# **Historical Challenge**



The archeological evidence and dating of the organic remains found in the Mesopotamian flood layers linked to the cuneiform texts describing biblical flood story, suggest **ca. 2900 BCE**, as the date of the biblical flood. At the same time, there is historical evidence that Abraham's emergence in Canaan coincided with the reign of Hammurabi of Babylon in the 18th century BCE, and Abraham was most likely born around **ca. 1800 BCE** or somewhat earlier. The Nimrod's Kingdom, also known as the Akkadian Empire, founded **ca. 2300 BCE**, fits nicely into this chronology.

We are now facing the fundamental historical challenge: the Masoretic Text (MT) of the Torah indicates that Abraham was born just 292 years after the Flood (Genesis 11), while the historical and archeological evidence suggests that Abraham was born 1000-1100 years after the Flood. How can these two facts be possibly reconciled?

Patriarch	Begetting Age (BA)	Remaining Years
Noah (after the Flood)	—	350
Shem (after the Flood)	2	500
Arphaxad	35	403
Shelah	30	403
Eber	34	430
Peleg	30	209
Reu	32	207
Serug	30	200
Nahor	29	119
Terah	70	_
Total	292	

#### Table 1. Begetting Ages of the Patriarchs after the Flood, according to the MT

This question was bothering me for a very long time. I noticed that 292 years look very short compared to 1656 years from Adam to the Flood. According to this chronology, the lives of Noah and Abraham had overlapped, and Shem and Eber survived Abraham by 35 and 64 years respectively.

This chronology does not align well with the verse: "And Abraham expired and died in a good old age, old and satisfied, and he was gathered to his people" (Gen. 25:8). Abraham should not have been neither "an old man," nor "full of years" compared to the world around him.

Additionally, a number of the later Rabbinic teachings were composed using the MT chronology, claiming that Nimrod had thrown Abraham to a furnace; Nimrod was Amraphel, Eliezer was son of Nimrod, Shem was Malchitzedek; Shem and Eber established a yeshiva in Canaan, attended by Jacob; division of the land and confusion of the languages, all these happened in lifetime of Abraham. While all these teachings are interesting and creative, they were never claimed explicitly in the Torah.

At one point, I asked myself the following question: Is there any other ancient biblical text known in the tradition, which can verify the textual integrity of Genesis 11?

In fact, the Talmud mentions two such sources: the Septuagint (LXX), the most ancient translation of the Torah into Old Greek by 70 Jewish sages (see Megillah 9a), and the Samaritan Pentateuch (SP), which is the Samaritan version of the Torah (see Sotah 33b). Additionally, we will look into two more ancient sources: the Book of Jubilees, and the writings of Josephus.

# Septuagint (LXX) - 3rd century BCE



Codex Vaticanus: one of the oldest extant manuscripts of the Greek Bible (ca. 300-325 C.E.). Leszek Jańczuk / Wikimedia

Rabbi Aryeh Kaplan writes in his commentary "Living Torah": Septuagint is the Greek translation of the Torah by 70 scholars, prepared for King Ptolemy Philadelphus (reigned: 284-246 BCE) (see the Letter of Aristeas; Megillah 9a).

**The most ancient translation of the Torah.** While the text has not been as carefully preserved as the Hebrew, it is valuable in the case of obscure words. In many places, however, the translators deliberately altered the text (Megillah 9a; see note on Numbers 16:15). In other cases, the Septuagint is followed by Talmudic sages such as Rabbi Nechemiah (see note on Exodus 8:17) and Rabbi Yehudah (note on Exodus 25:5), as well as the Targum of Onkelos (note on Numbers 24:7).

Prof. Emanuel Tov of Hebrew University writes in his article "Other Biblical Text Traditions": The ancient Jewish translation of the Torah into Greek is named the Septuagint after the apocryphal story of seventy (two) translators producing the same translation. **As the LXX differs from MT in many details, it is clear that the translation was based on a different Hebrew text. Parts of this text are sometimes preserved among the Dead Sea Scrolls.** This translation was probably used in Alexandria by Jews in their weekly ceremonial reading from the first century B.C.E. onwards. The Jewish background of the Greek translation of the Torah is well established, while that of the post-Pentateuchal books is not, although these too undoubtedly reflect a Jewish translation.

