


## MALALAS ON THE MACCABEES: A REAPPRAISAL<sup>1</sup>

Krystyna Stebnicka

 <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-9092-894X>

University of Warsaw

### Abstract

The article examines the account of John Malalas of Antioch concerning the reign of Antiochos IV Epiphanes and the events preceding the Maccabean revolt. In Book VIII of the *Chronographia*, Malalas combines elements of local Antiochene historiography, pro-Seleukid dossiers, and Christian interpretations. Particularly significant are those sections of Book VIII that present a Seleukid version of events in Palestine prior to the outbreak of the revolt, emphasizing economic crisis and fiscal disputes with Egypt, in which Antiochus appears as the defender of the Jews against Ptolemaic taxation. This narrative constitutes a characteristic Malalan interwinning of local legend and historical detail, which should not be dismissed, as it preserves a tradition independent of the 1 and 2 Books of the Maccabees.

**Keywords:** John Malalas' *Chronographia*, Seleukid history, Antiochos IV Epiphanes, Antiochene historiography, Maccabean revolt.

The *Chronographia* of John Malalas,<sup>2</sup> generally considered the earliest Byzantine world chronicle, presents a universal history that integrates political narrative, *historia sacra*, and local historiography, composed from a distinctly Christian perspective. It covers events from the creation of the world—dated, in an unconventional scheme, to 6,000 years before the Ascension of Jesus Christ<sup>3</sup>—down to 563 CE. Some scholars have suggested that

---

<sup>1</sup> This article was prepared within the framework of the National Science Centre (NCN) grant “Before Monotheism? The Religions of Judah in the Persian and Early Hellenistic Periods (5<sup>th</sup>–3<sup>rd</sup> c. BCE) in the Light of Iconographic, Epigraphic, and Biblical Sources” (UMO-2020/39/G/HS3/02059, Principal Investigator: Ł. Niesiołowski-Spanò).

<sup>2</sup> The title of Malalas's work is uncertain: John of Damascus gives it as *Chronographia*, while in the Constantinian excerpts (*De virtutibus*; *De insidiis*) it appears as *Historia*; see Croke 1990, 27; Schultz – Meier 2024, 246.

<sup>3</sup> Elizabeth Jeffreys has argued that this era mundi chronology was directed polemically against Syrian chiliasts, who expected the end of the world, accompanied by major natural catastrophes, upon the completion of the sixth millennium; see Jeffreys 1990d, 111–166.

the final Book XVIII may extend to 565 CE, the end of Justinian's reign, or even into the reign of Justin II.<sup>4</sup> Little is known about Malalas himself.<sup>5</sup> He was born ca. 490–500 CE; the date of his death remains unknown. Later sources refer to him as John of Antioch, John the Rhetor, and John Malalas or Malelas, the latter being a sobriquet derived from the Syriac root *ml*, meaning “eloquent” or “learned.”<sup>6</sup> An Antiochene by origin, he probably served in the office of the *comes Orientis*, as indicated by his access to municipal documents and his familiarity with administrative language. He later moved to Constantinople, most likely after 535 CE, when the office of the *comes Orientis* was abolished, which necessitated a change of career.

The aim of this article is to examine Malalas's account of the reign of Antiochos IV Epiphanes, with particular emphasis on the passage dealing with the situation in Palestine on the eve of the Maccabean revolt, and to elucidate both the narrative strategies employed by Malalas and the sources on which this sixth-century historian relied. Methodologically, it argues that recourse to a sixth-century Byzantine chronicler (whose standing as a historian is often contested) to investigate the origins of the Maccabean revolt is in itself a novel approach, challenging the routine dismissal of such material and demonstrating its value for reconstructing early political history.

These episodes belong to Book VIII, a section which (despite the recent growth of interest in Malalas and new directions of inquiry<sup>7</sup>) has received comparatively little scholarly attention. However, it is necessary to begin with a note on the manuscript tradition of Malalas. The manuscript tradition of the *Chronicle* is complex.<sup>8</sup> Books II–XVIII survive primarily in *Codex Bodleianus Baroccianus* 182 (Ba), the sole manuscript witness for this part of the text.<sup>9</sup> Copied in the twelfth century, *Baroccianus* 182 does not preserve Malalas's original work but an abridged and revised version. Book VIII is also preserved in a Church Slavonic (Slav) translation produced in tenth-century Bulgaria and transmitted in Russian manuscripts of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.<sup>10</sup> The Slavonic represents an independent textual branch of Malalas's *Chronicle* and in many passages is fuller than the Greek of *Baroccianus* 182. The original wording of Malalas is lost, both the extant Greek and the Slavonic derive from an epitomized redaction. The witnesses closest to the archetype are the so-called *Fragmenta Tusculana* (late sixth–early seventh century), the earliest surviving excerpts from Malalas, and the Excerpts commissioned by Constantine VII (tenth century), though neither preserves the material of Book VIII. Thus, in the passages under consideration, it is necessary to compare the Greek and the Old Church Slavonic versions.

Book VIII is structured as follows. The opening chapters are devoted to Alexander the Great (1–5, ed. Thurn 2000, pp. 146–148). Alexander appears in rather conventional

<sup>4</sup> The medieval compilation commonly called the *Laterculus imperatorum Romanorum Malalianus* includes portions of Malalas together with an imperial list from Augustus to Justin II (see Stevenson 1990; Thurn 2000, 14). It cannot be ruled out that the “original” text of Malalas extended into the reign of Justin II (565–578).

<sup>5</sup> On life of Malalas see Croke 1990; Thurn 2000, 1–4; Jeffreys 2003, 501–508; Schulz – Meier 2024, 244–246.

<sup>6</sup> See Szabat 2015, no. 518.

<sup>7</sup> I am referring above all to the research center at the University of Tübingen led by M. Meier, and to the publication series “Malalas-Studien,” which has been appearing since 2016.

<sup>8</sup> See Jeffreys – Croke – Scott 1990, 311 (“Transmission of Malalas”); Thurn 2000, 4–13 (and stemmata on p. 16).

<sup>9</sup> Jeffreys 1990c, 245–248; Thurn 2000, 11–12.

