The Enigma of Horace's Thirtieth Sabbath

Louis H. Feldman

1. *Introduction: Previous Solutions*

In the ninth satire of Book I, Horace, while taking a stroll, is joined by a mere acquaintance, who in the hope of obtaining through the poet an introduction to Maecenas, persists in accompanying him. Horace attempts in vain to get rid of this unwelcome companion; but suddenly the good-natured poet meets his friend Aristius Fuscus. In an effort to get his friend to save him, Horace says, "Surely you said that there was something which you wanted to tell me in private." (Hor. *S.* 1.9.67–68). But Fuscus, the cruel joker, replies:

> Memini bene, sed meliore
> tempore dicam; hodie tricesima sabbata: vin tu
> curtis Iudaeis oppedere? (Hor. *S.* 1.9.68–70).

The literature on the phrase *tricesima sabbata* is considerable. In addition to the comments, often at length, of the numerous commentators on Horace, there have been no fewer then eight articles or extended treatments on this single phrase.[1] Seven major solutions have been proposed.

A. One solution has been to seek to identify the thirtieth Sabbath with a

1 B. Dombart, "Tricesima sabbata," *Archiv für lateinische Lexikographie und Grammatik* 6 (1889) 272–3; J. M. Stowasser and D. Graubart, "Tricesima, Sabbata," *Zeitschrift für die Österreichischen Gymnasien* 40 (1889) 289–95; S. A. Hirsch, "Some Literary Trifles," *JQR* 13 (1901) 615–9; P. Lejay, "Le sabbat juif et les poètes latins," *RHLR* 8 (1903) 305–35; A. Toaff, "Una festa israelitica in una satire oraziana," *Vessillo Israelitico* 53 (1905) 231–5; M. Radin, *The Jews among the Greeks and Romans* (Philadelphia 1915) 399–402; S. Sabbadini, "Tricesima Sabbata," *Athenaeum* 8 (1920) 160–67; D. Nardoni, "Tricensima Sabbata (Hor. Sat. I°. 9, 69)," *Annuario di Studi Ebraici* (1975–76) 73–90.

particular sabbath in the Jewish calendar. Nine Sabbaths or holidays have been suggested. If one starts to count from the beginning of the Jewish civil year on the first of Tishri, approximately the thirtieth Sabbath is the "Great Sabbath" (the Sabbath before Passover)[2] or the first day of Passover itself[3] or the last day of Passover[4] or the special Sabbath known as Shabbath Parashath Ha-ḥodesh (on which the New Moon ushering in the month of Nisan is blessed and which, in effect, ushers in the religious calendar)[5] or the first of the month of Nisan[6] or (through confusion) the Festival of Pentecost[7].

If one counts from the beginning of the Jewish religious year, as found in the Bible, on the first of Nisan, approximately the thirtieth Sabbath is the Day of Atonement[8] or the Feast of Tabernacles.[9] A final possibility, suggested by Fischer,[10] is that the thirtieth Sabbath is the thirtieth in the weekly reading of the Pentateuch according to the set weekly cycle, which begins on the Festival of the Rejoicing of the Law (Simchath Torah) following the Festival of Tabernacles. According to this schedule, the thirtieth Sabbath would contain the *Parashath Tokhaḥah* ("Section of Reproof," Lev. 26:14–43), where the Divine punishments to be meted out for egregious sins by the people of Israel are enumerated — an awesome passage indeed.

We may sumarize our objections thus to these attempts to identify a particular Sabbath as the *tricesima Sabbata*:

a) There is no evidence that Jews counted Sabbaths, except the weeks between the second day of Passover and Pentecost. The fact that the Dead

2 L. Desprez (ed.), *Quinti Horatii Flacci Opera,* 12th ed. (London 1762) 418–9.

3 D. L. Monstroliensis, *Q. Horatii Flacci Sermonum Libri Quattuor, seu Satyrarum Libri duo. Epistolarum Libri duo. Epistolarum Libri duo* (Leiden 1561) 122.

4 F. Huidekoper, *Judaism at Rome B.C. 76 to A.D. 140* (Nw York 1876) 158.

5 Sabbadini (n. 1 above) 166–7.

6 Desprez (n. 2 above) 418.

7 C. Roth, *The History of the Jews of Italy* (Philadelphia 1946) 28.

8 I. G. Orellius, *Q. Horatius Flaccus,* 2, 3rd ed. (Turin 1852) 124–5. This view is adopted by Radin (n. 1 above) 399–402, though with some diffidence.

9 Cited by J. A. C. van Heusde, *Horatii Sat. I,9* (Leyden?, 1845?) 54–5. We may also, as variants, suggest Hoshanah Rabbah, the final day of the Festival of Tabernacles, when there is a special procession and prayers; and Shemini Atzereth, when there are special prayers for rain and when the cycle of the reading of the Pentateuch is completed in the synagogue.

10 B. Fischer, cited by H. Duntzer, *Kritik und Erklärung der Satiren des Horaz* (Braunschweig 1841) 216–7; and T. H. Fritzsche (ed.), *Des Q. Horatius Flaccus Sermones* (Leipzig 1875) 1.210.

Sea Sect at Qumran apparently did count Sabbaths, to judge from a reference in the "Angelic Liturgy," found at Masada, to the seventh Sabbath on the sixteenth of the second month, is hardly evidence that the Sabbaths were counted outside of this special sect.[11]

b) No Jewish festival (except the Day of Atonement) is called a Sabbath either in the Bible or in the Talmud, though we may call attention to the fact, not noted by any of the commentators, that the counting of the Omer is required to begin on the day after the Sabbath (Lev. 23:11), which, since the context is discussing the Passover, is interpreted by the Pharisaic rabbis (*Menaḥoth* 65a–b) to mean the day after the Passover, whereas the Sadducees and the later Karaites understood it to refer to literally the day after the Sabbath.

c) No Jewish festival necessarily falls on a Sabbath. Moreover, the whole point of Horace's satire would be lost if his reference were not to a prominent 'Sabbath'"; and yet, as to the various attempts to connect the thirtieth Sabbath with Passover, in contrast to the many extant references to the seventh-day Sabbath in classical literature, there is only one reference to Passover in all of extant classical literature, namely Tacitus (*Hist.* 5.4.3), who notes that the Jewish bread, made without leaven, is retained as a memorial of their hurried seizure of grain.

d) Because an additional month of Adar is intercalated in the spring seven times in the nineteen-year cycle of the Jewish calendar in order to bring the Jewish lunar calendar into more or less accordance with the solar year, the thirtieth Sabbath will not always occur on the same week of the year if one begins the counting at the beginning of Tishri, the start of the new year for

11 On counting Sabbaths between Passover and Pentecost see D. M. Feldman, "Omer," *Encyclopaedia Judaica* 12 (Jerusalem 1971) 1382–9. On counting Sabbaths at Qumran see J. M. Baumgarten, "The Counting of the Sabbath in Ancient Sources," *VT* 16 (1961) 277–86, who suggests that since it is hardly likely that the Jews of Rome employed the Qumran calendar, Horace's numbering of the Sabbaths would serve as another illustration of the use of the sabbatical series outside the sectarian sphere. As to the question why Horace chose the thirtieth Sabbath, Baumgarten concludes that the reference is not to any particular solemn day but rather to the weekly Sabbath and that he termed the Sabbath *tricesima* because that number best suited his metrical requirements. We may comment that there is no evidence of Qumranian influence upon any Jewish community outside of Palestine; and it seems hard to believe that any Jewish community would be influenced by a sect that had a solar calendar (and hence celebrated the various holidays on days different from the rest of Jewry) and that practiced an extreme asceticism so antithetical to the mainstream of Judaism.

most purposes according to the rabbis (Mishnah, *Rosh Hashanah* 1.1) during the period when Horace lived. Thus, Passover would occur either in the twentieth-eighth week or (in a leap year) in the thirty-second week; the last day of Passover would occur in the twenty-ninth or thirty-third week; Shabbath Parashath Ha-ḥodesh would occur on approximately the thirtieth week only in a leap year, while in an ordinary year it would come in the twenty-sixth week; Pentecost would come on the thirty-fifth (or thirty-ninth in a leap year) Sabbath; the Torah reading on the thirtieth Sabbath after the beginning of the cycle of the annual reading might contain any of the portions from *Aḥarei Moth* (Lev. 16:1–18:30) to *Bemidbar* (Num. 1:1–4:20) and not necessarily the portion containing the *Parashath Tokhaḥah.*

e) As to beginning the count with the first of Nisan (as months are counted in the Pentateuch) so that one thus avoids the ambiguity of different Sabbaths during leap years, the Jewish liturgical year, as Nardone has noted,[12] begins with Tishri and not with Nisan. Moreover, Tabernacles would, in any case, come out in the twenty-sixth week; Hoshanah Rabbah and Shemini Atzereth would occur in the twenty-seventh week; and Yom Ha-Kippurim would occur on the twenty-fifth Sabbath.

f) There is nothing particularly solemn about several of the days suggested, such as the last day of Passover, which commemorates the crossing by the Israelites of the Sea of Reeds on the seventh day after the exodus from Egypt.

g) It does not seem likely that Horace would have had such an intimate knowledge of the cycle of Torah reading as to know a passage such as the *Parashath Tokhaḥah,* let alone when it would be read in the synagogue.