# Samaritan Pentateuch (SP) - 2nd century BCE



The Abisha Scroll. (See "Afflicting the Soul" by Benyamim Tsedaka, *TheTorah.com.*)

Prof. Emanuel Tov writes: Samaritan Pentateuch (SP) is the holy writ of the Samaritan community whose holy writings comprise solely the Torah, the Pentateuch, since the second century B.C.E. until today. The full text of SP, like MT, is known from medieval manuscripts dating to the ninth century C.E. onwards, and undoubtedly goes back to ancient texts. The Israelite Samaritans, as they call themselves, are closely related to the Jews, but they do not identify as Jews and therefore the SP is not considered a Jewish text, or as I would say, not a Jewish text any more.

Yet the Dead Sea Scrolls contain texts that are very similar to the SP, which demonstrates that this text type was also

considered to be an authoritative Jewish text. **These predecessors of the SP found at Qumran, named pre-Samaritan by scholars, share all the major features with SP.** SP was created probably in the second century B.C.E. by slightly rewriting one of these pre-Samaritan texts to reflect the importance of Mount Gerizim (see especially SP's tenth commandment).

Raphael Weiss writes in his book "Studies in the Text and Language of the Bible" about the relation between the LXX, MT and SP. There are some 6,000 differences between the SP and MT, approximately 3,000 of them orthographic, such as different spelling of the words. **For some other 1,900 semantic differences of the SP from the MT, the text of the SP is identical with the LXX. Thus, the first five books of the Septuagint are more closely related to the SP than to the MT.** 

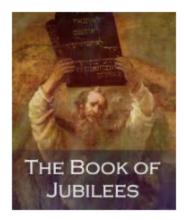
# Dead Sea Scrolls (DSS) - 2nd century BCE

Before 1947 scholars had the MT, LXX and the SP, all of which are preserved in the copies made well after the Common Era. The Qumran biblical manuscripts or Dead Sea Scrolls (DSS) now furnish copies of scriptural books written in Hebrew and dating from the last centuries BCE. Many of the new scrolls do belong to the same textual tradition as the MT. But in some cases the situation is different. Textual critics have cataloged a number of passages in which the MT and the LXX disagree and where a DSS manuscript agrees with the LXX.

A clear example of a minor variant comes from a manuscript of Exodus. Exodus 1:5 tells how many of Jacob's descendants came with him to Egypt. For the total, the textual witnesses line up as follows:

Source	МТ	SP	LXX	4QExod <sup>a</sup> (DSS)	Jubilees
Total	70	70	75	75	75

## The Book of Jubilees (Yov'loth) - 2nd century BCE



Rabbi Aryeh Kaplan writes: "Yov'loth" is a history of the periods covered in the Books of Genesis and Exodus, written in 2nd century BCE. It is the earliest source for much material found in Pirkey Rabbi Eliezer, Sefer HaYashar, Bereshith Rabathai , Midrash Tadshe, and Midrash VaYisau (q.v.), and is quoted by name in Yosippon (q.v.). It is evident that Saadia Gaon had a Hebrew version of the text, and such a version apparently was also in the hand of Jerome (see Vulgate). All that survives are Greek, Syriac and Ethiopic versions. The Greek and Syriac were published by R.H. Charles in his Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha (Volume 2, 1913). The Ethiopic text was published by A. Dillman in 1850, and a Hebrew translation, under the title Bereshith Zutratha by Shlomo Rubin, Vienna, 1870. A Hebrew version is also in Avraham Kahana's HaSefarim

HaChitzoni'im, pp. 216-313. Although the work occasionally is at odds with Halakhah, it is clearly evident that the author was a firm believer in the tradition that would be embodied in the Talmud, and not a Saduccee. He thus holds the strictest views on circumcision, the Sabbath, and belief in immortality.

James C. VanderKam writes in his book "The Dead Sea Scrolls Today": Fragments from 14 or perhaps 15 copies of Jubilees have been found in Qumran. That in itself is a telling indicator of how important the book was to the community. Jubilees is also cited as an authority at Qumran. The Damascus Document says: "As for the exact determination of their times, behold it is strictly defined in the Book of the Divisions of the Times into their Jubilees and Weeks", which is the name given to Jubilees in a number of ancient sources, including itself.