<sup>10</sup> On Slavonic version, see Franklin 1990.

terms as the conqueror of Darius, the subjugator of twenty-two barbarian peoples (ὕπεταξε δὲ βαρβάρων ἔθνη κβ'), and the founder of numerous cities. More interesting are certain additions found in Malalas: before founding Alexandria the king sacrificed a young virgin (θυσίασας κόρην παρθένον) named *Macedonia*. Setting out eastward from Egypt, he came to *Byzoupolis* in Europe, where he established a *Strategion*; he then proceeded to *Diskoi* in Bithynia, which he renamed *Chrysopolis*, and afterwards he went to Troy. In Malalas' account, Candace is presented as the queen of India: she recognized Alexander when he disguised himself as an ordinary soldier, captured him, and subsequently became his wife. As Gabriele Marasco has shown,<sup>11</sup> the motif of the "virgin sacrifice" accompanies foundation-stories also connected with Antioch and Laodicea. Alexander's itinerary Egypt–Byzantium–Chrysopolis–Troy serves to link the foundation of Constantinople with Alexander the Great, and, despite the earlier attestation of Chrysopolis in Xenophon, to emphasize the site of Constantine's victory over Licinius. The episode of Queen Candace, classically situated in the *Pseudo-Callisthenes* (III, 18–23) at Meroë in Ethiopia (where "Candace" is not a personal name but the dynastic title of the queens of the Meroitic kingdom) and echoed in the *Acts of the Apostles* 8:27 ("queen of the Ethiopians"), is displaced by Malalas to the interior of India and concluded with an invented marriage that magnifies the Macedonian. It is necessary to agree with Marasco that all these modifications and additions reflect Syrian/Antiochene versions that arose in late antique tradition: "Christianized" foundation-legends (with the virgin-sacrifice motif functioning as a critique of pagan ritual), an Alexander itinerarium recast in the light of Constantinian history, and a reworked Alexander Romance.

The succession after Alexander's death is described in the following chapters as a succession of rulers in Greece, Asia, and Egypt (5–9, ed. Thurn 2000, pp. 148–150), with particular emphasis on the claim that it was Alexander himself who assigned Egypt and Libya to Ptolemy, the son of Lagos (6: Τῆς δὲ Αἰγύπτου καὶ τῆς Λιβύης ἦν διαταξάμενος ὁ αὐτὸς Ἀλέξανδρος κρατεῖν καὶ βασιλεῦεν Πτολεμαῖον τὸν Λάγου). The list of rulers from the Ptolemaic dynasty (6–8, ed. Thurn 2000, pp. 148–149), together with their regnal years, may derive from a tradition ultimately based on the *Chronographiae* of Julius Africanus or from the conflation of several sources.<sup>12</sup> The narrative concerning Hellenistic

<sup>11</sup> Marasco 1997.

<sup>12</sup> Malalas' list of the Ptolemaic dynasty:

Ptolemies in Egypt	Malalas
Ptolemy I Soter 305–282 BCE	Ptolemy, son of Lagos 42 ys (40 corr. Gelzer)
Ptolemy II Philadelphos 282–246 BCE	Ptolemy his son
Ptolemy III Euergetes c. 246–222 BCE	Ptolemy III Philadelphos 37
Ptolemy IV Philopator c. 222–205 BCE	Ptolemy IV Euergetes 25
Ptolemy V Epiphanes 204–180 BCE	Ptolemy V Philopator 17
Ptolemy VI Philometor 180–145 BCE	Ptolemy VI Epiphanes – (25 Slav)
	Ptolemy VII Philometor 11
	Five other Ptolemies 92 (190 Slav)
Ptolemy XII Auletes 80–51 BCE	Ptolemy XII Dionysios 29
Cleopatra VII Philopator 69–30 BCE	Cleopatra (Ptolemy XIII) 22 (29 Slav)

On the influence of the *Chronographiae* of Julius Africanus on Malalas, see Roberto 2017. Jeffreys 1990d, 136, does not exclude the possibility that Malalas "is combining a multiplicity of sources, often in a corrupt form."

Egypt is devoid of political events; the only notice is the annexation of Egypt by Rome after the victory of Augustus.

In chapter 10 (ed. Thurn 2000, p. 150) begins the history of the Seleukid kingdom, which extends through chapter 33 (ed. Thurn 2000, p. 160). The opening sentence states that it was Alexander the Great who granted Seleukos I Syria, Babylonia, and Palestine (Τῆς δὲ Συρίας καὶ Βαβυλωνίας καὶ Παλαιστίνης διετάξατο κρατεῖν καὶ βασιλεύειν Σέλευκον τὸν Νικάτορα). Historically, of course, this is untenable; yet Malalas' version is consistent with Seleukid legitimating propaganda.<sup>13</sup> In describing the Seleukid realm, Malalas cannot be relying on standard chronography but instead draws on a pro-Seleukid dossier, one that legitimizes Seleukos' authority over Babylonia and represents Palestine as his permanent possession, without any mention of the obvious fact that, after Ipsos (301 BCE), these territories were seized by Ptolemy despite Seleukos' protests, setting the stage for the long Seleukid-Ptolemaic struggle for the region. It was presumably the version transmitted by Malalas's sources, well established in his own era.

The narrative framework for the history of the Seleukid kingdom is provided by the following list of rulers:

<b>Modern identification / correction of the Seleukids</b>	<b>Dates</b>	<b>Malalas' kings</b>	<b>Characterization of reign (in Malalas)</b>	<b>Malalas' years of reign</b>
Seleukos I Nikator	312–281 BCE	Seleukos Nikator (ch. 10–19 ed. Thurn 2000, pp. 150–154)	<b>Detailed story</b>	Not given
Antiochos I Soter	281–261 BCE	Antiochos Soter, married his stepmother Stratonike, had 2 sons: Seleukos (died) and Antiochos Theoeides	Marries Stratonike; sons: Seleukos (died) and Antiochos "Theoeides"	20
Antiochos II Theos called "Theos" for being honored in Miletus	261–246 BCE	Antiochos Theoeides	Father of Seleukos Kallinikos by Berenike	15
Seleukos II Kallinikos	246–225 BCE	Seleukos Kallinikos	Brief regnal notice	24
Seleukos III Soter (originally named Alexander, took the name Seleukos at accession)	226–223 BCE	Alexander Nikator	Brief regnal notice	36
Antiochos III the Great	223–187 BCE	Antiochos Grypos	Brief regnal notice	36

<sup>13</sup> Marasco 1997, 33–34.

<b>Modern identification / correction of the Seleukids</b>	<b>Dates</b>	<b>Malalas' kings</b>	<b>Characterization of reign (in Malalas)</b>	<b>Malalas' years of reign</b>
Seleukos IV Philopator	187–175 BCE	Seleukos Philopator	Brief regnal notice	10
Antiochos IV Epiphanes	175–164 BCE	Antiochos Epiphanes (chapter 22, ed. Thurn 2000, pp. 155–156)	Brief regnal notice	12
Antiochos V Eupator	164–162 BCE	Antiochos Glaukos Hierax	Brief regnal notice	2
Demetrios I Soter	162–150 BCE	Demetrianos (chapter 23, ed. Thurn 2000, pp. 156–157)	History of Maccabee's remains	8
		Antiochos, grandson of Grypos and Laodike, daughter of the king of Kappadokia (24 ed. Thurn 2000, p. 157)	Earthquake in Antiochia on 21 <sup>st</sup> of the month Peritios = Februarius	9
Alexander Balas, Demetrios II Nikator, Antiochos VI Dionysos, Tryphon Diodotos	Kings between 150–137			
Antiochos VII Euergetes Sidetes	138–129 BCE	Antiochos Euergetes; the Parthians rebelled after a war they began a treaty of friendship. His son Antiochos Kyzikenos was married to Brittane, the daughter of Arsakes the Parthian		
1. Alexander II Zabinas 2. Antiochos VIII Grypos 3. Seleukos V 4. Antiochos IX Kyzikenos, 5. Antiochos X Eusebes, 6. Antiochos XI Epiphanes Philadeplphos 7. Philippos I 8. Demetrios III 9. Antiochos XII Dionysos	128–65 BCE	“After Antiochos Euergetes, there reigned nine other kings from his family”		

