirmed in and updated by Revelation. We cannot ascertain whether the intervening commentaries made the same connection because they are lost. But Oecumenius offers a different interpretation than Hippolytus. He posits that the Revelation beast has leopard features because leopards are quick and clever creatures that hatch evil plans. Considering the above analysis of the symbolism of the leopard (Ch. 2.1.3), Oecumenius' testimony is not surprising. The Latin commentaries do not make the same synthesis until Bede. He notes that the kingdom of the Greeks, that is to say Alexander's kingdom, is signified by the leo-

122 Revelation 13:1-2. 'And I [i.e. John] saw a beast rising out of the sea, having ten horns and seven heads; and on its horns were ten diadems, and on its heads were blasphemous names. And the beast that I saw was like a leopard, its feet were like a bear's, and its mouth was like a lion's. And the dragon [i.e. the red dragon = Satan] gave it his power, his throne and great authority.'
Revelation 17:9-11. 'This [prophetic vision] calls for a mind that has wisdom: the seven heads are seven mountains on which the woman [i.e. the Whore of Babylon] is seated; also, they are seven kings, of whom five have fallen, one is living, and the other has not yet come; and when he comes, he must remain for only a little while. As for the beast that was and is not, it is an eighth <king> but it belongs to the seven, and it goes to destruction.'

123 Oecumenius *Tenth Discourse on Revelation* 19:10.
Daniel 10:20. 'Then he [i.e. the Archangel Michael] said, "Do you know why I have come to you? Now I must return to fight against the prince of Persia, and when I am through with him, the prince of Greece will come."'
Revelation 19:10. 'Then I fell down at his feet to worship him, but he said to me, "You must not do that! I am a fellow servant with you and your comrades who hold the testimony of Jesus. Worship God! For the testimony of Jesus is the spirit of prophecy."'

pard; the Persians are signified by the bear and the Babylonians by the lion. This is the same as almost all commentators' interpretations of the beasts in Daniel 7. It is very significant that most of Bede's Latin predecessors do not read the successive kingdoms into this particular passage of Revelation because it means that Alexander and the Greek kingdom were absent in all previous Latin commentaries.

2. Revelation 17:9-11. The strange narrative of this passage is part of a longer digression on the divine judgement of the Whore of Babylon. An angel explains to John the mystery of the woman, who rides a scarlet beast with seven heads and ten horns. Eventually, the beast will be angry with her and consume her with fire. God will grant all royal power to the beast. The angel interprets the symbolic significance of the woman, the beast and its features. The heads of the beasts are both mountains and kings, thus forming a sequence of the succession of kings, as in Daniel 7. The identity of those kings are not stated, so the commentators can use their imagination: Oecumenius and the Latin commentaries, interpret the heads to be seven Roman emperors. As Victorinus points out, only Rome had seven hills, so it makes sense if the seven heads represented the reign of Rome. Victorinus, as is typical in the Latin commentaries, refers to the emperors that were close to John's time: Domitian, Titus, Vespasian, Otho, Vitellius, Galba, Nerva and adds the eighth that was to come, that is Nero. Oecumenius posits that they were the prominent persecutors of the church, that is Nero, Domitian, Trajan, Severus, Decius, Valerian and Diocletian. As an additional note, he adds that the persecutors had gone when Constantine founded Constantinople, New Rome. His interpretation thus implies that the piety of Christians in the Byzantine East brought nothing wicked from Rome with them, and that Rome was righteously sacked for the pagan sins of the past. On this last point, also evident from the *Demonstrations* of Aphrahat, Andrew makes the most elaborate explanation that requires its own treatment.

Andrew differs uniquely in his interpretation of the mountains and the seven kings in Revelation 17:9-11. He calls for a spiritual interpretation of them, not the secular one preferred by previous commentators. In his view, the mountains have to be understood within the context of global history rather than the one centred on Rome: the seven places were world empires that dominated all others and were established at various points and periods. He posits that the mountains signify the Assyrians at

Nineveh, the Medians at Ecbatana, the Chaldaeans at Babylon, the Persians at Susa, Alexander's Macedonians in their new world empire, and Caesar Augustus at Rome. After the reign of Augustus only wicked men arose to power, and the empire was not favoured by Jesus Christ until power was transferred to Constantinople. Again, when Andrew has to list the rulers to whom Revelation refers, he states: Ninus of Assyria, Arbaces of Media, Nebuchadnezzar of Babylon, Cyrus of Persia, Alexander of Macedon, Romulus of Old Rome and Constantine of New Rome.

The result of this interpretation is similar to that of Oecumenius, but different in the interpretation of imperial identities. The sequence makes a literary connection between the mightiest empires that implies a great sequential past that culminated with Augustus, who was then succeeded by failures and evil men until the reign of Constantine. Andrew does not consider the past up until Augustus a negative past. Indeed, he says that the kings' reigns were not linked to geographical power in terms of land, but tied to the glory or fame of each ruler. He envisages them as having been assigned great individual prominence, and that is why they are both symbolised by mountains and kings in Revelation: their majestic powers made them rise high above the rest of the world. In other words, they rose to power because of God's grace. Like so many commentators on Daniel, the exegete embeds God's Providence in the remote past. He imbues his exegesis of Revelation with the very idea of *translatio imperii* taken from the Danielic sequences, and creates the sense of a great past to support the NT text.

An important shift in the projection of the past is suggested by the relationship between Old and New Rome, a progression from pagan to Christian history. As already said, Aphrahat had suggested this succession in a work calling upon Constantine to come liberate the Persian Christians from Sassanid persecutions. Taken together with Aphrahat and Oecumenius, Andrew's commentary evidences that there was an eastern agenda of suggesting that a spiritual cleansing of wicked Rome was the reason why its glory was transferred to Constantinople in the East. The pure and true power of Rome was enshrined in Constantinople, an assertion that Byzantine preachers undoubtedly would wish to maintain at all costs for it constructed a different history. These three Christianised pasts are a story that tells of a classical past culmination by divine will with the birth of Jesus in the reign of Augustus, which was then polluted by the sins of the persecuting emperors, but restored to its former glory in Constantinople. Andrew's exposition thus make direct line of imperial ancestry that connects the hallowed past with the Byzantine present.

We notice that he can only do so because he ignores much of the passage he is supposed to expound. For instance, he makes no reference to the passage's mention of the sequence of the five kings that have fallen, the one who is living and the seventh that has not yet come. If we apply that to his list of kings, we can note that Ninus, Arbaces, Nebuchadnezzar, Cyrus and Alexander are the five dead kings; Romulus is the one living now, which seems to imply that Rome is still great; and Constantine has not yet come, which would be absurd considering the fact that Constantinople had existed for centuries by the time of Andrew. The sequence does therefore not make sense if we apply Andrew's reading to every part of Revelation. Hence, to impose his reading on the text, the commentator has to modify, alter and omit much of the text itself, thus making the meaning of Revelation his own.

I must, however, reiterate that Andrew's use of Alexander is unique, and that the majority of the commentaries on Revelation in Greek and Latin never reference Alexander. This is an important observation since it suggests that the absence was only a tendency in early Christian exegesis: with Bede and the coming of the Middle Ages, Alexander found a way into Revelation through his role in the eschatological legend about the enclosing of the unclean nations, Gog and Magog (Ch. 3.1). This is a significant distinction between the exegesis of the early Christian church and the medieval.

2.4. The First Book of Maccabees

Twelf yeer he [i.e. Alisaundre] regned, as seith Machabee.

Chaucer *Canterbury Tales. The Monk's Tale. De Alexandro* l. 25 Skeat.[124]

Early Christian authors, like the medieval poets, considered the Alexander narrative of 1 Maccabees historical but not necessarily spiritually inspired. Indeed, even today, the four books of Maccabees have varied spiritual meaning in the churches. The first two Maccabean books are considered canonical by the Catholic Church, whereas the last two are regarded apocryphal; the Lutheran and Anglican Churches consider all four books apocryphal; and the Orthodox Church accept the first three as canonical, but not the fourth. But this dispute over the authenticity was also unresolved in antiquity. For instance, Jerome alleged in his rendition of Eusebius's *Chronicle* that the Maccabean books were not accepted as a part of Scripture, whereas his contemporary and fellow Christian chronicler, Hilarianus, considered them to be.[125] Generally, it seems that the early Christian writers mainly considered 1 Maccabees a historical narrative that supported the other Biblical books, such as Daniel, and had important stories about martyrs that could inspire the Christians.

1 Maccabees is an important text of Christian historiography. For instance, just like Eusebius and many other Christian chronographers, Jerome systematically uses the Maccabean texts (together with Josephus and Julius Africanus) to constitute the narrative of early Hellenistic history up until the coming of Rome.[126] These Jewish and Christian texts are deliberately chosen to supplant the traditional texts that one could have used to sustain a historiographical narrative of these periods, such as the Roman historian Diodorus Siculus (whom Eusebius actually uses elsewhere). The alternative sources and emphasis on Hebrew events and figures indicate a change of interests and the method of their historiography.

Scholarship has mainly been interested in ascertaining the extent to which the unfavourable narrative of Alexander's life in 1 Maccabees had an impact on the Chris-

124 Cf. e.g. Pfaffe Lambrecht *Vorauer Alexander* ll. 5-12 Lienert, *Strassburger Alexander* ll. 5-12 Lienert. Briant 2012: 506 notes that Voltaire considered the Alexander narrative of 1 Maccabees to be historical, just as the medieval poets had done.

125 Jerome *Chronicle PL* 27.401-2. Cf. Hilarianus *Duration of the World* p. 169 Frick. For the issues with the status, see Kazis 1962: 3-4. Cf. Kłęczar 2012a: 345-6.

126 For his sources, see Jerome *Chronicle PL* 27.387-8.

tian reception of the figure. Even if there was only Jerome's Latin translation, Pfister described the circulation and importance of the text rather vividly, saying that Christianity was the vehicle that brought the negative Alexander of 1 Maccabees over the Alps and into Britain and, from there, diffused onto the continent throughout the fifth century.[127] Conversely, Klein and Wirth were unwilling to afford the text and its reception any attention.

The text does, however, deserve a closer look because many Christians use it as a source of understanding Hellenistic history and Alexander's role in it. Needless to say, they do not quote its Alexander narrative in its entirety but adapt it in ways that separate it from its original meaning. Besides the extensive use of 1 Maccabees in the chronicles, a few major adaptations can be listed.

- The narrative was used to expound upon the Danielic narratives. According to Hippolytus, one would find the Hellenistic history prophesied by Daniel in 1 Maccabees.[128] This gave rise to the idea, captured well by the Arian church historian Philostorgius (c. 430), that Alexander's rapid rise and fall alluded to in the Book of Daniel was made historical by the anonymous author of 1 Maccabees.[129] The historian saw a unity in the two Biblical texts.
- 1 Maccabees was also used to establish Alexander's historical connection with the persecutor of the Jews, Antiochus IV. After the short biography of Alexander in the preface of 1 Maccabess, the author goes on to relate Antiochus' role in the Maccabean revolt, asserting that Alexander was the remote predecessor of Antiochus.[130] This is known to Hippolytus and many other Christians. It is very important to note that, in doing so, numerous Christians preserve otherwise vestigially attested evidence from the Nemrud Daği inscriptions that the

127 Pfister 167. 'Das Vehikel, auf dem diese literarische Überlieferung auch über die Alpen kam, war das Christentum, das sich vom 5. Jh. ab in Irland, Schottland und England, dann auch auf dem Festland ausbreitete.' Cf. Tristram 1989: 153-4.

128 Hippolytus *On Christ and the Antichrist* § 49. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν εἴ τις βούλοιτο λεπτομερῶς ἐνιστορῆσαι, σεσήμανται ἐν τοῖς μακκαβαίοις. Cf. Theodoret *Questions on Numbers* 44.1 Petruccione directs the reader to 1 Maccabees to substantiate the prophecy in Daniel. Unnoticed by Wirth 1993: 69.

129 Philostorgius *Church History* fr. 1.1 (Photius *Library* cod. 40). Cf. Amidon 2007: xix. This is also noted by Ps.-John Chrysostom *Synopsis of Scripture PG* 56.383.

130 Elsewhere the author of 1 Maccabees speaks of Antiochus' entry the Persian city of Elymais, where he finds the treasuries of Alexander. For which, see 1 Maccabees 6.1-2. Cf. Josephus *Jewish Antiquities* 12.355.

Seleucids claimed direct descent from Alexander.[131] We must also note here the anonymous *Dialogue of Timothy and Aquila* that posited that Alexander's four foster-brothers were Antiochus (Antigonus?), Philip, Seleucus and Ptolemy. That detail must depend on 1 Maccabees 1.6 that speaks of the men Alexander appointed to take over his rule, but the interpretation of who those men were belong to the anonymous author of the *Dialogue*.

- It is notable that Christians generally do not refer to Alexander's pride. For instance, the Spanish presbyter Orosius omits pride altogether from his account of Alexander's life, although he gladly criticises Roman generals and emperors for their prideful failings.[132] This tendency says something important about the fact that the feature of Biblical pride from 1 Maccabees was often omitted and other information from the narrative foregrounded. For instance, it is often recycled that Alexander had peacefully divided his kingdom and that he had reigned for twelve years in total.[133] The narrative was read as historical information rather than the moralising judgement of 1 Maccabees.

From these observations, it emerges that the narrative of 1 Maccabees was generally used as historical fact as far as the early Christians were concerned. Yet, the narrative was heavily edited to be used in this way. Emphasis on certain features, such as the number of years Alexander reigned or the similarities with the narrative of Daniel, was typical as a sort of general reference. If reference was made to the Maccabean Alexander narrative, it was intentionally adjusted to accommodate new Christian arguments about the unity of Scripture or to support an apologetic framework in the chronicling of history.

There are, however, more singular instances. The Maccabean reference to Kittim from which Alexander set out is somewhat obscure. In the OT, it was identified with Cyprus,[134] although it more generally referred to the city of Citium on Cyprus from which the founder of Stoicism, Zeno, hailed.[135] Josephus had to carefully clarify that

131 Hippolytus *On Christ and the Antichrist* § 49. οὕτω γὰρ ἐτεχνάσατο κατὰ τῶν Ἰουδαίων καὶ Ἀντίοχος ὁ Ἐπιφανὴς ὁ τῆς Συρίας γενόμενος βασιλεύς, ὢν ἐκ γένους Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Μακεδόνος. Cf. John Chrysostom *Homily against the Jews* 5.6.7; Hilarianus *Duration of the World* p. 169 Frick; Ps.-Caesarius *Questions* 4.238 (pp. 209-10 Rudinger). For the Nemrud Daği inscriptions, see Facella 2005: 88-9.

132 Orosius *History* 6.17.9, 6.17.10 (Julius Caesar), 6.18.30 (Lepidus), 7.10.2, 7.10.5 (Nero).

133 Cary 1956: 121-2.

134 Genesis 10: 4. Cf. Genesis 10:2; 1 Chronicles 1:5, 7; Isaiah 66:19; Daniel 8:21, 10:20, 11:2.

135 Strabo *Geography* 14.6.3.

the island was colonised by the sons of Javan, whom he identifies with the Ionians and every subsequent Greek person.[136] In the same passage, he relates that one of the sons of Javan, Cethimus, came into the possession of Cyprus and that one of its cities retained the Hebrew name throughout antiquity. Presumably, Hellenistic Jews, who were less familiar with Biblical genealogy and geography than Josephus, would probably consider the land they could see from Judea to be Hellas (Cyprus).

Christians were equally confounded. Hippolytus, one of the first to compile and synthesise the Christian views of OT genealogy and ethnic diffusion, thought that the Macedonians descended from Chatain, son of Japhet.[137] The Cypriots were descendants of Javan, that is the line of the Kitians (from whom the Romans and Latins descended).[138] One striking reference to the location, with full incorporation of 1 Maccabees, was made by Epiphanius (d. 403):

> For the Kitians (from Kittim) are Cypriots and Rhodians. But the Cyprian and Rhodian kin also lived in Macedon whence the Macedonian Alexander set out. This is why it is said in the Maccabees that 'He set out from the land of the Chitians.' Alexander of Macedon was of the Kitian race.
>
> Epiphanius *Panarion* 1.2.25.9 (*GCS* 25.367, *PG* 41.366).[139]

The creative genealogy is substantiated by Epiphanius' following reference to the Pauline model, put forward in Romans 11:17, that many ethnic migrations from Judea took place before and after the period of the Successors of Alexander. To make sense of the Maccabean text for other Christian readers, the topographical confusion is carefully explained with reference to OT and NT material, so that the bishop represents himself as an authoritative expert on Biblical matters.[140] This is part of the greater strategy of the work as a whole: Epiphanius seeks to authorise his stereotyping of groups and sects in opposition to the 'orthodox' Christians. His polemical pro-

136 Josephus *Jewish Antiquities* 1.128. For the city, see e.g. Thucydides *Histories* 1.112.4; Diodorus Siculus *Library* 12.3.3; Plutarch *Life of Cimon* 19.1; *Periplus of the Red Sea* § 317; Eusebius *Commentary on Isaiah* 1.83; Theodoret of Cyrrhus *Commentary on Daniel* 11 (*PG* 81.1520); Procopius of Gaza *On Isaiah PG* 87b.2185; *Suda* s.v. Zenon (Z 79 Adler).

137 Ps.-Hippolytus *Chronologies* § 64 (*GCS* 46.12).

138 Ps.-Hippolytus *Chronologies* § 72 (*GCS* 46.12).

139 Cf. Jerome *Commentary on Isaiah* 5.23.1 (*CCSL* 73.217); Theodoret of Cyrrhus *Questions in the Octateuch* p. 221 Marcos & Sáenz-Badillos.

140 Flower 2011: 86-7 argues that Epiphanius authoritatively represents himself in his work as an expert on heresy by using some of the same literary means found in the frameworks of Plinian encyclopedias and Galenic medical treatises.

gramme is to establish what constitutes an orthodox Christian by labelling the opposing sectarian beliefs of heresy and providing the 'orthodox' antidote against the poisonous words of heretics (hence *Medicine Chest*, *Panarion*).

Within the greater Christian context of cataloguing individual groups and beliefs, the bishop posits the claim that Cypriots, Rhodians and Alexander's Macedonians were closely related through the same forefathers on the authority of a Biblical text.[141] The juxtaposition creates the sense that Cypriots were put on the same level historically as Alexander, and part of the same ethnic group through common ancestry. This fits in rather nicely with the hypothesis put forward by Kim that Epiphanius was engaged in writing Cyprus into 'a sanctuary for orthodox Christians,'[142] and attempted to create the sense of a powerful Christian community.

Appropriating Alexander as a sort of distant link, or even direct link, between him and an ethnic or social group was common. We shall review the Byzantine legends and topographies below (Ch. 7.4), but we may mention two important later instances:

- The legend of Chouseth and Byzas, the eponymous founder of Byzantium. According to the seventh-century *Apocalypse* attributed to third-century bishop Methodius of Olympus, the daughter of the Ethiopian king Phol, Chouseth, married Philip II and gave birth to Alexander (§ 8.2). After Alexander died, Chouseth returned to Ethiopia, but was soon married to Byzas of Byzantium (§ 9.1-4). From that pair and their daughter, Byzantia, the Byzantine Greeks originated. Hence the Byzantine Greeks descended from the Ethiopian mother of Alexander.[143]
- Basil the Macedonian (811-886). The anonymous *Life of Basil* tells the story that the mother of Basil I the Younger was descended from both Alexander the Great and Constantine I. The anonymous hagiographer also says that the future Byzantine emperor wanted for himself the sobriquet 'the Macedonian,' because he allegedly hailed from there, recalling the memory of Alexander.[144]

The latter stories of Byzantium in particular may be seen as a part of an an ethnic and cultural discourse that Epiphanius is also using for his own purposes, although the

141 Klein 1988 and Wirth 1993 do not seem to know of Epiphanius. For Epiphanius' claim, see Averil Cameron 2001: 2-3.

142 Y. Kim 2006: 31.

143 Jouanno 2014: 135-6.

144 Tougher *BE* 294 n. 13.

later Byzantine Christians are less restrained in their representation of their alleged Macedonian predecessor. Epiphanius does show some of the same appreciation of Alexander as a common cultural figure that his community has remote ties to. We may note that the Cypriots seem to have shared his enthusiasm. Recently, as a part of an ongoing excavation on Cyprus, a marble bust of Alexander has been uncovered in a seventh-century basilica on the Akrotiri peninsula.[145] The basilica is one of two built on a large ecclesiastical ground associated with the then Patriarch of Alexandria, John the Merciful (c. 556-620, in office 610-20).

Such a discovery tells us something about the steady development of a Christian Alexander discourse, which is also evident in material culture as well. Discussing Alexander of the Byzantine Greek world, Stoneman notes with approval Mitsakis' statement that Alexander, 'died an antique pagan and was born again as a Byzantine Christian.'[146] Yet, testimonies from Epiphanius and other demonstrate that the development was by no means linear because they required constant revision and adaptation. This was done because they concerned the very identity of the authors themselves. How the early Christians continued to negotiate this ethnographic and geographic discourse through the use of Alexander is the subject of Chapter 7.

145 Reported by ANSAmed on the 28th of April, 2014 (Archaeology: bust of Alexander the Great found in Cyprus). [http://www.ansamed.info/ansamed/en/news/sections/culture/2014/04/28/archaeology-bust-of-alexander-the-great-found-in-cyprus_0d948236-a46e-426c-a403-82aacd9a0234.html].

146 Stoneman 2008: 218.

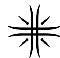
2.5. Conclusion

In this chapter I have shown that previous scholarship has not hitherto recognised the full extent of Alexander's importance for early Christian understanding of the Bible. Alexander features not only in the commentaries on Daniel, but also in the Christian exegesis of many other prophetic texts, including Revelation (Ch. 2.3). These interpretations of scriptural prophecies have important ramifications for how Christians made the past conform to the Biblical world and what was still to come. Alexander thus played an important theological role because his reign was relevant to God's devices. Moreover, it helped the Christians to organise the Biblical past and create the high points between empires (Ch. 2.1, 2.2), which was vital for placing the coming of the Christians in a 'historical' context. The Book of Daniel gave the Christians an alternative Alexander imagery to deploy (Ch. 2.1), and 1 Maccabees provided different kinds of information to be used in narratives of Christian history (Ch. 2.4).

Chapter 3: Rome

Preliminaries

It is important to remember that the works of Philo of Alexandria and Josephus of Judea were also tied to the Roman intellectual tradition. Rome, like the Hellenistic kingdoms of old, made possible greater networks of literary interaction as well as the continued flourishing of Jews in the diaspora. Yet, the empire also brought about its own perils for Judea, such as the sack of Jerusalem and the destruction of the Temple (AD 70). The Hellenised Jewish texts upon which the Christians commented are thus confined to a particular time under Hellenistic and imperial Rome. So far, it has been argued that these stories about Alexander by Hellenised Jews are rich in texture and often represent traditions far older than the authors themselves. Such tales either reverberated throughout the history of Christianity, or were completely ignored. In this chapter, we are concerned with the miscellaneous Alexander stories of Hellenistic Judaism, primarily from the writings of Philo and Josephus, that were recycled or rejected in early Christianity.



Flavius Josephus' works were very popular in Christian antiquity, and were 'translated' into Latin three times:

- Ps.- Hegesippus' *On the Fall of Jerusalem* (c. 370s) is an adaptation of the *Jewish War* interspersed with references to the *Jewish Antiquities*. The author was presumably an easterner, like Ammianus for example, who thought in Greek, but wrote in Latin. Jerome's knowledge of Ps.-Hegesippus' translation—noting that it was not himself who had written it (*Letter* 71.5 (*CSEL* 55.6)—seems to suggest that they were connected and were part of the same circle of easterners who had a western readership.
- A translation of the *Jewish War* is attributed to the church historian Rufinus, who translated many of Origen's works as well as Eusebius' *Church History*.
- The aristocrat-turned-abbot Cassiodorus (c. 485-585), the founder of the famous monastery *Vivarium* at Monte Cassino, commissioned Latin translations of the *Jewish Antiquities* (books 1-20) and the first two books of the *Against Apion*.

When we correlate these translations with the multitude of references to Josephus in the works of Christians, the large amount of allusions speaks volumes about his works' apologetic and intellectual currency in early Christianity. Schrekenberg was clearly correct in arguing that Josephus offered an apologetic reading of the past from

which the Christians could extract the ostensible 'facts' about Alexander and much else besides. We have seen how these facts could be imbued with radically different meaning, even though the Christians professed to have cited Josephus verbatim as an authority. In some cases, Christians even make Josephus say something that he did not. This creative and polemical reading of him is at the heart of the Christian constructions of the past. New authoritative pasts could be made when specific facts were deliberately misunderstood, rearranged or reinterpreted. Christians were selective and insistent. They had to demonstrate that they had equal right to the authority of antiquity, while asserting that the only true version of that past recorded by others was a variant of their own.

The *Nachleben* of Philo, just like Josephus', was attached to the success of the Christian tradition.[1] Flourishing in the Alexandrian intellectual milieu at the beginning of the 1st century AD, he was a mediator between Greek philosophy, especially Platonic, and Scripture. According to Ruina,[2] Philo 'Christianus' was not only an acknowledged exegete of Scripture that Christians could appropriate, but he was also a valuable witness to the earliest historical Christian ascetics of Alexandria, at least as far as Eusebius was concerned in the *Church History*.[3] For instance, Jerome records that Philo had written a book on the Evangelist's Mark's first church of Alexandria.[4] What presently make Philo important are his references to Alexander, which are resolutely classicising in nature. In one of his philosophical treatises,[5] he quotes a fictional exchange between Alexander and the Indian philosopher Calanus.[6] In another composition, he revisits the *topos* of Alexander's pride, *typhos;* that is to say he uses the classicising language rather than the Biblical phrase used in 1 Maccabees.[7] What separates these references is the fact that the first story is subject to a lengthy exposition by Ambrose, the celebrated bishop of Milan, whereas the second story is not once recycled in Christian literature.

The remainder of this chapter explores the ways in which the less popular Alexander stories in Philo and Josephus were exploited and re-contextualised. The focus on these two figures should make clear the major tendencies in the Christian salvaging of useful stories, and there is no need to repeat the non-referenced or anonymous

1 Dawson 1992: 73; Drobner 2007: 130-1; Ludlow 2009: 66-7; Pollard 2015.

2 Ruina 1993: 3-33.

3 Eusebius *Church History* 2.17.

4 Jerome *On Illustrius Men* 11.1-3.

5 Philo *How all good Men are Free* § 97.

6 Heckel s.v. Calanus.

7 Philo *On the Cherubim* § 19.63-4.

Jewish tales collected in Chapter 1 or those tales Stoneman meticulously analysed.[8] It is impossible to ascertain why these stories did not have the same circulation as the popular ones, such as the Jerusalem tale, but it may have to do with the apologetic value of each particular tale. The survey shall proceed by quantity of references, direct or indirect, to the few remaining passages in either Josephus or Philo.

3.1. The Gate of Alexander

Josephus makes an often cited passing remark to a gate of iron erected by Alexander himself:

> The Alans, as already said, were a Scythian tribe that lived on the banks of Tanais [the river Don] and around the lake Maeotis [the Sea of Asov]. These people planned to attack Media and beyond. They negotiated with the king of the Hyrcanians, who controlled the pass which King Alexander had barred with an iron gate.
>
> Josephus *Jewish War* 7.244-5.

We are told that the Alans were granted passage through the gate. Thereafter they laid waste to the lands beyond the gate (Media) for a long period of time since they had little opposition from the local kings. Josephus, however, does not say where the gate was. In his seminal study from 1928, Andrew Anderson showed how the gate of Alexander in the Josephan tradition should be identified with the Caspian Gates, situated by other ancient authorities in the pass of Dariel in the central Caucasus range [Taurus, modern Turkey]. He also identified two other possible locations for the gate. To use his numbering: '(1) the proper Caspian Gates, fifty miles southeast of Rhagae [modern Rai, about five miles south of Teheran] cleaving Mount Caspius, a range projected from the Taurus Mountains [Elburz]; and (3) the pass of Derbend [Derbent] between the eastern end of a spur of the Caucasus and the Caspian Sea.'[9] Based on the assumption that the historical Alexander, whom Anderson presumed to be the Alexander of Arrian, was associated only with (1), and the legendary Alexander was only associated with (3), he argued that the tradition of the Josephan gate was the one upon which (3) was based. The legendary tradition of (3) was, he noted, not developed until the reign of the Byzantine emperor Heraclius, whereas the Josephan

8 Stoneman 1994a.

9 Anderson 1928: 130. For Josephus' gate and its tradition, see Anderson 1928: 146-52 (with a lengthy note on the sources on p. 136).

version was prompted by the context of map making in Neronian Rome. There is then a significant gap between the two divergent traditions.

Anderson's conclusion was important at the time because it indicated that the existing view—that (3) was already extant by the time of Josephus without the development from (2) to (3)—was wrong. Pfister had previously suggested that the legendary stories about the gate, recorded in the later recensions of the *AR*, could be retrojected back onto the passage in Josephus,[10] which may seem curious at best. For the *AR* speaks of the apocalyptic peoples Gog and Magog, who will break free from their prison on Judgement Day and lay waste to the world (Ezekiel 39:1-29 speaks of Gog from the land Magog; Revelation 20:8 about Gog and Magog). Like the less destructive Alans, they would go through the pass barred by the gate of Alexander. Pfister based this argument on the fact that Josephus associates the Scythians with the Biblical Magog, one of the sons of Japheth, son of Noah.[11] From this link, he assumed a direct transmission of eschatological features from Josephus to the epsilon- and gamma-recensions of the *AR* in the eighth century. Yet, the specific ethnographic label does not lend itself well to the hypothesis that Josephus had Gog and Magog in mind. While the Alans are not attested in the canonical Alexander historians,[12] we do know of an admittedly obscure Severan *Miscellany* authored by Julius Africanus. In two instances, he alludes to a Macedonian stratagem. The king ordered the Macedonians to spread hellebore over the Alan fields in order that the fields would be ruined by the chemical-like substance from the plant. The Alans quickly surrendered.[13] They are thus hardly Gog and Magog material in either Josephus or in Julius Africanus.

10 So Pfister 325 on *AR* ε 3.39, *AR* γ 3.26.

11 Josephus *Jewish Antiquities* 1.123. Μαγώγης δὲ τοὺς ἀπ' αὐτοῦ Μαγώγας ὀνομασθέντας ᾤκισεν, Σκύθας δὲ ὑπ' αὐτῶν προσαγορευομένους. Cf. Genesis 10:2; 1 Chronicles 1:5.

12 The Alans are not discussed directly by the Alexander historians, but Arrian offers a coherent narrative on Alexander's dealings with the Scythians at the Tanais. There is nothing to suggest that Alexander wanted to construct a gate against them. Arrian states, however, that Alexander was interested in founding a city there as a bulwark against Scythian invasions, a strategic position because of the natural boundary that was the mighty river, for which see Arrian *Anabasis* 4.1-6. For the city, see Justin *Epitome* 12.5.12-3; Plutarch *Alexander* 45.6; Orosius *History* 3.18.7. Cf. Bosworth 1980- ii: 13-9. In another work, *Against the Alans* § 26, Arrian uses the terms for Alans and Scythians interchangeably. This seems to indicate that Arrian viewed the Alans in the same way as Josephus did and not as a tribe of Scythians, who rode on horses with great skill and made use of the lasso to capture their enemies. To shed further light on the matter, it would have been useful to have Arrian's work *History of the Alans*, but it is unfortunately no longer extant (NB that *Against the Alans* and *History of the Alans* are two different treatises). Bachrach 1973: 5-6; Bosworth 1977a; Stadter 1980: 45-9, 161-3.

Again, the scattered references to Alexander and the Alans in Christian authors are not exactly eschatological material.[14]

Another point that proves Pfister wrong is that, as noted in the case of Josephus' exegesis of Daniel 7 above, Josephus does not generally imbue his narratives with any eschatological hopes. He follows strictly the principles of Graeco-Roman historiography. Indeed, correlated with Anderson's observation on the divergent locations of the traditions (2) and (3), and our observation on the Alans, Josephus' narrative does not seem to share any of the features Pfister attributed to it.

To be fair to Pfister, we must recognise that he was perhaps misled by the rich Alexander tradition of seventh-century Syria upon which the eschatological narratives of epsilon and gamma were construed. He tried too hard to establish a literary influence between Josephus and the Syriac tradition. Today, the text networks of the Syriac Alexander legends have been made much clearer by scholarly effort, and they are now available in Reinink's translations.[15] We know them from the following texts:

- Anonymous *Syriac Alexander Legend* (c. 630, Amid or Edessa) in Budge 2003.
- *Syriac Alexander Poem*, attributed to Jacob of Serugh (c. 629-36? Amid?) in Reinink 1983.
- *Syriac Homily on the End of Times* by Ps.-Ephrem (c. 642-83) in Reinink 1993b.
- *Apocalypse* by Ps.-Methodius (c. 692) in Garstad 2012; Reinink 1993a.

13 Julius Africanus *Miscellany* F 12.2 (*GCS* NF 18.43), D(ubia) 17 (*GCS* NF 18.107). We know from chemical warfare against the city of Kirrha (595-85 BC) that hellebore was used to poison water supplies, see e.g. Aeschines *Against Ctesiphon* §§ 107-112; Ps.-Scyllax *Periplus* § 37, Diodorus Siculus *Library* 9.16.1; Plutarch *Life of Solon* 11.1; Pausanias *Description* 10.37.5-6; Frontinus *Stratagems* 7.6; Polyaenus *Stratagems* 3.5.1, 6.13.1; *Suda* s.v. Solon (S 777 Adler).

14 See e.g. Orosius *History* 7.34.5; Synesius of Ptolemais *On Kingship* 15. For the engaging history of the Alans, see Bachrach 1973: 3-25 with further references.

15 For the date of the Syriac legends, see above all the syntheses of Reinink, especially 1983: 12, 1993a: xxxiv n. 127, 2003: *passim*. For the very specific date of Ps.-Ephrem, see Reinink 1993b. Cf. Alexander 1985: 7; Van Donzel & Schmidt 2010: 15-32. For a general overview of the diffusion of the legend, see e.g. Lenormant 1882; Anderson 1932: 19-20; Pfister 325; Cary 1956: 133-4; Czeglédy 1957; Boyle 1974: 218-24 (cf. 1977: 19-21); Alexander 1985: 185-92; Gero 1993: 5-8; Bøe 2001: 219-30; Jouanno 2002: 309-15; Reinink 2005 vi: 150-78; Stoneman 1994a: 51, 2008: 174-85; Griffith 2008: 33-5; Schmidt 2008; Demandt 2009: 286-94; Amitay 2010a: 104-10; Garbó García 2012.

These texts are part of their own development within the Syriac-speaking Byzantine church that was to resist the rise and conquests of Islam and, therefore, produced its own eschatological resistance literature. In separating the independent Syriac movement from the Josephan and early Christian developments of the Caspian Gate story, I follow the principal conclusion of the newest case study of the gate by Van Donzel and Schmidt. They, however, do not pursue the earliest development of a legendary tradition, but build upon the works of Reinink to propose a strong influence of Syriac literature upon the Arabic development of the legend of the eschatological gate. The Ummayad Caliphate (661-750) was in fact so convinced of the actual existence of Alexander's gate that they sent Sallam, a man of high importance, to go look for it in the furthest East, and he believed that he had found it.

The Syriac and Arabic developments are presently outside our scope; instead we shall pursue the early Christian inception of the legend that developed much more closely in conjunction with Josephus that has been hitherto suggested.[16] What characterises the eschatological narratives is the feature of enclosure, the act of shutting the peoples in. Alexander did so on account of their wild, savage nature and even their uncleanliness. Josephus offers no such reasoning. From the fourth-century adaptation by Ps.-Hegesippus,[17] we learn that:

> Around this time the Alans—a wild people and long unknown to us because of the troublesome terrain and the iron gate that Alexander had erected at a steep mountain pass to hold back the wild and fierce peoples that were gathered behind it—resided at the Scythian Tanais as well as the surrounding areas and the marshes of Maeotis. They were enclosed (*clausi*) as if shut inside a prison (*quodam cacere*), honouring the will of the king (*ingenio regis*) that they should cultivate the land, not attack that of others.
>
> Ps.-Hegesippus *On the Fall of Jerusalem* 5.50 (*CSEL* 66.405).

16 Van Donzel & Schmidt 2010: 3-14. Although Van Donzel and Schmidt begin with a lucid tabulation of the earliest developments of the story of Gog and Magog—as we know it from the Syriac apocalypses (notable divergences from the OT and NT, the Sibylline Oracles and Rabbinic literature)—their discussion of early Christian literature only takes up a few pages without any significant updates to Anderson's or Reinink's observations.

17 Pollard 2015 is the newest and most authoritative study of Ps.-Hegesippus to date.

Pressed by natural conditions, the Alans were forced to break through to the other side, and their incursion into the land of Media follows. Evidently, there are notable differences between Josephus and Ps.-Hegesippus:

- The ethnographic details of the Alans are made more obscure. The Alans are no longer explicitly referred to as Scythians, even though they live at the Tanais River. They are a remote and unknown people, associated with other wild and fierce tribes. The Alans thus become part of a mass of savage peoples. In the Syriac legends, Alexander encloses groups of uncivilised people that mostly were obscure tribes besides the names of Gog and Magog. In each Syriac text more tribes are added to the list of enclosed peoples because the ethnographic obscurity allowed the author to do so. I would argue that the passage quoted is the first to present us with the feature of savage peoples.
- A cross-reference to the gate elsewhere in Ps.-Hegesippus locates Alexander's gate at the mountain pass of Dariel in the Caucasus, firmly within Anderson's second tradition of the location of the gate. It follows that Ps.-Hegesippus is not aware of the eschatological meaning, because he does not use the legendary location (Anderson's no. 3).[18]
- Alexander encloses the tribe(s) intentionally. He creates a sort of prison for them on account of their savagery, and he intends for them to be civilised by cultivation of the land. This is not explicit in Josephus nor is the fact that they are adhering to the king's will, that is, staying behind the bars. This is devised solely by the Christian author. Alexander is thus much more present than previously. He is an imperial civiliser who secures and strengthens the peripheral boundaries of the civilised world.

We can correlate these significant divergences with a certain letter by Jerome that scholars almost always assume is one of the starting points of the eschatological legend.[19] The letter was written about twenty years later than the Ps.-Hegesippus' passage. Jerome alludes to Alexander's gate in a digression on the storm of Huns. The fierce horse riders had come from the same way as the Alans, from the pass in Caucasus, more specifically the Maeotis and the Tanais, that Ps.-Hegesippus also knows

18 Ps.-Hegesippus *On the Fall of Jerusalem* 3.5 (*CSEL* 66.193). Cf. Lucan *Pharsalia* 8.222-3.

19 Jerome *Epistle* 77.8 (*CSEL* 55.45). Anderson 1932: 16-8; Stoneman 2008: 178; Demandt 2009: 287; Van Donzel & Schmidt 2010: 12-3.

of. He too speaks of the peoples enclosed by Alexander in the plural and as uncivilised as Ps.-Hegesippus' Alans. Jerome's Huns break through the barrier and wreak havoc, so much that the Church Father prays to Jesus that the invaders may never come back.

What is new in Jerome is the fact that he has updated the narrative to address the concerns of his own day and age. He has changed the ethnographic label from Alans to the Huns, a contemporary threat. This is another feature that is known from the Syriac tradition: the gate could seal off any tribe or people that could be considered 'barbarian.' The first peoples on the list were the apocalyptic peoples Gog and Magog who were significantly harder to identify. Given the fact that more peoples could always be added to the list of enclosed nations, there is a list of more than twenty-two tribes in the gamma-recension of the *AR*, including the Alans and even dog-headed cannibals.

The analysis has shown that the features of enclosure, obscurity of ethnography and savagery were added by Ps.-Hegesippus, whereas Jerome changed a past threat to a contemporary one. Late fourth-century invasions through the Caspian Gates were known to Claudian (yet without mention of Alexander's gate).[20] There are, however, no other fourth-century references that merge Gog and Magog with the story of the gate, and the development of the story beyond this point is not linear. Several later Latin and Greek Christians, such as the historian Procopius of Caesarea, Jordanes the Gothic historian and Isidore of Seville, never associated the gate with Gog and Magog, even though they were naturally aware of the role of Gog and Magog from Revelation. Both Procopius and Jordanes make reference to different troops stationed at the gate, but they refer to it as a military outpost.[21]

Gog and Magog enjoyed their own distinct tradition, and were often used to stigmatise 'barbarians,' as Mark Humphries has argued.[22] His investigation into Ambrose of Milan's rhetoric aimed at the Goths also shows that it was more subtle than that. It was not only a straightforward recasting of classical ethnographic stereotypes in Biblical language, but also was calibrated to the political and theological context in which Ambrose was writing. The fact that some early Christians identified Gog and Magog as the Huns or the Goths should not mislead us into thinking that they always

20 Claudian *Against Rufinus* 2.28.

21 *Pace* Van Donzel & Schmidt 2010: 13-4. For the testimonies, see Procopius *On Wars* 1.10.9; Jordanes *History of the Goths* § 50; Isidore of Seville *Etymologies* 9.2.64-6 (preserves Jerome's account in the letter); Ps.-Fredegar *Chronicle* 4.66. Cf. Anderson 1928: 142-52.

22 Humphries 2010.

carried a deeper, mystical significance, that is to say the eschatological one. Indeed, knowing full well his teacher's stereotyping, St Augustine famously exhorts his reader in the *City of God* (20.11) to abstain from using the Gog and Magog stigma, not only because he is concerned that some Christians might confuse the Huns, the Goths (Goth and Magoth), the Getae or Massagetae with Gog and Magog, but also because this identification is not in accordance with his own interpretation of Revelation 20:8.

There is a significant gap of time between Jerome and the Syriac legends, and it would be problematic to assume that there is any sort of direct influence from one to another. Yet, it remains an observation worthy of note that the principal features of the eschatological narratives (enclosure, obscure ethnography, savage traits) were designed by fourth-century Christians through adaptation of the Josephan text.[23]

3.2. Philo's Calanus

In their commentary on the technical treatise *On Machines* by the first-century BC Athenaeus the Mechanic, Whitehead and Blyth note that Athenaeus refers to a *chreia* by the Indian sage Calanus, a saying which Philo partially quotes. Philo states that Calanus had said it in a letter to Alexander.[24] The pseudo-letter embedded in Philo's *On How all good Men are Free* (§ 97) is part of a digression on the concept of freedom. Alexander's travels to India function as a narrative foil for Philo's argument that makes an approving reference to Zeno, the founder of Stoicism, who had allegedly said that it was impossible to compel a virtuous man to do any action against his will. To illustrate the argument, the *exemplum* of Alexander is introduced. The king attempts to compel the virtuous philosopher, Calanus, to travel with him to the West in order to showcase the 'barbarian' wisdom of the East, but the sagacious Indian gracefully declines and offers a philosophical reasoning in the letter for which Philo commends him with the allusion to Zeno.

It is noteworthy that, while the argument remains within the argumentative sphere of traditional philosophy (Zeno), Philo does in fact adapt the typical tales told about Calanus to accommodate his argument. What is normally known about Calanus is that he did indeed leave his fellow philosophers behind to follow Alexander. He was severely criticised for this action,[25] but greatly commended for another

23 Anderson 1928: 148-9 is the only scholar to draw attention to this passage, but he was only interested in the geographical context and did not pay it any more attention.

24 Whitehead & Blyth 2004: 70 commenting upon Athenaeus *On Machines* § 5.

25 See e.g. Hippolytus *Refutation* 1.24.7. Earlier scholarship attributes this to Ps.-Origen, see e.g. McCrindle 1887: 120-2 who has misled Stoneman 1995: 103 n. 20. Apparently there was never such a figure, see Goodspeed & Grant 1966: 144.

story told about him: when he fell ill, he decided to end his life on his own terms; he was set on fire on a public pyre, a great feat of self-control.[26] Yet, Philo's minor variation that Calanus rejected Alexander does not break with the typical conventions in Greek philosophy, here seemingly Stoic philosophy, or the Classical Tradition as such, although the treatise must have been intended for his fellow Hellenised Jews. It is an alternative use of the story that the Brahmins refused the courtesy of Alexander, a tale usually told of their leader Dandamis, their spiritual leader and the eldest among them.[27] This engagement with, and revision of, Hellenic thought and literature is another testimony to the Hellenism of the Roman Jews.

The Philonic *exemplum* of Calanus does not suffice for Ambrose. In a letter to Simplician, Ambrose's teacher and successor at the bishopric in Milan, Ambrose uses the Calanus letter in Philo within the wider context of expounding 1 Corinthians 7:23: he discusses how goodness is true freedom and sin serfdom.[28] The bishop subscribes to the idea that every wise man is free, yet uses an arsenal of OT and NT references—as well as allusions to Christian martyrs—to define precisely what counts as true virtues for a Christian as opposed to the Stoic virtues embodied by Calanus (via Philo). His discussion of Calanus' letter occurs within the argument that the one who fears death is a slave; one should therefore have contempt for death, which he first illustrates by the *exemplum* of Tamar from Genesis.[29] Then follows the Philonic story of Calanus and his letter to Alexander. Ambrose says nothing of Philo, however, but asserts that Calanus' letter is merely words (though good words) and, what is worse, they are written by a philosopher. He notes that the even martyred virgins of Christ (Thecla, Agnes and Pelagia)[30] had had more desire for death than Calanus. Further, Ambrose argues, greater things than what Calanus had said in the letter were carried out in action by

26 Onesicritus *BNJ* 134 F 17b from Plutarch *Alexander* 65.2. Cf. Cicero *On Divination* 1.47; Valerius Maximus *Deeds and Sayings* 1.8.ext10; Arrian *Anabasis* 7.18.6; Lucian *Death of Peregrinus* § 25; Aelian *Miscellany* 2.41, 5.6; Ps.-Hegesippus *On the Fall of Jerusalem* 5.53 (*CSEL* 66.410); Ps.-Palladius *On the Brahmans* 2.14, 2.19. Discussion at Bosworth 1998: 174-82; Koulakiotis 2006: 123-4. Diodorus Siculus *Library* 17.107.5 consistently calls the philosopher Caranus. For the opposing view that Calanus' death was an act of arrogance, see Stoneman 1994b: 500-10, 1995: 103, 2010: 93 drawing upon Megasthenes from Strabo *Geography* 15.1.4 and 15.1.68. Cf. Schwartz 1980: 85-103.

27 Heckel s.v. Dandamis.

28 Ambrose of Milan *Letters* 7.34-8 (*CSEL* 82(1).60-2). 1 Corinthians 7:23. 'You were bought with a price; do not become slaves of human masters.'

29 Genesis 38:24-6. The Hebrew woman Tamar, accused with false charges of adultery on the penalty of death by immolation, has the courage to show up to defend herself before Judah, her father-in-law. He acquits her for the charges and praises her for being more righteous than himself.

Lawrence, a mid-third century martyr at Rome. After the Romans had burned him over the fire for a while, he was still alive and said, 'turn me over and eat of me.' In contrast, it is striking that Calanus' public self-immolation, which is what the Indian sage is most famous for, is omitted by Ambrose.[31]

What Ambrose is doing here is to show not only how more virtuous Christians oust philosophers at their own game, but also what sorts of virtues a Christian should embody. He is seeking to instruct Simplicianus rather than to attempt a scholarly or exegetical argument. His extensive use of alternative *exempla* from Scripture is an attempt to replace the traditional Greek texts, extracted from the Jewish philosopher, with Biblical illustrations and discourse. Despite Klein's laborious argument that Ambrose is in fact deriding the wicked tyrant Alexander for attempting to take Calanus away from freedom, it does not seem that Ambrose is treating Alexander any worse than Philo did. Alexander is merely a type of king, perhaps chosen for his fame and recognisability, a king who interacts with philosophers. We know this from the literary traditions of Aristotle, Diogenes, Anaxarchus and others. It would enrich the narrative if the reader was aware of the historical tradition that Calanus in fact went with Alexander; then it would seem as if the Indian was indeed being dragged away from his freedom. This is, however, highly hypothetical and not exactly what Philo or Ambrose are trying to achieve with their arguments. The comparison lies in the virtues of philosophers and Christians.

Ambrose's allusion to Philo without naming him is unsurprising. The bishop was after all more interested in the scriptural or philosophical concepts than the authority of those who invented them. Yet, as Ruina has shown, Philo was one of Ambrose's favourite authors.[32] No Church Father uses the writings of Philo, or the Alexandrian tradition upon which Philo based himself, as much as Ambrose did (more than 600 references). This again goes to show how fluid the discourse of the Roman world was and the multiplicity of the intellectual identities (philosophers, Jewish, Christian, Greek, Latin, Hellenism) that were inextricably interconnected under the wider network of Rome.

Ambrose is the only early Christian to engage with the letter as it appears in Philo. This does not mean that the Christians were uninterested in Philo, Calanus or the

30 We learn from Ambrose that Thecla and Agnes suffered their passion at the mouths of wild beasts in the arena. The Antiochene virgin Pelagia leapt into her death from a rooftop to escape the immoral intentions of some ribald Roman soldiers.

31 Unnoticed by Klein 1988: 977-80.

32 Ruina 1993: 291-311.

Brahmans for that matter; there were many other texts that promoted Christian discourse on Brahman asceticism and the alien wisdom of the Indian sages. One such text is the *On the Brahmans*, perhaps by Palladius of Galatia (b. 364), the bishop of Helenopolis in Asia Minor. The text describes Alexander's (fictional) encounters and exchanges with the Brahmans and their leader Dandamis, especially using letters. On this important text, originally a Cynic diatribe, Stoneman has recently changed his view:

> It [i.e. Palladius *On the Brahmans*] has been described by earlier scholars who have worked on it as a Christian exhortation, and I myself have expressed adherence to this view. I am no longer so confident. The level of Christianisation in the work is really very light, consisting mainly in the insertion of allusions to God where the older text had 'the gods'. References to Providence are left to stand, and the discourse on the wild beast shows of the Roman empire, which have been regarded as a topic particularly close to the hearts of Christian thinkers (who might be eaten by the beasts), does not show any signs of Christian concerns. In particular, there is no trace of the sexual renunciation which is a hallmark of most Christian writing on the ascetic life, though elimination of desire is important. In fact, the women and men are separated but meet at regular intervals for mating. [...] I would now prefer to think that Palladius (if he is the author) came across an old text which appealed to him because of its high moral tone, and made what is little more than a fair copy with stylistic updating, changing the most blatantly non-Christian references to a more appropriate form but otherwise not interfering with its message.[33]

Stoneman's analysis of the minor alterations that the Christian author had made to modify the work shows how little Christians sometimes had to revise non-Christian texts to make them readable and instructive to fellow Christians. From Stoneman's many other publications on this text and related episodes, one gets the impression that much of the philosophical nature is largely maintained in most Christianised accounts of the Brahmans of India. While Alexander does have a role to play in

33 Stoneman forthcoming. For other early Christian versions of Alexander's meeting with the Brahmans, see e.g. Clement of Alexandria *Miscellany* 6.4.38.2-12; Josephus *Against Apion* 1.179; Eusebius *Preparation for the Gospel* 9.5.5-6; Ps.-Palladius *On the Brahmans* 2.4, 2.11, 2.32, 2.41; Aeneas of Gaza *Theophrastus* p. 18. For the Hebrew versions of the tale, see Wallach 1941. For the extensive bibliography on the Christian Brahman tales, see p. 53 n. 27, above.

them, Christian interests mainly lie with the Brahman ascetic practices, not with the king himself.

3.3. Mosollamus

Eusebius of Caesarea parrots a Josephan tale, ostensibly extracted from the fourth-century BC Greek historian Hecateus of Abdera, that a Jewish soldier in Alexander's army, the archer Mosollamus, had shot down a bird to prove that divination by birds could not reveal the future.[34] If the bird was unable to foresee its own death, why should one believe in the omens it gave? The story, conveying the Judeo-Christian message that pagans were superstitious, is 'an Alexander-related story serving as the vehicle for a demonstration of Jewish religious superiority.'[35] To Eusebius, this story could be re-branded to create the same argument against divination on behalf of the Christians. As for Alexander, the king plays a minor role. He is primarily grafted onto the narrative to mark the time and place of the incident. This imbues the story with a false, but compelling, historicity. Eusebius' account was abridged in the ninth-century chronicle of George the Sinner, although he calls the archer Mosomachus.

3.4. Alexander, Moses and the Red Sea

Josephus asserts that the fantastical account of Moses' parting of the Red Sea, which enabled the Hebrews to escape the wrath of Pharaoh, could be corroborated by the story told of Alexander that God had granted his army passage at the Pamphylian Sea in order that he could conquer Persia.[36] Pagan authors, from Alexander's court historian Callisthenes onwards, report that the waves bowed down to Alexander as if performing obeisance, naturally explained without reference to the Hebrew God. Instead, Roman pagans, such as the second-century AD Alexandrian historian Appian, explained that these wonders were attributable to Fortune. As we have seen, Josephus could easily substitute the goddess' name to incorporate God into Alexan-

34 Hecataeus of Abdera *BNJ* 264 F 21 *from* Josephus *Against Apion* 1.200-5. Cf. Eusebius *Preparation for the Gospel* 9.4.6-9. Discussion at Pfister 323, Stoneman 1994a: 45.

35 Stoneman 2008: 59.

36 Josephus *Jewish Antiquities* 2.348. [...] ὁπότε καὶ τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν βασιλέα τῆς Μακεδονίας χθὲς καὶ πρῴην γεγονόσιν ὑπεχώρησε τὸ Παμφύλιον πέλαγος καὶ ὁδὸν ἄλλην οὐκ ἔχουσι παρέσχε τὴν δι' αὐτοῦ καταλῦσαι τὴν Περσῶν ἡγεμονίαν τοῦ θεοῦ θελήσαντος[.] For Moses, see Exodus 13: 17- 14: 29; Psalm 136; Josephus *Jewish Antiquities* 2.16.5. Cf. Pfister 325-6. For Alexander in Pamphylia, see Strabo *Geography* 14.3.9; Arrian *Anabasis* 1.26.1-2; Appian *Civil War* 2.21.149; *Fragmentum Sabbaiticum FGH* 151.2. The crossing is also reminiscent of the water receding when Cyrus crossed the Euphrates river, see Xenophon *Education of Cyrus* 1.4.18.

der's campaigns, just as he did so well in the eleventh book of the *Jewish Antiquities* when the king worshipped God in Jerusalem. The allusion to the Pamphylian was another argument for what he believed was God's influence on history, and that historical reality could be made to support what he regarded the reality in the narrative of Exodus.

The juxtaposition of these two tales was never repeated by any Christian author. The Alexander story could, for instance, have corroborated the account of Jesus' calming of the sea (Mark 4:35-41), but it was not used for the exegesis of this passage. The omission reinforces the point already made that the Christians were inclined to be very selective when it came to Jewish apologetic, and they mostly constructed their own apologetic arguments on the basis of the Bible. For instance, Moses' parting of the Red Sea became associated with other Christian events, such as Constantine's victory at the Milvian Bridge: the emperor's biographer elegantly projects Constantine's enemy, Maxentius, as the defeated Pharaoh washed up on the bank of the Tiber.[37] It seems possible that this association of the Milvian Bridge overpowered other associations and made it impractical to juxtapose Alexander, or anyone else, with this story because everyone would have immediately thought of Constantine.

3.5. Conclusion

There were only so many Jewish tales about Alexander that made it into early Christian literature. Among those that did, some of them were more popular than others. The previous two chapters have explored some very popular ones, whereas this chapter has looked at some of the less common tales. The four case studies revealed different things. The first two tales were adapted as soon as they entered Christian texts. They were modified in minor ways and inserted into different arguments. The third about Mosollamus was accepted wholesale as an apologetic argument against pagan superstition. The fourth never found favour with the Christians. These different ways of engaging with the works of Josephus and Philo show that Christians were creative and selective with what they took from the material at their disposal.

The next set of chapters examines how the Christian apologists set out to shape the Alexander discourse through the same selectivity.

37 Eusebius *Church History* 9.9. Cf. Eusebius *Life of Constantine* 1.38.

PART II

The Age of the Apologists

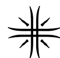
- Constituting Christian Culture -

The primary concern of the apologists was the establishment and defence of their religious identities in the crucial second and third centuries of nascent Christianity. This part surveys Alexander's role in three apologetic themes that helped to constitute early Christian socio-intellectual contexts. Chapter 4 shows how Christians re-organised historical and scientific data to promote their views on history. Chapter 5 discusses the Christian concerns with the traditional religions of Rome, especially the divine honours bestowed upon mere mortals. Chapter 6 explores how Christians exploited traditional philosophies to define their way of life. Part II as a whole says something about the ways in which traditional Alexander *topoi* were used overwhelmingly to substantiate Christian arguments about history, divinity and philosophy. While Christians had other priorities than the pagans with regard to historiography, their use of Alexander in discourse on divinity and philosophy was fully compatible and comparable with those of the contemporary intellectual milieux. The overarching argument of Part II is that, by integrating similar themes and *topoi* into their discourse on Alexander, the apologists greatly contribute to our understanding of the period's reception of the king in general.

