

## **GLAJJ: Addenda et Corrigenda<sup>1</sup>**

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Menahem Stern's *Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism* (three volumes, Jerusalem 1974-1984) has justly been praised by all its reviewers — not least on the pages of this journal, and not by the least knowledgeable of reviewers.<sup>2</sup> Although some took exception to certain criteria of Stern, notably his exclusion of Christian writers — so far as I could see only a few significant additions have been made to his assemblage of texts.<sup>3</sup> However, the following warning is valid for all kinds of collections: 'The study of persons carries with it many hazards, even when it operates by selection. An attempt to establish any kind of complete catalogue incurs the added risk of omissions. For the Roman Empire, the material is vast and forbidding: an editor can hardly fail to miss some names and facts, even within restricted categories, whatever his sagacity and industry'.<sup>4</sup> The following notes are but the gleanings and corners of the field (Lev. 19:9; 23:22), and the forgotten sheaf (cf. Deut. 24:19) from the rich harvest of a great scholar. In what follows I shall start with texts that doubtlessly, by Stern's own criteria, should have been included in the collection, and I shall then proceed to a number of less clear cases. To the best of my knowledge only the first of these texts has been discussed in the present context.

### **1. Diogenes of Oenoanda III, I. 7 – IV, I. 2<sup>5</sup>**

Ἐναργῆς δὲ σημεῖον τοῦ μηδὲν δύνασθαι τοὺς θεοὺς πρὸς τὸ ἀπερύκειν τὰ δίκηματα τὰ Ἰουδαίων καὶ Αἰγυπτίων ἔθνη πάντων γὰρ ὄντες ἐκεῖνοι δεισιδαιμονέστατοι, πάντων εἰσὶ μιᾶρώτατοι.

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<sup>1</sup> This paper is for a friend with whom I shared work, fun, and birthdays. It has been greatly improved by the comments of Bezalel Bar-Kochva, as well as by the Editors of *SCI* and by Werner Eck. The remaining faults and infelicities are mine.

<sup>2</sup> See F. Millar, *SCI* 3 (1976/77), 173-6. That review also contains minor criticisms of particular points.

<sup>3</sup> B. Bar-Kochva, 'Second Temple Period Research: Training, Means, Methods and Aims', *Cathedra* 100 (2001), 125-164 (Hebrew), discusses at 153-6 the need for a revision; he also alerts there to the text of Diogenes of Oenoanda.

<sup>4</sup> R. Syme, 'Missing Senators', *Historia* 4 (1955), 52 = *Roman Papers* I (Oxford 1979), 271.

<sup>5</sup> M.F. Smith, 'Excavations at Oinoanda 1997: The New Epicurean Texts', *AS* 48 (1998), 125-170; our text is at 132, the translation at 137 and the notes at 140-142; the text has also been incorporated in Smith's *Supplement to Diogenes of Oinoanda. The Epicurean Inscription* (Napoli 2003).

A clear indication of the complete inability of the gods to prevent wrong doings is provided by the nations of the Jews and Egyptians, who, while being the most superstitious of all peoples, are the vilest of all peoples.

The first parts of the monumental philosophical inscription of the Epicurean Diogenes of Oenoanda started to be exposed in the late nineteenth century; the present passage, belonging to the most substantial fragment to this day, was recovered in the renewed excavations of 1997. The new fragments, holding some 500 words, add up to the some 6,500 words recovered until now of a possible 25,000 of the original inscription.<sup>6</sup> Our fragment belongs to Diogenes' *Physics*, discussing theology and religion. According to Smith it is best to date Diogenes to the times of Hadrian or close to them.<sup>7</sup>

The very comprehensive commentary of Smith provides the parallels and details, including some inaccurate ones. Here one should point out only the Hadrianic date, the absence of any evidence for a Jewish community in Oenoanda but the presence of one in neighbouring Tlos in Lycia.<sup>8</sup>

## 2. Plut. frg. 187 Sandbach (John of Antioch, *Archaeologia* I, frg. 19)<sup>9</sup>

Ἰορδάνης δὲ ποταμὸς οὕτω λέγεται διὰ τὸ συμμίγνυσθαι δύο ἅμα, Ἰὸρ τε καὶ Δάνην, <καὶ ἀποτελοῦσιν αὐτόν, ὡς φησι Πλούταρχος>. The river Jordan is so called because two are mingled together, the Jor and the Danes, <and they complete it, as Plutarch says>.

John of Antioch (not to be confused with either the Patriarch of that name of the city or with Chrysostomus), is the author of a chronicle (Ἱστορία χρονική) from the Creation until the accession of Heraclius (610), composed shortly after that event. The recent comprehensive and excellent edition of the fragments of his work is a great advance on *FHG* IV 535-622, V 27-8.<sup>10</sup> Our fragment comes from the first part of the chronicle, the second book of the *Archaeologia*, though its exact context cannot be ascertained (Genesis, and more particularly Abraham, and his parting from Lot, 13:10-11, seems a distinct possibility). As for its textual tradition, the main sentence derives from cod.

<sup>6</sup> For the latest discoveries, adding some substantial fragments, see J. Hammerstaedt, M.F. Smith, 'Diogenes of Oinoanda: New Discoveries of 2012 (NF 206-212) and New Light on "Old" Fragments"', *EA* 45 (2012), 1-35.

