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Preface

From the 1960s on, enormous interest developed in the field of studies and research on Italian Jewry. The Jewish sources related to the history and culture of the Italian Jews were researched quite thoroughly, and new light was shed on the important Jewish heritage that flourished in southern Italy in the first millennium.[1] However, few works dealt with the influence and legacy of Italian Jewry in the Jewish world. Even if the Italian Jews never reached large numbers during their more than two millennia presence on the Italian Peninsula—always numbering between 40,000–50,000 souls—their role in creating and diffusing Jewish heritage and culture was nevertheless of great importance, which, considering their small numbers, was often incomprehensible. The aim of this volume is to examine additional aspects of Jewish life in Italy, and to illuminate the contribution of Italian Jewry to the development and diffusion of Jewish heritage beyond the Italian boundaries.

In September 2011, a major congress was convened at the Bologna University Department of Cultural Heritage, seated at the Ravenna Campus, under the title: "The Jews in Italy: Their Contribution to the Development and Diffusion of Jewish Heritage." This conference was jointly organized and sponsored by the Dahan Center of Bar-Ilan University and the Italian Association for the Study of Judaism (AISG). The conference was cochaired by Prof. Mauro Perani, president of the AISG, and Prof. Yaron Harel, chairman of the academic committee of the Dahan Center. Around one hundred scholars from ten countries presented papers on a wide variety of topics. All twenty-two articles in the

1 Mauro Perani wrote a detailed account of the state of Jewish studies in Italy in his article, "Jewish Studies in the Italian Academic World," *Jewish Studies and the European Academic World*, ed. Albert Van Der Heide & Irene E. Zwiep, Plenary Lectures at the 7th Congress of the European Association for Jewish Studies (EAJS) (Amsterdam, July 2002); *Collection de la Revue des Etudes juives*, ed. Simon C. Mimouni & Gérard Nahon (Paris–Louvain: Peeters, 2005), 67–116.

current volume are based on lectures given at the conference. All are original works of scholarship, and all were accepted for publication only after rigorous peer review. Geographically, the articles range from Italy to the Ottoman Empire (the Balkans and Aleppo) in the east, to France and Germany in the northwest. They also encompass the Middle East, including Israel, and North and East Africa (Morocco, Tunisia, Libya, and Ethiopia). Chronologically, articles begin with the Roman period, through the Middle Ages and Renaissance until modern times. In this collection, the reader will find a wide range of subjects reflecting various scholarly perspectives such as history (Miriam Ben Zeev, Shimon Schwarzfuchs, Alessandro Grazi, Leah Bornstein-Makovetsky, Yitzhak Mualem); Christian-Jewish relations (Eliav Taub); halakhah (Yoel Shilo); Kabbalah (Moshe Hallamish); commentary on the Bible and Talmud (Mauro Perani, Yaron Silverstein); language, grammar, and translation (Dror Ben-Arié, Michael Ryzhik, Ora (Rodrigue) Schwarzwald, Filippo Petrucci); literature (Carmela Saranga, Smadar Shiffman); philosophy (Miguel Antonio Beltrán Munar); gastronomy (Zahava Weishouse); art (Maria Portmann); culture (Rachel Simon); folklore (Yaniv Goldberg); and education (Silvia Guetta). Note that while the title of each article reflects its major theme, many articles relate to more than one issue.

This volume is being published in the midst of a process of historic rapprochement and a reconciliation of sorts between Italy and its Jews. In modern times, the integration of the Jews with the non-Jewish population has been great—and no less profound in the area of personal relationships. Jews and Christians in Italy have always lived side by side as an integrated people. Divisions and prohibitions of relationships were generally called for and imposed by the authorities. As citizens with full rights, the Italian Jews identified themselves with the Kingdom of Italy, proclaimed in 1861. Participating in great numbers as fighters—as compared to non-Jewish Italians—and in the role of military leaders in World War I, they never anticipated the racist edicts that were issued against them in 1938.

With the racist laws of 1938, all Jewish teachers and students in Italian schools, from kindergarten to university, were suddenly and brutally expelled. On the eightieth anniversary, the Italian government wishes to counter that sad event with a symbolic gesture. There is a project promoted by the Italian Ministry of Education, University and Research (MIUR) to set up a master's degree in Jewish studies. For several years, with the direct funding of the ministry, MIUR has sponsored a doctorate in Jewish studies at the abovementioned Ravenna Department of Cultural Heritage of the University of Bologna. This program is

coordinated by Prof. Mauro Perani in co-tutelage with Prof. Judith Schlanger, the French coordinator, and includes recognition of the double Diploma of the École Pratique des Hautes Études in Paris. Following this three years' doctorate course in Jewish studies, we hope to establish an MA course in Jewish studies, which then will be linked to the existing PhD program, thus achieving, for the first time in Italy, a complete *cursus studiorum* in Hebrew studies. This by no means rectifies the evils done to the Jews by Fascist persecution from 1938 until the end of World War II, but it is certainly a small token recognizing the importance of Jewish culture in Italy and the Western and Jewish worlds.