Chapter 4: Revisions of Knowledge

Preliminaries

The apologists were engaged in a dialogue with non-Christians about the truth of their teachings. Broadly speaking, Christians were accused of contaminating the Jewish Scriptures and abandoning the principles and wisdom of Greek philosophy. To outsiders, their religion was foolish and unfounded. Moreover, as a relatively young culture originating with the Advent of Jesus Christ, the Christian claim to the antiquity of the Hebrew Patriarchs was constantly questioned by non-Christians.[1] Apologists had to combat such contentions unrelentingly in order to assert their intellectual and social status within society at large. They argued that Greek philosophers had contributed nothing to the collective wisdom of the world, and the Jews had misunderstood the true teachings of the Hebrew Patriarchs. Only Christianity enabled its adherents to return to the unspoiled insights of the divine.[2] Hence what to think of the past was important for Christian self-definition processes. Within this discourse, history, geography and miscellaneous data were weaponry in the intellectual armouries of Christians and non-Christians. Part I showed how Alexander was a celebrated figure in the Christian pasts, thoroughly embedded into both the literary landscapes of both the Bible and the Classical Tradition. The subject of this chapter is to examine Alexander's role in these Christian disputations for cultural priority and, indeed, primacy.



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1 For Eusebius of Caesarea's claim to the Jewish Patriarchs, see König-Ockenfels 1976: 350-5; Simonetti 1994: 9-12; Ulrich 1999; A. P. Johnson 2006: 94-125; Van Nuffelen 2012: 196.

2 Lane Fox 1986: 331-5; Grant 1988: 9-10; Young 2002: 52; Clark 2004: 9; Lieu 2004: 267-8; Kannaday 2006: 61-4; Van Nuffelen 2011: 217; Eshleman 2012: 6-7; A. P. Johnson 2014: 43. For the argument that the Greek poets, lawgivers and philosophers, such as Orpheus, Homer, Lycurgus, Solon, Pythagoras, and Plato, acquired their recondite knowledge from the Egyptians, see Hecataeus of Abdera *BNJ* 264 F 25 from Diodorus Siculus *Library* 1.10.96, 98. Cf. Origen *Against Celsus* 3.17-20 for the argument that the Hebrews were more ancient than the Egyptians. For the Jewish perspectives on this, see Hecataeus of Abdera *BNJ* 264 F 21 from Josephus *Against Apion* 1.186; Eusebius *Preparation for the Gospel* 9.4. For the Christian quotations of the Egyptian historian Manetho and the Babylonian Berossus, see Adler 1983: 424-6; Dillery 1999: 93, 2013: 38-9; Muhlberger 2006: 11. For the classical and Roman *topos* of the pure barbarian-wisdom discourse, see e.g. Aelian *Miscellany* 2.31. Cf. Momigliano 1975: 2-21; Hornung 2001: 10-22 (with focus on Egypt); Henrichs 2003: 224-7; Droge *CHC* i: 235-7; Van Nuffelen 2011: 28-45; Hanegraff 2012: 12-7; Potter 2014: 33-9. For the pagan priority of esoteric philosophy over Christian spirituality, see Celsus' argument in Origen *Against Celsus* 1.14, 6.14. Cf. Porphyry *Against the Christians* fr. 41 Harnack from Eusebius *Preparation for the Gospel* 1.9.20 with Magny 2014; Julian *Against the Galileans* 176a-200b LCL.

Eusebius' *Chronicle* grew out of the context of early Christian apologetic histories.[3] Normally regarded as the background research for his celebrated *Church History*,[4] the work is much more than just a chronographical collage of synchronised data. The innovative layout of the second book of *Chronological Tables* in several columns charts an impressive universal chronology of empires (Chaldeans, Assyrians, Babylonians, Hebrews, Egyptians, Greeks and Macedonians and, finally, Romans). This organisation of the past seems to differ significantly from Eusebius' idea of the four or five successive world empires articulated in other works (Ch. 2). According to A. P. Johnson,[5] the *Tables* create at least three major effects: (1) the separate national histories were synthesised in 'a single, massive world-historical stream,' that foregrounded the Hebrew Patriarchs by using a dating system beginning from Abraham; (2) the gradual consolidation of columns into one that concerned Rome (omitting the Goths, Ethiopians, Indians, Persians and Parthians); and (3) the singularity of Rome close to Eusebius' own Christian period says something important about his historical vision for Rome. The implied claim of Eusebius' second book of the *Chronicle* is that God's Providence had steadily guided the history of man from the Hebrew Patriarchs up until the apex that was Eusebius' vision of contemporary Rome.

While many Christians did not share the Eusebian imperial ideas, many apologists would have agreed about the universal application of Christian chronology. Apologist histories fashioned their own chronological system,[6] concisely summed up by Mogens Herman Hansen in his short monograph, the *Triumph of Time*:

> Christian chronology sees the world as going from a starting-point, the Creation, through a high-point, Christ's life and resurrection, to a finish-point, Doomsday. [...] [C]hristian

3 The full title is *Epitome of Universal History of the Greeks and the Barbarians with Chronological Tables*.

4 Eusebius *Church History* 1.1.7. Cf. Grant 1980: 22; Young 1983: 3-8; Muhlberger 2006: 10-2; Burgess & Kulikowski 2013: 119-126; A. P. Johnson 2014: 89.

5 Johnson 2014: 88.

6 Burgess and M. Kulikowski trace the development of the so-called 'apologetic chronography,' that is to say chronographic computations that petitioned for cultural primacy, see Burgess & Kulikowski 2013: 99-103 (Greek apologetic), 103-5 (Egyptian and Babylonian apologetics), 105-10 (Hellenised and Roman Jews), 110-4 (early Christian apologetics), 114-19 (Ps.-Hippolytus and Julius Africanus), 119-26 (Eusebius), 126-31 (Jerome and Latin chronicles). Most of the chapter is devoted entirely to early Christianity because of the necessity to stress of the apologetic predecessors of Eusebius' *Chronicle*. Cf. Momigliano 1963: 53; Wacholder 1968, 1974: 107-28; Hannick 1998; Inglebert 2001b: 493-6; Muhlberger 2006: 12.

> chronology is intended as universal and not limited to any particular society.[7]

Christian chronology was arguably made with a pretence to universalism, however. Universalism was a useful literary tool: universal chronology posits a sense of being complete, impartial and comprehensive, as well as professes to provide directions on the past, present and future for every culture. But Eusebius had only used the concept to make Christian Rome the culmination of his chronological system. Many of his Christian contemporaries were also mostly concerned with the Roman society of which most Christians were part. It follows that universal chronography was an apologetic tool to prove Christianity's viability in Roman society. Indeed, Eusebius sought to show how the religion had actually become inextricably intermixed with a single empire, that is his Rome, even if the precursor of Christianity had been an 'alien' Hebrew people of a great antiquity.

In addition to the reconfiguration of time, other types of data had to be integrated in order that the Christianised pasts could be authorised. Ethnographic, geographic and biological information is listed as well as research notes on similar sciences. These matters were of great concern to the apologists. Establishing the essential connections between Christians and the histories of the Hebrews was the highest priority. It is noteworthy that there was no history of the church until that of Eusebius in the early fourth century. The apologists were occupied with negotiating the intellectual milieux of contemporary culture, and other matters were clearly more pressing in defining the group to which each Christian belonged. The next few sections will concern the apologists' deployment of Alexander in these chronological contexts, in the discourse on geography and in miscellanies. As some of these themes were developed by their successors in the fourth and fifth centuries, we shall also analyse those developments briefly.

7 Hansen 2002: 45. Cf. Momigliano 1966: 7-8; Inglebert 2001b: 302-14; Rousseau 2013: 11.

4.1. Apologetic histories

There is no pattern to the genres in which apologists used chronological arguments. A. P. Johnson gives the following list: 'letters, dialogues, appeals to the emperor, protreptic tracts, point-by-point refutations and epideictic orations incorporated under the apologetic rubric.'[8] These are the sorts of texts that Klein did not include in his 1988-study, and most scholars of Alexander have ignored them. Yet, references to Alexander in a chronological context occurred within a wide spectrum of genres. They occur very frequently in apologetic literature to the effect that it would be impractical and repetitive to account for every single occurrence. Instead, we may list the most typical points made by the apologists before Eusebius:

1. Ch. 2 showed that Alexander was used as a historical marker for the culmination of specific prophecies in Daniel and the minor prophets. Making computations with prophecy based on numerology, that is recondite enumeration of the chronological gap between two or more events, apologists asserted that they were right in viewing the past in the way they did. For instance, by calculating with the reigns of the Persian kings, Alexandrian kings (beginning with Alexander for 12 years) and Roman emperors, Tertullian reaches the conclusion that Jesus Christ had appeared at the 'right' time in accordance with the Danielic prophecy, that is after a period of 437 years and 6 months.[9]
2. Alexander was used to date important events of Hebrew history (Ch 1. Alexandrian diaspora, the Septuagint) and persons, such as Abraham, Moses and major and minor prophets. This type of argument was usually made to prove the priority of the Hebrews over the Greeks and the Macedonians.[10] This is a fore-

8 Johnson 2006: 5. Cf. Burgess 2006; Ludlow 2009: 33-4. For an exhaustive list of references to primary sources that use apologetic chronography (Justin Martyr, Tatian of Syria, Theophilus of Antioch, Clement of Alexandria, Ps.-Justin Martyr, and Tertullian of Carthage), see e.g. Inglebert 2001b: 488-91; Burgess & Kulikowski 2013: 111 n. 52.

9 Tertullian *Against the Jews* § 8.10 (*CCSL* 2.1359-60; *PL* 2.614). Cf. Jerome *Commentary on Daniel* 9.24 (*CCSL* 75a.882; *PL* 25.550). Numerology in prophecy is discussed at Potter 1994: 106-8.

10 Theophilus *To Autolycus* 3.20-30 is a unique instance in which the Macedonians are omitted from universal history. The Antiochene Theophilus, a Greek Christian that wrote a treatise addressed to a certain Autolycus, did not regard the Macedonian empire as one of the important eras of the world. Instead Theophilus focuses on Persians, Greeks (Trojan wars), Hebrews and Romans, and he declares that the Hebrews were by far the oldest people. Cf. Jeffreys 1990: 194.

runner of the Eusebian argument of cultural priority. The apologists laboured the point that the Hebrew world was indeed far older than the Greek and, therefore, everything that was wise in the Greek world was derivative of Hebrew wisdom even if Greek philosophers had generally misunderstood Scripture.[11]

3. The first two points are licensed by the traditional use of Alexander to date events of Graeco-Roman history (cf. Ch. 1.3: Dionysus of Halicarnassus, Quintillian, Claudius Ptolemy and many others). Some apologists also used Alexander in this way, without the emphasis on Biblical material.

These uses are not different from those we have seen already. They attest the historical importance of Alexander without further individual characterisation. They help to establish a historical high point. The arguments about this culmination are naturally of a varied nature, although most apologists use it to claim the Greeks, Romans and Jews had misunderstood the philosophical concepts of Scripture (the former two through the misappropriations of Pythagoreanism, Platonism, Aristotelianism, Stoicism and Cynicism). Such arguments distinguish Christians from other religious sects or philosophical schools.

Apologetic histories of this sort offer very little by way of characterisation of Alexander. His role in the pasts constructed typically consists of authorising that particular version of the past by traditional means. There are notable exceptions, however. A particularly striking variant arose in response to a serious criticism of early Christianity. Christians were accused of bringing about great misery and misfortune for the Roman empire because they refused to worship the pagan gods. Pagans believed that their gods had abandoned the Roman course because of the 'atheist' Christians. The premise of the Christian counterargument was that calamities of equal, or greater, size had troubled Rome even before the Christian religion came about. This in turn licensed the argument that Christians could not be held fully responsible for the present sufferings. In fact the world was made better by the Advent of Christ. The fierce dispute seems to originate during the so-called 'Great Persecution' under the emperor Diocletian since it is first attested in the polemical *Against the Nations* (c. 302/3) in seven books written by the North African Arnobius of Sicca, a town in the vicinity of Carthage.

11 A very sophisticated argument is found in Clement of Alexandria *Miscellany* 1.21.138.

In the very beginning of the work, the apologist answers to the charge of Roman decline by giving examples of wars of the past that the Christians had no part in. That argument is in itself remarkable since in other apologetic arguments Christians took pains to assert that Christianity was not new but old, and had influenced everything since Genesis. Arnobius' agenda is, however, different and so is his projection of the past. In the pertinent passage, he makes reference to the terrible fates of Atlantis (Plato), the battles between the Assyrians and Bactrians (Ninus versus Zoroaster), the war at Troy, Xerxes' Persian War, Alexander and the Romans.[12] He asks rhetorically whether it is fair that the Christians to take responsibility for Alexander's short-lived enterprise. The premise of the question is that it would be an egregious anachronism to say that the Christians had blood on their hands from Alexander's conquests because Christianity was brought about by Jesus Christ. To suit his purposes of making an unfavourable past, he projects Alexander's campaign negatively. He posits that it was a quest to enslave the East, prompted by the ambitious young king. It is implied that the man himself was quite capable of causing carnage on his own. Wirth notes that the king is projected in this way because of his world empire that Christians despised,[13] but my contention is that it is the context of the atrocious past that prompts Arnobius to project Alexander unfavourably. This is again a projection that is due to an argument on behalf of Christianity.

The context and line of argument pursued in Arnobius exhibit a striking resemblance to the seven books of *History Against the Pagans* by Orosius. While Arnobius is defending Christianity in the face of persecution, Orosius mounts a defence for the Christians that were blamed for Alaric's devastating sack of Rome in 410. They were both concerned with the making of a past that was worse than the present, even if the political present was an absolute disaster. Given the magnitude of Rome's defeat, it is only natural that Orosius' Alexander was one of the most destructive and monstrous representations of the king from the late antique period in order to balance the scales. But if we consider the aim of both authors, we discover that Orosius has developed and greatly elaborated on the tenets of the apologetic discourse already begun by Arnobius. As we shall see, the similarities in the purpose of their works seem to suggest that the representation of Alexander in Orosius' *History* was not unique, *sui generis*, as Wirth believed (Ch. 7.2.1).

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12 Arnobius of Sicca *Against the Nations* 1.5 Le Bonniec. *ut ex Macedoniae finibus unus exortus adolescens Orientis regna et populos captivitate ac servitio subiugaret, nos fecimus atque excitavimus causas*? Cf. Carraroli 1892: 145.

13 *Pace* Wirth 1993: 60 n. 189.

Christian chronographs, *chronographia*, began to appear in the beginning of the third century.[14] Until then, abridgements of history had been common in the Greek and Roman worlds. The main quality was their brevity. The abridgements visualised a version of time itself. Arguments about the past would immediately be self-evident from the author's charting of historical events and personages in relation to each other. Famously, Cicero told his erudite friend Atticus that such overviews of time were practical because the reader might see history at a single glance.[15] Hence, when early Christian apologists were trying to create a single, historical vision of past and present, the format of the chronograph enabled them to do so effectively and succinctly. The next few sections review the chronographs composed in the 'long third century' (from Julius Africanus to Eusebius/Jerome).

4.1.1. Julius Africanus

I noted that the list of Macedonian kings in Julius Africanus' *Chronograph* contained a reference to Alexander as the founder, *ktistēs* (Ch. 1.1). Fraser did not notice this reference,[16] and scholars of Alexander have generally overlooked both of Julius Africanus' historical works, the *Chronograph* and the *Miscellany*, now properly published in the new series of the *GCS*. His works are important sources to the earliest Christian engagement with Alexander histories. Like Clement of Alexandria and Tertullian, Julius Africanus was from North Africa, perhaps Libya, an area highly influenced by the Alexandrian diaspora. His writings are thus an important testimony to Alexander's role in the Christian revision of history that went on in third-century North Africa.[17]

The *Chronograph* is a compilation of lists of kings annotated selectively with the facts that Julius Africanus found important. It is a synchronism of Biblical events and Graeco-Roman history interspersed with references to other cultures, again with false pretence to universalism. His principal aim was to ascertain the time of the Apocalypse, which he considered imminent. To this end, he incorporated the theory taken from Genesis 1:31-2:4 that the world had taken God six days to create and would therefore last 6000 years. By computation of the OT prophecies, especially the sev-

14 Or *breviarium* in Latin. Texts in this genre were either written with an interest in chronographic organisation of events, such as series of kings in relation to each other, or were general abridgements of history. Another term often used to describe them is epitome.

15 Cicero *Brutus* §§ 14-5. Cf. Burgess & Kulikowski 2013: 26-7.

16 Fraser 1996: 14-5.

17 For Africanus, his life and his chronograph, see Inglebert 2001b: 496-7; Muhlberger 2006: 12-3; Adler 2006; Wallraff 2007: introduction; Roberto 2006: 4-6, 2011: 2-4; Burgess & Kulikowski 2013: 114-6.

enty weeks before the first arrival of the Messiah in Daniel 9:24-7, he dated the age of the world to be 5500 years old when Jesus came into the world. Since we know that he wrote his work in 220/221 during the reign of Elagabalus—the last Roman emperor on his list—there were only 279 years left before the Second Coming.[18]

The greater Christian aim of his *Chronograph* seems to have had little influence upon his Alexander history. In the Macedonian section, the basic narrative is that Alexander reigned for thirteen years,[19] was in control of every kingdom and was the *ktistēs* of Alexandria. Upon his death the kingdom fell into the hands of his governors, while Alexander's brother Philip III emerged as the Macedonian king. There is no mention of other events on this list because Julius Africanus was principally interested in the line of Macedonian kings which, in his view, began with the reign of Caranus (r. c. 808-778 BC), which is normal in the Roman tradition.[20]

Other fragments of the *Chronograph* do, however, give better impressions of Alexander. He features at the end of the list of Persian kings. The Macedonian king (also *ktistēs*) slew Darius and transferred the Persian royal power to Macedon.[21] In a list of Olympiad victors, it is stated very concisely that Alexander captured Babylon and killed Darius. After Alexander's death his empire was divided and Ptolemy became king of Egypt and Alexandria.[22] The association of Alexander and Ptolemy runs strong throughout the work, emphasising the link between the founder and the Ptolemaic dynasty. In one fragment, it is stressed that the Jews enjoyed a period of peace under Alexander and the Ptolemies until the days of the wicked High Priest Onias (mid-second century BC under Ptolemy VI Philometor and Ptolemy VII Euergetes II).[23]

Given the great emphasis on the Ptolemaic link, the Alexandrian nature of Africanus' *Chronograph* is clear. The transfer of empire from Persia to Macedon echoes the

18 For the Christian calculations of the duration of the world, see Inglebert 2001b: 382-6.

19 The thirteen year reign is also attested in e.g. *Oxyrhynchus Chronicle FGH* 255.9 (ll. 5-6); Livy *Roman History* 45.9; Justin *Epitome* 12.16.1; Cornelius Nepos *Eumenes* § 13.

20 Julius Africanus *Chronograph* F 82 (*GCS* NF 15.245-9). Cf. Livy *Roman History* 45.9.3. For a discussion of why the sequence of Macedonian kings were changed to begin with Caranus instead of Herodotus' Perdiccas I (early seventh century BC), see now Morison's commentary on Theopompus of Chios *BNJ* 115 F 393.

21 Julius Africanus *Chronograph* F 73 (*GCS* NF 15.225-9).

22 Julius Africanus *Chronograph* F 65 (*GCS* NF 15.206-7).

23 Julius Africanus *Chronograph* F 84 (*GCS* NF 15.252-3). Cf. Julius Africanus *Chronograph* F 86 (*GCS* NF 15.254-5). For Onias' career and the ensuing struggles of the Jews with the Ptolemies and Antiochus, see Josephus *Jewish Antiquities* 12.154-241.

notion of *translatio imperii*, arguably a sign of Providence. The allusion to the Jewish peace recalls the narrative of Josephus' *Jewish Antiquities* that record exactly how the Jews fell out favour with the Hellenistic kings, a decline culminating in the rise of Antiochus IV. Hence, Africanus' historiography is very much informed by non-Christian texts, although the material is naturally organised in a way that supports the overarching argument of the text, namely the hypothesis of the imminent end of the world. Yet, the material used for Alexander history is largely derivative and unsurprising since Julius Africanus seems to have had access to Alexandrian documents.

4.1.2. Ps.-Hippolytus

The *Collection of Chronologies*, *synagōge chronōn*, was written in Greek and completed in AD 235. It has been attributed to Hippolytus of Rome, although this is by no means certain.[24] According to Burgess and Kulikowski, it served as a pedagogical handbook for study of the OT, especially the ethnographic and geographic diffusion of the Hebrews after Noah and the Flood (Genesis 10).[25] This makes the text very interesting because this is not the typical Christian commentary or a treatise on matters relating to the Bible. It has a specific audience and purpose in instructing them. Being a Biblical chronology, it contained an assorted variety of material that concerned mostly the Hebrews, the duration of the world (6000 years) and shorter histories of different peoples supplemented by lists of kings.

Besides insight into many Hebrew matters, the table of contents promises an overview of non-Hebrew kings. The kingdoms are listed matter-of-factly: Persian kings from Cyrus and how long they reigned; Macedonian kings from Alexander; and Roman emperors from Caesar Augustus.[26] These are very basic lists of rulers. It is safe to assume that Ps.-Hippolytus is imposing an imperial sequence on the past. The Persians were taken over by Alexander, and the Macedonians by the Romans. It is noteworthy that these empires were the ones that the reader had to know as it related to Bible history (Ch. 2). To accommodate this sequence, the pedagogical author has demarcated the list of Macedonian kings considerably from his learned predecessor Julius Africanus. For Julius, Caranus was made the first Macedonian king to put his eru-

24 *EAC* 2: 247. The text survives partially in Greek, but completely in Latin and Armenian translations. There were later revisions of the *Chronologies*, e.g. *Greek Chronicle of 334* (pp. 80-129 Frick).

25 Burgess & Kulikowski 2013: 117-9. Cf. Kannengiesser 2006: 531.

26 Ps.-Hippolytus *Chronologies* §§ 9, 17, 18 (*GCS* 46.6-7). Βασιλεῖς Περσῶν ἀπὸ Κύρου καὶ τίς πόσα ἔτη ἐβασίλευσεν [...] Βασιλεῖς Μακεδόνων ἀπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ τίς πόσα ἔτη ἐβασίλευσεν [...] Βασιλεῖς Ῥωμαίων ἀπὸ Αὐγούστου καὶ τίς πόσα ἔτη ἐβασίλευσεν.

dite knowledge on display, but for Ps.-Hippolytus, Alexander was the first Macedonian king. Ps.-Hippolytus had no need to display his erudition because he was writing a didactic piece on how to understand the rest of the past that surrounded the Hebrews of the Biblical world.

Alexander appears again, as the author outlines the chronology of the Persian kings. The Persian empire ended because Alexander crushed Darius in the battle of Arbela.[27] The Persian era changed to the Greek epoch, which the author prefaces with a longer synchronism. Using the Olympiad dating system, ostensibly established by Iphitus of Elis for the first Olympic games (776 BC),[28] he states that there were 114 Olympiads, that is 456 years, from Iphitus to Alexander; from Alexander to the birth of Jesus Christ, 80 Olympiads, that is 320 years; from Christ to Alexander Severus, 58 Olympiads, that is 235 years. The synchronism is thus traditional in its usage of the chronological framework but naturally stresses different culminations in the past (Jesus) than non-Christians would. After many list of Hebrew affairs (the names of Hebrew Patriarchs, the prophets, female prophets, Hebrew kings and the High Priests), the author lists the 'Macedonian' kings.[29] They begin with Alexander and end with Ptolemy XII Auletes (d. 51 BC). The list exclusively focuses on the Ptolemaic kings and their city, Alexandria. The name of Cleopatra has apparently fallen out of the list, which resumes with the Roman emperors from Caesar Augustus onwards.

Not only does the absence of all other Hellenistic dynasties evidence the Alexandrian character of the *Chronologies* but also, if merged with the conclusions of Chapter 1, it suggests that early Christian chronographers generally organised their pasts around pro-Ptolemaic sources. Therefore a favourable projection of Alexander emerges across a wide range of the apologists' texts (Origen, Julius Africanus, Hippolytus of Rome). Again, the transfer of power from Persia to Macedon indicates that there is a shift of power owing to divine Providence, but this is not the case in the lists of rulers of Alexandria and Rome. Alexandrian kings and Roman emperors are juxtaposed to the effect that there is no transfer between them. This impression may perhaps be due to something that has fallen out of the list, but Alexandria was, as we have seen, an important city for early Christianity, so that the author may have wished to posit that there was equilibrium between the two religious centres.

27 Ps.-Hippolytus *Chronologies* § 715 (*GCS* 46.122-3).

28 Ephorus *BNJ* 70 F 115 from Strabo *Geography* 8.3.33; Hieronymus *On the Poets* F 33 from Athenaeus *Sophists at Supper* 14.37 Kaibel; Pausanias *Description* 5.4.5-6; Dio Chrysostom *Oration* 12.54. Cf. *Easter Chronicle* p. 193.

29 Ps.-Hippolytus *Chronologies* §§ 742-56 (*GCS* 46.136-8).

There are thus clear differences in the aims and ambitions of Julius Africanus and Ps.-Hippolytus. The former offers a learned collocation of royal lists and religious numerology in the determination of the Apocalypse; the latter was concerned with extracting the fundamental historical information for Christian catechumens, who needed guidance in how to read the whole of the OT in a Christian way. But, in emphasising the Ptolemaic ideologies of Alexander, both authors give the impression that the Alexandrian tradition had a profound influence on their historiography. The tendency did not end in the third century, but was continued by Eusebius and subsequent chroniclers to which we turn next.

4.1.3. Eusebius and Jerome

Alexander features in both books of Eusebius' *Chronicle*: in the first book, he appears on several royal lists; in the second book, a longer narrative is devoted to his conquests and significance.

Alexander's ubiquity on the lists of kings is striking. He is designated by his standard sobriquet, 'the son of Philip,' or even 'the Great,' and the king is on more lists than any other king. In the Armenian translation, he ends the list of Persian kings by killing Darius III;[30] he is the twenty-fourth figure on the list of Macedonian kings;[31] and the first figure on the list of Ptolemaic and Seleucid kings.[32] Eusebius thus follows the system of Africanus, who also has Alexander as the twenty-fourth king of Macedon.[33] But Macedon, Ptolemaic Egypt and Seleucid Babylon only make three Successor dynasties, instead of the projected four Successor kings, according to Daniel 8 and 11 (Ch. 2).[34] It is worthy of notice that Eusebius here has rejected the system of four empires for a more complex interpretation of the past. There are, however, still traces of the *translatio imperii* sequence, as we shall see. Eusebius' complexity and Ps.-Hippolytus' simplification of the system seem to suggest that the latter's account had more elementary Christian aims and conformed more to the Biblical texts than the former.

The Alexandrian tradition influences Eusebius' Alexander narrative of the second book. I have already argued that his deployment of the Jerusalem tale projected Alexander as a cleanser of Samaritan heresy (Ch. 1.7.2) and lawful king. This is compatible

30 Eusebius *Chronicle GCS* 20.152.

31 Eusebius *Chronicle GCS* 20.109.

32 Eusebius *Chronicle GCS* 20.152-3.

33 Julius Africanus *Chronograph* F 82 (*GCS* NF 15.248-9).

34 The four Successors were either symbolised by four horns (Daniel 8) or four winds (Daniel 11).

with the rest of the information given. When we overlap the Latin, Greek, Syrian and Armenian testimonies to the text, we get a somewhat coherent narrative.[35] It is recorded that Alexander:[36]

(1) was born of Philip and Olympias;[37]

(2) took Thrace and Illyria;[38]

(3) sacked Thebes;[39]

(4) took the city of Sardis;[40]

(5) defeated Darius' generals at the Granicus river;[41]

(6) besieged and sacked Tyre;[42]

(7) came to Judea, sacrificed to God and honoured the High Priest;

(8) appointed Andromachus to govern Judea, but the Samaritans killed him. Alexander retaliated by killing them and resettling the Samaritan city with Macedonians.

(9) took Babylon, thereby dissolving the Persian empire;[43]

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35 There is some divergence between the accounts (Jerome, anonymous Armenian translator, George Syncellus), which will be pointed out in the notes. Numbers in parentheses are to be discussed individually.

36 Eusebius *Chronicle GCS* 47.121-4 (*PL* 27.399-400). Cf *GCS* 20.197-8 for the Armenian.

37 Only romantic historiography or biography records the birth of Alexander, see e.g. Plutarch *Alexander* 2-10; *AR* 1.12-24.

38 *Parian Marble FGH* 239 B 2; *Oxyrhynchus Chronicle BNJ* 255 F 6; Plutarch *Alexander* 11.4-6; Arrian *Anabasis* 1.1-6.

39 Jerome notes that this is the Thebes in Greece to distinguish it from the Thebes in Upper Egypt. It was important for him to emphasise that the Greeks, represented by the city of Thebes, were conquered early on. That fact was crucial when he made the careful clarification that the Greek king of Daniel 10: 20 was an allusion to Alexander because he had conquered Greece before setting out on the Asian campaign. For the sack of Thebes, see e.g. *Parian Marble FGH* 239 B 2; *Oxyrhynchus Chronicle BNJ* 255 F 6; Diodorus Siculus *Library* 17.8.2-14.4; Plutarch *Alexander* 11.6-13-5; Arrian *Anabasis* 1.7-9; Justin *Epitome* 11.3.6-4.8.

40 The historical Alexander defeated Darius' generals before he travelled 200 miles to Sardis, Lydia's capital, and claimed the Persian treasuries, for which see Diodorus Siculus *Library* 17.21.7; Curtius Rufus *History* 3.12.6; Plutarch *Alexander* 17.1; Arrian *Anabasis* 1.17.3. Cf. Worthington 2014: 150-1.

41 *Parian Marble FGH* 239 B 3; *Oxyrhynchus Chronicle BNJ* 255 F 6; Diodorus Siculus *Library* 17.19-21; Plutarch *Alexander* 16; Arrian *Anabasis* 1.13-6; Justin *Epitome* 11.6.8-13.

42 Diodorus Siculus *Library* 17.40.2-46.5; Curtius Rufus *History* 4.2-4; Plutarch *Alexander* 24-5; Arrian *Anabasis* 2.16.1-24.5; Justin *Epitome* 11.10.10-14; Polyaenus *Stratagems* 4.3.3-4, 13; *AR* 1.35.

43 In Jerome, Darius' death, not the capture of Babylon, marks the fall of the Persian empire. Cf. *Oxyrhynchus Chronicle BNJ* 255 F 7; Justin *Epitome* 10.3.7.

(10) conquered the Hyrcanians and the Mardians;[44]
(11) built Alexandria in Egypt in his seventh year;[45]
(12) captured the Aornus rock and crossed the Indus;[46]
(13) died in Babylon when he was 32 years of age.[47]

We notice that there are some glaring absences among the entries. The decisive battles Alexander won against Darius at Issus (333 BC) and Gaugamela (331 BC) are omitted. These battles are, however, recorded in earlier Greek chronicles, such as the mid third-century BC *Parian Marble* or the Roman *Oxyrhynchus Chronicle* (after 30 BC?),[48] and Eusebius' reference to the battle of Granicus seems underwhelming. It is noteworthy that none of these chronicles makes reference to the battle at the Hy-

44 Diodorus Siculus *Library* 1.75-6; Justin *Epitome* 12.3.4; Orosius *History* 3.18.5. Jerome confusedly adds that that returning from the temple of Ammon, Alexander built the city of Paraetonium in Libya. The Armenian Eusebius has corrupted the names of the cities here. George Syncellus omits Ammon and Paraetonium. The information is almost identical to the description of Alexander going to Ammon and the foundation of Paraetonium in the second-century *Oxyrhynchus Chronicle BNJ* 255 F 7. The only other group of texts to report the foundation is the *AR* tradition, see e.g. *AR* 1.31.1; *AR* Arm. § 78; *AR* β 1.31; Julius Valerius 1.31. According to most authorities, the city is already there as Alexander travels to the Siwah Oasis, see e.g. Arrian *Anabasis* 3.3.3 incorporating Aristobulus *BNJ* 139 F 13; Strabo *Geography* 17.14 (799); Vitruvius *On Architecture* 8.3.7; Ovid *Metamorphoses* 9.773; Pomponius Mela *Description of the World* 1.40; Lucan *Pharsalia* 3.295, 10.9; Martial *Epigrams* 10.26; Pliny *Natural History* 5.33, 35.36; Silicus Italicus *Punica* 5.356; Statius *Thebaid* 5.12; Florus *Epitome* 2.21.

45 Jerome notes here instead of at the end that Alexander reigned in Asia for seven years and twelve in total. Afterwards he inserts that Harpalus fled Alexander's court in Asia.

46 The capture of Aornus is clearly a *paradeigma* in ancient discourse. See e.g. Agathosthenes *BNJ* 499 F 8; Strabo *Geography* 15.1.8; Diodorus Siculus *Library* 17.85, 96; Curtius Rufus *History* 8.11.2-25; Plutarch *Moralia* 181c, 181d; Arrian *Anabasis* 5.16.5, *On India* 5.10; Lucian *Dialogues of the Dead* 12.6, *Hermotimus* § 4, *Teacher of Rhetoric* § 7; Philostratus *Life of Apollonius* 2.10; Polyaenus *Stratagems* 4.3.29; Justin *Epitome* 12.7.12; Orosius *History* 3.19.2; *AR* 3.4; *Itinerary of Alexander* §§ 107-8; *Metz Epitome* § 34. Cf. Koulakiotis 2006: 180; Rollinger 2014: 598-600. Jerome records that Alexander waged war against Porus and Taxiles instead of conquering the Aornus rock and the Indus river.

47 Jerome's postscript runs, 'After his death the power was handed over to many. It was the beginning of the kingdom of Alexandria by Egypt, and different kings reigned in the various nations Alexander had conquered.' For the 12 years, see e.g. Eratosthenes of Cyrene *BNJ* 241 F 1a; Diodorus Siculus *Library* 17.117.5; Arrian *Anabasis* 7.28.1; *AR* 3.35; Julian *Caesars* 327b.

48 Erudite comparison of the chronicles and historical dates at Jacoby *Commentary* on *FGH* 239 B 1-8 (pp. 698-9).

daspes against the Indian Rajah Porus (326 BC), and Eusebius only does so indirectly by noting Alexander's entry into India. It seems that the chronicler has a preference for items of geographical interest as opposed to the major battles, which we find in all the historical sources.[49]

As already said, Eusebius' Jerusalem tale has been dealt with above (Ch. 1.6), and we can go on to comment upon the remaining information on a case-by-case basis, using the numbers above.

(1) It is striking that only the non-historiographical traditions record the early years of Alexander. Later Christian chroniclers do so perhaps because of Eusebius.[50] It is possible that Christians wanted to stress the human nature of Alexander and thus reject the rumour that Alexander had been the son of Zeus Ammon, just as Plutarch does in the beginning of his biography.[51]

(9-10) The close proximity to the fall of Babylon with the conquest of the Hyrcanians and the Mardians—the latter preserved in the tradition of the Alexandrian Clitarchus as witnessed by Diodorus Siculus and Justin—seems to echo the Biblical imagery of Daniel 8 (Ch. 2.1.1). We saw that the Greek he-goat charged the two-horned Persian ram and made its two horns subject to him. The horns were seen as symbols of Persia and Media, and it would enrich Eusebius' narrative if it implied that the ram was a representation of Babylon. In the Latin version, Jerome's juxtaposition of Hyrcanians, Mardians and the Egyptian expedition seems geographically confused.

(11) Placing Alexandria so late on the list and in his reign seems to be a very deliberate pro-Alexandrian decision to give it a climactic spot in the creation of Alexander's empire. In the *Parian Marble*, the building of Alexandria is juxtaposed with the capture of Babylon,[52] which hints at a transfer of power. But in Eusebius, Alexandria is afforded special attention. It is no longer juxtaposed with Jerusalem, as it was in his *Proof* (Ch. 1). Given the foundation in the seventh year, Jacoby demonstrated that Eusebius' date (330/329 BC) is slightly inaccurate in comparison to the historical accounts of Arrian and others (331/330 BC). If we briefly return to the Sibylline Oracles

49 The story of the Indian conquest is told well by Bosworth 1996, 2013.

50 See e.g. Orosius *History* 3.7.5.

51 Plutarch *Alexander* 2.1. Ἀλέξανδρος ὅτι τῷ γένει πρὸς πατρὸς μὲν ἦν Ἡρακλείδης ἀπὸ Καράνου, πρὸς δὲ μητρὸς Αἰακίδης ἀπὸ Νεοπτολέμου, τῶν πάνυ πεπιστευμένων ἐστί (he goes on to note that Philip was the father and Olympias the mother). Cf. *Sibylline Oracles* 11.197-8. οὐ Διός, οὐκ Ἄμμωνος ἀληθέα τοῦτον [i.e. Alexander] ἐροῦσιν / πάντες ὁμῶς, Κρονίδαο νόθον δ' ὥς ἀναπλάσονται.

52 *Parian Marble FGH* 239 B 5.

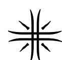
(Ch. 1.5), this text also grants Alexandria a special place closer to Alexander's death.[53] Indeed, the conquest of the known world, the conquest of Babylon and Alexander's victory over Darius at Gaugamela are all considered to be events happening *before* the foundation of Alexandria: he founds the city just before he is treacherously poisoned by his own men in Babylon. The Sibylline prophetess then relates how the majestic metropolis will be the Egyptian bride of the great hero (Ptolemy I), a nourisher of cities, and there will be peace throughout the whole world for generations (11.232-5). It is said that the peace will last until the reign of Cleopatra VII, and Alexandria will be in peril during her rule. Finally, Egypt will be punished and her power will be transferred to Rome by the will of the Lord.

It is an attractive conclusion that the Sibylline sentiment of the first Ptolemies derives from an early Alexandrian tradition, and I believe that Eusebius also latched his narrative onto the same or a similar vein of literature. Indeed, we have already seen that other Christian chronographers prior to Eusebius made extensive use of Alexandrian tradition. I would argue *a priori* that by arranging Alexandria so late on the list and right after the fall of Persia, Eusebius seems to draw upon that very Alexandrian tradition. Alexandria becomes a sort of civic heir to the empire of Persia, which is corroborated by Eusebius' computations of the rise of the Alexandrian empire that commences upon the death of the king. Other Christian chronographs maintain the Alexandrian empire as the most important successor state to the king and, in Ps.-Hippolytus' *Chronologies*, the only successor. As we have seen, this tendency is not limited to Christian antiquity, and it is embedded in the pagan histories of Alexander as well. This says something important about Alexandria as emblematic of Alexander's legacy and imperial power across the literatures of the ancient world.

(12) Alexander's Herculean might is articulated by Eusebius' reference to the vignettes of the Aornus Rock and the Indus river. These geographical *topoi* were the famous markers of Alexander's conquest of mythic India, a feat only a handful of gods and legendary heroes were believed to have achieved. The Alexander historians recount that these places were specifically associated with Hercules and Dionysus. For instance, Arrian points out that Alexander and Dionysus were the only ones ever to

53 *Sibylline Oracles* 11.199-200. ἀλλ' ὅταν Αἰγύπτου μεγάλην πόλιν ὀλβοδότειραν / στηρίξει Πελλαῖος Ἄρης, αὐτῷ δ' ὀνομήνῃ, / μοῖραν καὶ θάνατον προδοθεὶς δολίως ὑφ' ἑταίρων. Gunderson has argued that the eleventh Sibylline Oracle was composed by Alexandrian Jews before AD 66, but the pre-Cleopatra material may indicate that there was a far younger older nucleus of Ptolemaic propaganda to be found, that was not necessarily of Jewish origin. Gunderson 1977: 62-3; J.J. Collins 1983: 430-2.

have crossed the Indus.[54] Prior to Eusebius, notice of Alexander's sojourn in India in Christian literature is only attested in the vignette of the Brahmans (Ch. 3.2). Eusebius revisits the paradigm of heroic conquest, a notion that fits within his imperial projection of Alexander. It is worthy of mention that Eusebius is also one of the first Christians to take any notice of Alexander's Indian conquest, possibly because of the need to stress the conquest of Asia in order that the Danielic prophecies were fulfilled. We observed elsewhere that Alexander's visit to India was generally omitted in the Christian Bible commentaries (Ch. 2).



As pointed out in the notes, there are notable differences between the Eusebian Alexander narrative enshrined in Byzantine chronography through Syncellus and that of Jerome (c. 380/1). The most striking difference is the Byzantine focus on Alexander's conquest of nature, whereas Jerome highlights the defeat of historical figures: in (9) he says that Alexander defeated Darius rather than Babylon, the symbolic heart of Asia; in (12) he says that Alexander vanquished the Indian Rajahs Taxiles and Porus rather than taking Aornus and the Indus River, deeds reminiscent of Hercules and Dionysus. In short, Alexander conquers Nature in Eusebius;[55] he defeats human beings in Jerome.

The difference in the projection could be considered evidence of the notion that the Greek world was more receptive to the positive legacy of Alexander than the Latin world. But this would be to push the material too far and to misunderstand the historiographical aims of the authors. Indeed, Eusebius would represent a completely different Alexander in his *Life of Constantine* (Ch. 8.4), as a negative contrast to his hero, so we should not take Eusebius' representation of Alexander in the *Chronicle* at face value or as an expression of his personal perception of the king. In the *Chronicle*, he was trying to show the influence of Providence on history, especially its influence on major events and personages, which Alexander certainly was. To this end, he rearranged Alexander history with standardised commonplaces of non-Christian Alexander histories and juxtaposed them with his version of the Jerusalem tale.

But his version of Alexander's world conquest also has another literary effect, evident in the formatting of the *Chronological Tables* of the second book. After Alexander's conquest of Persia the number of columns is reduced from five (Olympiads,

54 Arrian *Anabasis* 7.10.6.

55 For the mostly negative *topos*, see e.g. Curtius Rufus *History* 7.8.13; Lucan *Pharsalia* 10.41-2; Seneca the Younger *Letters* 94.62, 119.7; Favorinus of Arles *On Fortune* § 21 Amato.

years since Abraham, Macedonian regnal years, Persian regnal years and Egyptian regnal years) to three (Olympiads, years since Abraham, Alexander).[56] This striking focus on the single remaining empire and the structuring of time around the Alexandrian empire show how Alexander completely dominated his period. While columns are eventually expanded by the incorporation of Successor dynasties (and the Jewish kings after Judas Maccabeus),[57] the focus remains wholly on the Hellenistic world after Alexander. For instance, Indians and Celts are omitted. The Helleno-centric focus lineally culminates in Rome: once the Romans defeat Cleopatra's Egypt, the last of the Hellenistic dynasties, the columns are merged into four (Olympiads, Abraham, Rome, the Jews) and eventually three (the Jews disappear after the sack of Jerusalem in AD 70).[58] It seems that the result of this historical process is inevitable: Providence has slowly but surely guided Alexander's world into its principal successor, Rome. Added to columns after the sack of Jerusalem are details of the rise of the Christian church, and it is the only other column next to Rome in the final part of the *Chronicle*. Romans and Christians are projected as the true and legitimate heirs of both the previous empires of the past and the Hebrew Patriarchs of old. The king is thus deployed favourably because it is this powerful past that culminated in Eusebius' own time.

4.2. Geography

Exploring the world in literary terms had been a *topos* in the Greek tradition since the time of the archaic poets Homer and Hesiod, but the discourse on the inhabited world, *oikoumenē*, was ever-expanding in both poetry and prose. Alexander's expansions entered public discourse in Aeschines' *Against Ctesiphon*, a political oration delivered in 331/330 BC; the Athenian orator remarked that Alexander had gone to the uttermost regions of the North, bordering the edges of the known world itself.[59] Alexander's ubiquity on maps in the ancient world would vigorously develop into both legendary and scientific material that would sometimes coalesce. For instance, the polymath Theophrastus, the leader of the Lyceum after Aristotle, accepts wholesale the story that Alexander had found ivy at Mt. Meros by Nysa in India and crowned himself and his army with the plant in imitation of Dionysus, who was believed to have been born there.[60] The richness of the Indian geography prompted Arrian to compose a treatise on its geography, mostly drawing upon sources that included Al-

56 Eusebius *Chronicle GCS* 20.197.

57 Eusebius *Chronicle GCS* 20.204.

58 Four: Eusebius *Chronicle GCS* 20.210-6. Three: Eusebius *Chronicle GCS* 20.216-27.

59 Aeschines *Against Ctesiphon* § 165. Cf. Seneca *Natural Questions* 5.18.10; Himerius *Orations* 10.21.

exander historiography.[61] The figure of Alexander thus enabled geographers to explore the world with the pen from their desks, not necessarily because his expedition had gathered much scientific knowledge but because the figure was thought to have travelled to exotic places and visited the edges of what was known.[62]

Geographic interest in Alexander was current among the early Christians. Clement of Alexandria and Hippolytus knew of the fictional dialogue between Alexander and the Brahmans; Julius Africanus knew of Alexander's skirmishes with the Scythian Alans; the Jerusalem tale was recycled by Origen; Tertullian speaks of the poisonous waters of Nonacris in Arcadia that killed Alexander;[63] and the third-century *Homilies* and *Recognitions* attributed to Clement of Rome record that Alexander was worshipped on Rhodes.[64] Moreover, Alexandria was founded in North Africa; Babylon had fallen in Persia; Jerusalem had been visited in the Holy Land. Alexander was clearly embedded in the apologists' discourse on geography, although the general impression of their writings is that geography for them was rooted in Biblical topography, such as the centrality of Jerusalem. They were therefore generally less concerned with the further reaches of Alexander's travels.[65]

Tertullian makes the single most striking reference to Alexander and the geographical *topos* that we may call the 'earthly extent of empire.' In a religious pamphlet addressing some of the main disputes between contemporary Christians and Jews, he takes up the topic whether the Messiah had come in the figure of Jesus or not. To substantiate the former argument, he makes the premise that Jesus had already arrived because he was worshipped in all parts of the world. Another premise follows immediately on from that, namely that Christ was the only king to have reigned over all nations. Conversely, the kingdoms of Solomon, Darius I, the Pharaohs, Nebuchadnezzar, Alexander as well as the lands of the Germans, the Britons and the Romans were con-

60 Theophrastus *History of Plants* 4.4.1. Cf. Koulakiotis 2006: 93. For Alexander at Nysa, see e.g. Arrian *Anabasis* 5.2.7; Curtius Rufus *History* 8.10.7-18; Justin *Epitome* 12.7.6-8; Pliny *Natural History* 16.144.

61 Arrian *On India* 17.6 advertised in Arrian *Anabasis* 5.5.1.

62 Hoffmann 1907: 111. For the idea that Alexander's conquests were a science expedition in the name of exploration, see Pliny *Natural History* 8.44. Cf. Pliny *Natural History* 5.62-3, 5.76, 5.134, 6.48-9, 6.61, 6.77, 6.92. For the modern variants of Alexander as an *Entdecker*, see e.g. Bretzel 1903; Meyer 1917: 374-81; Endres 1924; Burr 1947; Pfister 1961; Demandt 2009: 465-9. *Contra* Romm 1992; Engels 1998; Hahn 2000: 9-37; Merrilds 2005; Molina Marín 2010: 125-56.

63 Tertullian *Against Valentinus* § 15.3 (*CCSL* 2.766), *On the Soul* § 50.3 (*CCSL* 2.856).

64 Ps.-Clement of Rome *Homilies* 6.23.1 (*GCS* 42.114), *Recognitions* 10.25.2 (*GCS* 51.344).

65 Inglebert 2001b: 108 with tables at pp. 40-2; 64. Cf. Molina Marín 2010: 345-53.

fined to their own, self-imposed boundaries. Tertullian states, 'Although Alexander had reigned, it was only in Asia and other places.'[66]

The comparatively small empires of the Biblical Solomon, the Pharaohs and Nebuchadnezzar are dismissed with references to Scripture. As far as Alexander is concerned, however, the *topos* seems thoroughly classicising. According to Arrian, Alexander used to say that the kings of Persia were wrong to refer to themselves as 'Kings of Asia,' because they had ruled a comparatively small portion of it.[67] Alexander's empire, Arrian argued, was bigger than that of the Persian kings. In the same way, Tertullian can argue that Jesus' universal reign was larger than that of Alexander's Asia. In other words, as Alexander surpasses Persian kings in Arrian, the Gospel message surpasses the extent of Alexander's Asia in Tertullian.

It is an important development that Alexander was grouped with these kings from Scripture to form part of an argument against the Jews, whose Hellenistic ancestors had incorporated the Macedonian king into the Scriptural canon in the first place. Tertullian's argument thus fuses material from Jewish Scripture and the contemporary Roman world to dismiss the Jewish arguments about the mortality of Jesus, and Alexander is incorporated into the sequence almost as if a point of transition from Biblical material (Solomon to Nebuchadnezzar) to contemporary peoples (Germans to Romans). This was perhaps possible because Alexander was thought to feature in the Biblical texts (Ch. 2), but also was so ubiquitous in ancient discourse in general. It is highly significant that already the first Christian author to produce a large corpus of writing in Latin was aware of the fact that Alexander occupied the liminal space between the Graeco-Roman literature and the Bible.

The apologists' use of Alexander in arguments about geography is normally not this sophisticated or as explicitly Christian. As already noted, the fact that Alexander's interactions with the Brahmans were set in India was taken for granted and did not necessarily incorporate specifically Christian conceptions of world. Yet, this tend-

66 Tertullian *Against the Jews* § 7.7 (*CCSL* 2.1355). Cf. Klein 1988: 951-5; Wirth 1993: 60 n. 193; Dunn 2004: 42-7.

67 Arrian *Anabasis* 7.1.3. This type of *topos* of Persian kings was extremely common in contemporary rhetoric. The Stoic philosopher Epictetus accused those who employed it for being mere show-sophists and not real philosophers. See Epictetus *Discourses* 3.23.38. For a discussion of the passage, Eshleman 2012: 74. For the *topos*, see Van Nuffelen 2011: 123-46 (in Aristides), 171-5 (in Stoic authors), 205-12 (in Philo of Alexandria). See also Dio Chrysostom *Oration* 6.5-7; Epictetus *Discourses* 3.22.60; Maximus of Tyre *Lectures* 32.9, 36.6; Diogenes Laertius *Lives* 6.32.

ency also makes Christian deployment of geography noteworthy since so much traditional material was preserved in this way.

4.3. Miscellanies

The miscellany genre was popular in antiquity. As has been shown, numerous Christians and non-Christians compiled them, for instance Aelian, Ptolemy Chennus, Aulus Gellius, Clement of Alexandria and Julius Africanus. There is seemingly no fixed organisation of factual information in the miscellanies, even though there might be overarching themes. The contents may vary to the extreme. The texts preserve a great deal of information that otherwise would be lost. For instance, the *Miscellany* of Julius Africanus is the only extant source to Alexander's chemical warfare against the Scythian Alans (Ch. 3.1).

Like his neglected *Chronograph*, the *Miscellany* preserves more than the story about the Scythians. One story concerns the military armour of the Macedonians and their king's ingenuity. The tale is embedded into a longer argument. In the pertinent passage, the longest surviving fragment of the text, an explanation is attempted for why the Romans could conquer the Macedonians (148 BC at Pydna) and Greeks (146 BC at Corinth), but *not* the Sassanid Persian power in the Severan present (AD 230s), even though the Persians had been previously defeated by said Greeks and Macedonians (Alexander). Africanus' answer is that the armament of Greeks and Macedonians enabled them to be very effective against light-armoured Persians, but not against the heavy armoured Romans. Roman military gear was not effective against the agile Persians, however. He concludes with the suggestion that the Romans could wear a combination of Greek and Roman gear to defeat the Persians. The suggestion was pertinent to the contemporary political situation: the Sassanids were on the rise in the East, and the Asian enemies put pressure on the Roman boundaries.[68]

In this military context, Africanus says of Alexander:

> They assign this use and practise to the soldier king. For Alexander himself was the one who ordered his soldiers to shave off their beards. When someone protested that he was cutting off his facial adornment, he replied, 'do you not know, ignorant civilian, that in battle there is nothing easier to grab hold off than a beard?' Therefore, face to face with such equipment, no barbar-

68 Julius Africanus *Miscellany* F 12.1 (*GCS* NF 18.35-41). For Rome, Alexander and the military situation in the Severan period, see e.g. Shayegan 2004: 293-302, 2011; Wiesehöefer 2005.

ian would be able to stand firm, however he should have been fitted out.

Julius Africanus *Miscellany* F 12.1 (*GCS* NF 18.39).[69]

In Plutarch, the protester is the general Parmenio, whose tenure began with Alexander's father, Philip II. In a study of Alexander's portraiture in the Hellenistic courts, Troncoso has recently situated the origin of the *chreia* in the context of and the disputes between Alexander's men (Ptolemy, Seleucus, Hephaistion, Craterus) that would imitate the king's beardless chin and those of Philip's old guard (Parmenio, Antipater) who would not.[70] Yet, for both Julius Africanus and Polyaenus, the context is general advice within a military that addresses Roman concerns. Moreover, there is nothing distinctively Christian about Africanus' version. It is likely that he would have found the anecdote in a military handbook similar to Polyaenus' and simply incorporated the *chreia* into his advice on military equipment. This could be a task for any military historian, whether Christian or not.

69 Cf. Plutarch *Moralia* 180b (no. 10), *Life of Theseus* 5.4; Polyaenus *Stratagems* 4.3.2. Plutarch's version varies from that of Julius Africanus. Plutarch has changed the setting to the eve of an unspecified but major battle at which Alexander calls for a war-council with his generals. Polyaenus makes the tale more programmatic and impersonal by omitting Parmenio. It is noteworthy that the stratagem occupies the important second position in the Alexander-section of his handbook on military strategy. In this instance, it seems fitting to repeat Wirth's criticism of the later sources: they were unable to preserve the actual, sophisticated detail of the historical narratives, and the later developments formed a decline in the *Alexanderdeutung* (Wirth 1993). Such a statement would, however, go too far in assuming an overall decline in the discourse. Africanus' usage of the *chreia* is perhaps not of the same quality as Plutarch's, but it is at least as creative as that of Polyaenus.

70 Alonso Troncoso 2010: 21. Cf. Jacoby *Commentary* on Ptolemy *FGH* 138 F 11 (p. 504); Demandt 2009: 18. The beardless type of Alexander's portrait was so prevalent and recognisable that the Romans believed that Alexander had issued an edict to the effect that only a select few artists were allowed to portray him. These artists, Lysippus of Sicyon and Apelles of Kos, always portrayed him without a beard and with the same features. For the sources of the fictional edict, see Stewart 2003: 31-2. A list of Hellenistic images believed to be Alexander is found in Stewart 1993: app. 1 and 2. Many of items can still be seen today in museums all over the world, and exhibitions bearing Alexander's name are put together every now and again. The latest one to my knowledge was in Rosenheim, Germany 2013. The catalogue may be found in Gebhard *et al.* 2013. For surviving representations of Alexander from antiquity until our era, see e.g. Bieber 1964, 1965; Seibert 1972: 42-60; Onians 1979; Stewart 1993: 421-37; Miller 1997; A. Cohen 2010. Coinage: Price 1991; Snowball & Snowball 2005; Arnold-Biucchi 2006; Dahmen 2007.

The Christian engagement with such anecdotal literature continued beyond the age of the apologists, and we may include a brief discussion of a fourth-century sophist who would eventually become the Christian bishop of Cyrene. Synesius (c. 375-414) was a Christian who studied in Alexandria under the famous female Neo-Platonist philosopher, Hypatia and remained closely associated with her even after he became a bishop (c. 409).[71] Classically trained, he wrote essays, such as *On Dio Chrysostom*. The pertinent Alexander passage occurs, fittingly, within the epideictic speech *Encomium of Baldness*. Synesius states in the preface that the text is a response to the three centuries older *Encomium of Hair* by the same Dio.[72] A brief summary of the passage is offered here with the emboldened numbering of text for further analysis.

> After criticising Dio's empty eulogy of the devastating Spartan defeat at Thermopylae (480/479 BC)—a battle that Dio had considered great because the 300 Spartans combed their hair before it—Synesius accuses Dio of omitting the most glorious battles against the Persians, namely those of Alexander. He argues that the Macedonians had won their victories because of a strategic shave during the final battle. It is reported that **(1) this battle was fought at Arbela** (a small village in Northern Iraq). According to Synesius, the story of the shave was related in **(2) the *History of Alexander* by Ptolemy, son of Lagus, who had been an eye-witness and, later, a king, so that it would be shameful for him to tell a lie**. On Ptolemy's authority, Synesius begins to describe the battle. In vivid detail he relates how, during the battle, a Persian soldier seized a Macedonian by the beard, slid under his opponent, made him trip over and finished the fallen Macedonian with his dagger. Another Persian saw this and then another. Soon the plain was full of Persians chasing their bearded and long-haired enemies. **(3) The Macedonian army suffered heavy losses since they did not possess the right armour. The soldiers were outfitted in heavy armour and styled with their beards, making them ineffective against the lighter, unencumbered Persians.** Syn-

71 For exhaustive account of Synesius' life and works, see Cameron & Long 1993: 13-70.

72 Incidentally, Lucian also refers to the story that the third-century BC queen Stratonice had posed a difficult task to the poets of the Seleucid court to praise the hair of her head although she had none. See Lucian *Essays in Portraiture Defended* § 5. Ultimately, this type of story goes back to the Callimachean praise for the lock of the Ptolemaic queen Berenice, extant on papyri and adapted by Catullus *Poem* 66.