The first to draw attention to the list of Seleukid rulers preserved in Malalas was Glanville Downey.<sup>14</sup> He observed that in this narrative Malalas draws on a multiplicity of sources. Downey regarded the most striking example as the earthquake passage (under Antiochos, grandson of Grypos, see above) where Malalas juxtaposes three different systems of reckoning: “152 years from the foundation,” “122 years from the completion,” and “the eighth year of Antiochos, descendant of Grypos.” The conflation of such divergent dating indicates that the author was not relying on a single continuous source but rather combined traditions stemming from different dossiers. Downey added that the first part of the Seleukid list preserves consistency and accuracy in the totals of reigns, which suggests the use of a reliable king list. Later, however, the sequence becomes noticeably thinner and increasingly error-prone: epithets are wrongly assigned (for instance, “Grypos” attributed to Antiochos III), and fictitious figures appear (such as “Glaukos Hierax” in place of Eupator). This points to the intrusion of material of different provenance, of poorer quality, and more corrupt transmission. Downey also observed that further evidence for multiple sources lies in the fact that some Seleukid rulers appear in Malalas only in the Roman section (Antiochos Philadelphos = Antiochos XI Epiphanes Philadelphus, 92 BCE; Philip Barypous = Philip II, 67/6 BCE; 18 Antiochos Philopator = Antiochos IX or XII?). Here Malalas was evidently drawing on a separate city history or Roman-era compilation, independent of his earlier Seleukid narrative. Similarly, notices of Seleukid buildings occur only in connection with Roman events (repairs, destructions), which suggests that Malalas’ knowledge derived from municipal dossiers of the Roman period rather than from a Seleukid chronicle. In some cases, one can even detect traces of polemic, when Malalas juxtaposes conflicting versions concerning the same monuments.

Downey’s observations remain fundamental and persuasive: Malalas did not have before him a single book narrating the history of the Seleukid dynasty. Moreover, the author’s focus clearly falls on two figures—Seleukos Nikator, the founder of Antioch, and Antiochos IV Epiphanes. It is evident that Malalas is concerned with the origins of the Seleukid state and with Antiochos IV, a king well known to him from the Bible.

In Book VIII Malalas presents Seleukos Nikator above all as the *oikistes* of cities and the architect of the sacred and urban landscape of Syria. Of the political events of his reign Malalas mentions virtually only the defeat of Antigonos and the conquest of Asia Minor (ch. 10, ed. Thurn 2000, p. 150). The narrative instead unfolds as a sequence of foundation stories. To Seleukos are attributed the foundations of Seleukeia in Pieria, Laodikeia, Apameia, and above all Antioch—each accompanied by omens, a detailed catalogue of sacrifices, and accounts of dedications established by the king. Concrete dates are often provided in connection with these rituals: “On 23<sup>rd</sup> Xanthikos he went up to Mount Kassios to sacrifice to Zeus Kassios” (foundation of Seleukeia Pieria); “He made sacrifice on 1<sup>st</sup> Artemision” (at Iopolis on Mount Silpios); “He sacrificed a virgin girl named Emathe between the city and the river, on 22<sup>nd</sup> Artemision–May, at the first hour of the day, at sunrise” (foundation of Antioch). Malalas drew on legendary foundation stories of pronounced Syrian coloring, at least some—and perhaps most—of which he borrowed from the historian Pausanias. Significantly, Malalas twice

<sup>14</sup> Downey 1938; see also Jeffreys 1990d, 136–138.

invokes “the wise chronographos Pausanias” (ch. 18, ed. Thurn 2000, p. 154: ὁ σοφὸς Πανσανίας ὁ χρονογράφος / σοφώτατος Πανσανίας; in Malalas’ usage *chronographos* is equivalent to “historian”): once in reporting that Seleukos founded seventy-five cities, and again in correcting him—Antioch, Malalas insists, was not named, as Pausanias claimed, after Seleukos’ deceased father (“for no one gives a name in memory of the dead”), but rather after his son Antiochos, that is, Antiochos I Soter. Pausanias is not a fictitious name: he was known to Stephanos of Byzantion and, much later, to Tzetzes.<sup>15</sup> The date of Pausanias’ activity is uncertain, but it is generally accepted that his *On the Foundation of Antioch* was already known to Libanios, and that he therefore belonged to the first half of the fourth century or earlier (Libanios composed the *Antiochikos Logos* most probably in 358/359 CE). Pausanias was not only the author of the *Περὶ Ἀντιοχείας κτίσεως* / *Περὶ Ἀντιοχείας*, but also, according to the testimony of Stephanos of Byzantion (s.v. *Μαριαμμία*), he wrote a local history of the Syrian city Mariammeia. It is possible that in Pausanias’ work Malalas also found references to the *ktiseis* of cities other than Antioch, a feature typical of local historiography.<sup>16</sup>

As already noted, the second extended narrative in Book VIII concerns Antiochos IV Epiphanes. It opens with the story of a rock-carved image, which Antiochos IV is said to have commissioned during a famine that afflicted Antioch. Let us now turn to Malalas’ narrative. This narrative unfolds in the following parts:

1. Ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς αὐτοῦ βασιλείας λοιμοῦ γενομένου καὶ πολλῶν διαφθαρέντων τῆς πόλεως, Ληϊός τις τελεστής ἐκέλευσεν πέτραν ἐκ τοῦ ὄρους τοῦ ὑπεράνω τῆς πόλεως ὑλῆφθαι ἔχουσαν προσοπεῖον μέγα πάνυ, ἔστεμμένον, προσέχοντα ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὸν αὐλῶνα· καὶ γράψας ἐν αὐτῇ τινα ἔπαυσε τὴν λοιμικὴν θνήσιν· ὁ πρόσωπεῖον καλοῦσιν ἕως τοῦ νῦν οἱ Ἀντιοχεῖς Χαράνιον. (ch. 21, ed. Thurn 2000, p. 155)

During his reign, when a plague occurred and many people in the city perished, Leios the hierophant ordered that a rock from the mountain above the city be carved into a very large face crowned, facing toward the city and the river valley / gorge / the water-conduit (αὐλῶνα). And after he inscribed something on it, he put an end to the deadly plague. The people of Antioch call this face, even to this day, the Charonion.

This is a typical aetiological tale, associated to the mysterious monumental bust that is still visible today on the mountainside above the city, on the western slope of Mount Staurin (modern Haç Dağı).<sup>17</sup> Malalas’ notice is isolated (modern scholarship points to a Hellenistic or early Roman date for the carving), and it certainly represents a local Antiochene interpretation of this monumental sculpture.

