A Commentary on the Various References to the Jews in Latin Literature from Cicero to Seneca

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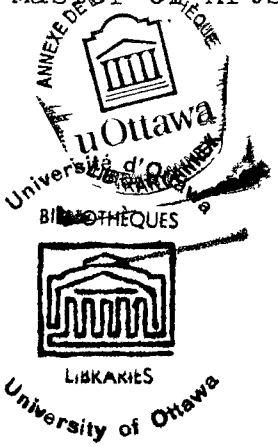

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Preface

Graetz, Dubnov, Baron and Roth are but a few of the prominent scholars, since the early part of the nineteenth century, who have dealt with Jewish history in its entirety. Too often, however, universal histories of the Jewish people do not devote a sufficient amount of space to a detailed study of the condition of the Jews during the Hellenistic and Roman periods. Consequently, many historians have sought to rectify this situation. For instance, Bentwich, Radin and Tcherikover have shed some light on Jewish-Greek relations in the years following Alexander's death, while Shürer and Juster were among the first to present a comprehensive account of the Jews in Roman times. Jean Juster was a French lawyer and it is from that standpoint that he studied the legal, economic and social conditions of the Jews in the Roman Empire. His detailed commentaries on various topics in addition to his copious notes clearly show his mastery of the whole ancient and modern literature up to his day bearing upon the subject. His volumes treat three main topics, namely, the Jewish privileges, the life of the Jews in the Diaspora and the individual conditions of the Jews in private and public law and in social and economic life. Juster's massive work is still generally considered to be the stand-

ard authority for the legal status of the Jews in the Roman Empire. Another prominent classicist who has made significant contributions in the field of Jewish and Roman studies is H. J. Leon. Many of his articles, which date from the 1920's, have since been incorporated in his recent general study of the Jews of ancient Rome. The great value of Leon's book lies in the fact that it is based to a great extent on inscriptional data, derived mainly from the Jewish catacombs of Rome. In his book Leon does not generally go into any detail, but he often summarizes and examines the opinions of previous commentators on the many problems which arise in his subject. The result is a lucid and compact scholarly work. An extensive and annotated bibliography in addition to numerous footnotes are a valuable aid for those who wish to have a deeper look at the problems.

Some of the previous works directly bearing on the subject of the thesis remain to be mentioned. The growing interest in Jewish history during the nineteenth century also inspired a few historically-minded authors to collect references to the Jews in classical literature. Two of the most noteworthy early attempts were made by Rev. Dr. Giles and J. Gill in 1854 and 1872 respectively. These compilations are now quite antiquated; they contain too many gaps and provide too few constructive commentaries to be of any value. By far the most comprehensive list of extracts

relating to all aspects of Judaism found in classical literature is still the one that was compiled by T. Reinach in 1895. Reinach cited the original Greek or Latin text where some aspect of Judaism was mentioned and then gave a corresponding French translation. Although at times his explanatory notes are copious, they usually give too little information about the authors and the milieu in which each of them wrote. Moreover, despite the comprehensive nature of his work, he left out some references. H. Willrich, in his review of Reinach's book, was the first to point this out and made some additions of his own. Lastly, another prominent scholar in the field of Jewish and Roman history has been J. A. Hild. In his series of articles on the treatment of the Jews by Roman authors, published in the 1880's, he rightly gave serious thought to the social and political context of each reference to the Jews. Hild's study is the first of its kind; his opinion is often cited in the footnotes of Reinach's book. However, Hild selected only the best known Roman authors for his commentary on references to Jews in Roman literature.

In the light of all these previous studies, it is the aim of this thesis to examine all types of references to Jews found in the works of Latin authors during the period c. 70 B.C.E. to c. 70 C.E. In general the method of approach is similar to the one used by Hild. Each author is taken

separately and each reference to Jews or some aspect of Judaism is usually considered in the light of the political and social context in which it was written. The length of each discussion varies according to the extent of the information presented by the passage on hand; in some instances, the discussion also takes into account relevant information about the author whose passage is being treated. With this method of approach the thesis is essentially a series of separate essays on each Roman literary reference pertaining to any aspect of Judaism.

The sketch presented in the introductory chapter about the diplomatic relations between Judaea and Rome in the years following the Maccabean revolt is based to a great extent on the biblical first two Books of the Maccabees. The other prominent Jewish sources used as background information for various other parts of the thesis are Josephus and to a lesser extent Philo, the famous Jewish philosopher from Alexandria. A few words might be said about the degree of credibility of these sources.

In respect to the information found in I Maccabees, scholarly opinion is that in general it is reliable and clearly based on historical facts. The author of I Maccabees was in all probability a Jew from Jerusalem. Despite his ardent devotion to Judaism in conjunction with his support of the national movement of the Maccabees, his aim in writing

his book is plainly historical. In sharp contrast, however, to I Maccabees, II Maccabees is marred by an explicit religious interpretation. For this reason this particular book, from which only two passages are cited in the thesis, is considered much less trustworthy than I Maccabees.

There are four extant works of Josephus and it would be impossible here to give a complete critical review of each of these works. These works were written at different times and their composition was occasioned by separate events; moreover, the excellence of their literary style varies considerably. If, therefore, one is to evaluate the credibility of Josephus in the briefest terms possible, the following may be taken as the general scholarly opinion on the subject. The conditions under which Josephus wrote his first major work, the Bellum Iudaicum, and the apparent motive for writing it would make certain sections of the account somewhat suspicious as to its reliability. Josephus' magnum opus, the Antiquitates Iudaicae, was written some sixteen years after the publication of his first major work. In contrast to this work the Antiquitates are not coloured by the tint of Roman bias; here Josephus was writing more as a Jewish historian and apologist for the social and religious ways of his people. Josephus' Vita seems likely to have been an appendix to the Antiquitates. It is less a biography than an attack on those who criticized the author's own activities

in Galilee during the Jewish War with Rome. Josephus' last work is the so-called Contra Apionem. It is perhaps the most interesting of his works and certainly very valuable historically. Here the author is again concerned with a defence of the antiquity of the Jews against the current anti-Jewish propaganda of his day. One of the chief merits of the Contra Apionem is the preservation of numerous passages from lost works. On the whole Josephus' works are frequently marred by inconsistencies and certain problems arising from faulty chronology. But in spite of these and other defects his works provide much valuable information on both the Jews and Romans not otherwise found in the traditional mainstream of Greek and Roman sources. Josephus is used in the thesis mainly as background information, as in the introductory chapter to supplement the account of I Maccabees and in the following chapters when there is a need to relate official Roman position vis-à-vis Jews or Judaea at different epochs.

The passages cited from Philo are relatively few. As in the case with the citations from Josephus, there is no important reason to question the trustworthiness of the information presented by these sources. The nature of the thesis did not require references to the more controversial points in the historical works of either of these Jewish writers.

Extant references to the Jews in Roman literature begin with Cicero. From this period to the advent of the Christian

emperors one finds that almost all the major Roman writers mention Jews or some aspect of Judaism, at least incidentally. Within the scope of the thesis it was possible to find about forty different passages gathered from the works of nineteen authors. Most of these extant statements about Jews are voiced by literary men who generally represent the educated and more sophisticated higher classes of Roman society. One should not , however, deny outrightly that these passages represent general Roman opinion, for one can say the same about any other topic one chooses to study from the records of ancient literature. The fact of the matter, at least in respect of the subject matter of this thesis, is that Roman writers not only represent their own class prejudice against Jews, but more often represent the opinion of the general public. One must not forget too that while the sources point to a marked disdain for Jews in all classes of society, the same sources also criticize the increasing influence that Jewish practices had over Romans from different walks of life. So however Jews are portrayed, the fact remains that references to them do exist in prose and poetry, and this itself ought to be a sufficiently important reason to consult and study these passages.

The question then, of how reliable the sources are, will figure in the commentary on each of the major references. When Cicero speaks of Jews in a forensic speech like the

Pro Flacco, the rhetorical aspect of his statements is generally kept in mind. This is not to say, however, that all the information Cicero presents cannot be trusted, as will become clear from the detailed discussion of that work in Chapter II. Many other passages about Jews are from the satirists Horace, Persius and Petronius. The statements which the Roman satirists present are exaggerated in order to fit the literary genre in which they are expressed, but it is generally accepted that Roman satire reflects contemporary situations. It is obvious that satirists may falsify the main subject of their satire, but incidental remarks like the ones pertaining to Jews are likely to be truthful. This is not of course to say that the satirists cannot at times be ignorant or make mistakes, as will often be pointed out in the discussion. Some minor passages discussed in the thesis come from the works of so-called technical writers like Columella, Pomponius Mela and Celsus who wrote respectively on agriculture, geography and medicine. The very nature of these sources does not necessitate a critical evaluation of their reliability. Lastly, the only major writers whose statements may in part be considered questionable due to confusion in the text and/or lack of direct transmission of the text are Pomponius Trogus, Valerius Maximus and Suetonius. The major difficulties which arise from the passages of these writers are mentioned in the respective commentaries.

For the most part, the texts cited from Greek and Latin authors and their equivalent English translations were based on those found in the Loeb Classical Library. The texts of Macrobius and Justin were taken from Classique Garnier. The Greek citations from the Books of the Maccabees were taken from Septuaginta: Vetus Testamentum Graecum Auctoritate Academiae Litterarum Gottingensis editum: IX/I Maccabaeorum Liber I, IX/2 Maccabaeorum Liber II, ed., Werner Kappler, 2nd ed. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck, Ruprecht, 1967). The English translations of biblical passages were taken from The Oxford Annotated Bible with the Apocrypha, ed., H. G. May and B. M. Metzger, rev. standard version (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1965).

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Abbreviations

B.C.E.	=	Before the Christian Era.
C.E.	=	Christian Era.
Hild, REJ 8 (1884) and 11 (1885)	=	J.A. Hild, "Les Juifs à Rome devant l'opinion et dans la littérature," Revue des Etudes Juives, 8 (1884), 1-37; 11 (1885), 18-59, 161-194.
Josephus, A.	=	Antiquitates Iudaicae.
Ap.	=	Contra Apionem.
B.	=	Bellum Iudaicum.
V.	=	Vita.
Juster I, or II	=	J. Juster, Les Juifs dans l'empire romain, leur condition juridique, économique et sociale, 2 vols. (1914; rpt. New York: Franklin, 1965).
Leon	=	H.J. Leon, The Jews of Ancient Rome (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1960).
Macc.	=	Books of the Maccabees.
Philo, Flacc.	=	In Flaccum.
Leg.	=	De Legatione ad Gaium.
Radin	=	M. Radin, The Jews among the Greeks and the Romans (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1915).
Reinach, Textes	=	T. Reinach, Textes d'auteurs grecs et romains relatifs au Judaïsme (1895; rpt. Hildesheim, Olms, 1963).

Contents

Chapter I

Introduction

The Jews were only one of the many foreign peoples with whom the Romans came into contact. Yet, after the Greeks and Asiatics they were probably the group most frequently referred to by Roman writers in their jibes against aliens. A study of Roman literary opinion about Jews really forms part of a greater problem, namely that of Roman feelings toward foreigners in general. Although the scope of this thesis does not permit a complete critical history of the development of Roman attitudes toward foreigners, a few general remarks on the subject are necessary in order to present a framework within which Roman observations on the Jews can be viewed. The second part of this chapter will focus on the four known diplomatic treaties that were concluded between Rome and Judaea during the second century B.C.E. The third part will include a brief consideration of the earliest Jewish presence in Rome.

a) General Roman Attitude Toward Foreigners

Almost throughout the Republican period and certainly during the first centuries of the period of the emperors, the Romans generally maintained a traditional hostility toward foreigners and non-Roman ways of life. On the one hand, this feeling was reflected, in varying degrees for different epochs, by the official actions of successive governments. It is even possible to trace a contemptuous attitude toward non-Romans as far back as the very early days of the Republic. The way in which Rome's confederation of Italian states was established reveals to some extent the gradual feeling of superiority that came to prevail in the minds of the Romans. The bloody revolt of the Italians at the beginning of the first century B.C.E. demonstrates clearly that all was not well with Rome's overall treatment of her foreign allies.

Roman contempt for foreigners can perhaps best be seen through literary opinion about all types of alien peoples who came to be incorporated into Rome's empire. When shortly after the Second Punic War many Romans became infatuated with everything Greek, a violent reaction to the philhellenists was initiated by M. Porcius Cato whose narrow-minded conservatism led him to attack everything

that was foreign to traditional Roman manners.[1] Cato's influence was significant because his extreme pro-Roman attitude set an example for all later politicians and writers who desired to uphold the traditional ideals of Romanism.

After about 185 B.C.E. one can discern a definite shift in Roman foreign policy.[2] The liberal attitudes initiated by Flamininus and the Scipios were being discarded for the more callous and calculating diplomatic means advocated by Cato and his conservative followers. Henceforth, Rome became increasingly more practical in dealing with foreigners. Foreign affairs were to be entered in earnest only if Roman gain would be certain. As Roman supremacy in the East was finally secured after the Macedonian defeat at Pydna in 168 B.C.E., the brutality of the new Roman policy became more evident. The devastation of Epirus,[3] the punishment of Rhodes in 167,[4]

[1]See Plutarch, Cato Maior VII.7; IX.1-4; XII.1-5; XIII.1-4; XXVI.1; XXVII.1-4.

[2]See Livy, XLII.47.1-9.

[3]Livy, XLV.33.8-34.6.

[4]Livy, XLV.24.9-25.4.

the atrocities committed in Spain during the following decade[5] and the ruthless destruction of both Carthage and Corinth in 146 B.C.E. are some of the major incidents of the second century that reflect the rapacious and arrogant mood of the Roman conquerors.

But in spite of the ever changing attitudes of successive governments, foreigners, whether free men or slaves, kept coming to Rome. And as their numbers grew, so did traditional Roman prejudice against them become greater. The general opinion of most Roman men of letters of the Late Republic and Early Empire expressed an inherent dislike for what was non-Roman.

Of all the Roman historians, Livy, writing at a time when the whole Mediterranean world was under Roman rule and at peace under Augustus, was probably the most patriotic in outlook. The prevalent feeling of his day that Rome's greatness had been destined by the gods and that Romans were thus superior to others is easy to understand.[6] In characterizing the early enemies of Rome, Livy showed nothing but contempt and prejudice. In describing such national groups as the Volsci, Etruscans, Campanians and

[5]Appian, Roman History VI.10.59-60; destruction of Numantia: VI.14.84-15.98.

[6]See his Preface 7; cf. I.16.7.

Samnites, he too often made sweeping generalizations.[7] Likewise, it is possible to reproach him for making biased and sweeping inferences about non-Italians, in particular the Gauls, Greeks, Carthaginians and Syrians.[8] On the other hand, Livy's moral preoccupation and patriotic outlook led him to regard the leaders of his own countrymen in a totally different light. A less than generous account of the national character of Rome's enemies was given whereas the virtues of prominent Romans were idealized.[9]

If Livy's testimony typifies the attitudes of a sophisticated Roman historian during the Augustan period, Cicero, as both lawyer and politician, gives an even better glimpse of the prejudiced attitude of the Roman public at large toward foreigners for the periods of the Late Republic and Early Empire. Cicero did not refrain from leveling frequent shafts against all types of aliens,

[7]See especially II.22.3; II.37.4; VII.27.7; IX.29.5; VII.29.5; VII.31.6; IX.6.5; XXIII.4.1; VII.29.1 and 5; IX.13.7.

[8]VIII.14.9; V.44.6; V.47.3; X.27.4; VIII.22.8; XXX.44.9; XXIX.12.4; XXXI.41.7f; XXXVIII.1.4; XXII.6.12; XXII.22.15; XXI.4.9; XXXV.49.8; XXXVI.17.5; XLIX.5.

[9]Note especially III.26.7; V.26.8; V.55.1; V.57.1f; VI.24.6; VI.26.1f; XII.9.7; XII.12.6; XII.29.3; XXII.18.9; XXII.23.2; XXII.25.14; XXII.29.1; XXX.26.9; XXII.53.6; XXII.53.10; XXVI.18.6; XXVI.51.18; XXVIII.27.9f.

both publicly and privately. His envenomed tongue did not even spare the Greeks for whom he had mixed feelings and whose culture at times he found cause to praise. Cicero's derogatory remarks about foreigners can be cited from many of his diverse writings.[10]

What can be said on Cicero's and Livy's biased statements about foreigners can be repeated for almost every major Roman writer who followed, from Seneca and Martial to such diverse literary figures as the Younger Pliny, Tacitus and Juvenal. Thus from the days of Cato the Censor it is possible to trace an almost continuous trend in Roman sentiment which clearly expresses contempt and disdain for foreigners.[11]

The significant aspect to note about the prejudice of the Romans, at least prior to the advent of Christian influences, is that it almost never went beyond feelings of cultural superiority.[12] This fact is evident despite

[10]See e.g. Pro Fonteio 4, 12-15, 23, 26-27, 30-36, 44, 46, 49; Pro Scauro 13, 15, 17, 20, 40-44; Pro Flacco 5-6, 8-12, 19-20, 23-24, 27, 57, 61, 99-100; Tusc. Disp. I.1-6; I.86; II.35; Ad Att. VII.18; Ad Fam. VII.24.1.2; XIII.78.1; XVI.4.2; Ad QFr. I.1.7; I.1.16; I.2.4.

[11]See A.N. Sherwin White, Racial Prejudice in Imperial Rome (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1967).

[12]Ibid, pp.1 and 101; Radin, pp. 48-55; T.J. Haarhoff, The Stranger at the Gate, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Blackwell, 1948), pp. 126-137, 216-221; S. Davis, Race Relations in Ancient Egypt: Greek, Egyptian, Hebrew, Roman, 2nd ed. (London: Methuen, 1951), Introductions to 1st and 2nd ed.

the bitterest remarks of a Cato or a Juvenal. In Cato's case, one should recall that it was said that he eventually learned Greek, and as for Juvenal, his satires show that he could be as critical of debased Romans who let outsiders replace them as of strangers who usurped traditional Roman positions. For all their imperialistic mentality, the Romans do not seem to have shared the narrow, classical Greek concept of race. Plato and Aristotle, for instance, both gave voice to the Greek notion of aloofness and separateness, regarding all non-Greeks as barbarians who were racially inferior to themselves and therefore suitable only for slavery.[13] There is almost nothing in extant Latin literature comparable to these extreme viewpoints. Moreover, there is concrete evidence to show that the Romans never shared the Aristotelian principle of race. A certain Roman generosity toward aliens was displayed in the frequent granting of full citizenship rights to whoever was genuinely willing to adopt Roman ways. One must also take into account the numerous manumissions of slaves of any nationality[14] which occurred for a considerable period of time in Roman history.

[13]Plato, Republic V.469c; Aristotle, Politics I.2-8.

[14] Provided they were hellenized slaves.

Still, one is left with the problem of how to explain clear expressions of Roman dislike for non-Romans. In a sense this sentiment is understandable. One can argue that it is almost a natural consequence of all imperialistic powers to regard their subjects as inferior to themselves. In the very early stages of its development the Roman attitude toward foreigners was somewhat more generous than at the time Roman hegemony in Italy became definitely secure. Numerous well known examples from Rome's legendary past can be cited to demonstrate that strangers were at first welcomed and not disdained.[15] There is also the of Varro, the noted antiquarian of the Late Republic, that hostis, the usual word for enemy, originally only referred to a foreigner.[16] Varro, however, did not say why this became so; the explanation may simply have been too obvious to his readers. The gradual change of the original meaning of the word hostis, from foreigner to enemy, probably reflects the time when the Romans did not consider themselves superior to their neighbours. But as Roman arms became repeatedly successful, both in Italy and abroad, it was a logical step to evolve a certain feeling of national superiority. Be that

[15] See e.g. Livy I.8.6; I.18.4, cf. Cic., De Re Pub. II.25; Livy I.24.6.

[16] De Lingua Latina V.3.

as it may, it should again be stressed that Roman temperament never lent itself to the extreme theoretical concepts of racial purity and exclusiveness expounded by some Greek writers and, it might be added, a few nineteenth and twentieth century idealists. This distinction is important to keep in mind when one considers the opinions expressed by Roman writers about all matters pertaining to the Jews and their way of life.

b) First Official Roman Contacts With Judaea

Since Judaea was situated in what may loosely be called the Mediterranean area, the Judaeans were almost bound to come into contact with the superior Romans. At first glance they should not have been regarded by the Romans as any different from other foreigners of the East. But just as the Romans were a proud and on the whole conservative people, so by comparison were the Jews, who had for a long time regarded themselves as their god's chosen people. Moreover, the Jews' religious beliefs, which were so intertwined with their social and political lives, doubtlessly made the Jews conspicuous in the eyes of the Romans.