The chronological framework of Jubilees and Weeks is common to other works of the Second Temple period that divide world history into eras of predetermined length. Underlying all of them is the idea of periodization: at the end of a predefined length of time, the world returns to its primordial state.

#### Josephus (Yosef ben Mattisyahu HaCohen) - 1st century CE



Rabbi Aryeh Kaplan writes: Josephus Flavius, also known as Yosef ben Mattisyahu HaCohen (circa 38-100 c.e.) is a Jewish scholar and historian, and main source of much of our knowledge of ancient Jewish history. His main works are Antiquities dealing with Jewish history from Biblical times; Contra Apion, defending the status of the Jews as an ancient and noble people; and Wars, describing the wars between the Jews and Romans. The Greek text was published by B. Niese (Berlin, 1887-1895). The author served as a military commander during the war against the Romans until he was captured in 67 c.e. A follower of the Talmudic tradition, he is considered reliable even when he seems to dispute the Talmud (see Tzemach David; Seder HaDorot). He is occasionally quoted by Rashi (see Bava Batra 3b end).

# Alternative Chronologies

When you open these ancient sources, you will notice with a shock that they have very different takes on the chronologies recorded in chapters 5 and 11 of Genesis (see Appendix).

Table 2. Total years from Adam to the Flood (Genesis 5)

Source	МТ	Jubilees	SP	LXX	Josephus
Total	1656	1307	1307	2262	2256/1656

Patriarch	МТ	Jubilees	SP	LXX	Josephus
Shem (after flood)	2	2	2	2	12/(2)ª
Arphaxad	35	66	135	135	135
Kainan <sup>1</sup>	-	57	-	130	-
Shelah	30	71	130	130	130
Eber	34	64	134	134	134
Peleg	30	60	130	130	130
Reu	32	60	132	132	130 <sup>b</sup>
Serug	30	57	130	130	132 <sup>b</sup>
Nahor	29	62	79	79	120/(129) <sup>c</sup>
<mark>Terah</mark>	<mark>70</mark>	<mark>70</mark>	<mark>70</mark>	<mark>70</mark>	<mark>70</mark>
Total	292	569	942	942 + 130 <sup>1</sup> = 1072	<mark>992</mark>

1. "Additional" patriarch Kainan appears only in Jubilees and in the Septuagint.

- a. 12 years in Josephus is an early scribal error from the original, two.
- b. Reu and Serug's ba in Josephus have been transposed.
- c. Josephus' original ba for Nahor is restored to 129.

Josephus clearly writes that Abraham was the tenth generation from Noah: **"Abraham, who was tenth in descent from Noah, and was born in the nine hundred and ninety second year after the flood."** (Antiquities, Book I, Chapter 6, Translated by H. Thackeray, THE LOEB CLASSICAL LIBRARY)

There are several manuscripts in existence for sources like Josephus, which have slight variations in those numbers above. Josephus' numbers are most confusing, because either his copyists were negligent or Church censors modified some of his numbers to better match their version of the Old Testament.

Ironically, the Roman Catholic's Old Testament was based on the Latin translation of the MT by Jerome (Vulgate); while the Greek Orthodox's one was based on the Greek Septuagint.

The most telling part of Josephus' view on the biblical chronology is what he is writing outside of the story line. These words are consistent across all of his manuscripts. Remember that Josephus was writing at the end of the first century (70-100 CE), and his Antiquities covered history from Adam to 66 CE.

#### In the preface to the Antiquities, he writes:

"I found therefore that the second of the Ptolemies, was a King who was extraordinarily diligent in what concerned learning, and the collection of books; that he was also peculiarly ambitious to procure a translation of our law, and of the constitution of our government therein contained, into the Greek tongue. Now Eleazar the High Priest, one not inferior to any other of that dignity among us, did not envy the fore-named King the participation of that advantage: which otherwise he would for certain have denied him; but that he knew the custom of our nation was, to hinder nothing of what we esteemed ourselves from being communicated to others. Accordingly I thought it became me, both to imitate the generosity of our High Priest, and to suppose there might even now be many lovers of learning like the King. For he did not obtain all our writings at that time; but those who were sent to Alexandria as interpreters, gave him only the books of the law. While there were a vast number of other matters in our sacred books. They indeed contain in them the history of five thousand years."