<sup>15</sup> On Pausanias, see Jeffereys 1990a, 188–189; Janiszewski 2006, 181–188; van Nuffelen 2017, 263.

<sup>16</sup> Janiszewski 2006, 185–186 (on the reference to Pausanias’ local history in the entry on Doros).

<sup>17</sup> On the Charonion, see Downey 1961, 103–104; Pamiir 2017, who argues that the site attests the cult of the great mother goddess Kybele and the Syrian goddess Atargatis, synthesizing iconographic features from Anatolian and Syrian traditions and associated with the Greek figure of Charon; Rojas 2021, who interprets the carving as an apotropaic talisman; Kisbali 2024, who explains the choice of a bust rather than a full figure as (i) an iconographic cue linking the image to *Dea Syria* types, (ii) a device to enhance monumentality while keeping the figure accessible and “present,” and (iii) a means of visually bonding the image to the mountain itself, so that the rock forms part of the deity’s very body and place.

2. Ὁ δὲ αὐτὸς βασιλεὺς Ἀντίοχος ὁ λεγόμενος Ἐπιφανῆς ἔκτισε πρῶτον ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ τῇ μεγάλῃ ἔξω τῆς πόλεως τὸ λεγόμενον βουλευτήριον, εἰς τὸ ἐκεῖσε συνάγεσθαι πάντας τοὺς συγκλητικούς αὐτοῦ μετὰ τῶν πολιτευομένων καὶ τῆς πόλεως πάντων τῶν κτητόρων καὶ βουλευέσθαι τί δεῖ γίνεσθαι περὶ τῶν ἀνακυπτόντων καὶ τότε ἀναφέρειν ἐπ' αὐτὸν τὰ συμφέροντα. Ἐκτίσθη δὲ καὶ ἄλλα τινὰ ἔξω τῆς πόλεως, καλέσας τὰ αὐτὰ μέρη εἰς τὸ ἐπόνυμον αὐτοῦ Ἐπιφάνεια πόλιν, μὴ κτίσας αὐτῇ τεῖχος, ἀλλ' οὕτως ἦν ἡ οἰκησις αὐτῆς ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος. (the following section of the ch. 21)

The same king, Antiochos—surnamed Epiphanes—first constructed in Antioch the Great, outside the walls, the place known as the Bouleuterion, where all the senators, together with the magistrates and landowners of the city, assembled to deliberate on current affairs and then report to him what was to be done. He also erected other buildings outside the city and named that quarter after himself calling it Epiphaneia, though he did not fortify it with walls; rather, the settlement stretched along the slope of the mountain.

As is well known, Malalas frequently concentrates on constructions and monuments in his home city of Antioch. In the present passage he attributes to Antiochos IV Epiphanes the building of the quarter of Epiphaneia<sup>18</sup> outside the city walls (the connection between the name of the quarter and the epithet of the Seleukid ruler is obvious) and the civic *bouleuterion*. Detailed information on buildings likewise belongs to the local Antiochene tradition; Malalas does not even mention other, non-Antiochene foundations of the king, well known from Livy.<sup>19</sup> Although Malalas does not name his source, it may be assumed that he drew this information from Domninos *Chronographos*, a pagan author of a history of Antioch—under an otherwise unknown title (*Πάτρια Αντιοχείας?*)—who lived in the time of Constantius II.<sup>20</sup> He is a natural candidate as the source for this section of Malalas: of Malalas's nine named references to Domninos, no fewer than three concern Antioch's buildings and topography.<sup>21</sup>

3. Ὁ δὲ αὐτὸς Ἀντίοχος ὁ Ἐπιφανῆς ἠγανάκτησε κατὰ Πτολεμαίου βασιλέως Αἰγύπτου, διότι τέλη ἐπήτησεν τοὺς ἐκ τῆς ὑπ' αὐτὸν οὐσας χώρας Ἰουδαίους· τῶν γὰρ αὐτῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐκ τῆς Παλαιστίνης ἐλλθόντων ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ καὶ αἰτησάντων τὸν αὐτὸν Ἀντίοχον γράψαι Πτολεμαίῳ

<sup>18</sup> On Epiphaneia, see Caire 2017.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. Livy 41.20.6–9: “To the people of Megalopolis in Arcadia he promised that he would enclose their city with a wall, and he gave the greater part of the money; at Tegea he began to build a magnificent theatre of marble; in the prytaneum at Cyzicus—this is the central hall of the city, where those men dine upon whom this distinction has been bestowed—he furnished a golden service for one table. While he gave the Rhodians nothing remarkable, yet he gave them gifts of every description, whatever their needs demanded. Of his magnificent ideas as to the treatment of the gods, the temple of Jupiter Olympius at Athens, the only one in the world which, though unfinished, was designed to conform to the greatness of the god, can well be evidence; besides, he also adorned Delos with marvellous altars and abundance of statuary, and at Antioch he built a magnificent temple to Jupiter Capitolinus, which had not merely its ceiling panelled with gold, but also its walls wholly covered with gilded plates; and many other things he promised in other places, but by reason of the very short duration of his reign he did not finish them.” (transl. Sage, Schlesinger in Loeb edition).

<sup>20</sup> On Domninos, see Jeffreys 1990a, 178–179; Janiszewski 2006, 282–291; van Nuffelen 2017, 263; see also Carrara – Gengler 2017 (a useful survey of research on Malalas' sources). The dating of Malalas to the reign of Constantius II was proposed by van Nuffelen on the basis of the relatively frequent references to wars in the East (Janiszewski suggests more broadly the first half of the fourth century).

<sup>21</sup> Nine references, because I do not count the notice in the Introduction, where Malalas enumerates various authorities as his sources. All named references are collected in Janiszewski 2006, 282–283: (1) the statue of Orestes, which stood on the city's periphery and was called “the Runaway;” (2) the rebuilding of the city walls after an earthquake; and (3) buildings erected in Antioch under Tiberius.

τῷ τῆς Αἰγύπτου τοπάρχῃ καὶ βασιλεῖ μὴ ἀπαιτεῖν αὐτοὺς τέλος μετακομίζοντας σῖτον εἰς ἀποτροφὰς αὐτῶν, μέγαλον λιμοῦ τότε γενομένου ἐν τῇ Παλαιστίνῃ· ἀπὸ γὰρ τῆς Αἰγυπτιακῆς χώρας μετεκόμιζον σῖτον οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι. Ὁ δὲ Πτολεμαῖος δεξάμενος τὰ γράμματα Ἀντιόχου πλέον αὐτοὺς ἐκέλευσεν ἀπαιτεῖσθαι. (ch. 22, ed. Thurn 2000, pp. 155–156)

The same Antiochos, called Epiphanes, became enraged with Ptolemy, king of Egypt, because he demanded taxes (τέλη) from the Jews living in territory subject to him (= Antiochos). For certain Jews had come from Palestine to Antioch and petitioned Antiochos to write to Ptolemy, toparch and king of Egypt, requesting that he not exact tax from them while they were transporting grain for their own sustenance, since there was at that time a great famine in Palestine and the Jews were importing grain from Egyptian territory. Ptolemy, however, upon receiving Antiochos' letter, ordered that they be taxed even more heavily.