Unlike the experience of most foreign nations of the eastern half of the empire, Judaea's first experiences with Rome were peaceful. Indeed, for a little over a hundred

years, from the days of the Maccabean uprising down to Pompey's entry into Jerusalem, the Jews of Palestine were regarded by the Romans as their friends and allies. The initial treaties which bound Judaea and Rome together are therefore not only important in themselves, but for the purpose of this thesis, provide a fitting historical background for a commentary on references to the Jews in the writings of Roman writers. Unfortunately, extant Latin literature is almost silent[16 a] about Rome's earliest and formal contacts with Judaea. In order to have some idea then of the nature of these diplomatic relations one must inevitably have recourse to non-Roman sources and to the testimony presented by the Jewish historian of the first century, Flavius Josephus.

After Alexander the Great's death, Palestine became a pawn in the imperial struggles that raged almost continually between the Ptolemaic and Seleucid realms. At first, for a little over a hundred years, Judaea was controlled by the Macedonian regime in Alexandria. Then, at the Battle of Paneas in 198 B.C.E. it fell under the victorious Syrian armies and thus became a part of the Seleucid empire. The conditions under which Judaea was in turn subjected by these foreign intruders do not

16 a Note especially Pompeius Trogus in Justin XXXVI.3.9: "A Demetrio quum descivissent, amicitia Romanorum petita, primi omnium ex Orientalibus libertatem acceperunt, facile tunc Romanis de alieno largientibus."

directly concern the present subject matter.[17] It is sufficient to note that it was under the reign of the Seleucid king Antiochus IV Epiphanes in c. 166 B.C.E. that the Jews revolted against their Syrian overlords. Pockets of resistance throughout the Judaean countryside under the leadership of Mattathias and his sons of the priestly Hasmonean family eventually expelled the Syrian garrisons.[18] It was shortly after the initial Jewish rebellion that Judaeo-Roman relations formally began.

Upon the death of Mattathias in c. 166-165 B.C.E. his son Judah, surnamed the Maccabee ("the Hammer"), succeeded him as leader of the Judaeans. After some initial successes, Judah decided in 161 to seek an alliance with Rome. I Maccabees is the principal source on the matter and the information it gives concerning this first Judaeo-Roman alliance is interesting.

The first aspect to note in the Maccabean account is that its author felt it necessary to include a rather lengthy preamble to the description of the terms of the treaty itself. This introduction put much emphasis on the

[17]For a very lucid account of political developments in Judaea after the death of Alexander, see V. Tcherikover, Hellenistic Civilization and the Jews, trans. S. Applebaum (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1966). See also the bibliographical appendices of the Loeb Classical Library's edition of Josephus' Antiquitates.

[18]I Macc. IIff; Jos., A. XII.265ff.

great fame and might of the Romans. The Romans portrayed as a people who were always willing and ready to have friendly relations with any foreigners who sought an alliance with them.[19] In order no doubt better to emphasize Rome's military power, the author of I Maccabees then proceeds to list the more spectacular of Rome's successes of the second century.[20] After this catalogue of Roman triumphs, praise is given to the Romans' republican form of government and their strong leanings toward democracy.[21] To the rebellious Judaeans of the Maccabean period, as keen observers of world events, the reputed high moral and political qualities of the Romans added to the impact created by their recent victories in the East must have been very impressive and indeed even have aroused admiration. So, the author of I Maccabees relates that upon hearing of Rome's famous reputation Judah decided to initiate diplomatic relations between Rome and his country. Although I Maccabees does not allude to it, the friendly attitude displayed "to the people of the Jews" by two Roman envoys on their way to

[19] I Macc. VIII.1.

[20] I Macc. VIII.2-13.

[21] I Macc. VIII.14-16.

Antioch in 164 B.C.E. may also have influenced Judah's decision.[22] At any rate, he eventually chose two of his friends and sent them on the long journey to Rome. In the words of the Maccabean text, their mission was "to establish friendship and alliance "[23] with the Romans. The next detail related in the Maccabean account appears to be the immediate reason why the secessionist Jews sought an alliance with Rome. They wanted "to free themselves from the yoke; for they saw that the kingdom of the Greeks was completely enslaving Israel."[24] It follows from this statement that the rebellious Jews still considered their political situation precarious and that an alliance with Rome was seen at the time to be to their advantage. Under the circumstances this was no doubt the case. In contrast to the Maccabean account, however, Josephus does not directly mention any underlying motive which provoked the Palestinian Jews to seek an alliance with the Romans. After giving a slightly fuller list of Roman victories than merely the Maccabean text, Josephus implies that upon hearing

[22] II Macc. II.34-38.

[23] I Macc. VIII.17: "καὶ ἀπεστειλεν αὐτοὺς εἰς Ῥώμην στῆσαι φιλίαν καὶ συμμαχίαν."

[24] I Macc. VIII.18: "καὶ τοῦ ἆραι τὸν ζυγὸν ἀπ' αὐτῶν, ὅτι εἶδον τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν Ἑλλήνων καταδουλουμενους τὸν Ισραηλ δουλείᾳ."

of these conquests Judah decided to make a treaty with Rome.[25] The closest to which Josephus comes to the explicit statement of I Maccabees VIII.18 is when he says that the Jewish envoys were also to ask the Senate "to write to Demetrius that he should not make war on the Jews."[26] This sentence of Josephus, in fact, corroborates the passage of I Maccabees which was placed after its own description of the terms of the treaty and referred to a message, supposedly sent by the Roman government to the Seleucid king Demetrius, to the effect that, since Judaea was now Rome's ally, the Romans would defend the sovereignity of the Jews against any Syrian aggression.[27]

When the two Judàean envoys arrived in Rome they proposed to the Senate that the Jewish people be accepted among Rome's allies and friends. The Senators for their part cordially received these Jewish ambassadors and gave a favourable reply to their requests by agreeing to sign a treaty with their nation. According to the Maccabean

[25] A. XII.414: " ἐγνω φιλίαν ποιήσασθαι πρὸς αὐτούς ."

[26] A. XII.415: " καὶ Δημητρίῳ γράψαι ὅπως μὴ πολεμῇ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις ."

[27] I Macc. VIII.31-32.

tradition, the original document was inscribed on bronze tablets in order to commemorate the alliance and was then set up in Jerusalem. Josephus, on the other hand, notes that the bronze tablets which recorded the decree concerning the alliance remained in the Capitol and that only a copy of the original decree was sent to Judaea.[28]

The terms of the accord between the two governments are mentioned by both I Maccabees and Josephus. Except for minor differences the two accounts agree. The author of I Maccabees quotes a copy of the letter which the Roman Senators wrote in reply to the Judaean ambassadors and which was supposed to have been sent to Jerusalem engraved on bronze tablets, whereas Josephus claims to be quoting directly from the text of the treaty. On the basis of the literary evidence one must regard the first official pact between Rome and the state of Judaea as a bilateral defense agreement, in other words, a foedus aequum. It is important to bear in mind that in Roman history the foedus aequum had become a rare occurrence, especially after the Romans destroyed the Latin League in 338 B.C.E. The character of a Roman foedus aequum has been defined by Sherwin White as essentially "a defensive

[28] I Macc. VIII.17-22; Jos., A. XII.416.

alliance of equal partners."[29] The provisions of the first Judaeo-Roman accord stipulated that if ever one of the contracting parties found itself at war with, or was attacked by, some foreign state, the other party promised to assist its partner with a supply of "grain, arms, money and ships." Likewise, absolutely no assistance was allowed to be given to the enemy of either one of the contracting parties.[30] Thus both the Maccabean source and Josephus leave very little doubt as to the basically political nature of this alliance.

Contrary to general opinion[31] W. Wirgen[32] has recently argued that Judah's ambassadors did not go to Rome to conclude a political treaty, but were only there to formulate a commercial agreement. Wirgen, however, fails to observe closely some obvious facts presented by the literary evidence and which cannot therefore be easily ignored. For instance, both the author of I Maccabee and Josephus, whose testimony Wirgen seemingly ignores,

[29] The Roman Citizenship (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1939), p. 114.

[30] I Macc. VIII.23-30; Jos., A. XII.417-18.

[31] See T. Liebmann-Frankfort, "Rome et le conflit Judéo-Syrien (164-161 avant notre ère)", L'Antiquité Classique, 38 (1969), 101-120, and the literature there cited. On the genuinenes of the treaties mentioned in the First Book of the Maccabees, see also A. Penna, "Διαθήκη e συνθήκη nei libri dei Maccabei", Biblica, 46 (1965), 149-180.

[32] "Judah Maccabee's Embassy to Rome and the Jewish-Roman Treaty", Palestine Exploration Quartely, 101 (1969), 15-20.

discusses throughout Judah's treaty with Rome within a strictly political context. This is a feature which is unmistakeably clear in their respective narratives. The relatively long preamble in the Maccabean account which deals with Rome's military and political fame would certainly be out of place if it were originally intended to introduce the discussion of a purely commercial agreement. Furthermore, there is no logic in thinking that the rebellious Judaeans in their first official encounter with the mighty Roman government, should have sought primarily commercial relations. The fact that the first Judaeo-Roman treaty was felt by both sides to be sufficiently important to merit a commemoration on bronze tablets would also suggest that the agreement was motivated primarily by political considerations which at the time were vital to the interests of both sides. If indeed commercial agreements were eventually worked out between Judah's ambassadors and Roman officials, as Wirgen wishes to maintain, it is more likely that this would have been possible only as a result of political recognition.

It was noted above that I Maccabees VIII.31-32 alludes to an official Roman letter which was forwarded to King Demetrius, warning him not to molest Judaea. The said postscript in fact, as found in the Maccabean text, is lumped together with the description of the provisions of

the treaty agreed to by Judah's envoys and the Roman authorities. Josephus,who claims to have quoted the exact words of the treaty, makes no mention of this Roman epistle in his account of the provisions of the treaty. In the strict context of the treaty his omission of the said postscript, though perhaps genuine, was most probably correct. For shortly after this Judaeo-Roman alliance was concluded, King Demetrius resumed hostilities with Judaea. In the ensuing struggles Judah was killed and the Syrians succeeded in regaining a foothold in their former province. There is no evidence to suggest that the Romans helped their Judaean allies. As Liebmann-Frankfort and others have observed, Rome's aid to the Jews of Palestine never went beyond verbal and diplomatic promises. Immediately after Macedon's defeat in 168 B.C.E. Rome was probably not yet in a position to interfere directly against the Seleucids. The idea was to maintain an eastern foreign policy with as little military force as possible. Thus Rome was always ready to approve any secessionist movement like the Judaeans' in order to weaken the internal fabric of the Seleucid Empire. In encouraging such revolutionary movements the Romans let it be known to the Seleucids that whatever their policies were, they had to reckon with Rome's power. The first Roman treaty with Judaea ought to be judged in this light. Moreover, it has been said that although Judah's alliance with Rome was his "greatest success", it soon"became the immediate cause

of his downfall."[33] Evidently the Syrians could tolerate temporarily the victories of a rebellious chieftain with the intention of eventually putting down the secessionist movement when the time was suitable for them to act. But when the Judaeans sought, and then readily received, the protection of Rome, the Seleucid government determined to strike hard against the rebels without any further delay, hence Judah's sudden fall.

In about 160 or 159 B.C.E. Jonathan was chosen to replace his brother Judah as leader of the nationalist Jews.[34] Due to the internal political divisions within the Seleucid realm, Jonathan was able to retain his otherwise precarious leading position in Judaea, by playing one rival Syrian leader against another. In 143 or 142 B.C.E., after he had finally overcome the Syrians, he decided that the time was favourable to send ambassadors to Italy in order to confirm and renew the former friendship and alliance with the Romans.[35]

The provisions of this second Judaeo-Roman treaty are unknown. Neither I Maccabees nor Josephus has anything

[33]E. Bickerman, The Maccabees, trans. M. Hadas (New York: Schoken Books, 1947), p. 56F.

[34]I Macc. IX.28-31; Jos., A. XIII.5-6.

[35]I Macc. XII.3; Jos., A. XIII.163.

in particular to remark about the agreement except that it took place. All that is known is that after the pact was signed the Romans assured Jonathan's envoys a safe conduct back to their homeland.[36]

The rather brief notation in the sources may well indicate that the Romans saw no reason to add anything new to the agreement which they had concluded with Judah Maccabeus almost twenty years earlier. It is clear though that the Romans were still eager to exploit every opportunity to weaken the Seleucid Empire even more. But experience may also have made them realize that Jonathan's recent victories, like his brother Judah's before him, might not be permanent. For indeed a short time after Jonathan's treaty with Rome was confirmed, the Seleucid king Demetrius II returned with a larger army to attack Judaea.[37] Eventually Jonathan was captured and then treacherously killed. Thereupon, the nationalist Jews elected his brother Simon to lead them in a renewed struggle against the Syrians.[38]

[36] I Macc. XII.4; Jos., A. XIII.165.

[37] I Macc. XII.24ff; Jos., A. XIII.174ff.

[38] I Macc. XII.46ff; Jos., A. XIII.191ff; 201ff.

Simon's military prowess finally brought about his country's political independence. In 139 B.C.E., namely, after his definitive victory over the Seleucid King, a third treaty was signed by representatives of his government and Roman officials. Strangely enough Josephus gives no details about this particular treaty. Perhaps the reason may be that at this point in his narrative Josephus depended on a different source.[39] At any rate, at the very end of his account of Simon's exploits, he simply writes that Simon had "also made an alliance with the Romans."[40] One must inevitably go to the Maccabean account for the general content of this treaty and for an appraisal of its historical significance.

According to the text of I Maccabees the Jewish envoys saw to it that they were entrusted with letters addressed to all of Judaea's neighbouring states. The contents of these letters were apparently the same for all. As an example the Maccabean source quoted the one that was addressed to the Egyptian monarch. It specified clearly that the Roman government had cordially received Simon's ambassadors and that it had renewed its "ancient friendship

[39]See the appropriate notes in the Loeb edition of Josephus' A., vol. VII.

[40]Jos., A. XIII.227: " ποιησάμενος καὶ αὐτὸς πρὸς Ῥωμαίους συμμαχίαν ."

and alliance"[41] with the Jewish nation. Since Simon's government and high priesthood was also formally recognized by Rome and on account of Judaea's friendly relations with her, the Romans were now warning all foreign nations not to undertake any hostile action against their ally.[42] Clearly Simon's negotiations with Rome were more significant than the two previous talks the Jews had had with the Romans. For with this agreement Rome's recognition of Judaea as an independent and viable entity among the family of Mediterranean nations was apparently made more forceful than before. To all intents and purposes the state of Judaea was now consolidated. Henceforth Rome would have to deal with Judaea on a level of equality. The next agreement known to have been concluded between the Jewish and Roman nations bears witness to some extent to Judaea's strengthened political position.

The fourth Judaeo-Roman alliance took place under the rule of Simon's son and successor, John Hyrcanus I. Since both I and II Maccabees combined do not record events after this man's rise to power, one must rely on Josephus' testimony. It is not too clear though whether the events

[41]" τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς φιλίαν καὶ συμμαχίαν ."

[42]I Macc. XIV.24; XV.15-24.

of the treaty occurred in c. 132 or c. 105 B.C.E.[43] At any rate, according to Josephus, Jewish envoys were sent to Rome by John Hyrcanus in order to renew the old alliance which his country had with Rome. In addition, the Jewish embassy wanted the Romans to force the Seleucid king Antiochus VII to return to the Jews several cities along the Philistine coast which he had earlier captured from them. The Romans were also asked to exert pressure upon Antiochus

> to respect the sovereign territory of Judaea and abolish certain decrees which he had promulgated and which were apparently in defiance of the Roman Senate. It was suggested too that Roman envoys be especially despatched to Antiochus in order to force him to accept these Jewish demands and to supervise the restitution of territory lost by the Jews in their recent fight with the Syrians. Before leaving Rome the Jewish envoys made sure that the Roman government provided them with the usual letters addressed to various heads of state to facilitate their return journey home.[44] Thus by this time the Judaeans came to Rome less as suppliants but more as men determined to make the best of their country's old alliance with Rome.

[43]See the appropriate notes in the Loeb edition of Josephus' A., vol. VII.

[44]Jos., A. XIII.259-264.

After he quoted the words of the official document concerning the alliance, Josephus noted that the Senate did not deliberate immediately on the matters requested by the Judaean ambassadors, but decided to consider them at a later date.[45] In 136 B.C.E. the Romans had had to prevent the Syrians from completely overrunning Judaea after their reduction of Jerusalem. So clearly, the Senate had certain misgivings about intervening directly in another Judaeo-Syrian quarrel at this particular time. Although for the moment the Romans partly deferred their final decision, it seems that the Jews eventually got what they had asked for when possibly Hyrcanus sent a second diplomatic mission to Rome.[46] It is impossible to know how Judaeo-Roman relations fared after the death of John Hyrcanus in 104 B.C.E. There is no reason though to believe that the Romans did not continue to befriend the state of Judaea until Pompey's arrival in the East.

On the whole the literary evidence for Rome's diplomatic relations with the state of Judaea is sketchy. Yet certain

[45] *A.* XIII.265-266.

[46] This is the implication one gets from Jos., *A.* XIV.247ff. See the appropriate notes in the Loeb edition of Josephus' *A.*, vol. VII.

general observations can be drawn from these early contacts. Rome's support of Judaean nationalism from the early days of the Maccabean insurrection may not have brought her any outstanding and direct material gains. Nor for that matter can it be said that the Judaeans achieved their independence primarily as a result of concrete actions from Rome in the form of direct military intervention. But by openly showing concern for the rebellious actions of Judaea the Romans could indirectly aim another blow at Syrian power. On the other hand, to the secessionist Palestinians, the Roman treaties enabled them at the very least to boast of bonds of friendship with the most powerful nation in the Mediterranean world. Rome's friendly attitude toward Judaea may also have benefited the Jewish Diaspora. The Jews who lived outside Palestine were more likely to receive better treatment from their respective non-Jewish neighbours as a result of Rome's tacit support of an independent Jewish state. The official Roman letters which always accompanied Judaean ambassadors on their way home must have had some effect on the Greek world, especially where the Jews resided in sizeable communities. Indeed one can interpret such Roman actions as forming the religious and legal basis upon which Rome's generally tolerant attitude toward

the Jews began to evolve.[47]

From the days of the Maccabean revolt down to Pompey's appearance in Asia Minor, the Romans generally do not seem to have treated the state of Judaea much differently from other allied foreign nations. This attitude of course only represented the official policy of Roman governments. What individual Romans of this period thought of Judaea, or of Jews in particular, one can only conjecture.

If an educated Roman of the second and early first centuries B.C.E. did not read anything about the Jews in his own literature, he could certainly have done so in Greek literature. Greek comments about Jews, as Josephus demonstrated in his Contra Apionem for instance, were not always tainted with the usual prejudice. Some of the best known writers of the Hellenistic period showed a genuine interest and respect for Judaism. For example, to Theophrastus, a disciple of Aristotle, the Jews were regarded as nothing less than "a race of philosophers."[48]

[47]This point was also noted, but with different emphasis by S.W. Baron, A Social and Religious History of the Jews, 2nd ed. (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1952), I, 218f. He inclined to think that the direct benefit which the Jewish Diaspora derived resulted of the fact that "the Maccabean rulers represented a power in western Asia of which the expanding Roman republic had to take account."

[48]In Porphyry, De Abstinentia II.26.1 (= Reinach, Textes, p.8, sect. 1: "... ἅτε φιλόσοφοι τὸ γένος ὄντες ..." Note also Jos., Ap. I.166-167.

The Greek historian Polybius mentioned in the sixteenth book of his Histories that he had much to say about the Jews and their famous temple in Jerusalem in a later section of his work.[49] Unfortunately, his digression on the Jews has been lost. One may reasonably suppose that his treatment of the Maccabean uprising was fair and accurate, even though it is a fact that he disliked the Seleucid rulers, with the exception of Demetrius I. Polybius may even have used extant Hasmonean documents as part of his source material for his historical account of Judaea. But however vague and most often incorrect and biased was Greek opinion about Jews, Greek literature should not be overlooked as an important means by which the Romans had occasion to be introduced to Jewish thought. There may even have been some Romans of the second century, but certainly of the first century B.C.E. (e.g. Varro, Asinius Pollio) who at least heard about, if they did not actually read parts of, the famous Greek Septuagint from Alexandria. There is every reason to believe that like the Alexandrian Jews their Roman coreligionists used vernacular translations of the Holy Scriptures.[50]

[49]Noted by Jos., A. XII.135-136.