<sup>7</sup> M.F. Smith, *The Philosophical Inscription of Diogenes of Oinoanda* (Ergänzungsbände zu TAM 20, Wien 1996), 17-18, gives the references to the main debate between himself and Canfora, who dates the inscription to the first century BCE. I hope to discuss the implications of this date elsewhere.

<sup>8</sup> For a full discussion see also P.W. Van der Horst, "The most superstitious and disgusting of all nations": Diogenes of Oenoanda on the Jews', A.P.M.H. Lardinois, M.G.M. van der Poel, V.J.C. Hunink (eds.), *Land of Dreams: Greek and Latin Studies in Honour of A. H. M. Kessels* (Leiden 2006), 291-8.

<sup>9</sup> U. Roberto, *Ioannis Antiocheni Fragmenta ex Historia chronica. Introduzione, edizione critica e traduzione* (Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur 154 (Berlin – New York 2005), 46.

<sup>10</sup> See n. 9 above and Al. Cameron's highly positive review in *BMCR* 2006.07.37; the discussion above depends on this edition.

Paris. gr. 1630, which contains, according to the editor, the direct tradition of Johannine excerpts, while the addition in angular brackets, < >, comes from the *Excerpta Salmesiana*, derived indirectly from John. The fragment cannot be located among the known lost works of Plutarch, though it may have been included in a reference to the battle of Paneas at the sources of the Jordan (200 BCE), an event that may well have been mentioned in a lost work, conceivably as background to the life Antiochus III, who must have played a major role in the *Life of Scipio Africanus*<sup>11</sup> or perhaps in the Αἰτίαι βαρβαρικάί (Lamprias Cat. no. 139). At any rate it is important to stress that John made ample use of Plutarch's *Lives* in his books on the history of the Republic, a number of times referring explicitly to the *Life of Sulla* (see Roberto's Index Locorum).<sup>12</sup> Sandbach, the editor of the fragments in both the *LCL* and the *Teubneriana*,<sup>13</sup> puts an asterisk before it and adds the following note in *LCL* (XV 346-7): 'It is most unlikely that Plutarch said anything of the sort. This does not even come from the spurious *De Fluviis*'. The scepticism of Sandbach seems to be misplaced, and in his second sentence he may well have done without the word 'even'. More importantly, the claim of the passage is half true — the Dan is indeed one of the three sources of the Jordan, and it is also similarly described by Josephus, *AJ* 1.177: (Abraham fell on the Assyrians) περὶ Δάνον, οὗτος γὰρ ἢ ἑτέρα τοῦ Ἰορδάνου προσαγορεύεται πῆγη.<sup>14</sup> The passage is also paraphrased by the *Suda* (I 422), which derives its information from John as a rule indirectly by way of the *Excerpta Constantiniana*. If indeed we have here a case of Hebrew popular etymology,<sup>15</sup> it would be of some consequence to guess through which intermediary it made its way to the text of Plutarch.

<sup>11</sup> For the present problem it does not matter whether this is the *Life* paired with Epaminondas, Lamprias Cat. 7, or the single one, no. 28.

<sup>12</sup> In fact, in the *Archaeology* there is another reference to 'Plutarch of Chaeronea', and his telling the story of Helios and Phaëton (*Arch.* I, frg. 2, p. 4). Though Plutarch refers to the story (e.g. *De exil.* 607F, *Non posse* 1094B), he never actually *tells* it, certainly not 'more truthfully' than Ovid, as the fragment would have it. Sandbach in his note on frg. 189 from Malalas, refers to *Anecdota Graeca* ii, p. 232 Cramer, that is, John of Antioch, as dependent on Malalas. However, the text of John looks as if it contained acquaintance with Plutarch beyond what can be found in Malalas, and accordingly should have found a place among the fragments of Plutarch. Heinz Gerd Ingenkamp kindly informs me that they will include this fragment in volume VII of the *editio maior* of G.N. Bernardakis prepared by himself and by P.D. Bernardakis and published by the Academy of Athens.

<sup>13</sup> It is not contained in the *editio minor* of Bernardakis.

<sup>14</sup> Thackeray, in his *LCL* edition, adds the following note: 'Josephus appears to countenance the popular etymology, which saw in the name a compound of two alleged sources of the river, Jor and Dan!' Indeed this may well be a popular etymology, but the Dan is a very real brook. One wonders whether the presumed popular etymology is Hebrew — *Y<sup>e</sup>or*, a frequent word in the Bible, means river, though very often it is applied specifically to the Nile.

<sup>15</sup> See n. 14 above.

3. *Vita Aesopi* 141<sup>16</sup>

μέλλων δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ κρημοῦ ριπτέσθαι ἔτι ἕτερον λόγον εἶπεν (lacuna) ‘... ἄνδρες Δέλφιοι, ἡβουλόμην Συρίαν, Φοινίκην, Ἰουδαίαν μᾶλλον κυκλεῦσαι ἢ ἐνθάδε (παραλόγως ὑφ’ ὑμῶν<sup>677</sup>) [παρ’ ὑμῶν ἀναγκασθῆναι] ἀποθανεῖν’. [ὑπὸ δυστήνων δουλαρίων]. οἱ δὲ οὐ μετενόουν.

παραλόγως ὑφ’ ὑμῶν suppl. e W

I would yet prefer be hurled from the cliff, to say it differently, men of Delphi, I would rather drag myself through Syria, Phoenicia, Judaea than be forced to die at the hands of wretched slavelings. But they did not change their minds.