#### In the book Against Apion, Josephus writes:

"I suppose that by my books of the Antiquity of the Jews, most excellent Epaphroditus, I have made it evident to those who read them, that our Jewish nation is of very great antiquity; and had a distinct subsistence of its own originally: as also I have therein declared, how we came to inhabit this country wherein we now live. Those antiquities contain the history of five thousand years; and are taken out of our sacred books: but are translated by me into the Greek tongue."

According to Josephus, Adam can be placed approximately in 4,930 BCE, which is about 1170 years earlier than the traditional chronology (c. 3760 BCE). If we account for the fact that Josephus placed the Exodus about 400 years earlier than the traditional chronology, then the difference between him and the traditional chronology would become roughly 770 years. This number is very close to the 700 years discrepancy between Josephus and the MT chronologies in Table 3. Extra 70 years can be discounted as an error in Josephus's approximation of Jewish history to 5,000 years. If we combine Josephus's and the traditional chronologies, then Adam can be placed in c. 4,460 BCE, while the biblical flood into the late 29th century BCE. As we are going to see below, with a proposed change to the Terah's begetting age of Abraham, Adam can be placed in c. 4,500 BCE, while the biblical flood into the early 29th century BCE.

# Terah's Begetting Age of Abraham: 70 or 130

The Torah tells us that Terah was 70 years old when he begat **Abram, Nahor, and Haran** (Genesis 11:26). Until now we have assumed across the board that Terah was 70 years old at the birth of Abraham. Actually, this is not as simple as it looks. We are going to consider several facts before deciding on it.

 Just several chapters before we have learned that Noah was 500 years old when his sons Shem, Ham and Japheth were born (Genesis 5:32). But then we learned that Shem was 100 years old two years after the Flood (Genesis 11:10). This means that Shem was born when Noah was 502 years old and he was not the oldest son. Who was the oldest? Japheth, who is called "Japheth the elder" (Genesis 10:21). Who was the youngest? Ham, who is called "youngest son" (Bereishit 9:24). So, why was Shem listed first? Because he was the most righteous and from whom Abraham was descended (see Rashi, Midrash Rabbah). According to the Talmud, the sons of Noah were listed in the order of their wisdom (see Sanhedrin 69b). The most likely birth order of Noah's sons was: Japheth, Shem and Ham (see Ramban on Genesis 6:10).

The takeaway from this observation is as follows. When the Torah lists several sons born to their father at a specific age:

- a. The age of the father corresponds to the time when the oldest son was born;
- b. The sons can be listed not in their birth order, but depending who was the most righteous, wisest or important.

Applying the above mentioned rule to Terah and his sons, we can say that Terah was 70 years old when his oldest son Haran was born, and Abraham is only listed first because he was the most righteous, wisest or important.

2. Abraham married Sarah, who was his half-sister according to the Torah (Genesis 20:12) or his niece Iscah, the youngest daughter of Haran, according to the rabbinic tradition (Megillah 14a, Midrash Rabbah), which is also mentioned by Josephus. Abraham was 10 years older than Sarah.

The Torah never tells us when Haran got married, but when Abraham and Nahor took wives for themselves (Genesis 11:29), Abraham's brother Nahor married the oldest daughter of Haran, Milkah. This indicates that Haran's children were already grown-ups and Haran was much older than his brothers. Haran was also the one who died first. The most likely birth order of Terah's sons was: **Haran, Abram and Nahor** or alternatively: **Haran, Nahor and Abram**.

The rabbinic tradition that Abraham married his niece Iscah practically precludes any possibility that Abraham was the oldest son. Abraham was 10 years older than Sarah. This means that he was 10 years old when Sarah was born. If Abraham was the oldest, then Haran had to marry at maximum by age of 6, in order to produce Milkah and Iscah by age of 8 (see Midrash Rabbah). The Talmud refutes this opinion based on the order of sons of Noah and suggests that Abraham could have been even the youngest son (see Sanhedrin 69b).

3. The plain reading of the Torah is also indicative that Abraham was 75 years old when he left for Canaan, immediately after the death of Terah, who was 205 years old. This would mean that Terah was 70 years old when he begat Haran and 130 years old when he begat Abraham. This would also mean that Haran was 70 years old when he begat Iscah (if Iscah = Sarah).