[50]Cf. Leon, p. 75ff; 246.

For lack of direct literary evidence in Latin literature private Roman opinion about Jews is difficult to determine before about the second half of the first century B.C.E. Certain basic generalizations can still be made, however, in conjunction with a consideration of the question of the date for the Jews' first appearance in Rome.

c) Approximate Date for Earliest Jewish Presence in Rome.

It is likely that prior to about 190 B.C.E., when Antiochus III the Great was defeated by the Romans at Magnesia and as a result lost most of Asia Minor, the Jews of Palestine, secluded as they were within the Seleucid empire, were not much known to the Romans. Serious interest in the Judaeans no doubt came about when the Roman government suddenly heard about some hitherto insignificant people who had dared to challenge their Syrian masters. The Maccabean account of the first official Roman encounter with Judaea suggests that the Jews of Palestine did not have any previous or, at best, direct acquaintance with Rome. In a sense this is easy to understand. Before the Maccabean revolt it is not likely that the Jews of Palestine would have been allowed by their Syrian masters to venture overseas, especially to Italy and the West, in any great number. Invariably, to the Palestinian Jews, Italy and the western half of the Mediterranean must certainly have been

regarded as very remote places. These factors then would not have led Judaeans to emigrate much during the Seleucid occupation of their country. Thus one can better appreciate the remark made by the author of I Maccabees that to Judah's envoys the journey to Rome was very long.[51] It is therefore perhaps safe to say that Roman knowledge about Judaea proper was almost nil prior to the Roman victory over the Syrians in 190, but that at some time between that date and 161 when Judah Maccabeus' representatives were officially received by the Roman Senate, Romans quickly learned that a recognizable national entity within the Seleucid realm was on the brink of revolt. What is also important to keep in mind is that one of the results of the Maccabean victory was to fill the minds of the Palestinian Jews with a great zeal to spread their faith to the outside world. In other words, political independence activated a profound spiritual enthusiasm on the Jews of this period. Much of the Hebraic apocalyptic literature of that epoch bears witness to the idea that the God of Israel was about to conquer the world.[52] Active proselytism necessitated emigration abroad and political freedom acquired by the

[51]I Macc. VIII.19.

[52]See N. Bentwich, Hellenism (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1919), pp. 98ff.

Maccabean revolt enabled the Palestinian Jews to travel freely to Italy and other parts of the world.

Of course, the earliest Jewish community in Rome or elsewhere in Italy may not necessarily have derived exclusively from Judaea. If the Romans may have known little about Judaea for a long time on account of its seclusion within the Ptolemaic and Seleucid empires respectively, they very likely had their first contacts with Jews from the Eastern Diaspora. A considerable number of Jews had for generations been living in North Africa, Egypt, the Greek islands, Paros, Delos, Cos, Crete, Melos and Cyprus. From early Christian sources one can infer too that many Jews lived in various major cities on the Greek mainland. In some areas of Asia Minor the Jewish population also seemed to have been quite large and of old standing, notably in Lydia, Phrygia, Ephesus, Smyrna and Phocaea. It should be remembered that toward the latter years of the second century and on to the first century B.C.E. Asia Minor found itself increasingly within the orbit of Rome, especially after the kingdom of Pergamum was handed over to the Roman people by the Attalids in 133 and also as a result of territories gained in the Mithridatic Wars. These events may well have brought to Rome some Jewish prisoners or simply have attracted a few adventurers and refugees. But even before roughly

130 B.C.E. as Rome gradually gained control of the Eastern Mediterranean, numerous Jewish synagogal communities inevitably came under her direct rule. Romans must have learned quickly how to differentiate the Iudaei from the other inhabitants and realized that their peculiar social and religious customs necessitated special treatment. "More than one provincial governor must have collected a few honest commissions from a people indiscreet enough to collect sums of considerable magnitude, as the Jews did for the support of the temple."[53]

Historical evidence shows that the Jews emigrated all over the Mediterranean world at a very early date.[54] This trend increased by the time the Judaeans began their revolt against the Seleucids in the 160's B.C.E. There is therefore no reason to believe that the city of Rome would not have attracted a fair number of Jewish immigrants from the Diaspora and refugees and prisoners of war from Palestine from the beginning of the second century so that by about 150 B.C.E., as in any other major city, the nucleus of a Jewish community was already established. It remains to look at the literary evidence available to support such a hypothesis.

[53]Radin, p. 216.

[54]See Juster I, pp. 179-212; Baron, op.cit. pp. 165ff.

According to Josephus King Agrippa II had warned the Judaeans during the latter years of Nero's reign that a war with Rome was not only suicidal for themselves but might have serious adverse repercussions on the more numerous Jewish Diaspora. In his address to the populace, Josephus made the King remark, "there is not a people in the world which does not contain a portion of our race."[55] In a passage of his book refuting Apion's charges against the Jews, Josephus himself stressed that there was "not one city, Greek or barbarian, nor a single nation, to which" various Jewish customs had not spread and were observed by many people.[56] These passages clearly testify to the fact that the Jews were widely scattered, but unfortunately do not give any precise dates for their emigration abroad, especially to Rome. More precise knowledge comes with evidence presented by Cicero's testimony.

Scholars today would deny Reinach's contention[57] that there were no Jews in Rome, and for that matter elsewhere in Italy and Sicily, well before the arrival of Pompey's

[55] B. II.398: " οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκου μένης δῆμος ὁ μὴ μοῖραν ἡμετέραν ἔχων ." For the same idea, cf. Philo, Leg. 214-217.

[56] Ap. II.282.

[57] "Quid Iudaeo cum Verre?", REJ, 26 (1893), 36-46; cf. also Textes, p. 238, n. 1.

Jewish prisoners of war in 62-61 B.C.E. The opposite of Reinach's claim is true even though Jews suddenly appear in Roman literature at about this time in the Late Republic. The whole tone of Cicero's remarks about Jews in the Pro Flacco can generally be compared with his other derogatory statements about Greeks and other foreigners even in the same oration. In the Pro Flacco Cicero was voicing the current and well-established common Roman prejudice against Greeks and other alien peoples, including the Jews. It follows then from his invectives that there already existed some hostile Roman feeling toward the Jews. Now whatever the general Roman attitude was in Cicero's day, it could only have been formulated as a result of some strong contacts with individual members of the Jewish community. This being the case it must therefore be presumed that these daily contacts among individuals were of long duration in order that a certain hostile feeling toward the Jews may have had time to develop and then become so firmly entrenched in the minds of the majority of ordinary Romans that it finally came to be reflected in literature. In other words, the first extant Roman references to Jews are such that they presuppose some general Roman contact and awareness of an already important Jewish community for the city of Rome by the time Cicero lived.

For the time of Sulla (c. 87-86 B.C.E.) Strabo was reported by Josephus to have alluded in a passage of his geographical treatise that "the habitable world was filled with Jews." Josephus then actually quoted Strabo who claimed that for his own day (i.e. the Augustan period) "this people has made its way into every city, and it is not easy to find any place in the habitable world which has not received this nation and in which it has not made its power felt."[58]

A statement by Valerius Maximus[59] should make the fact unquestionable that there were Jews in Rome by 139 B.C.E. This date compiled by a Roman source incidentally coincides with the signing of the third, and probably most significant, Judaeo-Roman treaty between Simon's envoys and Roman officials.

One should not ordinarily place too much credence in oracular sources, but there may be a basis of truth in the following statement by the Jewish Sibyl, alluding to the universal presence of the Jews: "πᾶσα δὲ γαῖα σέθεν πλήρης καὶ πᾶσα θάλασσα."[60]

[58] A. XIV.114-115. For the textual difficulties of these two passages relating to Strabo, see the appropriate notes in the Loeb edition of Josephus' work, vol. VII.

[59] Factorum et Dictorum Mirabilium I.3.3.

[60] Orac. Sib. III.271.

Scholars[61] have had reasons to believe that the portion of the Sibylline Books from which the above line was quoted is of Jewish origin and most probably dates from about 160 B.C.E. This fact would certainly reinforce the argument that Jews were very likely to be found in Rome at that time if they were reputed to be in all the major centres of the world.

In Legatio ad Gaium 155 Philo stated that the Roman Jews originated for the most part from emancipated slaves brought over to Italy as prisoners of war. Reinach and some other nineteenth century scholars[62] maintained that Philo was exclusively referring to Pompey's captives of 61 B.C.E. But given Cicero's solid testimony for the year 59, this idea is clearly untenable.[63] Philo was therefore either clearly mistaken or was certainly oversimplifying the matter if he indeed meant Pompey's prisoners of war.

[61] Reinach, Textes, p. 173, n. 1, p. 203; S. Krauss, "Sibyl," The Jewish Encyclopedia (1901-1906; rpt. New York. Ktav, 1964); G.C. Fox, "Sibylline Books," The Universal Jewish Encyclopedia (1943; rpt. New York, Ktav, 1969).

[62] But not Hild, REJ, 8 (1884), 24; cf. also p. 18: "...la population juive de Rome, dont la première amorce pour nous date des ambassades envoyées par les Maccabées ...."

[63] Cf. Radin, pp. 227-231; Leon, pp. 4-5; E.M. Small-Wood, "Jews and Romans in the Early Empire," History Today, 15 (1965), 232: "...the settlement in Rome is believed to go back to the second century B.C."

C.A.H. Guignebert[64] very plausibly suggested that the first Jewish prisoners to arrive in Italy alluded to by Philo were taken in Rome's war with Antiochus III the Great (192-188 B.C.E.). This is certainly the earliest date critics would be prepared to accept with any degree of probability. Leon cautiously noted Guignebert's proposal, but was not too favourable to it. Instead he tended to believe that the first permanent Jewish settlers of Rome must have appeared at least a decade or even two after 139 B.C.E. but well before 61.[65] Leon's dates, however, are too conservative. As it was pointed out earlier, a Roman source recorded an expulsion of Jews for 139 so this fact should be proof enough that there were already some Jews settled in Rome. Until more reliable evidence is found, Guignebert's suggestion should be accepted. But there is one piece of literary evidence, which incidentally seems to have escaped the notice of many, to show that there could have been Jewish slaves and refugees who found their way to Italy at least a few years before the first Judaean embassay to Rome in 161 B.C.E. Among the Seleucid generals

[64] Le monde juif vers le temps de Jésus (1935; rpt. Paris, Michel, 1969), p. 238.

[65] Leon, pp. 2-5.

who were sent in c. 166 to invade Judaea was a man called Nicanor. II Macc. VIII.10-11 recorded that before the invasion "Nicanor determined to make up for the king the tribute due to the Romans, two thousand talents, by selling the captured Jews into slavery. And he immediately sent to the cities on the seacoast, inviting them to buy Jewish slaves and promising to hand over ninety slaves for a talent, ..." This rarely quoted passage is partly corroborated by I Macc. III.38-41 and Josephus, A. XII.298-299.

The picture which emerges from the foregoing discussion is the following. At about the beginning of the second century B.C.E. when Rome's power began to be felt in the East, especially against the Seleucid empire, a number of Jews like many other Greek and Asiatic slaves at the time eventually found their way to Italy. But unlike other peoples Jewish slaves were no doubt quickly freed by their masters on account of their religious habits which must have made them unmanageable and surely least profitable to own. This being the case, one might reasonably expect that by about 160 or 150 B.C.E. these former Jewish captives had already formed the solid nucleus of a slowly expanding Jewish community, so that there is just reason to conclude with Leon this time that by "the first three or four decades of the first century B.C.E. the number of

Jewish immigrants must have been considerable."[66] No doubt too the well-established Roman Jews probably had a large share in the buying and freeing of Pompey's prisoners, and thus were also responsible for rehabilitating their Palestinian coreligionists for a new life in the Roman capital.

Before the Christian era, the Jews were never solely confined to any special "ghetto". But in all probability the first permanent Jewish enclave of Rome was not scattered throughout the city as in later times. It is a well known phenomenon that newly arrived settlers in any foreign place usually reside close together. Many Roman Jews were of servile origin so this fact alone may at first have predisposed them to form a tightly knit community. Of course what truly bound Jews together regardless of station in life or place of origin was their religion. Judaism was already a world religion in virtue of the strong spiritual and even physical ties that existed between every synagogal community of the world and the Temple in Jerusalem. Weekly Sabbath observances and communal worship in specially designated prayer houses, monotheistic beliefs and the rite of circumcision were just some of the predominant traits of Jewish life. For these reasons it is difficult to imagine that even at the outset the Jews were not

[66]Leon, p. 4.

sharply differentiated from other Semites and Asiatics. To the Roman man in the street in c. 150 B.C.E., Judaea may scarcely have been known and probably only represented "a Syrian principality existing like all other principalities at sufferance and upon the condition of good behaviour."[67] But to this same man Jews residing in his own city were known and noticed. Romans must have learned quickly that their Jewish neighbours would stop working every seventh day; moreover, that pious Jews never even sat at meals with other people or that Jews in general absolutely refused to worship Roman gods were aspects which could easily have been misunderstood. If then Jewish habits were outwardly familiar to most Romans, it was really the true nature of these peculiar Jewish ways of life which became vastly misrepresented and distorted. Thus one can argue that however few in number were the Jews in c. 150 B.C.E. their eccentric customs did not permit them to be easily overlooked and it was only a short time before the average Roman observed that among all the various foreign groups of the city, the Jewish community was peculiar to itself. Unfortunately, there are no direct references to Jews in what remains of early Roman literature in order to present a more concrete picture of Roman opinion about Jews before roughly the middle of the first century B.C.E.

[67] Radin, p. 215.

Chapter II

The Jews In Republican Literature

Much of what is known about Late Republican history comes from Cicero. It is therefore not surprising that the bulk of extant Roman literary opinion about Jews for that period should be found in his writings. What is surprising is that one can say little of Cicero's more important contemporaries. Apart from Cicero, only the antiquarian Varro is definitely known to have had something to say about Jews.[68] Cicero will therefore be the focus of this chapter.

Cicero's earliest reference to Jews can be dated to approximately 70 B.C.E. Unfortunately, it has not come down directly from him. In his Vita Ciceronis VII.5, Plutarch said that Cicero had coined many witty sayings concerning C. Verres and his trial. Among these jests, was this one: "Βέρρην γὰρ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τὸν ἐκτετμημένον χοῖρον καλοῦσιν. ὡς οὖν ἀπελευθερικὸς ἄνθρωπος ἔνοχος τῷ ἰουδαΐζειν, ὄνομα Κεκίλιος, ἐβούλετο παρωσάμενος τοὺς Σικελιώτας κατηγορεῖν τοῦ Βέρρου "Τί Ἰουδαίῳ πρὸς χοῖρον;" ἔφη ὁ Κικέρων."

[68] See Appendix C on Catullus, Poem XLVII.

This particular piece of evidence is the earliest known Roman literary reference to Jews. The Greek phrase "Τί Ἰουδαίῳ πρὸς χοῖρον ;" was rendered into Latin as "Quid Judaeo cum Verre?" by T. Reinach who, however, argued against its authenticity.[69] But since there is no valid reason to deny the veracity of Plutarch's passage, a few observations can be made about Cicero's jocular remark.

With the phrase "Quid Judaeo cum Verre?" Cicero demonstrates clearly that he was aware of basic Judaic principles. His jest is also an important indication that his audience was also apparently knowledgeable about the main customs of the Jews. Thus it can be inferred that the Jewish community in Rome was already large enough and of relatively long standing to attract the attention of the Romans. Strictly speaking, Cicero's remark was more a pun directed against Caecilius and Verres than against the Jews themselves. It would therefore be presumptuous to take this jest alone as an indication of his hostility toward the Jews or more particularly to the Jewish custom of abstinence from pork.

There is also not much that can be deduced from the only Jewish reference which can be found in Cicero's entire

[69] "Quid Judaeo Cum Verre?", REJ, 26 (1893), 36-46. See Appendix B for a refutation of this article.

correspondence. Both Hild and Reinach only mentioned it in a footnote without any commentary.[70] In one of his letters to his friend Atticus, dated 59 B.C.E., Cicero called Pompey: "hic noster Hierosolymarius traductor ad plebem."[71] Cicero's remark suggests a reference to the fall of Jerusalem, but it is essentially another joke of his, this time directed against Pompey.

Pompey entered Jerusalem in about July 63 B.C.E.[72] It is perhaps significant to note that his capture of the city should still in 59 have been relatively fresh in the minds of not a few Romans. "Hierosolymarius" is clearly a derogatory name for Pompey, whom at the beginning of 59 Cicero had begun to distrust on account of his political alliance with Caesar and Crassus. The words "traductor ad plebem" have no apparent connection with Cicero's use of the name "Hierosolymarius". They simply reveal Cicero's displeasure for Pompey's tacit approval of Clodius' adoption into a plebeian family. With this context in mind,

[70]Respectively, REJ, 8 (1884), 15, n. 2 and Textes, p. 239.

[71]Ad Att. II.9.1.

[72]Jos., A. XIV.66.

D.R. Shackleton Bailey's translation of "noster Hierosolymarius" as "our friend from Jerusalem" is perhaps too mild.[73] The sarcastic and then rather bitter tone of the entire Latin phrase is more faithfully rendered by Tyrrell's "this Jerusalemite plebeianizer"[74] or by E.O. Winstedt's slightly variant "that Jerusalemite plebeian-monger."[75] But in any case, the word "Hierosolymarius" should not be interpreted any differently from similar sardonic names which Cicero coined in his letters of 59 in reference to Pompey and his military victories in the East. The name "Hierosolymarius" should be compared to other pompous titles for Pompey such as "Iphicrates", "Sampsiceramus" and finally "Arabarches."[76] There is not necessaril any racial prejudice in Cicero's reference to Pompey as a Jerusalemite. To argue, as one commentator has done,[77-8] that on the basis of the long a in

[73] Cicero's Letters to Atticus (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1965), I, 223.

[74] R.W. Tyrrell, The Correspondence of M. Tullius Cicero, 2nd ed. (London: Longmans, Green, 1885), I, 285, n. 1.

[75] Cicero: Letters to Atticus, "Loeb Classical Library" (London: Heinemann, 1912), I, 137.

[76] Ad Att. II.3.1; 14.1; 16.2; 17.1-2; 17.3.

[77-8] Cited by Shackleton Bailey, I, 370, s.v. "Hierosolymarius".

Hierosolymarius Cicero's jocular phrase is an indirect allusion to Marius is certainly a far-fetched and unnecessary idea.

In 62 B.C.E. Lucius Valerius Flaccus became the propraetorian governor of the Roman province of Asia. Upon his return to Rome in 59, he was accused of extortion and general maladministration by a certain Decimus Laelius on behalf of the Asian provincials. In 63, in his official capacity as praetor, Flaccus had given valuable assistance

to Cicero, who as consul that year had uncovered Catiline's conspiracy. So when he was accused of embezzlement Cicero felt obliged to return the favour of Flaccus' aid and readily agreed to defend him.

Internal evidence from the speech itself shows that Flaccus was guilty. Macrobius too seemed to have had no doubts about Flaccus' criminality. In his brief comments on the case he noted that one of Cicero's tactics had been to divert the jury's attention from the actual charge by making frequent witty remarks.[79] But evidently, Cicero's main approach in securing his client's acquittal was to laud Flaccus' ancestral family, his personal qualities, his past and honourable services to the Republic. Conversely, Cicero exploited the Roman jury's prejudice against aliens by denouncing outright the trustworthiness of the witnesses of the prosecution who for the most part happened to be Asian Greeks and Jews. Although the circumstances of the case clearly dictated much of the tone of Cicero's statements, it is none the less certain that he would not have lashed out in the way that he did if he had known that these tactics would not have been effective in arousing both the patriotic feelings of the jury and the passions of the Roman audience present. So in this speech

[79] Saturnalia II.1.13. Macrobius actually calls Flaccus entirely guilty "nocentissimus" and says that Cicero saved him "de manifessimis criminibis".

the Greek witnesses were endlessly attacked on the grounds that the entire Greek nation was totally ignorant about the serious implications arising from the notions of giving truthful and honourable testimony.[80] Similarly, non-Greek witnesses, notably Phrygians, Mysians, Carians and Lydians, were rudely characterized by their supposedly national vices.[81-2] In the text of the speech Cicero's treatment of the Jews came immediately after the latter group of witnesses were attacked.