The *Life of Aesopus* is a so-called “open text”,<sup>17</sup> that is, a text that has no distinctive author, and both its origin and transmission are unclear. Accordingly it is not fixed and exists in a number of recensions. This last characteristic renders these texts especially liable to the overlooking of words and passages that exist in only one or some of the recensions. This indeed must have happened to Stern in the present case — the standard edition of the biography (W), included in A. Westermann’s *Biographi Graeci Minores*, reads Σικελίαν rather than Συρίαν, Φοινίκην, Ἰουδαίαν; the version that refers to Judaea appears to be the earliest extant version of the *Life*, and dates probably to the first century CE.<sup>18</sup> The passage comes towards the end of the *Life* (and life), in the story of the maltreatment of Aesop by the Delphians. It is immediately preceded by an analogous example told by the teller of fables. A man fell in love with his daughter and raped her, and she said to him that she would consort rather with a hundred men than with him. Perry<sup>19</sup> invokes the parallels of ‘the romance of Apollonius of Tyre, or (less precisely) of Matthidia in the pseudo-Clementine *Recognitiones* (vii, 15); hence, it is not difficult to imagine that the story which Aesop told the Delphians on this occasion related to some young woman who had wandered about in voluntary exile, suffering many hardships in order to avoid the incestuous advances of her own father at home. Such a story would be relevant to Aesop’s situation — in danger at the very shrine of the Muses — and at the same time would account for the otherwise meaningless allusion to foreign travels.’

<sup>16</sup> B.E. Perry, *Aesopica. A Series of Texts Relating to Aesop or Ascribed to him or Closely Connected with the Literary Tradition that Bears his Name, collected and critically edited, in part translated from Oriental languages, with a commentary and historical essay* (Urbana – Chicago 1952 [1980, 2007]), Vol. 1: Greek and Latin Texts (no further vols. appeared), 141 (p. 77).

<sup>17</sup> The term seems to have been coined by David Konstan; see discussion in T. Hägg, *The Art of Biography in Antiquity* (Cambridge 2012), 99-117.

<sup>18</sup> It occurs in a MS published by Perry, codex G, New York, Pierpont Morgan nr. 397, formerly Grottaferrata A. 33: B.E. Perry, *Studies in the Text History of the Life and Fables of Aesop* (Ann Arbor 1981 = Haverford, Pa. 1936).

<sup>19</sup> Perry (n. 18), 34-35.

As for the text, one may assert with some confidence that the version of G is preferable, not only because of its being the earliest recension,<sup>20</sup> but also because one suspects that Sicily has been inserted for the subtlety Σικελίαν ὄλην κακοπαθῶν κυκλεῦσαι, to which Perry indeed adds the notice ‘*nimis docte!*’. What remains unfortunately unclear is whether the wanderings in Syria, Phoenicia and Judaea were a random choice and part of the story of the ill-fated woman or whether something definitely unpleasant was evoked by the mention of these countries. As for the sequence Syria-Phoenicia-Judaea,<sup>21</sup> the term Judaea rather than Syria-Palaestina was only occasionally used after the change of the name of the province,<sup>22</sup> but in fact the usage well agrees with the above dating of recension G (not taken account of by Perry).

**4. Diosc. 1.95 (Pedanii Dioscuridis Anazarbei, *De materia medica*, ed. Max Wellmann, Berlin 1907)<sup>23</sup>**

Κύπρος δένδρον ἐστὶ φύλλα ἔχον περὶ τοῖς ῥάβδοις ἐλαία παραπλήσια, πλατύτερα δὲ καὶ μαλακώτερα καὶ χλωρότερα, ἄνθη λευκά, βοτρυώδη, εὐώδη, σπέρμα μέλαν, ὅμοιον τῷ τῆς ἀκτῆς, γεννᾶται δὲ ἀρίστη ἐν τῇ Ἀσκάλωνι καὶ Κανώπῃ.

The henna<sup>24</sup> is a tree having leaves around its young shoots that nearly resemble those of the olive tree, although they are broader, tenderer, and of a paler green color; it has aromatic white flowers, clustered like a bunch of grapes, and black seed, similar to the seed of the elder tree. The best grow in Ascalon and Canopus.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>20</sup> For a most recent and lucid discussion of the various recensions see L. Kurke, *Aesopic Conversations. Popular Tradition, Cultural Dialogue, and the Invention of Greek Prose* (Princeton – Oxford 2010), 16-46.

<sup>21</sup> As a rule Phoenicia and Coele Syria are cited as parts of Syria; for the inclusion of Judaea see Strabo 16.2.2, 749: Cilicia ... Coele-Syria, Phoenicia, Judaea; Philo, *Moses* I, 163: Moses leads the Jews to settle in Phoenicia, Coele Syria and Palaestina, then called Canaan; see also Pomp. Mela 1.11.62-64: *Syria ... et Iudaea. Hic Palaestina ... tum Phoenice*; Plin. *NH* 5.67: *Qui subtilius dividunt, circumfundi Syria Phoenicen volunt et esse oram maritimam Syriae, cuius pars sit Idumaea et Iudaea.*

<sup>22</sup> I discount authors who refer to earlier events, such as Celsus, but see Claud. Ptol. *Apotelesmatica* 2.3.31; 2.4. 2; id. *Geogr.* 5.15.1, who gives the alternative names Palaestina or Judaea. Syria Palaestina appears even before the change of the name of the province, see, e.g., Philo, *Abr.* 133.