Now that the volume is finally ready for publication, we would like to extend our thanks and appreciation to Dr. Shimon Ohayon of the Dahan Center, for his support and encouragement over the years. Above all, we would like to thank Mrs. Ora Kobelkowsky, who, for more than six years, ably and painstakingly oversaw the editing of the articles. She was the connecting link between the contributors to this volume and us, and did it so graciously.

We hope that the contents of this volume will be of interest to both scholars and laypeople who care about Jewish life in Italy, and its contribution to the Jewish world in general.

Prof. Mauro Perani, Italy
Prof. Yaron Harel, Israel

Part One

The Roman Period

CHAPTER 1

Roman Attitudes to Jews and Judaism in the First Century BCE: Between Hellenistic Traditions and Local Realities*

MIRIAM BEN ZEEV

Even before the Roman conquest of Greece, Greek culture had a significant impact on Roman life. The more so after the political subjugation, when the Greek influence came to affect almost every aspect of Roman life, thought and learning, including philosophy, oratory, science, art, religion, morals and also manners and dress. "Greekness," however, acquired different meanings for different people in different situations,[1] and Greek models were often reinterpreted

* My warmest thanks to the Interlibrary Loan Office of the Ben Gurion University, Beersheva, and to its head, Mrs. Herta Yankovich, for their helpful assistance. This article has also been published in *"Let the Wise Listen and Add to Their Learning" (Prov. 1:5): Festschrift for Günter Stemberger on the Occasion of His 75th Birthday*, ed. Constanza Cordoni and Gerhard Langer (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2016), 111–25.

1 Albert Henrichs, "*Graecia Capta*: Roman Views of Greek Culture," in *Greece in Rome: Influence, Integration, Resistance*, ed. Christopher P. Jones and Charles Segal (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1955), 243–61.

according to local realities, needs, and insights.[2] An imitation of a literary forebear is not simply a reproduction but also a transformation.[3] The final products, therefore, were often very different from the original ones.[4] In the domain of painting, for example, the architectural location of Greek paintings in new ensembles automatically invited their reinterpretation, and the same may be said about sculpture. The choice to repeat a source image was as a deliberate one, but guided by Roman concerns. These might include, for example, a concern for decorum, political effectiveness, and the nature of the intended Roman context. "Rather than see these sculptures merely as informants on what has been lost of Greek culture's artistic heritage," Gazda suggests, "we should appreciate them as selective and informed determinants of the artistic legacy of Greece in Rome."[5] The Romans kept their own agenda according to their own social, political, and intellectual values. Even when they appropriated unmistakably Greek forms, they often used them for different purposes, reaching results only superficially close to, but essentially different from, those of their original Greek models.

The question may be addressed, whether these conclusions apply also to other areas, and, specifically, in our case, whether and in which measure the views found in the Hellenistic literature influenced Romans' attitudes toward Jews and Judaism. The starting point is the first century BCE. In spite of the fact that the Jewish presence at Rome may date back as early as the second century BCE,[6] no mention of it is found in Latin literature until a century later. Jews

2 On the ambiguous use of the Trojan myth made at Rome, for example, see Erich S. Gruen, "Cultural Fictions and Cultural Identity," *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 123 (1993): 4–9; and John Scheid, "*Graeco Ritu*: A Typically Roman Way of Honoring the Gods," in *Greece in Rome: Influence, Integration, Resistance*, ed. Christopher P. Jones and Charles Segal (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995), 30–1.

3 Tim Whitmarsh, *Greek Literature and the Roman Empire: The Politics of Imitation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 27.

4 See Gisella Striker, "Cicero and Greek Philosophy," in *Greece in Rome: Influence, Integration, Resistance*, ed. Christopher P. Jones and Charles Segal (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995), 59–61.

5 Elaine K. Gazda, "Roman Sculpture and the Ethos of Emulation: Reconsidering Repetition," in *Greece in Rome: Influence, Integration, Resistance*, ed. Christopher P. Jones and Charles Segal (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995), 145–6, 148. See also Bettina Bergmann, "Greek Masterpieces and Roman Recreative Fictions," in *Greece in Rome: Influence, Integration, Resistance*, ed. Christopher P. Jones and Charles Segal (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995), 91.