> esius notes that it was at this critical time that Alexander sounded the retreat to avoid defeat in what he calls the 'Battle of Hair,' *trichomachia*. The king went on to unleash the barbers on the army; once the soldiers were beardless, they resumed the fighting. Since it was no longer possible for the Persians to hold on, so to speak, the Macedonians secured the already divinely devised victory—**(4) it had been prophesied that the Heraclids would defeat the Achaemenids**—because of their arms, armour and shaved chins.[73]

This narrative is as curious as it is fantastic. But because of the reference to Ptolemy it has been taken seriously. Jacoby's seminal *Die Fragmente der griechische Historiker*, a collection so significant that it is being updated today, accepted Synesius' text as a genuine fragment of Ptolemy's *History* (*FGH* 138 F 11) without a shred of doubt. Point (2) has an obvious resemblance to Arrian's *Preface*, which was noticed by Pearson[74] and, even though they do not believe that Synesius consulted Ptolemy first hand, they were unable to prove it. By taking into account the testimony of Julius Africanus and an original reading of Synesius himself, I believe that it can be convincingly demonstrated that Synesius relied on Arrian and other sources instead of Ptolemy.

1. We learn from Plutarch that the great battle of Arbela was actually fought at Gaugamela, a plain in what is today northern Iraq. He seems to have accepted that piece of information from Aristobulus of Cassandreia and Ptolemy, just as Arrian would later do. These four sources insist on this location for the battle, which is against the majority of the ancient testimonies.[75] Given Synesius' claim to follow Ptolemy (accepted by Jacoby and his successors), it is extremely problematic that Synesius actually posits that the location of the battle is Arbela rather than Gaugamela.

73 Synesius of Cyrene *Encomium of Baldness* §§ 15-6.

74 Pearson 1960: 189. Cf. Bosworth 1980- i: 43.

75 Plutarch *Alexander* 31.6. Cf. Arrian *Anabasis* 3.8.7, 6.11.4-6. For the battle fought at Arbela, see e.g. Callisthenes *FGH* 124 F 14a from Strabo *Geography* 17.1.43; Strabo *Geography* 16.1.3-4; Diodorus Siculus *Library* 17.53.4, 17.61.3-63.1; Pliny *Natural History* 2.180; Frontinus *Stratagems* 2.3.19; Curtius Rufus *History* 5.1.2-3, 6.1.2, 9.2.23; Polyaenus *Stratagems* 4.3.6, 4.3.17; Aelian *Miscellany* 3.23; Cassius Dio *Roman History* 68.26.4; Ampelius *Book of Memorable Facts* § 16.2 Arnaud-Lindet; Libanius *Orations* 18.260; Zosimus *New History* 1.4.3.

2. Bosworth has suggested that Synesius' allusion to Ptolemy comes from Arrian's (first) *Preface* rather than from Ptolemy himself. Famously, Arrian remarks that he has relied on Ptolemy's Alexander history because he wrote it when he was a king and was telling the truth because it was shameful for kings to lie. If Synesius' remark aims at Arrian's preface, it is hard to believe that Synesius has consulted Ptolemy first hand. We should rather consider his remark a rhetorical play with the *Preface* of Arrian. This becomes a more attractive solution since Arrian was so popular for his style, as Photius would later praise, and the idea of a report by a truthful ruler was a commonplace in Graeco-Roman contexts. But Synesius cannot have followed Arrian in all aspects because of point (1). He has probably read him selectively, and noted the usefulness of the preface.
3. Synesius' strong focus on the very armour of the Macedonians and the Persians indicates that he had consulted a similar text to that of Julius Africanus rather than the anecdote preserved in Plutarch and Polyaenus, who do not emphasise the armour. Since Synesius also refers to the anecdote as an address to the soldiers (Africanus) rather than the generals (Plutarch, Polyaenus), it is entirely possible. Synesius' use of Africanus, or a similar source, shows that he cannot have used only Ptolemy. If Africanus is the origin, Synesius would have taken the advice from a Christian writer.
4. We saw in Chapter 2 that prophecy was a useful literary tool. Synesius' prophecy that the descendants of Hercules would destroy the Achaemenids is too specific in comparison with the enigmatic nature normally posed by pagan prophecy, and it lacks the typically allegorical imagery. Presumably the prophecy is invented by Synesius to imbue the narrative with a (false) sense of credibility since it was so well-known that Alexander had indeed won. It is notable that Synesius accepts the Macedonians as descended from Hercules and seems to take no issue with pagan prophecy in general.

All of the above seem to come from elsewhere or to be literary inventions. It is striking that Synesius' methods of authorising are remarkably close to those of Arrian. Synesius derives kingly authority from Ptolemy, technical authority from Africanus and authority from (some) god through prophecy. Arrian argues in the *Anabasis* that he has been assisted by a god in writing his narrative (7.30), considers himself equal

to any technical military historian (1.12.1-6) and prefaces his work with Ptolemy's royal authority.[76]

In my view, Synesius' narrative is the result of a sophisticated and stylistically sound engagement with Arrian's Alexander-classic, an extraordinary exercise in *paideia*. He was a well-taught man of the age and fully capable of engaging with the Classical Tradition. It seems unlikely *a priori* that Synesius has consulted Ptolemy in any direct way, and it is hoped that the new editor of Ptolemy's fragments in the *Brill's New Jacoby* (*BNJ*) series will recognise such a conclusion.

If we briefly go back to the point Wirth made that the Alexander discourse was in steady decline, we find in Synesius' vivid story a revision of history that is far outside the *AR* tradition, but with obvious semblances to the histories we usually rely on. This suggests a different level of sophistication that Wirth was disinterested in since, in his opinion, it was still indicative of decline in historical knowledge. But it is a noteworthy fact that Christians of the fourth century engaged with and altered the texts that we still today consider the most serious sources for 'real' Alexander history.

76 Bosworth 1980- i: 104-7.

4.4. Conclusion

Christian revisions of knowledge about Alexander were not just limited to changes in historiography but also in many other genres. The apologists predominantly deployed Alexander to organise the events of the past, although subtle apologetic arguments about his reign occur (Arnobius). In the early histories (Julius Africanus, Ps.-Hippolytus) the data was made to conform with the framework of Biblical prophecy, but this had little influence on the generally favourable representation of Alexander. Emphasis was placed on his destruction of the Persians and establishment of the Alexandrian empire. Eusebius' detailed account of Alexander's life was by far the most powerful representation of the king in that he juxtaposed positive Alexandrian stories. His projection of Alexander as an imperial civiliser that acts according to the divine will was particularly vivid. Generally, all of these accounts conform to the concept of providential history derived from the Bible, although they do so in different ways.

Having shown Alexander's major role in Christian and non-Christian chronography, it is impossible for me to accept Ambaglio's conclusion that Alexander was unimportant in chronological computations.[77] Alexander was in fact used as a defining figure of a period and remains so throughout antiquity.

Christians used Alexander more in the histories than in geographies. Yet, the Christians knew all of the same places that Alexander had been or were associated with the figure, or at least just as well as the non-Christians. But the locations were merely settings for the episodes that the author would narrate, and there seems to be no serious engagement with the description of the places Alexander travelled to. Tertullian stands out by making a comparison of extent of the empires of both Alexander and Jesus. This is the first explicit comparison between two figures in early Christian literature.

Though overlooked in scholarship, the authors of the Christian miscellanies are as knowledgeable as the classicising pagan miscellany writers. The genre invites authors to create alternative histories with focus on very specific details about Alexander. The *chreia* of Alexander asking his soldiers to shave was studied as an example of a greater tendency in ancient literature, that is to say the incorporation of Alexander into the repositories of miscellaneous facts and fictions. The Christians clearly read these too and made their own (Clement of Alexandria, Julius Africanus). Synesius of

77 *Pace* Ambaglio 2002.

Cyrene gives us an example of the aforementioned *chreia* recycled to create a past so on par with any of the standard Alexander sources that even modern scholarship has been misled by it. Even if Synesius had not yet converted to Christianity at the time, it is important to note that his conversion would have had no impact upon his knowledge of classical literature. His Alexander story demonstrates just how much classicising Alexander material permeates Christian and non-Christian discourse even into the fifth century.

Chapter 5: Divine Honours

Preliminaries

The first and second of the Ten Commandments taught Jews and Christians to love and worship the one true God as well as to abstain from the worship of idols (Exodus 20:2-6, Deuteronomy 5:6-10). According to the Gospel tradition, Jesus thought the first two the greatest commandments.[1] To make the religious myths of Graeco-Roman literature conform to these precepts, Christians typically applied the theory of Euhemerism, named after its eponymous founder Euhemerus.[2] His rationalist view build upon the doctrines of atheism and explained how the pagan gods had really been powerful mortals who had been deified posthumously. It follows that all Greek myths about the gods arose from ancestor worship or commemoration of kings. Since Alexander was thought to have been sired by a god or received deification, he featured in such discourse. But rationalisation of myth is but one of many Christian strategies in admonishing fellow Christians to abstain from what they considered the worship of false gods. The endeavour of this chapter is to chart other Christian methods in deploying Alexander in the discourse on the absurdity of pagan religious practices and contextualise these strategies.

In the third-century *Recognitions*, falsely attributed to Clement the second bishop of Rome, there occurs a lengthy list of women that Zeus had sired bastards by.[3] It is integrated into a larger argument in which Ps.-Clement questions how the pagans could worship Zeus since he had committed adulteries and much else besides. The list (41 women) is full of mythological names (Europa, Io, Hippodamia, etc.), but only mentions one historical figure: Olympias, mother of Alexander. The reference is remarkable because the author accepts the legends of Zeus' siring of Alexander by Olympias.[4] He integrates them into a greater apologetic framework that rejects belief

1 Matthew 22:37-8; Mark 12:28-30. Cf. 1 Corinthians 10:14; 1 John 5:21; 2 Clement to the Corinthians 1.6, 17.1; *Diadichē* 3.4, 5.1 (idolatry a way to death), 6.3.

2 For Euhemerus' explanation of the gods and its rationale, see most recently the in-depth study by Winiarczyk 2013 (English translation of Winiarczyk 2002). Cf. Drachmann 1922: 89-91; Cooke 1927: 397-7; Brown 1946; Walbank 1992: 219; De Angelis & Garstad 2006: 211-3; Honigmann 2009: 1-2; Whitmarsh 2013: 48-55; Hawes 2014: 25-8. For the extant fragments of Euhemerus, see Winiarczyk 1991. For Euhemerus in the early Christian tradition, see Cooke 1927: 399-401; Palmer 1983; Winiarczyk 2013: 148-53.

3 Ps.-Clement of Rome *Recognitions* 10.21.5 (*GCS* 51.340). Cf. Ogden 2007: 461.

4 See e.g. Arrian *Anabasis* 7.8.3 for the fact that it was already a theme on the historical campaign: Alexander's troops could mock him at the mutiny at Opis in 324 BC by saying that Alexander could continue his campaigns eastwards with his father Zeus Ammon. For positive responses to the notion of Alexander having a divine father, see e.g. *Greek Anthology* 7.238, 7.239, 9.241; *Epigram* no. 71 Bernand; Strabo *Geography* 17.1.43; Justin *Epitome* 11.11.2-5; Silius Italicus *Punica* 13.767-8; Statius *Silvae* 2.7.93; Plutarch *Alexander* 2-3, *Moralia* 341f-

in Greek mythology that he understands as Greek religion. The 'factual' version of Zeus' infidelities is given in an authoritative list format, but clearly imbued with the Christian purpose of representing the pagan god in the worst possible light. He required as many examples as possible to substantiate his claim that the pagan gods were sinful and unworthy of worship.

Both Alexander's birth and death could be used as evidence against deification. We saw how the Alexandrian Clement deployed the fated death of Alexander and his subsequent divine honours with two aims (Ch. 1.5): to insist that Alexander's divinity was concocted falsely and to exhort his congregations to shun the worship of dead kings. In both the Ps.-Clementine *Homilies* and *Recognitions*, reference is made to a contemporary cult of Alexander at Rhodes in the context of deified dead men,[5] but nothing more is made of this information, again given in a factual list format.

What seems to have been Alexander's principal role in this discourse was as a witness to the folly of polytheism. The apologists and Augustine make reference to a certain *Letter of Alexander to his Mother*, a pseudo-letter that only exists in the Christian tradition. The letter concerns the secrets of Egyptian religion that Alexander apparently came into close contact with when he was visiting.[6] A pagan priest had dis-

342a; Pausanias *Description* 8.32.1; *SEG* 8.372; Maximus of Tyre *Lectures* 41.1; Menander Rhetor pp. 191 Russell & Wilson; Himerius *Oration* 12.1; Nonnus *Dionysiaca* 7.128; Sidonius Apollinaris *Letters* 9.50-2. For negative ones, see e.g. *Sibylline Oracles* 3.474-82, 5.5-9, 11. 263-5; Varro *On Insanity* fr. 63 Bosalini from Aulius Gellius *Attic Nights* 13.4.1-3; Ovid *Ibis* 295-6; Valerius Maximus *Deeds and Sayings* 9.5.ext1; Curtius Rufus *History* 4.7.24-32, 6.9.18, 8.1.42; Seneca *On Benefits* 1.13; Dio Chrysostom *Oration* 1.7, 32.95, 64.19-21; Plutarch *Alexander* 28, *Moralia* 339e-f; Favorinus of Arles *On Fortune* § 20 Amato; Lucian *Dialogues of the Dead* 13.1-2; Aelian *Miscellany* 9.37, 12.64; Julian *Caesars* 325a; Libanius *Orations* 1.45, 11.77, 18.297, 20.22, 53.13, *Letters* 1229.2; Choricus of Gaza *Orations* 13.1.7, 34.1.1, 37.1.3, Orosius *History* 3.16.12-3; Adamantius Judaeus *Physiognomy* § 4; Socrates *Church History* 3.23. Cf. H. Christensen 1909: 108. For the Ammon and Alexander iconography, see e.g. El-Raziq 1984; Bosch-Pusche 2013; Howe 2013; Bowden 2014b.

5 Ps.-Clement *Homilies* 6.23.1 (*GCS* 42.114), *Recognitions* 10.25.1 (*GCS* 51.343). Cf. Ps.-Caesarius *Eratopokriseis* 111 (p. 91). For the cults of Alexander, see Dreyer 2009.

6 In the narrative archaeology of the *Letter of Alexander to his Mother* there is clearly a famous episode, namely Alexander's visit to the oracle of Zeus Ammon in the Libyan Siwah Oasis. Principal sources: Callisthenes *FGH* 124 F 14a from Strabo *Geography* 17.1.43, Callisthenes *FGH* 124 F 36 from Plutarch *Alexander* 27.4; Timaeus *FGH* 566 F 155 from Polybius *Histories* 12.12b; Ephippus of Olynthus *FGH* 126 F 5 from Athenaeus *Sophists at Supper* 12.§538b Kaibel. For the versions in the Alexander-historians, see Arrian *Anabasis* 3.3-4 (cf. 4.9.9, 7.8.3, 7.29.3), Diodorus Siculus *Library* 17.49-51; Plutarch *Alexander* 26.11-27.11; Curtius Rufus *History* 4.7.5-30; Justin *Epitome* 11.11.2-12. Cf. Greek *AR* 1.30; Orosius *History* 3.16.12-3. Principal modern readings: Ehrenberg 1926: 30-42; Wilcken 1931: 121-9; Larsen 1932a, 1932b; Mederer 1936: 37-68; Oertel 1940; Gitti 1951, 1952; Hamilton 1969: 68-71; Seibert 1972: 116-25

closed how the Egyptian animal gods were in fact nothing but deified mortal men.[7] Alarmed by the message that his gods were false, Alexander shared the secret with his mother. This is the gist of the narrative but the letter itself does naturally not survive. The contents are never summarised in the Christian texts but specific data is occasionally recounted, although not always the same type of information. Several apologists use it for different reasons and in different contexts, as we shall see. Importantly, letters of this sort are found in the *AR* tradition (*AR* 3.29) and the paradoxically famous letter that Olympias sent in secret to Alexander, which only the trusted Hephaistion read, keeping the message to himself.[8] According to Rosenmeyer, the confidentiality of personal letters, between family members in particular, was highly respected if intercepted.[9] The apologists were thus recycling the traditional *topoi* of secrecy and royal authority to corroborate the authenticity of the letter that supported their Christian cause.

It must be emphasised at the outset that Alexander was not the favourite figure to use in discourse on deification. Neither Origen nor Celsus use Alexander in their digressions on deified kings and gods. For them, Hadrian's deified youth Antinous was the prime example of a human that had wrongly joined the divine ranks due to the emperor's personal affections and petty flattery.[10] One would have thought that either Alexander's death or his birth-by-Zeus would make for thematically convenient points of criticism since they occur so frequently in the writings of non-Christians. But the Christians generally prefer other mythological *exempla* in this discourse, perhaps due to the relatively easy accessibility of Greek myths in folklore and very ba-

(dated survey of scholarship as well as principal contentions); Bosworth 1977b, 1980- i: 269-75; Brunt 1976-83 i: 467-80; Kienast 1988; Fredricksmeyer 1991 (fundamental, cf. 2003: 270-4); Anson 2003; Cartledge 2004: 265-70; Bloedow 2004: 94-9; Nawotka 2010: 209-11; Ogden 2011a: 21-6, 77-8, 2013b: 6 n. 38; Howe 2013; Barbantani 2014: 220-2 (with care); Djurslev 2014. But see now Ogden 2014: 9-14.

7 For the letter, see Athenagoras *Embassy* 28.1; Minucius Felix *Octavius* 21.3; Ps.-Cyprian *On the Vanity of Idols* § 3; Augustine *City of God* 8.5, 8.27, 12.10; *Harmony of the Gospels* 1.23.33. For Leon, see Tatian *Against the Greeks* § 27; Arnobius *Against the Nations* 4.29.1; Clement of Alexandria *Miscellanies* 1.21.106; Tertullian *On the Mantle* 3.5.1-2, *On the Soldier's Crown* 7.6. Cf. Carraroli 1892: 144-5; Weber 1909: 84; Pfister 104-11; Merkelbach 1977: 32-3; Klein 1988: 954-5; Wirth 1993: 60 n. 190; Smith 2011: 76.

8 Plutarch *Alexander* 39.8, *Moralia* 332f-333a.

9 Rosenmeyer 2001: 1-2 citing Plutarch *Demetrius* 22.2.

10 Origen *Against Celsus* 3.22-31 (Dioscuri, Hercules, Asclepius, Dionysus), 3.32-37 (non-mythological *exempla*, Antinous), 3.42-4. Cf. Lucian *Dialogues of the Gods* 25 for a pagan satire of the gods of the Olympus and those who joined their ranks unjustly.

sic education. The remainder of the chapter surveys the references to Alexander's birth myths, death and the letter in the age of the apologists.

5.1. Birth Myths

Besides Ps.-Clement's *Recognitions* there are not many references to the birth myths. For instance, it is of great significance that no apologist makes reference to the story that Alexander was sired by Zeus Ammon in the form of a serpent. A contemporary criticism of the notion was voiced by the satirist Lucian. Using the Cynic philosopher Diogenes as a mouthpiece, he states that people had offered foolish sacrifices to Alexander as the son of a serpent.[11] In his view, this was a useless thing to do since the king was dead. In early Christian apologetic literature, such an idea is wholly absent.

But birth myths do occur. In Tertullian's *On the Soul*, he relates that the Cymaean historian Ephorus (fl. fourth century BC) spoke of one of Philip's dreams about the future greatness of Alexander.[12] The vision was that the womb of Olympias was sealed with a lion-seal, and Philip interpreted the dream as a bad omen since lions were believed only to be fruitful once. His seers assured him that the sign was positive since it portended the leonine character of the coming king. The story is awkwardly expressed in the *AR* tradition (*AR* 1.8.3-6), but Tertullian's allusion to Ephorus shows its early origin in the tradition of Alexander and how it was recycled as a historical fact in Christian argument.

The most interesting reference to a divine sire of Alexander occurs in a polemical oration to the Greeks. In an extensive tirade about ordinary men and kings styling themselves as gods, Clement says:

> Alexander wished to be regarded the son of Ammon and to be portrayed horned (*kerasphoros*) by the sculptors—eagerly seeking to mutilate the beauty of a human face with a horn (*kerati*).
>
> Clement of Alexandria *Exhortation* 4.54.2.[13]

11 Lucian *Dialogues of the Dead* 13.1-2.

12 Ephorus *BNJ* 70 F 217 from Tertullian *On the Soul* § 46 (*CCSL* 2.851). See the commentary by Victor Parker. Cf. Wirth 1993: 60 n. 193.

13 Cf. Klein 1988: 937-9; Wirth 1993: 61.

The denunciation continues with other persons dressing up as gods[14] and kings conferring divine honours upon themselves, such as Philip II and Demetrius the Besieger. The latter, Clement remarks sarcastically, could not marry the cult-statue of the virgin goddess in Athens because the statue was an inanimate object. Accordingly, he decided to enjoy various sexual positions with the courtesan Lamia before the innocent eyes of the statue of Athena inside the Parthenon temple.[15] The numerous vivid *paradeigmata* in this passage emphasise Clement's argument that the Olympian gods were truly mute and powerless since they were but man-made statues, unable to intervene when offended. The tale of Demetrius' wickedness also underlines that the mortals behaved decadently and sinful in their pretensions to godhood.

The quoted passage is striking for several reasons. First, the focus on Alexander's own wish to be a god is unexpected because Clement had elsewhere attributed the idea of his divinity to flatterers (Ch. 1.5). Secondly, the choice of the North African Ammon and his curly ram's horns resonate well with Clement's Alexandrian origin. The Christian author was undoubtedly aware of this particular depiction of the horned Alexander as Ammon's son on coins and on statues that were still produced in the second century.[16] Clement mentions a single horn, *kerati*, which may indicate that he might have seen them on coinage since one can only see one horn in Alexander's profile coin portraits.[17] Thirdly, we may, however, also note that the wording is suggestive of a more poetic register, and it need not be that the singular dative, *kerati*, should be taken to mean a single horn. The previous word, *kerasphoros*,[18] or its Latin

14 Alexander is also criticised by Ephippus of Olynthus (fl. 320s BC) who speaks of Alexander dressing up in purple robes and with Ammon's horns on his head at dinner parties. Ephippus of Olynthus *FGH* 126 F 5 from Athenaeus *Sophists at Supper* 12.537f. See now Spawforth 2012.

15 Clement of Alexandria *Exhortation to the Greeks* 4.54.6. Cf. Plutarch *Life of Demetrius* 23.3-24.1 incorporating the comedian Philippides fr. 25 Kassel & Austin. For the whole affair, see O'Sullivan 2008 with the historical background at Mikalson 1998: 75-104.

16 See the head in Copenhagen printed in Fulińska 2012: 393. There is a long-established tradition of studying Alexander's (two) horns in literature and iconography, see e.g. Scaliger 1629: 425-7; Freitag 1715: 12-3; Anderson 1927: 100-12; Stewart 1993: 319-20, 2003: 40, 48, 63; Dognini 1998; Nawotka 2010: 210; Spawforth 2012: 178; Bosworth 2012: 50-1; Fulińska 2014. Cf. Sheedy & Ockinga 2015 for Egyptian origins of the horn imagery and Compareti 2010 for the Iranian horn imagery.

17 Anderson 1927: 104 n. 22.

18 *AR* 3.34.1-3; *AR Arm.* § 282; Julius Valerius *AR* 3.34.

equivalent *corniger*,[19] is mostly attested in traditional poetry in which it refers to the two-horned, sometimes three-horned,[20] Zeus Ammon.[21] In Clement's near-contemporary Lucian, the epithet refers to the two-horned Dionysus in the context of that god's epic conquest of India. It is notable that Dionysus too was regarded the son of Ammon with ram's horns and as an Indian conqueror in some mythic traditions originating in early Hellenistic North Africa.[22]

Clement also alludes to the mutilation of the face with a horn. It could be argued that he is implicitly incorporating the Biblical notion that God made man in his own image,[23] which Alexander is violating by altering that image. This would, however, be to go too far in assuming a Biblical background. He does not seek the authority of the Bible here, but uses only classicising *paradeigmata* to make his argument. If we once again turn to Lucian for a parallel, one of his satirical *Dialogues of the Gods* known as the *Parliament of the Gods* contains the same sentiment: horns were ugly and unnatural on divinities (Dionysus, Pan, Silenus and even Zeus as Ammon). Clement goes no further than Lucian to assert his displeasure with the statue, and the criticism is thus made along the lines of contemporary aesthetic values. The *Dialogue* also has many other features in common with Clement's criticism of pagan worship. This time using the god of satire, Momus, as a mouthpiece, Lucian denounces Zeus for allowing too many new gods on Mt. Olympus, especially humans. For instance, he mocks the deified Dionysus (alcoholism, effeminate, madness, foreigner, arrogance) at length but Zeus does not allow him to criticise Asclepius and Hercules. The former three are incidentally the same deified mortals that the philosopher Celsus used against the Christians to say that they had become proper gods while Jesus was just a phantom.[24] Zeus himself, Momus argues, was thought a mere man on Crete since the Cretans had made him a grave. Moreover, just as the Ps.-Clementine *Recognitions* derided Zeus for his adulteries, Momus questions his infidelities in another passage.

19 Ovid *Amores* 3.15.17 (on Bacchus rather than Ammon), *Art of Love* 3.789, *Metamorphoses* 5.17 (cf. Quintilian *Institutions* 9.3.48), 15.309; Silius Italicus *Punica* 3.10, 14.439, 14.572; Valerius Flaccus *Argonatica* 2.482.

20 Nonnus *Dionysiaca* 1.64, 13.370-3. In the last passage Zeus Ammon has the three spiral ram horns. This *über-ram* seems equivalent to the *über-bull* of Aston 20011: 142 n. 60.

21 Scholion *On Pindar's Fourth Pythian* l. 28.

22 Lucian *Bacchus* § 2. For the references to Dionysus as the son of Ammon, see the exhaustive collection at Nock 1928: 27-30.

23 Genesis 1:27.

24 Origen *Against Celsus* 3.22-5.

It is clear that Lucian's Momus showcases some of the contemporary criticism of Graeco-Roman religion that Clement could easily tap as a member of the educated elite. These are stock-in-trade themes that could be recycled by second-century intellectuals to discuss contemporary religion. The Christian author reused it to present typical arguments against the foolishness of Graeco-Roman self-deification and polytheism. Just as Tertullian used Ephorus as history, Clement used the well-attested notion of Alexander as the son of Ammon to make arguments that could be understood by both Christians and non-Christians. It is beneficial to Clement's overall exhortation on behalf of Christianity, but the specific argument here is clearly against deification of mortals along very traditional lines and with stereotypical *paradeigmata*.

5.2. Death

Clement's contemporary Sextus Empiricus, one of our principal sources for Roman scepticism, states matter-of-factly that Alexander died in Babylon after being poisoned by plotters.[25] Paradoxically, the statement is made in a digression on the literary genres of history, legend and fiction, and the vignette functions as an example of history. The author considers the episode 'historical,' by which he means that it was true and had happened. Indeed, the second-century intellectuals seem quite familiar with the rumours of poison. For instance, Arrian says that he will relate the poison rumours to demonstrate that he knows of them, although he does not himself believe in them.[26] While he preserves several versions, he seems to prefer the story that Alexander's governor of Macedon Antipater sent his son Cassander to Babylon with the poison, and his younger brother, the cup-bearer Iollas, did the deed. The plot was cleverly devised by Aristotle in order to avenge the murder of the philosopher Callisthenes, allegedly his nephew. Other sources supplement that the poison was the deadly water of the Arcadian river Nonacris, carried to Babylon in a donkey's hoof, the only vessel that could contain its high potency.

Allusions to the assassination of the king constitute the only other apologetic use of the death of Alexander besides Clement's vehement attacks on the divine honours

25 Sextus Empiricus *Against the Mathematicians* 1.263. For the poison rumours, see e.g. *AR* 3.30; *AR Arm.* §§ 261-6; *Liber de Morte* § 97 Thomas; *AR* β 3.31; Diodorus Siculus *Library* 17.117.5-118; Vitruvius *On Architecture* 8.3.16; Ovid *Ibis* 297-8; Seneca *Letters* 83.19; Pliny *Natural History* 30.149; Plutarch *Alexander* 77.2-4; Justin *Epitome* 12.14; Aelian *Nature of Animals* 5.29; Jerome *Letter* 107.13 (*CSEL* 55.305). For the modern literature on the subject, see e.g. Anson 1996; Bosworth 1971, 2000; Doherty 2004; Phillips 2004; Schep 2009; Romm 2012.

26 Arrian *Anabasis* 7.27.

conferred upon him (Ch. 1.5) and the Ps.-Clementine references to a Rhodian cult of Alexander. Tertullian uses the story of the deadly Nonacris waters twice in the context of repudiating heretical teachings. In *On the Soul*, he deploys the story in a doctrinal dispute with the Samaritan Menander, a disciple of Simon Magus active in the era of the emperor Claudius; in *Against the Valentinians*, the story is used to dismiss the gnostic cosmogony of the Alexandrian Valentinus (d. c. 160).[27] In both texts, the story serves the function as an ornamental *exemplum* to illustrate individual arguments without influence on the greater argument, that is the 'orthodox' dismissal of the two heretics. For instance, in *Against the Valentinians*, it is on a list of magical rivers and ponds: Nonacris killed Alexander; Lyncestis in Macedon made men drunk; and the Salmacis fountain in Halicarnassus turned men into women. Tertullian is thus not concerned with all the details of the story, but uses features of it as historical facts to alternative ends, namely definitions of orthodoxy in opposition to heresy.

It is notable that, just like Sextus Empiricus, Tertullian considers the assassination historical. Again, the use here offers very little information about Alexander specifically, but says something important about the intellectual culture of the century: Christian and pagan orators accessed, recycled and mastered the same type of data about Alexander in argumentative treatises and speeches. Christian textual culture did not cause an independent decline of the Alexander discourse, but developed as an integral part of the literary milieux that it belonged to.

5.3. Alexander's Letter of Secrets

Fabrication of Alexander's letters seems to have been a great industry in antiquity.[28] Overlooking the more than 200 fictitious letters in the *AR* tradition, there are numerous references and excerpts of these letters scattered across ancient literature.[29] The spurious nature of the letter in question is obvious: only Christian circles imbued the text with the authority of Alexander's name.[30] The first-century BC astronomer and mythographer Hyginus seems to refer to it, but gives the title and author as *On Egypt*

27 Tertullian *On the Soul* § 50.3 (*CCSL* 2.856, *CSEL* 20.298, *PL* 2.641), *Against the Valentinians* § 15.3 (*CCSL* 2.766).

28 The *locus classicus* is *Alexander's Letter to Aristotle about India*, see e.g. Gunderson 1980; Koulakiotis 2006: 216-22; Demandt 2009: 19-21; Molina Marín 2010: 125-7. Cicero preserves some pseudo-letters at *On Duties* 2.48, 2.53. Cf. Josephus *Against Apion* 2.35; 2.70-2. Discussion at Pfister 1956: 24-5. For a discussion of the letters, see e.g. Ausfeld 1907: 231-2; Pearson 1955: 443-50; Badian 1958: 155; Hamilton 1961; Merkelbach 1977; Wirth 1993: 41 n. 114; Whitmarsh 2013: 88-92.

29 Comprehensive survey at Zumetikos 1894.

30 Wirth 1993: 41 n. 112 mistakenly assigns this letter to Darius and Alexander.

by a certain Leon.[31] He is otherwise unaware of Alexander's association with the work. A curious sixth-century scholion to the *Argonautica* of Apollonius of Rhodes mentions a single book of Leon's *To his Mother*, showing no indication of Alexander's authorship. To Pfister, this meant that Leon had made a compilation of Alexander's letters in which the letter in question featured.[32]

In 1980, J. S. Rusten questioned Pfister's long-standing hypothesis that Leon was the name of the priest that had revealed the secrets about the gods of Egypt to Alexander, an information wholly based on Augustine's testimony of the letter.[33] Instead Rusten suggested that Leon was in fact the letter's fake-editor, *Schwindelautor*,[34] a person who had ostensibly re-discovered some form of Alexander's letter, engraved it with his own name and then edited it. Rusten's comparative evidence suggests that Leon was a bogus editor from Pella, Alexander's home city. Rusten's argument convinced the recent editor of Leon for the *BNJ*, P. T. Keyser, and he has discussed the *Schwindelautor* in a bibliographical essay appended to his unfortunately incomplete collection of fragments of Leon *of Pella*.[35]

Augustine was right to say that Alexander's letter had become famous.[36] Ever since the late second century, the letter had been mentioned in Christian congregations, ostensibly before emperors, in dialogues between non-Christians and Christians as well as in scientific treatises. While the earliest testimony is Athenagoras' highly sophisticated *Embassy on Behalf of the Christians* (c. 176/7),[37] there is a scholarly dispute over the priority of Ps.-Cyprian and Minucius Felix, both authors flourishing in the early third century. Carver has argued that Ps.-Cyprian was the first and Minucius Felix a derivative but the *communis opinio* is that Minucius Felix takes priority.[38] In any event, the authors are linguistically close and will here be treated together.

31 Leon *BNJ* 659 F 9a from Hyginus *On Astronomy* 2.20.4.

32 Leon *BNJ* 659 F 4 with Pfister 109-10.

33 Rusten 1980: 197. Accepted and summarised by Winiarczyk 2013: 67-8.

34 Ní-Mheallaigh 2014: 120.

35 For the fragments of Leon's oeuvre, almost all of them preserved by Christians, see Leon *BNJ* 659 (Keyser). Keyser (or Pfister) has not spotted Jacoby's error of omitting the Carthaginian bishop Cyprian's testimony to be discussed below.

36 Augustine *City of God* 12.11. *haec epistula Alexandri, quae maxime innotuit*[.] Again, Keyser has omitted this testimony for some reason.

37 For the date, see Barnes 1975; Buck 1996: 217-8; Rankin 2009: 23-5; *EAC* 1: 285-6.

38 For a summart of earlier scholarship, see Sage 1975: 55-6. Cf. Heine *CHECL* 157 n. 24; Carver 1978: 34; Powell 2007: 177-80; Van Loon 2010.

5.3.1. Athenagoras' *Embassy*

Richly embellished with classicising rhetoric, this Greek oration is formed as a formal plea to the emperors Marcus Aurelius and Commodus. But, according to Buck, Athenagoras' case was probably not pleaded before them.[39] Instead we should read the text as a literary fiction in the tradition of Plato's *Apology* for Socrates; many apologetic texts do indeed have such a format. Importantly, the text does not have a Christian feel to it: Jesus is not mentioned nor is the Bible invoked for authority. In the pertinent passage, Alexander's letter of dubious origin is juxtaposed with the widely acknowledged *Histories* by Herodotus.[40] This is ingenious: the writings by Herodotus and Alexander are treated as if on an equal level of authority, even if Athenagoras only quotes Herodotus at length. The paratactic arrangement of authors is an effective tool in authorising an argument: the reader cannot question the factuality of Herodotus' *Histories* and is forced to accept Alexander's testimony, even if the source of the claim is incredible.

In Athenagoras' apology, there is no reference to Leon, and Alexander's authority over the *Letter to his Mother* stands alone. The Christian apologist recalled the basic fact that both Herodotus and Alexander were said to have visited pagan priests in Egypt. There are no references to Siwah, but Heliopolis, Memphis and Thebes are given as locations at which Herodotus and Alexander consulted Egyptian priests. This is a feature of ancient historiography: the two figures were reliable witnesses to the truth the priests told them, because they had been there themselves and reported it in writing. The priests had disclosed various secrets of the gods. Athenagoras quotes several paragraphs' worth of arcane religious details about the Egyptian pantheon from Herodotus, but nothing at all from Alexander's letter. The pivotal point he sought to make was that the gods were men, and the apologist thus subscribed to the Euhemeristic theory outlined above. Once the data from Herodotus was extracted, Athenagoras suddenly turns back to Alexander, even though he has not been mentioned since the initial reference to him and Herodotus. The author then juxtaposes the king's royal authority with the witness of Hermes Trismegistus, one of first references to this shadowy character in ancient literature. He is supposedly the fount of the literature that constitutes the astrological and philosophical corpus of Hermeticism.[41]

39 Buck 1996: 215. Accepted by C. E. Hill 2006: 103-4; Rankin 2009: 25-6; Nasralla 2010: 133.

40 Leon *BNJ* 659 F 2 from Athenagoras *Embassy* 28.1. Cf. Athenagoras *Embassy* 28.7.

41 For the figure of Hermes, see Barnard 1972: 50; Schoedel 1972: 67 n. 1; *EAC* 2: 221-6.

Considering the emphasis on altruistic reporters of recondite knowledge from Egypt, Alexander is perhaps the odd man out in the company of Herodotus and Hermes Trismegistus. Yet, when we look at the literature from Athenagoras' period, Alexander does indeed feature often in the role of a scientific explorer of Egypt. Referring to the episode of Alexander's revelations at the oracle of Ammon, Athenagoras' contemporary Maximus of Tyre says that the king had asked the god about the source of the Nile.[42] This was the single biggest mystery of Egypt from Herodotus onwards,[43] and the question is certainly thematically appropriate for a visit to the North African oracle. Maximus does naturally not relate what the answer to the inquiry was, but it is clear that he too represents Alexander as someone who was interested in acquiring arcane information about matters scientific. Lastly, it is notable that Alexander's visit to the Siwah Oasis would have been a great candidate for the location at which Alexander had talked to the priest, but Athenagoras misses this opportunity.

5.3.2. Minucius Felix's *Octavius* and Ps.-Cyprian *On the Vanity of Idols*

These two texts are very different in nature. The premise of Minucius Felix's sophisticated Ciceronian dialogue is a conversation between the pagan Caecilius and the Christian Octavius about how they view religion. Unsubtly, the author uses the interlocutors to give voice to his Christian views. The protagonist Octavius comes across as extremely steeped in classical literature: he summarises atheistic and Euhemeristic theories from the traditional works of Euhemerus of Messene, Prodicus of Ceos and the Stoic Persaeus of Kition. The author is clearly an accomplished rhetorician capable of merging classical style and Christian apologetic. In contrast, Ps.-Cyprian's treatise on the fallibility of idol worship is less concerned with style and has at least three key aims: to assert that idols are not God, that God is one and that there is one salvation through Christ. On the basis of the treatise's Christology, it has recently been argued by Van Loon that the text is authentic,[44] but it is still uncertain whether we should consider it a genuine piece by the lettered Carthaginian Cyprian, ordained bishop in 248/9 (d. 258).

As already noted, there are extremely close linguistic parallels between the use of the letter in both texts.[45] Minucius Felix mostly differs by adding the ethnic 'of Mace-

42 Maximus of Tyre *Orations* 41.1. Cf. Burstein 1976, Ogden 2014.

43 Herodotus *Histories* 2.10, 2.28-9, 2.34. Cf. Lucan *Pharsalia* book 10 now studied by Tracy 2014.

44 Van Loon 2010.

45 Cyprian *On the Vanity of Idols* § 3 (*CSEL* 3.20). *inde per gentes et provincias singulas varia deorum religio mutatur, dum non unus ab omnibus Deus colitur, sed propria cuique*

don' to Alexander's name. Yet, he also appends a striking remark about Vulcan (Hephaestus) that apparently derives from the letter: the god of smiths was the first deified man, and then came the descendants of Jove (Zeus). According to Keyser's commentary, the detail is 'unusual'. But this is actually the best piece of evidence to connect Minucius with the North African literary milieu. Since the early Hellenistic age and Manetho's treatise *On Egypt*, it had been known that the Egyptians associated Hephaestus with the creator god Ptah (fire). For instance, the Egyptianising *AR* refers to the god as, 'the progenitor of the gods.'[46] Instead of Keyser's word 'unusual' to describe Minucius' Egyptian knowledge, it would be more appropriate to use 'trivial' because such knowledge was widely available in North Africa. Like Athenagoras, Minucius Felix also juxtaposes Alexander's letter with other authoritative works to support the overarching argument but omits the name of the priest Leon.

The letter thus seems to have circulated widely in North Africa. Indeed, the references in the apologists are by Christians with connections to Africa: the Athenian Athenagoras seems to have spent time in the Egyptian Alexandria,[47] and Ps.-Cyprian and Minucius Felix are all North Africans.

Ps.-Cyprian's version is slightly different from that of Minucius Felix. Just like Athenagoras, he does not refer to Leon specifically, but to an anonymous pagan priest. Unlike Athenagoras and Minucius Felix, he does not use Herodotus or any other author to authorise Alexander's letter. It stands alone as an authoritative source. He deploys it to support his first argument that idols are not God, thus using it within the greater Euhemeristic tradition. Although he used *exempla* from Graeco-Roman mythology, Alexander's letter was the set piece in describing the idolatrous pagan practises abroad (Greece and Egypt), that is the foreign and exotic in comparison to the practices at home in Rome. The diverging practices were crucial to corroborate the overarching argument of the treatise. The fact that there was no organised or unified worship of the Olympian or Egyptian deities across the known world li-

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*maiorum suorum cultura servatur. h**oc ita esse Alexander magnus insigni volumine ad matrem suam scribit, metu suae potestatis proditum sibi de diis hominibus a sacerdote secretum**, quod maiorum et regum memoria servata sit; inde colendi et sacrificandi ritus inoleverit.* Leon *BNJ* 659 F 5 from Minucius Felix *Octavius* 21.3 (*CSEL* 2.29). ***Alexander ille Magnus Macedo insigni volumine ad matrem suam scripsit, metu suae potestatis proditum sibi de diis hominibus a sacerdote secretum**: illic Vulcanum facit omnium principem, et postea Iovis gentem.* (See Keyser's commentary).

46 Manetho *BNJ* 609 F 3a, F 5a. See also *AR* 1.3.4 (τὸν προπάτορα τῶν θεῶν Ἥφαιστον). Cf. Diodorus Siculus *Library* 1.12.3, 1.13.3; John Lydus *On Months* 4.86. For Hephaistus as Ptah, the Egyptian creator god and deity of craftsmen, see Stoneman 2007- i: 475.

47 Rankin 2009: 9-10.

censed him to make the claim that pagan rites were regional practises solemnly dedicated to local and mortal ancestors. In turn, Ps.-Cyprian could assert that only the church had a universal practice in the common worship of God, conveniently ignoring schisms, Gnostics, heretics and other challenges for the early church.

Both authors use the vague phrase, 'in fear of his (i.e. Alexander's) power,' *metu suae potestatis*, to describe how Alexander acquired the knowledge about the false gods from the Egyptian priest. This seems to suggest that that the priest feared what Alexander might do to him physically if he had refused to share the knowledge. But, as is rightly noted in his commentary, Keyser (and Pfister before him) considers this, 'unlikely as a trope in a letter, and Augustine's reading,[48] that the priest's fear was caused by having revealed what should have been kept secret, seems more likely.'[49] Yet, this does not explain why the wording repeatedly refers to Alexander's power, not the power of the secret itself. The implication is that Augustine (of whom more anon) and his apologetic predecessors are using the letter to construct two different Alexanders.

My contention is that we should not understand Alexander as a tyrannical despot that threatens the priest with violence. Instead I would argue that he is represented as an altruistic seeker of truth, which he also is in Athenagoras' *Embassy*. Alexander uses his royal position to compel the priest to tell the truth, although the Egyptian is anxious about the secret he is going to reveal. The interrogation is a literary allusion to the trope that Alexander, as a student of Aristotle, wanted to know everything with certainty and report the true ways of the world. Even if the disclosed information is incredible, such as the colourful material found in *Alexander's Letter to Aristotle about India*, the contract of fiction negotiated with the reader is made on the assumption that Alexander is being honest about the *mirabilia* that he has seen abroad. Moreover, Alexander's quest for the truth would also resonate well with the idea, put into the mouth of Alexander by his biographer Arrian, that a king should always tell the truth and, importantly, his subjects believe that he is doing so.[50] If my interpretation is correct, Alexander is projected as a type of scientist, unwittingly working in the best interest of Christianity, whereas the pagan priests are deceptive falsifiers of the truth until they are interrogated for actual information.

48 Leon of Pella *BNJ* 659 F 1 from Augustine *City of God* 8.5.

49 Keyser's commentary on Leon *BNJ* 659 F 5 with Pfister 106.

50 Arrian *Anabasis* 7.5.2.

5.3.3. Augustine's *City of God*

Alexander's letter features multiple times across Augustine's work, one of the great defences of the Christian religion.[51] Harding has shown how there are two uses of the letter: an Euhemeristic usage concerning the origin of the gods, and a chronographic deployment that seeks to repudiate the Neo-Platonic view of the eternity of the world.[52] While Harding has done much to demonstrate the Roman context of Augustine's use of Alexander in the *City of God*, he does not focus specifically on Augustine's revisions of the testimonies of the apologists. This will be attempted here. As we have seen, the apologists only refer to a Euhemeristic part of the letter, so the chronographic part is Augustine's own addition. This original part will briefly be analysed before we proceed to observe how Augustine differs from his predecessors in the Euhemeristic section.

In both sections, the North African bishop accepts the basic premise of the story: Alexander was informed of the secretive falseness of the Egyptian pantheon and told his mother of it in a letter. What is new is that the informant is identified as Leon and referred to as an Egyptian priest, an ethnographic detail which was implied in the apologists' versions. In so naming him, more light is shed on a shadowy figure. To further construct credibility, he plays on a number of *topoi* normally associated with Alexander. For instance, just as Athenagoras does, he mentions the truism that Alexander had had many dealings with priests and local philosophers in Egypt.[53] These sophisticated literary devices help to corroborate the claim for Alexander's authority, which must be intact if the letter is to support the argument.

The chronographic section of the letter dismisses the idea of cyclic history, primarily promoted by the Neo-Platonists (Augustine mentions a certain Apuleius). In the widespread Christian view, however, God had made the world (Genesis) and would end it at the Second Coming (Apocalypse, followed by Kingdom Come). To argue his case, Augustine targets non-Christian chronography with the royal authority derived from the pseudo-letter. First, he rejects the unpersuasive Egyptian chronology that Alexander was informed about. The system, he argues, was flawed because it reckoned four months to a year. Secondly, to make things worse, the priest had inten-

51 Leon of Pella *BNJ* 659 T 2a, F 1, 3, 6 from Augustine *City of God* 8.5, 8.27 (*Harmony of the Gospels* 1.33), 12.11.

52 Harding 2008: 120-5, 125-7.

53 See e.g. Plutarch *Alexander* 27.10-1 for the philosopher Psammon, surely an allusion to the god Ammon in a philosopher's guise. Cf. Plutarch *Moralia* 328a-29c; Lucian *Dialogues of the Dead* 13.1; Dio Chrysostom *Oration* 4.20-3, 64.19-20; Clement of Alexandria *Exhortation to the Greeks* 4.48-9. Discussion of the *topos* at Asirvatham 2000: 77, 111-2 and 2001: 104-5.

tionally misled Alexander by flattering him; the priest had said that the duration of the empires of Persia and Macedon was 8000 years, even though the same period was significantly shorter by Greek reckoning. Augustine agrees with the Greek calculation since it did not exceed the 'true' computations of the two empires derived from Scripture (unspecified). He then takes as his premise that chronographic computations of even more questionable character than that of Alexander's letter had often been used to dispute the credibility of Scripture. (Presumably, this is a jab at the Neo-Platonic computations). But if the great Alexander had been misinformed by an Egyptian flatterer in a letter sent to his own dear mother, he suggests, how could (un)true texts by less significant pagan philosophers be comparable to the divine texts of sacred Scripture?[54]

Instead of using chronography to reconstruct a version of the past, the bishop uses the authorial voice of Alexander to discredit non-Christian views about the antiquity of the past. The letter, even if somewhat misinformed, licenses the argument that the Neo-Platonists were wrong about the age of the world since their chronographic accounts could be completely degraded by comparison with more authoritative documents (the royal authority of *Alexander's Letter*, Scripture). It is remarkable that the letter is here distrusted for preserving wrong information when the apologists all assert that what Alexander said of the Egyptians was true; indeed, their hypotheses rely on the letter to be a valid source of information. It is notable that Augustine, just like the apologists, considers the contents of the letter true when he uses it in the context of Euhemerism, as we shall see below. In the words of Harding, 'in discussing Roman religion, he [i.e. Augustine] uses the letter as a reliable source for information about the origins of various deities; here Augustine's argument discredits the letter as a source of information about the age of the world.'[55] This would indicate that contents are of Augustine's own design. He is seemingly not restricted by an actual source text, but is presumably using the pseudo-letter as some sort of literary *topos* to be exploited. It seems to me that the contents of the letter have been changed to suit his purposes.

We turn now to the Euhemeristic part in which the letter was used to repudiate traditional Roman religion as extracted at length from the historical works of the Roman antiquarians Varro and Livy.[56] To do this, Augustine musters evidence from two, now lost, royal texts: the Roman king Numa Pompilius' books on the sacred rites of

54 Leon *BNJ* 659 F 3 from Augustine *City of God* 12.11.

55 Harding 2008: 127.

56 Silk 2004: 870-1.

Rome and *Alexander's Letter*. He posits that both of these documents were originally destroyed to keep the origin of the pagan gods secret: Numa's writings, stored in a coffin in his tomb until it was opened after a flood, were burned by order of the Senate, so that the secrets they contained would not fall into the wrong hands. The Roman king had instructed the Roman priests only to relate the mysteries to the initiated.[57] With regard to *Alexander's Letter*, Leon, the Egyptian priest, had apparently admonished Alexander to burn the letter because it had revealed information best kept secret.[58]

According to Harding, the intelligent juxtaposition shows that, 'Augustine sees the parallel between the Senate's decision to burn the books of Numa, and the Egyptian priest's order to burn the letter as confirmation of his view that ancient religion is born of fraud and lives in only in secrecy and deception.'[59] Once again, the bishop has modified the text from the apologists'. For instance, in Ps.-Cyprian's use of material from Roman religion, he deploys the *exemplum* that Romulus' apotheosis was passed by a senatorial vote and notes that even foreign gods, for instance the Cretan Zeus, had been incorporated into the domestic pantheon.[60] These matters show clearly how it was the Romans themselves who chose whom to deify. When we recall that Lucian's Momus said that there was a grave for Zeus on Crete, Ps.-Cyprian's *exemplum* becomes even more pointed as this conception of Zeus was dead, but still revered by the Romans. If we compare this to Augustine's incorporation of the burning of the Numian documents, we observe that this is equally sophisticated, but would only be possible to argue if that the contents of the letter had not been set in stone or were widely known. Yet, as already said, the burning of the documents is a fuller, closer analogue that immediately establishes a parallel in the deceitful nature of domestic and foreign religion.

Augustine's representation of Alexander is uncharacteristically indifferent. The king is only relevant as the royal witness to the priest's confession. The figure is thus much more passive. As is common in *exemplum* literature, Alexander's role varies with the argument the author is trying to make. As he is represented in these texts, he plays an active (Ps.-Cyprian, Minucius), passive (Augustine) or supportive (Athenagoras) part. In Augustine, he is neither the altruistic scientist he was in Ps.-Cyprian

57 Livy *History of Rome* 40.29; Valerius Maximus *Deeds and Sayings* 1.1.12; Pliny *Natural History* 13.87; Plutarch *Life of Numa* 22.2-5; Lactantius *Divine Institutes* 1.22.5. Cf. Gruen 1990: 168-70; Henrichs 2003: 207.

58 Leon *BNJ* 659 F 1 = Augustine *City of God* 8.5.

59 Harding 2008: 123.

60 Cyprian *On the Vanity of Idols* § 4.

and Minucius Felix, nor is he the ethnographer and religious historian of Athenagoras. *Alexander's Letter* is referenced in all of these Christian texts for the sake of substantiating an argument on behalf of Christianity, not to make any real engagement with the historical Alexander, even if they pretend to do so.

5.4. Conclusion

This chapter has traced some of the ways in which the apologists articulate their attacks on the pagan practises, and it has been shown how Alexander was integrated into them. There were at least four reasons he featured as a convenient catalyst for discussing pagan polytheism:

1. He was worshipped in local cults (Ps.-Clement of Rome).
2. Famously, he was thought—or thought himself—the son of Zeus (Clement of Alexandria).
3. He had died and was therefore mortal, not immortal (Clement of Alexandria).
4. He had come into contact with other customs and religious practises that only he could report the true nature of (Athenagoras, Minucius Felix, Ps.-Cyprian, Augustine).

The Christian arguments were spun around one or more of these notions. It is both surprising and noteworthy that the most popular one is the last point evidenced by *Alexander's Letter to his Mother*, a text that was used in various ways to corroborate Christian projections of alternative religions. For instance, given Clement of Alexandria's stubborn insistence on the mortality and idolatrous behaviour of Alexander, one would have thought that other apologists would have contributed to his criticism. This is not the case, however. To take an example, Tertullian does not use the death of Alexander in this way. There were clearly other and more acknowledged examples to deploy from the rich reservoir of Greek myth (Cretan Zeus, Dionysus, Asclepius) and the Roman deification of Hadrian's favourite, Antinous.

It is essential to notice that the representations of Alexander are not consistent. This is because he serves as an argumentative function in the texts rather than himself being the object of import. His role varies with the aims and strategies of the text and its author. His ubiquity in *exemplum* literature is well-attested across ancient literature, and it is no surprise that Christian writers deploy him in this way. Also noticeable is the fact that the Christians are the only ones to use *Alexander's Letter* in

any meaningful way. They have altered the text to convey Christian messages by highlighting the 'facts' they wanted the letter to say. It is likely that there was no set text, but rather that the letter functioned as a *topos* to which a writer could make reference for authority.

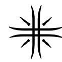
What is also striking is the relatively close proximity with the pagan intellectual milieux in thinking about religion. It has been shown that Lucian's Momus articulated many of the same concerns that Christians had (deification of humans, abnormality of animal features on the gods). This is also clear from the Christian choice of material: there is no incorporation of Bible passages to support their arguments. Indeed, all the material derives solely from classical or classicising material. The tendency tells us something important about how the apologists argued their cases. To subvert the meaning of traditional texts was a powerful tool in the arsenal of Christian apologetic because it licensed Christians to dismiss the arguments of pagans on the basis of the same set of texts. The discussion is wholly compatible with their contemporaries' concerns about religious worship.

It seems to me that this strategy is perhaps the most important observation in the apologetic methods of discussing this particular subject of the divine and divine honours. Most of the material comes from the early histories of Alexander (Ephorus in Tertullian) that seem to have ties to the *AR* tradition, especially in the North African Christians (pseudo-letters, Alexander as a scientist). On the topic of opposition to Alexander's apotheosis, there really is not much difference in the assumptions and premises of the Alexander discourse between Christians (the two Clements) and pagans (Lucian, Aelian). Arguably, this tendency makes sense since they were both part of the same cultural milieux of the urban intellectual environments across the Roman empire. That this is true for other subjects as well will be evident from the last chapter of this second part.

Chapter 6: Problems of Philosophy

Preliminaries

More than a religion, Christianity was a way of life with its own distinct system of principles to guide its practitioners. These ethical principles were not established rapidly nor easily, but developed and defined by an assumed conformity to the teachings of the OT and the NT, in dialogue with the other philosophical schools of antiquity and by conversations with the contemporary world. In the treasury of Greek philosophy they found Alexander enshrined as a figure that had been associated, however loosely, with some of the most central thinkers of western civilisation. Just as the Hellenistic and Roman schools of thought found him a useful 'tool to think with,'[1] so also did the Christian intellectuals. The previous chapter examined how Christians deployed Alexander in the context of the divine, and this chapter will focus on the Christian ways of using the figure to discuss philosophy, especially transmission of knowledge and types of teaching.