<sup>23</sup> He is called Διοσκουρίδης in the subscriptions of the MSS and consequently by Wellmann both in his edition and in his article in *RE* V, 1131-42, no. 8; Stern uses the form Dioscorides: however, as against hundreds of appearances of the name Διοσκουρίδης (and a few of Διοσκουρίδας) *LGPN* has one instance of Διοσκωρίδας and eleven of Διοσκορίδας.

<sup>24</sup> *Lawsonia inermis* L.

<sup>25</sup> Pedanius Dioscorides of Anazarbus [sic], *De materia medica*, transl. L.Y. Beck, *Altertumswissenschaftl. Texte u. Studien* 38 (Hildesheim – Zürich – New York 2005). Just for the sake of interest I append here the end of her translation: ‘The leaves have an astringent property; it is for this reason that they treat the thrush when chewed and they are good for carbuncles and for the other fiery inflammations when plastered on. Their

Strangely this passage has been missed by Stern<sup>26</sup> while five other passages of this author have been included.<sup>27</sup> It is interesting to note that Ascalon was famous not only for its onions. More intriguing still is the fact that Herod's mother was called Cypros.<sup>28</sup> This name is otherwise unattested (admittedly, we are still lacking the volume of *LGPN* including Syria and Palestine); there are a fairly great number of known names, such as Cypragoras, Cypraios, Cyprios, Cyprotima, Cyprotimus, Cyprodamos etc., none of them frequent, many of them found in Cyprus, and all obviously derived from the name of the island. Now people were called both by geographical names and by names of plants, and of course both the island and the plant are feminine. Nevertheless it seems that the name of the aristocratic Arabian (viz., Nabataean) lady, as she is described by Josephus, must be that of the odorous tree rather than of the island not known for its connections with the Nabataeans, and, if indeed Herod's mother was called after a plant for which Ascalon was famous, this certainly should be taken in consideration in the discussion about Herod's possible Ascalonian descent.<sup>29</sup> Reconsidering Herod's Ascalonite connections, even if probably reflecting just a piece of contemporary rumour or slander, seems worth the while. It may also not have been a coincidence that Herod had an Ascalonite biographer/historian.<sup>30</sup> Moreover, it may be asked whether it is entirely a coincidence that the plant assigned to Antipater by Meleager in the introductory poem of his *Garland* is the κύπρος (*AP* 4.1.42) — Antipater of Sidon had some connections to Ascalon.<sup>31</sup>

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decoction is a rinse for burns. Ground up, the leaves even dye the hair brown when soaked in quince juice and smeared on. The flower stops headaches, if it is laid ground up on the forehead with vinegar. The henna unguent made of it warms and softens tendons, it is aromatic, and absorbs compounds that heat.'

<sup>26</sup> G.H. van Kooten, 'Moses/Musaeus/Moschos and his God Yahweh, Iao, and Sabaoth, seen from a Graeco-Roman Perspective', in id. (ed.), *The Revelation of the Name YHWH to Moses. Perspectives of Judaism, the Pagan Graeco-Roman World, and Early Christianity* (Leiden – Boston 2006), 107-138, at 126-7, claims to have found a reference missing from *GLAJJ* to Iao in Dioscurides; however, I could not locate either the reference as given there, or the one to *TLG* kindly supplied to me *per litteras electronicas* by Prof. van Kooten.

<sup>27</sup> See also Joseph. *BJ* 4.469, who names the μυροβάλλανος (for which see *Diosc.* 1.109) as one of the plants that grow in Jericho.

<sup>28</sup> Joseph. *BJ* 1.181; *AJ* 14.121; cf. *BJ* 1.417; *AJ* 16.143. From the main text it will be clear that the variant Κύπριν of the Latin and Hegesippus at *BJ* 1.181 and the Latin and some MSS at *AJ* 14.121 is wrong. The name Κύπρις is attested once each in the Argolid and in S. Italy.

<sup>29</sup> See A. Schalit, *König Herodes: der Mann und sein Werk*<sup>2</sup> (Berlin 2001), 677-8. For Herod's buildings in Ascalon see D.W. Roller, *The Building Program of Herod the Great* (Berkeley – Los Angeles – London 1998), 216-9.

<sup>30</sup> See J. Geiger, 'Ptolemy of Ascalon, Historian of Herod', *SCI* 31 (2012), 185-190.

<sup>31</sup> See J. Geiger, *Hellenism in the East: Studies on Greek Intellectuals in Palestine* (Stuttgart 2014), 84; on the aptness of the plant to the poet see A.S.F. Gow, D.L. Page (eds.), *The Greek Anthology: Hellenistic Epigrams* (Cambridge 1965), II, 603.