B. In addition to the attempt to identify the thirtieth Sabbath with a particular Sabbath, a second suggestion, made by Hild,[13] indicates that the number thirty designates the last day of a period of fasting and penitence, such as that undertaken by Queen Berenice in her effort to seek Divine aid in obtaining an end to the vexations of the Roman procurator Florus in Judaea. As indicated by Josephus (*BJ* 2.313), it was customary for those suffering afflictions to vow as Nazirites to abstain from wine and to shave their heads for thirty days prior to the day on which they offered a sacrifice. We may, however, remark that it seems unlikely that Horace, living in Rome, would know about the laws of Naziriteship, which applied only in the Land of Israel, at least according to the Mishnah (*Nazir* 3:6), as codified at the end of

12 Nardoni (n. 1 above) 77–8.

13 J.-A. Hild, "Les Juifs à Rome, devant l'opinion et dans la littérature," *REJ* 8 (1884) 32, n. 3.

the second century, and that, in any case, while this suggestion would account for the number thirty it totallyneglects the word "Sabbath."

C. A third suggestion, cited by Sabbadini,[14] is that the thirtieth Sabbath is actually the thirtieth year after the conquest of Judaea by Pompey in 63 B.C.E. But aside from the fact that this will not account for the word "Sabbath," since there is no indication that it is used in the sense of "year," there is no indication that the anniversary of the capture of Jerusalem by Pompey was observed at all. In addition, there are no other indications that this satire was composed so late; and, indeed, Rudd[15] suggests that it was written in 36 or 35 B.C.E.

D. To remedy the problem in chronology, Sabbadini[16] cites a fourth suggestion, that the reference may be to the thirtieth Sabbath after the assault on Jerusalem by Gaius Sosius. the legate of Antony in Syria, in 37 B.C.E. The fact that, according to Josephus (*AJ* 14.487–8), the city was captured on the Day of the Fast, and that he dates its capture twenty-seven years after the capture of the city by Pompey, likewise on the Day of the Fast, and that Dio Cassius (49.22), to be sure in the third century, similarly states that it was captured on the Sabbath, would connect its capture with the Sabbath (or perhaps the Sabbath of Sabbaths, Yom Ha-Kippurim, as noted above). But while this occurred at approximately the time when Horace composed the satire, we do not know of anyone counting (or any reason for counting) the Sabbaths after this tragic event.

E. A fifth solution has been to emend the text. Two such proposals have been made. One, made by Linker, as cited by Mueller,[17] substitutes *tristissima* for the troublesome *tricesima* and thus has Horace present the Sabbath as "very sad," in line with the several classical writers who looked upon the Sabbath as a fast day:[18] this, indeed, would be a *lectio facilior* but is

14 Sabbadini (n. 1 above) 162–3.

15 N. Rudd, *The Satires of Horace* (Cambridge 1966) 81. In the most exhaustive study of the chronology of the satires, R. Latsch, *Die Chronologie der Satiren und Epoden des Horaz auf entwicklungsgeschichtlicher Grundlage* (diss., Würzburg 1936) 37–8, convincingly suggests that the satire dates from the autumn of 36.

16 Sabbadini (n. 1 above) 163.

17 L. Mueller (ed.), *Q. Horatii Flacci Sermonum et Epistularum Libri. Satiren und Episteln des Horaz* (Wien 1891) 122.

18 Str. 16.2.40.763 and *ap.* J. *AJ* 14.66; Trog., *ap.* Justin, *Historiae Philippicae* 36 (*Epit.* 2.14); Petr. frag, 37.6 (Ernout); Mart. 4.4; Suet. *Aug.* 76.2. This confusion may have arisen from thinking that the "day of abstention" referred to abstention from food, when it actually refers to abstention from work.

transcriptionally difficult. The other, presented by Behrendt,[19] most ingeniously substitutes *tricosum, homo,* for *tricesima,* giving the meaning "today is full of tricks [wiles, difficulties, perplexities], man!" But this is transcriptionally even more difficult and introduces a word, *tricosum,* which is found only once in extant Latin literature (Lucil. *ap.* Non. 79.26).

F. A number of writers[20] have adopted a sixth suggestion, namely, that the reference is pure nonsense and that this is, indeed, in large part, the basis of the humor of the situation. They claim that it is unlikely that either Horace or his friend was so familiar with Jewish ceremonies as to use so precise an expression in reference to a Jewish Sabbath or festival. To this we may reply that the effectiveness of satire is increased when it is based upon realia;[21] and while it is true that much in this satire, in particular, approaches the surreal, for example, the mock oracle in lines 29–34, that comment, too,is especially effective precisely because so many Romans, particularly peasants away from the influence of the sophisticated city, did, indeed, apparently consult

19 L. Behrendt, "Horaz und die Juden," *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums* 54 (1890) 432.

20 Cf. Bretschneider and E. F. Wüstemann in L. F. Heindorf (ed.), *Des Q. Horatius Flaccus Satiren* (Leipzig 1843) 247; T. Keightley (ed.), *The Satires and Epistles of Horace* (London 1848) 83–4; A. J. Macleane (ed.), *Quinti Horatii Flacci Opera Omnia* (London 1881) 423; J. L. Lincoln, *The Works of Horace: with English Notes* (New York 1884) 464–5; E. C. Wickham (ed.), *Quinti Horatii Opera Omnia* (Oxford 1891) 97; J. Gow (ed.), *Q. Horati Flacci Saturarum Liber I* (Cambridge 1901) 106; Hirsch (n. 1 above) 615–9; E. P. Morris (ed.), *Horace: The Satires* (New york 1909) 129; J. H. Michael, "The Jewish Sabbath in the Latin Classical Writers," *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures* 40 (1923–24) 118; and H. R. Fairclough (trans.), *Horace, Satires* (Cambridge, Mass. 1966) 110. E. T. Salmon, "Horace's Ninth Satire in Its Setting," in M. E. White (ed.), *Studies in Honour of Gilbert Norwood* (Toronto 1952) 188, asserts that Fuscus' remark is nonsense, but that it is not pointless nonsense, and theorizes that it was occasioned by the fact that Horace at that point in his stroll was in one of the more notoriously Jewish quarters of Rome. The most recent commentator, R. Goldenberg, "The Jewish Sabbath in the Roman World up to the Time of Constantine the Great," *ANRW* 2.19.1 (Berlin 1979) 414–47, likewise concludes (pp. 436–8) that Horace did not know and did not care what the Sabbath meant or how it was observed. He quotes Lejay (n. 1 above) to the effect that the interpretations that have been offered have been as complicated as they are improbable, as well as F. H. Colson, *The Week* (Cambridge 1926) 15, that the laborious attempts to find a meaning for the thirtieth Sabbath "seem to be wasted."

21 So H. Musurillo, "Horace and the Bore: the *Character Dramaticus* of *Sat.* 1.9," *CB* 40 (1964–65) 69, n. 13.

fortune-tellers. Moreover, as reasons for thinking that Horace would have been informed about Jewish customs we may note the following: 1) not only the large number but also the influence of Jews in Rome, as we can see from Horace's older contemporary, Cicero (*Flac.* 28.66);[22] 2) the celebrated and effective methods of proselytism by Jews in Rome, as we shall presently note;[23] 3) the fact that Pompey's capture of Jerusalem must have made the Jews well known; and 4) the fact that several Roman writers and speakers of the first century B.C.E. and C.E. do allude to Jewish customs, and especially the Sabbath.[24] True, the knowledge of Judaism possessed by the intellectuals whose writings have come down to us was meager; and some even thought that the Sabbath was a fast day.[25] But this is a view that we do not find in Horace's allusions to the Jews. Of course, Horace is writing for a non-Jewish audience, for whom the joke would have been pointless if special knowledge was required; but if proselytism was as widespread as we have argued and if the New Moon was as important to the Jews as we have suggested, it would seem to follow that those attracted to (or repelled by) Judaism would have noted this importance. Moreover, it is a mistake to speak of continued disparagement of the Jews in Greek and Latin literature, when, of the passages in Stern's collection of Greek and Latin authors on Jews and Judaism, 111 (17%) are substantially favorable, 140 (22%) are substantially unfavorable, and the majority, 390 (61%) are more or less neutral. We may

22 It has even been suggested, though, of course, hardly proved, that Horace himself was of Jewish descent. Cf. L. Martorelli (de Osimo), *Degli Ebrei: Dissertazione Oraziana* (Rome 1826); G. Braun, "La Originaria Nazionalita di Orazio," *Archeografo Triestino,* N.S. 5 (1877–78) 247–82; Rosenberg, "Horazens Mutter," *MHSch* 5 (1906) 645ff.; K. Mras, "Horaz als Mensch und als Dichter," *WS* 54 (1936) 72–9; W. H. Alexander, "The Enigma of Horace's Mother," *CPh* 37 (1942) 385–97. I. M. Chirat, "Horace et les Juifs," *BFS* 41 (1962–63) 255–6, and B. Stenuit, "Les Parents d'Horace," *LEC* 45 (1977) 125–44, in reply to Alexander, argue that Horace has only superficial information about Jews which came to him from popular story-tellers or from encounters in everyday life.

23 On Jewish proselytism in Rome see, *e.g.,* Val. Max. 1.3.3; Hor. *S.* 1.4.142–43; and L. H. Feldman, "Proselytism and Syncretism" [in Hebrew], in M. Stern and Z. Baras (eds.), *World History of the Jewish People,* First Series: *The Diaspora in the Hellenistic-Roman World* (Jerusalem 1984) 188–207, 340–45, 378–80.