Elias Bickerman, in his classic article,<sup>22</sup> emphasized the un-canonical version of events preserved by Malalas, so distant from the narrative of 1 and 2 Maccabees. He judged, however, that this account is riddled with historical errors, whose sheer number strikes and disturbs the reader. This non-biblical version of events, preserved both in the *Codex Baroccianus* and in the Church Slavonic translation,<sup>23</sup> contains the following elements:

- The Jews living in Seleukid territory were forced by the king of Egypt to pay custom duties.
- The Jews sent an embassy to Antiochos and petitioned the king to intercede with Ptolemy of Egypt, so that they would be granted exemption from customs duties on grain imported from Egypt into Palestine.
- Ptolemy, upon receiving Antiochos' letter, maintained his fiscal policy toward the Jews, and even increased the custom duties.

It is hardly possible that Malalas himself in the sixth century invented this information, and it seems equally unlikely that the entire account should be dismissed as mere Malalas' distortion. Rather, Malalas' narrative preserves a fragment of Seleukid political history, and his source must have drawn on a detailed account of Seleukid affairs. Let us take Malalas seriously and attempt to understand the context he depicts.

Jews in Palestine purchased grain in Egypt just as they had when the land belonged to the Ptolemies; but after the transfer of power, when Palestine passed from the Lagids to the Seleukids, they were obliged to pay customs duties to Egypt. In Malalas' account, the Jews complained of their worsening economic situation and petitioned for relief, but Ptolemy, in response to the king's intervention, instead increased their taxes. The episode is set before the outbreak of the Sixth Syrian War and most likely reflects a Syrian tradition concerning the causes of the conflict. What is important, however, is that Malalas'

<sup>22</sup> Bickerman 1951 = Bickerman 2007.

<sup>23</sup> "This Czar (царь) Antiochus become angry with Ptolemy, the Egyptian Czar, because he had collected tribute from his subjects, the Jews (дань ѿсвоаго емоу Жидовь). These Jews came from Palestine to Antioch and prayed Antiochus to write to Ptolemy, the Egyptian Toparch and Czar, not to collect taxes from them as they had brought from thence wheat for their food, since there was a great famine in Palestine. For Jews bought wheat in Egypt (Июдѣи же ѿ Египта куповаху пшеницу). But Ptolemy, receiving letters from Antiochus, again ordered a collection of taxes from them." (transl. Spinka 1940, 16–17; for Slavonic text, see Istrin 1994, 223, ll. 15–23)

narrative situates the episode squarely within the economic circumstances of Palestine following the accession of Antiochos IV Epiphanes: the Jews protested not only against customs dues, but also against famine and, more broadly, the general deterioration of their economic condition. Malalas' account fits well with the economic situation of the country as it emerges also from 2 Maccabees: whereas the famous story of Heliodoros illustrates the successful opposition of the high priest Onias III to the fiscal reforms attempted by Seleukos IV, under Antiochos IV the situation changed—the king secured full control of the high priesthood, tribute was increased, and after the coup of Menelaos and the deposition of Jason the financial position of Judea became extremely strained.<sup>24</sup> Rather than emphasizing on Hellenization, Malalas presents a picture of fiscal quarrels, the economic discontent of Palestine, and political support for the Ptolemies.

Sylvie Honigman has drawn my attention<sup>25</sup> to the fact that the fiscal situation described by Malalas fits remarkably well with the context of Cleopatra's dowry.<sup>26</sup> After the Fifth Syrian War, the Seleucids gained control over Coele-Syria, yet both kingdoms had a vested interest in a temporary compromise: Ptolemy V was still very young and his kingdom weakened by the rebellion in Upper Egypt, while Antiochos III, preparing for his campaign against Rome, sought to secure his western frontier. The marriage of Cleopatra I Syra, daughter of Antiochos III, with Ptolemy V (in the winter of 194/193 BCE) thus functioned as a diplomatic truce: the Seleucid king did not renounce territorial sovereignty but shared fiscal revenues in order to ensure peace and the goodwill of Egypt. Cleopatra's dowry consisted of the transfer to the Ptolemies of fiscal—not territorial—rights over Coele-Syria, together with Samaria, Judaea, and Phoenicia. Antiochos IV later considered that, upon Cleopatra's death in 176 BCE, these fiscal concessions had expired and accordingly sought to abolish Ptolemaic influence. The episode described by Malalas seems to reflect the tensions provoked by the dispute over the expiration of this *joint-taxation arrangement*. Sylvie Honigman has further suggested that, if Malalas' account indeed alludes to the conflict over Cleopatra's dowry, the story of the famine may represent a *fabula aetiologica* devised to obscure any surviving Ptolemaic claims. Such an interpretation accords well with the tendentiously pro-Seleucid political perspective of Malalas' source and appears highly plausible in view of his general narrative strategy.

Where, then, could Malalas have obtained this picture? It may be assumed that here, too, he drew upon Domninos; yet it is difficult to suppose that, in a history of Antioch, Malalas would have found political information not bearing directly on the city itself. Of Malalas's references to Domninos, only two are political in character, and both concern Antioch proper: one records the *adventus* of Trajan to the city, the other its capture by the Persians during the invasion of Shapur I the Great (XI 4; XII 26, ed. Thurn 2000, pp. 205–206, 229). The latter notice is especially intriguing, for here Malalas sets Domninos alongside the detailed account of the distinguished historian L. Flavius Philostratos (ca. 210/215–280), author of a history of the wars against Shapur I the Great fought

<sup>24</sup> On the reforms of Antioch IV, see Honigman 2014, 345–377.

<sup>25</sup> I am very grateful to Sylvie Honigman for her helpful comments in private correspondence and for pointing me to, and sending me, the relevant bibliography.

<sup>26</sup> On the historicity and interpretation of Cleopatra's dowry, see Schwartz 1998; Sartre 2014; Kaye – Amitay 2015.

in 252–260.<sup>27</sup> I would suggest that, in the passage under discussion, Malalas proceeded in a similar way: he departed from Dominios and consulted an otherwise unknown political history of the Seleukids, or perhaps a source that itself drew on such a work. For Malalas, writing as a Christian, it was no obstacle that, in following his source, he departed from the narrative of the Maccabean books, introduced entirely new motifs, and omitted the theological themes. His version of events was not taken up by any of his successors and thus remained a wholly isolated tradition.

As a result of the events described above, Antiochos set out for Egypt.