### 5. Eunapius, *Vitae Philosophorum* p. 459<sup>32</sup>

Μετὰ δὲ χρόνον τινὰ δόξαν αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ τὰ Γάδαρα θερμὰ δέ ἐστι λουτρά τῆς Συρίας, τῶν γε κατὰ (G μετὰ) τὴν Ἑρωμαϊκὴν ἐν Βαΐαις δεύτερα, ἐκείνοις δὲ οὐκ ἔστιν ἕτερα παραβάλλεσθαι (G παραβαλέσθαι) πορεύονται δὲ κατὰ τὴν ὥραν (G prints εἰς τὰ Γάδαρα deleted by Cobet) τοῦ ἔτους. ὁ μὲν ἐτύγγανε λούμενος, οἱ δὲ συνελοῦντο, καὶ περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ἐνέκειντο. μειδιάσας δὲ ὁ Πιάμβλιχος, ‘ἄλλ’ οὐκ εὐσεβὲς μὲν’ ἔφη ‘ταῦτα ἐπιδείκνυσθαι, ὑμῶν δὲ ἕνεκα πεπράζεται.’ Τῶν θερμῶν (G <καὶ> τῶν θερμῶν) κρηνῶν δύο, τὰς μὲν μικροτέρας (G μικροτέρας μὲν), τῶν δὲ ἄλλων χαριστέρας, ἐκέλευσεν ἐκπυθάνεσθαι τοὺς ὀμιλητὰς παρὰ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ὅπως ἐκ παλαιοῦ προσωνομάζοντο. οἱ δὲ τὸ προσταχθὲν ἐπιτελέσαντες, ‘ἄλλ’ οὐκ ἔστι γε πρόφασις’ εἶπον, ‘ἄλλ’ αὕτη μὲν Ἔρωσ καλεῖται, τῇ παρακειμένη δὲ Ἄντερως ὄνομα. Ὁ δὲ εὐθύς ἐπιψαύσας τοῦ ὕδατος (ἐτύγγανε δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς κρηπίδος κατὰ τὴν ὑπέρκλυσιν καθήμενος), καὶ (G does not print Cobet’s addition καὶ) βραχέα τινὰ προσειπὼν, ἐξεκάλεσεν ἀπὸ τῆς κρήνης κάτωθεν παιδίον. λευκὸν ἦν τὸ παιδίον καὶ μετρίως εὐμέγεθες, καὶ χρυσοειδεῖς αὐτῷ κόμαι καὶ τὰ μετάρφρα καὶ τὰ στέρνα περιέστιλβον, καὶ ὅλον ἐφύκει λουομένῳ τε καὶ λελουμένῳ. Καταπλαγέντων δὲ τῶν ἐταίρων, ‘ἐπὶ τὴν ἐχομένην’ εἶπε ‘κρήνην ἴωμεν,’ καὶ ἦγεῖτο ἀπιῶν, καὶ σύννουσ ἦν. εἶτα κάκει τὰ αὐτὰ δράσας, ἐξεκάλεσεν ἕτερον Ἔρωτα τῷ προτέρῳ παραπλήσιον ἅπαντα, πλὴν ὅσον αἱ κόμαι μελάντεραί τε καὶ ἡλιῶσαι κατεκέχυντο. καὶ περιεπλέκετό γε ἀμφοτέρω αὐτῷ τὰ παιδιά, καὶ, καθάπερ γνησίῳ τινὸς πατρὸς ἐκφύοντα (G does not print the comma), περιείχετο. ὁ δὲ ἐκεῖνά τε ταῖς οἰκείαις ἀπέδωκε λήξει, καὶ, σεβαζομένων τῶν ἐταίρων, ἐξήκει λουσάμενος, οὐδὲν μετὰ τοῦτο ἐζήτησεν ἢ τῶν ὀμιλητῶν πληθῆς, ἀλλὰ ἀπὸ τῶν φανέντων δειγμάτων, ὥσπερ ὑπὸ ἀρρήκτου ῥυτῆρος εἴλκοντο, καὶ πᾶσιν ἐπίστευον.

Some time after, they (viz. Iamblichus and his disciples) decided to go to Gadara, a place which has warm baths in Syria, inferior only to those at Baiae in Italy, with which no other baths can be compared. So they set out in the summer season. Now he happened to be bathing and the others were bathing with him, and they were using the same insistence, whereupon Iamblichus smiled and said: ‘It is irreverent to the gods to give you this demonstration, but for your sakes it shall be done.’ There were two hot springs smaller than the others but prettier, and he bade his disciples ask the natives of the place by what names they used to be called in former times. When they had done his bidding they said: ‘There is no pretence about it, this spring is called Eros, and the name of the next one to it is Anteros.’ He at once touched the water with his hand — he happened to be sitting on the ledge of the spring where the overflow runs off — and uttering a brief summons he called forth a boy from the depth of the spring. He was white-skinned and of medium height, his locks were golden and his back and breast shone; and he exactly resembled one who was bathing or had just bathed. His disciples were overwhelmed with amazement, but Iamblichus said: ‘Let us go to the next spring,’ and he rose and led the way, with a thoughtful air. Then he went through the same performance there also, and summoned another Eros like the first in all respects, except that his hair was darker and fell loose in the sun. Both the boys embraced Iamblichus and clung to him as though he were genuinely their father. He restored them to their proper places and went away after his

<sup>32</sup> For the sake of convenience I print the text and translation of W.C. Wright (LCL). I will note the few significant changes in the text of G. Giangrande (Rome 1956) = G.

bath, revered by his pupils. After this the crowd of his pupils sought no further evidence, but believed everything from the proofs that had been revealed to them, and hung on to him as though by an unbreakable chain.