Do clothes make the philosopher? In one of Tertullian's treatises, *On the Pallium* or *On the Mantle*, the answer seems to be 'only partially.' Personal appearance then, just as in the modern world, greatly influenced how people would recognise and identify the wearer of the garment. For instance, a mantle could cover both a poor beggar or a wise philosopher, and the wearer would have to establish whichever identity to his onlooker by action, speech or other physical features. Tertullian states that his treatise is indeed prompted by queries from fellow Carthaginian intellectuals, asking why Christians such as himself don that attire. The text is written in the format of an admonition in which Tertullian repeatedly asserts that the pallium, a cloak typically borne by philosophers in antiquity, had also become a piece of Christian clothing. To do so, he imbues the mantle with common philosophical virtues but also makes the new distinction that it is emblematic of the discipline and divinity of Christians. When worn by virtuous Christians, the pallium signifies a better philosophy, a better

1 Stoneman 2003b: 328. Stoneman has set the subject of Alexander in philosophical discourse on a new footing with a stimulating discussion of *exemplum* literature. He argues that we should not investigate the legacy of Alexander within the old-fashioned philosophical 'schools' (e.g. Eicke 1909; Stroux 1933; Fisch 1937a, 1937b; Tarn 1939; Fears 1974) but rather as a series of philosophical *topoi* that were used in antiquity to explore moral and philosophical concepts. For instance, Seneca the Younger recycles the *topos* of Alexander's generosity to say, in one instance, that one should devote all time to philosophy (*Letters* 53.10) and, in another, that everything should be done in moderation (*On Benefits* 2.16). For the trend of using this approach to Alexander discourse in more recent scholarship, see e.g. Asirvatham 2000, 2001, 2008, 2010 (on the projection of the Macedonians in Alexander's campaign and the presentation of Philip II); Spencer 2002; Stewart 2003: 64-5 (Alexander associated with many philosophers in art); Koulakiotis 2006: 18-21.

way of life. Indeed, in the text, putting on the pallium becomes a subtle allegory for becoming Christian.[2]

To illustrate that changing clothes was not always an improvement but had to be done with the right mindset, he deploys numerous *exempla* from Greek myth and history, such as Hercules' cross-dressing as a Lydian woman to please Omphale. The Alexander figure is evoked allusively: his Macedonian ethnicity gives him away.[3] Tertullian hints at one of the most salient themes in the only extant Latin Alexander biography, namely that the king had been conquered by degeneracy of the people he had defeated.[4] He had exchanged the glory of his Macedonian war-gear with the ostentatious silk dress of the Persians. Alexander's new attire, Tertullian argues, symbolised a negative shift in his royal behaviour and demeanour, turning him into a tyrant aroused by passion and overflowing with vainglory, that is, pride. This *exemplum* is correlated with those philosophers (Empedocles) who clad themselves in the famous Tyrian purple, the status symbol of the regalia.[5] Next, he juxtaposes the philosopher's purple with the silk and brazen sandals worn by the effeminate Dionysus. These alien *exempla*, typical in the Roman discourse on the excessiveness of the East, serve the important function of asserting that the Romans had themselves adopted this foreign decadence. According to Tertullian, they needed to take off their luxurious gowns and put on the true garment of Christian philosophy to improve for the better rather than continue down the spiral of immorality.

The argument is extremely striking. Tertullian posits polemically that a Christian appearance, symbolised by the pallium, is more domestic than that of the foreign apparel worn by the Roman citizens. In doing so, he is not only suggesting that the

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2 Ludlow 2009: 148-9. For the *topos* of Christians versus philosophers elsewhere in Tertullian, see his *Apology* § 46.

3 Tertullian *On the Mantle* § 4.6 Hunink (*CCSL* 2.744, *PL* 2.1097b). *nec tepidior uis* ***uanae*** *quoque* ***gloriae*** *mutandis induuiis, etiam uiro saluo. calor est omnis affectus; uerum cum in affectationem flabellatur, iam de incendio gloriae ardor est. habes igitur ex isto fomite aestuantem magnum regem, sola gloria minorem. v****icerat Medicam gentem et uictus est Medica ueste. triumphalem cataphracten amolitus in captiua sarabara decessit;*** *pectus squamarum signaculis disculptum textu perlucido tegendo nudauit, anhelum adhuc ab opere belli, et ut mollius uentilante serico extinxit. n****on erat satis animi tumens Macedo, ni illum etiam uestis inflatior delectasset, nisi quod et philosophi, puto, ipsi aliquid eiusmodi affectant.*** Notable discussions of the passage: Carraroli 1892: 144-5; Klein 1988: 948-9; Wirth 1993: 60-1; Hunink 2005: 212-216.

4 Curtius Rufus *History* 6.6.1-10. Cf. Justin *Epitome* 11.11.11-2; Julian *Oration* 1.45d.

5 For conceptions of the purple colour, see e.g. Strootman 2007: 374-84; Keener 2014: 979-1030.

Christians were more wise than even the famous philosophers of old, but also that they were an integral part of Roman society that embodied the true Roman virtues that the non-Christian Carthaginians no longer were in possession of. His argument makes Christianity and Roman philosophy coalesce into a single but complex fusion. The viewpoint is, as we have seen, not uncommon in Christian textual culture (Ch. 4), but it is worthy of note that Tertullian seeks to make the point that Christianity is a domestic religion by emphasising traditional clothing and outward looks. He seeks to define what virtues the cloak should symbolise as a Christian item. The short composition is important in that it gives us a brief glimpse of the formation of Christian identity in Carthage.

Tertullian's association of Alexander with the purple-clad philosophers is less common than allusions to the king's relations to acknowledged teachers, such as Aristotle. But there were some philosophers that were connected to Alexander, even if the similarities between them and the king may not immediately be apparent. For instance, it has been mentioned that Plato and Alexander were thought to be near-contemporaries in arguments about the priority of Hebrew Scriptures over Greek philosophy (Ch. 1.3).[6] In the writings of Hippolytus of Rome, the pair is also used as a *paradeigma* against the astrological horoscopes of what he regarded superstitious Chaldean seers. To counter the argument that people born in the same month had similar destinies, he noted that newborns of the same month would not necessarily grow up under the same conditions. Some would be kings, others poor. None born in the times of Alexander was equal to the Macedonian himself nor was any philosopher equal to Plato.[7] It is highly significant that this argument is in fact borrowed almost verbatim from the Sceptic philosopher Sextus Empiricus, and the Chaldean astrology and the *paradeigma* of Alexander and Plato are of his design. It is a technical and scholarly argument Sextus Empiricus makes, also dismissive of Chaldean superstition. Hippolytus had presumably read it, deemed it worthy and incorporated a lightly altered form of it into his polemic against heretics. Ideas are often more convincing if they have already been published, and the Sextus Empiricus' repudiation of Chaldean beliefs could easily be adapted to promote Hippolytus' argument as well. The Christian writer made it a matter of science rather than religion.

This kind of engagement with and borrowing of the texts and themes from the contemporary intellectual milieux were part of the scholarly culture at the time, just

6 Eusebius *Preparation for the Gospel* 10.14.17.

7 Hippolytus *Refutation of all Heresies* 4.5.5 Markovitch = Sextus Empiricus *Against the Mathematicians* 5.89.

as we witnessed in the previous chapter. With regard to the theme of Alexander and philosophers, the tendency to recycle stories from the Classical Tradition is perhaps even stronger than the reuse of stories about the king's supposed apotheosis. Individual figures, such as Aristotle, feature prominently. The apologists were, however, principally interested in what also the non-Christians were interested in. There is one acute exception to this rule: there are no references in apologetic literature to the encounter of Alexander and Diogenes the Cynic. It cannot be emphasised enough how important this is. The meeting of the two is so canonised in the traditional literatures that its absence from apologetic literature is glaring. It may have to do with the positive literary *Nachleben* Diogenes generally enjoyed in Christian texts,[8] or the fact that so many early Christian texts from the second and third centuries are lost. Only in Christian literature of the late fourth century and beyond do Alexander and Diogenes experience a renaissance.[9]

As previously noted, Stoneman has argued that Ps.-Palladius' *On the Brahmans* was very lightly influenced by the Christian editor (Ch. 3.2). This conclusion is also true of the apologists' recycling of Alexander's visit to the Indian sages. There are only two references in the extant works of the apologists: Hippolytus says that Alexander paid a visit to Dandamis, leader of the Brahmans; Clement of Alexandria records a version of Alexander's conversation with the ten Indian sages, a series of capital riddles posed to the philosophers.[10] While the latter is interesting in its own right, in terms of Christianisation of these short questions between Alexander and the interlocutors, there is not much of interest. For instance, Alexander's role in the former is merely to have visited them physically, so as to corroborate the existence of these exotic philosophers, a trip that the historical Alexander never undertook. But the lack of Christian features is perhaps encouraging from the point of view that Christians preserved much

8 For a lucid treatment, see Krueger 1993, 1996. Cf. Downing 1992; Desmond 2008: 210-21.

9 See e.g. Jerome *Against Jovian* 2.14; John Chrysostom *Against the Opposition to Monastic Life PG* 47.337; Ps.-Maximus Confessor *Loci Communes PG* 91.773-4, 833-4. For the non-Christian Diogenes tradition, see e.g. Strabo *Geography* 15.1.65; Cicero *Tusculan Disputations* 5.91-2; Valerius Maximus *Deeds and Sayings* 4.ext4a; Seneca *On Benefits* 5.6; Arrian *Anabasis* 7.2.1; Dio Chrysostom *Oration* 4; Plutarch *Alexander* 14.2, *Moralia* 328d, 331e-332b; Lucian *Dialogues of the Dead* 13; Epictetus *Discourses* 2.13.24, 3.22.90-2, 3.24.69-71; Marcus Aurelius *Meditations* 8.3, 9.29; Philostratus *Life of Apollonius of Tyana* 7.2; Diogenes Laertius *Lives* 6.62-4; Julian *Against Heraclides* § 8.8; Basil of Caesarea *Letters* 9; Julian *Oration* 6.203b; Cf. Hoffmann 1907: 12-4; Buora 1974; Stoneman 2003b: 326-8, 2008: 96, forthcoming; Koulakiotis 2006: 114-22; Bosman 2007; Demandt 2009: 221.

10 Hippolytus *Refutation of all Heresies* 1.24.7 Markovitch; Clement of Alexandria *Miscellany* 6.4.38.

unaltered material from the Classical Tradition; this also meshes well with the general tendency to use the *topos* of Alexander and philosophers among the Christians. Moreover, the much later abundance of texts about Alexander and the Brahmans also say something about changes in Christian interests. If the extant writings of the apologists were not too concerned with these sages, it is a noteworthy development that their successors of the fourth and fifth centuries were so captivated by these Indian ascetics.

To showcase briefly how individual teachers of Alexander were treated in Christian literature, the rest of the chapter will focus on the stories told of the following three figures: the first is Leonidas of Epirus, an early tutor and kinsman with Olympias; the second is Aristotle, the king's schoolmaster for a two-year period whose influence on the king has led the later tradition into many strange fancies; and, lastly, the ill-fated Callisthenes, whom Aristotle seems to have introduced to Alexander before the beginning of the campaign.[11]

6.1. Leonidas of Epirus

This stern instructor of the young Alexander is not listed in Heckel's short list of Alexander's teachers, even if he is the first person on the list preserved in the Armenian *AR* tradition (quoting the Hadrianic Favorinus of Arles).[12] A variety of *chreiai* are told of this shadowy figure, mostly of his austerity and the discipline with which he trained Alexander. Plutarch records the famous tale that the tutor found fault with the adolescent Alexander's excessive offering of incense for which the youth was severely punished; many years later Alexander supposedly sent Leonidas a hundred talents worth of frankincense, so that the tutor would never again need to restrain himself in the worship of the gods.[13] An unrelated anecdote, on the authority of the Stoic Diogenes of Babylon (d. c. 145 BC) as quoted by Quintilian,[14] is that Leonidas' tutoring had a poor moral effect that caused faults that affected Alexander even as he matured into a man and an influential king. The two stories reflect how intellectuals used Alexander as a tool to think with: in the former, it is clear that the king had ec-

11 For a source collection and the biographical details of these three characters, see Heckel s.v. Aristotle, Callisthenes [1], Leonidas of Epirus [1].

12 Heckel 2006: 347. For the early testimony of Favorinus of Arles, see his *History* F 61 Amato with *AR* Arm. § 29. Cf. Samuel 1986: 430.

13 Plutarch *Alexander* 25.6-8, *Moralia* 179e-f. Cf. Pliny *Natural History* 12.62. See further Stroux 1933: 224-9; Tarn 1937: 55; Wardman 1955: 96.

14 Quintilian *Institutes of Oratory* 1.1.19.

lipsed his tutor because he had so much success on the campaign; in the latter, Alexander's moral failings are the result of poor education.

Heckel notes that Jerome makes reference to the story of Leonidas' poor tutoring and the faulty Alexander.[15] The Church Father says that he has taken the story from 'Greek history,' but the linguistic parallels between his reference and that of the Latin Quintilian are close and unmistakeable. Presumably, he considered the anecdote Greek because it originally came from Diogenes of Babylon. He specifies that the faults of Alexander were his clever tricks and the way he moved when he walked, which are not mentioned in Quintilian's version. Quintilian's and Jerome's versions are the models of the many medieval versions, such as that found in a Biblical commentary on Proverbs by Bede. He projects Alexander as the greatest king of the whole world, which stresses the fault of Leonidas even more since the king had such a great an influence.

An overlooked reference to the anecdote is, however, also attested in the Christian tradition of the apologists as well. In Clement of Alexandria's second work of his trilogy, the three-book guide to Christian ethical development, the Christian teacher posits that Leonidas was not able to curtail the pride, *typhos*, of Alexander.[16] Just as Jerome would later do, Clement focuses on a very specific classicising term instead the vague faults alluded to by Diogenes. This is a traditional *topos* about the decline of Alexander as he grew ever more powerful. Clement was interested in arguing that the best pagan teachers were nothing next to the divine Word, Lord Jesus, the ever-flowing fountain of the Christian teaching. He juxtaposes Alexander/Leonidas with other teachers and their students (Phoenix for Achilles, Adrastus for Croesus' children, Zopyrus for Alcibiades, Sicinnus for Themistocles' children, the tutors of Persian kings), enumerating their faults and describing them individually.[17] He is thus not only using thoroughly classical *paradeigmata* together, but also correlating them with the teachings of Jesus in order that the primacy of Christian learning is stressed. In keeping the

15 Heckel 2006: 147. Heckel has confusedly given the letter number as no. 57, but it is no. 107 in the *CSEL* 55. For the reference, see Jerome *Letters* 107.4 (*CCSL* 55.295). Cf. Bede *Commentary on Proverbs* 2.22. *graeca narrat historia Alexandrum* ***potentissimum regem orbisque dominatorem*** *et in moribus et in incessu Leonidis pedagogi sui non potuisse carere uitiis quibus paruulus adhuc fuerat infectus*. Cf. Cary 1956: 127 n. 29 for the numerous medieval versions.

16 Clement of Alexandria *Instructor* 1.7.55 (*GCS* 12.122). Cf. Klein 1988: 934-6; Wirth 1993: 61 n. 197.

17 The *topos* of the Persian and Macedonian kings used here is reminiscent of the *topos* Epictetus criticised sophists for, see p. 16 n. 2.

classical and the NT material distinctively separate in two different paragraphs, he only combines it by juxtaposition saying that the pagans had these teachers, whereas the Christians had Jesus. This arrangement has naturally little impact on the representation of Alexander; indeed, a familiar reference to his vainglory is maintained.

6.2. Aristotle and Callisthenes

According to the Stoic Seneca, Alexander's most heinous misdeed was the killing of the court historian Callisthenes, whose ties to Artistotle are uncertain.[18] Callisthenes was at best controversial figure of the campaign: he was framed for playing a part in the so-called 'Pages Conspiracy' because he tutored the royal pages. He refused to worship Alexander in the *proskynesis* affair. He is said to have met his end because he could not restrain his words in the presence of the king who, 'held the power of life and death at the tip of his tongue.'[19] But no apology, Seneca insisted, could make amends for Alexander's crime. Anyone acquainted with philosophy, Seneca argued, ought to be endowed with the freedom to speak frankly before the ruler, that is the *topos* of *parrhesia*. The circumstances surrounding Callisthenes' death are uncertain (hanging, crucifixion, torture, obesity, lice disease, etc.). For instance, Arrian reports on the authority of Aristobulus that Callisthenes was imprisoned and died in a cage.[20]

Seneca's vehement belligerence is faintly echoed in one of the earliest references to Alexander in apologetic literature of the second century.[21] Written between 155 and 170, Tatian's polemic exhortation targets everything that pertains to Greek culture. He speaks of himself as a man of the East, a barbarian of Syria, in the common Greek tongue, and what he has to say shows evidence of rhetorical training. For a time he was in the circle of disciples surrounding Justin Martyr, but he does not seem to have stayed with him in Rome. Even if he never identifies himself as a Christian, his thoroughly apologetic arguments betray his religious views. For instance, the

18 Seneca *Natural Questions* 6.23.2-3. Cf. Curtius Rufus *History* 8.8.20-4; Julian *Letter to Nilus* 446a. For the relationship between Aristotle, Callisthenes and Alexander, it is common to refer to the criticism of Alexander in the work *On Grief* attributed to Theophrastus that concerns the death of Callisthenes, for which Diogenes Laertius *Lives* 5.44 and Callisthenes *FGH* 124 T 19b from Cicero *Tusculan Disputations* 3.21. Cf. Bosworth 1970; Koulakiotis 2006: 84-6.

19 Diogenes Laertius *Lives* 5.5; Ammianus Marcellinus *History* 18.3.7. For the murder in context, see e.g. Brown 1949b; Bosworth 1970: 411-2; Lane Fox 1973: 320-30; Baynham 1981; Asirvatham 2001: 108-11; Whitmarsh 2002: 183-4; Bowden 2013.

20 The diverging sources are collected and discussed by Heckel s.v. Callisthenes [1]. Cf. Justin *Epitome* 15.3.3-6 for the particularly horrid disfigurement of Callisthenes.

21 Tatian *Against the Greeks* § 2. Cf. Klein 1988: 929; Wirth 1993: 60.

philosophers in particular are accused of having stolen the wisdom of the barbarian peoples, implied the Hebrews, and distorted the truth of their teachings. His accusations are brutal and constantly repeated to the point of cavil.

The reference to Alexander occurs already in the second paragraph, which begins with a short catalogue of the flawed philosophers: Diogenes the Cynic died of gluttony; Aristippus, student of Socrates, walked about in royal purple; and Plato was sold as a slave by Dionysius, the tyrant of Syracuse. He reserves his harshest criticism for Aristotle, who was not fully persuaded of the concept of Providence and generally enjoyed hedonistic happiness. Owing to Aristotle's failed philosophy and flattering interest in the youth, Tatian asserts that Alexander grew up to be a man that put those people in animal cages that refused to worship him (Callisthenes); feasted to the point of excess; and butchered his friends at symposiums. After the murder of Clitus he feigned his remorse lest those around him should resent the barbarity.

The passage has a high level of literary sophistication. Besides allusions to individual philosophers, there are, in Alexander's case, hints of Greek pederasty, the fatal treatment of Callisthenes, alcoholism, the murder of Clitus the Black at a drinking bout in Bactrian Maracanda and signs of severe lack of morality. The detail of not feeling of guilt is particularly poignant because most historical sources maintain that Alexander wept and starved himself for several days.[22] What is more, Tatian juxtaposes these vile actions with the claim that Aristotelian philosophy did not promote the notion of divine Providence and asceticism that a Christian would appreciate and advocate. Indeed, it follows that Aristotelian doctrine is unsound and morally wicked. Tatian's emphasis on the depravity of Alexander and his failed teacher in this representation of the episode is one of many vicious Christian attacks upon Greek philosophers. His ridicule of the philosopher and his protégé is clearly an implied claim that Christianity was true and virtuous, more so than Aristotelianism.

Tatian proclaims that he is a fount of foreign wisdom, although the *topoi* he uses in the Alexander digression are from the Classical Tradition. Indeed, the manslaughter of Callisthenes and Clitus is a common theme in the writings of those authors who wish to disparage Alexander; the two figures typically feature on the writers' lists of murdered men, alongside the assassinated Parmenio and Philotas.[23] The names are

22 Arrian *Anabasis* 4.9.2; Curtius Rufus *History* 8.2.1-13; Plutarch *Alexander* 52.1-2; Justin *Epitome* 12.6.7-11, Cicero *Tusculan Disputations* 4.79. The episode is not transmitted in the manuscript tradition of Diodorus Siculus.

23 Curtius Rufus *History* 8.1.52; Favorinus of Arles *On Fortune* § 20 Amato; Lucian *Dialogues of the Dead* 13.6; Diogenes Laertius *Lives* 5.4-5, 5.10, 6.44; Ammianus Marcellinus *Roman History* 18.3.7-9; Julian *Letter to Nilus Dionysius*; Themistius *Orations* 7.141; Orosius *History*

given in the authoritative list format to emphasise the gravity of the king's moral failings. These deaths were normally ascribed to Alexander's *own* actions rather than the influence of Aristotle. Just as he had done with Plato and Diogenes, Tatian attempts to eliminate the renown of one of the most prolific philosophers that his audience would be familiar with. He does this, as do many other apologists, to undermine Greek philosophy. But this is not specifically Christian either. For instance, in a series of Lucian's engaging dialogues set in Hades, the dead Cynic Diogenes assumes that Aristotle had taught Alexander the doctrine of fickle Fortune. But Alexander's reply is that Aristotle was the worst flatterer of them all, interested only in the king's fame, beauty and money. Indeed, Aristotle's teaching led Alexander to indulge in many such faults (quest for glory, dressing up and hunting for treasure).[24] Lucian's Aristotle is naturally not as bad as Tatian's, but some of the same tropes are clearly apparent.

A much more obvious Christian juxtaposition of the Greek philosophers and the Christians is integrated into Tertullian's greatest apologetic piece.[25] It is worthy of note that he lists the exact same *exempla* as Tatian: Aristotle (sycophant), Aristippus (wearer of royal purple) and Plato (sold to Dionysius); Diogenes is replaced with the Greek sophist Hippias. The Christian virtues are in stark contrast to the flaws of the philosophers. Aristotle is accused of not taking every opportunity to set Alexander aright; rather he is the king's flatterer. The former assessment is reminiscent of Quintilian's Leonidas story, to the effect that that he could not make Alexander right. There are no allusions to what Alexander did wrong. The king appears much more passive than in Tatian; only Aristotle is the subject of blame.

Tertullian's argument is more constructive than Tatian's polemic. In this passage, he creates a large catalogue of how the Christian differs morally from the acknowledged Greek philosophers in order to define what makes the ethics of a Christian. For instance, he posits that the Christian man only has sexual intercourse with women and only one, that is his wife, whereas the Greek philosophers hire courtesans and seduce adolescent males. He seeks to assert that every Christian followed the doctrine of God symbolised by Christian churchmen and laymen, who always taught strict discipline and morality. This licenses him to claim that there is no connection between worldly philosophy and Christian wisdom from Heaven, although his composition is permeated by convoluted sophisms. While his aim is clearly Christian and the juxtaposition with Christians much more direct than in Tatian, the Alexander

3.18.8-11.

24 Lucian *Dialogues of the Dead* 13.6. Cf. Maximus of Tyre *Orations* 29.2.

25 Tertullian *Apology* § 46.15 (*CCSL* 1.162).

material is perhaps more laconic and less sophisticated. There is no reason not to consider it strikingly classicising in nature. Again, we notice just how blurred the boundaries between pagan and Christian discourse in the second and third centuries are.

It is striking that no other extant apologist uses the *topos* of Aristotle's failed teaching of Alexander. There is, however, a sophisticated use of both Leonidas and Aristotle in Jerome's letter (c. 403) to the Christian noble lady Laeta, whose daughter Paula needed a thorough Christian education.[26] Jerome proclaims that he is happy to take on this task once she is of the right age. Indeed, he notes that a cultivated preceptor should take no issue with teaching a high-born Christian virgin, just as Aristotle had no problem with being employed by Philip to teach Alexander. He also writes down a list of things that Laeta could do to avoid giving Paula bad habits that she would have to unlearn. For instance, the girl should not be allowed to wear fancy clothes, make up and jewellery. Jerome also gives advice on anything from appearance, behaviour, diet, reading of Christian texts to personal hygiene, before he concludes with a proposal for Paula to meet him in Bethlehem. He deploys the Leonidas story that the tutor taught the young Alexander bad manners and a poor way of handling himself, to say that the early impressions were the hardest to get rid of. It was therefore absolutely essential that Paula had a proper upbringing. His guidelines for what a Christian should do before beginning school are rather long and filled with textual references to Scripture. As a common feature of Jerome's works, there are just as many references to the Greek and Roman literatures (the Gracchi, Hortensius, the Brahmans, etc.), which gives a good impression of his capabilities as a Roman grammarian and Christian teacher.

At the very end of the letter he states that he will charge more than Aristotle: for the Greek tutor had only taught a king of Macedon that had died of poison in Babylon, whereas he himself was about to educate a handmaid of Christ intended for Heaven. His direct *comparatio* of himself with Aristotle is naturally quite different from the mockeries of Tatian and Tertullian. He recognises that Aristotle's reputation as one of the greatest philosophers must be intact for the Christian teacher to surpass him. He posits that his task is harder than Aristotle's for his subject is more difficult, has to do with the divine rather than the worldly, and the pupil aims at a higher cause than Alexander did. Incorporating the Christian values as well as getting into Heaven is what makes Jerome's letter Christian, but his *paideia* still looms large. For instance, if we read the orations of the court philosopher Themistius, Jerome's older contem-

26 Jerome *Letter* 107.4 (*CSEL* 55.295) for Leonidas; 107.13 (*CSEL* 55.305) for Aristotle.

porary, he also invites a child to come sit on his knee, so he can be the Phoenix to the child's Achilles.[27] The pagan philosopher makes the promise that he will daily remind him of the deeds of Cyrus, Numa, Marcus Aurelius and Titus. From the fount of Themistius' wisdom, the child will drink of the doctrines of Plato and Aristotle, the man who taught Alexander from an unknown country to become master of the world. It follows that, when Jerome stresses Aristotle's role as a teacher, he is not far removed from his contemporaries. But Themistius would never have told Paula to study the OT and the NT in order that she may be made worthy of the promises of Christ.

6.3. Conclusion

Alexander's relations to his teachers and acknowledged philosophers were deployed to showcase the superiority of Christian philosophy. Christians predominantly recycled material from the Classical Tradition in order to undermine it. For all that Christians were very well-informed about the Greek philosophies, that knowledge was only useful insofar it could be subverted to apologetic advantage. The projection of Alexander is determined by the extent to which the author wished to deride his teachers: Tatian launches an extreme attack on Aristotelianism and Alexander, whereas Tertullian is more moderate in his critique. This tendency to discourse on Alexander's teachers is fully in line with what certain contemporary pagans were attempting to do as well (Quintilian, Lucian), and the Christians did so with the same strategies and methods. It is in this way that the Christians are revealed to fully participate in the literary culture of their own times.

27 Themistius *Orations* 18.324.

PART III

The Golden Age of Early Christian Literature

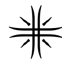
- Cultivating Christian Civilisation -

Over the course of the fourth, fifth and sixth centuries, being a Christian came into vogue and the Roman empire was gradually converted. With their new institutional responsibilities and their intellectual freedom, Christians could do more than to find a place in the world; they could make it conform to their way of life. This part aims to give a brief overview of the ways in which Christians associated Alexander with the newly established Christian world. Chapter 7 is an enquiry into how Christians integrated the king into the constructions of their own history and their descriptions of the Christian world around them. Chapter 8 analyses the comparisons of Alexander and central Christian figures, such as Jesus, the Apostle Paul and Constantine I. The whole of Part III articulates how Alexander came to be an essential figure of power for the Christians, not only through the appropriation of civic traditions, but also through association of the king with Christian characters. Finally, the Thesis Conclusion at the end of Part III brings together what has been said in all three parts.

Chapter 7. *Tempora Christiana*

Preliminaries

Chapter 4 reviewed the apologists' revision of history. I argued that they had the important aim to integrate Alexander into the salvation narrative, stressing his significance for the culmination of Christian history. While the apologists' successors continued to do so, they also began to write 'their' history about sacred places, natural phenomena, the boundaries of a growing Christian world and the nature of its inhabitants. Constantine's religious policies of the long fourth century allowed Christian intellectuals to flourish. Now free from persecution, the Christians constantly needed to produce new texts in order to adapt to the ever-changing present. Because of the vigorous literary activities of these later Christians, Alexander was written into this new self-proclaimed Christian age, *Tempora Christiana*.[1] The topic of this chapter is this new role for Alexander in the writings about historical time and physical space of the Christian world of the fourth to sixth centuries.



In a striking description of the first Ecumenical Council at Nicaea (AD 325), the Nicene Creed is prefaced with a series of dating systems to date the document in accordance with several eastern calendars.[2] One of them is the Seleucid calendar that began in October, 312 BC, starting on the date at which Seleucus I (358-281 BC) re-captured Babylon.[3] The Seleucid calendar dated historical events from the 'Year of Alexander,' perhaps Alexander IV (323-311 BC), but it seems that the system came to refer to the more memorable Alexander III over time.[4] The calendar had been in use since the Hellenistic period, so it is fitting that the Christians who wrote the Nicene pre-

1 Markus 2005 taking his cue from Augustine *City of God* 1.1. Cf. Orosius *History* 1.6.3, 1.20.6, 2.3.5, 3.4.4, 3.8.3, 4.23.10, 5.11.6, 7.8.4.

2 Ps.-Gelasius of Cyzicus *Church History* § 2.27.1 (*GCS* NF 9.84). Cf. Socrates of Constantinople *Church History* 1.13.13 (*GCS* NF 1.51-2); Theodorus Lector *Epitome* 1.21 (*GCS* NF 3.11).

3 Confusingly, there are further variations of this system used by the Babylonians at the Seleucid court, the Jews, the Macedonians, the Romans, the Sassanids and the Arabs. The adaptations of the system did, however, never did fall out of use until the Middle Ages. For a general overview of the complicated chronology of the Seleucid Calendar, see Edson 1958: 153-65; Barnes 1985: 129; Inglebert 2001b: 352-5; Mosshammer 2008: 25; Boiy 2011: 1-2; Trombley & Watt 2011: lii.

4 For a Babylonian text with reference to Philip III and Alexander IV, see *Successor Chronicle* column 4 Grayson. For the Year of Alexander, see e.g. Aphrahat *Demonstration* 22.25; *Acts of Sharbil* preface (ANF 8.675); *Teaching of the Apostles* preface (ANF 8.667); *Martyrdom of Habib the Deacon* (Bedjan i: 144-60, *BHO* 367); *Martyrdom of the Holy Confessors Shamuna, Guria and Habib* (ANF 8.696); *Arabic Gospel on the Infancy of the Saviour* § 2 (ANF 8.405); Ps.-Joshua the Stylite *Chronicle* § 25 Wight; Ps.-Dionysius of Tel-Mahre *Chronicle* pp. 79, 115, 121, 139 Chabot. Cf. Inglebert 2001a: 184-5, 2001b: 353-4.

amble used this dating system as well. Yet, what is surprising about this preface of the Nicene Creed is the juxtaposition of calendars. In the preface, the specific 'Year of Alexander' (636 years in total) is juxtaposed with the consular years of Rome (Paulinus and Julian) and the number of years in the kingdom of Constantine I (19 years). This date unites the East and the West. Thereafter follows the text of the Nicene Creed itself. The preface thus gives the impression that there was a continuity between the Greek past and the Roman present, while it simultaneously stresses the harmony between the Roman empire and the church. It was a claim that everyone in the church agreed to the contents of the document. The unity and universality implied by this *pax Christiana* is particularly poignant given the fact that there was great religious discord at the time and that there were ever growing political differences between the East and the West.[5]

The emergence of the genre of Church History was essential for the development of Christian histories. Using traditional historiographical methods, Christian historians could concern themselves with what was most important in their view. Just like the *Antiquities* of Dionysius of Halicarnassus and the *Jewish Antiquities* of Josephus, Eusebius' *Church History* concerned the 'antiquity' of the Christian religion, but later church historians typically picked up where Eusebius had left off. This tendency to update continuously the narrative of time told by previous texts is true for Christian chronicling as well, although here they often go back to the origins of the world to rewrite history into a compelling narrative. Some of the most notable Christian histories are found in the list below.

We know these texts from Greek Christianity:[6]

- 334. Anonymus *Chronograph of 334*.
- 354. Anonymus *Chronograph of 354*.
- 350s. The hypothetical continuation of Eusebius by Antiochene Christians.[7]
- Fourth century: Metrodorus *Chronicle* (Photius *Library* cod. 115) and Andreas, brother of Magnus the bishop, *Chronicle*.

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5 Urbainczyk 1997: 174-6.

6 This is not a comprehensive list, but focuses upon the fourth to sixth centuries. Church Histories are not included. The asterisk indicates that Alexander is not mentioned. This list incorporates material from a paper on Christian historiography that Peter Van Nuffelen presented at the conference 'Rhetoric and Religious Identity in Late Antiquity,' 23-25th of April, 2015 at Exeter. Cf. the lists in Inglebert 2001a: 312-42, Zecchini 2003. For the genres, see Mariev 2015: 305-19.

7 *Continuatio antiochiensis Eusebii* in Burgess 1999: 113-305.

- Before 390. Diodorus of Tarsus *Chronicle* (*Suda* s.v. Diodoros (D 1149 Adler).
- After 395. Heliconius *Epitome* (*Suda* s.v. Helikonios (E 851 Adler).
- c. 400. Panodorus of Alexandria *Chronicle*.
- c. 412. Annianus of Alexandria *Chronicle*.
- Late fifth century or early sixth century. The original Greek version of *Scaliger's Chronograph*.
- 518. Eustathius of Epiphania *Epitome*.
- c. 550. John Malalas *Chronograph*.
- c. 550. Hesychius of Miletus *Epitome of Universal History* (Photius *Library* cod. 69).
- 590. Agathias Scholasticus *History*.
- c. 620. John of Antioch *Chronological History*.
- c. 630? Anonymous *Easter Chronicle*.
- 630. Theophylact Simocatta *History*.
- c. 810. George Syncellus *Chronicle*.

From the Latin world, it is worth mentioning:

- After 335. Latin translations of Ps.-Hippolytus' *Collection of Chronologies*.
- c. 397. Hilarianus *Course of Time*.
- Late fourth century. Nummius Aemilianus Dexter *Omnimoda historia* (adaptation of Eusebius' Chronicle into Latin, book 1).
- c. 403. Sulpicius Severus *Holy History*.
- c. 416/7. Orosius *History against the Pagans*.
- c. 433-55. Prosper of Aquitaine *Chronicle*.
- 452. *Gallic chronicle of 452*.
- c. 468. Hydatius *Chronicle*.*
- 511. Gallic *Chronicle of 511*.
- c. 519. Cassiodorus *Chronicle*.*
- Early sixth century. Ps.-Fulgentius of Ruspe *Ages of the World and Man*.
- c. 550. Jordanes *Roman History*.
- c. 566. Victor of Tunnuna *Chronicle*.*
- c. 590. John of Biclaro *Chronicle*.*

- Before 620. Maximus of Saragossa *Chronicle*.*
- Before 636. Isidore of Seville *Greater Chronicle*.
- c. 658. Ps.-Fredegar *Chronicle*.
- c. 700. Anonymous *Ravenna Cosmography*.
- c. 771. Paul the Dean *Roman History*.
- Latin translation of Scaliger's Chronograph.
- c. 725. The Venerable Bede *Reckoning of Time*.

There are some universal characteristics of these histories to remark upon. For instance, Alexander's role as the herald of the end of the Persian dynasty is apparent in all of those Greek histories that mention him from Julius Africanus onwards (Ch. 4). Besides the notice of the fall of Persia, the Byzantine historians mostly record that the king founded Alexandria. Lists of the subsequent Alexandrian kings are frequently given, and the Ptolemaic kings feature more than any other Successor dynasty. The Ptolemaic dynasty is thus represented as the first true, legitimate heir to Alexander's legacy. In this way, the Christian prioritisation of the Ptolemaic dynasty serves to project Alexander in a positive fashion, the first Alexandrian emperor in name and in function. Yet, there is still criticism of Alexander to be found in the Greek accounts, such as the *History* by Theophylact Simocatta (Ch. 7.1.3) or the rhetorical panegyric *Life of Constantine* by Eusebius (Ch. 8.4).

In the Latin West, there are not many unfavourable Alexander histories. The most negative were written by Orosius, Ps.-Fulgentius of Ruspe and Ps.-Fredegar. Alexander is occasionally omitted in Latin histories. The writers skip him either because they are concerned with later historical periods (like Maximus of Saragossa) or because they are constructing alternative pasts. For instance, Cassiodorus limits himself to recording the existence of the Assyrian and Roman empires without reference to Persia or Macedon. This is done in order to posit that Rome was truly ancient since Assyria is generally considered the first among the world empires. The key once again lies in the juxtaposition.

Writing new histories was the best method to overwrite previous histories. Christians were concerned with the establishment of a Christian time-line of history that included the history of the church. As the empire gradually became Christian over the course of the long fourth century, the need to establish a narrative of the church was sorely felt. Eusebius of Caesarea was the first to take on this task, but others joined him. Ironically, the greatest responses to this challenge were written when the pagan

philosophers criticised the concept of 'Christian times' in the context of Alaric's sack of Rome in 410. Christian intellectuals, such as Augustine and Orosius, rose to the challenge of defending the church against the charges (Ch. 7.2.1). Each in their own way turned the negative concept into a positive term that reflected the flourishing of the church in the early fifth century. In addition to this, there was ever a focus on the Christian topography of the empire, an increased interest in places pertaining to the OT and the NT. These historiographical interests and their associations with Alexander are the subject of what follows.

7.1. Alexander Histories from the Greek East

A comprehensive survey of the use of Alexander in each of the aforementioned histories would be too repetitive for the reader to read. Instead I offer a series of readings of the most interesting texts from three civic centres of the Christian East. In contrast to Part I, Antioch and Constantinople replace Jerusalem and Rome, while Alexandria remains relevant. As we have seen, the Alexandrian *Scaliger's Chronograph* was a Greek world history that only survives in a Merovingian translation into poor Latin. From the Antiochene milieu, we focus on two intriguing figures of early Byzantine historiography, John Malalas and John of Antioch, whose significant literary productions have recently been made available in modern editions. From the literature of Constantinople, I focus on two very different histories, the *Easter Chronicle* and the *Histories* of Theophylact Simocatta, which hail from the later part of emperor Heraclius' reign (d. 641).

Taken together, the analyses of each of the Byzantine Alexander histories demonstrate that the Byzantine Christians collectively wrote Alexander into the civic discourse of the Eastern empire. In an attempt to project the king as a forerunner of their imperial power, the Christians integrated Alexander into the physical space of the East by associating the king with local customs and locations. Alexander was already integrated into the civic discourse before the foundation of Constantinople, but the establishment of an Eastern empire licensed the Christian authors to go even further in asserting the link between their imperial power and the figure of Alexander. For instance, the imperial tradition, which had been in rapid development, became useful in establishing the civic traditions of Constantinople itself. Van Dam argues that the city had to construct its own narrative of power given its status as a newly founded metropolis without any great military victories or cultural achievements.[8] The essential elements of eastern imperial discourse were already there in

8 Van Dam 2010: 62-3. Cf. Barnes 2011: 125-31.

the Roman story of Alexander, and Byzantine Christians, as well as Persians such as Aphrahat, found ways to integrate them into the conception of previous empires and periods, for instance, through the adaptation of the Seleucid calendar for the Nicene Creed.

The reason why these late texts have been chosen is because many of the fourth- and fifth-century historians are lost. For instance, a more complete picture of the Alexandrian tradition could be given if the chronographs of Panodorus and Annianus were still extant. The two Alexandrian writers began their works with Adam instead of Abraham, which Eusebius had done, and they ended with the contemporary troubles of the church. They would undoubtedly have stressed the idea of providential history, perhaps more so than Eusebius. Indeed, we know from George Syncellus, the principal witness to the two authors, that they used an 'Alexandrian Era' for their computations.[9] This system is divided into two: Panodorus used the so-called major dating of Creation (19th of March, first Advent after 5494 years); Annianus used the minor dating (25th of March, first Advent after 5501 years). If the world was going to end after 6000 years, both authors were writing in what they took be the last century before the Second Coming.

7.1.1. Alexandria

The original Greek text of *Scaliger's Chronograph* was, Burgess argues, collated in late fifth-century Alexandria or, perhaps, slightly later. In his view, it was originally a lavish compendium with many images of the historical episodes. These illustrations are now lost. Parts of the Greek text are witnessed by a papyrus, the so-called Goleniščev papyrus, named after its discoverer, the Egyptologist Vladimir Goleniščev (1856-1947). The compilers brought together material from as early as the Severan Julius Africanus (Ch. 4.1.1). They arranged the material to recount a Christianised version of world history. Beginning with the Biblical figures (Adam, Abraham, Moses) and the post-Noah diffusion of people around the world, the text turns briefly to the rise of early Roman kings. God then granted universal rule to the Assyrians embodied by the Chaldeans and, later, the Persians and the Medes. Their rule passed onto Alexander when God raised him up to fight against them. The lengthy Alexander digression is worth summarising:[10]

9 *ODB* i s.v. Alexandrian Era. Cf. Toumanoff 1963: 353 n. 54.

10 *Scaliger's Chronograph* 1.6.6; 1.8.4-6; 2.6.4. Garstad reproduces pp. 266-74 Frick, without *apparatus criticus*.

1. Alexander acts as God's instrument as he proceeds to conquer Assyria, Persia and Media. The king frees the lands of Rome, Greece and Egypt from Chaldean slavery and bestows laws upon the entire world.
2. He captures a single city by siege, which is apparently a symbol of Persia.[11] Its fall heralds the end of the Persian dynasty. Darius is delivered into his hands by God. It is repeated that Alexander imposes laws upon his lands, and the nations become his tributaries.
3. He founds Alexandria and travels to Jerusalem to worship God. His prayer is recorded: 'Glory to thee, sole God, omniscient, He who lives forever.' Afterwards the world ruler reigns for eight years.
4. He defeats the rajah Porus and conquers all the earth from the Caspian Gates (unspecified, East) to the pillars of Hercules (Gibraltar, West).
5. As he is about to die of illness, he commands his childhood friends to help him write his will.
6. Upon his death, his chosen Successors rule his empire with righteousness and in accordance with his laws.
7. His achievements are recorded as an obituary: the king lived 36 years, fought for nine years, lived eight in peace and harmony, subdued 22 barbarian peoples, as well as thirteen Greek states, and built twelve cities. There were 5,137 years between him and Adam, the first man.

The vivid narrative is an amalgamation of textual sources. Burgess argues that the influence of the *AR* is apparent, such as the king's testament (3.33) and the list of his foundations (3.35).[12] There is, however, much more to say about each point individually. The following schema supplements Burgess' short reconstruction of the literary influences, reusing the same numerical articulation as above.

1. The idea that God raised up Alexander against Assyria, Persia, Parthia and Media corresponds exactly to Bottius' narrative as preserved in John Malalas' *Chronograph*.[13] But Bottius is a shadowy Christian historian, variously dated between the early third century AD and the late fourth century.[14] Scholars

11 This sack is similar to the fall of the 'city of Persia' in the *AR* 2.13, 2.17-8.

12 Burgess 2013: 45.

13 Bottius *FRH* 98 F 1 from Malalas 8.1.

14 See the commentary in the *FRH*. Cf. Jeffreys 1990: 174; Garstad 2005: 90-3.

only rely on Malalas as the sole authority to witness Bottius' work—there is but one fragment of Bottius—and they currently consider the attribution dubious. They note that the name of Bottius seems inspired by Zeus Bottiaeus, the principal deity of Antioch. They argue that it is too stereotypical to contain any real significance, that is to say the author is a fake. According to Treadgold, such names were made up by Malalas in order to pretend that he had read widely and thus seem very learned.[15] The attributions were thus a literary tool to impress his readers and cover up his inaccuracies. In the same article, Treadgold also suggests that Malalas had taken most of his material from his fellow Antiochene Eustathius of Epiphania (d. 518) and misrepresented it. I would, however, not venture as far. While I would agree that Malalas makes reference to *Schwindelautoren* (Ch. 5.3), the striking similarity between the opening statement in Malalas and in *Scaliger's Chronograph* suggests that 'Bottius' was an Alexandrian influence rather than an Antiochene.

2. The fall of the Persian city, perhaps being a literary ghost of Babylon, is emblematic of the disintegration of the Persian empire. We have also seen that this symbolic fall of Persia found in Christian and non-Christian historiography. It is therefore not surprising that the Christian compilers of *Scaliger's Chronograph* knew of this too. Darius dies in Alexander's arms in the *AR* (2.20), but here the deliverance of Darius is clearly associated with the fall of his city. Moreover, it is also attributed to God's Providence, a typical trait of Christian histories. Alexander's laws for his empire are put into the mouth of the king in his speech after the death of Darius (*AR* 2.21). From this speech it is clear that the new king is to exact a tribute from his lands, again a close parallel to the text in *Scaliger's Chronograph*. Alexander's demand for a tribute is also stressed by the author of 1 Maccabees 1.5.
3. Alexander's prayer builds upon the Eusebian juxtaposition of Alexandria and Jerusalem (Ch. 1). The prayer has an immediate parallel in the homily the king gave atop the tower of Alexandria (Ch 1.1). In both prayers, he asks for assistance in all future undertakings. The author posits both that Alexander knew the true God and was directed by His Providence. He was God's instrument. As in most Christian versions of the Jerusalem tale (Ch. 1.6), he is a willing instrument of God. The eight years of peace are attested elsewhere.[16]

15 Treadgold 2007: 723-5.

16 The firm establishment of Alexander's Alexandrian reign is attested in Tertullian *Against the Jews* § 8.10. *Alexander Macedo annis XII; deinde post Alexandrum, qui et Medis et Persis*

4. The wide extent of Alexander's conquests, Porus in India and the pillars of Hercules, is also in the *AR* tradition.[17]
5. The Will's extensive list of Alexander's inheritors is a variant of the list found in the *AR* (3.33-4).
6. The story that the Successors ruled righteously reverses the negative narrative of 1 Maccabees 1.8-9 from which we hear that the Successors 'caused many evils on the earth.'
7. The synoptic account of Alexander's life is, with some variations, the same as the short obituary of the *AR* (3.35). The eight years of peace stand out once again.[18] The numbers of cities and peoples subdued are also repeated in Malalas. He states on the authority of Theophilus the Chronicler that the years from Adam to Alexander were 5593. This computation makes a large difference between the Alexandrian compilers of *Scaliger's Chronograph* and the Antiochene historians, if both Bottius and Theophilus were actual sources. But Theophilus is also dubious. From the time of the third-century apologist Theophilus of Antioch, who also made chronographic computations, the name was a stock-in-trade name for Christian chroniclers.

As outlined here, it is obvious that Burgess was right to assume a close textual relationship between *Scaliger's Chronograph* and the *AR*. The historiographical approach in both texts is similar (Providence, lists, geography, the Will), and the Christian compilers seem to have no issue in appropriating stories from the *AR* tradition as Christian history. Yet, there are also other sources than those previously suggested. For instance, the Eusebian juxtaposition of the two cities is incorporated (Ch. 1). Indeed, the *Chronograph* is a compilation of Christianised material.

Alexandria is expressedly at the heart of the text. Alexander's sobriquet is the 'Founder,' *ktistēs*, and the themes of peace, plenty and his universal rule established in Alexandria permeate the text. In Alexandria, the king made the laws that all men

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regnaverat quos devicerat et in Alexandria regnum suum firmaverat, quando et nomine suo eam appellavit[.] Cf. Pliny *Natural History* 5.62-3; Macrobius *Saturnalia* 1.20.13; Julian *Oration* 1.10b; Ammianus Marcellinus *Roman History* 22.16.7-22; Malalas 8.1 (192 Dindorf); Martianus Capella *On the Wedding of Mercury and Philologia* 6.676; Isidore of Seville *Etymologies* 15.1.34; Julian of Toledo *On the Proof of the Sixth Age* 1.26.

17 For Porus, see *AR* 3.3-4. For the Caspian Gates and the pillars, see e.g. *AR* 3.16.11 (Caspian Gates), 3.33.3 (Pillars). Cf. *Liber de Morte* § 107 Thomas; *Itinerary of Alexander* § 54.

18 *Greek Chronicle of 334* (p. 107 Frick); Malalas 8.4; *AR* 3.35; Julius Valerius 3.35; *AR* Syr. 3.23.

in his empire would abide by. Besides this very imperial projection of Alexander as a lawful emperor, the text cultivates the idea that Alexandria had been a godly place since its foundation. It does so by making reference to the Jerusalem tale: the king had prayed to God in Jerusalem *before* founding Alexandria. It follows Alexander knew his divine purpose when he came to found his city in Egypt. The Alexandrian authors of *Scaliger's Chronograph* thus make the same juxtaposition of Jerusalem and Alexandria that Eusebius does in the *Proof of the Gospel* (Ch. 1), but they go further by adding the projection of Alexander as a divinely appointed emperor in his city. The juxtapositions of imperial and religious features, as well as the fact that the text repeatedly makes reference to the Founder, seem to be a claim for a great civic past for Alexandria. The Alexandrian authors could claim that the city they lived in had been founded by God's will through His ordained emperor. If this consecration of the city had happened, they could go further and assert a continuity between the hallowed past and the Christian present in which they themselves lived.[19] If the reader could infer that the foundation had originally been consecrated by Alexander, he could add that the mission of Mark the Evangelist had converted the already sacred space into a truly Christian city. The story of Alexander's foundation was overwritten with a new Christian foundation myth.

7.1.2. Antioch

Encomiastic narratives about Alexander occur in the *Chronograph* of John Malalas (book 8) and in the fragments of John of Antioch's *Chronological History*. To begin with the former: Malalas primarily preserves tales from the *AR* tradition.[20] From this text, he recycles several stories, such as the Nectanebo tale (7.17) and Alexander's personal defeat at the hands of the Indo-Ethiopian queen Candace (8.3). There is, however, nothing to stain the overall picture of a great empire-builder, even if the narrative is a confused hodgepodge of flattering and unflattering stories. Indeed, Alexander justly passes on the rule to the Seleucids (8.11), although the Ptolemies are mentioned before them. The transition from Alexander to the Seleucids is, however, crucial to the narrative of book 8: the next two books concern Seleucid history. They feature so prominently because Antioch, as Malalas' home and one of the civic centres of the Seleucids, was at the heart of his history. For instance, we remember that Malalas spoke of an Antiochene fountain that Alexander called Olympias because its water reminded him of his mother's milk (Ch. 2.2). Alexander is thus written into the topo-

19 For a similar line of argument pursued for Antioch's appropriation of its civic culture in a Christian context, see now Busine 2014.

20 Wirth 1993: 72.

graphy of the city; his memory is an important claim to a great civic past. It turns out that the Antiochene Christians appropriated Alexander in a similar way to that in which the Alexandrians appropriated their founder.[21]

It is more difficult to get a clear impression of the history of John of Antioch. The original text is lost but is witnessed by several later histories, such as the tenth-century Byzantine lexicon, known as the *Suda*. Recent editions by Roberto and Mariev have done much to collect the fragments of John and arrange them in chronological order. Sources of central importance to John's *History* seem to be the Roman historians Eutropius, Herodian and Cassius Dio, but Biblical history and euhemeristic narratives of Greek myth must also have fed into John's principal narrative. A few fragments feature Alexander: there are not only very positive remarks on his achievements and abilities, but also references to his personal decline into Persian depravity and the witticism of Candace.[22] One fragment on Caracalla's visit to Macedonia and Alexandria (132 Roberto; 157 Mariev) stands out because its information about Alexander derives from Herodian and Cassius Dio. The Severan emperor referred to himself as Alexander when he came to Macedonia; like Alexander, he visited the tomb of Achilles at Troy; he wanted to see the city of Alexander; and he went to the tomb of Alexander and left all of his personal items in it, such as his cape. His trip to Alexandria is made under the pretence of paying his respects the respect the founder, but the real purpose is to punish the Alexandrians for having made rude comments about himself and his mother. He invites Alexandrian youths to enroll in Alexander's phalanx: when they are assembled before Caracalla, he orders his soldiers to kill them and their families, an action that colours the Nile red with blood. The fragment thus preserves important testimony to the famous *Alexanderschwärmerei* of the Severan period[23] and reveals that the Alexander figure of the Antiochene chroniclers was influenced both by the *AR* tradition and also by the Roman histories that they inherited.

Finally, it should be said that John of Antioch and John Malalas seem to have been copied copiously by medieval Byzantine historians, such as the ninth-century George the Sinner. He borrows the entire opening of Malalas' book 8 for his own digression

21 See e.g. *Cyranides* 1.pro.35-9 for a similar sentiment (Seleucia-in-Pieria founded by Alexander).

22 John of Antioch *Chronological History* frs. 9, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 157 Mariev.

23 Cassius Dio *Roman History* 77.7-9; Herodian *Roman History* 4.8-9. Cf. Ausfeld 1907: 260; Castritius 1988; Salzmann 2001; Ziegler 2003; Koulakiotis 2006: 188; Grimm 2006.

on Alexander and the Seleucids.[24] Serious research into the medieval Greek chronicles would supplement our knowledge of the *AR* tradition and, therefore, significantly improve our knowledge of Alexander in the Byzantine world.[25]

7.1.3. Constantinople

The *Easter Chronicle* is a seventh-century Byzantine chronograph of unknown origins.[26] The anonymous compiler(s) had a wide span of interests: contemporary events, church feasts, Biblical history, Roman history, civic histories and world history. It is principally a history from Creation to the reign of Heraclius, a central figure in the shaping of the seventh century. The text survives only in a unique tenth-century manuscript. This indicates either that it did not find a wide readership or that the same text was reworked repeatedly. Its preservation of local Alexandrian tales about Alexander, such as that of the bones of Jeremiah (Ch. 1.4), make the text relevant to us in that it shows just how influential the Alexandrian tradition was across the Byzantine East.

The text is important precisely because it says something about the continuity of Christian stories in the Greek East and of the positive projections of Alexander in the three metropolises of the empire. Indeed, the Macedonian king is represented as a divinely supported king, pious and powerful, a figure who is not only enshrined in the civic discourse of the Byzantine cities, but also in the topography of their lands and countryside. For instance, mention is made of him in the 'foundation myth' of the city Dora (Dara) on the border to Persia (p. 609 Dindorf)[27] and in story of the Stratēgeion,

24 George the Sinner *Chronicle* 1.19 De Boor & Wirth. This fact is unnoticed by Stoneman 2012a: 25.

25 Jouanno 2001.

26 Wirth 1993: 73-4. References to Alexander in the *Easter Chronicle*: p. 293 (the tomb of Jeremiah), pp. 320-2 (Alexander killed Darius, captured Babylon, built several Alexandrias and died of poison), p. 357 (Alexandria and Jerusalem), p. 390 (Alexandria and Jerusalem, again), p. 403 (Alexander is used as chronological marker for computation with the reigns of Cyrus and Tiberius).

27 The Mesopotamian city Dara was a fortified city located in an area associated with Alexander. There are two different folk etymologies corresponding to each of the two names. Both of them are surely fictional. The first tradition confusedly suggests that the place was named after Alexander had slain the Persian king Darius with a spear (*dorati*). For this, see Malalas 8.1 (399 Dindorf); *Easter Chronicle* p. 609. The second tradition asserts that the place was called Dara because this was the site of Darius' comprehensive defeat. For this, see Evagrius *Church History* 3.37; 4.9 with the discussion in Cohen 2013: 69-70. Other sources to the city foundation omit Alexander. See e.g. Ps.-Zachariah *Church History* 7.6; Procopius of Caesarea *On Buildings* 2.1.4-13, 2.3; Joshua the Stylite *Chronicle* § 90;

a military landmark in Byzantium (p. 495).[28] Such geographical associations of Alexander with Byzantine topography write the king into the landscapes of Greek imperial power.

Also a contemporary of Heraclius, the court historian Theophylact Simocatta, makes no references to any of this sort of Alexandrian material. This is not surprising in itself since his work concerns the politics and the wars in the reign of Maurice (r. 582-602) and the rise of Heraclius rather than the remote past. Yet references to Alexander are integrated into his narrative. In fact, he supplies us with the first instance of Alexander's travels to China in which the king supposedly founded the cities the historian calls Taugast and Chubdan in the Tarim basin (*History* 7.9.6; 7.9.8).[29] He also mentions the location of Alexander's major battle at Arbela (Ch. 4.3), asserting that there were still people living there in the small town of great renown (5.7.11).

Like the *Easter Chronicle*, Theophylact records marvellous tales about Alexander. One concerns the Virgin Mary, Alexander and the last Sassanid king, the Christian Chosroes II (r. 591-628). According to Theophylact, during the stifling midday heat in Mesopotamian Ctesiphon Chosroes had demanded to see the image of the Virgin Mary. Probus, the Byzantine priest Maurice had sent to serve the Persian king in his re-conquest of Persia, brought him an image of her inscribed on a tablet. Upon inspecting the drawn image the king remarked that he had seen this woman before in a dream. She had announced to him that his victories would exceed even those of Alex-

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Theodosius *On the Location of Sacred Places* § 29. The most compelling parallel for the fictional traditions of Dora/Dara is, however, the tale told by Ammianus Marcellinus *Roman History* 20.7.17. He says that Alexander had built a fortress at Virtha (Birtha). This place had managed to defend itself against Shapur II, the great Sassanid king (309-79). Arguably, the author links the bravery of the Roman soldiers with the victories of Alexander in order to suggest that Persian enemies were often defeated there. Such tales stressed the wide extent of the empire. It is striking that the Alexander legends surrounding Dora/Dara survive even after its name had been changed under Justinian I. The old legend of Dara was preserved in preference to the development of a new story for its new name. I apply the term 'foundation myth' with the same caution as Ogden 2011b: 149 and 2011c: 180. Cf. the recent collection of papers in Sweeney 2015.

28 The Stratēgeion is presented to us as a Byzantine centre for war strategy, built by Alexander, for which see e.g. Malalas 8.1 (193 Dindorf), 12.20 (292); *Easter Chronicle* p. 495; George the Sinner *Chronicle* 1.19. According to the *Suda* s.v. Severos (S 181 Adler), it was rebuilt by Septimus Severus.