4. Καὶ λοιπὸν Ἀντίοχος ὁ Ἐπιφανὴς ἐπεστράτευσεν κατὰ Πτολεμαίου, διότι οὐκ ἐπέισθη τοῖς γράμμασιν αὐτοῦ· καὶ συμβολῆς γενομένης μεταξύ αὐτῶν ἔπεσε πλῆθος τοῦ Ἀντίοχου πολὺ, καὶ φεύγων ἀπῆλθεν ἐπὶ τὸ λίμιτον. Τοῦτο δὲ γνόντες οἱ τῆς Ἱερουσαλήμ Ἰουδαῖοι ἐξάμεις ἐποίησαν πρὸς χάριν τοῦ Πτολεμαίου, νομίσαντες τεθνάναι τὸν Ἀντίοχον, ἑαυτοὺς παρατιθέμενοι. Ὁ δὲ Ἀντίοχος ὁ Ἐπιφανὴς συνάξας πλῆθος ἐπέρριψε τῷ Πτολεμαίῳ καὶ ἐφόνευσεν αὐτὸν, κάψας καὶ τὰ πλῆθη αὐτοῦ. Καὶ γνοὺς περὶ τῶν Ἰουδαίων τῆς Ἱερουσαλήμ τὸ τί πέπραχεν καθ' αὐτοῦ, ὡς συγχαρέντες τῇ αὐτοῦ ἦττη, ὠπλίσατο κατὰ τῆς Ἱερουσαλήμ· καὶ πολιορκήσας αὐτὴν ἐπολέμησε καὶ παρέλαβεν αὐτὴν καὶ ἐπόρθησεν αὐτὴν καὶ κατέσφαξε πάντας. (ch. 22, ed. Thurn 2000, p. 156)

Antiochos Epiphanes therefore marched against Ptolemy, because he had not complied with his letter; and in the battle that ensued many of Antiochos' troops were killed, and he fled and withdrew to the frontier. When the Jews of Jerusalem learned of this, they lit fires (bonfires) in honor of Ptolemy, thinking that Antiochos had perished, and pledged their loyalty to him. But Antiochos Epiphanes, having gathered a great force, launched another assault upon Ptolemy, killed him, and burned his forces. When he learned what the Jews of Jerusalem had done against him, how they had rejoiced at his defeat, he armed himself against Jerusalem, laid siege to it, took it by storm, plundered it, and slaughtered all its inhabitants.

Even allowing for the errors and simplifications in Malalas' account of the two campaigns of Antiochos against Egypt, the fundamental sequence of events is clearly preserved, and it corresponds closely to the narrative of 2 Macc 5. The starting point is Antiochos IV's expeditions against Egypt, after which a rumor of the king's death reaches Judea. In consequence, disturbances and rejoicing break out in Jerusalem, which Antiochos interprets as treachery or revolt (cf. 2 Macc 5:11: Προσπεσόντων δὲ τῷ βασιλεῖ περὶ τῶν γεγονότων διέλαβεν ἀποστατεῖν τὴν Ἰουδαίαν). What follows is armed intervention: the siege of Jerusalem, the storming of the city, plunder, and massacre of its inhabitants—motifs likewise present in both 1 and 2 Maccabees. Both traditions thus preserve the same dramatic chain of cause and effect: Egyptian campaign—rumor of death—unrest in Jerusalem—the king's wrath—siege and slaughter.

Yet Malalas frames the episode within a different interpretative horizon. In Malalas' narrative Antiochos is not portrayed as a persecutor or tyrant, but rather as a benevolent ruler who sought to defend the Jews against the heavy taxation imposed by Egypt (see above), and it was for this reason that he initiated the war. In his version, the political background of Antiochos IV's intervention in Jerusalem is made especially explicit: the Jews rejoiced at his supposed death and declared their loyalty to the Ptolemies. It is evident, therefore, that at the basis of Malalas' narrative (that is, of his source) lie not the

<sup>27</sup> On the historian Philostratos of Athens, see Janiszewski 2006, 97–109; Jones 2011; Stebnicka 2015, no. 835.

Maccabean books but rather a Seleukid tradition, which traced the causes of the king's action in Palestine to the disobedience of his subjects and their support for the rival dynasty. Malalas makes no mention of Jewish heroes, offers no place to Judas Maccabaeus, and records nothing of the Jewish revolt. Such divergences from the biblical record are not surprising, for elsewhere in the *Chronographia* Malalas frequently departs from scriptural tradition, distorting the text or incorporating extra-biblical material (as, for example, from the Book of Jubilees).<sup>28</sup> It is likely that the same source discussed above underlies this narrative.

The final passage concerning the Maccabees is closely intertwined with Christian Antiochene tradition, situating the Maccabean martyrs within the local topography and memory of the city.

5. τὸν δὲ Ἐλεάζαρ, τὸν ἀρχιερέα τῶν Ἰουδαίων, καὶ τοὺς Μακκαβαίους ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ ἀγαγὼν κολάσας ἐφόνευσε. Καὶ καθήλεν τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην τῆς Ἰουδαίας, καὶ τὸ ἱερόν, Σολομῶντος ὄντα, τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐποίησε Διὸς Ὀλυμπίου καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς, μιανὰς τὸν οἶκον χοιρεῖσι κρέασι, καὶ ἐκόλυσε τοὺς Ἰουδαίους τῆς πατρώας θρησκείας, καὶ ἐλληνίζειν αὐτοὺς ἐβιάζετο ἐπὶ ἔτη τρία. Μετ' αὐτὸν ἐβασίλευσεν Δημητριανὸς ὁ τοῦ Σέλευκου ἔτη ἡ'. Καὶ ἐλθὼν ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ τῇ μεγάλῃ Ἰούδας τις ὄνοματι, Ἰουδαῖος τῷ ἔθνει ἐδυσώπησε τὸν Δημητριανὸν τὸν βασιλέα παρακαλέσας αὐτὸν παρέσχεν αὐτῷ τὸ ἱερόν καὶ τὰ λείψανα τῶν Μακκαβαίων. Καὶ ἔθαψεν αὐτὰ ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ τῇ μεγάλῃ τ ἐν τῷ λεγομένῳ Κερατέῳ. ἦν γὰρ συναγωγὴ ἐκεῖ τῶν Ἰουδαίων· πρὸ μικροῦ γὰρ τῆς πόλεως Ἀντιοχείας ἐτιμωρήσατο γὰρ τῆς πόλεως αὐτοὺς Ἀντίοχος ἐν τῷ αἰεὶ κλαίοντι ὄρει κατέναντι τοῦ Κασίου Διὸς. Τὸν δὲ ναὸν ἀγνεύσας ὁ Ἰούδας, κτίσας τὸ πάσχα ἐτέλεσε τῷ θεῷ. Αὕτη β' ἦν τῆς Ἱερουσαλήμ ἡ ἄλωσις, καθὼς Εὐσέβιος ὁ τοῦ Παμφίλου ἐχρονολόγησε. (ch. 22–23, ed. Thurn 2000, pp. 156–157)

He (=Antiochos) brought Eleazar, the high priest of the Jews, and the Maccabees to Antioch, tortured them, and executed them. He also abolished the high priesthood in Judaea and converted the temple of Solomon of the Jews into one for Zeus Olympios and Athena, defiling the house with pork meat. He forbade the Jews from practicing their ancestral religion and forced them to adopt Greek customs for three years.