Gadara is considered by Stern (I, 139) as one of the Hellenistic cities of Palestine, and a number of references to it appear in the collection. It is noteworthy, that this was the home of the Cynic philosopher Oenomaus, the only Greek intellectual referred to with certainty in Talmudic literature, under the name Abnimos,<sup>33</sup> and one who reputedly was on friendly terms with one of the leading Sages of his time, R. Meir.<sup>34</sup>

This is not the place to discuss the philosophy or the powers of Iamblichus (who, however, is represented in *GLAJJ* with a short passage under no. CXXIX). Whatever the exact details of the story, at any rate a visit of the philosopher from Apamea at the hot springs of Gadara, praised in hexameters by the Empress Eudocia,<sup>35</sup> is far from surprising. The present version of the myth of Eros and Anteros may rely on local elements, perhaps also reflected in an epigram (*AP* 12.165) of Meleager, born in Gadara;<sup>36</sup> the epigram, and perhaps the myth, may have been known to the Sages (see above on Oenomaus).<sup>37</sup>

## 6. Porphyry, *History of Philosophy* III (Steph. Byz. Γ 12 = *FGrH* 260 F 12)

Γάδρα πόλις Παλαιστίνης. Πορφύριος γ̄ Φιλοσόφου Ἱστορίας.

Gadra: A town of Palestine. Porphyry in (book) III of *History of Philosophy*.

Porphyry of Tyre receives one of the longest entries in *GLAJJ*. Nevertheless this small item has not been included. As often, Stephanus splits an item in two: in addition to the above entry he also has one for Γάδρα (Γ 9), defined there as a city of Coele Syria. Interestingly enough, the only famous person of the city named there is the Cynic Menippus. This is to be contrasted with Strabo 16, 758C, who lists half a dozen intellectual celebrities from the city — but of course we have only the abbreviated Stephanus. One wonders whether Porphyry mentioned the city in his *History of Philosophy* for the sake of Menippus, or (also) for that of his late Cynic successor Oenomaus, much closer in time to Porphyry (and, as mentioned, known to the Sages).

<sup>33</sup> See, e.g., M. Luz, 'Abnimos, Nimos, and Oenomaus: A Note', *JQR* 77 (1986-1987), 191-195; id., 'Oenomaus and Talmudic Anecdote', *JSJ* 23 (1992), 42-80.

<sup>34</sup> See Geiger (n. 31 above), 29-30.

<sup>35</sup> J. Green, Y. Tsafir, 'Greek Inscriptions from Hammat Gader: A Poem by the Empress Eudocia and Two Building Inscriptions', *IEJ* 32 (1982), 77-91; R. Merkelbach, J. Stauber, *Steinepigramme aus dem griechischen Osten. Band 4: Die Südküste Kleinasiens, Syrien und Palaestina* (Leipzig 2002), 346-8.

<sup>36</sup> See J. Geiger, 'Eros und Anteros: der Blonde und der Dunkelhaarige', *Hermes* 114 (1986), 375-6.

<sup>37</sup> See J. Geiger, 'Greek in the Talmud: Allusion to a Hellenistic Epigram?', *Tarbiz* 55 (1986), 606-7 (Hebr.; Engl. summ. V).



7. Schol. Pers. 5.176-184 (*Commentum Cornuti in Persium*, edd. W.V. Clausen, J.E.G. Zetzel, Monachii et Lipsiae 2004)

179 (2) *AT CUM HERODIS V.D. hic de superstitionibus tractat, ostendens etiam qui superstitionibus sit deditus servire. (3) hic Herodes apud Iudaeos regnavit temporibus Augusti in partes Syriae. (4) Herodis ergo diem natalem observant, aut etiam sabbata, quo die lucernas accensas et violis coronatas in fenestris ponunt.*

182 *RUBRUMQUE AMPLEXA CATINUM C.N.T. tunc rubrum fictile, quod est Arietinum, cauda thinni amplectitur. (2) amplexa dicit aut brevitatem catini aut magnitudinem thinni ostendens. (3) thinni genus piscis quod ad templum diebus festis portare solebant ut ibi pro die festo epulis vescerentur.*

183. *TUMET ALBA FIDELIA V. hoc est vino plena est, hoc est grande vas. (2) alba dicit aut a coloris proprietate aut certe argentea.*

184 *LABRA M.T. ordo: tunc quando haec celebras labra moves tacitus. (2) tacite enim et murmurantes Iudaei preces effundunt.*

179 (2) BUT WHEN THE DAY OF HEROD COMES ROUND.<sup>38</sup> Here he treats of superstitions, also presenting him who is committed to serve the superstitions. This Herod ruled among the Jews in the times of Augustus in parts of Syria. Accordingly they observed the birthday of Herod, or also the Sabbath, a day on which they put lighted lamps crowned with violets in the windows.

(182) FLOPPY TUNNIES' TAILS ARE CURLED ROUND THE DISHES OF RED WARE. Then a red pot, that is Arietine ware, embraces the tail of a tunny. He says *embraces* to show either the shortness of the bowl or the size of the tunny. *Tunny* is a species of fish which they used to carry to the temple on feast days in order to consume it there in the banquets of the feast days.

(183) AND THE WHITE JARS ARE SWOLLEN OUT WITH WINE. That is, it is filled with wine, that is a big vessel. He says *white* or because of the quality of its colour or because it was certainly of silver.

(184) YOU SILENTLY TWITCH YOUR LIPS. The order is: then when you celebrate these you move your lips silently. To be sure the Jews pour out their prayers in murmur.

Stern included in his collection the scholia on Virgil and Juvenal and pseudo-Acro on Horace, so there is no good reason why the scholia on Persius, misleadingly ascribed to the poet's teacher Cornutus, should not have been included. Although the present scholia are a late concoction dating from the Frankish kingdom, they are based on the early scholia known, i.a., to Jerome (*ad Ruf.* 1.16). The casual comments on Judaism, whose customs are labelled *superstitiones*, the incorrect information concerning the fish and the temple, and the reference to 'parts of Syria' rather than to Judaea, testify that they must date to times before the dominance of Christianity.