29 For the passage, see Fraser 1996: 60-1, who locates the cities in the Tarim basin. It is worth noting that Alexander meets the Chinese emperor in *AR* Syr. 3.8 (Budge 109-13). According to the *Khuzistan Chronicle*, Merv in Turkmenistan was also one of Alexander's far eastern foundations. See Howard-Johnston 2010: 131.

ander (5.15.10). This vision, which we should read as a direct *synkrisis* of Chosroes and Alexander, is a claim made on Chosroes' behalf by Theophylact. It implies that the Persian king had in fact re-conquered Persia with the support of the Byzantine empire under Maurice and, indeed, the Virgin Mary.[30]

Another omen story highlighted by Theophylact himself is set near the Tychaeum of Alexandria, a famous shrine of circular form that held many historical figures, including those of Alexander and Ptolemy I (8.13.7-15).[31] The tale is an omen story about how these statues became animated during the night. Alarmingly, they foretold the murder of Maurice. The animated statues spoke of the emperor's slow death at the hands of his mutinous troops to an inebriated reveller, whose immediate reaction was fear. Nevertheless he reported the omen to the local authorities at daybreak. The Byzantine prefect of Egypt was subsequently informed, and he told the man who made a report of the omen to keep it a secret. The omen was proved true nine days later when news of the murdered emperor reached Alexandria, and the prefect pointed out the sobered-up reveller, as the authority to the omen story. Although Theophylact says that the statues were demons, it does not seem that this was a problem: the man who had seen the omen rose to prominence in Alexandria, and Maurice to sainthood. That such a seemingly pagan omen story can be reproduced to imbue a Christian text with credibility is striking. Equally striking is the fact that the Tychaeum was still operating in the early seventh century, apparently as a wine-shop.[32] The Alexandrians had no reason to remove the central figures of the city's inception; indeed, it has been observed that the Christians appropriated Alexander the Founder to the same degree as any pagan writer did (Ch. 1). Again, just as some stories in the *Easter Chronicle*, the tale is Alexandrian in origin and, as already said, its incorporation into the Constantinopolitan court history shows how prevalent Alexandrian material was in the Byzantine world.

The most startling reference to Alexander in Theophylact's history is made in a speech by a member of Chosroes' Persian embassy to the emperor Maurice (4.13.11-12). The context of the passage is that the embassy is attempting to persuade Maurice to aid them in their cause to bring down the governor of Media, the ostensible usurper Baram.[33]

30 Demandt 2009: 291.

31 Cf. Libanius *Progymnasmata* 12.27 with Gibson 2007.

32 Fraser 1972 i: 242.

33 Howard-Johnston 2010: 146.

Theophylact notes that the ambassadors were successful in this endeavour because of the high style of the speech they made; we know that he has in fact composed it himself. The pertinent part of the argument begins with an emphasis of the greatness of a united Persia. The ambassadors argues that a restored Persia is better for Maurice than the scenario of a Persian empire spoiled by a civil war between Chosroes and Baram. Theophylact's ambassador uses the conceit of *translatio imperii* to contend that the emperor would not be interested in having the power of Persia transfer to another kingdom when that land was already in possession of the most famous, brave and pious king. It is understood that this king is Chosroes. To avoid inspiring Maurice to exploit the situation, the ambassador uses the notion of Alexander's vain ambition to conquer the whole world as a negative *paradeigma*, indeed as proof of unstable fortune:

> Sufficient proof is the insane, unreasonable ambition of a Macedonian stripling. For Alexander became an immature sport of Fortune: when she smiled on him a little in mockery, he swaggered in his mastery of Europe, undertook to master the sea, desired to hold the sceptre of Babylon, yearned for Indian power, threatened to subjugate Libya and constrained his kingdom to expand as far as the sky is spread and the sun's eye shines with sparkling rays. He attempted to turn the temporal universe into a single unitary power. But, sooner than this, ambition (ὄρεξις) was quenched along with power, and affairs proceeded once more divided up into a leadership of multiple tyranny, so to speak.
>
> Theophylact Simocatta *History* 4.13.11-2.[34]

In using Alexander negatively, he wishes to emphasise his failure and the faults of fortune precisely because it encourages Maurice not to try to reach for what Alexander had failed to seize. It was a subtle warning and an apt one at that. Alexander was known to have conquered Persia but ostensibly failed to establish himself in an enduring fashion since his reign was cut short by premature death. To support this representation of the past, Theophylact deploys a series of traditional *topoi* of the pagan Alexander discourse. The themes of youth, ambition, fortune and singularity of rule are standard *topoi*, as we shall see in this chapter and in the next.

It is noteworthy that Theophylact's word for vain ambition, ὄρεξις, seems to be a different term than the famous longing, πόθος, used in the Alexander historians. The

34 Translation Whitby & Whitby 1986.

former is clearly negative in this instance, whereas the latter is normally positive. The latter refers to Alexander's unexplained desire to visit the furthest places and discover ever more territory. But Theophylact uses the alternative term to meditate on desire, greed and excess. The remarkable allegory of the sun and the sky renders the king's wish for further conquests unfavourable,[35] and it seems to reproduce the criticisms put into the mouths of the Indian Brahmans in the Alexander tradition. For instance, Arrian recycles the Brahmans' admonition to Alexander, namely that the king should abstain from conquest of more land because he could only own as much of the earth as his body could lie in when he was dead, in order to express concern over Alexander's final plans to conquer the rest of the world.[36] This remark is in line with the Stoic criticism of Alexander's insatiability for more conquests, so vehemently expressed in the *oeuvre* of Seneca.[37] Theophylact is not the only Christian to make use of this *topos*: it permeates the entire Alexander chapter of Ps.-Fulgentius' historical treatise on time. In the *Ages of the World and Man* the author disparages Alexander's constant wish for expansion, even to the point of longing to explore the sky in a flying machine, seemingly the very first reference to this story that would become so popular in medieval literature.[38]

Since Theophylact is doing so many contradictory things with Alexander, it is worth stressing that none of these references should be seen as expressing his personal opinion of the king. That this tendency was a key to my approach to the ancient authors was already pointed out in the Introduction. If we look at Theophylact's use of Alexander, it is highly sophisticated and stylish. The figure is deployed in discourse on cities in the furthest East; in the context of imperial *synkrisis* with Chosroes; in a Christian omen story from Alexandria; and in an imperial address to Maurice. These references are not just *paradeigmata* to impress the reader, but reflections of a literary culture that encountered Alexander everywhere. He was omnipresent. Again, it is my view that this indicates that Wirth's conception of a decline in the Alexander discourse is wrong. There was instead a continuous revitalisation of

35 Curtius Rufus *History* 9.3.8 explores this *topos* positively, saying that Alexander was preparing to enter another world that not even the sun looked upon.

36 Arrian *Anabasis* 7.1.4-6. Cf. *AR* β 2.40. Two Greek-speaking birds command Alexander to turn back because he is about to venture into the land of God (Paradise?).

37 Seneca *On Benefits* 7.3, *Letters* 94.62-3, 119.7, *Natural Questions* 5.18.10.

38 It is notable that this sort of criticism of Alexander does not occur anywhere in the Spanish presbyter Orosius, Ps.-Fulgentius' principal source.

the Alexander discourse. In the words of Stoneman, '[T]he point is that people in antiquity (and later) were unable to get him [i.e. Alexander] out of their imaginations.'[39]

The *Easter Chronicle* and Theophylact's *History* are very different documents from the court of the same emperor. The former incorporates several Alexander stories we know from the Alexandrian and Antiochene milieux. The latter integrates a variety of different stories from many different places, including Alexandria. The representation of Alexander is singular in the former, but multifaceted in the latter. If the former had been omitted from our study, we would not have lost much information – most of it is fortunately derivative from other extant sources. Had we omitted Theophylact, as Wirth does, we would not have the associations between Alexander and China, between him and Chosroes, as well as a local tale from Alexandria about the death of Maurice. Alexander constantly served new purposes in the Byzantine world. His legacy in its various forms found favour in Alexandria, Antioch and Constantinople.

7.2. Alexander Histories from the Latin West

Two Latin histories of the early fifth-century West stand out: the *History Against the Pagans* by the Spanish presbyter Orosius and the *Holy History* of the Gallic ascetic Sulpicius Severus. The former projects Alexander in the role of a terrible tyrant in order to construct a grim past to vindicate the Christian present; the latter represents Alexander favourably in an instructive exposition of history pertaining to the Biblical narratives and the trials of the church. The bipolar representations of Alexander reflect the possibilities the Christian authors had in writing alternative histories. The ambivalence towards Alexander is not determined by the negative Latin tradition; the historical legacy of Alexander is rather adapted according to new Christian contexts in each author. The extreme divergence in the aims and methods of the two authors showcases the remarkable versatility of Christian historiography. Because Orosius' Alexander narrative is so lengthy and consistent in its representation of the king, it gives us a good impression of what can be done with *exempla*, which the Byzantine texts do not do to the same extent. The ensuing discussion of *exemplum* literature is also relevant for the next chapter.

7.2.1. Hispania and North Africa

On his Mediterranean travels in the early part of the fifth century (c. 416/7), Orosius drafted his polemical history of the past up until his times. The *History Against the Pagans* won much acclaim for its methodological approach in the Middle

39 Stoneman 2003b: 328.

Ages, but the text has only recently found favour with modern scholarship. Van Nuffelen's brilliant book, *Orosius and the Rhetoric of History*, argues that we should take Orosius seriously as an accomplished rhetorician and allusive historian of his own times.[40] He efficiently analyses not only Orosius' methods of historical writing, especially the intersections with Ammianus Marcellinus, but also Orosius' literary engagement with the treasury of Roman poetry (Vergil) and *exemplum* literature (Valerius Maximus). The connection to Roman high culture becomes unmistakeable. Van Nuffelen rejects Orosius' claim in the *History* to universalism on the grounds that the author is concerned, above all, with the fate and state of Rome. As already said, the city had been sacked some years prior to the composition of Orosius' *History*. Pagan intellectuals blamed the Christians for introducing a new god to Rome that had forced the old gods to abandon the city. In their view, the Romans were suffering the consequences at the hands of the Visigoth king Alaric. According to Van Nuffelen, Orosius sought to overturn that view from within in order to vindicate Christianity from the contemporary criticism. He did so by attacking the opposing pagan view that the exemplary past was better. Instead, he emphasised the atrocities of human history, such as the disasters and misfortunes of war, to say that Christianity was what made the present comparatively better than what had been before.

Orosius' narrative of Alexander's reign fills four chapters of the third book (3.16-20). It would be too tedious to summarise every detail, but it is beneficial to give a short outline of the traits he attributes to Alexander, as a way into thinking about his function as an *exemplum* in Orosius' account. This is also clear from the fact that references to Alexander occur across Orosius' *History* as points of comparisons with other rulers and generals. To begin with the comparatively few highlights of Alexander's martial skill:

- 3.16.1. The Macedonians show spirit and courage in war.
- 3.16.4. Alexander shows martial skill and courage.
- 3.16.5. The army has an amazing swiftness.
- 4.1.13. Because so few of Alexander's soldiers died in battle, the admiration and fear of his prowess grew.
- 6.21.19-20. The glory of Alexander was reinvested in Julius Caesar, as suppliants came to the Roman ruler from everywhere.

40 Van Nuffelen 2012.

The seemingly favourable remarks are bundled together at the beginning of the narrative, representing Alexander as a true warrior and warlord in command of his acknowledged army. This is an obvious representation.[41] The reference to the Julius Caesar makes him seem a precursor of the Roman military might. But Orosius does not think highly of Alexander in this respect. From these references one does indeed get the impression that warfare was what Alexander was all about. Orosius stresses the martial aspect of Alexander because this projection of the warlord in the beginning of the digression reinforces and anticipates what the historian is eventually going to criticise, namely that Alexander was very violent and killed many people. We pass now onto those instances in which he characterises Alexander unfavourably:

- 3.7.5. Alexander 'the Great' was born in the year the Romans signed the first treaty with Carthage (348 BC).[42] He was a whirlpool of suffering and ill wind for the East.
- 3.15.1. Philip and Alexander brought great afflictions upon the world.
- 3.16.3. Alexander killed all his male relations in order to claim the throne of Macedon.
- 3.16.5. Talking about Alexander's near-fatal swim in the Cydnus river, Orosius omits the story about Philip the Doctor who miraculously cured the king.
- 3.16.8. Both Alexander and Darius were wounded in the battle of Issus. Normally, historians record that Alexander suffered no injuries in this battle.
- 3.16.12-3. Alexander had an insatiable fury for conquest. At the oracle of Ammon the priests were forced to tell him what appeased him. Orosius' criticism of the oracle is reminiscent of Augustine's comments on *Alexander's Letter* (Ch. 5.3).
- 3.17.5. Alexander spends 34 days cataloguing what he has won.
- 3.17.7. Contrary to all other sources on the subject, Orosius considers the burial of Darius an empty gesture of pity. The Persian royal family is kept in cruel captivity.
- 3.17.8-9. It is difficult to speak of so many evils. During Alexander's campaigns, so many men died; so many cities were sacked; and their inhabitants were enslaved.

41 Alexander is praised for his fighting spirit by his troops in Curtius Rufus *History* 3.6.17-20.

42 Perhaps this is a way of saying that as soon as peace was made in the West, war arose in the East. It also anticipates the next wars of Rome and Carthage.

- 3.18.8-10. The deaths of central Macedonian personnel are recounted (Amyntas, Parmenio, Philotas, Clitus the Black). Alexander murdered Clitus at a banquet for no reason.
- 3.18.11. Besides these men, many more suffered death because they would not honour Alexander as a god, including Callisthenes (Ch. 6.2). Alexander's thirst for human blood was insatiable.
- 3.20.3. The fear of Alexander was so great that suppliants came to him from places that could hardly know his name.
- 3.20.4. The king's thirst for blood was quenched by a poisonous draught.
- 3.20.9. Alexander was nothing but a fugitive thief. He plundered a corner of the world (Asia).
- 3.20.12-3. The evils of Alexander and the Romans are compared. Alexander's actions are declared worse than Orosius' present sufferings.
- 3.23.6. Like a lion, Alexander crushed the world that cowered in fear. In comparison, his Successors were but lion cubs.
- 3.23.14. Alexander's Exiles Decree was the cause of the wars in the Hellenistic age.

One significant influence on Orosius is the *Epitome* of Pompeius Trogus' *Philippic History* by Justin.[43] We must presume that it was the *Epitome* rather than the original because of Orosius' verbatim citation of lengthy sections of Justin. To analyse Orosius' adaptation of Justin's text is an important task because Orosius eliminates many of Justin's positive *exempla* about Alexander that he, in turn, had taken from Pompeius Trogus. For instance, in Orosius, the kind treatment of Darius' family is reversed, and the story of Philip the Doctor is omitted.[44] In both Justin and Orosius, there is a conspicuous absence of alcohol. Alexander's heavy drinking would be an obvious vice to attack, but both are silent on the matter. The *topos* of fortune is not mentioned often in Justin and it is wholly absent in Orosius. Fear writes that Orosius does not always seize the opportunity to attack Alexander when Justin's account would have allowed him to. For instance, he points to the fact that Orosius does not mention Alexander's insufferable arrogance that came about after the visit to Siwah, which Justin does.[45] But this is to misunderstand the key difference between Justin and Orosius in terms

43 For the sources of Orosius, see e.g. Alonso-Nunez 1995.

44 Justin *Epitome* 11.8.5-9 (Philip), 11.9.11-16 (family).

45 Fear 2010: 134 n. 120.

of Alexander's character development. Justin's Alexander is projected as an all-powerful world ruler who developed tyrannical tendencies in contact with the degeneracy of the East. Orosius' Alexander was wholly evil from start to finish. His reign of terror was consistently terrible because it had to fit with the overarching argument of the text and the representation of the pre-Christian past. That past was comparably worse than the present in Orosius' *History*, and so were Alexander's campaigns worse than the wars of Orosius' present.

As previously noted, there are some similarities between Arnobius of Sicca's *Against the Nations* and Orosius' *History* (Ch. 4.1). They are both Christian histories in seven books. They were written as responses to contemporary criticism of Christianity. Although they are roughly a century apart, they try to link the fate of Rome with Christianity. They both seek to project pre-Christian times negatively in order to emphasise the security and stability of the Roman present, a world that had not (yet) been destroyed thanks to Christian prayer. The opposing strategy of the pagan intellectuals was to emphasise the glory and greatness of an exemplary past free of Christianity; to this end, treasured Classical characters, such as Alexander, served as figures of power and of virtue. By contrast, the two Christians stressed the appalling actions of Alexander. For instance, Arnobius considered the king a youth, *adolescens*, who sprang up to enslave the East (1.5). The *topos* of enslavement appears also in Orosius' account of Alexander, and it occurs across Roman literature.[46] It is a way of saying that Alexander did not establish an ideal empire but rather a tyrannical monarchy. The *topos* is naturally not distinctively Christian in itself but is used in the contexts of the greater Christian arguments of Arnobius and Orosius.

While Orosius does emphasise the enslavement of the East, he does not mention the Alexander's youth as a bad thing, which Curtius Rufus, Arnobius and Theophylact do. The *topos* of youth was not inherently negative, but ambiguous. One Roman historian could claim that Alexander's youthful ignorance was a weakness;[47] another referred to Alexander's youth and beauty in the context of praising the deceased Roman general, Germanicus, who had died before he was thirty years old.[48] We may

46 Orosius *History* 3.16.1-2 (Thebes), 3.17.4 (all of Persia), 3.17.9 (Egypt, Asia Minor), 3.18.1 (Greece). Cf. Seneca *Letters* 94.62; Lucan *Pharsalia* 10.25-28; Appian *Civil War* 4.80; Eusebius *Life of Constantine* 1.7.1-2; Ps.-Hegesippus *On the Fall of Jerusalem* 2.9 (*CSEL* 66.149-50); Fulgentius *Ages of the World and Man* p. 165, 2-15 Helm. For the complex attitudes to slavery in Late Antiquity, see now Harper 2011: 506-8.

47 Curtius Rufus *History* 10.5.26.

48 Tacitus *Annals* 2.73. Cf. *Itinerary of Alexander* § 6 (Constantius' beautiful looks compared to Alexander's).

note that Alexander's ability to inspire fear is treated in a similarly ambiguous way. In some accounts it seems to be a positive trait and, in others, it is wholly unfavourable, especially in Orosius.[49] Such *topoi* and characteristics are building-blocks that could be imbued with specific meaning and deployed to help construct the representation of the past the author seeks to create. That Arnobius and Orosius have formed the building blocks of *exempla* in the way they have cannot surprise us when we consider that their aim was to vindicate the Christian religion at the expense of the exemplary past.

In my view, *exemplum* literature and literary context provide the best model for explaining Orosius' sustained criticism of Alexander. Other models have been proposed. For more than a century, Orosius' Alexander has been conceived as the fulfilment of Stoic criticisms of the king. Scholars have pointed to the similarity of his work with those of Seneca and Lucan, who take Alexander for a brigand and an astronomical misfortune for mankind. For instance, Eicke pointed out that Orosius quotes Seneca verbatim four times.[50] While it cannot be denied that Orosius' Alexander shows some resemblance to that of the Stoics, it should be noted that Seneca's Alexander is also based on *exempla* and is inconsistent too.[51] Like Cicero,[52] who is not completely immune to Stoicism, Seneca deploys Alexander in a variety of diverging contexts, sometimes even favourably. They are both Roman thinkers who used the figure for their own purposes. Admittedly, Orosius' quotations of Seneca are of course not merely coincidental, but I would prefer to think of them in the same way as about his citations of Justin or those of any other Roman text. He cited them selectively and with great care. His aim was not to construct a Stoic Alexander as such, but rather his method was to fuse together multiple existing Alexander traditions in relation to

49 Orosius *History* 3.20.3, 4.1.13. Cf. Ephippus of Olynthus *FGH* 126 F 5 from Athenaeus *Sophists at Supper* 12.537e-38b (*hypo deous*); Ps.-Cicero *Rhetoric for Herennius* 4.31.4-5; Seneca *Letters* 94.63; Aelian *Miscellany* 9.3; Ambrose of Milan *On Virginity* 3.3.12; Augustine *City of God* 20.42; *Metz Epitome* § 15.

50 See e.g. Eicke 1909: 88-9.

51 Seneca *On Benefits* 1.13, 2.16, 5.6, 7.3, *On Anger* 2.23, 3.17, 3.23, *On Clemency* 1.25, *Natural Questions* 3.pref5, 5.18.10, 6.23.2-3, *Letters* 53.10, 59.12-3, 83.19 (23), 91.17, 94.62, 113.29, 119.7-8. There is a negative reference to Alexander in a fictional correspondence between St. Paul and Seneca, see Seneca to Paul *Letter* 12 Barlow.

52 Cicero *Philippics* 5.48, *On the Republic* 3.15, *Against Agrarian Law* 1.1, *In Defence of R. Posthumus* § 23, *De Inventione* 1.93, *On Divination* 1.47, *Nature of the Gods* 2.69, 1.121, *On the Orator* 2.58, *Brutus* § 282, *De Optimo Genere Oratorum* § 22, *Lucullus* § 85, *Ends of Good and Evil* 2.116, *Tusculum Disputations* 3.21, 4.79, 5.91-2, *On Duties* 2.48, 2.53, *Letters to Friends* 2.10.3, 5.13.7, 15.4.9. For Cicero and Alexander, see Ortmann 1988.

Rome. For instance, as an analogue, I would not consider the Alexander biography of Curtius Rufus part of an ostensible Stoic tradition just because Alexander's drinking is heavily criticised, which it is in Seneca as well (though not in Lucan).[53] Rather than to speak of Orosius as a Stoic, I would prefer to speak of him as a moralising Christian and selective Roman historian. As Van Nuffelen argues, the Roman context is the very premise of the narrative; the Christian author chooses to resort to Roman tradition to undermine it by traditionally rhetorical means.

Wirth points to Orosius' use of the Stoics and downplays the role of Justin.[54] He asserts that since Orosius was in the Christian circle around Augustine, this Christian perspective on Alexander necessitated an opinion of condemnation, *Verdammungs-urteil*.[55] Taking the argument from Klein that Ambrose of Milan passed the *Verdammungsurteil* of Alexander on to Augustine and from him on to Orosius, there seems to be a great conflict between this point and Wirth's overarching argument that there was no Christian Alexander tradition or continuity. He is at a loss on how to situate Orosius' *History* in the literature: he refers to it as one of a kind, *sui generis*, without any obvious parallel, although he is aware of Fulgentius, who draws heavily upon Orosius. Moreover, he argues for a mere intellectual parallelism with Ambrose and Augustine. How can Orosius' work not be catalogued with other Christian or Roman criticisms of Alexander, but still be in line with what Christian thinkers had thought before? This is self-contradictory.

My contention is that this confused argument is not compelling. Orosius was clearly using historical and philosophical material from the Roman tradition. Whatever the greater influence of Augustine on his 'stray dog' Orosius,[56] they only have in common the story about Alexander and the pirate, which they share with many other authors.[57] Furthermore, I do not agree with Wirth that Orosius intensi-

53 See e.g. the moralising comment on Alexander's drinking by Velleius Paterculus *Roman History* 2.41.1.

54 Wirth 1993: 67 n. 221.

55 Wirth 1993: 67. Cf. Klein 1988: 981-5.

56 Van Nuffelen 2012: 197.

57 A captured pirate claimed that he was driven to plunder ships by the same ambition that drove Alexander to pillage; the difference was that Alexander was called a king but the petty pirate a robber. For the story, see Cicero *On the Republic* 3.24 LCL on the authority of Augustine and Nonius Marcellus who, according to Heck 1966: 126, had found the anecdote in a longer lacunae of Cicero's *Republic*. For other versions, see e.g. Seneca *On Benefits* 1.13; Lucan *Pharsalia* 10.21 (*felix praedo*); Curtius Rufus *History* 7.8.19; Plutarch *Moralia* 330d; Orosius *History* 3.20.9; Augustine *City of God* 4.4; Fulgentius *Ages of the World and Man* p. 166, 21-22 Helm.

fied the argument against Alexander in the early church. The rhetoric of the *History* is highly articulate and effective in its use of *exempla*, but it is worth making clear that other Christian and non-Christian criticisms of Alexander were as vicious as any of Orosius'. Theophylact was one example of this, but also Eusebius who in the *Life of Constantine* develops an intense invective against Alexander (Ch. 8.4).

One of the most powerful Eastern witnesses to this negative *paradeigma* of what Wirth refers to as Alexander's 'Blutdürstigkeit und Grausamkeit' is Themistius. Writing some decades prior to Orosius' *History*, he seeks to make an assessment of the reign of Alexander in an imperial panegyric. His criterion for assessing the figure, whom he considers a general more than a king, is the preservation of men's lives. His allusion to the fate of Clitus the Black, Parmenio and Callisthenes makes it clear that Alexander could only be condemned. Given his murders of these innocent long-term friends, Alexander could no longer be considered 'Great', nor could he be entitled to the status as the son of Ammon or even of Philip. In this particular oration, Themistius states that the king was an earthly demon, δαίμονός τινος γηγενοῦς, that delighted in the slaughter of friend and foreigner.[58]

Themistius' demon is emblematic of a monstrous, otherworldly Alexander, which Orosius appears to appropriate as well. The murdered men mentioned above are, however, the same as in other lists of Alexander's killings in Roman *exemplum* literature[59] and, incidentally, in Tatian's *Against the Greeks* (Ch. 6.2). The slight adjustments to the lists made by both Orosius and Themistius thus have a basis in Roman rhetoric, already used by the apologist Tatian to construct a morally wicked Alexander, who only pretended to feel remorse after he slew Clitus. Orosius did not write his *History* in a vacuum. I am not of course suggesting that Orosius used Themistius' orations in any direct way, but that he was using Alexander *topoi* that were widely available in the East and in the West. I believe that there is a link between the two in the *exemplum* literature about Alexander, and it is greater than hitherto suggested in scholarship. While I accept that Orosius found no Greek readers, I do not think that pre-

58 Themistius *Oration* 13.251-2. Cf. Cassius Dio *Roman History* 77.8.5 who tells the story that the emperor Caracalla was once listening to an orator who kept saying, 'the bloodthirsty Alexander, the enemy of the gods (ὁ μιαιφόνος Ἀλέξανδρος, ὁ θεοῖς ἐχθρὸς).' The repeated remarks so enraged Caracalla that he promised the orator that he would kill him if he did not stop.

59 Seneca *On Anger* 3.17, 3.23, *On Clemency* 1.25, *Natural Questions* 6.23.2-3; Valerius Maximus *Deeds and Sayings* 9.3.ext1; Favorinus of Arles *On Fortune* § 20; Lucian *Dialogues of the Dead* 12.3, 13.6; Julian *Caesars* 331c. Cf. Wirth 1993: 18 on the *topos*: 'Alexander und seine Freunde.'

cludes the possibility that the Roman legacy of Alexander, even at this point, found itself confined by the language barrier. This argument will be developed more fully in the next chapter.

An influential argument about Orosius' medieval *Nachleben* was advanced by Cary.[60] He also accepted the Stoic influence on Orosius and claimed that Orosius' work was seen as a historical supplement to the Biblical imagery of Daniel 7, which projects Alexander as the four-headed flying leopard monster, the destroyer of Persia (Ch. 2.1.3). Cary argues that this Stoic and Biblical 'conception of Alexander was first in the field. Already developed in Fulgentius and in St. Jerome, it established a prejudice that bore down all evidence favourable to Alexander and brought about his general condemnation.'[61] This is not the place to go into detail with the medieval view(s) on Alexander, but I would like to make a few remarks on Cary's statement. I am not in a position to surmise whether his theory applies to the medieval minds, but I do not think that it does to those of the early Christians. My reasons are:

1. In early Christian literature, there seems to be no clear connection between Orosius and the commentators on the Biblical passages that licensed discussion of Alexander's achievements. Information about Alexander from Orosius' work was never used to help explicate Biblical passages, such as those in Daniel. Indeed, the commentators primarily interpreted those key passages positively (Ch. 2). Orosius does not allude to any of the OT prophecies about Alexander. In my view, no author unites Orosius and the Biblical texts in the harmonious and holistic way Cary has proposed.
2. As already said, Jerome is not clear on how we should understand Alexander's deeds in the grand scheme of God. His commentaries frequently feature Alexander, more so than in any other Christian writer, but they do not give any indication of how we should view Alexander as a character. Jerome's aim was to clarify what the Bible could tell his readership of Alexander's purpose in the history of Providence. In tracing a negative 'prejudice' in Jerome Cary seems to be misled by his reading of the medieval authors who commented upon the same passages that Jerome did.
3. There is no evidence for an early Christian condemnation of Alexander. The rhetoric of invective and panegyric licensed Christians to create alternative

60 Cary 1954: 99 = Cary 1956: 119. Cf. Demandt 2009: 422.

61 Cary 1956: 141.

histories of Alexander as they saw fit, but they did so without reference to the Bible. Not even the Biblical commentators of Graeco-Roman Christianity promoted an unfavourable projection of Alexander, as the negative text of Daniel and other prophets had been drained through the positive Alexandrian filter (Chs. 1, 2).

More research into Orosius' Alexander and medieval conceptions of the king would surely be worthwhile. But I hope to have shown here that the figure also deserves more attention in his immediate context since scholarship has hitherto misunderstood it. The observations made here can hopefully take the discussion forwards.

7.2.2. Gaul

We now move on to the historiography of an extraordinary intellectual of late antique Aquitaine. Rejecting the aristocratic life of a rich nobleman after his degree in law at the famous school of rhetoric in Bordeaux, Sulpicius Severus converted at the behest of another Gallo-Roman aristocrat and devoted himself to the imitation of the ascetic form of worship championed by St. Martin of Tours. He was the hagiographer of the saint, writing in a grand style the so-called *Martinellus*. This is a dossier of letters, dialogues and a saint's *Life* that won him great acclaim. It is important to understand that Sulpicius Severus' works are not the response to an external attack on the church, as is Orosius' *History*. They concern rather internecine politics and religious agendas, namely the tense relationship between the established church of the Roman world and the anticlerical orders that rejected the world in monastic communities. They make a case for monastic spirituality over worldly wisdom. Yet, given his literary background, he combined a pointed pen and a Sallustian style with the ascetic ethos of local Christian cult to elevate the *exemplum* of St. Martin and his very successful religious mission.

His account of the world from Creation to his own day, the *Sacra Historia* or here *Holy History* (c. 403), ended with a doctrinal dispute between the ostensibly heretical Priscillian and St. Martin. The victory of the saint brings the two-book text to a close and promotes the claim that Martinian asceticism is more pious and virtuous above all other forms of monastic life. His history thus had a clear contemporary aim. These ecclesiastical matters are represented as the final part of the 'sacred' narrative that began in the Old Testament, was fulfilled in the NT—although Sulpicius deliberately omits the Gospels because they were general knowledge—and continued in the church, especially in the Gallo-Roman one. The second book begins with the story of

Daniel at the courts of Babylon and revolves around his actions rather than his prophecies of the eschatological prophecies. Adopting the same strategy as Josephus, Sulpicius suggests that the reader can find them fully treated in the relevant chapters of Daniel (*Holy History* 2.7) and he thus avoids writing a theological digression on the subject of the Antichrist. He does refer to the statue of Daniel 2. He posits that the third kingdom of bronze was that of the Macedonians because Alexander won against Persia, the second kingdom of silver (*Holy History* 2.3). This prophecy anticipates his short account of Alexander's reign, which focuses on the king's powerful conquest and respect for the Jewish religion:

> The Macedonian Alexander engaged Darius in battle formation. By his victory, he obtained the Persian rule (*imperium ademptum*) 250 years after it began with Cyrus. It is said (*dicitur*) that Alexander, as the conqueror of nearly all peoples, travelled to the Temple of Jerusalem and offered up gifts (*dona*) in it. He decreed in all of the territories under his lawgiving that the Jews who lived there were free to return to their homeland. When the twelfth year of his government was brought to an end—seven years after he had defeated Darius—he died in Babylon. His friends, who had participated in these greatest of wars, divided the kingdom between them.
>
> Sulpicius Severus *Holy History* 2.17.1-3 (*SC* 441.267-8).

The emphasis on the transition of imperial power from Persia to Macedon, from Cyrus to Alexander, confirms the reading of the Danielic prophecies Sulpicius set out in his description of the statue. The power of empire did not cease but it was transferred to Alexander, a true instance of *translatio imperii*. The two reported tales are familiar: we encountered the first one in our discussion of the Jerusalem tale (Ch. 1.6); the second seems to be a fictional variation of the Exile's Decree, even though the real version is known to Orosius.[62] We noted that the former was an alternative version because of the gifts conferred upon the Temple, which no Jewish historian records. Indeed, Sulpicius seems to be the first to make a note of this donation. There is no indication of prayer or of piety here, but there is a sense of respect. The emphasis on religious tolerance was also evident in Origen's use of the tale and, more generally, in the Byzantine accounts. But Sulpicius need not rely on Josephus for this tale, and he

62 Orosius *History* 3.23.14.

certainly does not follow Josephus mindlessly, as Klein argues.[63] Alexander's tribute to the Jews is further specified in Sulpicius.

The freedom to go back to Judea echoes Alexander's concession of civic rights to the Jews in Alexandria, which we know from Josephus (Ch. 1.2). In Sulpicius' words, however, the concession extends to the whole of his territory and to all Jews. This detail gives it the appearance of echoing the so-called Exiles Decree announced at the Olympic Games of 324 BC; a herald of Alexander declared that all exiled Greeks, more than 20,000, were to be restored to the cities that had exiled them.[64] Alexander's attempt to override the established conventions of self-rule in the Greek *poleis* was unsuccessful, and Orosius even declared the Decree the cause of the wars of the Hellenistic age. In Sulpicius' account, the act is in itself commendable, because it shows respect for the Jewish people. The effect of the Decree does, however, turn out badly as the Jews enjoy too much freedom and peace in the Hellenistic world; they become corrupted with lust for political power. Focusing on the Seleucids and the rise of Antiochus, Sulpicius explains that the Jews were punished for their ambitions and greed by the Seleucid persecutors. This negative portrait of the Hellenistic Jews licenses Sulpicius to argue that God's grace and favour passed from the Jews to the Christians, an obvious Christian representation of Hellenistic history.

Sulpicius' Alexander could of course not know what his actions would cause. His respect of the Jews at least seems to be projected as genuine and favourably represented. But Sulpicius achieves this effect in ways that are atypical. For instance, there is no mention of the king's foundation of Alexandria, normally the centrepiece in the imperial projections of his reign. Instead, the author stresses that Alexander's world rule was granted to him by victory; it is implied that his victory was divinely devised by God's will (cf. *Holy History* 2.3). Yet, some features of the imperial projection remain. For instance, reference is made to Alexander as a lawgiver, apparently not with a basis in Alexandria. In contrast to these anomalous tendencies, Sulpicius' point about the brevity of the reign is a typical feature in the chronographs, and I presume that Sulpicius derives the information from Jerome's translation of Eusebius' *Chronicle*;[65] the obtrusive detail is the specific amount of time since Darius' defeat. What emerges from the narrative is that, to Sulpicius, Alexander is truly a world ruler, who reigned for a short span of time. There is a sense of neutrality in the text. The king's

63 Klein 1988: 983. The passage is strangely not discussed in Wirth 1993.

64 Diodorus Siculus *Library* 18.8.2-7; Curtius Rufus *History* 10.2.4-7; Justin *Epitome* 13.5.1-6. Cf. Baynham 1998: 45; Ladynin 2004; Dmitriev 2004; Roisman 2010: 136-7; Worthington 2014: 274-5, 290-1.

65 Sulpicius Severus *Holy History* 1.36, 1.42, 1.46, 2.5 are references to Jerome as a source.

deeds had no long-lasting impact, save for the preservation of the Jews, who were led astray by temptation and transgressions. Alexander is truly the hand of doom for Persia; he is the divine instrument of the Book of Daniel.

In contrast to Orosius' interpretation of the past, Sulpicius' *Holy History* is important evidence for how some Christians read Biblical history in the Latin West. The divergences between Sulpicius' account and the Byzantine Christian accounts are therefore important. At the first glance, the startling omission of the Ptolemies and Alexander's city is striking because it seems to detract significantly from Alexander's achievement. In my opinion, the absence need not come from a reluctance to relate it on Sulpicius' part, but the omission is perhaps a way of economising with the narrative of what he conceived as Biblical history. As an analogue, we may briefly turn to Hilarianus' treatise on time that devotes a short section to Alexander, whose name is misspelled ("Anlexander").[66] Writing a decade or so before Sulpicius, Hilarianus also omits everything about Alexander that does not pertain to what can be found in Daniel or 1 Maccabees. In fact, he states laconically that the great Macedonian Alexander killed Darius, and thereafter the author begins to recount what he considers the holy narrative of 1 Maccabees. That was all. In comparison to this, Sulpicius expands significantly on Alexander and the succession to the Seleucids, but he had to stay concise and precise. It seems to me that it is simply a matter of preference for Orosius and other Latin historians to acknowledge the foundation of Alexandria.[67]

The omission of Alexandria led Cary to believe that Sulpicius' Alexander narrative was merely an expansion of the belligerent Maccabees passage and, apparently, based on Orosius. But this is impossible since Sulpicius finished his *Holy History* a decade or more prior to Orosius. As already said, this text is not a 'strictly historical account … of the fact briefly stated in the Maccabees passage.'[68] One major difference, besides the two tales already mentioned, is the fact that there is no allusion to Alexander's Will in Sulpicius, which there is in 1 Maccabees. To Sulpicius then, Alexander had no influence on what happened after his short life. The king had rather a chronologically limited impact, as the Book of Daniel suggested. Cary's conclusions on the sources of Sulpicius are therefore untenable in light of the present discussion. Cary's suggestion on the transmission and great influence of this passage is also mis-

66 Hilarianus *Course of Time* p. 169 Frick.

67 Orosius *History* 3.16.14; Augustine *City of God* 12.25; Prosper of Aquitaine *Chronicle MGH* AA 9.395; Jordanes *Roman History MGH* AA 5.8; Paul the Dean *Roman History* 2.7 *MGH* SS G 49.15.

68 Cary 1954: 102 = Cary 1956: 122.

guided. Sulpicius does not seem to have informed Rhabanus Maurus' exposition of the Alexander passage in 1 Maccabees, the first commentary on the Maccabees of Carolingian date. Indeed, it is unclear how many actually used the *Holy History* as a source. For instance, a striking passage in Ennodius' *Life of Epiphanius*—the bishop (466-496) who preceded Ennodius at the bishopric of Pavia in North Italy—could be a literary echo of the unique detail of Sulpicius' Jewish exiles. Ennodius mentions that Epiphanius restored a flock of slaves to their native country, many more captives than those reinstated on the triumphs of Alexander.[69] But, since the author does not specify that Alexander's freed captives were Jews, he could be alluding to any version of the Exiles Decree in the Alexander historians (Curtius Rufus, Justin) or just the general notion that Alexander liberated cities.

Cary says nothing new of the text itself. Germanophone Alexander scholars generally overlook everything but the Jerusalem tale in Sulpicius' narrative. Pfister argued that Sulpicius' incorporation of the tale was important because it featured in the *first* Christian attempt at historiography in Latin and was widely acknowledged; later observations have not contributed much.[70] But these forcefully made assertions are misleading. Jerome's translation of Eusebius was what brought the tale into the Latin world, and Sulpicius did not follow him unreflectingly for he made the decision not to include Alexandria in his account. Hilarianus may not have included the Jerusalem tale, but he finished his historiographical account years before Sulpicius did. It is untrue that the text had a wide circulation because of its origin: it was written in a high rhetorical style for a small monastic circle. It survives only in a single medieval manuscript, but its popularity came about after the *editio princeps* by Flacius Illyricus (1556), which became a textbook for the use of students.[71] The arcane nature and monastic audience of Sulpicius' *Holy History* perhaps constitute one of the keys to understanding its alternative Alexander narrative. The author was interested in retelling the information that pertained to the Bible, and so he had a very different aim from Orosius' rhetorically bombastic *History against the Pagans*, which relies exclusively on *exemplum* literature for its Alexander narrative.

69 Ennodius of Pavia *Life of Epiphanius* § 176 (*MGH* AA 7.376-7).

70 Pfister 326-7. Cf. Demandt 2009: 187 n. 191 (wrong reference to Sulpicius Severus and non-standard editions of Eusebius' and Jerome's chronicles).

71 Stancliffe in *TRE* s.v. Sulpicius Severus.

7.3. Church Histories

In a notable study of the emperor Julian's attitude towards Alexander, Smith has recently compared several Christian Church Histories that tell variants of the same fictional tale about Julian's arrival at the Issus river.[72] The fifth-century authors Philostorgius and Socrates of Constantinople claim that upon reaching the river Julian had wished to become a second Alexander; Socrates even asserts that Julian's belief in the Platonic transmigration of souls had turned him into a madman who believed that he was Alexander in a new body. Smith tries to tie these passages together with *exempla* of Alexander and Julian in the works of Libanius, Ammianus Marcellinus and Gregory of Nazianzus to contend that the Christian allusions to the *topos* of Julian/Alexander would 'have resonances for a Christian that they would not have for a pagan.'[73] Be that as it may, there is certainly evidence for other emperors believing to be Alexander in a new body, such as Caracalla, but without the connotations of demonology as found in the church historians.[74] In a homily by John Chrysostom of Antioch, however, we get the association of soul migration with Alexander presented without reference to Julian. Apparently, the Devil had invented the doctrine of reincarnation and, on that basis, John Chrysostom's imaginary interlucutor can claim that Alexander could come back from the dead (Ch. 8.2). Since John Chrysostom wrote his homilies more than twenty years before any of aforementioned church historians, it is safer to assume that they got the idea from him and modified it accordingly to target the paganism of Julian. Arguably, the combination of this idea and Julian's alleged Alexander imitation is a more plausible pattern of allusion than any of Smith's guesswork.

While Smith's conclusions are generally unpersuasive and certainly contentous, he succeeds in offering a useful survey of references to Alexander in a great amount of late antique authors that have hitherto been accessible only to the few.[75] His study of

72 Philostorgius *Church History* fr. 7.4-5 (*GCS* 21.83), 7.14-5 (*GCS* 21.100-1). See Smith 2011: 77-80 for further sources and discussion. For good measure, I should point out that Smith has overlooked the later attestations of the story in Cassiodorus *Tripartite Church History* 6.46.6-7; John of Damascus *Passion of the Great Martyr Artemius PG* 96.1273, 1317.

73 Smith 2011: 85. Cf. Lane Fox 1997a: 249-50 who treats much of the same material.

74 Cassius Dio 77.7.2. καὶ οὐδὲ ταῦτα μέντοι αὐτῷ [i.e. Caracalla] ἐξήρκεσεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνον ἑῷον Αὔγουστον ἐπεκαλεῖτο, καί ποτε καὶ τῇ βουλῇ ἔγραψεν, ὅτι ἐς τὸ σῶμα αὖθις τὸ τοῦ Αὐγούστου ἐσῆλθεν, ἵνα, ἐπειδὴ ὀλίγον τότε χρόνον ἐβίω, πλείονα αὖθις δι' ἐκείνου ζήσῃ.

75 Although his concern is primarily with Anglophone scholarship, he could have incorporated contributions to the subject in other languages than English, such as Wirth 1993: 52-58, Franco 1997; Angliviel 2003. Cf. den Hengst 2010: 82-4. It is a real concern that Smith does not seem to know Wirth 1993 as he arrives at many similar conclusions.

the two Church Histories does reveal a greater tendency that he does not remark upon, namely that Alexander is almost always projected as a pagan champion or exemplar in the extant Church Histories. For all that the figure is associated with so many other things in Christian discourse, the church historians do maintain this projection, though not necessarily because of the association with Julian. To establish my hypothesis, I discuss this tendency in three Church Histories, or histories of the Christians, that offer some sidelights to Smith's analysis of the Julian passages in Philostorgius and Socrates. In light of the present synthesis, I append a few comments on Augustine's negative use of the Jerusalem tale in the *City of God* and on why his criticism of Alexander's ignorance of true piety fits well into the framework of the Church Histories and Christian philosophies.

7.3.1. Ps.-Gelasius of Cyzicus

Photius I (d. 891), the bibliophile Patriarch of Constantinople, mistakenly attributed a *Church History* to Gelasius of Cyzicus (fl. c. 480s), a native of Bithynia in Asia Minor. Although it now seems that the polemical text was mostly derivative of those Church Histories that Tyrannius Rufinus (d. 410) translated from Greek into Latin, the history is worthy of attention because those sources and the translations of them are either lost or fragmentary. This extraordinary text is a defence of the doctrines established by the first Nicene Council convened by Constantine. We remember that the Nicene Creed was at the heart of the text: in the beginning of this chapter, we noted his authoritative version of the Nicene Creed, prefaced with a series of systematic dates, including the 'year of Alexander' and the year of the reign of Constantine.

Ps.-Gelasius' other reference to Alexander also occurs in relation to Constantine,[76] that is in the context of corroborating Constantine's vision of the Cross.[77] Whatever it was Constantine saw in the afternoon sun, this sign of the Cross was immensely important to Ps.-Gelasius, because the story had been discredited by his contemporaries. Yet, the story was evidence that the emperor was supported by God and, therefore, correct in the theological dogma established at Nicaea in 325. To support the contention that this sign was true and could have happened, he turn to rather alternative evidence from OT Scripture and Greek literature. First, he says that if those who did not believe in it were Jews, they should certainly believe in the story because they thought highly of the true tales from Scripture. For instance, he mentions that the

76 Ps.-Gelasius of Cyzicus *Church History* 1.5.1-7 (*GCS* NF 9.9) from Philip of Side *Christian History* fr. 5.2.

77 Eusebius *Life of Constantine* 1.28.2; Lactantius *Deaths of the Persecutors* 44.5; *Panegyrici Latini* 6(7).21.3-4. Cf. Flower 2012.

Jews believed in the stories of how the Hebrews crossed the Red Sea (Exodus 14) and of how God spoke to Moses in the form of a burning bush (Exodus 3), which Christians also believed in. Secondly, he says that, if the people who did not believe in the vision were pagan Greeks, he would reluctantly recount all the prophetic utterances that they considered true. For instance, he notes that pagans believed in the prophecies that had foretold Alexander's victory at the Granicus River, and in the divine but demonic sign of the famous Socrates that had always advised the philosopher in his best interests. The double-edged argument seems to assume that other Christians would automatically agree with Philip on this matter. The text constructs three stereotypes of believers: Jews (OT Scripture), pagans (Greek literature) and Christians (both the OT and Greek literature). It makes a catalogue of what sort of literature each one would believe in. Yet, as a Christian, Philip claims to 'own' both OT Scripture and Greek literature. This licenses him to assert that the vision of Constantine should be fully convincing and believable for those who know either literature, but most profound for those who knew both and witnessed the truth of Jesus Christ.

It is remarkable that Alexander is placed in the pagan camp as a part of an argumentative *paradeigma* when we have seen that he also featured in Biblical prophecy (Ch. 2). Yet, as we shall see, Alexander is predominantly represented as a pagan figure in the Church Histories in order to stereotype pagans as superstitious people and religious frauds. Perhaps Alexander's association with Julian's theurgy in the preceding Church Histories of Philostorgius and Socrates of Constantinople was what made that connection, but this is not apparent in Ps.-Gelasius. As already said, the question of transmission is important here, for Ps.-Gelasius is unlikely to be the source of the religious argument discussed above. Instead, we should attribute it to the fifth-century Philip of Side who wrote a *Christian History* in more than twenty-four books, now extant only in fragments. It is not a history of the church *per se*, but a polemical work that appropriates all of world history as essentially Christian. From his fragments, we get the impression that Jesus had influenced every event since Creation through God. In this regard, it seems to have been a more holistic history of Christianity than the average Church History. We now move onto a longer fragment of this unique text.

7.3.2. Philip of Side

The third fragment of the *Christian History* tells the curious and historically confused story about a group of Greek pagans who wished to dispose of their ruthless Spartan queen, Doris. She was apparently the wicked sister of King Cassander of Macedon (d. 297 BC). To this end, they sought advice at three oracles in Delphi,

Athens and an unspecified temple for Apollo. The Delphian Pythia gave them the perplexing response to their entreaties that Philip, the child of Olympias(!),[78] would conquer Asia, a harbinger of unconquerable times. The suppliants cursed her for avoiding the question. They took their leave as the Pythia uttered that the Macedonian and the prophetess herself would defeat everyone (perhaps the goddess is implied). Again, they have no luck with the second oracle. She tells them that a youthful man, conceived in a bed and assisted by God, would encircle the egg-like earth and conquer all by the spear. They do not receive this utterance well either. Strangely now that the two other prophecies concern pagans, the third oracle prophesies the coming of Christ in the womb of a maiden. Then the text breaks off, and we are not told if the Greeks found what they were looking for.

The text is a curious combination of fiction and anachronistic history. Heyden has called this narrative 'pseudo-historisch,' which I understand to mean that it is a 'historical fiction.'[79] She has done much to make Philip of Side available to modern scholarship. For instance, she has written a lucid commentary to the fragments of the *Christian History*, and a book on the pagan and Christian representations of the Persian archmage Aphroditianus. It is, however, unfortunate that her studies of the fragment in question do not add much to the discussion of the text by Kampers in 1901.[80] For instance, Kampers noticed that the second prophecy of the fragment directly alludes to the 'snake in the egg'-episode of the *AR*,[81] and Heyden accepts this wholesale.[82] She does not, however, provide any further context or source material for this fragment. I hesitate to accept their assumption that the second oracle spoke of Alexander and Jesus at once. The egg-omen is very much attached to Alexander's tradition, whereas the bed and the spear do not seem to mesh very well with Jesus' tradition from the Gospels. I would argue that the entire second oracle is rather inspired by the opening of the second book of the *AR*, as we shall see shortly. This vignette

78 There is naturally the obvious objection here that something along the lines of 'Alexander, the son of…' may simply have dropped out of the text.

79 Heyden 2009: 184-7; 271-5.

80 Kampers 1901: 116-35; Heyden 2006: 219, 2009: 188. Cf. Ausfeld 1907: 151-2.

81 A bird lays an egg in front of Philip II while he is reading in the garden. A snake emerges, encircles the egg and dies once it tries to get back in. The omen is interpreted as the rapid conquest of Alexander and his subsequent swift demise. See *AR* 1.11.1-4, *AR* Arm. §§ 23-4. Cf. Stoneman 2007: 489-90.

82 She thankfully ignores that Kampers' fine book on Alexander and ancient prophecy has been marred by the harsh criticism of Pfister and others. See e.g. Pfister 1956: 10 n. 1. 'Das Buch von Kampers is unbrauchbar.' Cf. Pfister 306 n. 8, moderating his previous comment. 'Das Buch Kampers ist spanned geschreiben, aber mit Vorsicht zu geniessen.'

concerns Alexander's dealing with the Athenians, an episode which has fallen out of later versions of the *AR* tradition. Philip of Side is therefore another important witness to the influence of the earliest recension of the *AR* tradition on the Christian authors.

The second book of the *AR* begins with Alexander's arrival at the temple of Kore (Persephone) in Athens.[83] The king enters the temple when the purple dress for the goddess is being woven. This is interpreted by the priestess as a positive sign of his future career. The Athenian general Stasagoras visits the temple after the king, and tries to remove the priestess from her office because she has assisted Alexander. The king opposes the decision and restores the priestess to her rightful position. In Philip's *Christian History*, the Greeks arrive in the temple of Athens, as the purple dress of the goddess is in the state of being woven. The meaning is not positive, but negative, as it was a bad time to arrive. As the priestess speaks to the suppliants, they argue with her and deny the truth of her words, just as Stasagoras denies the priestess. If we add these similarities to the allusion to the 'snake in the egg'-omen, which is only known from the *AR* tradition, it seems sensible to suggest that Philip of Side is echoing the story of the *AR*. On the same note, I should also mention that Philip's first oracle in Delphi seems to allude to the story (also told in the *AR*) that Alexander was described as *anikētos* by the Pythian priestess, a story also told at the Ammon oracle.[84] To me, it is more plausible to situate the second oracle of Philip's *Christian History* in an Alexander context rather than a 'Jesus and Alexander'-context, as Kampers and Heyden suggest.

Since we do not have more of the fragment, we do not know how to interpret the immediate context of these three prophecies. That a pagan oracle announced the birth of Jesus is strange as far as the juxtaposition with Alexander is concerned, for the church historians normally regard the pagan visions of Alexander with contempt, as we shall see. But again, the Greek emissaries did not understand what they were told, and I think that this is perhaps the point of the fragment: the pagan inability to comprehend the divine. In all three cases, the prophetesses are represented as foretelling the future, but the pagan Greeks are unable to apprehend it or they want to hear something else. It is in this way that Philip stresses the obscurity and ignorance of the pagans, a typical Christian agenda. Finally, we detect once again the subtlety of juxtaposition: that the rise of Alexander is juxtaposed with the birth of Jesus is an as-

83 *AR* 2.1-2. Cf. Stoneman 2011: 377-9.

84 Diodorus Siculus *Library* 17.93.4; Plutarch *Alexander* 3.9, 14.7. There are echoes in Plutarch *Life of Pyrrhus* 19.2; *Moralia* 335a, 337a; *AR* 1.7.1. For this, Tarn 1948 ii: 338-46; Smith 2011: 48.

sertion that the prophecies about both events were true. Philip posits that the nativity story of Jesus was as real as the historical conquests of Alexander. The stories confer authority upon each other.

7.3.3. Socrates of Constantinople

Another Christian reference to Alexander and the Delphian Pythia is found in the *Church History* of Socrates of Constantinople. It occurs in a short poem that Socrates uses to repudiate the contents of a passage in the *Apology for Julian* by the Antiochene sophist Libanius.[85] The passage concerns the pagan belief in the deification of mortals. As a counterargument, Socrates develops the typical Christian criticism of the subject. In order to dismiss Libanius, Socrates makes a catalogue of deified pagans who were no longer able to assist anyone because they were dead. The Amphictyons conferred divine honours upon Alexander; the people of Cyzicus appointed Hadrian to be the thirteenth god (!); and the people of Astypalaea worshipped the boxer Cleomedes. According to Socrates, the true philosopher Diogenes the Cynic had ridiculed this practice of divine honours and thought less of Pythia for this reason. But Libanius apparently did not. Socrates can thus claim that the pagan Libanius was only aspiring to be a philosopher but clearly was not one in comparison with Diogenes.

In this argument, Socrates quotes a Delphian poem on the subject of honouring the gods that presents Zeus as Alexander's father:

> Honour Zeus, highest of gods, and Athena Trito-born! / And Alexander the King, divine lord in human form; / he whom Zeus sowed with the best seed as befitting, / so that he would be a defender of just lawgiving.
>
> Socrates of Constantinople *Church History* 3.23.[86]

This poem is not attested elsewhere and is probably of Socrates' own composition. The projection of Alexander is fully compatible with the versions in those authors who seek to present the relationship between Alexander and Zeus positively. For instance, we have repeatedly witnessed that ancient sources cited Alexander as the mightiest king and the embodiment of the law. But in the immediate context, So-

85 For Libanius and his school at Antioch, see e.g. Norman 2000; Gibson 2008; Cribiore 2007, 2013; Van Nuffelen 2014.

86 It is noteworthy that this poem is included in the Latin translation of Socrates and the other church historians by Cassiodorus' scribes, but not in the *Tripartite Church History* of the Byzantine Theodorus Lector (Sozomen, Socrates, Theodoret). See Cassiodorus *Tripartite Church History* 7.2.37-42.

crates associates this representation with false flattery and, therefore, lies. That the oracle pronounced Alexander to be divine is thus also a falsehood. In this way, Socrates can use a poem to undermine what he considers the false doctrines of deification. This strategy is similar to the one pursued by the apologists (Ch. 5) and demonstrates continuity in the discourse, even if they are centuries apart.

Socrates' argument ends on the note that Libanius had known a single book about prophecies bearing upon Alexander by a certain Hadrias. To Fraser in 1996,[87] this passing remark was important because it supported his hypothesis that the author(s) of the *AR* could have used a similar book of omens as a source. This would make sense since the AR is full of poetic prophecies expressed in choliambic verses. What made Fraser hesitate to argue that Hadrias was a source for the *AR* poetry was the fact that the established text was very uncertain. For instance, he noted that, according to the seventeenth-century philologist Henricus Valesius, the name of Hadrias was very obscure, and Valesius had instead conjectured that Arrian was the author. He had also suggested that Hadrias' book was unknown to the literary Alexander tradition and, therefore, it could have concerned the oracles of the second-century Alexander of Abonouteichos in Paphlagonia. Lucian's satirical biography of this (false) prophet has immortalised the figure as a fraud, who created a serpent cult for the 'New Asclepius,' the snake Glycon.[88] Yet, in reality, the cult actually outlived its founder and continued to endure for at least a century. While Fraser was seemingly not persuaded by these contradictory arguments (why prefer Arrian instead of Hadrias if the subject was somebody else than Alexander of Macedon?), he did not pursue his initial argument about the relationship between Hadrias and the *AR*.