24 See Tib. 1.3.15–18; Trog. *ap.* Justin, *Historiae Philippicae* 36, *Epit* 2.14; Ov. *Ars* 1.75–80, 413–6; Ov. *Rem. Am.* 217–20; Sen. *ap.* August. *C.D.* 6.11; Sen. *Ep.* 95.47, 108.22; Pers. 5.176–84; Petr. 68.7, 102.14, Frag. 37.1–6; Front. *Str.* 2.1–17; Mart. 4.4.7, 7.30.5, 7.35.3–4, 7.82.6; 11.94.8.

25 See n. 18.

further note that of the 215 citations from 63 B.C.E. to 100 C.E., 27 (13%) are favorable, 60 (28%) are unfavorable, and 128 (59%) are neutral. In addition, there are pro-Jewish concessions or intimations in a number of anti-Jewish writers, notably Poseidonius in the first century B.C.E., Apion in the first century C.E., and Tacitus in the early second century C.E.[26] Finally, the periodic expulsion of Jews from Rome cannot have been of large numbers and cannot have lasted long, since the Jews seem to have reappeared in large numbers each time shortly after their expulsion.

2. *The Thirtieth Sabbath and the New Moon*

The earliest known attempt to solve the riddle of the "thirtieth Sabbath" is that of the Scholiasts on Horace, Porphyrio, who lived perhaps in the third century, and Pseudo-Acro, whose date is unknown. They suggest, in effect, placing a comma between *tricesima* and *sabbata,* and thus reading "the thirtieth, a Sabbath," the reference being either to the New Moon as a day of rest or to the New Moon when it coincides with the Sabbath. This view has been adopted by a number of scholars,[27] but several problems connected with it require elucidation: 1) the unusual apposition of the noun that follows with a preceding adjective; 2) the use of the plural *sabbata* as a singular; 3) the use of *tricesima* in the sense of "new moon"; 4) the use of the term "Sabbath" with reference to a day other than the Sabbath itself; 5) the identification of the thirtieth day as the New Moon; 6) the evidence that the New Moon was of such special importance as to be singled out here; 7) the significance of the number thirty; 8) the connection of the *tricesima sabbata* and the end of the satire, where the god Apollo is said to have rescued Horace; 9) the particular connection of Aristius Fuscus with the Jews and with the *tricesima sabbata.*

A word about method in dealing with Talmudic and Midrashic parallels will be in order here. Inasmuch as most that is known about the rules of the observation of Jewish festivals comes from regulations which were codified after the Jewish War, approximately a century after Horace's time, and since many scholars decline to regard such regulations as having a much earlier background, this essay will cite such evidence merely as parallels rather than as evidence. Moreover, so far as possible, references in pagan authors will be

26 For Poseidonius see B. Bar-Kochva, *Poseidonius of Apamea and Ancient Anti-Semitism* [forthcoming]; on Apion see L. H. Feldman, "Pro-Jewish Intimations in Anti-Jewish Remarks Cited in Josephus' *Against Apion,*" *JQR* 78 (1988–89) 187–251.

27 See, *e.g.,* Dombart, Stowasser and Graubart, and Lejay (n. 1 above).

cited from those who lived before Horace or contemporaneously with him or shortly after his time.

The apposition of a noun with an adjective thus postulated is unusual but perhaps may be understood in view of the conversational language of the satire. Though there are apparently no parallels in Horace himself, there are two partial parallels in Horace's younger contemporary, Ovid, both significantly with reference to the Sabbath itself;[28] there, too, we understand the word *dies* as modified by the adjective.

Tricesima in the sense of "new moon," to be sure, does present a problem, inasmuch as it is not found in any extant text of a predecessor or of a contemporary of Horace; however, it is found in some of the manuscripts of the third-century Commodian, *Carmen Apologeticum* (695),[29] though admittedly the manuscripts are divided between feminine and neuter. We may note that the plural form *sabbata* for "Sabbath" is found in Horace's contemporary Pompeius Trogus (*ap.* Justin, *Historiae Philippicae* 36; *Epit.* 2.14) and in Juvenal (14.96),[30] in the early second century, as well as regularly in the Septuagint (which uses the singular and plural forms indifferently) and in the New Yestament[31] and often in Josephus.[32] The plural form, we may

28 The alleged parallels in Horace cited by Lejay (n. 1 above) 329, n. 2, namely, Hor. *S.* 1.3.58; "Tardo cognomen pingui damus" ("We give the name of 'slowpoke' and 'stupid'"); and *S.* 2.2.14: "siccus, inanis, sperne cibum vilem" ("being thirsty and hungry, reject plain food"), do not seem quite apposite. For Ovid see *Ars* 1.76: "Iudaeo septima sacra Syro" ("the seventh day, sacred to the Syrian Jew"), cited by Wickham (n. 20 above) 97. We may add a closely similar passage, *Ars* 1.416: "culta Palaestino septima festa Syro" ("the seventh-day, a feast, observed by the Palestinian Syrian"). Another parallel, cited by Lejay (n. 1 above) 329, is in the ancient phrase *patres conscripti,* which is equivalent to *patres et conscripti.*

29 Cited by Dombart (n. 1 above) 272–3 and by Stowasser and Graubart (n. 1 above) 292.

30 In secular Latin *sabbata* is found only in the neuter plural; the form *sabbatum* appears in the Vulgate and in the Church Fathers.

31 See G. Abbott-Smith, *A Manual Greek Lexicon of the New Testament,* 3rd ed. (Edinburgh 1937) 399–400, who cites Ev. Matt. 12:1, 5, 10–12; 28:1; Ev. Luc. 4:16, 31; 6:2; Act. Ap. 13:14, 16:13; Ep. Col. 2:16. Eduard Lohse, "σάββατον, σαββατισμός, παρασκευή," in G. Friedrich (ed.), *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament,* 7 (Grand Rapids 1971) 7, n. 39, notes that σάββατα was not originally a plural and that the -α was from the outset merely a vocal addition to reproduce the Hebrew *-t* in Greek. See E. Schwyzer, "Altes und Neues zu (hbr.–) griech. σάββατα, (griech-) lat. sabbata usw.," *ZVS* 62 (1935) 1–16, especially 10–11, and his *Griechische Grammatik,* 2, ed. by A. Debrunner (München 1950) 43, n. 5.

32 See K. H. Rengstorf (ed.), *A Complete Concordance to Flavius Josephus* 4 (Leiden

add, is also found in the names of other festivals, such as Passover (ἄζυμα)[33] and Chanukah (ἐγκαίνια)[34] in Josephus and in the New Yestament.

That the word "Sabbath" does not necessarily denote the seventh day may be seen from the fact that the Day of Atonement, as noted above, is referred to (Lev. 16:31) as "Sabbath of Sabbaths" (*Shabbath Shabbathon*)[35] and is so rendered in the Septuagint, which was certainly known in the first century to Pseudo-Longinus (9.9).

Admittedly, there is no parallel in Greek and Latin pagan authors for the equation of the Sabbath with the New Moon. It would seem unlikely that Horace would so casually and confidently make such an unparalleled connection, especially in view of the fact that non-Jews knew so little about Judaism, so little, in fact, that, as we have seen, several of them confused the Sabbath as a fast day. Yet, significantly perhaps, Juvenal (6.159) also appears to use

1983) 7. On the use of the plural forms for *sabbata* and *paskha* (Passover) see A. Pelletier, Pour une histoire des noms grecs du Sabbat et de la Pâque," *Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres. Comptes Rendus* (Jan.-March 1971) 71–7 (+ reservations by A. Dupont-Sommer, 77–83), who concluded that the words for Sabbath and Passover were preserved by Josephus from the time when Aramaic had already resisted Hebrew, and that the Aramaic *Shabbata'*, transliterated *sabbata'*, was mistaken for a plural, whence the singular *sabbaton* was formed. See also Pelletier's "La nomenclature du calendrier Juif à l'époque hellénistique," *RBi* 82 (1975) 218–33, and his "*Sabbata*: Transcription grecque de l'Araméen," *VT* 2 (1972) 436–47.

33 For Josephus see K. H. Rengstorf (n. 32 above) 1 (Leiden 1973) 28; for the New Testament see Ev. Matt. 26:17; Ev. Marc. 14:1, 12; Ev. Luc. 22:1, 7; Act. Ap. 12:3, 20:6.

34 John 10:22.

35 We may also note that the first-century Johanan ben Zakkai (*Menaḥoth* 65a–b) argues that the word "Sabbath" (Lev. 23:11) in the passage indicating that the sheaf was to be waved on the day after the Sabbath on the festival of Passover refers not to the seventh day, as understood by the Sadducees, but rather to the day after the first day of the holiday of Passover. As to whether we nay take at face value the Talmudic statements when rabbis claim to repeat earlier traditions, we may note the importance which the rabbis attached to citing the origin of a statement. As the third-century Rabbi Eleazar ben Pedat said in the name of Rabbi Ḥanina bar Ḥama (*Megillah* 15a), citing the verse in the Book of Esther (2:22), "And Esther told the king in the name of Mordecai," "Whoever reports a saying in the name of its originator brings deliverance to the world." See B. J. Bamberger, "The Dating of Aggadic Materials," *JBL* 68 (1949) 115–23, who has argued convincingly that the Talmud and Midrashim are compilations of traditional material which had existed orally for a considerable time before they were written down.

the word *sabbata* with reference not to the Sabbath but to the Sabbath of Sabbaths, the Day of Atonement, since he mentions that kings celebrate the festive Sabbath with bare feet — a probable allusion to the fact that on that day it is forbidden to wear shoes.