<sup>38</sup> For the lemmata I use Ramsay's LCL translation of Persius, printed by Stern.

Stern on Persius remarks on *Herodis dies* ‘Ramsay has translated “Herod’s birthday”’; we may add that no doubt he derived this from the scholia.<sup>39</sup> However, as Harvey<sup>40</sup> rightly remarks, *dies* is plural. Of special interest seems to me the reference to silent or murmured prayer, on which Stern does not comment, and to which apparently there is no reference in any other author quoted by him. The central part of the main Jewish prayer, said three times a day, is the so-called Eighteen Benedictions. It is also called the Standing Prayer or the Murmured Prayer because of these two characteristics. The obligation to say this prayer silently existed already at the time of the Sages (*BT B<sup>e</sup>rachot [=Benedictions] 31a*) and thus the scholia’s observation is of some importance for Roman awareness of Jewish customs. Indeed the Romans regarded silent prayer with disapproval,<sup>41</sup> so that it is unclear whether already Persius was aware of the Jewish custom or was just being contemptuous. Considering the poet’s familiarity with the lighting of lamps and the drinking of wine on the Sabbath it would not surprise if he were also informed about Jewish prayer customs, to which he would be a very early witness indeed.<sup>42</sup>

#### 8. Damasc. *Vita Isidori* frg. 70 (Phot. *Bibl.* 242 = *FGrH* 675 T 3)

καὶ Οὐράνιον τινα ὄνομα, ἸΑπαμείας τῆς ἐν Συρία πολίτην καὶ ἄρξαντα Καισαρείας τῆς ἐν Παλαιστίνῃ, ἀπὸ τῆς ὀφθαλμῶν γνωρίζειν τὸν ὅμοιον τρόπον τοὺς πολυαράτους γόητάς φησι.

And he says that a certain man named Uranius, a citizen of Apamea in Syria and governor of Caesarea in Palestine, could tell in a similar manner by their eyes the cursed sorcerers.

By Stern’s criteria in his Introduction, according to which he included references to specific parts of the country ruled or inhabited mostly by Jews, he should have included a passage concerning fifth-century Caesarea, maintaining at the time a very sizeable Jewish population. Damascius is represented in the collection (no. CLVIII).<sup>43</sup>

#### 9. Varro, *Men.* frg. 583B

*Rotundus est sine capite, sine praeputio.*<sup>44</sup>

He is rotund without head, without foreskin.

<sup>39</sup> For the interesting suggestion, first made by S. Krauss, that the reference is to Hanukkah, see M. Benovitz, ‘Herod and Hanukkah’, *Zion* 68 (2002), 5-40 (Hebrew); however, he does not take account of the scholia on Persius.

<sup>40</sup> R.A. Harvey, *A Commentary on Persius* (Leiden 1981), ad loc.

<sup>41</sup> See Harvey, (n. 40 above) ad 2.6-14.

<sup>42</sup> The familiarity with Jewish customs stands also if *Herodis dies* referred to Hanukkah (see n. 39 above).

<sup>43</sup> For a detailed discussion of the identity of Uranius see Geiger (n. 31 above), 39-40.

<sup>44</sup> Quoted in Sen. *Apoc.* 8.1: *Quomodo potest ‘rotundus’ esse, ut ait Varro, ‘sine capite, sine praeputio.’* The line *rotundus est sine capite, sine praeputio* will yield a iambic senarius.

From the context of the quotation in Sen. *Apoc.* 8.1 it is clear that this is a satirical reference to the god of the Stoics — if they say that he is rotund we may deduce that he has neither head nor foreskin. The choice of these particular characteristics cannot be random. Of course a god without a head, and a Stoic god at that, is absurd; but one without a foreskin is, one presumes, also funny. Now the fun may be a more general one, since some people will regard any mention of genitals as funny.<sup>45</sup> One doubts that this sort of humour is what Varro, that most learned of Romans, intended. On the other hand Jews were the circumcised *par excellence*, as can best be seen from *GLAJJ*.<sup>46</sup> Indeed, Stern acknowledged as much by adding a passage in his third volume (Naevius, pp. 13-15) in which Jews are not expressly mentioned, and even the reference to a circumcised man is, according to Stern, in some doubt.<sup>47</sup> Now, making the god of the Stoics Jewish is of course quite funny, except perhaps for the followers and sympathizers of that philosophical school. Though Stern maintains (*GLAJJ* I, 207), that Varro was on the whole well-disposed towards the Jews, there is a big difference between his serious views in a work like the *Res Divinae*, the foundation of Stern's judgment, and in a Menippean satire: a joking reference to circumcision, and one in which somebody else was the butt of the joke, should by no means be construed as an anti-Jewish attitude. Whatever else may have been in the context of the passage of Varro, no Roman reader of the time would fail to associate the missing foreskin with the Jews.

#### 10. Plut. *Cic.* 36.2

... τούς τε Κίλικίας ὄρων πρὸς τὸ Παρθικὸν πταῖσμα Ἰρωμαίων καὶ τὸν ἐν Συρίᾳ νεωτερισμὸν ἐπηρμένους καταπραΰνεν ἡμέρωσ ἄρχων.

... and seeing that the Cilicians, in view of the Parthian disaster to the Romans and the uprising in Syria, were in an agitated state, he pacified them by his mild government.