The space allotted to the Jews is relatively short; it comprises only one chapter, the twenty-eighth, which is about three and a half sections in length. Nevertheless, this short treatment reveals a significant part of the charge laid against Flaccus. When he inveighed against the Greeks, Cicero continually shifted from the particular to the general. The same was true with the digression on the Jewish witnesses. Matters dealing specifically with Flaccus' case were interwoven or interrupted, so to speak, with remarks about Jews in general. In examining what Cicero said about these people, it will therefore be necessary to deal first with his statements about the case

[80] Pro Flacco, 9; cf. 10; 11-12; 19; 20; 23; 24; 27; 57; 61.

[81-2] Ibid. 65; cf. also 5; 6; 8; 34.

itself and then analyze his remarks concerning the Jews as a people.

XXVIII.66.2: Sequitur auri illa invidia Iudaici.

With this brief introduction the apparent grievance of the Asian Jews was emphatically called to attention. This initial sentence reveals at once the scornful and hostile tone of the whole discussion that is to follow. For the moment though no further explanation was given to these malicious opening words. People are usually easily aroused by the idea of gold and without any qualifying statement to his first sentence, Cicero's aim becomes clear upon analysis. For those in his audience who were unfamiliar with the case or at least aware of the less known religious habits of the Jews, Cicero created at once a distorted impression in their minds. Since the gold in question was associated with a foreign people, this fact made the whole matter about the Jews inevitably odious. But Cicero's first sentence, though tactful and powerfully suggestive, was nonetheless obscure by itself. Cicero knew that it needed some kind of elucidation.

However, instead of proceeding with this immediately after his opening sentence, he deliberately chose to arouse his audience by going from the particular to the general. He made half a dozen or so different and hostile statements about Jews as a whole (which will be looked at a little later) and then returned to the particular case of the "Jewish gold."

67.1 Cum aurum Iudaeorum nomine quotannis ex Italia et ex omnibus nostris provinciis Hierosolymam exportari soleret, Flaccus sanxit edicto ne ex Asia exportari liceret.

Finally, Cicero explained to his listeners what he had meant at the beginning by "auri Iudaici." The words "quotannis" and "soleret" leave no doubt that he was alluding to the ἱερὰ χρήματα [83] of the Jews. Every male from the age of twenty was religiously required by the Mosaic Law to contribute an annual sum of money to the Temple at Jerusalem; this law was binding no matter where a Jew made his residence.[84] This temple tax or sacred

[83] The term is often found in Jos., A. XIV.214; XVI.164, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170.

[84] Exodus 30.11-16.

money was collected and deposited in special storehouses in all the major cities. These offerings were then piously sent to Jerusalem every year by a group of envoys especially selected for the purpose.[85] Although Cicero did not describe in detail how the money was collected he was most probably aware of how it was generally done. In any case he definitely knew that it was customary for the Jews, whether they resided in Italy or elsewhere in the Roman world, to send an annual monetary tribute to Jerusalem. Apparently one of the particular charges brought against Flaccus was that he had officially prevented the Jewish residents of his province from sending their sacred funds to their traditional destination. More of the circumstances of Flaccus' action was revealed as Cicero went on.

67.2: Quis est, iudices, qui hoc non vere laudare possit?

Instead of condemning Flaccus' behaviour, as the prosecution wanted, Cicero demanded that Flaccus should actually be praised for what he did. His stand is not surprising considering that Flaccus was the only Roman

[85] Philo, De Specialibus Legibus 77-78.

magistrate on record who was audacious enough deliberately to impede a Jewish shipment of money to Jerusalem. If Cicero's next statement was aimed at justifying Flaccus' behaviour, the argument was certainly misleading.

67.3: Exportari aurum non oportere cum saepe antea senatus tum me consule gravissime iudicavit.

Here Cicero was deliberately trying to fool the Roman jury by giving the impression that Flaccus' action had many noteworthy precedents. One cannot doubt, however, the authenticity of Cicero's statement that under the order of a senatus consultum the exportation of gold had often been prohibited in the past. Cicero would clearly not have uttered a statement which could easily have been checked out and refuted. That the export of gold was also forbidden during Cicero's own consulship is attested in another of Cicero's public orations.[86] But if in the past Roman governments had for reasons of state prevented the export of gold, the Jews were undoubtedly exempted from this ban.[87]

What is significant about Cicero's statement in section 67.3 is that he failed to specify that "Jewish gold" was also included whenever the senate had put a stop

[86] In Vatinium V.12.

on the exportation of gold. For if indeed in the past it had been explicitly forbidden to send money to Jerusalem, Cicero would surely not have left the matter unmentioned at this particular stage of his argument. It is evident that he knew full well that the Romans had always allowed the Jews to send their sacred money to Jerusalem. His reference to previous Roman bans on shipments of gold was really irrelevant to Flaccus' case. Thus, Cicero's aim was to beguile his credulous Roman audience into believing that Flaccus had simply followed a Roman precedent. His words, however, could not have fooled his Jewish audience. As Juster has aptly demonstrated, they knew that Roman governments had respected the Jews' custom of sending annual sums of money to Jerusalem for the upkeep of their national religious shrine as early as the second century B.C.E. and that not only did the Romans allow this Jewish custom to go on, they also prevented Greek cities from confiscating the sacred money of their respective Jewish residents.[87]

[87] Juster I, 379-81.

67.4: Huic autem barbarae superstitioni resistere severitatis, multitudinem Iudaeorum flagrantem non numquam in contionibus prae re publica contemnere gravitatis summae fuit.

At this point Cicero finally seemed to admit, indirectly, that the shipment of a monetary offering to Jerusalem was actually a serious religious act for the Jews. But since the Jews were a foreign people, hence inferior to the Romans, their habits whether of a social or even a religious nature, were not worth Roman respect. So why should a Roman patriot like Flaccus have been questioned for having resisted a "barbarous superstition"? It was really Flaccus' action which ought to be considered serious and noble because it benefited the Roman state. This thought is more emphatically echoed towards the end of the Pro Flacco when Cicero told the men of the jury that in deciding Flaccus' case the question ought not to be about foreign nations or even about allies but was simply a concern for themselves and their country.[88] Cicero's next item was to rebut a rather embarrassing question from the opposition.

[88] Pro Flacco 99.

67.5: "At Cn. Pompeius captis Hierosolymis victor ex illo fano nihil attigit."

Evidently the prosecution must have made great fuss about the fact that in entering Jerusalem Pompey had not plundered the Temple, as Crassus a few years later and Titus over a century after would do. The context in which the prosecution brought this matter up is unfortunately not known. But the argument appears to have been that if, as a conquering general, Pompey had refrained from irritating the religious sensibilities of the Jews, when clearly circumstances of war permitted him to do so, especially since the Temple itself was used as a fortress by some Jews and thus had to be besieged, how much more shameful was Flaccus' conduct in his arbitrary interruption of a religious obligation performed by his peaceful Jewish subjects.

In his detailed description of the Temple, Josephus never failed to stress its richness and beauty. At one point he wrote that the whole building inside was so decorated with gold that the radiance of the metal dazzled anyone who entered it.[89] Josephus also attested that even though Pompey dared to enter the forbidden Holy of Holies,

[89] A. VIII.61ff.

out of piety he chose not to lay hands on any of the sacred and valuable vessels, nor the sacred funds which lay in the treasury and which at that time happened to amount to two thousand talents.[90] Cassius Dio's testimony[91] that Pompey plundered the temple treasures can safely be discounted by Josephus' account which corroborates Cicero's contemporary version of Pompey's conduct. Even Tacitus,[92] the most bitter Roman critic of the Jews, made no mention of Pompey plundering the Temple.

68.1: In primis hoc, ut multa alia, sapienter; in tam suspiciosa ac maledica civitate locum sermoni obtrectatorum non reliquit.

In his characteristic manner, Cicero offered an easy, but really unsatisfactory, explanation for Pompey's behaviour. To him, there was no question here of piety or toleration of a foreign religious cult. Being the shrewd Roman politician that he was, Pompey's behaviour in regard to the Jewish Temple was strictly motivated by political considerations. Cicero wanted his Roman audience to believe that it was only the thought of malicious critics at home which prevented Pompey from plundering an alien nation's shrine.

[90] A. XIV.72.

[91] XXXVII.16.

[92] Hist. V.9.1-2.

In the next line, 68.2, Cicero himself claimed to know this for a fact and that in this respect Pompey's action could not be viewed other than honourable: "Non enim credo religionem et Iudaeorum et hostium impedimento praestantissimo imperatori, sed pudorem fuisse." Cicero's next remarks about Flaccus' behaviour logically follow from this line of thought.

68.3: Ubi igitur crimen est, quoniam quidem furtum nusquam reprehendis, edictum probas, iudicatum fateris, quaesitum et prolatum palam non negas, actum esse per viros primarios res ipsa declarat?

This is indeed, as Cicero's words imply, the whole crux of the problem between Flaccus and the Jews of Asia. Was Flaccus' action a criminal offence? In the next section, 68.4, Cicero patiently listed the four Asian cities, Apamea, Laodicea, Adramyttium and Pergamum, where gold was confiscated; he named the Roman officials who apprehended it on Flaccus' orders; and he gave the approximate amount taken in each community, which must have reached at least over 120 pounds of the precious metal. With this information Cicero was now ready for his last appraisal of the whole charge against Flaccus.

69.1: Auri ratio constat, aurum in aerario est; furtum non reprehenditur, invidia quaeritur;

Thus, according to Cicero, Flaccus could not obviously be charged withhaving personally stolen any money from his Jewish provincials. Radin saw some validity in Cicero's question "Ubi igitur crimen est?", but he did not pursue his point with serious argumentation.[93] The implication of Cicero's question is clearly that Flaccus had acted illegally and that the prosecution had rightfully found cause to charge him. The word "crimen"[94] suggests that some Roman law had been transgressed. In other words, Flaccus had indeed committed an offence by preventing his Jewish subjects from sending their sacred moneys to Jerusalem. As it was pointed out earlier, that was a privilege the Jews had long been granted by the Romans. Exactly when and under what Roman law they were allowed to expedite gold for religious purposes is unfortunately not known. The temple tax and other similar religious contributions were so piously regarded that it is highly probable that when the Maccabean Jews established

[93] Radin, p. 226f.

[94] See T. Mommsen, Le droit pénal romain, trans. J. Duquesne (Paris: Fontemoing, 1907) I, 9-10.

their first diplomatic contacts with Rome they might have stressed the point that this privilege be guaranteed wherever Jews resided in the Roman world. In any case, Flaccus' criminality becomes clear upon close analysis of Cicero's strategy in presenting his client's defence against the Jews.

It is to be noticed that Cicero shrewdly evaded the question about the legal right of the Jews to collect money for religious pruposes.[95] All that he did was hastily mention the fact that the Jews had some barbarous custom to that effect. Again, if indeed the Jewish export of gold was illegal he should not, at least, have neglected to insist that the ban on the commercial export of gold promulgated under his own consulship was equally applicable to the particular religious custom of the Jews. But Cicero could not obviously argue on this basis. His defence had therefore many weak points. Notably, he could not come out and say that the Jews had never been allowed by the Romans to collect and send money to Jerusalem for religious purposes because this would have logically implied that all other Roman governors were acting illegally in allowing this Jewish practice to go on. What he simply did then, since he could not directly face the charge of the prosecution, was to put unnecessary emphasis on the facts that,

[95]See Juster I, 379, n. 7.

first, the general export of gold had often been officially prohibited in the past, and secondly, that Flaccus never personally took any money that belonged to Jews, but only confiscated it in order to deposit it in the public treasury. Even with this last avowal, Cicero had no cause to worry. He knew too well that his own interpretation of the facts would appeal to the imperialistic sentiments of the jury. To any selfish and patrioticly-minded Roman this business about "Jewish gold" could well be seen as nothing but a drain on a wealthy Roman province, perpetrated by a barbarous group of subjects. But, on the other hand, to the unfortunate Jews of Asia, who for as long as they could remember had always benefited from the privilege of making annual monetary contributions to Jerusalem for religious purposes, Flaccus' action must definitely have seemed arbitrary and unjust. If Flaccus could not be accused of taking the Jewish sacred money for himself, he certainly acted illegally in preventing its export to Jerusalem. And so once Cicero cleverly manipulated the charge of the prosecution to suit his own questions, he proceeded with much irrelevant matter in order to exclaim with apparent conviction at the end that the treasury was full and that Flaccus had not embezzled from the Jews of Asia. With this final statement dealing directly with Flaccus and the Jewish witnesses, he resumed his general invectives on the whole Jewish nation.

Part of Cicero's strategy in defending Flaccus against the testimony of the Jewish witnesses was to make several derogatory remarks about the Jewish people as a whole. Since he dealt with the Greek witnesses in much the same way, one wonders if Cicero really meant what he said. One thing at least seems to be certain, and that is that Cicero's aspersions on foreign witnesses, whether they were Greeks or Jews, found a receptive ear among his Roman audience. For this reason the opinion expressed about Jews in the Pro Flacco should give some indication at least of contemporary Roman feelings. An even more interesting question arising from Cicero's remarks is a consideration of his possible sources of information on the Jews. If this can be speculated on with any degree of certainty then his comments may partly be taken to reflect some of his own personal feelings. Equally important is to try to determine to what degree some of his statements reflect his own political situation at the time he delivered this particular oration. The defamation of the Jewish people as a whole began immediately after Cicero introduced the case of the "Jewish gold".

66.3-4: Hoc nimirum est illud quod non longe a gradibus Aureliis haec causa dicitur. Ob hoc crimen hic locus abs te, Laeli, atque illa turba quaesita est;

Cicero accused Decimus Laelius of having deliberately chosen a favourable spot to conduct the prosecution of Flaccus. Is Cicero justified in his charge? The "Aurelian Steps" were part of an open air tribunal known as the tribunal Aurelium. Who built this tribunal and where it stood in the city are debatable questions. But given the ancient known facts plausible conjectures can be made to conform with Cicero's picture of the tribunal and to connect it with the Jews.

On the basis of a forensic passage in Cicero[96] the tribunal in question could have been set up either by the consul of 75 B.C.E., Gaius Aurelius Cotta, or by his brother Marcus, consul the following year. With apparently no valid justification for their choice many commentators[97] have preferred Marcus Aurelius Cotta. He was strictly a military adventurer, and in 67 B.C.E. was convicted of extortion for his plunder of the city of Heraclea.

[96] Pro Cluentio 93.

[97] Leon, p. 5, n. 1, is, however, cautious; cf. L.E. Lord, Loeb edition of the Pro Flacco, p. 436, n. 6; S.B. Platner, The Topography and Monuments of Ancient Rome, 2nd ed. (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1911), p. 270; Reinach, Textes, p. 237; Hild, REJ, 8 (1884), 22, n. 2.

It is more probable to suppose that the tribunal Aurelium was erected by and named after Gaius Cotta in 75 B.C.E. This man was reputed to be an excellent orator and advocate and is made one of the speakers in Cicero's De Oratore and De Natura Deorum. Gaius was a popularis and during his consulship attempted to restore the political power of the tribunes which had been lost under Sulla's regime.

The tribunal which Gaius built in 75 B.C.E. soon became a much frequented place by the Roman masses and was, needless to say, ideally suited for large gatherings such as court cases. Cicero in fact mentioned the tribunal on numerous occasions[98] particularly when he wanted to refer to the place where Clodius grouped together his bands of slaves and freed men in order to terrorize the city. Some of these passages would suggest that the tribunal was located in the forum not far from the Temple of Castor and Pollux which was, incidentally, also taken over for some time by Clodius' gangs. The temple that was dedicated to Julius Caesar was situated exactly on the north east corner of the Temple of Castor and on the opposite side of the rostra. Now the area it eventually covered and the general area surrounding the Temple of Castor and the

[98] De Domo Sua 54; Post Reditum ad Quirites 13; Pro Sestio 34; In Pisonem 11; Pro Cluentio 93.

tribunal of Aurelius were presumably a favourite meeting place for the Roman public at large.[99] Cicero was never too fond of the lower classes of the citizen body. Since most of the Roman Jews belonged to these social ranks, it is understandable that he should consider Laelius' choice of location for the court proceedings as highly prejudicial to his client.

Other interesting questions emerge from sections 66.3-4. Why should Cicero in his criticism of the location of the trial have made a personal attack on Laelius and why were his invectives against the Jews in the following sections particularly addressed in the second person? Did Cicero suspect Laelius of being associated in some way with the Jews?

At the beginning of the trial Cicero wondered why such an honourable gentleman as Laelius should ever have undertaken the prosecution of Flaccus.[100] At the time of the trial, Laelius was only a young man, and he appeared to

[99] These conclusions about the tribunal Aurelium were reached independently of H.D. Johnson, The Roman Tribunal, Diss. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Univ. Press, 1926), "The Aurelium Tribunal", pp. 54-64. Both Johnson and Nichols, The Roman Forum, (London: 1877), p. 81 were cited by G. Lugli, Monumenti minori del foro romano (Rome: Bardi, 1947), p. 75., notes 4 and 5, who did not, however, follow their opinion.

[100] Pro Flacco 2.

have spent much time and money to organize his case successfully. Indeed, one may ask with Cicero why such a relatively unknown person should have decided to plead against Flaccus. Perhaps the young lawyer wished to imitate Cicero's successful accusation of C. Verres in 70 B.C.E. But the fact that the prosecution seemed to have gone to great expense in amassing a considerable amount of data and in bringing over many witnesses all the way from Asia may well suggest that Laelius was being backed by influential men hostile to Flaccus. From another early passage[101] it becomes evident who Laelius' supporter was despite Cicero's rhetorical claim to the contrary. Laelius' father was a friend and close associate of Pompey.

When Pompey was in the East combatting Mithridates, the governor of Asia was not too cooperative. Flaccus was a proud aristocrat, coming from an ancient patrician family. It is not very difficult to see why he should easily have found cause to quarrel with Pompey, who was at the time an avowed supporter of the popular faction. In addition, Pompey's extraordinary command in the East had always been viewed with suspicion by the senatorial oligarchy. Flaccus must have felt that his supreme power as governor was being challenged by Pompey's reorganization

[101] *Pro Flacco* 14-15.

of the eastern provinces. In all probability Cicero knew very well who was backing Laelius, for Flaccus must surely have told his lawyer who his political enemies were. So evidently in attacking Laelius for having chosen this particular crowd of foreigners, namely the Jews, to testify against his client, Cicero was indirectly venting his contempt on Pompey Hierosolymarius.

66.4: scis quanta sit manus, quanta concordia, quantum valeat in contionibus.

Cicero seemed to have feared that the Jews would disrupt the court proceedings. Generally, his words parallel similar incidents of a trial against Aulus Cluentius in 74 B.C.E. and which also took place on the Aurelian Steps. When Cicero defended Cluentius in 66, he referred to the time when his client was tried in 74. At that time a tribune accuser, having recently left a riotous public meeting, had filled the Aurelian Steps with such an excited crowd that the court proceedings had to be interrupted.[102] Cicero's dislike of the Jews' behaviour in Roman assemblies can likewise be compared to his generally critical view of the seriousness of Asian peoples' assemblies. He regarded these local assemblies as made up of fickle and

[102]Cic., Pro Cluentio 93.

irresponsible mobs, and as places where seditious speeches were the order of business.[103]

The Jews were derided for being a "big crowd" who conspicuously "stick together." That the Jews appeared to be clannish in Roman eyes is understandable for several valid reasons, but not because they were anti-social as the context of Cicero's charge seemed to imply. It should not be forgotten that it was a common Roman attitude to react against all foreigners and non-Roman ways. It is generally assumed that human beings have an almost inherent instinct to band together into tribal groups especially if they have particularly similar tendencies and interests. Moreover, it usually takes at least three to four generations before foreign immigrants become fully integrated and live freely among the native population. The case of the Jews, however, was different. In the first place, since they migrated to Rome from many parts of the empire, they did not in the strictest sense of the word constitute a particular national minority like the Syrians, Phrygians, Carians or Egyptians. But what bound Jews of different origins and cultural backgrounds together was their particular religious beliefs. In the eyes of suspicious and ignorant outsiders, there were numerous aspects of

[103]Pro Flacco 19; 57; cf. 17.

the Jewish religion which might easily have stressed the apartness of its followers. For one thing it had gradually become customary in the Hellenistic period to blend Greek and Oriental religions. Yet of all the foreign peoples whom the Romans met, only the Jews refused to pay tribute to, and even recognize the existence either of Roman gods or the deities of other nations. The Jews would refuse to perform Roman religious obligations, and the strict laws of their own religion made it impossible for them to perform many other common civil functions; for instance, it was quite impractical for pious Jews to enlist in Roman armies. Such peculiar religious laws which regulated marriage and diet also naturally tended to cut the Jews off from social contact with their neighbours. Moreover, correct observance of the Sabbath and the obligation to live near a synagogue were no doubt major contributing factors too which necessitated that the Jews dwell close to one another. For essentially religious reasons then the Jews had to "stick together" and become one. Evidently Cicero's Roman audience was unfortunately incapable of understanding the reasons for this.