I doubt the hypothesis can be proven, but the argument about Alexander of Abonouteichos is certainly unconvincing. The Homeric healer, Podalirius, is said to be his father,[89] not Zeus, as it is in the quoted poem. The false prophet is definitely not represented as a king. Further, we notice that the reference to Hadrian as the thirteenth god of Cyzicus belongs to Alexander of Macedon's tradition (Ch. 1.5.1). The mention of Hadrian is puzzling. The closeness of the names of the emperor Hadrian and the author Hadrias could have been caused by textual interference. Yet, we must presume that Hadrias is a pseudonym to create authority. Fraser pointed out that the medieval Byzantine intellectual Nicephorus Callistus Xanthopoulos preferred 'Alex-

87 Fraser 1996: 223 n. 45. Cf. Smith 2011: 82 n. 122 who is wrong about the context of the passage.

88 For him, see Ogden 2009.

89 Lucian *Alexander* § 11. Cf. Ogden 2013a: 341.

andrians' to 'Hadrias,'[90] and this would certainly be preferable to Arrian because we have observed the Alexandrians' reverence for Alexander in Part I. Might this Alexandrian book of Xanthopoulos simply be the *AR* itself with its poetic visions? We cannot know. To make matters more complicated, it has been argued that Aristander of Telmessus, the foremost among the seers of the historical Alexander,[91] published a book of omens about the king.[92] If we accept this suggestion and draw a parallel between Aristander's and Hadrias' books on Alexander omens, it seems that there could perhaps have been such a book genre of omen stories about Alexander. There are certainly enough omens stories in the Alexander-historians to indicate that there could have been multiple sources of the Aristander sort. There is, however, not enough evidence for such books to say something final on this particular book by Hadrias that Socrates mentions.

7.3.4. Augustine

I have pointed out that Augustine is the only Christian author to speak ill of Alexander's supplication of the Jewish god in Jerusalem (Ch. 1.6). Wirth has referred to this as an 'attempt to make a conjecture,' that is, to make a negative Christian interpretation of the tale instead of the positive Jewish one.[93] But as we have seen, most other Christians did in fact modify the tale as they saw fit, without adding the negative colour to it that Augustine does. Indeed, all other Christians see no reason to cast the Jerusalem tale in a negative light. It seems that the multitude of positive versions forestalled the acceptance of Augustine's unique variant. While he accepts that Alexander did indeed come before the High Priest and entered the Temple, Augustine writes that the king was no true convert but rather foolishly thought that the Jewish god could be worshipped among his other gods.[94] Cary remarks that Alexander is here projected as a vain collector of trinket gods that were only important insofar they could aid his cause.[95] Projected as an unwitting pagan, Alexander was ignorant of Judeo-Christian piety. And according to Augustine, so were the subsequent rulers who entered the Temple, such as Antiochus IV and Pompey the Great, mentioned in the same chapter.

90 Fraser 1996: 223 n. 45, citing *PG* 146.564.

91 Heckel s.v. Aristander of Telmessus.

92 For the omens and dreams of Alexander, see e.g. Palmer 1981; Hughes 1984; King 2004; Nice 2005; McKechnie 2009.

93 Wirth 1993: 66 n. 218. '[A]ls ein Versuch der Korrektur...' Wirth fails to provide any actual context for why Augustine would wish to do that.

94 Augustine *City of God* 18.45.

95 Cary 1954: 106-7.

It is safe to say that Augustine's variant tale remains the object of scholarly interest, although Harding did not know about this story, which is strange because he has written the longest piece on Alexander in the works of Augustine.[96] Since Wirth offers no opinion on the passage in question, we can turn to Klein. He suggested that Augustine could not accept this romantic tale about Alexander because the king was wicked in all regards when viewed in the light of the Latin tradition. In Augustine's view, Klein argues, Alexander's conquest of Judea should be seen as the act of a tyrant, unaware of the short-lived grace God had given him.[97] Alternatively, Cary proposes that we should see a parallel Augustine's Jerusalem tale and *Alexander's Letter to his Mother* (Ch. 5.3). In the former, if the king worshipped the Jewish god, would he consider this god any higher than the pagan gods, whom he knew were false? In the latter, if Alexander knew that the Egyptian gods were false, why would he worship them? These questions—which Cary unhelpfully leaves unanswered—are what he sees as the connection between the two texts. But all these explanations are confusing and require a certain knowledge of many different texts, such as the undefined 'Latin tradition' of Klein. On the contrary, I believe the explanation for Augustine's alternative Jerusalem tale is more straightforward and already given by the context of this section of the eighteenth book in the *City of God*.

In this particular book, Augustine seeks to construct a narrative of the continuous adversity that the Jews faced after they had built the second Temple. The calamities continued until the dispersion of the Jews up until the time of Christ (18.46). Drawing upon his reading of (the Latin?) Josephus, Augustine links the constant perils of the Jews with their inability to maintain divine favour, especially after the rise of the Christians. The Jewish misfortunes are expressed particularly well in the narratives of the foreign rulers who go to visit the Temple. Antiochus IV defiled it; Pompey entered the holy of holies as a conqueror; and the Roman Crassus plundered its riches. To Augustine, the foreign influences caused a gradual decline of the Temple, and the Jews did not have the power to withstand this tendency because they were themselves corrupt and impious. In the context of such a negative representation of the Jewish past, how could the romantic Judeo-Christian variants of Alexander's visit to Jerusalem ever be appropriate? Why would Alexander be sincere in his prayer in the Temple when every other foreign general was completely unaware of God's power?

To Augustine, none of this worked. Instead he altered the narrative to represent a pagan Alexander, who was also unaware of the true nature of the divine power he

96 For his incomplete survey, see Harding 2008: 115.

97 Klein 1988: 983-4.

had encountered. The king was foolish enough to think that God would support him when he worshipped other gods as well. Alexander thus becomes the first in a long line of foreign conquerors of Judaea who did not understand the religion or treat the Temple well. It is an argument that, if Alexander was ignorant of the true God but worshipped him anyway, the Jewish decline had already begun during his campaigns. Augustine projects the whole history of the Hellenistic Jews as a story of the decline and fall of the Temple, which comes to an end in the beginning of the Christian period. This striking change to Alexander's Jerusalem visit thus supports the overarching argument of the eighteenth book to make the Temple seem ever more corrupted. Such a powerful story of decline lends authority to, and adds great emphasis on, the story Augustine really wants to tell of the *Pax Christiana* at the climatic Advent of Jesus and the rise of the church in which Augustine was himself a bishop.

This line of argument would explain the changed role of Alexander, without any need to read other texts. As we have seen, the Christians did not need to be consistent in their projections of Alexander. Consistency was not even necessary for the same author or in the same text. It seems to me that Augustine is no different. Considering the diversity of the references to Alexander in Augustine's *City of God* (Alexander is a pirate, founder of cities, impressive conqueror, witness to the folly of paganism and ignorant pagan), we should perhaps be more careful in assuming that we know Augustine's personal attitudes towards Alexander. I argue that his representation of Alexander is not only much more subtle and refined than hitherto asserted in scholarship, but also more self-contradictory than has often been assumed on the basis of analyses of singular, disconnected passages.[98]

A final note on Augustine's version of the tale is that other church historians found the *topos* of Alexander as a pagan useful in the context of dismissing pagan religious practices. While Augustine's criticism is more directly aimed at Alexander than the other Church Histories, it is still the foolish practice of idolatry and associated themes that take the centre stage. This makes sense because the focus of Christian intellectuals was ever on the repudiation of religious practices that could upset their own.

98 *Pace* Smith 2011: 84, who has overlooked Harding 2008.

7.4. Writing a Christian World

> How Bucephalus conducted himself towards Alexander is known everywhere, and there is nothing that I would like to add to it.
>
> Aelian *Nature of Animals* 6.44.[99]

This section will briefly focus on Christian geography because the subject seems to me the single most important one in which Alexander features among the technical genres of early Christianity. It would be possible to write substantial chapters, even books, on Alexander and the peoples, the flora and fauna of the ancient world; but this is a task that many others have undertaken. For instance, in a chapter appropriately entitled 'the Marvels of India,' Richard Stoneman investigates the origins and reception of the strange monsters and wondrous vegetation that Alexander comes across in the penultimate part of the *AR*.[100] Pursuing Alexander in biology and other scientific genres is indeed a worthy endeavour because the *topos* is so prevalent in Roman epistemology.[101] The following focuses on geographical lore and representations of the Christian world.

99 Cf. Chares of Mytilene *FGH* 125 F 18 from Aulus Gellius *Attic Nights* 5.2.5; Plutarch *Alexander* 6, 61, *Moralia* 970d; *AR* 1.17; *AR* γ 1.13; Arrian *Anabasis* 5.19.4-6; Diodorus Siculus *Library* 17.96.1; Justin *Epitome* 12.8.8; Curtius Rufus *History* 6.5.18; Pliny *Natural History* 6.77, 8.154; Maximus of Tyre *Orations* 8.4; Oppian *On Hunting* 1.229-35; Solinus *On the Wonders of the World* § 45.8-9; Menander Rhetor p. 358; Libanius *Letters* 1332.2; Himerius *Oration* 47.11; Themistius *Commentary on Aristotle* 5.2.5; Theophylact Simocatta *Letter* 46; Hesychius s.v. *Boukephalos*; Photius *Library* codex 245; *Suda* s.v. Koppatias (K 2055 Adler); Zonaras *Epitome* 1.285, 95, 99; Josephus Genesius 4.26; Cedrenus 1.300. For a fuller overview of Bucephalus' reception than can be offered here, see still Anderson 1930 with Baynham 1995: 6-7, 1998: 39; Whitmarsh 2002: 180-2; Charles 2007.

100 Stoneman 2008: 67-90. Cf. Wittkower 1942 for an exhaustive overview of monsters in the Alexander histories.

101 Spencer 2009: 272-4. To take an example of an animal associated with Alexander that is not Bucephalus, the peculiar breed of Indian (or Albanian) 'tiger-dogs' was known to several ancient authorities on animals. This race of hounds was the offspring of a tiger and a dog, which is why the beast only wanted to fight other powerful creatures, such as lions or elephants. See e.g. Diodorus Siculus *History* 17.92; Pliny *Natural History* 8.149; Curtius Rufus *History* 9.1.31-4; Aelian *Nature of Animals* 8.1. The tiger-dog is also mentioned by the Byzantine grammarian Priscian in his Latin translation of a Greek poem by Dionysius Periegetes, for which see Priscian the Grammarian *Description of the Known World* ll. 700-8.

Alexander's name was used in geographical discourse on specific places with relevance to Christians. This 'new' Christian world, 'real or imagined',[102] was one in which geography was a reflection of God's design and will made manifest.[103] As a way into the topic, we may think of the ostensible Christianisation of the countryside.[104] According to Procopius of Caesarea, the court historian of Justinian I (c. 482-565), there was a cult of Alexander and Ammon in Augila (Awjila) in Libyan North Africa, a ten-day journey from the Siwah Oasis. In his *On Buildings*, he records that the sanctuary was thought to have been established there since the earliest times.[105] He goes on to say that it was duly converted to a Christian church at the orders of Justinian, who was engaged in a restoration programme of North Africa, which had been reconquered under his rule. As Averil Cameron has argued, this narrative fits into the greater Christian argument of the text.[106] By framing Justinian's building policy as prompted by the wish to convert pagans, Procopius presents the reader with a Christian ideal and an aetiology for the establishment of a local church. Amitay has made the attractive suggestion that the shrine was turned into a church of the Father and the Son (Alexander/Jesus; Ammon/God).[107]

Christianising the pagan places in the rural areas was an important part of the early Christian agenda. Christians were primarily concerned with the conversion of local memory within cities or the countryside, and used existing tales, or the notion of an existing civic tradition, to establish their own variations of those tales. Alexander was loosely associated with such places, because he was embedded in the discourse of cities and geography in general. As an example, we may look at the fifth-century *Life of Porphyry of Gaza* by Mark the Deacon. On the authority of an orally transmitted story, he records a local tale about Alexander and the local church foundation.[108] According to the hagiographer, the king's successful siege of Gaza had ended

102 This neat phrase is most recently used by S. F. Johnson 2015 in a study of Christian geographical writing.

103 Humphries 2007: 68.

104 Collection of source texts at *CCSL* 175: *Itineraria et alia geographica*. For the construction of Christian geography in Late Antiquity, see Inglebert 2001b: 73-103; Humphries 2007: 60-8; Merrilds 2005; Cataudella 2010; Molina Marín 2010: 399-439 (exhaustive); Van Nuffelen 2012: 174-6 (On Orosius in particular).

105 Procopius *On Buildings* 6.2.14-20.

106 Averil Cameron 2005: 88.

107 Amitay 2010a: 133-4.

108 Mark the Deacon *Life of Porphyry of Gaza* § 18. For the historical context, see now Shalev-Hurvitz 2015: 279-85.

a conflict in the religious groups of the city.[109] The spot designed to commemorate the establishment of Alexander's peace was chosen by the bishop Irenion as the spot for the church foundation. In this way, this particular place was converted into a Christian site, and it found a new Christian meaning for the peace Alexander had once brought upon the city. Mark's church foundation narrative is unique in its association of the memory of Alexander and a Christian church. By bringing the church and Alexander together, this Christian adaptation appeals to Alexander's normal role as a founder in civic discourse. Again, we notice that Alexander's presence in the eastern landscapes is very strong given the fact that the historical figure had himself travelled there.

Christian topographies used Alexander's cities for navigation in the Holy Land. A mid sixth-century travel guide to the Holy Land by an unknown Theodosius describes the holy sites somehow connected to Christian literary episodes (from the OT and the NT), the sacred buildings (shrines, monasteries and churches) and the actions of prominent religious figures (Apostles, martyrs, bishops and saints). It is an account of how long it took a pilgrim to get from one place to another and what to see next. If the pilgrim wanted to see Mt. Sinai, he had to travel three days from Jerusalem to Elath; seven days from Elath to Aila, which Alexander had built,[110] and then the holy mountain—on which Moses had received the Ten Commandments—was only eight more days of travel away from there. The Biblical surface Moses had walked over was integrated with a city built by Alexander to form a unified topography.[111]

Roman writers had the same sort of itineraries, road measurements and notices of stations, although the focus was on rather different items of interest in the empire. The anonymous third-century *Antonine Itinerary* provides a 'verbal' map of factual routes throughout Roman territories, such as the roads of Britain and of Spain. Places

109 With our knowledge of the historical siege of Gaza, we may be surprised by this tale of peace. The historical Alexander besieged the city for two months and sacked it. It was a bloody affair: Alexander's army butchered 10,000 Persians and Arabs. Batis, the Persian governor of the city, was maltreated and suffered a gruesome fate. He was dragged behind Alexander's chariot as another Hector. For this, see Heckel s.v. Batis. Cf. Bosworth 1980- i: 257-60; Baynham 1998: 155-9; Worthington 2014: 178-9. For the association of Alexander and Achilles, see now Heckel 2015 with further references to the copious literature on the subject.

110 Theodosius *On the Location of Sacred Places* § 27 (*CCSL* 175.123). Theodosius also goes on to reference Alexander Scabiosa in § 32. For these cities, especially the Biblical Elath and Aila, see G. Cohen 2006: 264, 314-5. Cf. Lane Fox 1997b: 219 for Theodosius' travels.

111 For similar passages, see e.g. *Bordeaux Itinerary* (*CCSL* 175.22). The nature of this work is studied in Salway 2012 with a reference to Alexander's Pella at p. 295 n. 15.

associated with Alexander are registered as well. For instance, both Pella[112] and Alexandria Scabiosa are mentioned. Such technical road maps provide a perfect context for thinking about the alternative Christian guidebooks, and the feature of Alexander's cities is evident in both sorts of texts. As one would expect, cities of Alexander were fundamental for the topography of both the pagan and the Christian worlds.

One instructive story on the Christian side of things appears in the sixth-century *Life of Matrona of Perge*. This hagiographical piece concerns the nun-to-be Matrona. Having fled her husband to live piously, she was in doubt about where to go in order to escape him forever. She was torn between Alexandria, Antioch or Constantinople. In a dream, she saw the three eponymous founders, Alexander, Antiochus and Constantine, fighting over her; they drew lots three times to decide who should have her as his wife. Although Constantine won three times, Matrona denied him, having previously pledged herself to God. But, as she woke up, she realised which city God would have her go to.[113] Such a story shows not only how dreams and foundation figures could be integrated into Christian narratives without an issue, but also how the Christian descriptions of the world in which they lived appropriated these cities, even if two of them were founded in the Hellenistic age.

Although Chapter 1 in particular showed how Alexandria was a central city to the Christians, we can see this expressed in a ranking system they shared with the non-Christians. In Ausonius' poem, the *Order of Famous Cities*,[114] the city shared the fourth place with Antioch, coming after Rome, Constantinople and Carthage on the list. The poet stereotypes the Alexandrians as wild and rioting, but he says that they are honoured by the valour of their Founder.[115] We find this ranking system in earlier texts as well. For instance, the second-century sophist Aelius Aristides of Smyrna ranks the city second after Rome. Indeed, building the city was the only thing that secured Alexander everlasting fame.[116] To him, Alexandria was a radiant necklace that adorned

112 *Antonine Itinerary* § 606.

113 *Life of Matrona of Perge* § 25.

114 Ausonius 11.4-5 LCL. Cf. Ausonius *Thanksgiving for his Consulship* § 7 LCL and the exact same list in Ps.-Venantius Fortunatus *In Praise of the Virgin Mary* 1.275.

115 The dichotomy of this *topos* occurs across Dio's speech to the Alexandrians (no. 32) and is meticulously studied in Trapp 2004. Cf. Juvenal *Satire* 15 for rioting Egyptians. *Pace* Wirth 1993: 68 n. 226 who believes that the *topos* is not attested until the fourth century. E.g. Julian exhorts the Alexandrians for the same things in his letters, no. 21, 47 LCL. Cf. Macrobius *Saturnalia* 1.20.13. Emperors even appealed to the authority of the founder, see e.g. Athanasius *Apology for Constantius* § 30.

116 Aelius Aristides *Oration* 26.26, 26.95. Ammianus Marcellinus *Roman History* 22.16.7-13 calls Alexandria the crown of all the Egyptian cities. Cf. Menander Rhetor pp. 388, 426, 429, 443;

Rome. Late antique historians, such as Ammianus Marcellinus, describe it in laudatory terms, focusing upon the lighthouse of Pharos and the abundant supply of food the city produced.[117] There is naturally mention of specific places within the city associated with Alexander in early Christian literature, such as the king's (lost) tomb (Ch. 8.2).[118]

Even more arcane details are preserved. In the commentaries on Vergil's *Georgics*, the poet's laconic reference to the 'fortunate lineage of the Pellaean Canopus' needed exposition.[119] Pella was the name of Alexander's home in Macedon,[120] and Canopus was an Egyptian area on the outskirts of Alexandria and at the mouth of the Nile river. We know that Pella was the origin of one of Alexander's many sobriquets, especially in Latin poetry.[121] Here he was called the Pellaean instead of the Macedonian. To illustrate this, the first-century AD Roman astronomer Manilius claims that Pella was only known for one thing, namely that its king was known by the name of great, *magnus*.[122] The place name continued to be attached to Alexander in early Christian poetry. The fifth-century poet Paulinus, a relative of the great Ausonius, said that Pella had fostered King Alexander in times of old.[123] Since it was the same place where Paulinus had himself been reared, the poet draws a neat parallel between the birthplace of the king and of himself. Ausonius and other Christian poets used the po-

Martianus Capella *On the Marriage of Philologia and Mercury* 6.655.

117 Ammianus Marcellinus *Roman History* 22.16.7-13; Ps.-Hegesippus *On the Fall of Jerusalem* 4.27. Cf. Pliny *Natural History* 5.62-3.

118 John Chrysostom *Homily on 2 Corinthians PG* 61.581. For the body of Alexander brought to Egypt and the various stories about his burial, see e.g. Hieronymus of Cardia *FGH* 154 F 2; Strabo *Geography* 17.1.8; Diodorus Siculus *Library* 18.26; Suetonius *Augustus* § 18; Zenobius *Epitome* 3.94; Pausanias *Description* 1.6.3; Arrian *Events after Alexander FGH* 156 F 9.25; Aelian *Miscellany* 12.64; Dio Cassius *Roman History* 51.16.5; *AR* 3.33.16, 3.34.6. Cf. Erskine 2002; Saunders 2006.

119 Vergil *Georgics* 4.287. *nam qua Pellaei gens fortunata Canopi* with Ps.-Probus *Commentary* ad 4.287 *Pella est oppidum Macedoniae, patria Alexandri*; Servius Grammaticus *Commentary* ad 4.287. Cf. Plinius *Natural History* 35.98; Justin *Epitome* 13.1.12-3; Solinus *On the Wonders of the World* § 40.4.

120 Livy 44.46.4-7. Cf. Lucian *Alexander* § 6 for the state of the city in the second century. Cf. Asirvatham 2001: 102. A general overview of the history of the city by Petsas 1978; Hatzopoulos & Paschidis 2002: 805-6; Akamatis 2011.

121 Grattius *On Hunting* 532; Lucan *Pharsalia* 8.607 (referring to Ptolemy XIII), 9.153-4, 10.20, 10.52; Manilius *On Astronomy* 4.688-9; Juvenal *Satire* 10.168; Martial *Epigrams* 9.43; Silius Italicus *Punica* 13.765; Statius *Silvae* 1.1.86. The sobriquet is less common in Greek, see e.g. *Sibylline Oracles* 5.5; 11.220; *Greek Anthology* 16.121.

122 Manilius *On Astronomy* 4.688-9. Cf. Manilius *On Astronomy* 1.770.

123 Paulinus of Pella *Thanksgiving* 23 (*CSEL* 19.292).

etic commonplace 'of Pella' to refer allusively to Alexander or the Macedonians in general.[124]

Besides the association with certain cities, Alexander was also linked with the boundaries of the known world. In the Byzantine *Life of Macarius*, a sixth-century legend recorded in the eleventh century, three monks sought to find the saint in the furthest regions of the world. Macarius had been led to his hermitage, a cave of wild beasts, by the angel Raphael. Before the monks reached it, Theophilus, Sergius and Hyginus came across an arch of Alexander with an inscription on it: 'The great Macedonian king, Alexander the son of Philip, set up this arch when he pursued the Persian king, Darius. The one who wishes to enter this land must take a left; the terrain to the right is impassable and full of rocks and difficulty.'[125] The three monks proceed, presumably, to the left to find Macarius in a cave of wild beasts. He tells them that earthly Paradise cannot be located or entered by mortals because God keeps them out of it.[126] Happy to hear the wisdom of the saint, the monks return to the arch of Alexander where they are greeted by lions. From there the trio make their way home under prayer.

This narrative broadly corresponds to some of the themes expounded in the Christian recensions of the *AR*. In the lambda recension of the *AR*, just after the water-of-life episode, Alexander also erects an arch for those who would like to venture into the land of the Blest, but the inscription now tells the reader to take a right.[127] In the gamma-recension of the *AR*, the king bridges a ravine in India with an arch and inscribes it with the following text in Greek, Persian and Egyptian: 'Alexander was here and erected an arch over which the whole army crossed. His intention was to reach the end of the earth, if Providence approved of his plan.'[128] In both instances the king is forced to turn back and not allowed to travel into the holy land beyond.

124 Claudian *Poems* 8.374, 17.28, 22.16; Ausonius *Letters* 27.49 LCL; Ennodius *Life of Epiphanius* § 178 (*MGH* AA 7.376). It is notable that Isidore of Seville and Bede omit Pella from the descriptions of Alexander's birthplace, although they, together with John Chrysostom, praise the region of Macedon because it links the travels of the Apostle Paul related in Acts to the lands of Alexander. See Isidore *Etymologies* 14.4.13; Bede *Names of Regions and Places in Acts*, s.v. Macedonia; John Chrysostom *Second Homily on 1 Thessalonians 1.8-10 PG* 62.399.

125 *Life of Macarius the Roman* § 8 (*PL* 73.418; 426). The Latin text has recently been reprinted and discussed in Acerbi 2009: 121. For the expanded Greek version, see Vasiliev 1893: 142.

126 On Paradise, gardens and early Christians, see now Lane Fox 2014.

127 AR λ 2.41.7 Stoneman. ἐγὼ [i.e. Alexander] δὲ ὑπέλαβα διὰ πάντων τούτων, ὅτι ἐνταῦθά ἐστι τὸ τέλος τῆς γῆς. προσέταξα δὲ κτισθῆναι ἁψῖδα ἐν τῷ τόπῳ ἐκείνῳ μεγίστην καὶ γράψαι διὰ γλυφίδος οὕτως· "οἱ βουλόμενοι εἰσελθεῖν ἐν τῇ μακάρων χώρᾳ, δεξιᾷ πορεύεσθε. Cf. *AR* β 2.40-1.

128 *AR* γ 2.37 (Trans. Stoneman 1991). Discussion at Sironen 2003: 297 n. 34.

The access to the land of the Blest is thus denied him in the *Life of Macarius* and the lambda and gamma-recensions. This feature would link all three texts: Macarius taught the monks about the absence of earthly Paradise with the denial of immortality for Alexander in the *AR*. This shows that the example of Alexander could provide instruction for Christians, just as well as a saint's guidance could.

It seems to me that there is a literary echo in the quests to reach the ends of the earth and earthly Paradise. Given the context of Macarius' message to the monks in the *Life*, the monks are on a similar quest as that of Alexander in the *AR*. They both wish to explore the world to discover its edges. Alexander's arches become symbols of the physical edges of the world that could be reached, surpassed or returned from, God willing.[129] But this sort of narrative is not just a simple question of Christians wanting to surpass Alexander. For instance, the fifth-century Philostorgius records that Alexander resettled a darkly burned Syrian tribe at the outermost ends of the earth, and the missionary monk Theophilus was unable to reach them.[130] What such narratives have in common is a shared conception of a Christian topography in which the name of Alexander became an enduring milestone.

Ironically, in a Jewish text, Alexander did actually reach the earthly Paradise. The tale first occurs in the Babylonian Talmud (Tamid 32b), a Jewish text impossible to date (c. AD 500?) and, even if we could, it was probably the written result of an earlier Rabbinic tradition. Alexander was not allowed to go through the gates of Paradise and he had to turn back. But he was given a small token to take home. The meaning of item was not revealed to him before the Rabbis told him of it. The round object was an eyeball that could never be sated because of its desire to see more and more. But as soon as dust covered its view, the desire came to an end. This text as a homiletic reflection upon death, greed and insatiable desire is of Jewish origin, although it would go on to resonate profoundly with Christians in the Middle Ages. The tale of Paradise is not only a moralising Judeo-Christian vignette, but also a story that evidences Alexander's ubiquity in Christian geography.[131] Indeed, the geographical material is overwhelming and perplexing. In the Latin West, the anonymous *Ravenna Cos-*

129 There is a similar *topos* in the Classical Tradition about whether Alexander should cross the boundaries into the unknown. See e.g. Seneca the Elder *Suesoriae* 1 (whether to sail the Ocean), 4 (whether to cross the boundaries of Babylon); Seneca the Younger *Letters* 119.7; Lucan *Pharsalia* 10.36-7; Ps.-Hegesippus *On the Fall of Jerusalem* 2.9 (*CSEL* 66.149-50). The *topos* is not just negative: Ps.-Cicero *Rhetoric for Herennius* 4.31.4-5; Quintilian *Institutes of Oratory* 3.8.16; Justin *Epitome* 12.7.4; Orosius *History* 3.19.1; Himerius *Orations* 32.9. Cf. Stoneman 2003b: 338.

130 Philostorgius *Church History* fr. 3.6 incorporating Arrian *Anabasis* 7.19.5.

mography (c. 700) seeks to make sense of it all in its discussion of the furthest parts of the East, but the author is unable to do so, he explains, because the data are so immense and contradictory.[132]

For all that different texts tell different things, it is clear that Alexander was relevant for textual explorations of the inhabited and imagined earth, even to the very Gates of Eden. To give the richest example, we can briefly turn to the seventh-century Syriac East. The anonymous author of the *Syriac Alexander Legend* (Ch. 3.1) tells the story that, prior to his campaigns, Alexander wanted to know from his advisors what the cosmos looked like.[133] He wished to discover whether the sky was upheld by pillars of fire (volcanoes?), the extent of the earth and what surrounded it. All of his expectations about the world's appearance are in accordance with what we know from Christian cosmographies. But his advisors endorse a seemingly pagan picture. One of the noblemen says that there is an outer Ocean surrounding all creation that not even birds could cross, advocating the Homeric and Hesiodic conception of a flat earth in a great body of water. Later on in the text, Alexander encounters some old men that describe what the author holds to be the true nature of the world, the great Ocean encircling the world and the four rivers of Paradise that flow into them (it is understood that Alexander does not reach Paradise in this text).[134] This clash of cosmographies is apparently unproblematic and could, still in the seventh century, be accommodated by a single Christian text.

Christian geographies were invented and developed in close relationship with more traditional geographical texts. Like the pagans, Christians also associated Alexander with places where the historical individual had never been, such as China and the far North. On the one hand, ancient authors used the figure to explore the world from their desks. On the other, people on the periphery claimed that he had indeed visited them or build their city. The king was ubiquitous in the discourse on cities, sites and imagined spaces because of the memory of Alexander. Such narratives helped to generate a mythological geography of the known world, and licensed the authors to speculate about what lay beyond the boundaries. According to Braund, 'Al-

131 Pfister (anhang b) has drawn attention to the fact that there is a similar eastern travel narrative in the very neglected fifth-century (?) *Odoiporia* that would prove to be an interesting case study. The text is not discussed, for instance, in Gaullier-Bougassas & Bridges 2013. Cf. Dognini 2000.

132 *Ravenna Cosmography* 1.8 Schnetz.

133 The text is found in the translation of *AR* Syr. by Budge 2003: 145-6 [reprint]. I thank Ignacio Molina Marín for drawing my attention to this place.

134 Budge 2003: 152.

exander constitutes the single most important instance of such myth-making in antiquity.'[135] This is true for both pagans and Christians, although in different ways.

7.5. Conclusion

The integration of Alexander into the Christian world begun by the apologists was completed by their non-persecuted successors over the next few centuries. This chapter has focused on the multifaceted ways in which fourth-, fifth- and sixth-centuries Christians made Alexander relevant to their own world, such as holy places, spaces and history. The analyses of multiple types of Christian histories (Ch. 7.1-3) have shown that Alexander did not play a singular role, but was used in various ways to fill different needs.

In the universal chronicles, his reign was an important highlight of history that needed to be appropriated so that a Christian projection of the past could be established. This tendency primarily had to do with the establishment of a Christian civic identity, especially to appropriate or to overwrite previous pagan traditions. The polemical *History* of Orosius stands out because it was written in the context of an attack on Christianity.

In the Church Histories, Alexander was projected to belong to the pagan cultural legacy rather than the Christian; in fact, he was represented as a pagan exemplar. This projection is quite consistent, even if the Christians juxtapose the king with Jesus. They use Alexander as a powerful symbol of the pagans to show how Christians surpassed the pagans in every way.

In the Christian geographies, travel guides and cosmographies (Ch. 7.4), Alexander is deployed to help describe the Christian world, and every place he had been or was thought to have founded a city is appropriated as a part of that Christian world. He is given a place in the new world order. There is nothing negative about him as a figure of the world in which the Christians lived.

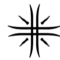
From all of this it is clear that the Christians were willing to accept much material. Indeed, they found a lot of material useful to assist them in making the world and its long history their own. Alexander was an important part of this process, and he was associated with most things Christian. The final chapter investigates explicit comparisons with Christian figures.

135 Braund 1994: 12. Cf. Hoffmann 1907: 111.

Chapter 8. Alexander and Christian Figures of Power

Preliminaries

Given Alexander's association with all things Christian from the fourth century onwards, it is no surprise that the Christian figures were compared to the king in Christian orations. Indeed, imperial orations or sermons at church offer different kinds of Alexander narratives than what we find in the historiographical or geographical texts. Rhetoric was extremely important for the clergy. Peter Brown has described preaching as the 'breath of the church,' and individual preachers, such as Augustine, would have preached thousands of sermons during their lifetime.[1] But Christian rhetoric owes much to the Roman oratory in which Alexander was embedded. It is Alexander anecdotes from *exemplum* literature in particular that recur frequently in Christian speeches. These orations were delivered to several groups, such as Christian congregations, the Roman aristocracy and the emperor himself. This Chapter investigates the extent to which making a comparison to Alexander helped to empower Christian figures.



The Alexander biography of Quintus Curtius Rufus (c. first century AD) is a very critical assessment of the Macedonian king. The swift rise and fall of Alexander are explained along the lines of an inner moral decline, as the king outwardly climbs slowly to the peak of power. His constant consumption of alcohol, his tyrannical exercise of power, his youthful ignorance and his blind faith in Fortune led to his downfall. The author frequently weighs the king's actions and decisions in order to let the reader know what is right or wrong. The moralising overtones are augmented by vivid *exempla* to embellish and to instruct. Reading the text, we feel as if we are literally there ourselves, gazing upon the moments of Alexander's tragic history. Sometimes we are in the company of the king himself as he gazes inwards and realises his faults. What we read is about the virtues and the vices of a person whose passions and destiny were too hard to control with the result that he had to die in the attempt.[2]

The Roman biographer is operating with a set of terms and presuppositions about Alexander that were well-attested in Roman literature. The author constantly revisits familiar *topoi*. For instance, in a speech of high rhetoric delivered by a defeated Scythian elder, we hear of: Alexander's greed for land; his wish to climb ever higher for glory; his enslavement of peoples; his likeness to a bandit; and his foolish aspirations to godhood.[3] These are typical features in an invective against Alexander, which

1 Brown 2012: 72.

2 For Curtius and his work, see e.g. Gunderson 1982; Fugmann 1995; Gissel 1997; Baynham 1998; McKechnie 1999; Spencer 2002: 79-85, 94-6, 134-8, 144-7; Power 2013; Stoneman 2015; Wulfram forthcoming.

3 Curtius Rufus *History* 7.8.12-30.

occur in other writers of the period and, as we shall witness, in many Christian authors as well. For instance, the accusation that Alexander was but a plundering brigand is famously recycled in the writings of Augustine, echoing a host of Roman philosophers who attribute it to a captured pirate.[4] In many ways, the historical narrative of Curtius' *History of Alexander* is indeed one of the most engaging Alexander histories Roman antiquity has left us, and it shows us some of the most prevalent themes that were associated with Alexander in the Graeco-Roman world.

Curtius' text is indeed a quarry of acknowledged Alexander *exempla*. For instance, the story that Alexander was so restrained in pleasures that he did not even look upon the beautiful daughters of Darius is another favourite of Christians and non-Christians alike.[5] Elsewhere we learn that Alexander's praiseworthy abstinence stands in great contrast to his excessive consumption of wine.[6] Like Curtius, many

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4 Augustine *City of God* 4.4. Cf. Cicero *On the Republic* 3.24 LCL; Curtius Rufus *History* 7.8.19; Seneca *On Benefits* 1.13; Lucan *Pharsalia* 10.21; Plutarch *Moralia* 330d; Orosius *History* 3.20.9; Fulgentius *Ages of the World and Man* p. 166, 21-22 Helm.

5 Curtius Rufus *History* 3.12.20-22, 4.10.24, 4.10.34. For the Classical Tradition, see e.g. Ptolemy *FGH* 138 F 7 from Arrian *Anabasis* 2.12.3-6. Cf. Arrian *Anabasis* 2.11.9, 4.19-20; Diodorus Siculus *Library* 17.36-38.1, 17.114.2; Plutarch *Alexander* 21.10, *Moralia* 552a; Justin *Epitome* 11.9.11-6; Valerius Maximus *Deeds and Sayings* 4.7.ext.2; Aulus Gellius *Attic Nights* 7.8; Favorinus of Arles F 121 Amato; Lucian *Dialogues of the Dead* 12.4; *Fragmentum Sabbaiticum FGH* 151.5; *Itinerary of Alexander* § 37. For the anecdote in some Christian authors, see e.g. Basil of Caesarea *Letter to Young Men* § 7.9; Gregory Nazianzen *Poems* 10.818-22; Stobaeus *Anthology* 3.5.41; Malalas 8.3; Ps.-Maximus *Loci Communes PG* 91.741c; John of Damascus *Sacred Parallels PG* 96.245; *Suda* s.v. Alexandros (A 1121 Adler); Photius *Library* codex 245; George the Sinner *Chronicle* 16.35. Cf. Tarn 1948 ii: 337-8; Baynham 1998: 133. The anecdote about Darius' daughters is typically used to compare Scipio Africanus and Alexander, see e.g. Athenaeus *Sophists at Supper* 13.80 Kaibel; Polybius *Histories* 10.19; Polyaenus *Stratagems* 8.16.6; Livy *Roman History* 26.50; Valerius Maximus *Deeds and Sayings* 4.7.ext2a; Frontinus *Stratagems* 2.11.5; Aulus Gellius *Attic Nights* 7.8; Plutarch *Moralia* 196b. It is also used by Ammianus Marcellinus to compare Scipio, Alexander and Julian, see Ammianus Marcellinus *Roman History* 24.4.27. Beneker 2003 argues that the chastity of Caesar in Plutarch's biography is influenced by the continence of Alexander.

6 Curtius Rufus *History* 5.7.1-2. For the origin of the drinking *topos*, see Aristobulus *BNJ* 139 F 62 with commentary. Cf. Buszard 2008: 188-9. See Wirth 1993: 18 for the *topos* 'Alexander und der Alkohol.' Cf. Müller 2009. There is an appendix on Alexander Alcoholicus in Amitay 2010a: 163-5, but the latter word is not a classical term, such as ebrius or bibitor. Alexander's drinking habits are encapsulated in the fabricated *Royal Diaries* extracted from Arrian and Plutarch *FGH* 117, in the lengthy description of Alexander's death in the *AR* 3.30-32 and *Liber de Morte* §§ 96-100 Thomas as well as in Ephippus of Olynthus *FGH* 126 *On the Deaths of Alexander and Hephaistion*. Cf. Menander *Kolax* fr. 2 Körte & Sandbach. For the revelries in Carmania, see e.g. Arrian *Anabasis* 6.28.1-2; Curtius Rufus *History*

historians typically focus on Alexander's proverbial speed,[7] friendship,[8] clemency,[9] generosity[10] and mercy[11] to commend the king, while the same and other writers deride him for his heavy drinking, his use of slaves, his youth, the killing of his friends and his lust for blood (Ch. 7.2.1). We saw that such characterisations of the king were stable weapons in the rhetorical arsenal.

Rhetorical handbooks, collections of *exempla* and miscellanies helped the orators to find material for their speeches. From the Greek and Roman traditions, we know the collections of rich Alexander *exempla* from Plutarch and Valerius Maximus. In the

9.10.23-9; Plutarch *Alexander* 67; Diodorus Siculus *Library* 17.106.1. For references to Alexander's heavy drinking in ancient literature, see e.g. Ovid *Ibis* 297-8; Seneca *Letters* 83.19, 23; Pliny *Natural History* 14.58; Velleius Paterculus *Roman History* 2.41.1; Aelian *Nature of Animals* 5.29, *Miscellany* 12.26; Athenaeus *Sophists at Supper* 4.129a, 10.434a; Solinus *On the Wonders of the World* § 9.20; Eusebius' *Life of Constantine* 1.7-8; Julian *Caesars* 330c; Gregory Nazianzen *Poems* 15.91-2; *Metz Epitome* § 78 Thomas.

7 Cicero *Philippics* 5.48; Ps.-Longinus *On the Sublime* 4.2; Manilius *On Astronomy* 3.22-3; Aelian *Miscellany* 10.4; Appian *Roman History* § 38; Silius Italicus *Punica* 13.772-775; Libanius *Oration* 18.297; Orosius *History* 3.16.5; Himerius *Orations* 2.13. See also the *chreia* in the ninth-century commentary on Apthonius by John of Sardis and reproduced in one of the last Greek Church Histories of the Byzantine empire by Nicephorus Callistus Xanthopulus (fl. 1320s) from Hock & O'Neil 2002: 359 n. 887. In these, Alexander is asked how he had conquered the whole so quickly. He replied that he had put nothing off to the following day. This was already known to the fifth-century scholiast of the Scholia Bembina, a commentator on the comedies of Terrence. For which, see Mountford 1934: 101 (In Adelphos ad 712). *sensus hic de Alexandro uenit qui cum esset interrogatus orbem qua ratione uincisset respondisse fertur "nihil in crastinum differens*." For the date of the scholia, see Pratesi 1979. I thank Peter Hansen for drawing my attention to this passage.

8 Hock & O'Neil 2002: 140-155 collate the evidence for the *chreia* that Alexander kept his treasures in the hands of his friends or that he felt that his friends were his treasure. They argue that that the exercise goes back to the first-century Alexandrian sophist Theon. For other variants of the friend *chreia*, see e.g. Arrian *Anabasis* 7.28.2-3; Ptolemy Chennus from Photius *Library* codex 196.146b; Gregory of Nyssa *Letters* no. 8 Maraval; Ammianus Marcellinus *Roman History* 25.4.15; Themistius *Orations* 16.292.

9 Curtius Rufus *History* 3.12.22, 4.11.16-7, 5.3.15, 7.9.17-8, 8.13.41-2.

10 Curtius Rufus *History* 4.11.16-7, 7.11.12. Cf. Seneca *On Benefits* 2.16; Ausonius *Letter* 12 LCL. The most popular *chreia* in the East and in the West is the story about the philosopher Xenocrates, successor head of Plato's Academy (339-314 BC). Alexander wanted to give him a large amount of money, but the philosopher gracefully declined since he was unwilling to sell himself to the king. See e.g. Cicero *Tusculan Disputations* 5.91; Valerius Maximus *Deeds and Sayings* 4.3.ext3b; Plutarch *Alexander* 8, *Moralia* 331e; Themistius *Orations* 2.30; Hesychius fr. 7 *FHG*; Ps.-Maximus *Loci Communes PG* 91.773-4. Cf. Heckel s.v. Xenocrates for additional references.

Christian tradition,[12] Richard Stoneman has often drawn attention to the *Loci Communes*, a Greek anthology of pagan sayings and early Christian anecdotes from numerous sources.[13] The work as a whole is falsely attributed to Maximus Confessor (c. 580-662). It has many predecessors: anonymous compendiums of Biblical exegesis and collections of question-and-answer sessions about theology (the so-called *catenae, florilegia, ambigua*). There is also the *Philocalia*, a fourth-century compilation of the writings of Origen by Basil of Caesarea and Gregory Nazianzen.[14] The fifth-century anthology by John of Stobi contains only non-Christian *paradeigmata*, but his name is exclusively Christian, and so we must assume that his material is specifically salvaged for Christian use. Finally, the *Sacred Parallels* attributed to the eighth-century John of Damascus is similar to that of Ps.-Maximus, although it is divided into three parts: one pertaining to God, another to theology and the last to virtue and vice.

These Byzantine anthologies give us a good impression of the sorts of things that a preacher would say about Alexander.[15] For instance, we can briefly glance at the *chreiai* of the warlike Alexander in Ps.-Maximus Confessor (collated here for the first time):

- (*PG* 91 pp. 745-6). On 'bravery and strength.' In response to a request to attack the Persian camp at night, Alexander said that the Macedonians would not attack at night because it would be unsuitable for a king to steal the victory.[16]
- (745-6). On 'the same.' When Alexander saw someone also named Alexander fighting poorly, he said, 'change your name or go elsewhere.'[17]

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11 Curtius Rufus *History* 4.10.23, 5.7.2, 8.13.41-2. Cf. Ps.-Maximus *Loci Communes PG* 91.773-4, 883-4.

12 Cary 1956: 79. 'Whence would such anecdotal material concerning Alexander reach medieval writers? There is one evident answer: from those previous collections where anecdotes had already been selected for their moral purpose, from the anecdotes of Valerius Maximus, Cicero, Seneca, and other classical writers, many of which had passed into the writings of the Fathers of the Church.'

13 The text is found in *PG* 91.721-1018 with critical editions by Ihm 2001; Sargologos 2001. For Stoneman's remarks, see Stoneman 2003: 326 n. 5, 2012a: xxxiii-xxxiv.

14 Bowersock *et al.* 2000 s.v. anthology.

15 De Vries-Van der Velden 2001 investigates numerous Alexander *exempla* in Byzantine literature.

16 Arrian *Anabasis* 3.10.2; Curtius Rufus *History* 4.13.8-9; *Itinerary of Alexander* § 24; Gregory Nazianzen *Poem* 25.270-8.

17 Cassius Dio *Roman History* 77.8. This is apparently used in modern sermons about being a Christian proper or going elsewhere, see e.g. Fernando 2011: 72-3.

- (747-8). On 'the same.' When a friend asked him why he did not have any children, he answered that his victories were his children.
- (747-8). On 'the same.' When Aristotle told Alexander to stay at home until he was old enough to fight, Alexander replied that he would not have the courage when he was older.
- (747-8). On 'the same.' Before a great battle, Alexander exhorted his men never to flee.
- (937-8). On 'glory or repute.' Alexander met an accomplished Indian archer on his campaigns, who was singled out to prove the legend true that Indians could shoot an arrow through a finger-ring. The Indian declined, even when threatened with death, because he had not practised with the bow for several days. Alexander pardoned him and gave him gifts because the archer preferred to die than to lose his reputation.[18]
- (1017-18). On how 'virtue is hard labour.' Before the final battle between Macedon and Persia, Alexander, upon seeing the 300,000 Persians arrayed in battle formation, remarked that a butcher does not fear the cattle.
- (1017-18). On how 'virtue is hard labour.' When he was told by his scouts that Darius' army was more numerous, he conceded that, whenever cattle are in greater number, one or two wolves might die.[19]

All of these in turn are meant as instructive advice for the reader in what to do or how to achieve what is contained in what the headings indicate. For instance, in the last two, Alexander is undaunted by the massive task at hand and recognises that it will be hard to accomplish. But the reader knows in retrospect that the king won the battle. It follows that, by reading this, the reader himself is imbued with the feeling that he can take on whatever task awaits. That every single anecdote is a praise of the king's abilities is a general tendency throughout the work.[20] For instance, there are no

18 Plutarch *Moralia* 181b (no. 23). Cf. Himerius *Oration* 63.4 (Ethiopian archer instead of Indian).

19 *AR* 2.16.2 says that Alexander makes the following analogy between his men and the Persian enemy: even if many flies darken the air (Persians), they will be driven away by wasps (Macedonians). Cf. Plutarch *Moralia* 180c (no. 12) for Alexander's men being undaunted by the superior numbers of the enemy. They would win the battle because their clothes smelled so much of goat.

20 Ps.-Maximus Confessor *Loci Communes PG* 91.741, 745-6, 747-8, 763-4, 773-4, 805-6, 811-2, 833-4, 859-60, 895-6, 1017-8.

negative allusions to his drinking habits or the murder of his friends. In Plutarch, there are no unfavourable anecdotes on Alexander either, but there are a few in Valerius Maximus. It is of course not possible to know if a Christian preacher would want to spin these *chreiai* negatively, but it does not seem that the preachers did so. Presumably, they would use the *chreiai* in the same context as the anthologists had placed them in by the headings. After all, that was their intended use from the very handbook itself. Christian preachers needed material to think about the roads to virtue and declined to single out Alexander for disparagement, just as the non-Christians never did.[21]

In the Introduction, I mentioned that Stoneman called for a hermeneutic study of all the *exempla* in Christian literature. This is not the place to undertake this laborious task in any systematic way as it would require a(nother) book-length thesis and would hardly reveal much about Christian literature itself. It would probably suggest an even greater similarity between the Roman and Christian literature than what will be evident from this Chapter. Such a study could perhaps tell us what stories were more popular than others or elucidate the reasons why there were variants of individual *exempla*. This is not to reduce the importance of such a study but to realise that much still remains to be done in this part of the field of Alexander studies.

What I propose to do instead is to investigate the Christian use of the most common rhetorical trope, the *synkrisis*, that the Romans had themselves used in order to compare themselves to Alexander. By focusing on this single literary device, some general observations can be made on the indebtedness of Christian discourse to Roman rhetoric.

8.1. Roman Comparisons with Alexander

In his manual of exercises in Stoic thought, the late second-century Roman emperor Marcus Aurelius noted that it was a curious trend at court that so many sought to compare themselves with people that were long dead and gone rather than the living.[22] Yet, he seems to have no issue with comparing the dead rulers Alexander, Julius Caesar and Pompey to the Greek philosophers Diogenes, Heraclitus and Socrates.[23] Alexander also features in comparisons with less known people. For instance, Marcus Aurelius sees no difference between Alexander and that king's muleteer because they

21 Stoneman 2003b: 331.

22 Marcus Aurelius *Meditations* 6.18.

23 Marcus Aurelius *Meditations* 8.3. Cf. Marcus Aurelius *Meditations* 3.3.

were both dead in his day.[24] The observation is undoubtedly poignant and attuned to Stoic reflections on death since the emperor had previously remarked that no ages or men were any longer in existence; only the vanity of their memory remained.[25] The memory of Alexander certainly loomed large. If we consider that Alexander is in almost all the *Panegyrici Latini* (only Pliny's panegyric to Trajan does not allude to Alexander), in the fictional emperor biographies of the so-called *Historia Augusta*,[26] in the Christian court poets (Claudian,[27] Ausonius, Sidonius Apollinaris) and the court orations of Themistius,[28] it is clear that we are dealing with a mainstream rhetorical practice in the higher political echelons of the Roman empire.

The emperor Julian, a striking personality of the fourth century and a fervent admirer of Marcus Aurelius, also criticised the comparisons of Alexander with Romans.[29] His *Caesars* is an engaging satire in which the deified emperors Caesar Augustus, the *optimus princeps* Trajan and Marcus Aurelius, among others, are invited to compare themselves directly with Alexander in a contest over past achievements. Originally, Alexander was not invited to the symposium at the house of Zeus until Hercules, his relative, insisted that the Macedonian king should be able to join the otherwise exclusive Roman gathering.[30] Each emperor and Alexander are allowed to speak for themselves (although Alexander almost leaves the party at this juncture because he is not allowed to speak first).[31] He attacks their deeds and they criticise his in turn. The impressive amount of detail given in each speech evidences Julian's erudition. His engaging satire criticises a rhetorical practice of his times by drawing deeply upon the established Alexander *paradeigmata* and subverting them in various ways.

24 Marcus Aurelius *Meditations* 6.24.

25 Marcus Aurelius *Meditations* 4.33. Cf. Marcus Aurelius *Meditations* 10.27 in which he rejects the common practice of flattering comparisons with ancient figures at the Roman court.

26 Gracco Ruggini 1966; Callu & Festy 2010.

27 Claudian *Consulship of Manilius* no. 17 Hall, *Stilicho's Consulship* 1.267 no. 21 Hall, *Fourth Consulship of Honorius* 374-7 no. 8 Hall, *Apology to Hadrian* no. 39 Hall. The poetry of the Alexandrian Claudian features the story of Alexander and the Indian rajah Porus so often that it must be a literary *topos*.

28 Themistius *Orations* 6.118-9 (Alexander was less worthy than the current emperor), 10.197 (Marcus Aurelius, Augustus and Alexander, positive), 10.201 (Cyrus, Alexander and Augustus, negative), 13.238 (Trajan, Marcus, Antoninus were better than Alexander, Cyrus and Xerxes as well as Darius).

29 For Julian and Alexander, see e.g. Baynes 1912; Bowersock 1978; Athanassiadi 1981; Szidat 1988; Smith 2011; Elm 2012.

30 Julian *Caesars* 316.

31 Julian *Caesars* 319d.

One such subversion is put in the mouth of Dionysus and Silenus, the old satyr who tutored the god. Together with Hermes, they question Alexander about his deeds and ask what he himself considered the best among them. Silenus is particularly relentless, making reference to Alexander's addiction to alcohol—an appropriate remark for Silenus—and to the story of the grim fate of Clitus, whom Alexander killed at a drinking bout. The latter reference makes Alexander cry and he withdraws from the competition. The satyr gets the final word saying that Alexander was only great because of his soldiers, using the *paradeigma* of the king's severe injury in the town of the Indian Malli.[32] At one point the king was near death and surrounded by enemies when his soldiers rushed in to save him. To Silenus, he was carted off the battlefield ingloriously. Normally, in other versions of the story, Alexander is at the very height of his heroic glory; he fends off thousands of Indian enemies, even killing the Indian archer who wounds him. Like a Homeric king, he retires as he is too wounded to continue the fighting. In suppressing the Homeric heroism of Alexander, Julian is—through Silenus—undermining the standard meaning of the *paradeigma* and giving it a new spin.

The *exemplum* of Alexander's Malli trauma is also used in one of the Latin adaptations of Josephus.[33] Ps.-Hegesippus deploys it in a double *comparatio*. First, he compares Epiphanes, the son of Antiochus IV of Commagene (r. AD 17-72) unfavourably to Alexander; secondly, Alexander is compared to King David, the Biblical giant-slayer (1 Samuel 17:1-54). In the joint assault on Jerusalem by the Romans and the Commagenians, Epiphanes decides to charge the walls on his own; he is unsuccessful and wounded. Ps.-Hegesippus states that the Commagenian king did not have the same flair for winning as Alexander, although he is not entirely positive about Alexander's recklessness. Ps.-Hegesippus makes reference to the Biblical story of the giant Jesbi's sneak attack on King David, who is saved by his servant Abessa (2 Kings 21:15-8). He says that God's grace directed Abessa's saving hand for David, while Alexander was saved by happenstance. The juxtaposition of OT allusion and the traditional *topos* of Alexander's fortune is particularly striking. The story is not in Josephus at all. It is a literary invention of the Christian author.

32 Julian *Caesars* 331a-b. For the variants of the *paradeigma* of the Indian town, see e.g. Arrian *Anabasis* 6.6-11; Curtius Rufus *History* 9.4.15-5.21; Diodorus Siculus *Library* 17.98-9; Justin *Epitome* 12.9.1-10.1; Plutarch *Alexander* 63, *Moralia* 327b, 341c, 343d-3, 344c-d; Appian of Alexandria *Civil War* 2.21.149; Lucian *Dialogues of the Dead* 12.5; Orosius *History* 3.19.7-10. For the heroism of the tale, see Bosworth 2007: 448-9, who has not noticed the alternative versions of the tale.

33 Ps.-Hegesippus *On the Fall of Jerusalem* 5.19 (*CSEL* 66.339-40). Cf. Amitay 2010a: 151-2.

Taking the *synkrisis* of King Alexander and King David as our point of departure, we may now discuss similar *synkriseis* of Alexander and other figures important to the early Christians. We have seen multiple Christians make comparisons of Alexander with themselves or others, such as that of Jerome's Hilarion, Athanasius' Constantius, Gregory Nazianzen and Paulinus of Pella. It is therefore unsurprising that Jesus, the Apostles, bishops and others were part of this discourse as well. The next couple of case studies will show how the Christian used the *synkriseis* of Alexander to negotiate the power of Christian figures. We begin with the homilies of John Chrysostom because he makes reference to three principal characters Christians compared to Alexander: Jesus, the Apostle Paul and Constantine.

8.2. Alexander and Jesus

In a recent book on Alexander and Jesus, Amitay suggests that there was a close connection between the literary traditions of Alexander and Jesus, and discusses some of the ways in which this tendency is manifest in literature and material culture. While the investigation is primarily of Jewish tradition, he also draws attention to two of John Chrysostom's admonitions that pertain to Alexander and Jesus.[34] The first is the claim that Alexander was not divine even if the Roman Senate had said so (Ch. 1.5.1); the second is that Alexander was not worthy of worship, which apparently some members of his congregation thought. They wore, as he told, golden amulets of Alexander for luck and protection;[35] these are usually identified with the so-called contorniates.[36] If we correlate this evidence with the incorporation of Alexander elsewhere in Byzantine culture, such as the landmarks, it shows how essential the king was for the Byzantines' conception of themselves as heirs to his legacy. It was a claim that Alexander not only launched his expedition from their home, but also continued to protect them.

The king remained a symbol of good luck and power that one could wear to ward off some of the same things that the Christian faith promised protection against. Sande has discussed coins with Alexander and a Christogram on them. She claims that this type of coin was, 'probably not an attempt to 'Christianise' a pagan amulet, but rather a wish to add a powerful symbol to the already powerful image of Alexan-

34 Amitay 2010a: 141.

35 John Chrysostom *Admonition to Catechumens* 1.22 Kaczynski (*PG* 49.240).

36 Sande 1993; 1999; Fulghum 2001: 144-6; Dahmen 2007: 152; Kühnen 2008: 19-32; Smith 2011: 84 n. 128; Alan Cameron 2011: 560-1.

der.'[37] This talisman of luck might have upset John Chrysostom and given him the idea for the subject of his homily. Since this homily was delivered to Antiochene Christians in c. 390, it is plausible that certain members of that congregation were the ones who caused John to make the vehement attack on the cultural practice. This says something important about the construction of Christian identity in late fourth-century Antioch. Proper Antiochene Christians, John Chrysostom argues, should only wear the Cross, the symbol of Jesus' Resurrection, rather than an amulet with a Greek king. Only the Cross was a true symbol of the Christian faith. In making such an argument, John Chrysostom seeks to construct an ideal Christian church-goer in terms of what they needed to look like, even though his ideal image was not always the reality. As Smith has noted, John's argument was certainly not made to quench a 'pagan resistance' to Christianity, which Amitay and others have argued, but to admonish his Christian congregation.[38]

The other passage to which Amitay refers is the famous *synkrisis* of Alexander and Jesus in John Chrysostom's twenty-sixth homily on 2 Corinthians (*PG* 61.580-1). According to John, the tombs of Jesus' Apostles were more known to the world than pagan tombs, which is illustrated by the fact that nobody knew where the tomb of Alexander was. This passage is well-known to Alexander scholars because it has frequently been used to argue the case that Alexander's tomb disappeared in Late Antiquity.[39] It has been long known to archaeologists that the royal palaces of Alexandria and the fabled tomb were destroyed during a time of civil unrest in the 270s. Since then, serious attempts to locate Alexander's final resting place have failed. But such scholars have failed to recognise that John Chrysostom's use of the tomb became a literary *topos*: Theodoret of Cyrrhus uses the exact same argument in a polemic against the pagans.[40] He argues that nobody knows where the tombs of the famous world conquerors are: kings such as Xerxes, Darius and Alexander. Nobody celebrated them annually and, because such great kings were dead, they were only as mighty as everybody else (cf. Alexander and his muleteer above). These royal figures are then juxtaposed with the Christian martyrs whom Theodoret considers more worthy and virtuous than the Persians, Spartans, Macedonians and Romans of old. The emphasis on the superiority of Christian tombs and civic feasts is distinctively Christian.