The passage on Cicero's governorship of Cilicia does not mention Jews or Judaea explicitly, though the commentators agree that the reference to the uprising in Syria must be to that of the Jews quelled by C. Cassius Longinus in 51 BCE.<sup>48</sup>

<sup>45</sup> I cannot agree with W.A. Krenkel, *Marcus Terentius Varro, Saturae Menippeae* III (St. Katharinen 2002), 1184, in his short note at the end of his lengthy commentary, that *praeputium* is only used as *pars pro toto* as an inoffensive word, unlike *penis* or *cauda*, without any reference to the Jewish association; did Varro intend to be funny when referring to the male organ, but inoffensive in only calling it the foreskin? J.-P. Cèbe, *Varron, Satires Ménippées* XIII (Rome 1999), 2119 only remarks that *praeputium* is unattested before Varro.

<sup>46</sup> See Index s.v. Circumcision, Jewish.

<sup>47</sup> The allusion to Jews has been more vigorously argued by J. Geiger, 'The Earliest Reference to Jews in Latin Literature', *JSJ* 15 (1984), 145-7.

<sup>48</sup> See, e.g., J.L. Moles, *Plutarch: Lives. Cicero*, with Introduction, Translation and Commentary (Warminster 1988), 184; *Plutarco, vite parallele, Demostene*, introduzione, traduzione e note di Ch. Pecorella Longo, *Cicerone*, introduzione di J. Geiger, traduzione di B. Mugelli, note di L. Ghilli, testo greco a fronte (Milano 1995), 518 n. 488. For the events see Joseph. *BJ* 1.180; *AJ* 14.119-122; Schürer – Vermes – Millar I, 270.

11. *GLAJJ II*, no. 464n, prints among the texts of Porphyry a passage from Hier., *in Dan.* 11.21 dealing with the wars between Syria and Egypt, that includes a reference to the defeat of Judas Maccabaeus. However, Jerome quotes as his source Porphyry, who followed *Sutori[us]* (*v.l. Suctorius*) *videlicet Callinic[us]*. It would have been perhaps advisable to ascribe the passage to the ultimate source, as does Jacoby, *FGrH* 281 F 2, or at least to accord him due consideration. Recently Callinicus has been reconsidered by Pernot,<sup>49</sup> who also prints a far longer collection of his fragments than Jacoby. The famous sophist from Petra, the son of Gaius, was apparently active in Athens in the second half of the third century (the dating to Constantine is erroneous, unless he had enjoyed a very long life), where his main rival was Genethlius, also of Petra. Among his many speeches were exemplary panegyrics to the *patria*, and speeches at the ship's anchoring (*Men. Rhet.* 2, 370, 386-387); he is mentioned in the same breath with the great rhetors Aelius Aristides, Polemon and Hadrian of Tyre. According to the *Suda* he composed a public speech to the emperor Gallienus, a speech to Lupus<sup>50</sup> on bad taste in rhetoric, a work on the history of Alexandria (addressed to 'Cleopatra'),<sup>51</sup> a work on the renewal of the Romans and a polemical work against the philosophical sects. Of all this there remain few fragments, but a part of his εἰς τὰ πάτρια Ῥώμης has been preserved in a MS (*FGrH* 281 F 1). His rhetorical, historical and philosophical writings combined with a possible participation in political life make him an exceptionally interesting figure.<sup>52</sup> Since the only writer from Palestine included in *GLAJJ* is Meleager of Gadara, and only in a fleeting reference in a love epigram, the inclusion of Callinicus of Petra (for some time in the province of Palaestina Salutaris, or Tertia<sup>53</sup>), on a momentous event in Jewish history, is of special significance.<sup>54</sup>

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<sup>49</sup> See L. Pernot, 'Callinicos de Pétra, sophiste et historien', *RÉG* 123 (2010), 71-90.

<sup>50</sup> Identified by A. Stein, 'Kallinikos von Petra', *Hermes* 58 (1923), 448-456, as a high official in the East, according to *PIR*<sup>2</sup> Virius Lupus, consul ordinarius a. 278.

<sup>51</sup> Identified by Stein (n. 50 above) as Zenobia.

<sup>52</sup> See also *RE* X, 1649-1650, Kallinikos no. 1; cf. no. 2, 4 (the identity of the rival of Genethlius and of the author of the work attributed to Menander is at issue); *PIR*<sup>2</sup> C 229; *PLRE* I, no. 1.

<sup>53</sup> For an early dating, under Diocletian, of the reorganization of the provinces that included the Negev and southern Transjordan in Palaestina, see J. Sipilä, *The Reorganisation of Provincial Territories in Light of the Imperial Decision-making Process: Later Roman Arabia and Tres Palaestinae as Case Studies* (Helsinki 2009), 149-152. This would perhaps allow for Callinicus to write already after that reorganization. N.b. however that in the first century Diosc. 4.157.1, *GLAJJ* I, 182, refers to Petra near Judaea (ἐν τῇ κατὰ Πιουδαίαν Πέτρῳ) — not all writers were equally meticulous on such matters.

<sup>54</sup> R. Netz, 'The First Jewish Scientist?', *SCI* 17 (1998), 27-33, suggests that Dositheus of Pelusium, the addressee of most of the pure mathematical works of Archimedes, was a Jew. This is based mainly on the name, widely used by Jews (but not uncommon with non-Jews), and to a lesser degree on the provenance close to Palestine. Dositheus was apparently an astronomer, and perhaps studied pure mathematics for that purpose. I include this proposal for the sake of completeness.