6 Valerius Maximus, *Facta et dicta memorabilia* I, 3, 2 = Menahem Stern, *Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism*, vol. 1 (Jerusalem: Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 1974), nos. 147 a, 147 b. The Jewish community that existed in Rome by the mid-second century probably endured and grew in size and significance in the decades that followed.

are referred to for the first time in a piece of forensic literature composed by Cicero in the context of the defense of his client Flaccus. Lucius Valerius Flaccus, ex-governor of Asia, had been accused of maladministration (*de repetundis*) by the Greek, the Roman, and the Jewish inhabitants of the province and was brought to trial at Rome in 59 BCE. The charges against him involved financial and monetary issues, were serious, and could not be denied. The only way for Cicero to have his client acquitted was to claim that the charges lacked juridical value. This was achieved by demonstrating that the adverse witnesses were not worthy of being believed. Asian Jews accused Flaccus of having confiscated their sacred monies. Cicero does not deny it and does not even tackle the legality of Flaccus's procedure. He concentrates on one issue only: the accusation is not to be taken into account since the Jews are enemies of the Roman Republic.[7] Of the Asian Jews, Cicero probably knew nothing. So he rather talks of those living at Rome, insinuating that they side with the lowest social strata of the city, which means that they are to be seen as dangerous elements for the welfare of the Roman society, who may subvert the public order. This insinuation had nothing to rely on,[8] but the judges were obviously not supposed to investigate it. Then a general accusation is put forward by Cicero: the Jewish religion is a barbarian one (*barbara superstitio*) "at variance with the glory of our empire, the dignity of our name, the customs of our ancestors."[9] At the end, he turns to the Jews of Judea, who four years earlier had opposed the conquest of their country, had fought against Pompey's troops, and had been vanquished. The conclusion is obvious: Jews, all Jews, are Rome's potential and actual enemies—a point to which Roman jurors were particularly sensitive. It follows that their accusations are not to be taken into account since they are irrelevant.[10]

See Erich S. Gruen, *Diaspora: Jews amidst Greeks and Romans* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2002), 19.

7 *Pro Flacco*, 28:66–9 = Stern, *Greek and Latin Authors*, no. 68.

8 See Miriam Pucci Ben Zeev, "Were They Seditious? The Jews of Rome in the Sixties BCE," *Italia* 13–15 (2001): 9–24; and Silvia Cappelletti, *The Jewish Community of Rome, from the Second Century B.C. to the Third Century C.E* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2006), 44–8. As Gruen points out, the notion that Jews were incited and mobilized by Roman politicians, and that they formed a cadre for the *populares*, is pure construct, which is nowhere buttressed by testimony (Gruen, *Diaspora*, 23).

9 *Pro Flacco*, 28:69 = Stern, *Greek and Latin Authors*, no. 68.

10 On Cicero's account on the Jews, see Yochanan Hans Lewy, "Cicero on the Jews" [in Hebrew], *Zion* 7 (1941/2): 109–34; Jacques-Emmanuel Bernard, "Philosophie politique et antijudaisme chez Cicéron," *Scripta Classica Israelica* 19 (2000): 113–31; and Miriam Ben Zeev, "The Myth of Cicero's Anti-Judaism," in Görge K. Hasselhoff et al. (eds.), *Religio Licita? Rom und die Juden*, Studia Judaica 84 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2017), 105–34.

The role played by the Jews in this trial was minimal vis-à-vis that of the Greek and Roman witnesses. Cicero, therefore, deals with the Jewish charges briefly and does not look for previous sources in literary tradition. If he had done so, he would have found libels and slanders about the Jews in the work of his teacher of rhetoric, Apollonios Molon, whose invective (*suskeué*) against the Jews is mentioned by Eusebius.[11] Josephus, too, states that Apollonios dealt at length with Jewish atheism, misanthropy, cowardice, recklessness, primitiveness, lack of inventiveness. and separatism.[12] These remarks would have served Cicero's purposes very well. One may therefore surmise that he would hardly have overlooked them if he had known them. No trace of Hellenistic sources emerges also from Cicero's witty observation uttered during the trial against Verres, which alludes to a link between Jews and pigs,[13] and from a passage of the *De Provinciis Consularibus* where Cicero states that the Jews, like the Syrians, were born to be slaves.[14] This last remark belongs to a cliché derived from the Greek literature that so deeply permeates Cicero's writings and his attitude of mind, according to which members of a subject people were born slaves.[15] In this specific case, Cicero may be also referring to factual reality, since numerous Jewish slaves had recently arrived at Rome as war captives, not only in the immediate aftermath of Pompey's victory but also as consequence of continuing fighting in Judaea in the following years.[16]

Other than these passages, Cicero nowhere mentions the Jews in his works, not even in those dealing with philosophy and religion,[17] which may well be taken to mean that he did not have special personal interest in the Jews,

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11 Eusebius, *Praeparatio Evangelica*, IX, 19, 1 = Stern, *Greek and Latin Authors*, no. 46.