Moreover, while it is true that in the Bible the New Moon is never called the Sabbath as such, it is closely associated with the Sabbath, as we can see from the fact that the sacrificial offerings for the New Moon are placed immediately after those of the Sabbath (Num. 28:9–15) and that the two are likewise coupled by the prophet Ezekiel (46:1–3).[36]

Whereas its importance today is considerably diminished, that the New Moon was, indeed, of great significance may be seen from the fact that it is mentioned on numerous occasions[37] in the Bible as a day of special significance, has a special additional sacrifice prescribed for it (Num. 28:11–15), is very dramatically proclaimed by trumpets, is a day of rest from business and work (Am. 8:5), is a day (2 Ki. 4:23) when people gathered to hear the teaching of their leaders and their prophets, is a day of special feasting (1 Sam. 20:5–24), and is one of such importance that all the nations of the world will celebrate it in the future (Is. 66:23). Indeed, when the prophet Hosea (2:13) wishes to foretell the chastisements that will come upon the Jewish people he declares that the joys of the New Moon will cease.

36 The early calendar of the Jews apparently had months of thirty days each. See S. Zeitlin, *The Rise and Fall of the Judaean State,* 1 (Philadelphia 1962) 214; E. J. Wiesenberg, "Calendar," *Encyclopaedia Judaica* 5 (Jerusalem 1971) 143; and M. D. Herr, "The Calendar," in S. Safrai and M. Stern (eds.), *The Jewish People in the First Century: Historical Geography, Political History, Social, Cultural and Religious Life and Institutions* (*Compendia Rerum Iudaicarum ad Novum Testamentum,* 1.2 (Philadelphia 1976) 834–64. The last, p. 847, notes that in the Jewish calendar the thirtieth day of each month is the key day in determining the calendar. It was of doubtful status, inasmuch as before nightfall the court might perhaps proclaim that it was really the first of the next month. The identification of the thirtieth day of the month with the New Moon is in accord with the practice as codified in the Talmud (Mishnah, *Rosh Hashanah* 1:3–2:7). On this day the members of the Jewish High Court assembled in Jerusalem. Upon receiving testimony from two reliable witnesses that they had seen the New Moon, they proceeded to declare the new month. Inasmuch as it took time for those Jews who lived at a distance from Jerusalem to receive this information, they always calculated the thirtieth day of the month as the New Moon: They observed a second day (on the thirty-first) when they received word that the declaration of the New Moon had been postponed.

37 Num. 10:10, 28:11ff.; 1 Sam. 20:5–24; 2 Ki. 4:23; 2 Ch. 2:3; Is. 1:13–14, 66:23; Je. 41:1–3; Ez. 45:17, 46:1–3; Am. 8:5; Ho. 2:13.

During the Hellenistic-Roman period its importance continued to be very great, as we can see from Judith (8:6) and I Hasmonean (10:34), both dating, it is generally assumed, from the Hasmonean era in the second century B.C.E. It is similarly coupled with festivals and Sabbaths in the New Testament (Ep. Col. 2:16), where we read: "Therefore, let no one pass judgment on you in questions of food and drink or with regard to a festival or a new moon or a Sabbath."[38]

38 The importance of the New Moon in the second century is likewise indicated in Justin Martyr (*Dialogue with Trypho* 8.4); in the anonymous author of the *Epistle to Diognetus* (3.4), falsely ascribed to Justin Martyr; and in the satirist Lucian (*Philops.* 16). In addition, in a magical papyrus (*PMag* XIII, line 1059), dating from the third or fourth century, there is a reference to a *Secret Moon Book of Moses.* We may add that while it is true that in the Bible the New Moon is not referred to as a Sabbath as such, it is this juxtaposition of the two in the Pentateuch (Num. 28:9–15), followed by the coupling of the New Moon with the Sabbath, which starts with the prophets (Is. 66:23) and continues through the New Testament and the Church Fathers, which is significant for our passage. On the importance of the New Moon according to the Talmud see Mishnah *Rosh Hashanah* 1 [end] and *Ta'anith* 2:3 and 2:10; *'Arakhin* 10b; *Shevuoth* 10a; *Bezah* 17a; *'Eruvin* 40b, and Jerusalem Talmud, *Ta'anith* 2.12. It is clear that it was customary (*Rosh Hashanah* 22b; cf. Pseudo-Jonathan 1 Sam. 20:19), so long as the Temple stood (and during Horace's it was still functioning) to abstain from work on the New Moon. Moreover, the New Moon is a crucial day in Jewish history in that, according to tradition (*Midrash Exodus Rabbah* 15) a number of important events occurred on that day, such as the birth of Isaac, the binding of Isaac by his father Abraham as an intended sacrifice, the blessing of Jacob by his father Isaac, etc. Furthermore, the moon, at least in Talmudic times, is identified with the destiny of Israel, since the prayer at the sanctification of the New Moon concludes with the plea that G–d readjust the deficiency of the light of the moon (an allusion to the tradition that originally the sun and the moon were created of equal size but that when the moon complained, G–d diminished the size of the moon [*Ḥullin* 60b]). Indeed, part of the service of the Sanctification of the Moon to this day includes the phrase "Long live David, king of Israel," which is repeated three times to indicate its importance in the liturgy voicing continuous hope for redemption by the Messiah, a descendant of David, whose kingdom "will be established forever as the moon" (Ps. 89:37).

We may here suggest that Horace and the Romans may have seen a parallel between what they regarded as the Jewish superstition in connection with the coincidence of the Sabbath and the New Moon and the Roman superstitious fear in connection with the coincidence of the *Nundinae,* the market day that occurred every eighth day, and the Kalends of January. See D.C. 40.47.1–2; 48.33.4; Macr. *Sat.* 1.13.16–19; and A. K. Michels, *The Calendar of the Roman Republic* (Princeton 1967) 166–7; J. P. V. Balsdon, *Life and Leisure in Ancient Rome* (London 1969) 59. Michel attributes the origin of the superstition to the influence of astrology.

Why does Horace single out the new moon as the Jewish festival par excellence? Here, perhaps, Horace's younger contemporary Philo (*De Specialibus Legibus* 2.26.140–144) may give us a clue, since he enumerates four reasons why the New Moon holds such an important place among the Jews: 1) As the beginning of the month, both in time and in number, it deserves honor; 2) When it arrives, nothing is left without light, whereas when it is lost to sight under the sun, the side which faces the earth is darkened; 3) It is at that time that the sun begins to illumine the moon with the light which we perceive and that the moon reveals its own beauty to the eye; 4) The moon traverses the zodiac in a shorter fixed period, namely a month, than any other heavenly body. Moreover, as Philo is quick to add, the moon renders many services to mankind, causing rivers to rise or diminish as it does so and affecting the growth of crops and fruits.[39]

We may also suggest that if, indeed, as our satire suggests, Apollo rescued the poet, whereas Jewish superstition failed to do so, there may well be an opposition between Apollo, the sun god, and the moon, as indicated by the thirtieth, the day of the New Moon, an opposition that is highlighted by the story (*J.Ap.* 2.112–4) of the Jews' readiness to believe a certain Zabidus when he promised to deliver Apollo into their power.[40]

39 The power of the moon in general is attested, moreover, by the fourth-century Firmicus Maternus in his work on astrology, *Mathesis.* What has not been noticed by scholars hitherto is that Firmicus in his treatise alludes to the Jews only four times, all of them in connection with Abraham as an authority on astrology (4 Prooemium 5, 4.17.2, 4.17.5, 4.18.1), and two of them specifically in connection with the position of the moon, which is the main subject of the book in which all of these passages appear. The texts of Firmicus Maternus are conveniently collected, translated, and briefly commented upon by M. Stern, *Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism,* 2 (Jerusalem 1980) 492–4, but he does not mention the crucial connection of the Jews with the moon. While it is true that Firmicus Maternus lived in the fourth century, he quite certainly had Book 5 of the first-century Augustan poet Manilius' *Astronomica* before him, as G. P. Goold (trans.), *Manilius: Astronomica* (Loeb Classical Library: London 1977) xii, xiv, xcvi, has asserted, at least when he composed Book 8 of the *Mathesis.*

40 Here, too, we find a parallel in Firmicus Maternus (*Mathesis* 4.5.1), for he declares that if the moon is moving toward the sun and is in any kind of aspect to it, the natives will be miserable and unfortunate, victims of dangers and afflicted with illnesses, some being epileptics and insane. He adds (4.9.5) that if the moon, which, as we have seen, is closely associated with the Jews, moves away from Saturn, its natural ally, which, as we shall note, is connected with the Sabbath, toward the sun, its enemy, the natives will be lunatics and epileptics and will suffer from dropsy or elephantiasis to the very end of their lives. He concludes that, presumably because of the natural enmity of these two

The interest in the Sabbath reflects the pagan attempt, which is found in a number of ancient writers (including Horace's contemporary Tibullus 1.3.18, as well as the first-century Frontinus, *Strat.* 2.1.17, and the third-century Dio Cassius 37.16.2,4; 49.22.4; 66.7.2), to connect the Jews with Saturn, particularly since the Sabbath is there referred to as the day of Saturn (Saturday).[41] Moreover, there was a view that the rest on the seventh day was in honor of Saturn, inasmuch as, according to one theory cited by Tacitus (*Hist.* 5.2.1), the Jews were exiles from Crete at the time when Saturn had been deposed and expelled by Jupiter,[42] or, according to another theory, because "of the seven planets that rule the fortunes of mankind, Saturn moves in the highest orbit and has the greatest potency" (Tac. *Hist.* 5.4.4).[43]

As to Horace's reference to the number thirty, several commentators, most recently Baumgarten,[44] have suggested that Horace's choice of this number is arbitrary and dictated by metrical considerations. But, in addition to the fact

heavenly bodies, we must beware in every astrological chart that the sun does not come into aspect with the approaching moon, for this indicates universal destruction.