### **Revised Chronology**

Patriarch	МТ	Jubilees	SP	LXX	Josephus
Shem (after flood)	2	2	2	2	2
Arphaxad	35	66	135	135	135
Kainan <sup>1</sup>	-	57	-	130	-
Shelah	30	71	130	130	130
Eber	34	64	134	134	134
Peleg	30	60	130	130	130
Reu	32	60	132	132	132
Serug	30	57	130	130	130
Nahor	29	62	79	79	129
<mark>Terah</mark>	<mark>130</mark>	<mark>130</mark>	<mark>130</mark>	<mark>130</mark>	<mark>130</mark>
Total	352	629	1002	1002 + 130 <sup>1</sup> = 1132	1052

Table 4	Regetting	Ages of the	Patriarchs a	after the Flood	(Genesis 11) -	Revised
	Descuing	Ages of the	i atriarcits c		(OCIIC313 II) -	ILC VISCU

## Conclusions

We found at least three ancient sources of the biblical chronologies known from the Second Temple period (Septuagint, Samaritan Pentateuch and the writings of Josephus), which indicate that Abraham could be born approximately 1000-1100 years after the biblical flood. These chronologies are supported by currently available historical and archeological evidence.

At the same time, there are several anonymously written early midrashim from the same period, like the Book of Jubilees, which favor shorter chronologies. The Second Temple period, with its rich literature, remains one of the most creative, pluralistic and diverse periods of Jewish history, creating a proverbial bridge between the biblical faith and modern day Judaism.

Appendix A. The main numerical divergences in Genesis 5 and 11 in the Masoretic Text
(MT), Septuagint (LXX), and Samaritan Pentateuch (SP).

		Masoretic Text				Septuagint			Samaritan Pentateuch		
Patriarch	Genesis Verses	Begetting Age	Remaining Years	Lifespan	Begetting Age	Remaining Years	Lifespan	Begetting Age	Remaining Years	Lifespan	
Adam	5:3-5	130	800	930	230	700	930	130	800	930	
Seth	5:6-8	105	807	912	205	707	912	105	807	912	
Enosh	5:9-11	90	815	905	190	715	905	90	815	905	
Kenan	5:12-14	70	840	910	170	740	910	70	840	910	
Mahalalel	5:15-17	65	830	895	165	730	895	65	830	895	
Jared	5:18-20	162	800	962	162	800	962	623	785 <sup>3</sup>	8473	
Enoch	5:21-23	65	300	365	165	200	365	65	300	365	
Methuselah	5:25-27	187	782	969	187	782	969	67 <sup>3</sup>	653 <sup>3</sup>	720 <sup>3</sup>	
Lamech	5:28-31	182 <sup>2</sup>	595 <sup>2</sup>	777 <sup>2</sup>	188 <sup>2</sup>	565 <sup>2</sup>	753 <sup>2</sup>	53 <sup>3</sup>	600 <sup>3</sup>	653 <sup>3</sup>	
Noah	5:32; 7:11; 8:13-14; 9:28-29; 10:21; 11:10	500/(502)	After the Flood 350	950	500/(502)	After the Flood 350	950	500/(502)	After the Flood 350	950	
Shem	5:32; 11:10-11	100	500		100	500		100	500	600	
Arpachshad	11:12-13	35	[430]/4035		135	430/3305		135	3034	4384	
Kainan	11:13b-14b	,			130	33011					
Shelah	11:14-15	30	403		130	403/3306		130	3034	4334	
Eber	11:16-17	34	[370]/4307		134	3707		134	2704	4044	
Peleg	11:18-19	30	209		130	209		130	1094	2394	
Reu	11:20-21	32	207		132	207		132	1074	2394	
Serug	11:22-23	30	200		130	200		130	1004	2304	
Nahor	11:24-25	29	[129]/1198		79	1298		79	69 <sup>4</sup>	$148^{4}$	
Terah	11:26, 32; 12:1-4	70/(130)	(75)	205	70/(130)	(75)	205	70	(75)	1459	

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MS 201 Samaritan Bible: Leviticus. Ascalon, Israel, 1189

## Appendix B. Transition from the Paleo-Hebrew script to the Aramaic square script.



The Paleo-Hebrew and Phoenician alphabets developed in the wake of the Late Bronze Age collapse, out of their immediate predecessor script Proto-Canaanite during the 13th to 12th centuries BCE. The Paleo-Hebrew alphabet, also known as Proto-Hebrew, was the script used in the historic kingdoms of Israel and Judah.