After him Demetrianos the son of Seleukos was king for eight years. A Jew by race named Judas came to Antioch the Great, and he begged and entreated the king Demetrianos, so that the king handed over the temple and the remains of the Maccabees to him. Judas buried the Maccabees in the so-called Kerateon in Antioch the Great, where there was a synagogue of the Jews; Antiochos had punished the Maccabees a short way outside the city, on the Ever-Weeping' mountain opposite Zeus Kasios. Then Judas purified the temple and refounded (Jerusalem), celebrating a Passover in honor of God. This was the second captivity of Jerusalem, as Eusebios, the son of Pamphilos, has recorded in his Chronicle.

The basic framework of these events is well known, since it is rooted in 1–2 Maccabees and the apocryphal 4 Maccabees (the date and place of 4 Maccabees are debated: most place it in the late first to second centuries CE, though some argue for the third; in any case, the tradition was current in Malalas' lifetime). Several elements of the Maccabean martyrdom narrative are readily recognizable: (1) the prohibition of the "ancestral laws" and the enforcement of Hellenization (1 Macc 1:41–50; 2 Macc 6:1–11); (2) the story of Eleazar, absent from 1 Maccabees but preserved in 2 Macc 6:18–31 and elaborated

<sup>28</sup> On the Old Testament in Malalas, see Jeffreys 1996; Beaucamp 2006; Whitby 2007, 285–290; Jeffreys 2010, 161–165.

in 4 Maccabees (5.1–7.13); and (3) the profanation of the Temple and its dedication to Zeus Olympios (2 Macc 6:2), together with the pork motif in Eleazar’s martyrdom (2 Macc 6:18: ἀναχανὼν ἠναγκάζετο φαγεῖν ὕειον κρέας) and the three-year period of profanation preceding the purification of the sanctuary (1 Macc 1:54; 4:52–54).

We are, however, dealing with a decidedly non-biblical account. It is unsurprising that the martyrs are transported to Antioch for execution—a detail absent from the Maccabees but familiar from later Christian Antiochene traditions, most likely originating in the fourth century CE,<sup>29</sup> and still vibrant in sixth-century Antioch.<sup>30</sup>

Antiochos is said to have abolished the office of high priest altogether, whereas the biblical books speak only of manipulating its incumbents (the succession Jason–Meneleos–Alkimos). Malalas further introduces Athena alongside Zeus in his catalogue of deities; it is difficult to determine whether such additions (Athena, for example) are Malalas’s own invention or whether the sixth-century author encountered this version elsewhere. Malalas’ narrative makes no mention of the mother of the martyrs, a figure present in 2 Macc 7 and 4 Macc 14:11–17:1. In any case, Malalas preserves the same dramatic causal sequence as the biblical books—royal decree, religious prohibition, profanation, and martyrdom, yet his interest is directed to Antiochene topography. Malalas bases his account on local tradition, which explains the primacy of topographical detail.

Two details are paramount. First, Judas the Jew buried the Maccabees in the so-called Kerateon, where there was a synagogue of the Jews. Presumably Antiochene tradition claimed that it was “Judas” (the quintessential Jewish name, avoided in Christian usage) who buried the martyrs, and Malalas identified him with the hero of the Maccabean books, thereby introducing the episode of the Temple’s purification and the celebration of the feast here conflated with the institution of Hanukkah. Second, Antiochos executed the Maccabees outside the city, on the “Ever-Weeping” mountain opposite the temple of Zeus Kasios. There can be no doubt that in the sixth century Christians identified these precise locations on the map of Antioch as places associated with the martyrdom of the Maccabees.

To conclude: within his account of Seleukid history Malalas devotes his greatest attention to the dynasty’s founder, portrayed as the *ktistes* of many cities, and to Antiochos IV Epiphanes. The narrative of the latter king focuses less on military events than on building activity (notably the foundation of the quarter of Epiphaneia, the construction of the bouleuterion, and the carving of a rock relief), and on the Christian topography of Antioch and the memory of the Maccabean martyrs associated with Antiochos (and Demetrianos). The section dealing with Palestine on the eve of the revolt and with Antiochos’ intervention there is particularly striking, not least because Malalas alone, among all Byzantine authors, does not reproduce the biblical version. With Elias Bickerman,<sup>31</sup> we may affirm that “in Malalas’ work, the Maccabees are placed within the framework of Seleukid history.” This Seleukid version of events—favorable to Antiochos IV, yet

<sup>29</sup> The notion that the martyrs were transported to Antioch for execution may be reconstructed by combining 2 Macc 5:21, where Antiochus departs from Jerusalem, with the scenes in 2 Macc 7, in which the king is depicted as present at the tortures, see van Henten 1997, 80 note 96.

<sup>30</sup> On the Maccabean martyrs in Antioch, see, e.g., Triebel 2006; Joslyn-Siemiatkoski 2009; Hahn 2012.

<sup>31</sup> Bickerman 1951 = Bickerman 2007, 473.

underscoring the economic distress of Palestine in the years preceding the revolt, cannot simply be dismissed. It should be remembered that Malalas, throughout his work, typically intertwines a tangle of local traditions and stories with elements of historical detail. Malalas' source, or Malalas himself, may have reshaped the material (for instance, by introducing the motif of famine), but it is scarcely credible that the entire scenario was fabricated. What we have here, it seems, is an important tradition, independent of the Maccabean books, which sheds light on the economic conditions of Palestine before Antiochos' wars with Egypt.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Beaucamp, J. (2006), Le passé biblique et l'histoire juive: la version de Jean Malalas, in: *Recherches sur la chronique de Jean Malalas II*, Paris: 19–33.
- Berthelot, K. (2004), *La chronique de Malalas et les traditions juives*, in: *Recherches sur la chronique de Jean Malalas I*, Paris: 37–51.
- Bickerman, E. (1951), Les Maccabées de Malalas, *Byzantion* 21: 63–83 (= E. Bickerman, The Maccabees of Malalas, in: *Studies in Jewish and Christian History: A New Edition in English Including The God of the Maccabees*, vol. 1, Leiden–Boston 2007: 465–482).
- Caire, E. (2017), Jean Malalas et la mémoire d'Antioche. Construction de l'espace et du temps dans la Chronique, l'exemple d'Épiphanieia, in: J. Borsch, O. Gengler, M. Meier (eds.), *Die Weltchronik des Johannes Malalas im Kontext spätantiker Memorialkultur (Malalas Studien 3)*, Stuttgart: 171–189.
- Carrara, L., Gengler, O. (2017), Zu den Quellen der Chronik des Johannes Malalas: Eine Einleitung, in: Carrara – Meier – Radtke-Jansen 2017: 9–24.
- Carrara, L., Meier, M., Radtke-Jansen, Ch. (eds.) (2017), *Die Weltchronik des Johannes Malalas. Quellenfragen*, Stuttgart.
- Croke, B. (1990), Malalas, the Man and His Work, in: Jeffreys – Croke – Scott 1990: 1–27.
- Downey, G. (1938), Seleukid Chronology in Malalas, *AJA* 42: 106–120.
- Downey, G. (1961), *A History of Antioch in Syria from Seleucus to the Arab Conquest*, Princeton.
- Franklin, S. (1990), Malalas in Slavonic, in: Jeffreys – Croke – Scott 1990: 276–287.
- Hahn, J. (2012), The Veneration of the Maccabean Brothers in Fourth Century Antioch: Religious Competition, Martyrdom, and Innovation, in: G. Signori (ed.), *Dying for the Faith, Killing for the Faith: Old-Testament Faith-Warriors (1 and 2 Maccabees) in Historical Perspective*, Leiden: 79–104.
- Honigman, S. (2014), *Tales of High Priests and Taxes: The Books of Maccabees and the Judean Rebellion against Antiochos IV*, Oakland, CA.
- Istrin, V. M. (1994), *Slavjanskij tekst Chroniki Ioanna Malaly* [Slavonic Text of Malalas' Chronicle], Moscow.
- Janiszewski, P. (2006), *The Missing Link: Greek Pagan Historiography in the Second Half of the Third Century and in the Fourth Century AD*, Warszawa.
- Jeffreys, E. (1990a), Malalas' Sources, in: Jeffreys – Croke – Scott 1990: 167–216.
- Jeffreys, E. (1990b), Malalas' Use of the Past, in: G. W. Clarke et al. (eds.), *Reading the Past in Late Antiquity*, Canberra: 121–146.
- Jeffreys, E. (1990c), Malalas in Greek, in: Jeffreys – Croke – Scott 1990: 245–268.
- Jeffreys, E. (1990d), Chronological Structures in Malalas' Chronicle, in: Jeffreys – Croke – Scott 1990: 111–166.
- Jeffreys, E. (1996), The Chronicle of Malalas, Book I: A Commentary, in: P. Allen, E. Jeffreys (eds.), *The Sixth Century: End or Beginning?*, Brisbane: 52–74.