12 *C. Ap*., 2, 79–80, 89, 91–6 = Stern, *Greek and Latin Authors*, no. 48. On the anti-Jewish ethnographic treatise by Apollonius Molon, see Bezalel Bar-Kochva, *The Image of the Jews in Greek Literature* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010), 469–524.

13 Verres was the Roman word for a castrated porker, and, when a freedman suspected of Jewish practices wanted to thrust aside the Sicilian accusers and denounce Verres himself, Cicero is reported by Plutarch to have remarked: "What has a Jew to do with a Verres?" (Plutarch, *Vita Ciceronis*, 7, 6 = Stern, *Greek and Latin Authors*, no. 263).

14 *De Provinciis Consularibus* 5, 10 = Stern, *Greek and Latin Authors*, no. 70.

15 Benjamin H. Isaac, *The Invention of Racism in Classical Antiquity* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2004), 463.

16 See Stern, *Greek and Latin Authors*, no. 204 and Sten Hidal, "The Jews as the Romans Saw Them," in *The Synagogue of Ancient Ostia and the Jews of Rome: Interdisciplinary Studies*, edited by Birger Olsson et al. (Stockholm: Paul Aströms Förlag, 2001), 141.

17 See Zvi Yavetz, "Judeophobia in Classical Antiquity: a Different Approach," *Journal of Jewish Studies* 44 (1993): 11.

so that, even if he did occasionally consult historical and antiquarian works,[18] in the case of the Jews he did not find it necessary to look at previous sources on their history and customs.

The same applies to the brief reference to the Jews found in the work of Marcus Terentius Varro, another significant figure on the Roman political and intellectual scene. Following a long tradition of Stoic philosophical thought that originated with Zeno,[19] Varro censures the cult of images and praises the Jews for their aniconic cult, which, he claims, once upon a time also characterized the cult of the Romans themselves, and to which, he emphasizes, they should revert.[20] The passage is preserved by Augustine:

> He (Varro) also says that for more than one hundred and seventy years the ancient Romans worshipped the gods without an image. "If this usage had continued to our own day," he says, "our worship of the gods would be more devout." And in support of his opinion he adduces, among other things, the testimony of the Jewish people. And he ends with the forthright statement that those who first set up images of the gods for the people diminished reverence in their cities as they added to error, for he wisely judged that gods in the shape of senseless images might easily inspire contempt.[21]

It is difficult to know from where Varro may have learned about the aniconic nature of the Jewish cult. The first to mention it is Diodorus Siculus, quoting from the work of Hecataeus of Abdera (third century BCE). He states that Moses "had no images whatsoever of the gods made for them, being of the opinion

18 On the importance of history for Cicero, see Peter A Brunt, "Cicero and Historiography," in idem, *Studies in Greek History and Thought* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 182, 186–8.

19 On the philosophical background of this work of Varro, see Peter Van Nuffelen, "Varro's *Divine Antiquities*: Roman Religion as an Image of Truth," *Classical Philology* 105 (2010): 162–88, especially 182–4 on early aniconism in Roman religion.

20 An aniconic ancient Roman cult is also mentioned by Plutarch, who attributes it to the initiative of the mythological figure of King Numa Pompilius in the seventh century BCE. Under the influence of the philosopher Pythagoras, Numa Pompilius is said to have forbidden "the ancient Romans to revere an image of the deity in the form either of man or of beast. Nor was there among them in this earlier time any image or statue of the Divine Being; during the first one hundred and seventy years they built temples, indeed, and other sacred shrines, but placed in them no figure of any kind; persuaded that it is impious to liken higher things to lower, and that we can have no conception of God except by the intellect" (Plutarchus, *Numa*, 8).

21 Apud: Augustinus, *De civitate dei*, 4, 31 = Stern, *Greek and Latin Authors*, no. 72 a.

that God is not in human form; rather the Heaven that surrounds the earth is alone divine, and rules the universe."[22] An elaboration of the same conception appears also in the work of Strabo, who writes:

> Moses … said, and taught, that the Egyptians were mistaken in representing the Divine Being by the images of beasts and cattle, as were also the Libyans; and that the Greeks were also wrong in modeling gods in human form; for, according to him, God is the one thing alone that encompasses us all, and encompasses land and sea—the thing which we call heaven, or universe, or the nature of all that exists. What man, then, if he has sense, could be bold enough to fabricate an image of God resembling any creature amongst us? Nay, people should leave off all image-carving, and, setting apart a sacred precinct and a worthy sanctuary, should worship God without an image …[23]

In the same generation, Livy, too, is aware of the peculiarity of the Jewish cult, as we learn from a passage of the *Scholia in Lucanum*, where Livy is said to have noticed that "they do not state to which deity pertains the temple at Jerusalem, nor is any image found there, since they do not think the God partakes of any figure."[24] These authors, however, did not necessarily rely on literary sources. Jewish aniconism may have been widely known at Rome after Pompey conquered Jerusalem, entered the Temple of Jerusalem, and discovered that the Holy of Holies was devoid of cult images.[25] A Jewish source cannot be ruled out either: a Jewish community had been thriving in town for several generations. People heard, spoke, and transmitted notions, especially when they were peculiar ones.