37 Sande 1999: 230.

38 Smith 2011: 84.

39 Haas 1997: 28; Saunders 2006: 105.

40 Theodoret of Cyrrhus *Cure of Greek Maladies* 8.60-1.

The argument is unfair from a pagan point of view. We know from the *AR* tradition that the Alexandrians continued to celebrate the birthday of Alexander annually long into Late Antiquity.[41] We also know from Cassius Dio's bizarre narrative that some pagan Romans believed that the king had briefly come back from the dead to perform a variety of religious rituals.[42] The apparition travelled from Thrace and Moesia and crossed over into Asia at Byzantium before he disappeared again somewhere in Chalcedon. In the Hellenistic age, Alexander had appeared to people in dreams, especially to Alexander's secretary Eumenes if we are to believe Plutarch's *Life of Eumenes*.[43] However, we have also seen that Christians readily recorded ghost stories but reclassified the ghosts as demons, in deference to their doctrine; Theophylact Simocatta reported that a man had seen the Alexander statue of the Alexandrian Tychaeum come alive and announce the death of the Byzantine emperor Maurice (Ch. 7.1.3). So, when John Chrysostom emphasises the feature of death in his homily, he was deliberately side-stepping a wealth of Christian demonological material in order to stress the power of the Resurrection, which was in his view the only true road that allowed the return from beyond the realms of death.

There is more to John's homily than the remarks about the tombs, as the following summary makes clear:

- Arguing that God tests his subjects in order to make them strong through hardship,[44] John Chrysostom stresses that the men outside Judea had not been properly tormented in the times of old. This had led to the belief among idolaters that admired men could become gods. This is exemplified by the divine honours the Roman senate conferred upon Alexander (Ch. 1.5.1).
- Since superstitious belief in men's divinity died with them, the Devil himself had invented the idea of reincarnation. Based on this, John's imaginary interlocutor argues that Alexander could be believed a god because his soul could return to the world. He also suggests that Alexander could also be considered a god on the grounds that he had many victories.

41 *AR* 2.17-8, 2.21-22.

42 Cassius Dio *Roman History* 79.18.1-3. Cf. Zecchini 1988; Madgearu 1990; Anderson 1994: 2; Smith 2011: 49-50 n. 22.

43 Plutarch *Life of Eumenes* 6.5-7 tells the story that Eumenes dreamt of two Alexanders each ahead of an army: one was assisted by Athena; another by Demeter. The latter was victorious in the ensuing battle and symbolised Eumenes. Cf. Plutarch *Life of Eumenes* 13.3-4.

44 2 Corinthians 12.10. 'Therefore I am content with weaknesses, insults, hardships, persecutions, and calamities for the sake of Christ. For whenever I am weak, then I am strong.'

- John repudiates these claims by saying that it was nothing great for a king to conquer land with armies, but the word of the Gospel proclaimed Jesus' reign over land and sea. Alexander never restored his kingdom again because he was unable to do so from the grave. John then asserts that Jesus continued to conquer even after he had died.
- He goes on to claim that Jesus himself is not needed in the equation. The tombs of Jesus' disciples are sufficient proof that the servants of Christ are more powerful than Alexander for nobody knew where his tomb was or remembered the day he died. By contrast, the sepulchres of the saints were celebrated everywhere. The barbarians revere the catacomb of Paul, but not even the contemporary Macedonians knew where they can find Alexander. There are ongoing festivals for the long-dead Christians that foreign kings attend in Rome and Constantinople. The Christian emperor Constantine was buried with the Apostles. The royal crypts of pagan kings are desolate.

John Chrysostom's insistence on Jesus' divinity is not new. We have seen that Tertullian compared Biblical and pagan kings with Jesus (Ch. 4) in order to give the impression that Jesus was more powerful than any of them. This is of course unsurprising from a Christian point of view. But to posit the divine power of Jesus was naturally absolutely essential for a preacher. It was an attempt to imbue Jesus with the divine nature that the non-Christians attempted to deny him. For instance, Celsus' Jew argued that Jesus was less holy than Moses, Daniel and Jonah, central figures of the OT.[45] It follows that Jesus could not be the son of the Jewish God. This hostile view constantly called for Christian counterarguments. The context of this passage also seems aimed at a variant of the doctrines of pagan philosophy. For instance, the idea of an immortal soul surely echoes the thought of Plato and Pythagoras, but we have seen that later church historians used this concept to criticise Julian in his ostensible wish to become a new Alexander (Ch. 7.3). The repudiation of Jesus' divinity is a stable feature of every pagan account against the Christians (Celsus, Porphyry and Julian), and so John developed his own response to oppose such contentions.

His focus on the army as a tangible reason why Alexander was so successful significantly detracts from Alexander's achievement. This is not uncommon. For instance, a Gallic panegyrist of Constantine praises him for having even fewer soldiers than Al-

45 For Moses, see Origen *Against Celsus* 2.52-3. For Jonah and Jesus, as well as Daniel and Jesus, see Origen *Against Celsus* 7.57.

exander and conquering more difficult enemies.[46] That Jesus conquered alone by words of truth rather than soldiers massively increases the power of his achievement. That he did so from beyond the grave is distinctively Christian as it stresses the power of the resurrection contained in the Gospel. John's use of the resurrection in a juxtaposition with the death of Alexander is poignantly deployed to stress the enduring empire of the Christians: Alexander's reign was temporary; Jesus' will last forever. In the homily, John argues that the Gospel message of the Risen Lord is an alternative way of conquest that extends far beyond the reach of the greatest pagan conqueror, but his argument is made by traditional means.

We have already seen an alternative version of this argument in John's exegesis of 1 Thessalonians 1.8-10 (Ch. 2.1.3). In that version, Alexander's conquest of Persia was represented positively as an analogy to the diffusion of the Gospel. There he used the allusions to Alexander in Daniel to corroborate the claim of divine expansion. Here however, we find a variant of the familiar argument-type that undermines Alexander's conquests to emphasise the triumphs of Jesus Christ. John Chrysostom has used no scriptural references to Alexander in this instance, and the absence suggests that John considered that material unfit to use for a (projected) pagan opponent. He has to overturn the pagan material traditionally found in a *synkrisis*, namely the army-themed material, in order to dismiss his opponent. This is a simple rhetorical strategy that the well-educated preacher mastered. We can note too that, to John, the scriptural Alexander material was assumed to 'belong' to the Christians.

The use of Alexander's campaigns, whether positive or negative, as a paradigm for the conquest of the Gospel shows that the king's conquest was conceived as an immense enterprise and a yardstick for the extent of empire. Here only the choice of Christian material for comparison (the Gospel) is new because the contemporary Romans also considered their empire much greater than Alexander's. They claimed that their empire was greater along very similar lines if we recall the Gallic orator on Constantine. In Julian's polemic *Against the Galileans*, Alexander's empire was even used in this context to say that the Jews and the Christians had had nothing but small empires if any. He asks the poignant question whether it is better to be free and reign supreme for two thousand years (Romans) or to be (dis)obedient slaves (Hebrews).[47] On the premise that freedom is won by military might, he requests that a Hebrew general of the likes of Alexander and Julius Caesar to be pointed out to him. He out-

46 *Panegyrici Latini* 12.5.1-3.

47 Origen *Against Celsus* 4.31. Celsus argues that the Hebrews were runaway slaves because they fled Egypt in Exodus.

right dismisses the notion with the statement that he has insulted the memory of the two famous men by making the request. He ends on the highly self-confident note that even one of the less distinguished Roman generals would be able to defeat all the Hebrew generals that have ever existed.[48] The implication is that Alexander, projected as a victorious general, was part of the Roman cultural legacy, not any other.

8.3. Alexander and the Apostle Paul

> After that, Paul says, from Rome he intended to set out for Spain. Behold Paul, the Persecutor of Judea, preaches among the Gentiles! Where are those who proclaim Alexander, the great Macedonian commander, because in such brief time he conquered so many nations? He had an army, he had vast multitudes; yet he was not able to accomplish anything really stupendous but rather something comparatively slight. But this Paul [...] carries the Cross of Christ and victoriously captures all. He conquered the whole world from the Ocean all the way to the Red Sea.
>
> Jerome *Treatise 14 on the Psalms*.[49]

This short passage is a unique *comparatio*. It is the only direct comparison of Alexander with an Apostle. John Chrysostom had compared Paul to Alexander but only indirectly by talking about the tomb of Alexander and the sepulchres of the saints. Before he turns to the *topos*, the 'extent of empire' also employed by Tertullian (Ch. 4.2), Jerome seems to allude to what we know from the NT. As is related in Acts of the Apostles,[50] after his conversion on the road to Damascus, Paul travelled around in Syria, the province of Achaia and, lastly, went to Rome. Jerome's idea of a Pauline expedition to Hispania comes from Paul himself in his letter to the Romans.[51] Alexander too was known to have made plans for further conquest in the West that were never realised (except in the *AR* tradition), so the allusion to the king immediately after the information about Paul's plans is fitting.

The rhetorical question implies that Alexander, unlike Paul, had no supporters in Jerome's day. Like John, Jerome stresses that Alexander was successful only because he had a grand army. He suggests that the speed and the extent of the empire were

48 Julian *Against the Galileans* § 202 LCL. One could envisage the scenario in which a Rabbi would respond with references to King David, Samson and Judas Maccabeus. A Christian would perhaps have pointed to Constantine I, Julian's grandfather.

49 Trans. Ewald 2010: 110 (adapted).

50 Acts 9:20, 13:5, 13, 14:1, 17, 18:4, 18:19, 18:26-8, 19:8, 28:17-29.

51 Ewald 2010: 110 n. 29, citing Romans 15; 24; 28.

impressive but of a short duration. He goes further than John in suggesting that nothing much came of the campaign, in stark contrast to the great emphasis on the achievement of Alexandria elsewhere in his works. As for Paul, his conquest was facilitated by preaching and evident from the wide diffusion of the Cross. The extent of territory is unclear, but the Red Sea could mean the Indian Ocean, and so the concept of the Ocean to the Red Sea could be a way of expressing the entirety of the known world. Paul did not travel so far East, but the Apostle Thomas and other missionaries did make it as far as India.[52] In that way, Jerome's reader could see Paul's work continued and completed in the Christian mission from Gibraltar to the Indus.

This powerful *synkrisis* is perhaps not Jerome's own invention. Recent research has established that Jerome's *Treatises* are in fact slight variations upon Origen's *Selections* of the Psalms, now lost.[53] If that is the case, the *synkrisis* is more than a hundred years' old at the time Jerome translated Origen, without any attribution, in his monastery in Bethlehem (after 400). It does make sense that Origen would have deployed such a *synkrisis* between the Apostle and Alexander; his older contemporary Tertullian made a very similar assertion about Alexander and Jesus (Ch. 4.2). If it is true that both Tertullian and Origen, as well as John Chrysostom and Jerome, made use of this *topos* of Alexander and the Gospel, the intellectual distance between the Christian East and the West was not as great as Klein and Wirth have suggested. A greater Christian unity between the two ends of the empire suggests that there were common Christian concerns and a shared Christian use of Alexander. Such a tendency would refute Wirth's argument about the discontinuity in the use of Alexander in early Christian literature.

It must be asked how specifically Christian are these passages in these authors? The variants of the Christian features (idolatry, resurrection, preaching) in each author and the choice of the Christian figures (Jesus, Paul) for comparison do not add anything new to or affect the figure of Alexander (general, army, empire-builder). He himself does not acquire any other features or character traits than we would expect he had in a pagan *synkrisis*. For instance, pagan orators used the *topos* of Alexander's death to their own ends rather than to stress the Resurrection of Jesus. The recurring themes of army, death and extent of empire are part of a Roman tradition of Alexander that writers embraced wholeheartedly in order to substantiate their arguments and convince the crowd. Their writings reflect a discursive engagement with the intellectual traditions of their own times, as they sought to make a stand for the Chris-

52 Garbe 1915: 18; Bussagli 1952; S. F. Johnson 2007: 57-8.

53 *EAC* 2: 400.

tian group. They are not seeking to isolate themselves, but to join in the greater dialogue and persuade their peers. The Christian authors do so because they are an integral part of the Roman world and firmly wish to triumph their points. As we have seen, Alexander is useful to this end for he is thoroughly embedded in imperial discourse as an exotic outsider that could be critically compared to Romans and Christians without provoking either party. Again, we notice that the Christian aspect resides in the argument and the juxtaposition of characters rather than in the abilities or motives they project onto Alexander.

Investigation into this *topos* in these two homilies delivered in Christian congregations must be supplemented by an analysis of the Christian use of Alexander in the rhetoric at court, or at least with imperial connotations and implications. By so doing, it is possible to suggest an even closer relationship between the Christian writers of the East and of the West, at least as far as Alexander is concerned, that has hitherto escaped scholarly notice.

8.4. Alexander and Constantine I

Eusebius' famous *synkrisis* of Cyrus, Alexander and Constantine occurs in the first book of the panegyrical *Life of Constantine* (1.7-8).[54] Before we look at the digression itself, it will be helpful to comment briefly on the context of the text and the less explicit references to Alexander that may lurk therein. The *Life* may not be as celebrated a piece of literature as the *Life of Anthony* by Athanasius of Alexandria or Sulpicius Severus' *Life of St. Martin*, but it was nevertheless a very important Christian text[55] and it is most crucial for our knowledge of Constantine in his Christian guise. There were, of course, pagan authors who wrote about Constantine, such as the panegyrists of Gaul, and they do of course not stress anything that could be considered Christian.[56] What Eusebius is doing in the *Life* is to make the text read more like an encomium of Constantinian Christianity, the fusion of imperial ideology and Christian religion, than the typical imperial biography or panegyric, as the contemporary pagans would have written at Constantine's tolerant court.

In Eusebius' *Life*, peace and concord through the grace of God are constantly stressed (*Pax Christiana*). Omnipresent are Christian features, such as the exorcism of demons, the symbol of the Cross, prayers on the Lord's day, ecumenical councils

54 Smith 2011: 84.

55 Averil Cameron 1997: 174. Cf. A. P. Johnson 2014: 157-69.

56 We can also note the works of Eutropius, Aurelius Victor, Julian and Zosimus, as pagan writers on Constantine.

(Nicaea) and Constantine's New Jerusalem. Analogues to Scripture are often drawn, and OT figures feature in the visual landscapes of Constantinople, such as a statue of Daniel in Constantinople. But there are, naturally, biographical elements in the text, and some of them intersect incidentally with the typical biographical virtues of good rulers, such as generosity (1.14), greatness of conquest (*passim*), beauty (4.52), liberality (2.43) and piety (1.11). But some are very specific and could potentially be inspired by Alexander's tradition, as listed below.

- (*Life of Constantine* 2.30-1). Constantine permits all exiles to return home; Alexander's Exiles Decree was briefly discussed in Ch. 7.2.2.
- (4.15). Constantine's eyes gaze upon heaven on his coins; This type of imagery is well-attested on coins with Alexander on them.[57]
- (4.30). Constantine asks one of his courtiers how far they should desire to conquer. He draws a small spot on the ground with a spear, and explains that, regardless of wealth and world conquest, a man only takes so much land with them in death, as he had drawn up on the ground; this is reminiscent of Alexander and the Indian Gymnosophists.[58]
- (4.48). Flatterers praise Constantine for being a new Jesus. The emperor cannot accept this blasphemous honour; this is reminiscent of Alexander's denouncement of his godhood in the ichor-anecdote (Introduction).
- (4.56). Constantine brings along an extravagant church tent on his Persian campaign and is attended by bishops; several sources report the greatness of Alexander's tent in Persia.[59]
- (4.63-71). Constantine welcomes death after his late baptism. He states that he is ready for the immortal life in heaven. He writes his Will. He dies on the greatest day during the celebration of Pentecost. There is lamentation everywhere in the city. His body is put on display in a golden coffin. The soldiers and ruling class filed past Constantine's coffin and greatly lamented his death. The order of succession is sorted out slowly, and the dreaded news of the death reaches Rome. The emperor is laid to rest in the Shrine of the Apostles under continuous weeping.

57 See e.g. Dahmen 2007: 96-7 n. 337.

58 See e.g. Arrian *Anabasis* 7.1.6.

59 See e.g. Polyaenus *Stratagems* 4.3.24; Aelian *Miscellany* 9.3. Cf. Arrian *Anabasis* 5.1.2; Plutarch *Life of Eumenes* 13.3-4.

Each point has been illustrated with an Alexander analogue, but the last one may require further exposition. The several paragraphs in question in the *Life* do seem to have a parallel in, or at least seem antithetical to, the narrative of Alexander's last days in the *AR* tradition, also witnessed by the Alexander historians.[60] Alexander is poisoned and dies during the festival of Dionysus; when he realises that death is imminent, he asks to be received in heaven as the third mortal made god; he writes a Will; just before death, his men file past him to see that he is still alive; upon death he is apotheosised (cf. *Life* 4.73); a contest of mourning between Persians and Macedonians ensues; the division of the empire is made clear from the Will; Alexander's body is brought to the Egyptian Memphis, then Alexandria, to be put on display in a shrine as is appropriate for his majesty. These passages seem strikingly analogous to the end of Constantine as described by Eusebius, and a case for a common pattern in the narratives of the death of the two rulers could be made, in spite of how the two found their respective ends.

If the typical virtues of biography writing, such as beauty and generosity, and the intersections with Alexander's tradition are accepted, it makes sense for Eusebius to have a digression on Alexander. Indeed, in Roman panegyrical orations, it was convention for the speaker to point to some semblance between the praised person and Alexander; Flower has shown that this sort of thing was advised in the rhetorical handbooks.[61] As we saw in the previous *synkriseis*, the authors appealed to the figure as emblematic of power in terms of military might and conquest. They make sure to maintain Alexander's great reputation as a conqueror, so that their object of praise (Jesus, Paul, the Gospel) can surpass the Macedonian and seem even greater. Similarly, this tendency is generally current in the *Panegyrici Latini*, although with very different objects of comparison, because the orators needed to underline the martial prowess of the emperor in an age of strife and instability.

Eusebius' digression on Alexander in the *Life* is quite the opposite because the imperial hagiographer has other important objectives. While he certainly wishes to represent Constantine as a greater commander than Alexander, he has another agenda in positing that Constantine was also more virtuous. This interconnected aim is ultimately linked with the literary portrait of the emperor the author seeks to paint, 'not of Constantine the emperor, but of Constantine the Christian.'[62] As an antithesis to

60 *AR* 3.30-5; Diodorus Siculus *Library* 17.117-8; Curtius Rufus *History* 10.5-10; Justin *Epitome* 12.15-6. Cf. Arrian *Anabasis* 7.24-30.

61 Flower 2013: 73 n. 195, pointing to Menander Rhetor p. 377.9. For more uses of Alexander in the *Panegyrici Latini*, see e.g. 2.8.5, 4.4.5, 6.17.1-4, 10.10.3, 12.5.1-3.

62 Flower 2013: 74. Cf. A. P. Johnson 2014: 169.

Constantine's virtue, he highlights the vices of Alexander to an extreme degree, so as to bring out the stark contrast. It is worth quoting the passage in full (with emboldened numbers to facilitate the ensuing discussion):

> Ancient history records that Cyrus was more illustrious than those before him among the Persians. But one should not think highly of just that fact, but look to the end of his long life. Of this, they say that the king suffered an unfitting death, vile and shameful at a woman's hand. The sons of Greece sing praise about how Alexander subdued countless tribes from different peoples but, before he reached full manhood, he departed to an early death, **(1)** carted off by revelry and drunken orgies among the Macedonians. He reached but two years past thirty and reigned for one-third of his life. **(2)** A man zapping like a thunderbolt (ἀνὴρ σκηπτοῦ), **(3)** he waded through blood and, without mercy, **(4)** enslaved entire nations and cities, young and old alike. But as he was close to blossoming and **(5)** lamenting the loss of his favourite, **(6)** fate dispatched him childless, rootless, homeless (ἄτεκνον ἄρριζον ἀνέστιον) in a foreign and hostile land. **(7)** It removed him so that he might not harm the human race any longer (ὡς ἂν μὴ εἰς μακρὸν λυμαίνοιτο τὸ θνητὸν γένος). The kingdom was torn apart in an instant since his attendants each cut off a portion and seized the territory as a prize for himself. And yet, he is celebrated in song by the choirs for such deeds.
>
> Eusebius *Life of Constantine* 1.7-8 (*GCS* 7.18).[63]

Prior to the discussion of each point, it should be highlighted that the *synkrisis* integrates the standard *topos* of the Persian kings (Cyrus), supplemented with the *exemplum* of Alexander. The reference to singing at the beginning and at the end of the digression reminds the reader of the panegyrical, or a potentially poetic, context. This licenses Eusebius to enhance the literary effect of his own praise of Constantine, just as Jerome did with the allusion to Homer in the prologue of the *Life of Hilarion* (Introduction). It adds additional contrast to what comes next, that is, Constantine's achievements. The emperor began to rule at the age Alexander died; he doubled his length of life; he tripled the extent of his empire; he commanded his army with mildness and sobriety; he conquered the North (Britain,[64] Scythia), the South (Africa) and

63 Trans. Cameron & Hall 1999: 70 (modified).

64 For the *topos* of Britain used as a land that Alexander did not conquer, whereas the Romans did, see e.g. Arrian *Anabasis* 7.1.4; Julian *Caesars* 312a; Ps.-Hegesippus *On the Fall of*

the East (India) with beams of light from the true religion; and he proclaimed his God to every barbarian nation under his rule.

Besides the allusions to kindness and soberness, there are no references to other virtues, such as piety or divine support. Eusebius takes these for granted, stressing the standard *topos* of extent of empire. His emphasis on age is seemingly connected to a very Roman conception of youth versus maturity, as is expressed in Curtius Rufus' assessment of Alexander. According to Curtius, Alexander's youth was the cause of his irascibility (Eusebius does not mention Alexander's anger) and fondness of alcohol.[65] Life experience might have cured the king had not Fortune intervened and directed him to his ruin at the hands of the fates (*fama*).[66] Curtius' focus on Fate, Fortune and Nature as disruptive agents opposing Alexander is also attested in the Neronian *literati* Seneca and Lucan, which has led Germanophone Alexander scholars to believe that Eusebius' digression was greatly influenced by those Stoics.[67] They argue their case without explaining why Eusebius alludes to the 'sons of Greece.' Even though these scholars do not make any further comment, I should note here that Lucan is of particular interest. He actually brings forward the exact opposite idea to that of Eusebius with regard to the extent of the Roman empire. In his view, Alexander had succeeded in pacifying the furthest East, which was a major accomplishment, because Parthia had brought great misfortune upon Crassus, the wealthy patron of Julius Caesar's career and the Roman general who lost his life at the Battle of Carrhae (53 BC).[68] Macedonia had conquered further than Rome in the East, which is the opposite of the idea that Constantine had conquered further than Alexander. Lucan does, however, admit that Rome had success in conquering the other three corners of the earth, which Alexander had not. So, when Eusebius posits that Constantine surpass Alexander with reference to the emperor's conquest of India and the other corners, he is using the *topos* rather differently than Lucan.

Let us return to the emboldened points. Since I am not persuaded by the German argument about Eusebius' sources for the digression, I wish to suggest another potential origin for some of the material, that is, the *Sibylline Oracles*. These documents were well known to Eusebius in some form,[69] and contain many negative references

Jerusalem 2.9 (*CSEL* 66.149-50)

65 Curtius Rufus *History* 10.5.34.

66 Curtius Rufus *History* 10.5.36.

67 Klein 1988: 960-1; Wirth 1993: 62-3; Demandt 2009: 426.

68 Lucan *Pharsalia* 10.48-52.

69 Eusebius *Preparation for the Gospel* 9.15.1, 10.11.27, 13.13.15, 13.13.42, *Onomasticon* p. 40. Cf. Ps.-Constantine *Oration to the Saints* §§ 18.2-19.2 (Song of the Sibyl).

to Alexander. They are in verse, which would fit well with Eusebius' reference to singing and a Greek source. The Sibylline books in question (nos. 3 and 11) are both from the Roman period, and must be considered part of the Roman tradition. Indeed, these Sibylline books are thought to have been written under Nero. I proceed with caution. Using my discussion of the *exemplum* literature in Orosius as the background (Ch. 7.2.1), I explore the points made above with the premise that Christian Alexander discourse was chaotic and influenced by a broad range of indeterminable texts. My suggestion is merely that the *Sibylline Oracles* are as likely a candidate to be a literary influence on Eusebius as the Stoics might be. Again, I suggest a closer relationship between the Greek and Latin Christians through their shared use of the of Roman Alexander tradition.

1. The reference to revelry and drinking in the context of Alexander's death is not very specific and could hint at the general notion of excessive drinking bouts, which was also put forward by Tatian (Ch. 6.2). There is nothing about Alexander's drinking in Lucan or in the *Sibylline Oracles*.
2. It is true that Lucan refers to Alexander as a thunderbolt, *fulmen*,[70] but he juxtaposes this with Alexander as an 'earthly evil,' *terrarum fatale*, and a 'harmful star,' *sidus iniquum*. He does so to represent the king's conquest as a sense of cosmic chaos. In the eleventh Sibylline Oracle, we are told in the second person imperative that we should 'flee the man who is like a thunderbolt,' φεῦγε κεραύνιον ἄνδρα.[71]
3. 'Wading through blood' is a more graphic way of saying that Alexander killed many people. Lucan stresses the conqueror's mass-killing of peoples whose blood defiled the rivers of Euphrates and the Indus.[72] More in line with Eusebius, the *Sibylline Oracles* claim that the 'drenched earth would imbibe much gore,' πολὺν δὲ χθὼν πίεται φόνον ὀμβρηθεῖσα.[73]
4. As observed in the case of Arnobius and Orosius (Chs. 4.1; 7.2.1), references to Alexander's enslavement of the East were common. Lucan deplores at length

70 Lucan *Pharsalia* 10.34.

71 *Sibylline Oracles* 11.217. Cf. *Sibylline Oracles* 3.390-1 (ἤγειρε γὰρ αὐτοῦ πρόσθε κεραυνὸς φῶτα). For contrast, in Appian of Alexandria *Roman History* 38.pref, Alexander's reign was like a brillian flash of lightning, προσέοικεν ἀστραπῇ λαμπρᾷ.

72 Lucan *Pharsalia* 10.32-3.

73 *Sibylline Oracles* 3.392. Cf. *Sibylline Oracles* 11.118.

the thought of one man ruling the world, whereas the *Sibylline Oracles* devote half a hexameter.[74]

5. Averil Cameron and Stuart Hall translate τὰ παιδικὰ πενθοῦντι with 'he still mourned his lost childhood,' which I render, 'lamenting the loss of his favourite.'[75] To me, this is a pointed allusion to the death of Hephaistion, whom Alexander mourned more than anybody else. This would add extra *pathos* to the narrative, because Hephaistion died some time before Alexander. Indeed, the pair was mythologised as the new Achilles and Patroclus.[76] None of this Eusebian sophistication is to be found in Lucan or the Sibylline books.
6. Fate or death, τὸ χρεών, as an agent is not in Lucan; he mentions the occurrence of Alexander's final day, and that Nature alone, *naturaque solum*, withstood the king.[77] The alliterative asyndeton of the three predicates to the object αὐτόν (i.e. Alexander) is a remarkable figure of speech, and has no parallel in Lucan's Latin.[78] The same figure of speech is, however, deployed in the *Sibylline Oracles*: Alexander is conceived as 'savage, foreign to justice, fiery,' ἄγριος ἀλλοδίκης φλογόεις.[79] The asyndeton is not wholly alliterative, however. Strikingly, the Sibylline author also makes Death the key agent: 'Hades will see to that everything becomes as if unseen,' ὡς πανάιστον ἅπαντ' Ἀίδης θεραπεύσει.
7. That *death* dispatched Alexander to preserve human *life* is a quite powerful statement, and I have not found a convincing parallel in other early Christian texts, not even in Orosius' unfavourable account. Could Eusebius have done this to accentuate the polar opposite, namely Constantine as the preserver of mankind? The Holy Ghost, worshipped by Eusebius and Constantine, was in any case acknowledged as the giver of life, ζωοποιόν, in the Nicene Creed.

Paying attention to the minutiae of the Alexander digressions in these three texts is a worthwhile exercise because it shows how allusive and interconnected the material can be. Besides the last point, there are not many discrepancies between the three, although minor divergences may be detected. The building blocks of *exempla* are re-

74 *Sibylline Oracles* 3.391-2, 11.217; Lucan *Pharsalia* 10.25-28.

75 Cameron & Hall 1999: 70 with the commentary on p. 118. According to the LSJ, s.v. τὸ παιδικόν was often used in the plural to denote a single person, a 'darling.'

76 Heckel s.v. Hephaistion.

77 Lucan *Pharsalia* 10.41.

78 Curtius Rufus *History* 10.5.12-4 states that Alexander's soldiers complained that they were homeless in a foreign land and that there was no obvious heir. Cf. Lucan *Pharsalia* 10.43-4.

79 *Sibylline Oracles* 3.390, 11.216.

markably alike, and are arranged roughly in the same order in each text. This is not to suggest a common source or origin. The genres are very different: historical epic, oracular poetry and imperial biography. What I wish to show is that while Eusebius' remarks are powerful, they are clearly not made in a vacuum.

If the above discussion is true, we can dismiss outright Cameron and Hall's suggestion that Plutarch's *Life of Alexander* is a source for the Alexander digression. There is only the heavy drinking to indicate any connection with Plutarch, who defensively blamed Alexander's body-heat for causing him to drink and to be easily angered.[80] Yet, I can think of no other striking parallels between Plutarch and Eusebius. Wirth's proposal that the passage is be interpreted as conforming with the apocalyptic imagery of the third beast of Daniel 7—oddly reminiscent of Cary's argument about Orosius' Alexander—is unacceptable as well. None of that material features in it, as we have just witnessed, and we are given no hints of it. Looking for harmonies here between the passages in the Biblical commentaries and Eusebius' Alexander digression is unfruitful. Discussing Eusebius' use of Cyrus instead of Alexander, Cameron and Hall show that there is a no common ground between the praise for the Persian king in Eusebius' *Commentary on Isaiah* and the invective against him in the *Life*. To argue that there are several discrete Alexanders across the works of Eusebius is therefore more attractive as an analogue. The negative portrait of Alexander we are presented with by Eusebius, that is, one of the hardest criticisms of Alexander in Christian antiquity, is best understood within a very Christian context of imperial invective, and it is extremely different from the projection of Alexander in other works by Eusebius.

8.5. Alexander, Barbarian Kings and Byzantine Emperors

The Roman emperors Theodosius I (r. 379-395) and Theodosius II (r. 408-450) not only have a name in common but also the rule of an empire, Christian beliefs and comparisons with Alexander. The comparisons occur in the context of encomiums: the former was praised by Pacatus Drepanius, a celebrated rhetorician, now also considered a skilled poet, and friend of the Christian poet Ausonius.[81] The latter was the dedicatee of the preface of Sozomen's *Church History*. The two Theodosian rulers feature on a very long list of emperors or imperial figures who were compared with Alexander in order to promote some kind of personal ability in which the emperor excelled at the expense of Alexander. Almost all of the *exempla/paradeigmata* used to

80 Plutarch *Alexander* 4.5-7.

81 Turcan-Verkerk 2003.

this effect are ornamental, that is as adornment to add to flair of style and display of skill. So, Pacatus implies that Scipio, Hannibal and Alexander would all have wanted to grow up to be a Theodosius had they seen how that emperor handled himself virtuously at a young age. Sozomen claims that Theodosius II far surpassed Alexander in virtue as he had handed back the draught that was given to him by a thirsty soldier, whereas Alexander had poured out the drink he was offered into sands of the desert, while all of his men were watching.[82]

None of these comparisons have distinctively Christian components. Rather, they are truly embedded in the literary treasury of Roman imperial rhetoric. Pacatus' and Sozomen's praises were moreover given to two Christian emperors, who managed very different versions of the empire. Roman identity and tradition were constantly called in question. That this was also common rhetorical practice in the post-Roman world can be seen in the sixth-century Latin *History of the Goths* by the bureaucrat Jordanes, who based his ethnographic account on a longer work by Cassiodorus. In it, he makes a *comparatio* of Alexander with the Gothic king Ermanaric (260-376).[83] To Jordanes, this king had been justly compared to Alexander by his contemporaries because he had conquered a large part of Scythia (Oium in modern day Ukraine), which he ruled.[84] We cannot exclude the possibility that the Gothic king's contemporaries had actually made the comparison, but the statement is indicative of the Roman rhetorical practice of making comparisons with Alexander. I would argue that Jordanes' allusion to the Gothic use of Alexander at Ermanaric's court is a way of retrojecting his rhetorical expertise onto the court orators of Gothic past. In my view, he imbues the orators with the highly imperial level of sophistication that one of his contemporaries would expect from an orator trained in the rhetoric of Rome.

To make use of the Roman tradition for the sake of persuasion and a sense of belonging to an intellectual culture is a common trait in the Western literature of Jordanes' period. Arnold's main argument is that the Christian panegyrics to post-Roman rulers preserved a sense of continuity in the imperial Roman tradition in order to give the impression that the empire still was held together or even was restored to its

82 On Theodosius I, see Pacatus *Panegyric to Theodosius* 2.8.4-5. On Theodosius II, see Sozomen *Church History* preface. Cf. Cassiodorus *Tripartite Church History* 1.1.14. For the latter anecdote, see Arrian *Anabasis* 6.26.1-3; Plutarch *Alexander* 42.7-10; Curtius Rufus *History* 7.5.10-2; Frontinus *Stratagems* 1.7.7; Polyaenus *Stratagems* 4.3.25. For further comparisons of Alexander and Theodosius, see e.g. Orosius *History* 7.34.5, 7.42.13.

83 Demandt 2009: 98.

84 Jordanes *History of the Goths* § 116.

former glory.[85] There are other examples of how Christian orators negotiated their post-Roman intellectual identities by making parallels with Alexander. A particularly vivid one is Ennodius' *comparatio* of Alexander and the Gothic ruler of Italy, Theodoric I (454-526). The object of praise is again a Gothic king, whose panegyrist was a bishop of Roman Pavia, North Italy.

Ennodius compares the two in a discourse on kings, new and old.[86] He argues that Alexander's deeds have been enhanced by the sycophants of antiquity to make his achievements more impressive, whereas Theodoric did not even need a panegyrist to praise his deeds. His achievements spoke for themselves. The Pellaean conqueror wished that only the poetaster Choerilus[87] would write his praise, so that the crowds would not detect his lies or his successors discover his shamelessness. It follows that the ancients were mere flatterers of Alexander. Ennodius ends the paragraph featuring Alexander on the note that he would not have had to speak unjustly of the kings of old had not the name of Rome brought forth Theodoric. His following argument completely abandons Alexander to say more of Theodoric's immeasurable Christianity. The emperor's religious piety was, as it happens, what turned all those flattering lies made about the virtues of the ancients into truths whenever similar things were said about the virtues of Theodoric.

So, while Roman tradition is strong enough to supersede all other ideals, it is not powerful enough to surpass the Christian religion. Alexander is only relevant for the first part of the equation (between the remote past symbolised by Alexander and Augustan Rome), but unwanted in the latter, that is between Augustan Rome and Theodoric's Christianity. There is then a clear distinction between the remote past, the Augustan Rome and the Christian empire at the time of Ennodius. Yet, in juxtaposing these periods, it actually brings them together as if on a list: the implied combination of Alexander, Rome, and Christianity is thus encapsulated by the virtue of Theodoric. He is the best product of all three. His new Gothic kingdom in Italy is legitimised, on the one hand, by his pious religion and, on the other, his claim to Roman tradition that absorbed what imperial greatness was already there from the distant past, primarily Alexander. The world of Ennodius is a transformed world in which being conceived as Roman was only half the story.

85 Arnold 2014.

86 Ennodius *Panegyric to Theodoric* § 17 (*CSEL* 6.282-3). That the writers of antiquity were deceitful and lying about Alexander is a *topos*, see e.g. Pacatus *Panegyric to Theodosius* 2.8.4-5.

87 Heckel s.v. Choerilus.

It is worth lingering a little longer over Ennodius' inclusion of Alexander's court poet Choerilus. Demandt says that Ennodius' reference to Choerilus is the very last mention of his poetry in antiquity.[88] He argues that the poem was completely lost after that. Yet, this is to assume that the whole poem was extant for Ennodius to consult it in the first place and then only lost after that. This is too optimistic. For instance, it is unclear how much of Choerilus' work survived to the time of Ennodius, and the panegyrist's choice of material does not seem to intersect with anything we know of the actual poem. For instance, he compared Alexander to Achilles. We know of Choerilus primarily through the historian Curtius, the poets Horace and Ausonius, as well as the scholiasts to Horace (Pomponius Porphyrio, Ps.-Helenius Acro, Aleph-Beth scholiasts). Horace make two statements about Choerilus. The first is that a Latin poet who often makes mistakes can be called a Choerilus.[89] The second is that the ridiculous poetry of Choerilus was as unworthy as it was uncouth, yet it was bought and paid for by king Alexander, whose literary tastes were not as refined as his opinions on art. This anecdote continues with a reference to a fictional edict of Alexander, which proclaimed that the king was only to be painted by Apelles and modelled in bronze by Lysippus. Horace can appreciate this type of self-gratification and uniformity in artwork, but posits that it simply will not do for poets since the result would be too tedious to read.[90]

Horace's allusion to the edict is what I believe has inspired Ennodius to recycle the *topos* of Alexander's publicity, but with a slight modification. According to Ennodius, Choerilus is forced to write about Alexander in a particular way in the same manner as that in which Apelles and Lysippus were forced to make the same version of Alexander, again and again. Ennodius has altered Horace's statement to say that Alexander actually asked Choerilus openly to project the king in a single way in his poetic compositions. And this is the very monotonous sameness that Horace would have criticised. Ennodius' engagement with the *topos* is thus thoroughly embedded in Roman literature, even if Ennodius uses it to his own ends. Just as Ausonius engages with Horace and his Choerilus,[91] I suspect that Ennodius had just read the Roman poet rather than consulting Choerilus in the original.

88 Demandt 2009: 2.

89 Horace *Art of Poetry* 357-8.

90 Horace *Letters* 2.1.232-44. Cf. Stewart 2003: 31-2 for additional references to this story and its alternatives. E.g. Apuleius *Florida* 7 complains that such an edict cannot be applied to philosophy, implying that there is needlessly much of it. Stewart has overlooked the Republic origins of the story, for which see Cicero *Academic Questions* 2.26.

91 Ausonius *Letters* 12 LCL. Cf. Knight 2006.

It is clear that the Roman reservoir of stories about Alexander was firmly embedded in early Christian literature. It provided a way of maintaining a link to the high culture of Rome, even if the courts of the post-Roman kingdoms in the West were full of 'barbarians.' It was a way of continuing an intellectual identity and projecting a powerful representation of the political situation of the present. For instance, at the courts of Merovingian Gaul, the learned poet Venantius Fortunatus embellished his compositions with Alexander *exempla*. One poem briefly touches upon the majesty of Christ; Venantius asks profoundly if anyone was ever greater than Jesus. He conquered kings and death, and was more fortunate than Augustus, braver than Alexander, more popular than Trajan and holier than Theodosius.[92] This *dramatis personae* is conceived of as a roster of the most powerful world rulers. Their virtues are traits that Venantius wants to imbue Jesus with so that he surpasses them all. The *comparatio* is very different from that of the apologist Tertullian, for instance: Tertullian clearly distinguishes between what belongs to Greek history (Socrates, Aristides, Themistocles, Alexander, Polycrates, Croesus, Demosthenes) and what belongs to Roman (Cato, Scipio, Pompey, Sulla, Crassus, Cicero).[93] Venantius Fortunatus makes no such distinction, but groups Alexander with the other imperial figures from what he envisages as the same tradition.

This Alexander figure of imperial discourse would never go out of style, even in the Western Middle Ages. At the Frankish court of Pippin I of Aquitaine (d. 838), son of emperor Louis the Pious (r. 814-840), the poet Ermoldus Nigellus could make a successor-state link between the kingdoms of Romulus (Rome), Alexander (Macedon), and Hannibal (Carthage). This is actually forming an Orosian *translatio imperii* sequence (Ch. 2.1.2). Ermoldus Nigellus' sequence is elegantly juxtaposed with a list of (projected) subsequent rulers of Frankish Rome, such as Julius Caesar (first conqueror of the Franks in Gaul), Constantine (for Constantinople), Theodosius I, Charlemagne and Louis the Pious. The poet posits that these men form a line of power in terms of empire, beginning with Romulus and ending with Louis. What is at stake here is to demonstrate the continuity of the powerful empires, embodied by the powerful figures who led them. They are linked in this way by Ermoldus Nigellus to make the claim that the imperial power of the present is legitimately passed down by ancient authority.[94] By maintaining the usage of the language of power though the

92 Venantius Fortunatus *Poems* 10.2.11-2.

93 Tertullian *Apology* § 11.15 (*CCSL* 1.108).

94 Ermoldus Nigellus *In Honour of Emperor Louis* 4.261-2 (*MGH* P 2.65, *PL* 105.625a).

Christian tradition, this Alexander was indeed a symbol of imperial power in the Latin West for generations to come.

In the Byzantine world, we find similar patterns in the panegyrics. De Vries-Van der Velden has drawn attention to the fact that Byzantine authors, such as the sophist Choricius of Gaza, deploy Alexander in *synkriseis* with imperial figures, although she does not make comparisons with the practice in the Latin West.[95] To take one of many eastern examples, the poetry of George of Pisidia is particularly powerful. This deacon of the Hagia Sophia was also the court poet of Heraclius (r. 610-41), whom he accompanied on a successful campaign to Persia (622-3) on the eve of the Muslim Conquests. He wrote an epic poem to commemorate Heraclius' victories, praising the emperor's abilities in war and comparing him to Alexander. The emperor apparently was braver than Alexander because he risked twice as much in action.[96] If we correlate this reference with the allusions to Alexander in Eusebius' *Life of Constantine* and Sozomen's *Church History*, it is clear that Alexander remained a yardstick for personal and imperial virtue in the Byzantine tradition of imperial panegyric from Constantine to Heraclius.

8.6. Conclusion

To Christians, Alexander was a symbol of power and was imbued with many of the same characteristics as, for instance, a Roman historians, such as Curtius Rufus, would attribute to him. This tendency could be seen in the Christian handbooks of rhetoric that contain many of the traditional Alexander *exempla* for the use of Christian preachers. Indeed, the Christians adapted the court custom of praising the emperor by juxtaposition with Alexander, although Marcus Aurelius and Julian did not think highly of the practice (yet did it themselves!). The use of *exemplum* literature is not repetitive or emblematic of decline. On the contrary, Christian authors engage with *topoi* and texts that go back hundreds of years (to Horace, for example). Some are even recycled in roughly the same period and in both Greek and Latin.

The versatility of these literary devices is apparent in the number of genres and texts they could be fitted into. For instance, John Chrysostom and Jerome (perhaps via Origen) both make use of an Alexander *synkrisis* in homilies delivered to Christian listeners. The trope is not uncommon in Church Histories, personal poetry, hagiography, apologetic treatises and imperial panegyrics. It is pervasive and continues to be so for centuries. Besides the great continuity over a long period of time, the lan-

95 De Vries-Van der Velden 2001.

96 George of Pisidia *Persian Expedition* 3.48-9.

guage and the literary models used in both prose and poetry demonstrate that there is a closer link between the East and the West than previously suggested.

The imperial power of Alexander's Roman image was deployed in order to impart prestige upon important individuals for the early Christians. This study of several very different *synkriseis* has shown some of the ways in which imperial features of Alexander were used to construct comparisons with Christian figures in a variety of contexts and in front of different audiences.

THESIS CONCLUSION: LIGHTS FROM LATER ANTIQUITY

The early Christian interest in and use of the legacy of Alexander the Great have been the topic of this thesis. It has been shown how the figure played many diverse roles in early Christian literature, and a key aim has been to contextualise these roles. Great emphasis has continually been placed on the malleability of his legacy, which was particularly evident when Christians argued cases. Indeed, the king was ubiquitous: he was relevant in any type of text or context from Biblical commentary to Church History; from technical miscellany to personal poetry; from catalogues of heresy to philosophical dialogues; from hagiography to court panegyric; and from sermons to exhortations. That Christians deployed Alexander so frequently demonstrates that his legacy could always be reinterpreted and given a new contemporary relevance.[1]

By focusing on this largely overlooked aspect of ancient literature, this thesis has sought to make an original contribution to scholarship, broadly defined as the reception of Alexander in antiquity, in at least three significant ways:

- It makes an avenue of knowledge and academic endeavour available to the Anglophone world for the first time.
- It collates references to Alexander that have never been discussed before and articulates them, their contexts and their Christian agendas.
- It presents a hypothesis that contradicts and supersedes the existing scholarly conclusions on the early Christian reception of Alexander.

The main inquiry has concerned three major aspects of Christian engagement with Alexander: Part I, the Christian interpretation of the Jewish tales of Alexander; Part II, the apologists' use of Alexander in arguments among themselves and with their contemporaries; and Part III, the role Alexander played in the establishment of a Christian textual culture in the so-called 'Golden Age' of Christian literature.[2]

Part I argued that the Jewish material was of great importance for the Christians, although they significantly departed from the Jewish understanding of the texts and tales. Pagans read some of these texts too,[3] but the Christians turned appropriation of these tales into an industrious endeavour in order to lay claim to a hallowed antiquity

1 Wardman 1976: 94-5. Cf. Niese 1897: 1; Duncan 1921; Heuss 1977: 56-62; Horst 1988: 4; Isager 1991: 160-2; Braund 1994: 12; Asirvatham 2000: 238-9; Hock 2002: 11-4; Stoneman 2003b: 328; 2004a.

2 This is the terminology used by Johannes Quasten in the third and fourth volume of his Patrology. The third volume is entitled: *The Golden Age of Greek Patristic Literature*, and the fourth: *The Golden Age of Latin Patristic Literature* (edited by Di Berardino).

3 Ps.-Longinus *On the Sublime* 9.7 famously quotes the opening lines of Genesis 1. The Jewish texts were, however, mostly read by pagans who sought to dismiss the Christian readings (Celsus, Porphyry of Tyre and Julian).

and to connect the distant past with the Christian experience of the present. From Josephus in particular, many stories about Alexander's actions were altered in order to make that Josephan past conform to the Christian view of the world. The Jerusalem tale in particular was condensed and appropriated in a new Christian form (Ch. 1.6). I observed that most references to Alexander was made to support the notion of Providence in history; even the four-headed leopard monster of Daniel 7 could be a positive prophecy in the context of Byzantine imperial power (Ch. 2.1.3). I also highlighted that Alexander's role in the Biblical material was *not* read by Byzantine Christians as a path to the eschatological future, but was rather tied to the creation of a new imperial past for the eastern Christians. The third chapter showed that the Christians were very careful and selective with the tales they adapted from the Jews, and did not accept everything wholesale.

Part II argued that the apologists deployed Alexander in many of the same contexts as their contemporaries, although with some modifications. In the Christian revision of history, Alexander's epoch found favour as an embedded unit of universal history guided by divine Providence (Ch. 4). From the apologists' erudite speeches two *topoi* emerge in particular. First, the death of Alexander was used to dismiss the divine honours ascribed to him, perhaps in order to emphasise the power of Christ's Resurrection (Ch. 5). Secondly, the king's association with certain philosophers was employed to repudiate the teachings of these philosophers (Ch. 6). I demonstrated that the authors were at least as rhetorically skilled as their pagan contemporaries and concerned themselves with similar subjects, although the articulation of the arguments are clearly made with a Christian perspective or on behalf of the Christian religion. Much material is borrowed from a common store, but re-arranged in different ways to illustrate the argument in hand, as I showed by close analyses of a variety of examples. Many of the arguments made by the apologists laid the foundation for later Christian authors, even if they were often to disagree with them.

Part III argued that the Christian fourth and fifth centuries saw significant cultural revision, even of the apologists' writings, and constant cultivation of the concept of a worldwide Christian culture. Christian histories of Alexander's period became ever more varied, and the approach to him was ever dependent on the overall purpose of the work itself, and this is especially true of Orosius' *History against the Pagans* (Ch. 7.2.1). There was an increased focus on the writing of Alexander into the physical and spiritual landscapes of the Christian world (Ch. 7.4) while other texts ridiculed the fact that he was the subject of pagan admiration (Ch. 7.3). I argued that Christians did not imbue Alexander himself with any specific Christian ability or piety, but rather

sought to showcase virtuous actions through juxtaposition with Christian figures in *synkriseis* or *chreiai*. To this end, they drew upon the Roman tradition in particular (Ch. 8). There were no negative values attributed to Alexander in the Christian handbooks of rhetoric. I have discussed a large number of Christian homilies and analysed the arguments in which Alexander featured. For instance, that Jesus and his followers had conquered more land than the Macedonian or continued to conquer in death (Ch. 8.2-3) was one side of a two-sided *Christian* argument. The other side was that Alexander's conquests could serve as an analogy for the diffusion of the Gospel (Ch. 2.1.3).

These conclusions have been reached primarily on the basis of the first systematic collation and analysis of the references to Alexander in early Christian literature (Appendix 1). But the thesis has also engaged constantly with the admittedly modest amount of scholarship hitherto devoted to the topic. I argue for a departure from previous positions on several important matters. The following pivotal points of contention deserve to be recapitulated:

1. *Pace* Momigliano, it is untenable to maintain his view that that Alexander was only a pagan exemplar in whom the Christians had no interest.[4]
2. *Pace* Wirth, there is no indication of a 'decline' in Alexander discourse.[5] Instead I suggested that there was great continuity and transformation from the Roman period onwards. The Christians engaged with the Roman Alexander tradition since that was the intellectual milieu of which they were themselves a part (Ch. 1.3, Part II and III). For instance, there was an unceasing Christian engagement with Roman *exemplum* literature that remained forever relevant to Christian ethical development (Part III). In my view, Wirth is wrong in pursuing so vigorously the concept of a decline in the accuracy of the historical grip upon Alexander, for it does not make sense to look for a historical Alexander in early Christian literature, any more than it makes sense to look for the historical figure among the pagan Greeks or Romans. If we must speak of 'decline of historical accuracy,' I would prefer to think of it as a 'deep fall' that happened on the very day Alexander died in Babylon in 323 BC. More than twenty histories of Alexander were published in the turbulent power vacuum he left behind, and those contemporary, eye-witness authors all held agendas of their own or had strange fancies, such as Onesicritus' story of Alexander

4 *Pace* Momigliano 1963: 89. Cf. Bloch 1963 in the same volume.

5 *Pace* Wirth 1993.

and the Amazons.[6] No matter what we do with the data, we cannot accuse the Christians of single-handedly causing the distortion nor can Christian discourse be understood as an isolated monolithic entity. We not only have to look at what had gone before, but also what was going on in the contemporary intellectual culture in which the Christians were participants. This sort of two-pronged inquiry has indeed revealed the flourishing of a Christian Alexander discourse that has many thematic patterns and parallels to the Alexander discourse of the contemporary culture.

3. *Pace* Klein, there are no major discrepancies in the Christian exploitation of Alexander between the Byzantine East and the Latin West.[7] The greatest difference actually lay in the choice of texts for Biblical exegesis. Alexander was only employed relatively less in western exegesis of Scripture because the Latin Christians were concerned with expounding Revelation rather than the Book of Daniel. Since the Byzantines did not accept Revelation as canonical, they turned to Daniel for their eschatological expectations. It is a basic point that, without the same focus on Daniel, Latin Christians would simply not encounter Alexander as much in their exegesis, at least until the age of Bede when there seems to be a shift in the commentaries on Revelation (Ch. 2.3). Jerome's unique Latin *Commentary on Daniel* and the integration of Alexander into the Biblical narrative of Sulpicius Severus' *Holy History* are exceptions to the rule (Ch. 7.2.2). Furthermore, I tested Klein's assumption about the 'Greek-East-Latin-West' discrepancy outside the world of exegesis, and suggested that what could give that impression was civic discourse. Alexander's presence in the landscapes of the East was more useful to the Byzantine Christians because they could assert that they lived in the world of Alexander. But then I drew attention to the fact that the Latin itineraries and world descriptions (Orosius) were equally aware of the importance of Alexander's cities and boundaries of the Christian world (Ch. 7.4). Part III showed how *exemplum* literature from the Graeco-Roman tradition was used across the divide. In my view, Klein is wrong in assuming that the East was very different from the West in terms of Alexander discourse.

6 Onesicritus of Astypylaea *BNJ* 134 T 8 from Plutarch *Alexander* 46.5. Cf. Clitarchus of Alexandria *BNJ* 137 F 16; Diodorus Siculus *Library* 17.77.1-3; Curtius Rufus *History* 6.5.24-32; Justin *Epitome* 12.3.4-7; Arrian *Anabasis* 4.15.2-4. For the Amazons in Alexander history, see e.g. Baynham 2001; Ogden 2011a: 146-50. For Onesicritus, see e.g. Brown 1949a.

7 *Pace* Klein 1988.

4. Interrelated with the previous point is the counterargument to Smith's statement that, '[O]ne certainly cannot postulate a uniquely or uniformly critical 'Christian' attitude to Alexander in late antiquity.'[8] While this is in itself a fairly obvious observation—after all, there was no single projection of Alexander in the pagan Greek and Roman worlds either—it has been shown here that the Christians at least did agree on some overarching matters despite being a heterogeneous group. For instance, the use of Alexander in discourse on Providence (Chs. 2, 4, 7.1-2); in polemical writing against the pagans (Chs. 5, 6, 7.3); in Christian geography (Chs. 4.2, 7.4); and in the sorts of narratives that featured heavy use of *exemplum* literature (Ch. 8). Indeed, the Christian unity of the East and the West was explained with reference to the fact that Alexander *exempla* was extensively used in both. While the Christians certainly debated fiercely among themselves, they at least seem to make the same assumptions with regard to the aforementioned Alexander themes, whether the authors in question hailed from the East or the West. For instance, Orosius' criticisms are no harsher than those of Eusebius in the *Life of Constantine* (Chs. 7.2.1, 8.4), and both authors draw exclusively upon *exempla* we know from the Roman tradition of Seneca, Lucan and Justin as well as many other texts.

These fundamental points have reverberated through this study with more or less resonance. They ultimately reflect the fact that the Christians were themselves Romans, who lived in a world in which the legacy of Alexander was ubiquitous. Given this, it seems wrong to me to impose the secure boundaries between East and West as strictly as we know them from later historical periods; we have seen how Alexander motifs and stories flew freely all across the Roman empire and Eurasia. That is why the great cities have held such a high place in this study, as they are emblematic of cultural exchange and the migration of tales. Looking at these cultural centres, I believe that it is wrong to think of distinct traditions in terms of language. For instance, it is incorrect to assume that the 'Senecan hostility known from the Latin tradition is completely absent from the Greek,' because the same 'hostile' tropes and *topoi* were used by Byzantine Greeks as well.[9] From our vantage point of historical hindsight we

8 *Pace* Smith 2011: 84. Cf. Wirth 1993: 68.

9 *Pace* Stoneman 2008: 218. The same tropes in Seneca are repeated in the Sibylline books; in Theophylact's *History*; and in the *Life of Constantine* by Eusebius (Ch. 7.1.3; 8.4).

know that in later periods Alexander's legacy broke all boundaries, including linguistic ones, and this also seems true for the literature of Christian antiquity.

My emphasis on the seeming coherence of the pagan Roman and Christian Alexander discourse has been intentional. It has been used to raise the question of how distinctively *Christian* the Christian side of the discourse actually was. To take one example of separation, the vehement insistence upon the power of Jesus through the figure of Alexander is a Christian trait; the insistence on a Christian history of Providence in Eusebius and other chroniclers is another. It was argued that the Christian emphasis on Providence replaced the *topos* of Alexander's Fortune, and the absence of it is indeed striking (Ch. 2.1.2).[10] The shift shows that many disputes between Christians and pagans were made on the same foundation, but delivered in terms that could never be agreed to by both. For instance, to disagree on whose providential care it was that guided history was equally valid in ancient discourse on how history progressed. The matter was determined by point of view. As Eshleman has acutely observed on the narrative strategies of ancient authors, 'it is only the control that the author exerts over his own narrative that can tell us who won the debate or has the correct judgement.'[11] The objective truth was not as important as making an authoritative statement based on, or to help define, the intellectual background to which the writer belonged (or wanted to belong to). Taken together, the arguments of one group can be seen as a mode of self-expression for an intellectual community, and the remarks enable us to capture some of the agendas and concerns of the members of that particular group.