- Jeffreys, E. (2003), The Beginning of Byzantine Chronography: John Malalas, in: G. Marasco (ed.), *Greek and Roman Historiography in Late Antiquity, Fourth to Sixth Century A.D.*, Leiden–Boston: 497–527.
- Jeffreys, E. (2010), Old Testament History and the Byzantine Chronicle, in: P. Magdalino, R. Nelson (eds.), *The Old Testament in Byzantium*, Washington, DC: 153–174.
- Jeffreys, E., Croke, B., Scott, R. (eds.) (1990), *Studies in John Malalas*, Sydney (reprint Leiden 2017).
- Jeffreys, E., Jeffreys, M., Scott, R. (1986), *The Chronicle of John Malalas*, Melbourne (reprint Leiden 2017).
- Jones, C. P. (2011), The Historian Philostratus of Athens, *CQ* 61: 320–322.
- Joslyn-Siemiatkoski, D. (2009), *Christian Memories of the Maccabean Martyrs*, New York–Basingstoke.
- Kaye, N., Amitay, O. (2015), Kleopatra's Dowry: Taxation and Sovereignty between Hellenistic Kingdoms, *Historia* 64: 132–168.
- Kisbali, T. P. (2024), A Mask Looking Towards the City and the Valley: Observations on the “Charonion” in Antioch, *Actual Problems of Theory and History of Art* 14: 50–61, [https://www.academia.edu/143568366/A\\_Mask\\_Looking\\_Towards\\_the\\_City\\_and\\_the\\_Valley\\_Observations\\_on\\_the\\_Charonion\\_in\\_Antioch?sm=b](https://www.academia.edu/143568366/A_Mask_Looking_Towards_the_City_and_the_Valley_Observations_on_the_Charonion_in_Antioch?sm=b) (accessed on: December 30, 2025).
- Marasco, G. (1997), Giovanni Malala e la tradizione ellenistica, *Museum Helveticum* 54: 29–44.
- Pamir, H. (2017), An underworld Cult Monument in Antioch: The Charonion, in: Ç. Maner, M. T. Horowitz, A. S. Gilbert (eds.), *Overtuning Certainties in Near Eastern Archaeology: A Festschrift in Honor of K. Aslıhan Yener*, Leiden–Boston: 543–556.
- Roberto, U. (2017), The Influence of Julius Africanus' *Chronographiae* on Malalas' View of Ancient History, in: Carrara – Meier – Radtki-Jansen 2017: 49–69.
- Rojas, F. (2021), The Charonion in Antioch: History, Magic, Antiquarianism, *Archaeology*, in: J. Bendov, F. Rojas (eds.), *Afterlives of Ancient Rock-cut Monuments in the Near East Carvings in and out of Time*, Leiden–Boston: 161–185.
- Sage, E. T., Schlesinger, A. C. (1935), Livy, *History of Rome*, vol. XI: *Books 41–42*, transl. E. T. Sage, rev. A. C. Schlesinger, Cambridge, MA.
- Sartre, M. (2014), Histoire et mémoire(s) des Maccabées, in: M.-F. Baslez, O. Munnich (eds.), *La Mémoire des persécutions: autour des livres des Maccabées*, Leuven: 1–20.
- Schultz, F., Meier, M. (2024), The *Chronographia* of John Malalas, in: R. Tocci (ed.), *A Companion to Byzantine Chronicles*, Leiden: 235–264.
- Schwartz, D. (1998), Josephus' Tobiads: Back to the Second Century?, in: M. Goodman (ed.), *Jews in the Graeco-Roman World*, Oxford: 47–61.
- Spinka, M. (1940), *The Chronicle of John Malalas, Books VIII–XVIII Translated from the Church Slavonic*, Chicago, IL.
- Stebnicka, K. (2015), L. Phlavius Philostratos, in: P. Janiszewski, K. Stebnicka, E. Szabat, *Prosopography of Greek Rhetors and Sophists of the Roman Empire*, Oxford: 295–296.
- Stevenson, J. (1990), Malalas in Latin, in: Jeffreys – Croke – Scott 1990: 287–299.
- Szabat, E. (2015), Ioannes Malalas, in: P. Janiszewski, K. Stebnicka, E. Szabat, *Prosopography of Greek Rhetors and Sophists of the Roman Empire*, Oxford: 180.
- Thurn, I. (2000), *Ioannis Malalae Chronographia*, Berlin–New York.
- Triebel, L. (2006), Die angebliche Synagoge der makkabäischen Märtyrer in Antiochia am Orontes, *Zeitschrift für antikes Christentum* 9: 464–495.
- Whitby, M. (2007), The Biblical Past in John Malalas and the *Paschal Chronicle*, in: H. Amirav, B. Romeny (eds.), *From Rome to Constantinople*, Leuven–Paris–Dudley, MA: 279–302.
- van Henten, J. W. (1997), *The Maccabean Martyrs as Saviours of the Jewish People: A Study of 2 and 4 Maccabees*, Leiden–Boston.
- van Nuffelen, P. (2017), Malalas and the Chronographic Tradition, in: Carrara – Meier – Radtki-Jansen 2017: 261–272.