The first author to display some interest in the Jews is a historian of Gallic origin, Gnaeus Pompeius Trogus, a learned historian of wide horizons, especially interested in ethnographic questions and in neighboring peoples.[26] For

22 *Aegyptiaca*, apud: Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliotheca Historica*, XL, 3, 4 = Stern, *Greek and Latin Authors*, no. 11.

23 *Geographica*, XVI, 2, 35 = Stern, *Greek and Latin Authors*, no. 115. Strabo may rely here either on Diodorus's work, either directly or through an intermediate source (see Stern, *Greek and Latin Authors*, no. 305) or may be quoting a source no longer extant: see Peter Schäfer, *Judeophobia: Attitudes toward the Jews in the Ancient World* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997), 25–6.

24 *Scholia in Lucanum* 2.593 = Stern, *Greek and Latin Authors*, no. 133. See also Lydo, *De Mensibus*, 4.53 = Stern, *Greek and Latin Authors*, no. 134.

25 Margaret H. Williams, "The Disciplining of the Jews of Ancient Rome: Pure Gesture Politics?," *Studies in Latin Literature and Roman History* 15 (2010), 86n37.

26 On his personality, see J. M. Alonso-Núñez, "An Augustan World History: The 'Historiae Philippicae' of Pompeius Trogus," *Greece and Rome* 34 (1987): 57–8. See also Bezalel

him, as Alonso-Núnez points out, "the actor in history is mankind, not the city of Rome"—a universal conception deeply rooted in Stoic philosophy.[27] It is therefore no wonder that his account of the Jews, which appears in his world history *Historiarum Philippicarum libri XLIV*, is the longest and most detailed one written in the first century BCE. It reaches us only secondhand, in the summary composed in third century CE by Justinus. Even if Justinus left out what he thought would not interest the audience of his own time,[28] it appears that he did not change the original structure of Trogus's account of the Jews, which followed the conventional scheme of Hellenistic ethnographical works since the time of Herodotus: a report on the origins, an account of their history, and some details about the land.

The part dealing with origins presents three different traditions. The first has the Jews originating from the city of Damascus:

> The origin of the Jews was from Damascus, the most illustrious city of Syria, whence also the stock of the Assyrian kings through Queen Samiramis had sprung. The name of the city was given by King Damascus, in honor of whom the Syrians consecrated the sepulcher of his wife Arathis as a temple, and regard her since then as a goddess worthy of the most sacred worship. After Damascus, Azelus, and then Adores,[29] Abraham and Israhel were their kings.[30]

Bar-Kochva, "An Extraordinary Jewish Ethnography Related by a Roman-Gallic Augustan Historian" [in Hebrew], *Tarbiz* 83 (2015): 337–99.

27 Alonso-Núñez, "An Augustan World History," 65. See also Otto Seel, "Pompeius Trogus and das Problem der Universalgeschichte," in *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt*, vol. II. 30.2, *Sprache und Literatur* (*Literatur der augusteischen Zeit: Allgemeines, einzelne Autoren*), ed. Wolfgang Haase (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1982), 1363–1423.

28 As Heckel points out, the things which Justin claims to have omitted from his own work are those which "did not make pleasurable reading or serve to provide a moral" (Waldemar Heckel, "Introduction, Part II: History and Historiography," in Justin, *Epitome of the Philippic History of Pompeius Trogus*, vol. 1, ed. J. C. Yardley [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997], 17–18.) See also Alonso-Núñez, "An Augustan World History," 70 and John Buckler, "The Actions of Philip II in 347 and 346 B.C.: A Reply to N.G.L. Hammond," *The Classical Quarterly* 46 (1996): 385. On the date of Justinus's summary, see Timothy D. Barnes, "Two Passages of Justin," *The Classical Quarterly* 48 (1998): 589–93.

29 Azelus and Adores probably stand for Hazael and Hadad, the well-known kings of Aram; Josephus calls them Azaelos and Adados and relates that they were accorded divine honors by the people of Damascus "because of their benefactions and the building of temples with which they adorned the city of Damascus" (*Ant*. 9.93).