Moreover, Firmicus (4.2.1) declares that if the waxing moon is in aspect with Saturn or moving toward that planet, this indicates widowhood for the mother and constant grief for women and is a sign that the parents will be low-class or slaves (4.2.2) and will produce unfortunate epileptics or lunatics, miserable paupers barely covered by ragged clothing — an allusion to the caricature of Jews as beggars found in several classical writers.

41 In this connection we may here suggest that the reference in Virgil's so-called Messianic Fourth Eclogue (line 6) to the return of the Saturnian realms may reinforce, because of the connection between Saturn and the Jews, the possible connection with the Messianic prophecy of Isaiah which this poem resembles.

42 We may suggest that Manetho's canard (*ap.* J. *Ap.* 1.229–87)associating the expulsion of the Israelites from Egypt with that of lepers may be connected with the view that according to ancient astrology, as codified by Firmicus Maternus (*Mathesis* 4.19.35), if the moon, which, as we see, is a heavenly body closely associated the Jews, is in conjunction with the ruler of the astrological chart and if a malific planet aspects the moon, the body of the person so affected is marked by a series of white spots or by leprosy.

43 The descent of the Jews from Saturn is likewise suggested by the second-century Herennius Philo of Byblus (*ap.* Eus. *PE* 1.10.44), who, in his history of the Jews, writes of Saturn that he had an only son named Ieoud (presumably an allusion to Judah). The connection is further seen in the comment of the anonymous fifth-century Scholiast on Virgil's *Georgics* (1.336) that since the star of Saturn is cold, therefore the food eaten by the Jews on the day of Saturn is cold (presumably an allusion to the fact that Jews are not permitted to cook on the Sabbath).

44 Baumgarten (n. 11 above) 277–86.

that the thirtieth is the day of the New Moon, Horace may have been motivated by the fact that the number thirty in astrology (Firmicus Maternus, *Mathesis* 4.17.3) has a special importance, since there are thirty-six decans in the whole circle of the zodiac and since these, in turn, are divided among the twelve gods, that is, the twelve signs; one is consequently to allot thirty degrees to every sign when one begins the diurnal chart from the degree of the sun and counts all degrees to the moon.

3. *The Connection with Apollo*

The key point which commentators have altogether missed is the connection between the scene in which Aristius Fuscus uses the sanctity of the thirtieth Sabbath of the Jews as his excuse for not rescuing his friend Horace and the end of the satire, where, we are told, Apollo saved Horace. It is true that the obvious reason for the end of the poem is that it gives the poet the opportunity to translate the Homeric tag as used by Lucilius (lines 231–232 Marx). But why does the poet introduce the phrase in the first place in a poem which has no other allusions, so far as we can tell, to Lucilius? It is likewise true that ostensibly Apollo rescues the poet not from the Jews but from the *molestus*. But the scene with Fuscus and the ploy about the Jews' sacred day constitute the climax of the satire; and hence it is not merely from the bore that Horace is rescued but also from the excuse employed by Fuscus. If our interpretation is correct, namely that the thirtieth is the day of the New Moon, and if, as we have seen, the Jews viewed themselves as identified with the moon in particular, Apollo, as the sun god, the rival of the moon, is the natural means for rescuing the poet. That, indeed, Apollo is viewed by Horace in this satire as a sun god seems to be supported by the fact that three lines after the reference to the "thirtieth Sabbath," when Aristius Fuscus fails to rescue him, he remarks, "To think that so black a sun *(solem)* as this has shone for me!" This will explain why it is Apollo rather than Mercury, who is often elsewhere[45] regarded by Horace as his special protector, that is the one who rescues him here.

Oxé,[46] to be sure, asks why this is so. He replies that the choice of Apollo has no significance inasmuch as Horace is speaking in jest. Salmon[47] asks the

45 *E.g.*, Hor. *Carm.* 1.10.1; 2.17.13.

46 August Oxé, "Σωτήρ bei den Römern (Drei Skizzen zu Horaz)," *WS* 48 (1930) 51.

47 Salmon (n. 20 above) 189.

same question and suggests that the ascription of deliverance to Apollo is due to the fact that at this particular point in Horace's stroll he has come to a monument of Apollo, which, indeed, was being rebuilt at precisely the time (*ca.* 33 B.C.E.) when this ninth satire may have been composed. We should like to add another factor, namely that the person responsible for the reconstruction,[48] Gaius Sosius,[49] had conquered Jerusalem in 37 B.C.E. and had celebrated a deferred triumph in 34 B.C.E. for this achievement. If so, we would have another connection between Apollo at the end of the poem and the thirtieth Sabbath of the Jews. There would, moreover, be irony in the fact that the restorer of the temple of Apollo, Sosius, the conqueror of the Jewish capital city, was the one who had saved the poet from the Jewish "ploy" of Fuscus.[50] On the other hand, as we have noted, the most likely date for the composition of the satire is 36 B.C.E.

48 See Salmon (n. 20 above) 190.

49 Molly Levine, in a private communication, suggests that in the statement that Apollo *servavit* the poet there may be a playful allusion to the name of Sosius (from *sospes,* "savior," "deliverer"), who had rebuilt the temple of Apollo. While it is true, as O. Skutsch (ed.), *The Annals of Q. Ennius* (Oxford 1985) 733, indicates, that the active meaning of *sospes* (= "savior") is found only in Ennius (*ap.* Fest. 388–9) and as a cult-name of Juno Sospita (*ap.* Cic. *N.D.* 1.29.82, etc.), the fact that *sospes,* as Skutsch remarks, is active as an epithet of a divinity would make the pun at least possible, since the reference would be to the god Apollo as savior.

50 While it is true that Apollo was not originally a solar god, inasmuch as in Homer (*Il.* 18.239; *Od.* 3.1), Hesiod (*Th.* 371), and the Homeric Hymn to Pythian Apollo (371) he is clearly differentiated from Helios, from the fifth century B.C.E. onwards Apollo began to be ecognized as a sun god, as we can see in Aeschylus (*Supp.* 212–4 and frag. 83 [ed. Mette]). By the time of Horace, that Apollo was regarded as a sun god is indicated by the fact that Ovid, Horace's younger contemporary, in the story of Phaethon, clearly identifies Phoebus Apollo with the sun (*Met.* 1.751; 2.36). J. Gagé, *Apollon Romain: Essai sur le culte d'Apollon et le développement du "ritus Graecus" à Rome des origines à Auguste* (*Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome,* 182; Paris 1955) has argued that it is an illusion to think that Augustus was the first to give great importance to the cult of Apollo in Rome. One would have thought that Augustus would have chosen Venus, the alleged mother of Aeneas, or Jupiter, the alleged grandfather of Aeneas, as his special deity. Instead, Augustus came to view Apollo as a god of peace and civilization and as his special protector. Already at the battle of Philippi in 42 B.C.E.. several years prior to the composition of the ninth satire of Book I, we are told (Val. Max. 1.5.7) that Apollo was Augustus' watchword. Thereafter, when he narrowly escaped being killed by lightning, Augustus attributed his good fortune to Apollo and proceeded to found a temple of Apollo on the Palatine Hill in Rome in 36 B.C.E. (Suet. *Aug.* 29.3 and D.C. 49.15.3) to which he atached a

Indeed, Apollo occupied a central position for both of the greatest poets of the Augustan Age, Virgil and Horace. For Virgil, in the so-called Messianic Fourth Eclogue, written in 40 B.C.E., the wonderful new age is identified with the triumph of Apollo: *tuus iam regnat Apollo* (line 10). In the key sixth book of the *Aeneid* it is the prophetess of Apollo, the Cumaean Sibyl, who is Aeneas' guide to the Lower World and thus to the apocalypse of Roman destiny. In the depiction of the shield of Aeneas (*A.* 8.626ff.) the central scene is the Battle of Actium, and the key figure is the god Apollo (8.704–705), who with his bow decides the battle, just as in Horace's satire, against the decadent and superstitious Easterners.

Horace, in line with this official elevation of Apollo, likewise focuses upon and appeals to him (*Carm.* 1.31.17–20) as savior god and patron of poets. In particular, he emphasizes (*Carm.* 4.6.3ff.) the connection of Apollo with Aeneas and his Trojan followers and, through them, with the origins of Rome.