But returning to Flaccus' trial again, it was no wonder that one should find many Jews eagerly attending the proceedings. The outcome of the whole case would, as they thought, greatly affect their religious lives. For if Flaccus won, the

authorities could well be induced to abolish the Jewish privilege of collecting sacred funds for the service of the Temple in Jerusalem. It was therefore natural for the Roman Jews to show up in full force and be greatly alarmed the day Cicero spoke on behalf of Flaccus. Flaccus' acquittal, however,does not seem to have altered the Jews' traditional privileges. The man who was chosen to succeed Flaccus was none other than Cicero's brother Quintus. The fact that Quintus stayed in office two years beyond his regular one year term may well indicate that he was more acceptable to the provincials than his aristocratic predecessor. Whether his appointment or more probably his retention of office for three years was partly due to Jewish political influence at Rome cannot, unfortunately, be shown. But it is certain that following Flaccus' misrule, Quintus must have had to make amends to his provincials generally. The Romans never revoked any of the Jews' privileges in Asia, despite Cicero's ambiguous statements which would suggest this to any unwary listener.

The words "quantum valeat in contionibus" are a sure indication that the majority of Jews who attended the court proceedings were Roman citizens. It is also certain from Cicero's description of the Jews that the Roman community was quite substantial. Cicero never once alluded to the

Jews as being recently manumitted where it would have been to his advantage to do so, if this had truly been the case. The contio was always a lively meeting where projected laws were debated in preparation for their formal acceptance or rejection in the actual legislative assembly. For the Jews to be active in these assemblies they necessarily had to be aware of the subtleties of Roman politics and to be able to express themselves in the language of the Romans. Again, the Roman Jews to whom Cicero was referring here had to belong to a well established community in order to fit his description correctly. These conclusions would therefore invalidate any theory that holds that most of the Jews of Rome originated with Pompey's war captives of 61 B.C.E. Flaccus was tried in 59. It is certainly too much to suppose that thousands of Aramaic speaking slaves, coming from a peculiar foreign environment like Palestine, "were brought to Rome, sold there, enfranchised, learned Latin, became politically organized, and developed formidable voting strength, all within less than two years!"[104]

For Cicero to say that the Jews were a big crowd who were in the habit of mingling only among themselves and

[104] Radin, p. 228.

a force to be reckoned with in Roman assemblies can also perhaps be interpreted to mean that he had personal knowledge of the Jewish community of the capital. The Jews are always known to have been on the side of the popular faction in Roman politics. When Cicero was canvassing for support among the electorate of the city for his election to the consulship he might have met the leaders of the Jews who were also by tradition the religious leaders of the community, and thus invariably connected with the synagogues.

In advising his brother on how best to plan for his political campaign, Quintus Cicero alluded to the fact that as Rome was a city of many nationalities one of the ways for his brother to win the vote of the general populace was to make friends with influential freedmen and leaders of clubs, districts and neighbourhoods so that they in turn would sway the rest of the crowd on his behalf.[105] Now since the Jewish congregations were identified as

[105]Q. Cicero, De Petitione Consulatus 8. Quintus' work is here taken as genuine; see J.P.V.D. Balsdon, "The Commentariolum Petitionis," CP, 13 (1963), 242-250; J. Wikarjak, Brochure Electorale de Q. Cicéron (Warszawa: 1966). Others, however, have questioned its authenticity: see M.I. Henderson, "De Commentariolo Petitionis," JRS, 40 (1950), 8-21; R.G. Nisbet, "The 'Commentariolum Petitionis': Some Arguments Against Authenticity," JRS, 51 (1961), 84-87.

clubs, that is, as collegia licita,[106] by the Roman authorities, Cicero might necessarily have sought the support of the leaders of the synagogues for his election to the consulship. But by 59 B.C.E. he was no longer the popularis he had appeared to be at the time of his election. During this interval, he must have lost considerable Jewish support and his defence of Flaccus could only have worsened whatever relationship he had had with the Jewish community of the capital. For this reason Cicero's following remarks are revealing.

66.5: Sic submissa voce agam, tantum ut iudices audiant; neque enim desunt qui istos in me atque in optimum quemque incitent; quos ego, quo id facilius faciant, non adiuvabo.

First, Cicero was being ironic once again. Tongue in cheek, he wanted his listeners to believe that the riotous crowd of Jews forced him to speak in a low voice so that only the jurors would be in a position to hear what he had to say. As one can see he never ceased to deplore the tumultuous nature of the Jewish crowd.

[106] This is primarily on the basis of Jos. Ant.XIV.215. See esp. S.L. Guterman, Religious Toleration and Persecution in Ancient Rome (London: Aiglon Press, 1951), pp. 130-150 as opposed to Juster I, 413-424. Scholars today, notably Leon and E.M. Smallwood, are of Guterman's opinion.

In this Cicero was probably exaggerating although it is not surprising that the Jews were lively debators in the Roman assemblies. The Jews were accustomed to animated discussions from their weekly meetings on the Sabbaths. Following prayers and reading of the law and the prophets, the speaker of the day usually expressed his own ideas on the lessons of the scriptures. His personal comments could then be challenged by any one present who objected to his views. In this sense, the lively debates that went on every week inside the synagogues resembled the boisterous public meetings of the Romans. What is also important to note about the synagogues is that they were highly democratic institutions. Any member of the community had the right to appoint himself reader and commentator of the sacred scriptures for any given Sabbath. As it is quite possible that at times this Jewish custom might have afforded excellent opportunities for any man with gifted speaking abilities to use the Sabbath meetings for political purposes, this is certainly one aspect about Jewish life which would not have been much to Cicero's liking. Hence, his constant stress on the Jews' reckless and irresponsible nature.

But Cicero's main reason for harping on the turbulent nature of the Jews was yet to be revealed. In the second part of section 66.5, he claimed that there were some

people who at the time of Flaccus' trial were anxious to agitate the Jews against him and against "every respectable man." By 59 B.C.E. Cicero was already casting his lot with the Optimates. Most scholars have neglected to grasp the full significance of his words. In this case Cicero's words were more than another example of his rhetorical technique. Unlike his general invectives against the Greeks, his attack on the Jews of Rome was of an entirely personal nature. If one takes into account all the circumstances surrounding Flaccus' trial, who was backing the young prosecutor Laelius and, most importantly, Cicero's own precarious political position by the end of 59 B.C.E. it is not difficult to imagine to whom Cicero was referring when he scornfully uttered the words "neque enim desunt qui istos in me atque in optimum quemque incitent" and then "quos ego, quo id facilius faciant, non adiuvabo." The jury at Flaccus' trial was comprised of respectful senators and knights and these men doubtlessly knew what Cicero was talking about. During 59, especially toward the latter half of the year, which was also the time when Cicero must have been preparing for Flaccus' trial, Clodius, with Pompey's apparent connivance, was employing slaves and freedmen, including presumably some Jews, in order to intimidate Cicero. Pompey and the other Triumvirs had a grudge against Cicero and in order

to frustrate him further were backing Clodius on the one hand and Laelius on the other. Cicero's letters of 59 reveal a steady worsening of relations between himself and Pompey. In July, Clodius began to threaten Cicero. Flaccus was acquitted in November and then in early December Clodius entered the tribunate. On about March 20, 58 B.C.E., Cicero was forced to leave Rome and go into exile. On entering his tribunate one of the laws which Clodius quickly promulgated was the legalization of all associations or collegia, most of which had been banned by the senate in 64 B.C.E. Although Clodius used many of these collegia for his own political purposes, the Jews would surely have found cause to rejoice at Clodius' move. Even if Clodius' law did not directly affect them, it had the effect of giving them a further assurance that their own religious associations, namely the synagogues, might be able to continue indefinitely. It is possible that in return for the Jewish freedmen's support, Clodius promised such assurances to the Jewish community when he was canvassing for the tribunate in 59 B.C.E.

In one way or another all the events mentioned above can be said to be related. So when Cicero inveighed against the Jews in the Pro Flacco he did so not only to benefit his client. He also took the opportunity which the trial offered him to warn his detractors publicly that it was

senseless to provoke the Jews against him.

After dealing with matters relating directly with Flaccus' charge, in sections 67.1 to 69.1, Cicero resumed his general treatment of the Jews in the following terms.

69.1:....a iudicibus oratio avertitur, vox in coronam turbamque effunditur.

Rhetorically, he addressed his audience as if he wanted it to consider his following remarks about the Jews in support of the plea of innocence he had just made on behalf of Flaccus. Again this tactic reveals clearly that Cicero's Roman audience was ready to accept any prejudiced statement this reputed Roman would make against any foreign group, including the Jews.

69.2: Sua cuique civitati religio, Laeli, est, nostra nobis.
3. Stantibus Hierosolymis pacatisque Iudaeis tamen istorum religio sacrorum a splendore huius imperii, gravitate nominis nostri, maiorum institutis abhorrebat; nunc vero hoc magis, quod illa gens quid de nostro imperio sentiret ostendit armis; quam cara dis immortalibus esset docuit, quod est victa, quod elocata, quod serva.

There is no apparent reason for Cicero to address his last statements to Laelius once more, except perhaps that he wanted to further embarrass him for having relied on the testimony of Jewish witnesses. Cicero's final remarks

about the Jews were on the whole more than mere rhetoric. His first sentence is seemingly inoffensive by itself, "sua cuique civitati religio est", but was only uttered in order to build his case against the peculiar religion of the Jews. If in one instance he admitted that all peoples, including the Romans themselves, had their own religious outlook, in another instance, he degraded the sacred rites of the Jews by stating bluntly that Roman customs had always been superior. Evidently Cicero despised Jewish religious practices. They were too simple for the taste of a Roman as compared with the elaborate paraphernalia of a polytheistic system. While the Romans had a vast array of gods, the Jews had only one which they claimed could not even be defined; this naturally made the Jewish worship appear crude and rather drab. Thus, "stantibus Hierosolymis pacatisque Iudaeis tamen istorum religio sacrorum a splendore huius imperii, gravitate nominis nostri, maiorum institutis abhorrebat." But Cicero betrayed a still stronger motive for disliking the Jews, "nunc vero hoc magis." The contemptuous phrase "quam cara dis immortalibus esset docuit" suggests that he knew that the Jews were in the habit of vaunting their monotheistic concepts and of asserting that they were a chosen people. Cicero quickly ridiculed these Jewish claims by proudly reminding the Jews that they were conquered by

Roman arms under the patronage of Roman gods, hence a clear insinuation that their own invincible god had abandoned them. The Romans were usually in the habit of claiming to be superior to others and predestined by the gods to rule the world. What is remarkable about Cicero's derision of the Jews' religion is that unlike many Romans after him, he did not specifically and openly accuse the Jews of being atheists. The charge of ἀθεότης , or contempt of the gods, was an easy charge to lay against the Jews. Tacitus, for instance, inveighed against the intolerant attitude of the Jews toward Roman gods and religious practices[107] and Juvenal derided them for worshipping the clouds.[108] In any case, what can be deduced from Cicero's comments in the Pro Flacco and from his known views concerning the position of the Roman state religion in relation to foreign cults[109] is that he was genuinely hostile to the religious beliefs of the Jews.

[107]Tac., Hist. V.4.2: "Profana illic omnia quae apud nos sacra, rursum concessa apud illos quae nobis incesta; Hist. V.5.5: Transgressi in morem eorum idem usurpant, nec quicquam prius imbuuntur quam contemnere deos."

[108]Sat. XIV.97: "nil praeter nubes et caeli numen adorant."

[109]Cic., De Legibus II.19; II.25.

Unfortunately, Cicero had nothing to say about other Jewish customs. But his witty remark "Quid Iudaeo cum Verre?" certainly demonstrates more than a passing acquaintance with the better known Jewish rites. Since he seemed to know the Jews' precepts about the deity, it should not be inferred that he was ignorant about their observance of the Sabbath, for this was probably the most conspicuous Jewish habit. Later Roman writers had much to say about this particular custom. Cicero could have learned much about Jews simply through his own observation. But it is quite likely though that his defence of Flaccus against the Jewish witnesses made him seek out more particular information about the Jews. For instance, the existence of a compulsory annual temple tax was probably not generally well known outside the Jewish community. Yet this was certainly one aspect about the peculiar religious life of the Jews with which Cicero necessarily had to be acquainted for Flaccus' trial; and indeed the clever way he handled this Jewish custom clearly bears out his knowledge of it.

It has already been shown that Cicero's hostile attitude in the Pro Flacco was partly dictated by the nature of the case and partially due to a consideration of his own political state. Other, less obvious, reasons for his attitude remain to be looked at.

As far as it is known Cicero's judgment about Jews could scarcely have been formed as a result of information which he gathered from extant Roman literature. Greek literary opinion was readily accessible to him, but even here one obviously has no way of knowing whether he ever came across the relevant literature on the Jews. One fares better by considering the possibility that his attitude may well have been influenced by contemporary Greek opinion.

The famous grammarian Alexander Polyhistor who was brought to Rome and then freed by Sulla following his wars with Mithridates wrote numerous historical and geographical works on foreign countries. Among these monographs which Cicero may have come across was a work conspicuously entitled περὶ Ἰουδαίων. It was made up of extracts from various Jewish, Greek and Samaritan writers.[110]

It is perhaps more important to note two anti-Jewish Greek personalities of Cicero's day. One was Poseidonios of Apamea, a stoic philosopher and historian of considerable reputation and influence and who was "well known to

[110]See Reinach, Textes, pp. 65-66; Juster I, 32 for the location of his fragments and a short commentary on the man.

cultivated circles in Rome."[111] Another was one of the most celebrated rhetors of his time, Apollonios Molon, who is known to have written a special tract against the Jews, boldly entitled συσκευή κατὰ Ἰουδαίων.[112] As a young man, Cicero received instruction from these men[113] and he certainly knew both of them well enough to be aware of their prejudices against the Jews. But because he never made any allusions to the absurd stories about Jews which were circulated by his two Greek teachers, some[114] would doubt that he learned much, if anything at all, from these men. It is true that Cicero was just not the type of credulous person to commit himself wholly to the more absurd calumnies about the Jews, even if these stories came from the mouths of great scholars. Still, the hatred which his influential teachers felt for the Jews was so pronounced and well known in literary circles that it might definitely have left some lasting impression on his mind. Josephus felt obliged to record their views in

[111] J.B. Bury, The Ancient Greek Historians, (1908; rpt. New York: Dover, 1958), pp. 221ff; cf. W.S. Anderson, Pompey, His Friends and the Literature of the First Century B.C. (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1963) pp. 60ff.

[112] See Juster I, 32; Reinach, Textes, pp. 60-64.

[113] Plut., Cic. 4; Quint., Ins. Ora. XII.6.7; Cic., De Nat. Deo. I.6; Brutus 245, 307, 312, 316; Ad Att. II.1.9; Ad Att. XVI.11.4.

[114] See Radin, p. 232.

order to refute them. Among these charges were the following. They attacked the Jews for not recognizing the gods of other peoples and made up fantastic stories about their temple rites.[115] Apollonios' invectives seemed to have covered every facet of Jewish life. In the same breath he accused the Jews of atheism and then impugned their temerity and recklessness as a people.[116] Josephus also deplored his outright condemnation of the exclusiveness of the Jews without taking into account the religious reasons for their behaviour.[117] One learns indirectly from Diodorus Siculus that Poseidonios also accused the Jews of misanthropy and called them an impious people who were hated by the gods.[118] All these charges which Poseidonios and Apollonios Molon levelled against the Jewish people resemble very much what Cicero himself expressed in his Pro Flacco. On this basis it can at least be argued that he shared in principle his teachers' prejudices and did not disdain to repeat some of their anti-Jewish opinions when it was appropriate to do so.

[115] Jos., Ap. II.79.

[116] Jos., Ap. II.148.

[117] Jos., Ap. II.258.

[118] Diod. Sic. XXXIV.1.1ff.

The fourth and last Ciceronian reference to the Jews appears in De Provinciis Consularibus, 10: "Iam vero publicanos miseros me etiam miserum, illorum ita de me meritorum miseriis ac dolore: tradidit [Gabinius] in servitutem Iudaeis et Syris, nationibus natis servituti..." This passage, and it might be added the concluding phrase of the Jewish passage in the Pro Flacco, have led some commentators to make certain conclusions about Cicero's attitude which upon more serious reflection are untenable. It is very doubtful whether Cicero's overall hostile feelings toward the Jews mirror his desire to forward the economic interests of the Equites who supposedly felt threatened by rival Jewish business men. Obviously, those who have held this view[119] have not taken into account certain inherent difficult details in their line of thought. It is dangerous to take certain modern preconceived notions about the Jews and impute these same general ideas to antiquity.

For the most part all evidence would indicate that the Jews belonged to the lower classes and it is inconceivable that a number of them should have been wealthy enough, at least in Cicero's day, to compete successfully with the larger commercial houses of the Roman publicani and

[119]Notably L. Herrmann, "Cicéron et les Juifs", Atti del I congresso internazionale di studi Ciceroniani (Rome: Centro di Studi Ciceroniani, 1961), I, 116f; cf. Hild, REJ, 8 (1884), 23.

negotiatores. At any rate except for the case of the Alexandrian Jews, there is scarcely any evidence to show conclusively that the Jews of the Roman Diaspora were engaged in large scale commercial enterprises.[120] Furthermore, the majority of the Jews of Palestine, from where it should be remembered many Jews of the Diaspora had emigrated, were agriculturalists and had little experience in industry or the arts. This fact is emphatically stated by Josephus.[121] The passages Herrmann quoted in support of his claim are clearly only examples of Cicero's rhetoric. Furthermore, in these speeches Cicero was primarily attacking his personal enemy A. Gabinius, the governor of Syria. It was under Gabinius' consulship that Cicero had been exiled, and when he later returned to Rome, he never lost an opportunity to assail him publicly.

The implication in Cicero's statements in the De Provinciis Consularibus and certain other speeches of 57 and 56 B.C.E. notably the Pro Sestio and the In Pisonem,

[120] See Juster II, 291-310; note also the remark of L. Friedlaender, Roman Life and Manners Under the Early Empire, 7th ed., rev., trans. J.H. Freese (1909; rpt. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1965), III, 172: "But there is no direct evidence that the Jewish emigration was especially or to any great extent prompted by commercial motives; there is nothing to support this idea, but much to contradict it." Cf. also Leon, p. 237: "It is a fallacy to attribute to the Jews of ancient Rome the mercantile activities that are associated with the Jews of the Middle Ages and of modern times."

[121] Ap. I.60-61.

is that Gabinius was, among other things, a corrupt administrator. Here, however, one must make certain allowances for Cicero's grotesque caricature of the man. As far as Judaea was concerned Gabinius seemed to have known the country well. After putting down a few minor rebellions, he ably set out to reorganize the country, dividing it into five aristocratic unions mainly for fiscal reasons, and even rebuilding ruined cities. It is significant that Josephus never had anything bad to say about his treatment of the Jews.[122]

Bearing these facts in mind there is no need to draw important conclusions from Cicero's reference to Jews in his De Provinciis Consularibus. Cicero was simply repeating "the rhetorical commonplace of Greeks that barbarians as such were slaves by nature."[123] Syrians had long been regarded as the slave nation par excellence, but to have applied this term to the Jews does not make too much sense. Again, if the Romans thought that the Syrians were an effeminate and unwarlike people, they could not in all honesty have said the same for the Jews. For what had first attracted the Romans to Judaea was the warlike aggressiveness of the Maccabean Jews. Up to Pompey's arrival

[122] B. I.160-178; A.XIV.82-104.

[123] Radin, p. 233; 216ff.

in the East, Judaea had been a loyal ally of Rome; Pompey, however, only captured the Temple after a long siege; even after he left, his lieutenants still had to put down a few uprisings.