30 Apud: Iustinus, *Historiae Philippicae, libri XXXVI Epitoma*, 2, 1–3 = Stern, *Greek and Latin Authors*, no. 137.

This is not the only literary reference concerning a Syrian origin of the Jews. Abraham's presence in Damascus is mentioned also in the world history composed more or less at the same time by Nicholas of Damascus. There we read that

> Abrames reigned in Damascus, a foreigner who had come with an army from the country beyond Babylon called the land of the Chaldees. But, not long after, he left the country also with his people for the land called Canaan but now Judaea, where he settled, he and his numerous descendants, whose history I shall recount in another book. The name of Abram is still celebrated in the region of Damascus, and a village is shown that is called after him "Abram's abode."[31]

The details reported by Nicholas and Trogus are different and exclude a direct link between them, but it is not impossible that both of them ultimately derive from similar sources of Syrian origin. Trogus's consultation of Syrian sources is no surprise. He is known to have used even Indian ones.[32]

The second tradition presented by Trogus follows the biblical account, dealing at length with the sons of Israel (Jacob), the hatred of the brothers toward Joseph, his sale into Egypt, the interpretation of the dream of the King, the favor enjoyed in Egypt, and then Moses and the Exodus.[33] All this, however, is presented with numerous mistakes: the sons of Israel are ten and not twelve, Joseph is presented as the youngest one instead of Benjamin, the beauty of Moses (*Moyses*) is mentioned instead of that of Joseph,[34] and an Arruas (probably standing for Aharon) is mentioned as son of Moyses, who was made priest and "soon after created King."[35] Chronology, too, has some gaps: from Joseph we jump to Moses, who is presented as Joseph's son.[36] All these deviations from

31 *Historiae*, apud Josephus, *Ant.*, 1, 159–60 = Stern, *Greek and Latin Authors*, no. 83. Stern suggests that the tradition of Abraham's sojourn at Damascus may well have originated in Jewish circles in Syria and be rooted in the fact that the road from Haran, where Abraham had been staying after leaving Ur, to the land of Canaan, led through Damascus (Stern, *Greek and Latin Authors*, no. 234).

32 See Giovanni Forni and Maria Gabriella Angeli Bertinelli, "Pompeo Trogo come fonte di storia," *ANRW* II, 30, 2 (1982): 1355–6.

33 Apud: Iustinus, *Historiae Philippicae, libri XXXVI Epitoma*, 2.4–11 = Stern, *Greek and Latin Authors*, no. 137.

34 *Historiae Phil. Epitoma*, 2.4–11.

35 *Historiae Phil. Epitoma*, 2.16.

36 Apollonius Molon, too, presents Moses as Joseph's grandson (*De Iudaeis*, apud Eusebius, *Praeparatio Evangelica*, IX, 19, 3 = Stern, *Greek and Latin Authors*, no. 46), but there seems

the biblical account make it clear that Trogus did not himself consult the Septuagint or a Latin translation that may have circulated at Rome, of which in any case nothing is known. Here he seems to have quoted hearsay or a free—very free—version of the biblical account, in oral or written form.[37]

Surprisingly, in the middle of his quasi-biblical account, between the mention of Moses's beauty and the Exodus, Trogus states that "the Egyptians, being troubled with scabies and leprosy and warned by an oracle, expelled him [namely, Moses], with those who had the disease, out of Egypt."[38] Here an Egyptian tradition is reflected. A definite identification, however, is impossible since several accounts of the Exodus seen from the Egyptian perspective have reached us through later quotations, and more may have existed that are no longer extant. Chronologically, the first one is the lost work composed by Hecataeus in the third century BCE, quoted by Diodorus Siculus. While dealing with the history of Egypt, Diodorus presents an excursus on the Jewish people, where he states:

> When in ancient times a pestilence arose in Egypt, the common people ascribed their troubles to the workings of a divine agency; for indeed with many strangers of all sort dwelling in their midst and practicing different rites of religion and sacrifice, their own traditional observances in honor of the gods had fallen into disuse. Hence, the natives of the land surmised that unless they removed the foreigners, their troubles would never be resolved. At once, therefore, the aliens among them banded together and, as some say, were cast ashore in Greece and other regions … but the greater number were driven into what is now called Judaea.[39]

This version has a neutral and objective tone, similar to that of Trogus, but details are different and there is no mention of an oracle.[40] The expulsion of the Jews from Egypt is referred to also by Manetho, an Egyptian priest living in the

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to be no reason to suppose a direct link between the two. See John G. Gager, *Moses in Greco-Roman Paganism* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1972), 50 also on the possible reasons for the assumption of a father-son relationship between the two leaders.

37 On Trogus's use of oral sources, see Forni and Angeli Bertinelli, "Pompeo Trogo come fonte di storia, "1354 and Alonso-Núñez, "An Augustan World History," 61 and 71n16.

38 *Historiae Phil. Epitoma*, 2.12.

39 Hecataeus, *Aegyptiaca*, apud Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliotheca Hitorica*, 40.3, 1–2 = Stern, *Greek and Latin Authors*, no. 11.