The role of Apollo, who is mentioned at the end of the satire, as rescuing Horace has been neglected by the commentators on the *tricesima sabbata* but is, I believe, crucial, inasmuch as Apollo was particularly associated with music and with poetry, especially with lyric poetry, since the lyre was the

great library. In particular, Augustus proclaimed that Apollo had assisted him in winning the crucial battle at Actium in 31 B.C.E., which took place in the neighborhood of the well-known temple of Apollo; and he consequently rebuilt the temple and founded games to commemorate his victory (Prop. 4.6.29; Suet. *Aug.* 18; Str. 7.7.6; D.C. 51.1). Augustus later (28 B.C.E.) built a great temple to Apollo on the Palatine Hill (Suet. *Aug.* 31; D.C. 53.1), where he placed the Sibylline Books.

We may also note that the Secular Games, celebrated by Augustus in 17 B.C.E. to inaugurate a new century, culminated in a ceremony at the temple of Apollo. Horace's *Carmen Saeculare,* commissioned for the occasion, invokes the sun at the beginning of the hymn and implies (lines 33–6) that Apollo/sun is complementary to Diana/moon. Indeed, as R. Reitzenstein (*Poimandres. Studien zur griechisch-ägyptischen und frühchristlichen Literatur* [Leipzig 1904] 282–3); O. Weinreich (*Senecas Apocolocyntosis* [Berlin 1923] 44–5); and F. Altheim, *A History of Roman Religion* (New York 1937) 400–1, have noted, in post-Augustan literature the Emperor emerges as divine lord of destiny in his identification with Apollo as charioteer of the sun; and just as Apollo, in the Orphic view, holds the universe in motion by the tunes of his lyre, striking the universe with his plectrum, so his corresponding power on earth, the Emperor, maintains the equilibrium of the Empire in a *pax Romana.* See W. F. Otto, *Die Götter Griechenlands; das Bild des göttlichen im Spiegel des griechischen Geistes* (Bonn 1929) 102.

instrument that its inventor, Hermes (*Hymn. Hom. Merc.* 475–477), is said to have given him. In the Orphic view,[51] Apollo held the universe in motion by the tunes of his lyre, the musical instrument most closely associated with Horace's lyric poetry (*Carm.* 1.1.34).

We may add, finally, that Apollo is the appropriate god to rescue Horace in this satire because Dionysus, Apollo's great antagonist,[52] was associated with the Jews. In the first place, Semele, the mother of Dionysus, was the daughter of Cadmus, a Phoenician and therefore a Semite. Moreover, the name of Bacchus, another name for Dionysus, may be a Semitic loan-word meaning "wailing."[53] The opposition of the two gods to each other was seen in their cult hymns, the paean to Apollo *vs.* the dithyramb to Dionysus. These were said to be incompatible in harmony, rhythm, and ethos.[54] The opposition may be seen in the contest between Apollo playing the lyre and the Dionysiac satyr Marsyas playing the flute.[55] Plutarch (*Quaest. conviv.* 4.5.3.671B and 4.6.1.671C) cites evidence identifying Dionysus and Adonis (perhaps related to the Hebrew *'adon* ["lord"] because of a similarity in their rites). He notes (4.6.2) that the greatest and most perfect holiday of the Jews, which he identifies as Tabernacles, clearly befits Dionysus and that a few days thereafter they celebrate another festival (perhaps Hoshanah Rabba, the seventh day of Tabernacles), in which they have a procession of branches (palm branches, Lev. 23:40) or "thyrsi," such as was characteristic of the worship of Dionysus. He consequently concludes that the rite was a Bacchic revelry. He adds, however, that the Sabbath is likewise not unrelated to Dionysus, since the Jews indulge in wine, which is so closely associated with Dionysus. The fact, moreover, that the second-century Pausanias (6.24.8) attempts to prove, from the presence of a tomb of a Silenus "in the land of the Hebrews," that

51 See Altheim (n. 50 above) 400, who cites Orphic hymn 34.16–17, Scythinus (H. Diels, *PPF* [Berlin 1901], p. 169), fr. 1, and Otto (n. 50 above) 102.

52 The oldest and most authoritative presentation of the conflict between Apollo and Dionysus goes back to Aeschylus (frag. 82 [Mette]), as W. Burkert, *Greek Religion: Archaic and Classical,* trans. by J. Raffan (Oxford 1985) 225, has noted, when in the *Bassarai* Orpheus scorns Dionysus and at sunrise prays to the sun god Apollo alone. Dionysus then sends his devotees, the Maenads, to tear Orpheus limb from limb, whereupon the Muses and Apollo, his rival, gather up his remains and bury them.

53 M. Astour, *Hellenosemitica: An Ethnic and Cultural Study in West Semitic Impact on Mycenaean Greece* (Leiden 1965) 174–5; Burkert (n. 52 above) 163.

54 Cf. P. Frag. 128C; Philoch. (*ap. FGrH* 328 F 172); *PHib* 1 (1906) no. 13.

55 See M. Vogel, "Der Schlauch des Marsyas," *RhM* 107 (1964) 34–56.

the Sileni were mortal would similarly connect the Jewish cult with that of Dionysus, inasmuch as the Sileni were the companions of Dionysus.[56] Another alleged connection of Judaism with Dionysus was the fact that the ass, so important in its role as the animal on which the Messiah will ride (Zechariah 9:9)[57] is also the animal sacred to Dionysus and the one upon which both Dionysus and his companions constantly rode.[58] Moreover, the first-century Pliny (*H.N.* 5.18.74) remarks that Beth-Shean in Palestine was founded by Dionysus after he had buried his foster-mother in its soil.[59] To be sure, Tacitus (*Hist.* 5.5.5) doubts the relationship, because of the incongruity of the customs connected with the two deities; but he, too, notes the similarities in that the Jewish priests used to chant to the accompaniment of pipes and drums and wore garlands of ivy and had a golden vine in the Temple.

The contast between Apollo and Dionysus was undoubtedly increased by the fact that Zeus and Apollo were the two chief gods of the Seleucids, who ruled Judaea from 201 B.C.E. until the revolt of the Maccabees, and were already connected with the cult of the emperor from the very beginning of the Seleucid dynasty, as we see from the fact that Antiochus I is called Apollo Soter.[60] It was further dramatized by the fact that Octavian took Apollo as his protecting deity, while his great rival, Antony, selected Dionysus.[61] Undoubtedly, one of the reasons why Herod was so despised, moreover, was that his grandfather had been associated with the cult by serving as a priest in the temple of Apollo at Ascalon in Palestine.[62] Finally, Apollo, at whose oracle at Delphi was inscribed the motto, μηδὲν ἄγαν ("nothing in excess"), was

56 See J. Frazer, *Pausanias' Description of Greece,* 4 (London 1913) 104.

57 This may be the origin of the canard, as we have noted (Mnaseas of Patara, *ap.* J. *Ap.* 2.114), that the golden head of a pack-ass was kept in the Temple.

58 Ps.-Opp. *C.* 4.256; Lactantius, *Inst.* 1.21–27. To be sure, the ass is also sacrificed to Apollo (Ov. *Fast.* 1.391, 440; 6.345; Ael. *VH* 12.34; Str. 15.1057; Call. frags. 187 and 188); but the connection with Dionysus, and especially with his companions the Sileni, is much closer. See A. H. Krappe, "'Ατιόλλων Ὄνος," *CPh* 42 (1947) 223–34.

59 At Chorazin in Israel there are a series of Dionysiac vintage scenes, and at Dura Europus in Mesopotamia the third-century paintings are in vine borders above Dionysiac masks. See E. R. Goodenough, "Symbolism, Jewish (In the Greco-Roman Period)," *Encyclopaedia Judaica* 15 (Jerusalem 1971) 570.

60 See M. P. Nilsson, *Geschichte der griechischen Religion,* 2nd ed., 2 (München 1961) 167–8.

61 See O. Immisch, "Zum antiken Herrscherkult," *Das Erbe der Alten* 20 (1931) 13–36.

62 Cf. Justin Martyr, *Dialogue with Trypho* 52; Eus. *HE* 1.6.2, 1.7.11.

opposed to the alleged extremism of Dionysus and of the Jews, who wee said to be superstitious,[63] that is, etymologically, to go beyond the limits of the proper and reasonable.

4. *The Connection with Proselyting Activities by Jews*

The contrast between the success of Apollo in saving the poet as against the failure of Fuscus to do so is all the more significant when we consider that the whole framework of the satire is a battle scene, as Anderson[64] has stressed. Indeed, Horace has throughout the satire employed a large number of epic and martial expressions, reminding the reader of the Homeric scene (*Il.* 20.443) where Hector is saved from Achilles by the intervention of Apollo. This martial atmosphere will remind the reader that the Jews were, like the garrulous pest in the satire (who is termed a conqueror [*victore,* line 43]), attempting to conquer the Roman world through proselytism.

Indeed, Horace's younger contemporary Philo (*Leg.* 31.211) significantly ascribes to a non-Jew, Petronius, the view that the Jews welcome (ἀποδέχονται, "receive favorably") those of other races (ἀλλοφύλους) who pay homage to them (τιμητικῶς, "doing honor to") not less than their own countrymen." When he says (*De Vita Mosis* 2.5.27) that Jews comprise half of the human race, even if he is exaggerating, he must be alluding to the extraordinary success that they had experienced in proselytism.