Cicero's inclusion of the Jews in his sardonic phrase can easily be explained. As a _popularis_ Gabinius was always loyal to the cause of the Triumvirs even while he was abroad. One of the things which irritated Cicero about Gabinius' provincial administration was his deliberate neglect of the Roman tax collectors, many of whom were Cicero's friends. In favouring his provincials, who in this case happened to be Syrians and Jews, in various ways, Gabinius not only humiliated the _publicani_, but must certainly have caused them to loose financially. He "had a definite policy as regards tax-collection in his province. He had no power to eliminate the _publicani_ altogether, but he did his best to narrow the scope of their activity by collecting taxes directly."[124] Of course there is certainly no question here that Gabinius actually let his Syrian and Jewish provincials replace the Roman _publicani_ and _negotiatores_ in their usual activities.

[124] M. Rostovtzeff, _The Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World_ (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967) II, 983; see also 981 ff. See also E.M. Sanford, "The Career of Aulus Gabinius", _TAPA_, 70 (1939), 64-92, esp. 79-81.

This implication which Cicero conveyed to his listeners did not reflect the truth. Unlike his general remarks in the Pro Flacco, his attitude here was purely rhetorical and dictated by circumstances.

It is unlikely that Cicero's opinion about Jews influenced the attitude of later Roman writers. Since much of his major literary output is extant, it is evident that his comments about Jews represent only a very minute part of his writings. The influence he may have had on his contemporaries must not have amounted to much. Cicero's prejudices against Jews were usually voiced publicly. It is only on such occasions when he delivered his Pro Flacco and his De Provinciis Consularibus that one can clearly suppose that he succeeded in working up the passions of his Roman audience against a foreign minority like the Jews. Cicero, however, had nothing to say about these people either in his letters or in his diverse political and philosophical writings, where one might have expected at least a passing remark on the peculiarities of Judaic religious beliefs especially in his treatises on religion. That he should generally have ignored and showed a marked disdain for the Jews is not surprising. He shared the attitude of the Roman upper classes whose political principles and cultural background predisposed them to dislike not only the Roman masses, but

also all foreign elements. This latter tradition especially was more widespread and went back to the days of Cato and even to the foundation of the Republic. But be that as it may, there were a few cultivated Romans of the Late Republic who were more open minded than Cicero about such matters. What is striking is that even within his own circle of acquaintances, men like Varro, Julius Caesar and Asinius Pollio certainly did not share his biases against the Jews. Some of these men were not only tolerant of the Jews' way of life, but even seem to have showed considerable interest in Judaism in general.

Varro's opinion about the Jewish religion stands in sharp contrast to Cicero's characterization of the same religious cult as a "barbara superstitio". Unfortunately, most of the voluminous writings of this famous Roman scholar have been lost and one can only lament the fact that the other comments about Jews which he doubtless seems to have made[125] have also perished, except for an extant reference preserved by Augustine. That passage is as follows: "Dicit [Varro] etiam antiquos Romanos plus

[125] Like most learned Romans, Varro was aware of the geography of Judaea, as the following passing remark from Res Rusticae II.1.27 (which, incidentally, was overlooked by Reinach, Textes) clearly indicates: "Non scitis palmulas careotas Syrias parere in Iudaea, in Italia non posse?"

annos centum et septuaginta, deos sine simulacro coluisse. 'Quod si adhuc,' inquit, 'mansisset, castius dii observarentur.' Cui sententiae suae testem adhibet inter cetera etiam gentem Iudaeam; nec dubitat eum locum ita concludere ut dicat, qui primi simulacra deorum populis posuerunt, eos civitatibus suis et metum dempsisse et errorem addidisse."[126]

Here Augustine was citing from the second part of Varro's Antiquitatum Rerum Humanarum et Divinarum which was dedicated to the Pontifex Maximus of his day, Julius Caesar.[127] This fact would indicate that Varro's work was published in c. 47 B.C.E.[128] In retrospect one can perhaps say that at least in reference to the Jews and given Caesar's own particularly favourable attitude toward them, the dedication was appropriate.

Varro's work counted forty-one books in all and it is certainly too much to suppose that he composed his entire Antiquitatum in 47. Much research would have been necessary for such an extensive treatise, and the part of his work where he talked about the Jews may well have been inspired at the time of Pompey's stories about the Jewish

[126]Augustine, De Civitate Dei IV.31.2.

[127]Aug., De Civ. Dei VII.35.

[128] Hild, REJ, 8 (1884), 25, n. 1.

Temple in Jerusalem being entirely devoid of images. This is certainly a plausible conjecture considering that Varro was one of Pompey's intimate friends and advisors.[129] But an erudite like Varro would not likely have been satisfied with reports made by essentially military men like Pompey's officers who had witnessed the Temple in 63 B.C.E. Having heard about the strange cult of the Jews Varro was the type of person who would have sought all that was written about the Jews. In his day, this necessarily meant delving into Greek literature. But if Cicero were influenced by men like Poseidonios and Apollonios Molon, Varro on the other hand appeared to have been guided by the more sober judgments of certain Hellenistic Greek thinkers like Theophrastos[130] and even Aristotle, if one is to believe the authority of his disciple Clearchos,[131] who went so far as to characterize the Jews as philosophers. Lastly, Varro was acquainted with Asinius Pollio with whom he shared an interest in books and libraries. It is not improbable to suppose that Pollio, whose knowledge about

[129] See W.S. Anderson, op.cit., p. 44ff.

[130] See Reinach, Textes, pp. 7-8; Jos., Ap. I.166-7. Note also W. Jaeger, "Greeks and Jews: The First Greek Records of Jewish Religion and Civilization", Journal of Religion, 18 (1938), 127-143.

[131] Jos., Ap. I.176ff.

the Jewish religion seemed to have been quite extensive, introduced Varro to basic Judaic principles and even to the Greek Septuagint which had been in existence since the third century B.C.E.

The first part of Varro's statement which Augustine quoted can be taken to parallel what Plutarch wrote in his biography of King Numa.[132] Plutarch noted that before Numa's time the Romans had no images of any kind placed in their temples for a period of 170 years. The reason, according to him, was that the Romans thought that it was impious to liken the divine with material objects and that only the mind could apprehend deity. Varro must surely have been thinking of this same early period in Roman history.

Radin was unfair to Varro when he questioned his sincerity in praising the superior Jewish concepts of the deity. It is true that the ancients did not generally have any notion of the idea of human progress and usually viewed the remote past as a sort of golden era in human existence.[133] But Radin went too far in closely comparing Varro's opinion with the notion that the Romans were always in the habit of identifying their own simple past prior to the introduction of corrupt Greek practices with

[132]Plut., Numa VIII.7-8.

[133] See J.B. Bury, The Idea of Progress (1932; rpt. New York: Dover, 1955), pp. 7-21.

"those institutions of barbarians which could be called severe or simple."[134] However that may be, there is certainly no valid reason to doubt the authenticity of Augustine's judgment when he noted that Varro chose the religion of the Jews as one of the most obvious examples of an ideal cult.

The Jews were a puritan people who for centuries had been taught to revere an invisible Spirit. Their concepts of the divine cannot be said to have appeared simple to the average Roman accustomed to many gods with material forms. One must therefore allow a certain amount of philosophical reflection on Varro's part to reach the conclusion that an imageless cult like the Jewish religion came closer to a realization of the deity than an anthropomorphic and polytheistic religion like the Graeco-Roman with which he was most familiar. Unquestionably, Varro's ideas demonstrate more than a passing interest in the religion of the Jews. This is all the more significant when one considers that many of his better educated contemporaries quietly escaped the dryness of the Roman state religion by adhering to some philosophical tenet. This course often led to complete atheism as in the case with Lucretius. The Roman gods were

[134] Radin, pp. 234-235.

amoral——they loved and hated and erred as men did on earth; thus, for Lucretius life could only become meaningful by totally rejecting the existence of these gods. Lucretius was certainly a well-read man, but whether he ever came across anything on the religion of the Jews is uncertain. At any rate, he certainly showed no signs of even being at least vaguely aware of the essence of Judaism or at best interested in it.[135] Varro, on the other hand, recognized the remarkable achievement that Jewish monotheism was in human thought. Of this strange religious phenomenon for the Mediterranean world of that era, Varro is the first known Roman, and indeed one of the few, to have expressed himself in such sympathetic terms and serious philosophical tones.[136] Later in the next century the two greatest Jewish apologists of antiquity, Philo and Josephus, were to go to great lengths to show to the world that Judaism was a philosophical concept of

[135] Although De Rerum Natura VI.756 may provide a vague clue as to at least his knowledge of the geography of Judaea.

[136] Whether the Elder Pliny had partly Jewish monotheism in his mind or not in Hist. Nat. II.14ff is impossible to determine. Yet some of his remarks make an interesting comparison with Varro's opinion. E.g.: "Quapropter effigiem dei formamque quaerere inbecillitatis humanae reor. Quisquis est deus, si modo est aliquis, et quacumque in parte, totus est sensus, totus visus, totus auditus, totus animae, totus animi, totus sui."

life as noble as, and even surpassing, any other branch of Greek thought.[137]

It remains to say a few words about Julius Caesar even though he did not express his feelings toward the Jews in his extant writings, De Bello Gallico and De Bello Civili. It is certainly strange that the author of the Bellum Alexandrium made no mention of the assistance which Caesar was fortunate to receive from the Jews of Egypt and Judaea. When the civil war broke out in 49 B.C.E., Caesar freed the Jewish king Aristobulus whom Pompey had imprisoned in Rome. Meanwhile, as the eastern provinces flocked to Pompey's side, Aristobulus' brother and rival, Hyrcanus together with his chief lieutenent the Idumaean prince Antipater, followed suit in the name of Judaea. With two Roman legions under his command Aristobulus was ordered by Caesar to dislodge the Pompeians in both Syria and Judaea. However, he was overtaken and poisoned by Pompey's partisans before he could reach Syria. Pompey then ordered his father-in-law Q. Metellus Scipio, the proconsul of Syria (49-48 B.C.E.), to execute Aristobulus' eldest son Alexander. When Mark Antony eventually came upon Aristobulus' body, he sent it back to the royal sepulchres in Judaea.[138]

[137] Note e.g. Jos.' pertinent remarks in Ap. II.168-171, 257, 281.

[138] Jos., A. XIV.123-26; B. I.183-86.

As soon as Antipater heard of Pompey's defeat at Pharsalia and his subsequent death in Egypt, he immediately shifted his allegiances to Caesar. He persuaded the Jews of Syria, Judaea and Egypt to side with him. Then, he personally led three thousand Judaeans and gave valuable assistance to the Caesarian forces. In return for the services which he rendered to Caesar in Egypt, he was given the Roman citizenship and made governor of Judaea. Antipater's friend, the Hasmonean prince Hyrcanus, was rewarded with the office of High Priest.[139]

It is beyond the scope of this thesis to examine in detail the contents and significance of the various decrees issued by Caesar and his lieutenants in favour of the Jews. It is very doubtful that Caesar shared to the same degree Varro's philosophical interest in the Jewish religion because he was not known to be a very religious person. The most one can say is that his enlightened skepticism and his preoccupation with civil matters made him liberal not only in regard to the Roman state religion but also to various foreign cults like Judaism which were not likely to pose a threat to the peace of the state. In any case, Mommsen somewhat exaggerated the motives for

[139] Jos., A. XIV.127-42; B. I.187-203.

Caesar's treatment of the Jews.[140] Hild also went too far when he took his cue from Mommsen and conjectured that "la force moralisatrice du judaïsme "[141] had penetrated Caesar's mind. No ancient author has recorded Caesar's personal feelings toward Judaism, nor his motives for the toleration and protection that he offered the Jews of the Empire. If conjecture is indeed necessary in this case, then it would be more plausible to infer that Caesar's behaviour toward the Jews was primarily dictated by political considerations. For, on the eve of the civil strife between himself and Pompey, the Roman Jews were wholly on the side of the populares. Pompey was disliked not only because he was responsible for the capture of Jerusalem, the imprisonment of Aristobulus and his family, the enslavement of thousands of Jews and his blasphemous entry into the holy of holies of the Temple, but also because he was the chosen leader of the optimates which had special significance for those Jews who lived in Italy. In addition to the loyal support of the Italian Jews, Caesar's task in conquering the East was to some extent

[140] T. Mommsen, The History of Rome, trans. W.P. Dickson (London: Macmillan, 1908), V, 417-419.

[141] Hild, REJ, 8 (1884), 33.

facilitated by the assistance he generally received from the Jews of the eastern Diaspora under Antipater's influence.

Whatever motivated Caesar in his dealings with the Jews, the fact remains that the public enactments which he and his party passed on their behalf served as a basis for their legal protection and religious freedom. This state of affairs lasted more or less unchanged until the advent of the Christian emperors who, under the influence of an anti-Jewish policy advocated by the early church fathers, began to persecute the Jews by revoking all their former civil rights and privileges. Many of the privileges that were granted by the Caesarians were preserved by Josephus[142] and so need not be enumerated here. The effect of Caesar's legislation was to replace the various ad hoc laws passed by Roman magistrates locally. Thus, scholars today would generally agree with B. Niese's interpretation of the Caesarian senate's ratification of the Jews' privileges: "...das Senatusconsult ist offenbar eine Magna Charta Judäas gewesen und wäre es wohl lange geblieben..."[143] Caesar's humane laws created a

[142] A. XIV.185-216.

[143] "Bemerkungen uber die Urkunden bei Josephus Archaeol. B. XIII.XIV.XVI," Hermes, 11 (1876), 488.

tremendous impression on world Jewry and his actions were long remembered. It is therefore easy to understand why almost two hundred years after his death, Suetonius[144] was still able to report that of all foreign mourners at Caesar's funeral pyre the Jews were the most conspicuous group to lament his sudden and tragic death.

[144] *Div. Jul.* LXXXIV.8.

Chapter III

The Jews in Augustan Literature

Like Caesar himself, Augustus, his adopted grand-nephew, tolerated and protected the Jews of the Empire. Indeed, in the words of one modern commentator, "Augustus completed his work."[145] This fact is evident from the numerous testimonies of Philo and Josephus.

Besides being well pleased to confirm all of Caesar's laws, Augustus made remarkable additions of his own. For example, one of the important concessions which he granted to the poorer Jews of the capital who held the Roman citizenship was their right to collect their share of the corn doles and all other state benefactions that happened to be distributed on a Sabbath the following day.[146] This single instance of the Princeps' good will toward the Jewish population of Rome serves to complement Philo's personal remark that Augustus never did anything to disrupt

[145] E.M. Smallwood, "Jews and Romans in the Early Roman Empire", History Today, 15 (1965), 234f; cf. Hild, REJ, 11 (1885), 23ff; Radin, p. 263; Juster I, 224; Leon, p. 10f.

[146] Philo, Leg. 158.

the religious and social life of the community. In fact Philo said explicitly that Augustus knew that many Jews lived in the Transtiberine quarter (the modern Trastevere) of Rome; he was also aware that they worshipped and held their services on the Sabbath and that it was customary for them to collect money from their first fruits and send it by special envoys to the Temple in Jerusalem.[147] Whenever delegations of Jews from various parts of the empire complained that they were persecuted by their neighbours, Augustus was always quick to reprimand the culprits and officially remind the people of the Jews' civil rights and privileges. He specifically made enactments in favour of the Jews of Asia, protected their rights against the people of Cyrene and Alexandria and affirmed several times the Jewish privilege of sending money to the Temple for religious purposes.[148] Augustus' lieutenants in the provinces, notably C. Marcius Censorinus, C. Norbanus Flaccus and Julius Antonius were also known to have respected the Jews and safeguarded their religious and civil rights.[149]

[147] Philo, Leg. 155-157.

[148] Jos., A. XVI.160-166; 171-173; XIX.282f; 289.

[149] Jos., A. XVI.165; 171-172; Philo, Leg. 314-315.

After Augustus the person most noted in the government for his favourable disposition toward the Jews was M. Vipsanius Agrippa. On a tour of the eastern provinces in 14 B.C.E. on his way through Judaea, he expressly came up from the coast to Jerusalem, situated in the hilly centre of the country, in order to pay a courtesy visit to Herod. Both Philo and Josephus recorded that Agrippa was so impressed by the Jewish religious rites that he made costly dedicatory gifts to the Temple. On this same visit to Judaea he granted many personal favours to the inhabitants and as a result was warmly received by the entire population wherever he went.[150] Elsewhere in the Empire Agrippa defended the Jews who were being molested in some areas of Asia Minor; he heard their appeals and complied with their wishes. At another time, he also preserved the rights of the Jews against the Ephesians and Cyrenaeans.[151] It is not surprising then to discover that out of eleven different Jewish congregations known to have existed in Rome, one was called the synagogue of the Agrippesians (Ἀγριππησίων) and another the synagogue of

[150] Philo, Leg. 291; 294; 297; Jos., A. XVI.12-16.

[151] Jos., A. XII.125-127; XVI.27-60; 167-173.

the Augustesians (Αὐγουστησίων), presumably after the two most important men in the Roman government at this time who had been most conspicuous in befriending the Jews.[152] Out of respect for the Jews' religion, Augustus instituted a perpetual offering to the Temple in Jerusalem on behalf of the imperial family. This offering consisted of a daily burnt sacrifice of two lambs and a bull and was paid for by the Princeps himself. Philo remarked that in his own lifetime this practice was still being continued by Augustus' successors.[153]

Augustus and his family together with a few aristocratic Romans were intimately connected with King Herod the Great and his family. This is especially attested in numerous passages of Josephus' history of Judaea during the Augustan period. It will not be possible to follow in detail Josephus' narrative of these relations but simply note the most conspicuous facts.

In 43 B.C.E., Antipater was poisoned, but before his death, he had already delegated his power to his younger son Herod. Herod was as shrewd a politician as his father.

[152] For a brief but lucid discussion on all the Roman synagogues, see Leon, pp. 135-166 and the modern works there cited.

[153] Philo, 157; 291; 317.

When the East fell to Antony after his victory at Philippi in 42 B.C.E., Herod made certain to befriend him. But from 40 to 37 Antigonus, son of the Aristobulus who had been deposed and imprisoned in Rome by Pompey, managed to rule over Judaea as both King and High Priest. The old Hyrcanus was prevented from performing his sacerdotal duties when his body was mutilated, and Herod's elder brother Phezahel, who was holding the civil power before Antigonus' sudden take-over, eventually committed suicide in prison. During this time Herod was in Rome soliciting support for his own cause. With Octavian's approval, but mainly through Antony's influence, the consuls, one of whom was Asinius Pollio, and the senate accepted Herod's claim to the throne of Judaea. With Roman troops at his command, he eventually secured the country. After Actium, Herod shrewdly shifted his allegiance to Octavian the victor, obtained his forgiveness and from that time on till his death in 4 B.C.E. remained his very close friend.[154]

Augustus' personal friendship with Herod doubtlessly served as an example to other members of his family and his friends to befriend the Jews. His wife Livia is reported by Philo to have "adorned the temple with golden vials and

[154] For a record of Herod's life see the relevant sections in Josephus' B. and A.

libation bowls and a multitude of other sumptuous offerings."[155] Livia is also known to have had a Jewish slave named Acme as one of her handmaids. Apparently this servant even had access to the empress' private papers. At any rate, she was eventually executed by Augustus for plotting against Herod's sister, Salome.[156] From Josephus' account of Acme's deeds it can also be inferred with certainty that both Livia and Salome corresponded frequently and often discussed important matters that concerned both their respective countries.[157] In another place in his history, Josephus noted explicitly that Livia often counseled Salome on various occasions; at one time she even advised her to follow her brother's wish and marry a certain Alexas in order not to provoke his enmity.[158] When Salome died, Livia received Jamnia and its territories as a bequest from her friend together with the cities Phasaëlis and Archelaïs in the Jordan valley; these areas were famous for their date and palm groves.[159] Livia was also one of the

[155] Leg. 319f.

[156] Jos., B. I.641-643; A. XVII.134-145; 182-183.

[157] Hild, REJ, 11 (1885), 28, grossly confused Augustus' wife Livia with his daughter Julia when he wrote: "Salomé était au mieux avec la fameuse Julie, la fille d'Auguste et la femme de Tibère...." Livia was only given the honorary title of "Julia" after her husband's death.

[158] A. XVII.10.