40 On the possibility that Trogus used a Greek universal history published in his own lifetime and shortly before the appearance of the works of Diodorus of Sicily and Nicolaus of Damascus, see Heckel, "Introduction," 30.

third century BCE, whose account of the Jews, now lost, is cited by Josephus Flavius. Manetho does not mention the existence of an oracle but of a man "who, in virtue of his wisdom and knowledge of the future, was reputed to be a partaker in the divine nature," who assured the Egyptian king, Amenophis, that "he would able to see the gods if he cleansed the whole land of lepers and other polluted persons. The king was delighted, and assembled all those in Egypt whose bodies were wasted by disease … these he cast into the stone-quarries to the East of the Nile, there to work segregated from the rest of Egyptians." The account proceeds with the revolt of these people, led by a man called Osarseph, who later "changed his name and was called Moses." At the end, the Egyptian king and his son joined battle and defeated them, killing many and pursuing the others to the frontiers of Syria.[41] This narrative displays a definitely negative attitude toward the Jews, and therefore is quite different from that of Trogus, but there is something in common. Both of them regard the Jews as a part of the Egyptian people. Manetho speaks of "Egyptian learned priests attacked by leprosy,"[42] and Trogus has Arruas (probably standing for Aharon) made priest "to supervise the Egyptian rites."[43] Another hostile version of the expulsion of the Jews from Egypt is offered by Chaeremon, cited by Josephus: "Isis appeared to the King Amenophis in his sleep, and reproached him for the destruction of her temple in war-time. The sacred scribe Phritibautes told him that, if he purged Egypt of its contaminated populations, he might cease to be alarmed. The King, thereupon, collected 250,000 persons and banished them from the country. Their leaders were scribes, Moses and another scribe, Joseph."[44] Then the king quells a revolt of these people and he "drives the Jews, to the number of 200,000, into Syria." The existence of an oracle responsible for the decision to expel the Jews, mentioned by Trogus, appears in the work of another Egyptian author, Lysimachus. According to the quotation of Josephus, Lysimachus wrote that Jews afflicted by leprosy took refuge in temples and that the oracle of Ammon told the Egyptian king "to purge the temples of impure and impious persons, to drive them out of these sanctuaries into the wilderness …"[45] A brief

41 Manetho, apud Jos., *C. Ap.*, 1.228–52 = Stern, *Greek and Latin Authors*, no. 21.

42 *Aegyptiaca*, apud Josephus, *C.Ap.*, I.235.

43 *Historiae Phil. Epitoma*, 2.16.

44 Chaeremon, apud Josephus, *C. Ap.*, 1.288–92 = Stern, *Greek and Latin Authors*, no. 178.

45 "In the reign of Bocchoris, king of Egypt, the Jewish people, who were afflicted with leprosy, scurvy and other maladies, took refuge in the temples and lived a mendicant existence … King Bocchoris thereupon sent to consult the oracle of Ammon about the failure of the crops. The god told him to purge the temples of impure and impious persons, to drive them

statement concerning the expulsion of the Jews is preserved also by Ptolemy of Mendes[46] and by a Greco-Egyptian prophecy contained in a papyrus, where, however, the text is extremely fragmentary.[47]

None of these extant versions is reported exactly by Trogus. One is therefore left to wonder whether he consulted one or some of them and decided to summarize it giving it his personal touch and an objective tone, or, alternatively, whether he found a short version of the expulsion in a source, possibly a Latin one, which is no longer extant. The problem of the way Trogus consulted his sources is a vexed question. From what is found in his work, it appears that his reading was extensive. Traces of Ctesias of Cnidus, Herodotus, Ephorus, and Theopompus, are detectable in the early books of his *Historiae Philippicae*; for Alexander and the Successors, he seems to have consulted Cleitarchus and Duris; for the Hellenistic age, Phylarchus, Timaeus, Polybius, and Posidonius. This is a really impressive range of sources if he himself consulted all of them, and to have woven the extensive histories of these Greeks into a Latin world history would have been no mean feat.[48] The possibility has therefore been suggested that Trogus may have translated into Latin a Greek work which had already "stitched together" the major histories of the eastern world from a variety of books, such as that of Theopompus or the work probably entitled "Kings" or "On Kings" composed by Timagenes of Alexandria.[49] According to Stern, the "Timagenes theory" would fit particularly well Trogus's excursus on the Jews.[50] Having been born at Alexandria, Timagenes was certainly acquainted with the Egyptian traditions about the expulsion of the Jews, but being of Greek and not of Egyptian origin, he may have censured their anti-Jewish nuances.[51] True,

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out of these sanctuaries into the wilderness …" (Lysimachus, *Aegyptiaca*, apud: Jossephus, *C. Ap.*, 1.304–11 = Stern, *Greek and Latin Authors*, no. 158).