Proto-Hebrew, like the Phoenician alphabet, is a slight regional variant and immediate continuation of the Proto-Canaanite script used throughout Canaan in the Late Bronze Age. Hebrew is attested epigraphically from about the 10th century BCE, and no extant "Phoenician" inscription is older than 1000 BCE. The Phoenician language, Hebrew language, and all their sister Canaanite languages were largely indistinguishable dialects before that time.

**During the 6<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> centuries BCE, the time of the Babylonian and Persian exiles, the Paleo-Hebrew alphabet was gradually replaced by the use of the Imperial Aramaic alphabet**. The letters of Imperial Aramaic were again given shapes characteristic for writing Hebrew during the Second Temple period, developing into the "square shape" of the Hebrew alphabet. After the fall of the Persian Empire, Jews used both scripts before settling on the Assyrian form.

The Paleo-Hebrew script was retained as an archaizing or conservative mode of writing. It is found in certain texts of the Torah among the Dead Sea Scrolls, dated to the 2nd to 1st centuries BCE: manuscripts 4Q12, 6Q1: Genesis. 4Q22: Exodus. 1Q3, 2Q5, 4Q11, 4Q45, 4Q46, 6Q2, and the Leviticus scroll (11QpaleoLev). In many Qumran documents, YHWH is written in Paleo-Hebrew while the rest of the text is in Aramaic square script. The vast majority of the Hasmonean coinage, as well as the coins of the First Jewish–Roman War and Bar Kokhba's revolt, bears Paleo-Hebrew legends. The Paleo-Hebrew alphabet fell completely out of use only after 135 CE.

The Samaritans, who remained in the Land of Israel, continued to use their variant of the Paleo-Hebrew alphabet, called the Samaritan script, for writing both Hebrew and Aramaic texts until the present day.

Mar Zutra (some say Mar Ukva) said: "Originally, the Torah was given to Israel in Ivrit script and in the sacred (Hebrew) language. Later, in the times of Ezra, the Torah was given in Ashurit script and the Aramaic language. Finally, they selected for Israel the Ashurit script and the Hebrew language, leaving the Ivrit script and the Aramaic language for the commoners." Who are the "commoners"? Rav Chisda said, "The Cuthites (Samaritans)." What is the Ivrit script? Rav Chisda said, "The Libona'a (Lebanese/Phoenician) script" (Sanhedrin 21b).

As you can see from the image below, in the famous Psalm 145 from the Dead Sea Scrolls collection, YHWH is still written in the old revered Paleo-Hebrew script, while the rest of the text in Aramaic square script. Interestingly enough, this liturgical psalm is also featuring the "missing" nun verse, which was likely creatively added during the Second Temple period. The same "missing" verse also appears in the Septuagint Psalms collection.

Eliyahu Rayvych

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The missing verse of Psalm 145 in 11Q5.

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# Appendix C.

#### Demetrius the Chronographer (ca. 220 BCE)

It was the first or second generations following the creation of the Greek Septuagint version that saw the appearance of the earliest Jewish histories in the Greek language. The earliest known Jewish history in Greek language was a work entitled, "On the Kings of Judaea," written in the reign of Ptolemy IV Philopator (221-204 BCE) by a man named Demetrius, known from his work as "the Chronographer" to distinguish him from other ancient writers name Demetrius.

Demetrius writes: "From Adam until Joseph's brothers came into Egypt there were 3,624 years; and from *the Flood* until Jacob's coming into Egypt, 1,360 years; and from the time when Abraham was chosen from among the Gentiles and came from Haran into Canaan until Jacob and his family came into Egypt there were 215 years" (Fragment 2:18).

The counts of 3,624 years from Adam and 1,360 years from *the Flood* to Jacob's coming into Egypt, translate to 2,264 years from Adam to *the Flood* and 1,070 years from *the Flood* to the birth of Abraham. These numbers are in complete agreement with the LXX chronology, described in Tables 2, 3 above, if we use the birth of Arphaxad, two years after the Flood, as the date of "*the Flood*" in the above calculations.