[159] Jos., A. XVIII.31; see also Pliny, Hist. Nat. XIII.44.

beneficiaries in Herod's will.[160] After Herod's death two of his sons, Herod Antipas and Philip, who inherited parts of his kingdom renamed two cities, Julias(Livias)-Betharamphtha and Julias-Bethsaida, in their respective territories of Peraea and Trachonitis after Livia and her daughter Julia.[161]

Other members of Augustus' household and circle of friends befriended Judaea's royal family. According to Josephus, the thing which Herod valued most "was that in Caesar's affection he stood next after Agrippa, in Agrippa's, next after Augustus'."[162] On his tour of Judaea, Agrippa was lavishly entertained and honoured by the King. Together with Augustus, he was so impressed by Herod's magnanimity that for a time he thought he should be made king of Syria and Egypt![163] Berenice, the daughter of Herod's sister Salome and wife of his son Aristobulus, stayed in Rome after her husband was executed by his father. Josephus[164] mentioned a few times that she ranked high among the friends of Antonia minor, Mark Antony's

[160] Jos., A. XVII.146; 190.

[161] Jos., A. XVIII.27-28.

[162] B. I.400; cf. A. XV.361.

[163] Jos., A. XVI.12-26; 141; 157.

[164] A. XVIII.143; 156; 165.

daughter and later the mother of Germanicus and Claudius and grandmother of Caligula. Berenice's son Agrippa, who was later to be made king by his friend the emperor Caligula, was also in Rome with his mother. While she was courting Antonia and her friends, he was brought up with Drusus, the son of the emperor Tiberius,[165] and also with Antonia's son Claudius and his circle of friends.[166]

Herod sent several of his sons by his nine wives to Rome for their education. His sons Alexander and Aristobulus by his first wife, the Hasmonean princess Mariamne, were lodged for several years at the house of C. Asinius Pollio his most trusted friend among the Roman nobility.[167] Pollio was an influential Roman aristocrat who was also close to Augustus. All evidence seems to point out that he was not only quite sympathetic toward Herod and his family, but also toward Judaism in general. He seems to have been well acquainted with Jewish history too.[168] Among his friends Pollio counted the celebrated poets of the time, Vergil and Horace. His personal relations

[165] Jos., A. XVIII.143.

[166] Jos., A. XVIII.165.

[167] Jos., A. XV.342-343.

[168] See L.H. Feldman, "Asinius Pollio and his Jewish Interests", TAPA, 84 (1953), 73-80.

with Herod and his general sympathies toward Judaism were undoubtedly a well known fact, so it is very probable that his literary contemporaries and friends were at least introduced to Judaism through him.

Besides Pollio, Herod was acquainted with other high ranking Romans. During his first stay in Rome, he had mingled with Antony's circle of friends, and it must have been through the triumvir himself that he met M. Valerius Messalla Corvinus. The latter was then an eloquent orator and patron of literature; like Pollio he knew the major poets of the day well enough to be favourably mentioned in their works.[169] Messalla became another of Herod's friends among the Roman nobility. In 42-41 B.C.E. he defended his Jewish friend against his enemies in Judaea.[170] Later in Rome, he was the first to speak on Herod's behalf, recalling to the senate his father Antipater's services to Caesar and the king's own loyalty to Rome. It was also Messalla who presented the motion to the Senate which declared Herod King of Judaea. At this time, Herod seems also to have won the friendship of another prominent Roman,

[169] E.g. Hor., Sat. I.6.42; I.10.29, 85; Ars Poetica 371; Tib., Panegyricus Messalae; Ovid, Pont. I.7.27.

[170] Jos., B. I.243; A. XIV.325.

L. Sempronius Atratinus, who may also have spoken on Herod's behalf; at any rate, Josephus thought it important enough to note that it was Atratinus who seconded Messalla's motion. With such men publicly backing him, besides Antony and Octavian and their associates, it is small wonder then that Herod's nomination was unanimously approved by the Roman Senators.[171] On his first visit to Rome, Herod also met the peripatetic historian Nicolaus of Damascus who was to become his court historian and chief advisor in foreign affairs. Nicolaus was sent several times to Rome to settle his master's personal and public affairs and on one occasion was even responsible for reconciling Augustus with Herod.

The fact that Herod had such an array of influential friends both at the government level and among aristocratic and literary circles may well have served to focus Roman attention on the Jews' religious and social customs. The rather sympathetic attitude of various members of the Roman nobility toward himself and Judaism in general probably also facilitated the Jewish monarch's persistent wish to have his sons educated in Rome.

Herod's notorious son Antipater is known to have visited the city twice; his treasonable intrigues

[171] Jos., B. I.284; A. XIV.384.

with Livia's Jewish servant Acme led to his recall and execution.[172] Herod's sons Archelaus and Antipas by the Samaritan Malthace and his sons Herod and Philip by a certain Cleopatra of Jerusalem also spent some time in the Roman capital.[173] It might be supposed that like their father before them, these Jewish princes mingled among and made some friends with other upper class Romans. The general impact they created on different levels of Roman society can, however, only be vaguely surmised. But even if they did not strictly practise their religion while they were in Rome, as royal princes they undoubtedly had to be aware of the customs of their country. So, in this respect they had a chance to acquaint their more inquisitive Roman friends with at least a superficial knowledge of Jewish life. Unfortunately, neither Josephus nor Philo had anything specific to say about this. Nor is it known to what extent the Jewish princes had contacts with members of the numerous Jewish community of Rome. It can only be indirectly inferred from statements made by Josephus that at least Mariamne's sons, Alexander and Aristobulus, the first Jewish princes to arrive in Rome, were popular with the

[172] Jos., B. I.573ff; A. XVI.86-87; XVII.53; 61ff.

[173] Jos., B. I.602; A. XVII.20-21.

Roman Jews. According to the Jewish historian, when an impostor appeared in Rome and pretended to be Alexander, after the deaths of Alexander and Aristobulus at the hands of their father, the Roman Jews became so ecstatic at the news that they placed the young man in a litter and paraded him through the streets thanking their god that he was still alive. But Augustus, who undoubtedly must have met the real Alexander while he was in Rome, was not deceived and quickly unmasked the charlatan. Whether Herod's other sons were similarly well liked by the Roman Jews is not known. It is almost certain though that Archelaus, who succeeded his father, was not well liked. Josephus recorded that over eight thousand Roman Jews demonstrated before the Temple of Apollo on the Palatine in support of a Judaean delegation of notables who came to meet Augustus and complain about Archelaus' misrule.[174]

The scope of this thesis does not permit a fuller account of the personal relations that existed between Augustus' contemporaries and the royal house of Judaea. But bearing in mind all that is recorded by Josephus and Philo on these matters together with the various historical

[174] Jos., B. II.105, cf. A. XVII.330-331; B. II.80-81, cf. A. XVII.300-301.

accounts of Augustus' official policy of toleration and protection for all the Jews of the empire it is certainly remarkable to see so many Judaea-Roman contacts on different social levels. It remains to see to what extent these Judaeo-Roman manifestations were reflected in the mainstream of the literature of the period.

Of the poets of this period Horace touched upon almost all of the major aspects that characterized the Jews of his day. He was the son of a freedman whose origin is unfortunately not known. Some[175] have tried, though inconclusively, to prove that his father was an Israelite or a proselyte to the Jewish faith. As Horace's grandfather may have originated from any part of the Mediterranean world, it is futile to conjecture his racial origin. Whatever his ethnic background was it cannot be shown that this fact had a bearing on his attitudes toward Jews. Essentially, Horace was proud to be a Roman and at times even gave voice to traditional and patriotic feelings. His servile ancestry may perhaps explain why he usually did not go out of his way, as for instance Cicero or Juvenal did, in order to inveigh bitterly against all foreign elements, including the Jews.

[175] Cited by M. Chirat, "Horace et les Juifs", Bulletin de la Faculté des Lettres de Strasbourg, 41 (1962-1963), 255-256. It was only possible to read a shorter (?) version of this article in REL, 40 (1962), 74-76.

Chirat who for lack of positive evidence rightly denied that Horace's father had any connection with Jews nevertheless made a ridiculous hypothetical claim of his own by proposing that Horace's mother might have been Jewish.[176] But the fact that Horace never mentioned his mother does not necessarily mean that the poet was ashamed to reveal that she was a Jewess. In any case, the various passages which Chirat cited in support of his hypothesis are irrelevant to the matter he wished to demonstrate.

From what he generally revealed about himself and from what can be gathered externally, Horace was definitely not a Jew either ethnically or by choice, for if he were it would likely have shown in his work. His birth in the southern Italian community of Venusia should also not readily be taken as a further possibility that one of his parents was Jewish or related to Jews. There was apparently a sizeable Jewish community living in Venusia; the most important Jewish catacombs outside Rome have been discovered there.[177] But of course there is the remote possibility that Horace might have come into contact with some of the Jews of Venusia (if there were any in his day) and thus

[176] REL, 40 (1962), 75.

[177] See H.J. Leon, "The Jews of Venusia", Jewish Quarterly Review, 44 (1954), 267-284.

have learned about some of their customs in this way. It is more probable to suppose, however, that he learned a great deal more about Jews simply from his stay in Rome and perhaps more especially from his contacts with Asinius Pollio, the most conspicuous Jewish sympathizer of his time among the Roman upper classes. The more important Jewish customs were all well-known to Horace. His brief allusion to the rich palm groves of Jericho in Epistle II.2.183-184 should demonstrate more than his knowledge of the geography of Judaea. The fact that the Jewish monarch was also mentioned indicates that Herod's very name had by then become a sort of by-word for opulence in literary and aristocratic circles. This idea might partly have been engendered by Asinius Pollio's Jewish interests and partly by Augustus' own friendly attitude to Herod and to Jews in general.

The theme of the fourth poem in Horace's First Book of Satires was a defence of the literary genre of the satire. At the very end of the poem Horace warned his critical reader that if he was not allowed to continue writing satires he would call upon the numerous crowd of poets, who like the Jews, would compel him to join their ranks:

hoc est mediocribus illis
ex vitiis unum: cui si concedere nolis,
multa poetarum veniat manus, auxilio quae
sit mihi (nam multo plures sumus), ac veluti te
Iudaei cogemus in hanc concedere turbam.

Here Horace seemed to have incidentally alluded to the eagerness of the Jews to convert non-Jews to their religion; he was clearly the first Roman to have done so. Later, both Tacitus and Juvenal implied almost the same idea, but in a more disparaging vein.[178] Horace's reference has usually been compared to Jesus' reproach to the Pharisees in Matt., XXIII.15: "περιάγετε τὴν θάλα αν καὶ τὴν ξηρὰν ποιῆσαι ἕνα προσήλυτον." The analogy in this case may be admissible, although it is evident from Horace's context that he was probably not thinking of a particular class of Jews like the Pharisean sect of priests. One has only to refer to lines 38-56 of the same poem where the implication is that satire is comical and resembles simple prose; it serves to relate common incidents in the daily life of ordinary people. Some commentators on Horace's satires have juxtaposed his reference to Jewish proselytism with Cicero's words in the Pro Flacco,

[178] Tac., Hist. V.5.5; Juv., Sat. XIV.96ff.

66.4: "scis quanta sit manus, quanta concordia, quantum valeat in contionibus". It is obvious that those who have done so have not followed closely the implication of their analogy. There is more than a subtle distinction between the two passages in question. The context in which Cicero referred to Jews was strictly political and was also about a matter which concerned him personally. He made absolutely no direct or even indirect allusion to the Jews' proselytizing activities. Both Hild and Reinach,[179] who should at least have known better than the general commentators of Horace's satires, also compared Cicero's remarks with Horace's, principally on the basis of the word "turba" which is used by both writers. But the difficulty with this suggestion is that Horace's "in hanc turbam" referred essentially to "in manum poetarum"; Cicero's "illa turba" and "vox in coronam turbamque effunditur" were only clearly disparaging references to "the Jewish mob". In contrast to Cicero's passage in Pro Flacco 66.4, the incident in which Horace referred to Jews was purely socio-religious in context where the idea of politics was not implied at all. The only similar deduction which can be derived from the references of both writers is that the Jews seemed to have

[179] Respectively, REJ, 11 (1885), 32 n. 1 and Textes, p. 244-245, n. 1.

constituted a fairly large community. The commonly accepted figure for the Augustan period which is based on literary and archaeological evidence is roughly fifty thousand Jews for Rome itself.[180]

Horace could well have stressed the political side of the Jews while he referred to their proselytizing spirit; yet, he chose not to do so. He was simply content in calling them "Iudaei", without adding any hostile qualifying statement to their generic name. Their proselytizing activities were common and conspicuous enough to have aroused his attention, but apparently not his contempt. Indeed, Horace was sufficiently attracted to the Jews to the point where he did not disdain to take the opportunity which the vivid picture of their proselytizing spirit gave him and use this as an analogy to round off in a cleverly playful way his own apologies for writing satire.

It is remarkable that Horace chose to treat Jewish proselytism in such a light manner. The idea of religious propaganda in order to make converts was doubtlessly incomprehensible to the average Roman, accustomed to religious syncretism. It is also very probable that this Jewish habit might have offended some

[180] See Leon, p. 135, n. 1; see also Juster I, 209-210.

Romans who honestly felt that their ancestral faith was steadily being undermined by such vigorous missionary activities. Some years after this satire was written, Augustus embarked upon a serious policy aimed at restoring the old Roman religion. Of foreign cults, Suetonius[181] noted that he only respected the most ancient and sacred ones. Augustus was also reported by his biographer to have praised his grandson Gaius[182] for not paying his respects to the Jewish Temple in Jerusalem when he was passing through Judaea. Suetonius chose this incident as an example of Augustus' contempt for foreign cults. Although there is no reason to question its authenticity, Augustus' attitude as interpreted by Suetonius is certainly strange and inconsistent with his own general good will toward Judaism and his respectful attitude toward the Temple. Moreover, it should also be remembered that both he and Agrippa did not avoid visiting Jerusalem and the Temple when they happened to pass through Judaea. Suetonius' passage then demands an explanation. Young Gaius' travels in the eastern provinces only began in about 2 C.E. By this time Herod had been dead for almost six years, and it

[181] Div. Aug. 93.

[182] For some strange reason Hild, REJ, 11 (1885), 22 had Caligula instead.

is well known that soon after his death the Judaeans complained to Augustus of his son's harsh rule. Therefore, it is very probable that Suetonius misinterpreted the incident which he cited; Augustus' commendation of his grandson's behaviour might have been motivated by political considerations and not by some biased religious outlook. Despite the tense political situation in Judaea after Herod's death and his own official policy with respect to the state religion, Augustus continued to tolerate the privileges of the Jews, and unlike his successor Tiberius, never checked their proselytizing tendencies. This fact is well illustrated by Horace's playful reference to the subject.[183]

The various charges made against the Jews in antiquity were often contradictory. If in one instance the Jews were accused of atheism, in another they were ridiculed for being over-credulous. This last charge formed the basis of another Jewish reference in Horace found in his famous poem which described his leisurely journey to Brundisium in c. 38 B.C.E. Just before the intended destination was reached, the last episode of the journey

[183] In taking his cue from Exod. XXIII.2, T. Zielinski, "Iudaei Horatiani (Sat. I.4, 142)," Commentarii Societatis Philologae Polonarum, 30 (1927), 58, did not have to go to such extreme and unnecessary lengths simply to arrive at the conclusion: "Vides morum Iudaicorum non mediocriter peritum fuisse Horatium."

brought Horace and his friends to the town of Gnatia (or Egnatia). At this point the weary party got a few laughs when the inhabitants of the town tried to convince them that incense could flare up at the threshold of the temple without any fire:

> dein Gnatia lymphis
> iratis exstructa dedit risusque iocosque,
> dum flamma sine tura liquescere limine sacro
> persuadere cupit.

This incident drove Horace to make the following comment:

> credat Iudaeus Apella, 100
> non ego: namque deos didici securum agere aevum,
> nec, si quid miri faciat natura, deos id
> tristis ex alto caeli demittere tecto.[184]

There is no apparent and significant reason why Horace should once more have terminated his discussion with a Jewish anecdote. At any rate, the idea was clever and added another light-hearted touch to the poem. Although at the same time, the concluding passage did reveal a serious aspect about his own religious outlook. Not knowing more than what Horace chose to relate about his stay at Egnatia, it is difficult to discover what in fact

[184] Sat. I.5.97-103.

provoked him to mention a Jew. Did Horace and his friends encounter any "credulous" Jews along their journey? Was the temple in question a little synagogue, and should what Horace said about the "miracle" of the burning incense provide any clue to the problem? Again, from the days of Acron and Porphyrion much discussion has centred on the name "Apella".

The miracle of the fire of Egnatia which Horace mentioned in this poem was apparently a famous local attraction; and, presumably, the inhabitants of the town advertised the miraculous event to all the travellers who passed by their community. Even the elder Pliny noted that in the town of Egnatia wood burned by itself once it was placed on the altar of the temple.[185] Apart from this miracle ancient writers had nothing important to report about Egnatia.

The miraculous fire at the temple of Egnatia has certain parallels in the Bible[186] from which it is evident that the Jews of those days actually believed that their god at times could produce fires for their burnt offerings from unnatural sources. On this basis E.D. Morris[187] readily conjectured that Horace

[185] Hist. Nat. II.107.

[186] Levit. IX.24-X.2; I Kings XVIII.38.

[187] Horace's Satires and Epistles (1939; rpt. Norman: Univ. of Oklahoma Press, 1967), p. 95; cf. J. Gow, Q. Horati Flacci Saturarum Liber I (1901; rpt. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1951), p. 79, n. on l. 100.

possibly even knew that the Jews were apt to believe in such miracles. Morris' fanciful idea partly demonstrates his ignorance of ancient Jewish ritual.

The temple which Horace alluded to was definitely not a synagogue or some other kind of minor Jewish prayer house. As regards to the burning of incense, and indeed even its preparation, the Jews were strictly commanded to follow a system of rather elaborate rules set down by their Law.[188] That the altar or threshold of the temple mentioned by Horace was not Jewish is proved by the fact that incense burning was essentially connected with the sacrificial offering at the Temple in Jerusalem, and limited to that place. It is perhaps significant to note that even to this day the Jewish worship has nothing to do with the burning of incense. If Horace knew about the special Jewish rules concerning the burning of incense, he certainly could not have gotten the idea from any synagogue he may have happened to visit either in Italy or elsewhere outside Jerusalem. Therefore, the possibility that Horace's temple of Gnatia was Jewish or even for that matter frequented by Jews can safely be ruled out.

It is almost impossible to guess why the miracle of Egnatia made Horace immediately think of Jews, except

[188] Exod. XXX.1-10; 34-38.

perhaps that their religious beliefs were so different from others that it was easier to cite the Jews as an example of a superstitious people. It is true, as the Bible shows, that the Jews (and later the Christians) had a great faith in miracles. It is very likely that while proselytizing they referred at least to the best known Biblical mysteries. But as zealous as they were about their religion it is very unlikely that they would readily have associated themselves with the miraculous occurrences of a foreign religion like the affair at the temple of Egnatia. That the Jews were usually singled out by the Romans as a superstitious and credulous people is somewhat unfair when one considers that Livy's Roman history was full of fantastic stories about miraculous happenings. During the Augustan years it had become fashionable to look back with nostalgia to the early days of Rome. This trend, though, among the literary and cultivated was apparently only superficial. The upper classes may have been interested in the miracles of the past, but did not necessarily believe in them. Horace's and his friends' good natured reaction against the "miraculous" exhibition at Egnatia, which for some reason reminded them of the "credulity" of the Jews, was probably typical among such circles. Periodically, one even catches a brief echo of this contemporary feeling in Livy.[189]

[189] III.20.5; XVIII.13.1-2; X.40.10.

The spectacle of Egnatia led Horace to exclaim that the credulous Jew "Apella" might believe in such religious superstitions, but not he. Several theories have arisen to explain why Horace appended to his Jew the name Apella, but none are satisfactory. Apella is essentially the Roman form of the Greek Ἀπελλᾶς or Ἀπελλῆς. The context of the passage in which Horace used the name Apella led Leon, and some others, to maintain that "Horace has chosen the name as that of a typical Jew."[190] This judgement is perhaps too arbitrary and certainly too hasty considering that there are no literary records to indicate that the name Apella or some variation of it was commonly used by the Jews. Leon himself had to admit that out of the hundreds of names discovered on the epitaphs of the Jewish catacombs the name Apella does not appear even once.[191]

[190] Leon, p. 12; see also A. La Penna, Q. Orazio Flacco: Satire ed Epistole, 2nd ed. (Florence: La Nuova Italia, 1959), p. 61, n. on l. 100; D. Bo, Q. Orazio Flacco: Satire, Epistole, Arte Poetica (Milan: Instituto Editoriale Italiano, 1956), p. 101, n. 28, is not too clear; F. Villeneuve, Horace: Satires (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1932), p. 75, n. 8: "Pour dire un juif quelconque." But contrast A. Kiessling, Q. Horatius Flaccus: Satiren, ed., rev., R. Heinze (Berlin: Weidmann, 1959), p. 105, n. on l. 97: "...ein typisch jüdischer Name ist es schwerlich gewesen..."