In fact, alluding to the victorious spread of Judaism throughout the world, the first-century Seneca the philosopher was to say: "The vanquished have given laws to the victors" *[victi victoribus leges dederunt]* (Sen. *De Superstitione, ap.* August. *C.D.* 6.1). In fact, the expulsion of the Jews from Rome on two occasions was apparently due to their proselyting activities. Thus we read (Val. Max. 1.3.3, in the epitome of Januarius Nepotianus) that a century before the time of Horace the Jews were expelled from Rome in 139 B.C.E. by the praetor peregrinus Cornelius Hispalus because they had attempted to transmit their sacred rites to the Romans *(Romanis tradere sacra sua conati sunt),* clearly implying proselytism or, possibly, in one version of the epitome of Julius Paris, that the Jews had attempted to infect the Roman customs

63 Cf., *e.g.,* Agatharch. *ap.* J. *Ap.* 1.205–11; Str. 16.2.37.761; Quint. *Inst.* 3.7.21; Plu. *De Superstitione* 3.166A; Tac. *Hist.* 5.8.3, 5.13.1; *Ann.* 2.85.4; Suet. *Tib.* 36; Fro. *Ad M. Caes.* 2.7; Apul. *Fl.* 6.

64 W. S. Anderson, "Horace, the Unwilling Warrior, *Satire* I, 9," *AJPh* 77 (1956) 148–66.

with the cult of Jupiter Sabazius *(Sabazi Iovis cultu Romanos inficere mores conati sunt),* implyng an attempt at syncretism or, more likely, an endeavor to spread Jewish practices among "sympathizers" without requiring the rite of conversion.[65] We likewise hear of a second expulsion of four thousand Jews from Rome in 19 C.E. in the aftermath of the swindling by Jewish embezzlers of the noble proselyte Fulvia (J. *AJ* 18.81–84; cf. Suet. *Tib.* 36; D.C. 57.18.5a; Tac. *Ann.* 2.85). In view of the fact that the person swindled was a proselyte, Dio's reason for the expulsion, namely the fact that Jews were converting so many Romans to their faith, seems plausible.[66]

It is in the light of such apparently extremely successful proselyting activities by Jews[67] (it has been estimated that the number of Jews rose from 150,000 in 586 B.C.E. to between four and twelve million by 70 C.E., chiefly through conversions)[68] that Horace's remark that "We, like the Jews, will compel you to make one of our throng (*veluti te Iudaei cogemus in hanc concedere turbam, S.* 1.4.142–43) is to be understood.[69] The fact that Fuscus

65 E. N. Lane, "Sabazius and the Jews in Valerius Maximus: A Re-examination," *JRS* 69 (1979) 35–8, argues against this possibility, since it is dependent upon a tenth-century manuscript and is contradicted by the other manuscripts.

66 See H. J. Leon, *The Jews of Ancient Rome* (Philadelphia 1960) 17–9; and L. H. Feldman (trans.), *Josephus* (Loeb Classical Library, vol. 9; London 1965) 60–1. Cf., however, E. L. Abel. "Were the Jews Banished from Rome in 19 A.D.?" *REJ* 127 (1968) 383–6, who concludes that only proselytes were expelled, since Tiberius, who was careful to obey the letter of the law and who is praised as an administrator by Josephus (*AJ* 18.170–78), would have avoided banishing any citizen without a trial.

67 See Feldman (n.23 above) 188–207, 340–45, 378–80. Note, for example, the remark of Matthew 23:15: "Wow to you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for you traverse sea and land to make a single proselyte."

68 For the evidence see S. W. Baron, *A Social and Religious History of the Jews,* 2nd ed., 1 (Philadelphia 1952) 370–72, n. 7, and "Population," *Encyclopaedia Judaica,* 13 (Jerusalem 1971) 869–72.

69 J. Nolland, "Proselytism or Politics in Horace, *Satires* I, 4, 138–143?" *VChr* 33 (1979) 347–55, argues that Horace is here referring not to proselyting activities but to political influence, such as Cicero imputes to the Jews (*Flac.* 28.66); but his skepticism is based upon his unwillingness to believe that Horace has in mind the kind of forced acceptance of Judaism which was imposed upon the Idumaeans in the Hasmonean period. If, however, we may respond, the Jews were so eager and so successful in proselytism as we have indicated, such a reservation seems unjustified. Nolland had been anticipated in his skepticism by Behrendt (n. 19 above) 431–2, who suggests reading *Idaei* for *Judaei* and thus refers the compulsion to the Romans, who came from Mount Ida in Troy. But the Romans are only once in extant literature (Sil. 1.126) referred to as Idaeans; and, as a matter of fact, it is the Jews, according to one theory

(9.71–72) speaks of himself as one of many *(unus multorum)*[70] might perhaps remind the reader of Horace's repeated use of *multa* (1.4.141) and *multo* (1.4.142) in connection with Jewish proselytism:

> multa poetarum veniet manus auxilio quae
> sit mihi (nam multo plures sumus), ac veluti te
> Iudaei cogemus in hanc concedere turbam. (1.4.141–43)
> ("A numerous band of poets [for we are much more numerous] will come to assist me, and, like the Jews, we shall force you to yield yourself to this throng.")

Here, too, as in *Satire* 9, it will be noted, Horace seeks assistance, and the context likewise involves Jews; but this time the comparison is with the degree to which the Jews are successful in their proselytism. In *Satire* 4 it is the band of his fellow poets who come to the aid of the poet Horace; similarly, in *Satire* 9 it is the patron god of poets, Apollo, who rescues the poet. Likewise, in Satire 9, Fuscus ironically speaks of himself as "one of many" *(unus multorum),* recalling the use of *multus* in Satire 4, implying perhaps that Fuscus was one of the many who had been won by the Jews' missionary activities to be either a proselyte or a "sympathizer."[71]

Moreover, Apollo might well — and ironically — remind the reader of the very similarly named Apella in the apparently proverbial phrase *credat Iudaeus Apella* (*S.* 1.5.100), alluding to the Jews' credulity. We know of no Jew named Apella in Rome,[72] despite the fact that we have over five hundred

cited by Tacitus (*Hist.* 5.2.1), whose name comes from the Idaei, the inhabitants of Mount Ida in Crete.

70 T. Reinach, *Textes d'auteurs grecs et romains relatifs au Judaisme* (Paris 1895) 246, n. 3, concludes that Fuscus is a "sympathizer" with Judaism, that is, one of those who, like the *metuens* in Juvenal (14.96) adopted certain Jewish practices, notably the Sabbath, without converting completely to Judaism. M. Stern (ed.), *Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism,* 1 (Jerusalem 1974) 326, however, convincingly agrees with Lejay (n. 1 above) in declaring that Fuscus is not a "sympathizer," since, if he were, the irony would lose its force.

71 C. A. von Rooy, "Arrangement and Structure of Satire in Horace, *Sermones,* Book I: Satires 9 and 10," *AClass* 15 (1972) 37–52, notes the following parallels or contrasts between the opening scene of 1.9 and the closing scene of 1.4: 4.137–9 and 9.2; and 4.135–6 and 9.3–4.

72 Due to the absence of the name Apella among Jews known to us from Rome Behrendt (n. 19 above) 430–31, suggests that Iudaeus Apella be emended to Cydaenus Apila, *i.e.* boastful boaster"; but aside from the transcriptional improbability of such an emendation, the name Apella seems particularly appropriate for the reasons I have indicated.

tombstone inscriptions containing a host of names.[73] To be sure, there is a Christian named Apelles mentioned in Paul's Epistle to the Romans (16:10), as well as a Jew named Apella in a first-century ostracon from Egypt and another named Apella in an inscription from Phrygia.[74] Now, the similarity of the names Apella and Apollo, unnoticed by previous commentators, is striking, especially when we consider that the name Apollo is said by Plutarch (*Lyc.* 6), himself a priest of Apollo, at the end of the first century, to be derived from *apella,* the very name of the proverbial Jew in the Fifth Satire. Indeed, the fact that the phrase *credat Iudaeus Apella* is apparently proverbial might well ring a bell for the reader of our satire when he sees the name Apollo, which sounds so similar.

This connection takes on additional significance when we consider that in his comment on *Satire* 1.5.100, the third-century commentator Porphyrio *(ad loc.)* gives the etymology of Apella as coming from *alpha*-privative + *pellis,* that is, without a foreskin, hence a reference to circumcision, the most prominent identifying symbol of the Jew, as we find in numerous snide remarks by ancient writers,[75] and the key act in the conversion of males to

73 See Leon (n. 66 above) 263–346.

74 The ostracon is in V. A. Tcherikover and A. Fuks, *Corpus Papyrorum Judaicarum,* 2 (Cambridge, Mass. 1960), p. 126 (no. 188). The inscription is in J.-B. Frey, *CIJud.,* 2 (Rome 1952) no. 761. J. Reynolds and R. Tannenbaum, *Jews and G-dfearers at Aphrodisias* (Cambridge 1987) 106, note that in an inscription newly discovered at Aphrodisias there is reference to a θεοσεβής named 'Απελλᾶς; but, of course, such a person, if, indeed, as seems likely, he is a G-d-fearer, is a non-Jew who has adopted some Jewish practices. Reynolds here notes that the name Apella is widely disseminated in the Roman world in the third century, but that of twenty-eight instances in Rome, all are of non-Jews, the majority being slaves or freedmen. Paul (Ep. Rom. 16:10) does, however, send greetings to a certain Apelles, "who is approved in Christ."