I believe that it is possible to make such a distinction between the interests of the pagan and Christian writers, but with the caveat that they all share in and contribute to the overarching discourse of the period as a whole. If we give priority to one group, we must always be mindful of the patterns in the discourse of other groups, so that we can compare them. Comparisons must be made in order to establish a more holistic picture of the tradition of Alexander in ancient literature. And, since it may not be possible to recover every single aspect of the Alexander tradition, one must always strive to make the most of the opportunities that give a better impression of it.

10 Comparing the use of Fortune in Polybius and Josephus, Gruen argues that divine Providence in Josephus served the same type of roles as Tyche in Polybius. See Gruen 2013: 256-8. Cf. Walbank 1957-79 iii: 393-5, 2007; Baynham 1998: 118-31; Billows 2000: 295-6; Overtoom 2013; Deininger 2013.

11 Eshleman 2012: 13.

Looking at the legacy of Alexander in early Christian literature raises many new research questions about the generation of Alexander discourses in antiquity. Serious work has naturally been devoted towards the establishment of a more complete picture of the pagan and Jewish traditions, but often without adequate collation of references or the proper comparative framework for understanding them in their various contexts. In such works, there are very few cross-references to the contemporary Christian tradition, and our understanding of the pagan sources themselves must clearly suffer as a consequence. For instance, in what ways did the contemporary pagans stake a claim to the Macedonian legacy? What is specifically *pagan* about the pagan discourse? Take for example the orator Maximus of Tyre, whom Michael Trapp juxtaposed with the more erudite Clement of Alexandria (Ch. 1.5.1). Maximus also deployed Alexander frequently,[12] but there are no studies of Maximus' use of Alexander.[13] There are many significant studies still to be written about the reception of Alexander in the later parts of antiquity.

At this juncture, it seems appropriate to propose some potential avenues of research that the present study has opened up. There are certainly more Christian writers whose Alexander stories deserve to be studied in greater detail. Among the prose writers, the Cappadocian Fathers (Basil of Caesarea, Gregory Nazianzen, Gregory of Nyssa), Theodoret of Cyrrhus, Coricius of Gaza, Ps.-Hegesippus and Verecundus of Iunca would be worth looking into. Among the poets, Claudian, Ausonius, Nonnus and Sidonius Apollinaris would make for excellent case studies of the deployment of Alexander *exempla* in poetic compositions. I have chosen to focus on the earliest Christian authors (apologists, Eusebius, Jerome) in order to investigate how the Christian Alexander tradition was established, and I have provided original studies of many individual writers that Alexander scholars have neglected, especially in the Greek tradition (Clement of Alexandria, Origen and John Chrysostom). As has been highlighted, the large number of references to Alexander spread across the entirety of Jerome's *oeuvre* make him one of the most compelling ancient Christian authors for students of Alexander, and a fuller engagement with the king in Jerome's works would be a welcome contribution to scholarship. Finally, as suggested in the Introduction, Alexander in early Christian art shows much potential.

12 Maximus of Tyre *Orations* 2.6, 8.4, 14.8, 23.7, 28.1, 29.2, 32.9, 36.6, 41.1. Cf. Trapp 1986: 260 n. 80.

13 E.g. Zecchini 1984 has not noticed Maximus of Tyre in his study of Alexander in the Antonine age. The same is true for Koulakiotis 2006. Cf. Stoneman 2003b: 330-1, 335, 342.

Understanding the origins of the Christian Alexander discourse better enables us to revisit and rethink the scholarship that has hitherto been done on the transition from antiquity to the Middle Ages. I have frequently pointed out that Cary's old-fashioned methodology and assumptions about the developments in the discourse in the Latin Middle Ages need to be revised. There have been research centres and conferences on the medieval reception of Alexander in the vernacular literatures of Europe and elsewhere,[14] and it is good to see that many books in *Alexander Redivivus* series have been published. Very little has, however, been done to connect these European literatures properly with the Latin Alexander tradition of Late Antiquity. We can also note that very little has been done on the Greek side of things, if we exclude the studies by Jouanno, Pfister and Stoneman that have primarily been concerned with the acknowledged Greek *AR* traditions and legends. While the *AR* is surely one of the most important and influential Alexander texts, also in early Christian literature, I hope to have shown that it is a worthwhile endeavour to expand the field of scholarly inquiry and sometimes focus on other texts.

Studying the Alexander tradition in other ancient Christian languages would allow us to understand better the diffusion of his legacy into other areas or religions of the world. In chronological order, the obvious choices would be the Coptic Church,[15] the Armenian Church,[16] and the Syriac Church, because there are such rich references to Alexander. There are even longer prose and poetic narratives of interest in those literatures. For instance, the seventh-century Syriac *Marionite Chronicle* strikingly begins its world history with Alexander.[17] The present study has touched upon the Eastern figures of Aphrahat and Ps.-Ephrem, who do not drawn upon any of the Roman material, but focus solely on the material derived from the Book of Daniel. There is real buried treasure yet to be uncovered here for those who master these languages.

14 Magoun 1924; Cary 1956; Aerts *et al.* 1978; Haycock 1987; Bunt 1994; Aerts & Gosman 1988; Tristram 1989; Maddox & Sturm-Maddox 2002; Zuwiyya 2011; Stoneman *et al.* 2012.

15 Von Lemm 1903 for the collection of fragments from a fifth-century Coptic version of the *AR* in the famous White Monastery of Shenoute of Atripe. Cf. Demandt 2009: 22-3.

16 Christians brought the Greek *AR* to Armenia sometime during the fifth century. The text is the only non-theological text translated from Greek into Armenian at the time, and it was given a high status surpassed only by Scripture. See e.g. Wolohojian 1969: 8; Thomson 1978: 24-25, 1994 xv: 43; Braund 1994: 141-2. For Alexander in Christian Armenian literature, see also Toumanoff 1963 and the papers by Lombardi &Uluhogian; Schmitt; Simonyan in Finuzzi & Valvo 1998. Cf. the papers in Bardakjan & La Porta 2014.

17 Howard-Johnston 2010: 175.

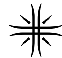
To sum up, it is clear that the present study has prepared the ground for further research in the field and, for all that the wide appeal of Alexander has been studied extensively, subjects for studies in the reception of Alexander have not been exhausted.

In addition to the thesis' overarching argument, more particular claims have been made about the material, which have their own independent interest and originality. The following is a list of what I consider the most important:

- The association of Alexander with his great city was of constant concern for the early Christians because it was appropriated as a Christian city (Ch. 1). Its civic history was rewritten repeatedly, and the very pagan notion of the quasi-divine Founder was adapted to a Christian framework. As a civilising and peace-keeping founder, Alexander was projected in an imperial role to the point of being a virtuous conqueror and pious emperor. His victories and rule in peaceful harmony were licensed by God. The Christians promoted this projection to corroborate their belief in Providence.
- The Alexander imagery of Daniel (2, 7, 8, 10, 11) and of 1 Maccabees 1.1-8 was used to expound other scriptural passages (Ch. 2). For instance, Christians recycled their interpretation of these passages in the commentaries on the Psalms, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, in the commentaries on some of the minor prophets (Hosea, Amos, Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Haggai, Zecharia) and, importantly, Revelation. Previous scholarship has not realised the full extent of Alexander's importance for the early Christians' reading OT Scripture.
- The Christian use of the Jerusalem tale was shown to differ significantly from its original Jewish use (Ch. 1.6). No other piece of scholarship has contextualised the important Christian developments in this regard.
- The case studies of Alexander references across Eusebius' works have helped to illustrate that each text by one author could represent Alexander quite differently. I used this to argue that we should not presume to know the opinions of the authors themselves, as the representations in the texts were dependent on overarching contexts and agendas.
- It was shown that Alexander and his gate was not associated with the eschatological peoples, Gog and Magog, prior to the literature of seventh-century Syria (Ch. 3.1). Instead I have suggested that there were additions to the gate narrative in Josephus made by the early Christian authors (Ps.-Hegesippus,

Jerome) that anticipate some of the features of the later narratives, but do not develop the tale fully into the Gog and Magog legend.

- The investigation into the chronicles proved useful for understanding the Christian agendas in representing the past (Chs. 4, 7). While most of the authors researched have not been discussed in the context of Alexander before, Eusebius stood out as a particularly sophisticated chronicler and intriguing historian of Alexander.
- Synesius of Cyrene's 'Battle of Hair' showed that there was, still in the early fifth century, a high level of sophisticated engagement with the legacy of Alexander, far outside the *AR* tradition (ch. 4.3).
- Eusebius makes the striking claim that Alexander died without any children or heirs, which the historical Alexander did not (Ch. 8.4). Jerome and others follow Eusebius in this regard.[18] I believe that they did so in order to construct a variant of Hellenistic history that fitted within the context of the Book of Daniel and the idea of the four divinely sanctioned Successor kingdoms. I have not found anything this extreme in the non-Christian texts.



What has Alexander to do with Jesus Christ? His campaigns with the spread of the Gospel? His city with Jerusalem? His victories with the Biblical prophets and the Virgin Mary? His sieges with local churches in Gaza? His death with the Christian doctrine of the Resurrection?

This study has shown that, in the discourse of the early Christians, the very short answer to all these questions was 'absolutely everything.' The great interest in associating Alexander with Christian doctrine, events, figures and places demonstrates that his legacy was more than just a totem of much-desired high culture. He was of great relevance to Christian thinking because his memory helped the Christians to define an intellectual culture of their own. Constantly trying to negotiate a balance between the Graeco-Roman heritage, their hallowed world of the Bible and the conditions under which they lived, Christians writers used the liminal figure of Alexander as a convenient catalyst for this complex and dynamic process. The resulting Alexander discourse rewards study because it illuminates an enormous area of the intellectual engagement with the legacy of Alexander in antiquity. It matters because it provides us with a framework for making further inquiries into the Christian Alexander reception from the earliest period up to the present day.

18 Jerome *Commentary on Daniel* 11.4 (*CCSL* 75a.900; *PL* 25.559).

Appendix 1: Inventory of Christian References to Alexander

This appendix gives an overview of the early Christian authors (Greek; Latin) who make reference to Alexander (c. 200-600). The list progresses alphabetically. Each author is listed under his proper name (pseudo-authors are included under the proper name). Each entry has the same four features: (1) a concise biography, (2) a list of editions of his works that refer to Alexander, (3) the actual reference(s) to Alexander in the work and (4) a list of basic secondary literature on the author. The list does not include the *AR* tradition, most of the Christian chronographs (Ch. 7) and some of the later authors, such as the venerable Bede.

Aeneas of Gaza

This sophist was the leader of a school of rhetoric in Gaza in the early sixth century (d. after 518).

Edition: *Theophrastus* in Colonna 1958.

References to Alexander: *Theophrastus* p. 18, p. 34.

Discussion: *EEC* 12; Moreschini & Norelli 2005 ii: 627; *EAC* 1: 42-4.

Agathias Scholasticus

This Byzantine historian and poet flourished in the reign of Justinian I (527-65).

Edition: *History* in Keydell 1967.

References to Alexander: *History* 2.25.8, 4.24.1.

Discussion: Averil Cameron 1970.

Ambrose of Milan

This learned bishop was a central religious and political figure of the later fourth century (d. 397). He incorporated Greek and Hebrew thought into his Latin works, especially Philo. His most famous student was Augustine of Hippo.

Editions: *On Virginity* in Dückers 2009; *Letters* in *CSEL* vols. 82-4.

References to Alexander: *On Virginity* 3.3.12; *Letters* 7.34-8 Faller (*CSEL* 82(1).60-2).

Discussion: Quasten iv: 144-53; *RAC* 1: 366-73; *EEC* 28; Moreschini & Norelli 2005 ii: 268-87; Drobner 2007: 307-18; *EAC* 1: 94-7.

Andrew of Caesarea

This bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia flourished in the second half of the sixth century. He is one of the only Byzantine authors to produce a commentary on Revelation.

Edition: *On the Apocalypse* in Schmidt 1955.

References to Alexander: *Commentary on the Apocalypse* pp. 165-6.

Discussion: Hoskier 1928; *EEC* 38; Constantinou 2013; *EAC* 1: 123.

Apocryphal Correspondence between Seneca and Paul

This text is an apocryphal fourth-century correspondence between the Apostle Paul and the Stoic philosopher Seneca. The anonymous author seeks to show that the eloquence of Christians was not inferior to that of the pagans.

Edition: Palagi 1978.

References to Alexander: *Letter* 11.

Discussion: *EEC* 767.

Arnobius of Sicca

This North African teacher of rhetoric taught in early fourth-century Sicca in Numidia. His *Against the Nations* was written during, or after, the Great Persecutions of the emperor Diocletian in order to repudiate the notion that Christianity was the cause of the decline of Rome.

Edition: *Against the Nations* in Marchesi 1953.

Reference to Alexander: *Against the Nations* 1.5.

Discussion: Quasten ii: 383-91; *RAC* 1: 709-11; *EEC* 82; Simmons 1995: 1-8; Moreschini & Norelli 2005 i: 392-5; *EAC* 1: 250-1.

Athanasius of Alexandria

This rhetorically trained Egyptian was the deacon of the bishop Alexander of Alexandria (from 318). He is famous for his ascetic writings, as well as his involvement in the theological debates of the fourth century, especially the Arian heresy.

Edition: *Apology addressed to Constantius* in Brennecke *et al.* 2006.

References to Alexander: *Apology* § 30.

Discussion: Quasten iii: 20-65; *RAC* 1: 860-66; Young 1983: 65-82; *EEC* 93-4; Moreschini & Norelli 2005 ii: 30-45; Drobner 2007: 246-52; *EAC* 1: 274-83.

Athenagoras of Athens

This philosophical apologist flourished in the late second century. He is one of the first Christians to deploy Alexander in an apologetic context.

Edition: *Embassy* in *SC* 379.

References to Alexander: *Embassy* § 28.

Discussion: *RAC* 1: 881-88; *EEC* 95; Moreschini & Norelli 2005 i: 206-7; Drobner 2007: 86-9; *EAC* 1: 285-6.

Augustine of Hippo

This Numidian philosopher, bishop and heresiologist remains one of the most famous and prolific Christian authors (c. 343-430). Before he became bishop of Hippo in 397, he was engaged in the learning of the world, influenced by Manicheism and Neo-Platonism. He has had a most profound impact on Christian thought.

Editions: *City of God* in *CCSL* 47-8; *Questions in the Heptateuch* in *CSEL* 28.2.

References to Alexander: *City of God* 4.4, 4.7, 8.5, 8.27, 12.11, 12.25, 18.42, 18.45, 20.23; *Questions* 7.8.

Discussion: Quasten iv: 342-55; *RAC* 1: 981-93; *EEC* 97-101; Moreschini & Norelli 2005 ii: 362-409; Drobner 2007: 386-456; *EAC* 1: 292-9.

Ausonius of Bordeaux

This Gallic poet and politician was trained in the famous school at Bordeaux. He flourished at the court at Trier (364-85) and became the tutor of Gratian, emperor-to-be. His poetic compositions reflect his deep erudition in the Classical Tradition.

Edition: collected works in Green 1999.

References to Alexander: *Bissula* 9.1; *Letters* 16.1; *Panegyric to Gratian* (*Opuscula* 8.12); *Order of Famous Cities* (*Opuscula* 19).

Discussion: *RAC* 1: 1020-3; *ECC* 102-3; *EAC* 1: 305-6.

Basil of Caesarea, Cappadocia

This rhetorically trained bishop was the foremost man of the Cappadocian Church in the fourth century (d. 379). He was a highly prolific author who imbued the Byzantine Church with a Hellenic spirit.

Editions: *Address to Young Men* in Boulenger 1965; *Letters* in Courtonne 2002; *Homily on Death* in *PG* 32.

References to Alexander: *Address to Young Men* § 7.9, 8.7-8; *Letters* 1.1, 9.3, 24.1, 98.1, 272.3; *Homily on Death PG* 32.1340, 32.1345.

Discussion: Quasten iii: 204-227; *RAC* 1: 1261-5; Young 1983: 92-122; *EEC* 114; Moreschini & Norelli 2005 ii: 83-130; Drobner 2007: 267-76; *EAC* 1: 339-42; Silvas 2015 (letters).

Basil of Seleucia

This local bishop of Seleucia in Asia Minor delivered 41 homilies on different OT books during the mid-fifth century.

Edition: *Homilies* in *PG* 85.

Reference to Alexander: *Homily* 39 (*PG* 85.421).

Discussion: Quasten iii: 526-8; *EEC* 115; Moreschini & Norelli 2005 ii: 596; *EAC* 1: 342.

Cassiodorus

This well-travelled Gothic senator and intellectual flourished at the court of Theodoric (493-526) and founded his monastery, the Vivarium, in Calabria after the fall of the Gothic kingdom. One of the key figures in establishing the monastic institution as a house of learning and writing.

Edition: *Tripartite Church History* in *CSEL* 71.

References to Alexander: *Tripartite Church History* 1.1.14 (*CSEL* 71.7), 6.9.3 (*CSEL* 71.320), 6.46.6-7 (*CSEL* 71.370), 11.11.9 (*CSEL* 71.642).

Discussion: *RAC* 2: 915-26; *EEC* 149-50; *EAC* 1: 440-2.

Coricius of Gaza

Sophisticated Greek rhetorician active in the reign of Justinian I (r. 527-65) and disciple of Procopius of Gaza.

Edition: *Orations* in Foerster & Richtsteig 1929.

References to Alexander: *Oration* 3.1.1, 3.2.64, 13.1.7, 33.1.4-5, 34.1.1, 37.1.3.

Discussion: *EEC* 201; *EAC* 1: 611.

Claudian of Alexandria

This erudite Alexandrian poet came to Rome in the late fourth century and established himself as an orator under the patronage of Stilicho.

Edition: collected works in Hall 1985.

References to Alexander: *Stilicho's Consulship* 1.267 (Hall no. 21); *Fourth Consulship of Honorius* 374-7 (Hall no. 8); *Apology to Hadrian* (Hall no. 39).

Discussion: *RAC* 3: 152-67; Alan Cameron 1970: 342-3; *EEC* 178; *EAC* 1: 542.

Clement of Alexandria

This extremely important Church Father and impressive apologist was a disciple of the Alexandrian Christian Pantaenus. His acknowledged works bridge Greek philosophy and Christian spiritualism in the most profound way.

Editions: *Exhortation* in *SC* 2 (second edition by Plassart 2013); *Pedagogue* in *SC* 70, 108, 158; *Miscellany* in *SC* 30, 38, 278-9, 428, 446, 463.

References to Alexander: *Exhortation* 4.52.2, 10.96.4, 10.97.1; *Pedagogue* 1.7.55.1; *Miscellany* 1.21.128.2, 1.21.138.3, 1.21.139.3, 1.22.150.2, 1.24.158.4, 6.4.38.2-12.

Discussion: Quasten ii: 5-19; *RAC* 3: 182-88; *EEC* 179-80; Dawson 1992: 183-5; Buell 1999: 10-4; Moreschini & Norelli 2005 i: 250-67; Drobner 2007: 132-5; *EAC* 1: 546-9.

Ps.-Clement of Rome

Many works have been attributed to this elusive figure, believed to be one of the earliest bishops of Rome. These works are widely known as pseudo-Clementine literature (1 and 2 Clement, *Recognitions* and *Homilies*). Their origin has been tracked to the Syrian intellectual milieus of the third century or later. His works are known from the Latin translations by the fourth-century Tyrannius Rufinus.

Editions: *Homilies* in *GCS* 42, *Recognitions* in *GCS* 51.

References to Alexander: *Homilies* 6.23.1 (*GCS* 42.114); *Recognitions* 10.21.5 (*GCS* 51.340), 10.25.2 (*GCS* 51.344).

Discussion: *RAC* 3: 188-206; *EEC* 179, 181; *EAC* 1: 551-4.

Collatio Alexandri et Dindimi

This popular text is a fourth- or fifth-century collection of letters between Alexander and the Indian philosopher Dindimus.

Edition: Steinman 2012.

References to Alexander: *Collatio* passim.

Discussion: *EAC* 1: 567.

Cosmas Indicopleustes

This Alexandrian monk (or merchant) ostensibly travelled to India in the reign of Justinian I. He is known for his description of the world, the so-called *Christian Topography*.

Edition: *Christian Topography* in *SC* 141, 159, 197.

References to Alexander: *Christian Topography* 1.22, 2.1, 2.66-7, 2.76, 3.65, 12.14.

Discussion: *EEC* 203; Moreschini & Norelli 2005 ii: 713-4; Molina Marín 2010; Kominko 2013; *EAC* 1: 620-1.

(Ps.-)Cyprian of Carthage

This learned bishop was a central figure of the North African Church from 249 to his passion in 258. His only reference to Alexander occurs in an apologetic treatise attributed to him.

Edition: *On why idols are not God* in *CSEL* 3.

Reference to Alexander: *On why idols are not God* § 3.

Discussion: Quasten ii: 340-66; *RAC* 3: 463-66; *EEC* 221-2; Moreschini & Norelli 2005 i: 364-77; Drobner 2007: 166-73; *EAC* 1: 646-9.

Cyril of Alexandria

This towering theologian and bishop of the early fifth-century Alexandrian church was a prolific exegete and deeply involved in the politics of his times.

Editions: *Commentary on the 12 Minor Prophets* in Pusey 1868; *Against Julian* in *GCS* NF 20-1.

References to Alexander: *Commentary on the 12 Minor Prophets* 2.359-60 (*PG* 72.96); *Against Julian* 1.15.

Discussion: Quasten iii: 116-34; *RAC* 3: 499-516; Young 1983: 240-64; *EEC* 214-5; Moreschini & Norelli 2005 ii: 539-65; *EAC* 1: 651-4.

Cyril of Jerusalem

This controversial figure was a priest of Jerusalem prior to his ordination as a bishop in 348. He was deposed several times for arguments over dogma. He returned to his episcopate in 378 and continued his instruction of catechumen until his death.

Edition: *Instructions* in Reischl & J. Rupp 1967.

Reference to Alexander: *Instructions* 4.34.

Discussion: *EEC* 215; *EAC* 1: 655.

Ennodius of Pavia

This great rhetorician was born in 474 and died a Gallic bishop of Pavia, North Italy, in 521. His classicising compositions are excellent examples of the rich literature of the Italian Church in the post-Roman world of Theodoric.

Edition: *Life of Epiphanius* in *MGH* AA 7; *Panegyric to Theodoric* in Rohr 1995.

References to Alexander: *Life of Epiphanius* § 178 (*MGH* AA 7.376, *CSEL* 6.376-7); *Panegyric to Theodoric* § 17 (*CSEL* 6.282-3).

References: *RAC* 5: 398-421; *EEC* 272, *EAC* 1: 803.

Epiphanius of Salamis

This significant Cypriot bishop composed his polemical theological writings in the later part of the fourth century (d. 403). While his remarks on Alexander are mostly made in passing, they reflect the predominantly positive reception the Macedonian king had in the Byzantine world, especially in the local communities.

Edition: *Ancoratus* in *GSC* 25; *Panarion* (*Medicine Chest*) in *GCS* NF 10, 13.

References to Alexander: *Ancoratus* § 60.4; *Panarion* 1.1.2.7 (*GCS* 25.183), 1.2.25.9 (*GCS* 25.367), 2.5.20.2 (*GCS* 31.136).

Discussion: Quasten iii: 384-92; *RAC* 5: 909-27; Young 1983: 133-42; *EEC* 281-2; Moreschini & Norelli 2005 ii: 53-6; Drobner 2007: 303-6; *EAC* 1: 827-8.

Eusebius of Caesarea

This Palestinian bishop and Biblical scholar (c. 265-340) is, with Jerome, the single most important source for the history of early Christianity. Being the owner of the library of the famous Origen of Alexandria and enjoying the patronage of Constantine, he had optimal conditions for Biblical philology and scholarship, as well as other lit-

erary pursuits. His command of ancient knowledge is evident in the wealth of material he discusses.

Editions: *Chronicle* in *GCS* 47 (Armenian version in *GCS* 20); *Preparation for the Gospel* in *GCS* 43.1-2; *Demonstration of the Gospel* in *GCS* 23; *Commentary on Isaiah* in *GCS* 60; *Commentary on Psalm 50* in *PG* 23; *Theophany* in *GCS* 11.2 Laminski; *Life of Constantine* in *SC* 559.

References to Alexander: *Chronicle* 1.121-5; *Preparation for the Gospel* 4.16.19, 6.11.25, 9.4.6, 9.6.7, 10.11.8, 10.14.17, 13.12.1, 15.2.4; *Demonstration of the Gospel* 8.2.67, 8.4.10; *Commentary on Isaiah* 1.72 (*GCS* 60.144); *Commentary on Psalm 50* (*PG* 23.944); *Life of Constantine* 1.7.1-8.4.

Discussion: Quasten iii: 309-44; *RAC* 6: 1052-88; *EEC* 299-301; Hollerich 1999; Moreschini & Norelli 2005 i: 413-30; Drobner 2007: 223-33; Grafton & Williams 2006; A. P. Johnson 2014; *EAC* 1: 872-6.

Evagrius Scholasticus

This Syrian church historian was associated with the Antiochene Patriarch Gregory and was a part of the intellectual milieu of sixth-century Antioch.

Edition: *Church History* in *SC* 542, 566.

References to Alexander: 2.5, 2.8, 2.9, 3.12, 3.13, 3.14, 3.22, 3.29, 3.37, 4.4, 4.38, 5.2, 6.24.

Discussion: *EEC* 305-6; Moreschini & Norelli 2005 ii: 701-2; *EAC* 1: 888-9.

Filastrius of Brescia

This bishop of Brescia in North Italy flourished in the latter half of the fourth century. His principal work on heresy draws upon the Greek heresiologists, such as Irenaeus of Lyons and Epiphanius of Salamis.

Edition: *Catalogue of Heresies* in *CCSL* 9.

Reference to Alexander: *Catalogue of Heresies* § 142.

Discussion: *EEC* 324; *EAC* 2: 35.

(Ps.-)Fulgentius

This elusive author is perhaps a sixth-century North African writer of Christian polemic, but very little can safely be said of him. His universal chronograph has a longer section devoted to Alexander that draws upon Orosius' *History Against the Pagans*.

Edition: *Ages of the World and Man* in Stöcker 1979 (reprinting Helm 1970, updated by Hays 2000).

References to Alexander: *Ages of the World and Man* book 10 (references by Helm pages).

Discussion: *RAC* 8: 632-61; Baldwin 1988; *EEC* 331; *EAC* 2: 72-3.

Ps.-Gelasius

The fifth-century history of the church falsely attributed to Gelasius of Cuzicus is a polemical representation of the event at the first council of Nicaea. It is largely a derivative of earlier church histories, such as that of Rufinus and Theodoret of Cyrrhus, although it contains Alexander *paradeigmata* that are not in previous histories.

Edition: *Church History* in *GCS* NF 9.

References to Alexander: *Church History* 1.5.1-7 (*GCS* NF 9.9), 2.27.1 (*GCS* NF 9.84).

Discussion: *EAC* 2: 108.

Gregory Nazianzen

This Cappadocian bishop was in the same circle as Basil of Caesarea and Gregory of Nyssa, a group of Christians flourishing in the latter half of the fourth century. Both a powerful bishop and politician he was involved in the religious debates with the emperor Julian. Besides his own manifold literary compositions, he compiled together with Basil the *Love of the Beautiful*, *Philocalia*, an eclectic compilation of quotations from Origen's works.

Editions: *Letters* in Gallay 1964-67; *Orations* in *SC* 309 (4-5), 405 (6-12); *Poems on Morality* in *PG* 37.

References to Alexander: *Letter* 181.1; *Oration* 4.41, *Oration* 7.6.2; *Poem* 10.818-22 (*PG* 37.739), *Poem* 15.91-2 (*PG* 37.773), *Poem* 25.270-78 (*PG* 37.832).

Discussion: Quasten iii: 236-47; *RAC* 12: 794-863; Ruether 1969; Young 1983: 92-122; *EEC* 361-3; Moreschini & Norelli 2005 ii: 83-130; Drobner 2007: 283-90; Elm 2012; *EAC* 2: 281-3.

Gregory of Nyssa

Being the younger brother of Basil of Cappadocia, Gregory became similarly acknowledged Cappadocian Father, although he did not reach the same level of recognition as Basil. He did not become a prolific writer until later in life (fl. 380s-90, d. c. 400).

Edition: Collected works in Jaeger *et al.* 1952-.

References to Alexander: *Letter* 8; *Against Harmonius* 8.1.132; *Encomium of Stephen Protomartyr* p. 26 Lendle; *Life of Gregory the Wonderworker PG* 46.901; *Against Destiny* 3.2.54.

Discussion: Quasten iii: 254-82; *RAC* 12: 863-95; Young 1983: 92-122; *EEC* 363-4; Moreschini & Norelli 2005 ii: 83-130; Drobner 2007: 277-83; Ludlow 2007; *EAC* 2: 183-6.

(Ps.)-Hegesippus

The first Christian translation of Flavius Josephus' *Jewish War* into Latin (370s?) is falsely attributed to Hegesippus, a second-century chronicler. It is really an adaptation more than a literal translation; the polemical author incorporates material from the *Jewish Antiquities* and makes many literary inventions not in Josephus or elsewhere.

Edition: *On the Fall of Jerusalem* in *CSEL* 66.

References to Alexander: *On the Fall of Jerusalem* 2.10, 3.5, 4.27, 5.19, 5.50, 5.53.

Discussion: *EEC* 371; *EAC* 2: 203; Pollard 2015.

Hesychius of Miletus

This Byzantine historian was an active part of Justinian I's court in Constantinople and author of several lost histories. Now only fragments remain of a universal history, a history of the reign of Justin I (c. 518-27) and a biography of intellectuals and artists.

Editions: fr. in *FHG* iv.

References to Alexander: fr. 7.

Discussion: *EEC* 379; *EAC* 2: 227-8.

Hilarianus, Quintus Julius

This obscure chronicler sought to show that the world would end after 6000 years.

Editions: *Course of Time* in Frick 1892.

References to Alexander: *Course of Time* p. 168-9.

Discussion: *EEC* 380; *EAC* 2: 234-5.

Hippolytus of Rome

Many early Biblical studies have been attributed to this obscure figure of the early third-century church at Rome. Primarily concerned with the demonstration of the Gospel, Hippolytus wrote exegetical, apologetic, pedagogical and polemical works.

Editions: *Commentary on Daniel* in *GCS* NF 7; *On Christ and the Antichrist* in *GCS* 1, *Refutation of all Heresies* in *GCS* 26. Ps.-Hippolytus *Collection of Chronologies* in *GCS* 46.

References to Alexander: *Commentary on Daniel* 2.12 (*GCS* NF 7.88), 4.3 (*GCS* NF 7.200-2), 4.5 (*GCS* NF 7.206), 4.7 (*GCS* NF 7.210), 4.26 (*GCS* NF 7.254-6), 4.41 (*GCS* NF 7.290); *On the Antichrist* § 24, § 28, § 32, § 49; *Refutation of all Heresies* 1. 24.7, 4.5.5; *Collection of Chronologies* § 17 (*GSC* 46.7), § 715 (*GSC* 46.122-3), § 117 (*GSC* 46.124), §§ 742-3 (*GSC* 46.136).

Discussion: Quasten ii: 163-97; *RAC* 15: 492-551; *EEC* 383-4; Cerrato 2002; Moreschini & Norelli 2005 i: 232-47; Drobner 2007: 122-5; *EAC* 2: 244-52.

Jerome of Stridon

Together with Eusebius of Caesarea, Jerome was undoubtedly one of the greatest figures of the early church. He lived in the East but wrote for the Latin West. This cultural exchange makes his *oeuvre* very significant and special. There are so many works extant that we can get a good impression of his intellectual activities. He was not just a prolific exegete, man of letters, orator and scholar, but also the authoritative translator of the Bible. His works are fundamental for understanding the early Christian use of Alexander.

Editions: *Commentary on Daniel* in *CCSL* 75a; *Chronicle* in *GCS* 47; *Questions in Genesis* in *CCSL* 72; *Commentary on Isaiah* in *CCSL* 73a; *Commentary on Jeremiah* in *CCSL* 74; *Commentary on Ezekiel* in *CCSL* 75; *Commentary on the Minor Prophets* in *CCSL* 76, 76a; *Sermons* in *CCSL* 78; *Against Jovian* in *PL* 23.221-352; *Against Rufinus* in *SC* 303; *Letters* in *CSEL* 54-6; *Life of Hilarion* in *SC* 508.

References to Alexander: *Commentary on Daniel* prologue (*CCSL* 75a.775), 1.2.32 (*CCSL* 75a.794), 1.2.47 (*CCSL* 75a.796), 1.2.5 (*CCSL* 75a.841), 1.2.6 (*CCSL* 75a.841-2), 1.2.7

(*CCSL* 75a.843), 2.8.4 (*CCSL* 75a.852), 2.8.5-8 (*CCSL* 75a.853-4), 2.8.14 (*CCSL* 75a.855), 3.9.1 (*CCSL* 75a.860), 3.9.24 (*CCSL* 75a.872), 3.9.24 (*CCSL* 75a.882), 3.10.20-1 (*CCSL* 75a.895-6), 3.11.2-3 (*CCSL* 75a.898-9), 4.11.21 (*CCSL* 75a.914); *Chronicle GCS* 47.121-4; *Questions in Genesis* (*CCSL* 72.17); *Commentary on Isaiah* 5.17.1 (*CCSL* 73.183), 5.20.1 (*CCSL* 73.202), 5.23.1 (*CCSL* 73.217); *Commentary on Jeremiah* 1.95 (*CCSL* 74.53-4), 5.24 (*CCSL* 74.244); *Commentary on Ezekiel* 8.26, 8.27, 9.29, 12.40; *Commentary on Hosea* 2.9.5-6 (*CCSL* 76.94); *Commentary on Joel* 1.4 (*CCSL* 76.163), 1.6-7 (*CCSL* 76.167); *Commentary on Amos* 1.1.10 (*CCSL* 76.225), 2.5.18 (*CCSL* 76.291); *Commentary on Nahum* 3.8-9 (*CCSL* 76a.562-3); *Commentary on Zechariah* 1.6.1-8 (*CCSL* 76a.793-4); *Fourteenth Treatise on the Psalms*; *Against Jovian* 2.14; *Against Rufinus* 3.40; *Letters* 77.8, 97.1, 107.4, 107.13; *Life of Hilarion* prologue.

Discussion: Quasten iv: 212-9, 227, 234-5, 237-8, 242-46; *RAC* 15: 117-39; *EEC* 430-1; Williams 2006; Moreschini & Norelli 2005 ii: 298-320; Drobner 2007: 339-51; *EAC* 2: 398-401.

John Chrysostom

This powerful preacher of Antioch, later the Patriarch of Constantinople, was taught by the pagan schoolmaster Libanius. He was ordained deacon of Antioch in 381. Coming to Constantinople in 398, he was consecrated bishop. After a few years of political controversy, he was exiled in 403 and died later in 407 near the Black Sea. Prodigious writer he is primarily know for his literary *oeuvre*, especially the liturgy.

Editions: most of his works are still only found in *PG* 47-64.

References to Alexander: *Against the Opposition to Monastic Life PG* 47.337; *Against the Jews PG* 48.893-4; *Admonition to Catechumens* 2.5 *PG* 49.240; *On the Edict PG* 50.797-8; 26th *Homily on 2 Corinthians PG* 61.580-1; *Second Homily on* 1 Thessalonians *PG* 62.399; *Commentary on Daniel PG* 56.230, 232, 234; *Synopsis of Scripture PG* 56.383.

Discussion: Quasten iii: 424-73; *RAC* 18: 426-503; Young 1983: 143-58; *EEC* 440-2; Moreschini & Norelli 2005 ii: 146-61; Drobner 2007: 327-36; *EAC* 2: 429-36.

John Malalas

This sixth-century orator and Byzantine historian composed a universal history in 17 books.

Edition: *Chronograph* in Thurn 2000.

References to Alexander: *Chronograph* 7.19, 8.1-6, 8.29, 10.10, 12.20, 16.15.

Discussion: Jeffreys 1990; *EEC* 443; Moreschini & Norelli 2005 ii: 703-4; Treadgold 2007; *EAC* 2: 437-8.

John Lydus

This man served as a civil servant of Constantinople during the reign of Justinian I. From his writings it is clear that he was interested in antiquarianism and was part of the intellectual milieu of Constantinople.

Editions: *On the Magistrates* in Wüensch 1903; *On the Months* in Wüensch 1898.

References to Alexander: *On the Magistrates* p. 40, p. 50; *On the Months* p. 102, p. 103, p. 146.

Discussion: Maas 1992.

John Moscus

This sixth-century ascetic was the travelling companion of Sophronius, who was to become the Patriarch of Jerusalem. He wrote hagiographical accounts of the hermits the pair encountered on their travels.

Edition: *Spiritual Meadows* in *SC* 12.

References to Alexander: *Spiritual Meadows* § 77.

Discussion: *EEC* 443-44; Stoneman 2008: 58.

Jordanes

This sixth-century Byzantine historian was the author of Latin history of the Goths, an epitome of Cassiodorus' Gothic history (otherwise lost), and a history of the Romans.

Editions: *History of the Goths* (paragraphs from Mierow 1915); *Roman History* in *MGH AA* 5.

References to Alexander: *History of the Goths* § 50, § 57, §§ 65-66, § 116; *Roman History MGH* AA 5.1.

Discussion: *EEC* 451; Moreschini & Norelli 2005 ii: 503; *EAC* 2: 458-9.

Julius Africanus

This well-travelled Severan philosopher was a contemporary of Origen, an erudite apologetic and a skilled librarian (d. c. 240). His works, the *Chronograph* and the *Miscellany* (Greek *Kestoi, Stitches* or *Embroideries*), reflect his diverse literary pursuits.

Editions: *Chronograph* in *GCS* NF 15, *Miscellany* in *GCS* NF 18.

References to Alexander: *Chronograph* F 65 pp. 206-7, F 73 pp. 227-8, F 82 pp. 244-5, F 84 pp. 252-3, F 86 pp. 254-5; *Miscellany* F 12.1, F 12.2, D(ubia) 17.

Discussion: Quasten ii: 137-9; *RAC* 19: 508-18; *EEC* 460-1; Muhlberger 2006: 12-3; Ogden 2007: 461; *EAC* 2: 488.

Ps.-Justin Martyr

A third-century exhortation has falsely been attributed to Justin Martyr.

Edition: *Exhortation to the Greeks* in *SC* 528.

References to Alexander: *Exhortation* § 5, §§ 12-3.

Discussion: *EEC* 464; *RAC* 19: 848-73; Moreschini & Norelli 2005 i: 198-203; Drobner 2007: 77-81; *EAC* 2: 495-7.

Lactantius

This North African grammarian and rhetor (c. 260-330) had close ties to the imperial family, teaching Constantine's son Crispus. One of the last apologists from the persecuted era and a prolific writer known from his treasured rhetorical style.

Edition: *Divine Institutes* in *SC* 326 (book 1); 337 (2); 377 (4).

References to Alexander: *Divine Institutes* 1.6.8, 2.7.19, 4.14.11.

Discussion: Quasten ii: 392-10; *RAC* 22: 795-825; Moreschini & Norelli 2005 i: 398-404; Drobner 2007: 182-3; *EAC* 2: 551-3.

Mark the Deacon

This fifth-century author was the hagiographer of Porphyry, the bishop of Gaza.

Edition: *Life of Porphyry* in Hübner 2013.

Reference to Alexander: *Life of Porphyry* § 18.

Discussion: *EEC* 527; *EAC* 2: 686-7.

Methodius of Olympus

Little is known of this apologist who was martyred in 311 on Euboea. He is presumed to have been the bishop of Olympus in Lycia.

Edition: *On the Resurrection* in *GCS* 27.

Reference to Alexander: *On the Resurrection* § 28.

Discussion: *RAC* 24: 768-84; *EEC* 557; *EAC* 2: 791-2.

Minucius Felix

This early third-century, perhaps even second-century, apologist is one of the earliest witnesses to the high style of the North African church.

Editions: *Octavius* in Pellegrino *et al.* 2000.

Reference to Alexander: *Octavius* § 21.

Discussion: Quasten ii: 155-62; *RAC* 24: 804-27; *EEC* 562-3; Moreschini & Norelli 2005 i: 361-3; Drobner 2007: 164-5; *EAC* 2: 808-10.

Nonnus of Panopolis

This epic poet of Egyptian origin composed his poems in the early- or mid-fifth century (d. c. 470). His mythological poem about the pagan wine god Dionysus, the *Dionysiaca*, is the longest surviving work of Christian antiquity in 48 books of Greek hexameter poetry.

Edition: *Dionysiaca* in Vian *et al.* 1976-2006.

Reference to Alexander: *Dionysiaca* 7.128 (indirect).

Discussion: Quasten iii: 144-5; *EEC* 599; Moreschini & Norelli 2005 ii: 185-87; *EAC* 2: 923-4.

Origen of Alexandria

Origen, the so-called Man of Steel (or diamond), was a towering intellectual of the early third-century church (d. c. 254). We know so much about him since Eusebius of Caesarea devoted considerable space to his life in the *Church History* (book 6). Origen's endless labours with Biblical and philosophical knowledge began in Alexandria and were eventually moved to Caesarea in Palestine. Here he founded one of the finest Christian libraries. The importance of his work was marred by the Origenist

Controversy,[1] a dogmatic dispute over his elitism and close relationship to Greek philosophy. Yet, he remains one of the most influential Biblical scholars of Christian antiquity.

Editions: *Commentary on Genesis* in *SC* 7; *Against Celsus* in *SC* 132, 136, 147, 150. A collection of Origen's thought, the *Philocalia*, was made by the Cappadocian Fathers. This text is found in *SC* 226, 302 (cf. *EEC* 682).

References to Alexander: *Commentary on Genesis* 1.8; *Against Celsus* 5.50.

Discussion: Quasten ii: 37-74; *EEC* 619-23; Moreschini & Norelli 2005 i: 268-303; Drobner 2007: 136-48; *EAC* 2: 977-83.

Orosius

This Spanish presbyter was in the circle of Augustine and Jerome, but also a prolific author himself. His *History Against the Pagans* is a universal Christian history in 7 books, beginning with the Flood and ending in AD 417.

Edition: *History against the Pagans* in Arnaud-Lindet 1990-1.

References to Alexander: 1.2.4-6, 1.2.9, 1.4.5, 1.16.2, 3.7.5, 3.15.1, 3.15.10, 3.16-20, 3.23.4, 3.23.14, 4.13, 4.6.21, 5.22.3, 6.21.19-20, 7.2.5, 7.34.5, 7.42.13.

Discussion: Quasten iv: 494-98; *EEC* 624-5; Moreschini & Norelli 2005 ii: 413-4; *EAC* 2: 6.

Ps.-Palladius of Helenopolis

This fifth-century monk was originally from Galatia in Asia Minor, but travelled around in both Palestine and Egypt. A treatise on Alexander and the Brahmans of India is attributed to him (and Arrian!).

Edition: *On the Brahmans* in Berghoff 1967.

References to Alexander: *On the Brahmans* passim.

Discussion: Quasten iii: 178-80; *EEC* 636-7; *EAC* 3: 27-8.

Paulinus of Pella

This Pellean poet composed his *Thanksgiving*, a Latin poem about his faith in God, when he was in his eighties (mid-fifth century AD).

Edition: *Thanksgiving* in *SC* 209.

1 Clark 1992; Banev 2015.

Reference to Alexander: *Thanksgiving* ll. 24-6 (*CSEL* 16(1).292).

Discussion: Quasten iv: 330-1; *EEC* 661; Moreschini & Norelli 2005 ii: 455; *EAC* 3: 120.

Philip of Side

This early fifth-century church historian was ostensibly ordained deacon and presbyter by John Chrysostom. He wrote a lost dismissal of Julian's *Against the Galileans*, as well as a *Christian History* in 36 books (composed c. 434-9). This great apologetic piece concerned the church from Creation to the year 426 because it posited Jesus had existed since Genesis.

Edition: *Christian History* in Heyden 2009: 171-4.

References to Alexander: *Church History* frs. 3.2, 5.2.

Discussion: Quasten iii: 528-30; *EEC* 681; Moreschini & Norelli 2005 ii: 696; Heyden 2006; *EAC* 3: 170.

Philostorgius

This Arian layman wrote a polemical continuation of Eusebius' *Church History* at the turn of the fifth century.

Edition: *Church History* in *GCS* 21.

References to Alexander: *Church History* 3.6 (*GCS* 21.35), 7.4-5 (*GCS* 21.83), 7.14-5 (*GCS* 21.100-1).

Discussion: Quasten iii: 530-2; Young 1983: 29-30; *EEC* 683-4; Moreschini & Norelli 2005 ii: 686; *EAC* 3: 179.

Priscian of Caesarea

This scholar taught Latin grammar in early fifth-century Constantinople. His theoretical handbook on grammar won him great fame in the Middle Ages, more so than his translations.

Editions: *Description of the Known World* in Van De Woestijne 1953; *Grammatical Institutes* in Roman & Galindo 2001.

References to Alexander: *Description of the Known World* 705-6; *Grammatical Institutes* 6 (p. 224), 7 (p. 294), 16 (p. 98).

Discussion: *EEC* 711; *EAC* 3: 308.

Procopius of Gaza

This Christian sophist was the head of a famous rhetorical school at Gaza around the turn of the sixth century.

Editions: *Commentary on Isaiah* in *PG* 87b; *Letters* in Garzya & Loenertz 1963.

References to Alexander: *Commentary on Isaiah PG* 87b.2121, 2629; *Letters* 3, 99, 104.

Discussion: *EEC* 713; Romeny 2007; Amato 2010; *EAC* 3: 314-5.

Prosper of Aquitaine

This Gallic chronicler and layman was a disciple of Augustine.

Edition: *Chronicle* in *MGH* AA 9.

References to Alexander: *MGH* AA 9.395.

Discussion: Quasten iv: 555; Markus 1986; Muhlberger 2006: 48-55; *EEC* 717; Moreschini & Norelli 2005 ii: 419-22 (Prosper Tiro); *EAC* 3: 327-8.

Scaliger's Chronograph

This composite historical compendium is of Alexandrian origin. It was originally compiled in the late fifth- or early sixth century, but we only know of it in a Merovingian Latin manuscript (BnF 4884), discovered by Joseph Justus Scaliger. The text has the shape of a universal chronograph with royal lists, shorter historical narratives, calendars and other dating systems.

Edition: Garstad 2012.

References to Alexander: 1.6.6, 1.8.4-6, 1.9.1.

Discussion: *ODB* i s.v. Alexandrian world chronicle; *EEC* 109; Garstad 2012; Burgess 2013; *EAC* 1: 326.

Sidonius Apollinaris

This classically trained poet was a Gallic aristocrat and politician, active in the mid-fifth century. He is most famous for the high style of his letters and poetic panegyrics that give a glimpse of the high culture in Christian Gaul.

Edition: *Letters* and *Poems* in Mohr 1895.

References to Alexander: *Letters* 3.12; *Panegyrics* 2.80-1, 2.121-3, 5.200-1, 9.50-64.

Discussion: *RAC* 1: 522-4; *EEC* 778-9; Moreschini & Norelli 2005 ii: 457-9; Waarden & Kelly 2013; *EAC* 3: 583-4.

Socrates of Constantinople

This Byzantine church historian continued Eusebius' *Church History* from the sole reign of Constantine up until his own times in the mid-fifth century (ending in 439).

Edition: *Church History* in *SC* 477, 493, 505, 506.

References to Alexander: *Church History* 1.13.13 (*GCS* NF 1.52), 3.3.5 (*GCS* NF 1.194), 3.21.6-7 (*GCS* NF 1.216-7), 3.23.53-61 (*GCS* NF 1.224), 7.13.16 (*GCS* NF 1.359).

Discussion: Quasten iii: 532-4; Young 1983:23-8; *EEC* 785; Urbainczyk 1997; Moreschini & Norelli 2005 ii: 687-89; *EAC* 3: 608-9.

Sozomen

Being the older contemporary of Socrates of Constantinople, this lawyer also wrote a history of the church in Constantinople in the mid-fifth century (c. 440-3).

Edition: *Church History* in *GCS* NF 4.

References to Alexander: *Church History* preface.14-5 (*GCS* NF 4.4), 5.7.8-9 (*GCS* NF 4.203), 7.204-5 (*GCS* NF 4.333).

Discussion: Quasten iii: 534-6; Young 1983: 31-33; Harries 1986; Moreschini & Norelli 2005 ii: 690-93; *EAC* 3: 622-3.

Sulpicius Severus

This aristocratic lawyer became an ascetic monk under the influence of St. Martin of Tours, whom he wrote a hagiographical account about (*Life of Saint Martin* (c. 397). Sulpicius was trained in the urban school of Bordeaux in the late fourth and early fifth centuries. His *Holy History* is a universal history from Creation to his day. Its focus is primarily to explicate the history of the OT and the development of the Christian church after the Gospel narratives (which he omits because it is assumed to be basic to all his readers).

Edition: *Holy History* in *SC* 441.

References to Alexander: *Holy History* 2.3 (*SC* 441.227-8), 2.17 (*SC* 441.267-8).

Discussion: Bernays 1861; Hýlten 1940; Quasten iv: 537-42; Murru 1979; *EEC* 799; Van Andel 1976; Weber 1997; Moreschini & Norelli 2005 ii: 351-2; *EAC* 3: 652-4.

Synesius of Cyrene

This Alexandrian intellectual was taught by the female Neo-Platonist philosopher Hypatia around 400. Later in life (c. 409), he was consecrated bishop of North Africa.

Editions: collected works in Lamoureux *et al.* 1978-2008.

References to Alexander: *Encomium of Baldness* § 15-6; *On Monarchy* § 15.

Discussion: Quasten iii: 106-13; Young 1983: 170-7; *EEC* 806; Cameron & Long 1993: 13-70; Hagl 1997 (with care); Moreschini & Norelli 2005 ii: 178-84; *EAC* 3: 680-2.

Tatian of Syria

This self-pronounced disciple of Justin Martyr was an apologist of Syrian origin. His polemical treatise *Against the Greeks* shows evidence of his rhetorical training and his (unpronounced) Christian sympathies.

Edition: *Against the Greeks* in Marcovich 1995.

References to Alexander: *Against the Greeks* 2.1, 36.1.

Discussion: *EEC* 815; Moreschini & Norelli 2005 i: 204-5; Drobner 2007: 83-5; *EAC* 3: 706-8.

Tertullian of Carthage

This bilingual lawyer is an important witness to the nascent North African church. His monumental writings in convoluted Latin sought to explain the Christian faith in traditional terms and, for all that they are filled with showy sophisms, they are relevant for observing the process of the construction of a Christian identity in Carthage.

Editions: collected works in *CCSL* 1-2. Updated versions: *Against Marcion* in *SC* 365; *On the Mantle in SC* 513; *Against the Valentinians* in *SC* 280-1.

References to Alexander: *Apology* § 11.15 (*CCSL* 1.108), § 46.15 (*CCSL* 1.162); *Against Marcion* 1.7.2 (*CCSL* 1.448); *On the Mantle* 3.5 (*CCSL* 2.739), 4.6 (*CCSL* 2.744); *Against Valentinus* § 15.3 (*CCSL* 2.766); *On the Soul* § 46.5 (*CCSL* 2.851), 50.3 (*CCSL* 2.856); *Against the Jews* § 7.7 (*CCSL* 2.1355), § 8.10 (*CCSL* 2.1359-60).

Discussion: *EEC* 818-20; Quasten ii: 246-318; Drobner 2007: 153-63; *EAC* 3: 716-23.

Theodore the Lector

This Byzantine church historian was a reader, *lector*, at the Hagia Sophia in the reign of Justinian I. Like Cassiodorus, he turned the three church histories of Socrates, Sozomen and Theodoret into a single, selective narrative.

Edition: *Tripartite Church History* in *GCS* NF 3.

References to Alexander: *Tripartite Church History* 1.21 (*GCS* NF 3.11).

Discussion: *EEC* 827; *EAC* 3: 749.

Theodoret of Cyrrhus

This important Antiochene theologian was a fifth-century bishop of Cyrrhus in Syria. He was in the circles of the great clergy of the Syriac East and was deeply involved in the affairs of church and state. His Greek works are extremely erudite and stylish, reflecting his Christian education in rhetoric and Biblical studies. He is a significant witness to the positive reception of Alexander in the eastern churches.

Editions: collected works in *PG* 80-4. Newer editions: *Cure of Greek Maladies* in *SC* 57; *Questions and Responses*; *Questions in the Octateuch* in Marcos & Sáenz-Badillos 1979.

References to Alexander: *Commentary on Daniel passim*; *Questions in the Octateuch* p. 221; *Commentary on the Psalms PG* 80.864; *Commentary on Jeremiah PG* 81.712, 81.741; *Commentary on the Minor Prophets PG* 81.1804, 81.1805; *Cure of Greek Maladies* 8.60.

Discussion: Quasten iii: 536-4; Young 1983: 265-90; *EEC* 827-8; Moreschini & Norelli 2005 ii: 162-73, 694-6; Drobner 2007: 472-77; *EAC* 3: 749-72.

Venantius Fortunatus

This sixth-century Latin poet was employed at the Merovingian courts of Gaul before he became the bishop of Poitiers in c. 600. His literary abilities won him great repute in life and in death.

Editions: collected poems in Reydellet 1994-2004.

References to Alexander: *Poems* 10.2 (p. 231); *Destruction of Thuringia* (p. 273); *In Praise of the Holy Mary* (p. 378).

Discussion: *EAC* 3: 883.

Verecundus of Iunca

Little is known of this obscure North African bishop. He lived in Iunca in Byzacena during the sixth century and composed commentaries *inter alia* on ecclesiastical music.

Editions: *Commentarii super Cantica Ecclesiastica* in *CCSL* 93.

Reference to Alexander: *Commentary* § 22.

Discussion: *EEC* 863; *EAC* 3: 885-6.

Bibliography

a. Abbreviations

Abbreviations of primary texts, as well as the most frequently used reference works, are provided below. Journal abbreviations for the academic discipline of Classical Philology follow those of *L'Année Philologique*. 2013 was the most recent year of that database available to me. All web-pages were accessible as per 01-11-2015.

ACCS	*Ancient Christian Commentary on Scripture.* Downers Grove, IL.
ANF	*Ante-Nicene Fathers*. Grand Rapids, MI.
ANRW	Temporini & Haase 1972-.
AR	Kroll 1926. Cf. Stoneman 2007-.
AR β	Bergson 1965.
AR γ	Von Lauenstein 1962; Engelmann 1963; Parthe 1969.
AR Arm.	Wolohojian 1969. Cf. Raabe 1896.
AR Syr.	Budge 2003.
BE	Sheppard 2008.
Bedjan	Bedjan 1890-97.
BHO	Peeters 1910.
BNJ	*Brill's New Jacoby.* Leiden.
BNP	*Brill's New Pauly*. Leiden.
CAH	*Cambridge Ancient History*. Cambridge, UK.
CCCM	*Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis*. Turnhout.
CCSG	*Corpus Christianorum Series Graeca*. Turnhout.
CCSL	*Corpus Christianorum Series Latina*. Turnhout.
CHC	Young & Mitchell 2006.
CHECL	Young *et al.* 2004.
CSCO	*Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium*. Leuven.
CSEL	*Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum.* Salzburg.
EAC	Di Berardino *et al.* 2014.
EEC	Di Berardino 1992.
FGH	Jacoby 1923-.
FHG	Müller 1841-1870.
GCS	*Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten Jahrhunderte*. Berlin.

GCS NF	*Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten Jahrhunderte.* Neue Folge. Berlin.
Heckel	Heckel 2006.
Julius Valerius	Foubert 2014. Cf. Müller 1846; Rosellini 2004; Callu 2010.
LCL	Loeb Classical Library. London & Cambridge, MA.
LexMA	*Lexicon des Mittelalters*. Brepolis Online 2009-.
MGH	*Monumenta Germaniae Historica*. Munich.
AA	Auctores Antiquissimi.
P	Poetae.
SS M	Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum.
SS G	Scriptores rerum Germanicarum.
NOAB	Coogan 2010.
OCD[4]	Hornblower *et al.* 2012.
ODB	Kazhdan *et al.* 1991.
OHECS	Harvey & Hunter 2008.
Pfister	Pfister 1976.
PG	Migne 1857-66.
PL	Migne 1844-55.
Quasten	Quasten & Di Berardino 1986.
RAC	*Das Reallexicon für Antike und Christentum*. Stuttgart.
SC	*Sources Chrétiennes*. Lyon.
Scaliger's Chronograph	Garstad 2012 (*Excerpta Latini Barbari*, Burgess 2013).
SEG	*Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*. Leiden.
TLG	*Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*. Irvine, CA.
TLL	*Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*. Munich.
TRE	*Theologische Realenzyklopädie*. Berlin.

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