46 Apud: Tatianus, *Oratio ad Gaecos*, 38 = Stern, *Greek and Latin Authors*, nos. 157 a, 157 b.

47 Menahem Stern, "A Fragment of Greco-Egyptian Prophecy and the Tradition of Jews' Expulsion from Egypt in Chaeremon's History" [in Hebrew], *Zion* 3–4 (1963): 223–7.

48 Giovanni Forni, *Valore storico e fonti di Pompeo Trogo* (Urbino: S.T.E.U, 1958), 45–9; Heckel, "Introduction," 31.

49 A. Von Gutschmid, "Trogus und Timagenes," *Rheinische Museum* 37 (1882): 552–3; Curt Wachsmuth, "Timagenes und Trogus," *Rheinische Museum* 46 (1891): 465–79; Heckel, "Introduction," 31. On Timagenes's works, see Marta Sordi, "Timagene di Alessandria; uno storico ellenocentrico e filobarbaro," *ANRW* II, 30, 1 (1982): 775–97.

50 See Stern, *Greek and Latin Authors*, no. 222.

51 Menachem Stern, "Timagenes of Alexandria as a Source for the History of the Hasmonean Monarchy" [in Hebrew], in *Jews and Judaism in the Second Temple, Mishna and Talmud: Studies in Honor of Shmuel Safrai*, ed. Aharon Oppenheimer et al. (Jerusalem: Yad Itzhak ben Zvi, 1993), 12. The possibility that Trogus used Posidonius directly is maintained by René Bloch,

Trogus's version of the expulsion of the Jews from Egypt is very different from that of the Egyptian sources. Trogus presents it in a purely matter-of-fact fashion, with no hostile overtones.[52] The reason for the expulsion of the Jews, for example, is linked by Trogus not to the anger of the gods, as in the Egyptian sources, but rather to the necessity to avoid the spread of leprosy: *ne pestis ad plures serperet*.[53] This neutral tone, however, may well have stemmed from Trogus's personal choice and not necessarily from Timagenes's work. In fact, the two possibilities are not mutually exclusive. Even if the "Timagenes hypothesis" has been rejected by many scholars[54] and one may not rule out the possibility that Trogus also personally consulted other sources,[55] which seem to have been of high quality,[56] it also cannot be denied that Trogus was also influenced by Timagenes. "Many of the historians, of whom recent scholarship has found traces in the *Philippic History*," Heckel points out, "may have been known to Trogus through this intermediary … It would be surprising that Timagenes' work, completed shortly before Trogus set about creating his own in Latin, did not influence, or, indeed, form the basis of the latter."[57]

After his presentation of the Exodus from an Egyptian point of view, Trogus returns to his Jewish source, and, with little respect for geography, states that "Moyses, having reached Damascus, his ancestral home, took possession of Mount Sinai."[58] No mention is made of the promulgation of the Law. Instead, it is said that the Jews fast on Sabbath ("Moyses … consecrated the seventh day … for a fast day"),[59] a statement that is found also in the work of Strabo.[60] The

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Antike Vorstellungen vom Judentum: der Judenexkurs des Tacitus im Rahmen der griechisch-römischen Ethnographie, Historia Einzelschriften 160 (Stuttgart: F. Steiner, 2002), 58n96.

52 See Erich S. Gruen, "The Use and Abuse of the Exodus Story," *Jewish History* 12 (1998): 98.

53 *Historiae Phil. Epitoma*, 2.12.

54 See the works of Seel, Richter, Forni-Bertinelli, Urban, and Malitz cited by Heckel, "Introduction," 31.

55 See Frank W. Walbank, "Livy, Macedonia and Alexander," in *Ancient Macedonian Studies in Honor of Charles F. Edson*, ed. Harry J. Dell (Thessaloniki: Institute for Balkan Studies, 1981), 352–4; David Rokeah, "Ancient Jewish Proselytism in Theory and in Practice," *Theologische Zeitschrift* 52 (1996): 292–3n46; the works cited by Buckler, "The Actions of Philip II," 385n41 and Heckel, "Introduction," 30–1.

56 Forni and Bertinelli, "Pompeo Trogo come fonte di storia," 1347nn298–303.

57 Heckel, "Introduction," 31, 33.

58 *Historiae Phil. Epitoma*, 2.14. On other possible reasons lying behind this statement, see Gager, *Moses*, 52.

59 *Historiae Phil. Epitoma*, 2.14.

60 While dealing with the conquest of Jerusalem by Pompey, Strabo states that "Pompey seized the city, it is said, after watching for the day of fasting, when the Judeans were abstaining from all work" (*Geographica*, XVI.2, 40 = Stern, *Greek and Latin Authors*, no. 115). Stern