75 See, for example, the statement by Philo (*De Specialibus Legibus* 1.1.1–2), who begins his description of he special laws of the Jews with "the one made ridiculous by the great majority, the law concerning circumcision." On the etymology of Apella see G. Landauer, "Judaeus Apella," *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte der Juden in Deutschland* 2, Heft 1 (April, 1930) 78–9; and Lejay (n. 1 above) 324–6. On the possible interpretation of the name of the comedy of the third-century B.C.E. Naevius, *Appella* (or *Apella*), as "The Circumcised," *i.e.* the Jew, of which only two lines remain, see M. Stern (ed.), *Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism,* 3 (Jerusalem 1984) 13–4, especially n. 2, and the literature cited therein on both sides of this hypothesis. Stern himself remains skeptical that the play is about a Jew, since he doubts whether in the third century B.C.E., even if Apella means "circumcised," the Jew should be considered the circumcised par excellence, and prefers to take Apella as the Greek name Apelles; but J. Geiger, "The Earliest Reference to Jews in Latin Literature," *JSJ* 15

Judaism. Hence, the irony of having Apollo, whose name reminds one so much of the circumcised Jew Apella, rescuing Horace from *curtis Iudaeis* ("the circumcised Jews") mentioned in the line (*S.* 1.9.70) after the *tricesima sabbata.* We may also suggest that there is a deliberate pun in Horace's remark that, in deferring to the religious sensibilities of the Jews his friend has left him under the knife (*cultro,* line 74, so similar in sound to the word "circumcised," *curtis,* line 70, and perhaps alluding to the use of a knife in circumcision). Moreover, in the statement that Apollo has "saved" *(servavit)* the poet, Horace is alluding to his being saved by medical skill, a meaning (*Oxford Latin Dictionary,* s.v. *servo* 9) that *servo* does have; and hence it is Apollo the god of medicine that is here referred to.[76] While it is true that the word *culter* is not found in extant classical Latin literature in the specific sense of a surgical knife, it is employed[77] with reference to a knife used in the slaughter of an animal, and this may be part of the double-entendre here.[78]

That circumcision was the most characteristic sign of the Jews is clear not only from Horace but also from the other Roman satirists, dating from approximately a century after Horace—Persius (5.184), who uses "circumcised" as an apparently stock epithet; Petronius (68.7–8),[79] who speaks sarcastically of a slave who is perfect except for two faults, that he is

(1984) 145–7, persuasively argues that inasmuch as Horace refers to the proverbial Jew as Apella (*S.* 1.5.100) and inasmuch as he refers in our Satire to the *curtis Iudaeis* (1.9.70), the reference to Apella by Naevius is to a Jew, especially when we consider that ridicule of the Jewish practice of circumcision was a favorite motif among the Roman satirists.

76 I am indebted to Molly Levine for this suggestion.

77 Cato, *Agr.* 141.4; Var. *R.R.* 2.5.11; Verg. *G.* 3.492; *A.* 6.248; Ov. *Met.* 7.244, 314, 599; 15.134, 464; *Fast.* 1.321, 327, 348; 4.413; etc.

78 Moreover, the Itala, the second-century translation of the Septuagint into Latin, in Joshua (21:42; see August. *Locutionum in heptateuchum* 6.22, p. 618.27) uses the word *culter* with reference to the flint knives employed by Joshua in circumcising the Jews. It is also employed by the fourth-century Filastrius (151.1), by Jerome's Vulgate of the end of the fourth century (on Jo. 5:2), by the early fifth-century *Quaestionum in heptateuchum* 6.30 of Augustine, and by the fifth-century Cyprianus Gallus, *Heptateuchos* (Jo. 461).

79 That circumcision is the characteristic feature of the Jews is apparent from another passage in Petronius (102.13–14), who has one of his characters remark, "And please circumcise us too, so that we may look like Jews." Petronius (frag. 37) knows that unless a Jew is circumcised he is removed from his people, emigrates to Greek cities, and does not observe the Sabbath.

circumcised and that he snores; Martial (7.30), who likewise uses the term "circumcised" as a stock epithet of the Jews; and Juvenal (14.99), who remarks that circumcision is the last stage in the transition from "sympathizers" (the so-called "semi-proselytes") to full-fledged Jews. It is likewise apparent from the story of the conversion, early in the first century, of Izates, the king of Adiabene, who realized that he was not a full-fledged Jew until he had himself circumcised (J. *AJ* 20.43–46).

The fact that the Sabbath is singled out in *Satire* 1.9 may likewise be a link to Jewish proselyting, inasmuch as it was apparently the Sabbath that was particularly well known to the Romans, as we can see from the references in Horace's contemporary Ovid (*Ars* 1.76,1.415–16, *Rem. Am.* 219–20), for example. It even became attractive to "sympathizers," to judge from the fact that Juvenal (14.96) laments that one who observes the Sabbath *(metuentem Sabbata),* that is, one who is merely a "sympathizer" with Judaism,[80] has a son who goes to the extreme of complete conversion to Judaism through circumcision (14.99). Indeed, we may remark that Philo (*De Vita Mosis* 2.4.20–21), in commenting on the attention that the Jews have won among the peoples of the entire world, cites in particular the high respect which people everywhere have for the Sabbath. Likewise, Josephus (*Ap.* 2.282), noting that the masses of all other nations have long since shown a keen desire to adopt the religious observances of the Jews, singles out the Sabbath as a custom that has proven particularly attractive. One reason for the attraction of the Sabbath may have been that it gave its adherents an extra day of vacation each week; hence the attacks by Seneca (*ap.* August. *C.D.* 6.11) that the Jews lose in idleness *(vacando)* a seventh of their life, by Juvenal (14.105–6) that they give up every seventh day to idleness *(ignava),* and by Tacitus (*Hist.* 5.4.3) that the Jews were led by the charms of indolence *(blandiente inertia)* to devote even the seventh year to idleness *(ignaviae).* We may also suggest that it was at about this time or shortly thereafter that the Romans adopted the concept of a seven-day week,[81] with a different planet giving its name to each of the days, the seventh day being that of Saturn, the planet which, we have seen, was particularly associated with the Jews.

One further connection of Fuscus and the Jews may be suggested. We are told (Porphyrio, on Hor. *S.* 1.9.60) that Fuscus was the most outstanding grammarian of that time and that (*Gram.,* ed. H. Funaioli [Leipzig 1907]

80 See L. H. Feldman, "Jewish 'Sympathizers' in Classical Literature and Inscriptions," *TAPhA* 81 (1950) 200–208; and "The Omnipresence of the G-d-Fearers," *Biblical Archaeological Review* 12.5 (Sept.–Oct. 1986) 58–69.

81 See Balsdon (n. 38 above) 61–5.

507) he addressed a book to Asinius Pollio. This may be a further link between Fuscus and the Jews, since, it will be recalled, Pollio became the center of a group of writers who were well acquainted with Judaism and, moreover, had direct contacts with the Jewish king Herod himself,[82] two of whose sons lodged at his home (J. *AJ* 15.343). Moreover, it is Pollio to whom Virgil dedicated the messianic Fourth Eclogue, the connection of which to Isaiah has long been a subject of speculation.[83]

5. *Summary*

In summary, Horace's allusion in *tricesima Sabbata* is more effective if it refers not to some meaningless nonsense but rather to the thirtieth, a Sabbath, that is, the New Moon, so prominently celebrated in Horace's time. Hence, the rescue of Horace by Augustus' favorite, Apollo, the sun god, the moon's enemy, is particularly appropriate. The proverb *credat Iudaeus Apella,* alluding to the credulity of the Jews, and the etymology of Apella as "without a foreskin," as well as the incident of Zabidus' taking advantage of the credulity in promising to deliver Apollo into the hands of the hands of the Jews, now take on significance, since it is Apollo who saves Horace from his anonymous pest, whereas Jewish superstition does not. Moreover, it is appropriate that Apollo, rather than Mercury — otherwise the poet's protector —, who rescues Horace here, since Apollo's great antagonist, Dionysus, was associated with the Jews, at least in the mind of an intellectual such as Plutarch. The statement in our satire that Horace has been left under the knife would allude to circumcision, the distinctive mark of the Jews, and would likewise refer to the zeal, noted elsewhere by Horace, of the Jews in seeking to convert others to their religion. Finally, we may note that the New Moon holiday, as all Sabbaths and holidays, ends with the setting of the sun, as presided over by Apollo, who is the *deus ex machina* that signals the end of this "Sabbath" and thus rescues Horace from the superstitious and moon-struck Jews and their supporters.[84]

82 See L. H. Feldman, "Asinius Pollio and His Jewish Interests," *TAPhA* 84 (1953) 73–80. This identification of Asinius Pollio with the Pollio (J. *AJ* 343) at whose home in Rome Herod's sons stayed in 22 B.C.E. has been challenged by D. Braund, "Four Notes on the Herods," *CQ* 33 (1983) 239–42; but see Feldman's reply, "Asinius Pollio and Herod's Sons," *CQ* 35 (1985) 240–43.

83 For the bibliography on this subject see Stern (n. 70 above), 1, 316.

84 I should like to express my sincere gratitude to Professors W. S. Anderson, H. Jacobson, and M. M. Levine and to Mr. B. S. Hill for several suggestions.

Forest Hills, New York