[191] Leon, p. 11, n. 1; cf. his fifth chapter, pp. 93-121; see also his "The Names of the Jews of Ancient Rome", TAPA, 59 (1927), p. 205-224. On Latin names used by Jews, note also the list compiled by Juster II, 222-234.

It is more probable to suppose that Apella was only a typical name among libertini in general. Such a name to denote freedmen has been found on a number of inscriptions.[192] Apella or Apelles also appeared a few times as a freedman's name in Cicero's letters.[193] And again, whenever one encounters these names elsewhere in Roman literature, there is nothing to suggest that they automatically designated Jews.[194] The ancient commentators on Horace Acron and Porphyrion also made some rather wild assertions about his use of the name Apella; both Hild and Reinach[195] rightly chose not to take their commentaries seriously. Acron and Porphyrion believed that Horace used the name Apella in order to allude to the Jewish practice of circumcision; but the idea that Apella comes from the preposition

[192] There are five examples in CIL X alone : 638(=169); 4391(=3851); 4417(=3864); 6114(=4107); 6190(=4133).

[193] Ad Att. V.19.1; XII.19.1; Ad Fam. VII.25.2; X.17.3, here, contrary to S. Treggiari, Roman Freedmen During the Late Republic (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), p. 187, n. 5, there is no evidence to presume that the Apella in question was also a Jew.

[194] Note especially Pet., Sat. 64; Suet., Caligula 33; Cic., Ad Att. II.21.4; Ad Fam. I.9.15; V.12.7. See also Jos., Ant. XII.270 for Apelles, the name of a Greek officer of Antiochus Epiphanes who was killed by Mattathias during the Maccabean uprising.

[195] Respectively, REJ, 11 (1885), 37 and Textes, p. 245, n. 3.

a and the noun pellis and therefore suggests a reference to circumcision is certainly far-fetched and indeed unnecessary in this case.[196] As it has just been shown, Apella was a relatively common name. Besides, Horace and his readers were fully aware that the Jews were circumcised, and there is no reason why the poet had to be so subtle about mentioning this fact. It will be seen in another of his satires that he was quite blunt in referring to circumcision. Thus Reinach felt that Apella was probably a well known Jew at the time of Horace.[197] Radin who had no doubts whatsoever that he was "a real person" even went so far as to suggest that he "may perhaps have recounted to Horace some of the miracles of the Bible." Kiessling offered a similar explanation.[198]

Many theories have been proposed to explain Horace's "Iudaeus Apella", and the degree of plausibility in each case varies accordingly. The fact that Horace decided to

[196] Respectively, in F. Havthal, ed., Acronis et Porphyrionis Commentarii in Q. Horatium Flaccum, (1866; rpt. Amsterdam, Schippers, 1966) I, 104: "Finxit nomen, quasi sine pelle, aut certe Apella, circumcisus Apella, qui praeputium non habet." and p. 111: "Urbanissimum nomen Iudaeo inposuit, Apella dicens, quasi quod pellem in parte genitali Iudaei non habeant."

[197] Textes, p. 245, n. 3.

[198] Radin, p. 248-249; Kiessling, op. cit. p. 105.

add a personal name to his example of a credulous Jew has apparently thrown off all the commentators. In the first place, when one considers there was really nothing at Egnatia that Horace witnessed which necessarily required a reference to Jews, his mere adding a personal name ought not to be interpreted as though something more meaningful was intended. Horace simply used the name Apella at random. Of a similar category of names as Apella, one has only to think of such names as Dama, Davus, Pythias, Simo, Marsya and Meno which one also encounters in Horace's satires.[199]

Following his remarks about Iudaeus Apella Horace expressed his own religious views in the words of the Epicurean poet Lucretius that the gods were happy by themselves and had nothing to do with events on earth.[200] The majority of commentators have not had much to say about Horace's subsequent use of the word "tristis" in connection with the gods. Yet, Hild, who was later followed by Reinach,[201] saw in the phrase "deos id/tristis ex alto caeli demittere tecto" an indirect criticism of Judaic

[199] See N. Rudd, The Satires of Horace (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1966), p. 146, s.v. "Names of Other Type Characters."

[200] Cf. De Rerum Natura V.82: "Nam bene qui didicere deos securum agere aevum."

[201] Respectively, REJ, 11 (1885), 36f and Textes, p.245, n. 4.

theodicy couched in Epicurean terms. The idea is quite plausible and not as far-fetched as it might first appear. To Horace religion had a tendency to make many people gloomy. For example, among the "mental disorders" that he mentioned in Sat. II.3.77-81 one ought to get rid of in order to be happy and free was the infectious disease of religious superstition. The operative words in that passage are of course "tristive superstitione". It is helpful to recall here that in his contempt for the Jewish religion, Tacitus opposed the festive and cheerful rites of Bacchus to the dull and repulsive practices of the Jews: "quippe Liber festos laetosque ritus posuit, Iudaeorum mos absurdus sordidusque."[202] The fact that the god of the Jews had no image was incomprehensible to many;[203] in this way it was easy to ridicule the Jews for worshipping "with the mind alone."[204] The notion that the Jewish religion was cold and unattractive was even current in the days of Rutilius Numantianus whose bitter remark on the subject is also noteworthy: "...cui frigida sabbata cordi,/ Sed cor frigidius religione sua."[205] Thus, it would seem

[202] Hist. V.5.11

[203] Cf. Lucan, Pharsalia II.592-593.

[204] Tac., Hist. V.5.8.

[205] De Reditu Suo I.388-390.

that Horace wished to contrast the placid and serene Epicurean gods with the "tristis" god of the Jews. The plural deos, as Reinach pointed out, was only poetic; the epithet tristis was often applied to various beliefs which were reputed to be of a superstitious nature. Since it was generally thought that the Jewish god dwelled somewhere in the heavens[206] and constantly interfered in human affairs, the argument is that Horace's words "ex alto caeli demittere" strongly suggest such a characterization of the Jewish deity. Horace's Epicurean concepts could not have made him sympathetic toward Jewish ideas about the divine, yet it is significant that he only chose to criticise Jewish beliefs in the least contemptible manner. It is not enough to reason that this restrained hostility was due to his own amiable character or to his lack of positive religious convictions; the times in which the poet lived very likely had something to do with his attitude.

The third time Horace found cause to mention certain aspects about Jewish life was in the satire in which he described how during one of his morning walks he was joined by an unwelcome acquaintance who desperately wanted to be

[206]See Juv., Sat. XIV.97; Pet., Poem 97.2; Strabo, Geogr. XVI.2.35; Hecataeus of Abdera, in Diodorus Siculus XL.3.3-4; Celsus (=Reinach, Textes, p. 167, sect. 10(V.6)).

introduced to his influential patron, Maecenas. Much to Horace's displeasure the pest insisted on walking with him everywhere he went. One of his vain attempts to get away from this boring fellow occurred when he suddenly came upon his old friend Aristius Fuscus. Unfortunately for Horace, Fuscus was in a jocular mood; he pretended not to notice his hints that he desperately wanted to be released from the parasite who was at his side. Their brief conversation occasioned one unmistakably clear reference to the Jewish rite of circumcision, but another, somewhat puzzling, reference to the Jews' religious custom of observing the Sabbath:

> Haec dum agit, ecce
> Fuscus Aristius occurrit, mihi carus et illum
> qui pulchre nosset. consistimus. "unde venis?" et
> "quo tendis?" rogat et respondet. vellere coepi
> et pressare manu lentissima bracchia, nutans,
> distorquens oculos, ut me eriperet. male salsus
> ridens dissimulare; meum iecur urere bilis.
> "certe nescio quid secreto velle loqui te
> aiebas mecum." "Memini bene, sed meliore
> tempore dicam; hodie tricesima sabbata: vin tu
> curtis Iudaeis oppedere?" "Nulla mihi," inquam,
> "religio est." "At mi; sum paulo infirmior, unus
> multorum. ignosces; alias loquar." Huncine solem
> tam nigrum surrexe mihi! fugit improbus ac me
> sub cultro linquit.[207]

[207] Sat. I.9.60-74.

Needless to say the phrase "vin tu/curtis Iudaeis oppedere?" indicates clearly that Horace and his circle were aware that the Jews were circumcised. Although the Greeks and the Romans usually looked upon circumcision with distaste, it was generally known that the practice was adopted by certain foreign peoples. From the days of Herodotus[208] the rite of circumcision attracted the notice of various writers. In the time of Horace the well-known Greek writers Diodorus Siculus and Strabo[209] had dwelt on the subject in their works. That the Jews were circumcised then was a fact that any well read Roman of Horace's day could gather from Greek literature. Fuscus may also have learned about the circumcised Jews through various personal experiences, just as Martial, for instance, discovered this at the baths.[210] In view of the aim and tone of the whole poem there may not have been more than a mild degree of sarcasm in Horace's thoughts when he made Fuscus preface the name "Iudaeis" with the adjective "curtis".

The short dialogue which ensued between Horace and his friend Fuscus reveals many important points. For one thing, it can again be inferred that the Jewish population of Rome was large. At the same time Fuscus' behaviour is

[208] History II.104.

[209] Diodorus Siculus, Bibl. Hist. I.28.3; 55.5; III.32.4; Strabo, Geogr. XVI.2.37; 4.17; XVII.2.5.

[210] Mart., Epigr. VII.35.4; VII.82.6.

also an indirect allusion to the successful proselytizing activities of the Jews. In this case Horace's little scene attests to the fact that a fair number among the cultivated and upper classes, though perhaps not willing to become fully converted, at least respected certain Jewish habits. It is quite possible that for the sake of the humorous story, Horace chose to exaggerate Fuscus' religious beliefs, but the very fact that he could write about such a case is proof enough that his readers understood and were quite familiar with the situation he pleasantly described.

Horace's line "Nulla mihi religio est" together with Fuscus' reply, "At mi; sum paulo infirmior, unus / multorum. ignosces; alias loquar" can be interpreted partly to corroborate what has already been said about Horace's attitude to the Jewish religion. In contrast to his Judaizing friend, he declared categorically that he himself had no religious scruples. Adhering to no particular religion, it is not surprising that he should never have displayed any profound hostility toward Judaism in his poems. Yet, in this instance, it seems that he could get slightly annoyed at the restrictions which the Jewish religion imposed on its followers. Fuscus' claim that he was a weak person and "one of the many" gives yet another indication of what Horace thought about people who were infected by religion, presumably in particular by foreign

and exotic eastern cults like Judaism. So it is very likely that he was alluding to the disruptive effects which certain Jewish customs like the weekly observance of the Sabbath had on Roman daily life. Augustus, it should be recalled, saw the necessity to allow the postponement of the distribution of the portion of the corn dole which was reserved to the Jewish plebs if the official time of the distribution happened to occur on their day of rest.

Horace's reference to "the thirtieth Sabbath" is perhaps the greatest puzzle that a Roman writer was able to create when writing about Jewish customs. "Probably pure nonsense, no particular Sabbath being intended" by Fuscus was H.R. Fairclough's judgement.[211] Indeed, since Fuscus was in quite a jocular frame of mind when he uttered those words, some commentators therefore thought it "hopeless to try to discover a rational explanation of the phrase tricesima Sabbata."[212] E.C. Wickham said "it is very likely that the riddle has no answer", adding that "some words with a mystic sound, but chosen at random,

[211] Horace: Satires, Epistles and Ars Poetica, "Loeb Classical Library" (London: Heinemann, 1929), p. 110, n. b.

[212] J.H. Michael, "The Jewish Sabbath in the Latin Classical Writers", American Journal of Semitic Languages, ? (1924), p. 118; cf. Leon, p. 13.

would suit the case."[213] Here Wickham was probably following A.J. Macleane who believed Fuscus' "tricesima sabbata" "to be a mere extemporaneous invention made to cover his retreat and tantalize his unfortunate friend."[214] This view was also taken up by more recent commentators. For example, arguing on the basis that "it is not possible to identify" the thirtieth Sabbath "with any known Jewish feast" Morris explained that "it would increase the humour of the solemn scruples of Fuscus, if we suppose the tricesima sabbata to be an invention of the moment."[215]

It seems that those who have proposed that Fuscus was only referring to an imaginary Jewish feast, in other words that the phrase in question makes no sense at all, have done so simply in order to find a way out of the dilemma. It cannot of course be proven that Fuscus was telling the truth, yet it is difficult to show that he was lying. Contrary to

[213] Horace, II: The Satires, Epistles and De Arte Poetica (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1903), p. 75.

[214] Quinti Horatii Flacci Opera Omnia (London: Whittaker, Bell, 1853), p. 423, n. on l. 69; cf. Gow, op. cit., p. 106, n. on l. 69.

[215] Op. cit., p. 129; cf. La Penna, op. cit., p. 92, n. on l. 69: "Si è pensato anche sabbata indichi qui genericamente "festa giudaica", non "sabbato" o addirittura che Aristio Fusco parli di una festa da lui inventata."

Morris' contention, one can argue just as forcefully that Horace's comic story would lose much of its satiric quality if one would readily admit that Fuscus was faking. Only the word "hodie" could one perhaps interpret as being an exaggeration, but this again is unlikely. For, after all, Horace's emphatic reply that he personally had no such scruples ought equally to be taken into consideration. In the story Fuscus was mocking Horace, but Horace was indirectly poking fun at Fuscus. In recounting the incident Horace wished to portray his friend as a follower of some oriental rite which in this case happened to be the Jewish Sabbath which compelled the pious observer to abstain from certain business. Horace's enigmatic Sabbath is therefore authentic; the question is to explain the peculiar terminology. Various suggestions have been made to solve this problem.

The first thing to note is that P. Lejay[216] who was followed by F. Villeneuve[217] and apparently by most modern Italian editors of Horace's satires, prefered to introduce a comma after "hodie tricesima", therefore effecting the following translation: "today is the thirtieth (i.e. day

[216] Oeuvres d'Horace: Satires (1911; rpt. Hildesheim, Olms, 1966) pp. 246-247, n. on l. 69.

[217] Op. cit. p. 99, n. 4.

of the month) and a Saturday (i.e. a Sabbath)". Thus, for example, D. Bo's Italian rendering of line 69 was "oggi è il trenta ed è sabato."[218] But Lejay's slight emendation of Horace's text is entirely unwarranted; all other major editors of Horace's Satires have seen no reason to place a comma between "tricesima" and "sabbata". This of course has made it more difficult to find an adequate meaning behind "the thirtieth Sabbath", but at least the latter phrase, ambiguous as it seems, translates exactly what is implied by the Latin words.

Lejay no doubt thought that his emendation of the text would have the effect of simplifying his own explanation of the problem. He thus considered "tricesima" as a reference to the day of the new moon, neomenia. He also cited such biblical passages as Amos VIII.5 and Isaias I.14 presumably to show that the day of the new moon was not only regarded by the Jews as sacred, but that it was obviously a cesession of work and ordinary business. Thus, taking his cue from Lejay, Villeneuve went so far as to deviate completely from the Latin words and translated line 69 as "c'est le trentième jour de la lune et sabbat." Many other noted commentators, including those who have not insisted upon inserting a comma between "tricesima" and

[218] Op. cit. p. 125; cf. La Penna, op. cit. p. 92.

"sabbata", adopted the interpretation that Fuscus had in mind "the thirtieth day of the lunar month, in part at least kept sacred by the Jews."[219] This "lunar" interpretation is not solely confined to the moderns. The original idea came partly from the explanations put forward by the ancient scholiasts Acron and Porhyrion.[220]

When Lejay cited his two biblical references to illustrate that the Jews paid some religious attention to the day of the new moon, which was actually the beginning of the Hebrew month, he could have added that the festive character of the lunar day was also marked by such activities as going to the Temple (Isaiah I.13-14; 66.23) and having family celebrations (I Samuel 20.5). But what Lejay and all those who have put a "lunar" interpretation on "hodie tricesima sabbata" have failed to realize is that all the biblical references cited above refer only to Jews who lived during the so-called period of the First Temple. This First Temple was the one built by Solomon and which was later destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar in 587 B.C.E. This latter event not only marked the end of

[219] C. Anthon, The Works of Horace (New York: Harper, 1846), p. 471; cf. G. Dillenburger, Q. Horatii Flacci Opera Omnia, 7th ed. (Bonn: Marcus, 1881), p. 408; D. Bo, op. cit. p. 125, n. on l. 69: " giorna della luna nuova"; La Penna, op. cit. p. 92; J.B. Lechatelier, Horatius: Opera, 11th ed. (Paris: De Girord, 1931) p. 257.

[220] In Havthal, op, cit. pp. 159 and 164 respectively.

an era in Jewish history but also the beginning of another in the Jews' religion, principally by the reforms of Ezra. Thus, the Jews of Horace's day belonged to the period of the Second Temple. By this time the old religious observance of the "semi-festival" of the new moon had almost completely disappeared, especially with the Jews of the Diaspora. Consequently, "hodie tricesima sabbata" could not have corresponded to any Jewish lunar feast.

The commentators who saw no allusion to the "thirtieth" day of the lunar month tried instead to associate the phrase with some major Jewish festival by taking the Latin words to mean simply the thirtieth Sabbath of the year. But trying to assimilate that day with a special Jewish festival has only served to compound the problem. For, in those days the Jewish year was reckoned either according to a religious calendar which strictly followed lunar months or according to a civil calendar which was the Macedonian.[221] Accordingly, some[222] proceeded to count the "thirtieth" Sabbath from the beginning of the Jewish sacred year, that is, from the post exilic Hebrew month of Nisan (c. March-April), and postulated the thanksgiving Feast of Tabernacles (Sukkot). Thus the

[221] See Jos., A. I.80-82.

[222] E.g. M.F. Dübner, Oeuvres d'Horace (Paris: Lecoffe, 1897), p. 284.

feast would fall some time between mid-September and mid-October, which would roughly correspond to the Hebrew month Tishri. One of the difficulties with this conjecture is that the feast in question does not at all fit the context of Fuscus' words. The Feast of Tabernacles was (and to a certain extent still is) a very popular and festive occasion for the Jews; moreover, its celebration lasts for a full week. So it is certain that Fuscus did not have this festival in mind.

Calculating according to the Jewish civil year, others suggested Passover as the particular feast in question, presumably because it falls on about the thirtieth Sabbath of the year. Two other equally unsatisfactory feasts which have been conjectured essentially because they must occur or begin on a Sabbath are the Feast of Trumpets and Pentecost, also known as the festival of Weeks. Radin thought that Fuscus was referring to some rather rare and solemn occasion; he therefore went to very great lengths to show that the Day of Atonement (Yom Kippur) was being implied by the words "tricesima sabbata."[223] But the major difficulty with this conjecture and indeed with all the feasts mentioned above is that they very rarely correspond exactly to the thirtieth Sabbath of the year

[223] Radin, p. 247, n. 14 (=pp. 399-402).

which, as Reinach rightly pointed out, had nothing particularly solemn or special about it.[224] Even Radin when he postulated his elaborate explanation recognized this important fact and tried (very dubiously) to circumvent the problem of "thirtieth" by reverting to an astrological interpretation. In his commentary Hild did not settle for any special feast day, yet he proposed that the numeral thirty might simply have designated "le dernier jour d'une période de jeune et de pénitence."[225]

Until very recently the question concerning the Horatian phrase "hodie tricesima sabbata" seemed indeed hopeless and unresolved. The failure to find the right solution must partly be due to the lack of further evidence, but partly also to the general tendency of scholars to see more in Horace's words than he meant to say. But in fairness to all the above mentioned commentators, the conclusive elucidation of Horace's phrase has only resulted from deductions derived from recent archaeological finds.

In the early sixties, a portion of the Angelic Liturgy was discovered at Massada. This discovery focussed some attention on an important aspect of the Qumran Jubilees calendar, namely the serial numbering of the Sabbaths of

[224] Textes, p. 246, n. 2 and 3.

[225] REJ, 11 (1885), 32, n. 3.

the year. In an article entitled "The Counting of the Sabbath in Ancient Sources" J.M. Baumgarten examined the biblical background for this sabbatical series. The last of his major conclusions on this subject is worth quoting in full: "If, ..., the Angelic Liturgy is based on a sabbatical series extending through the entire year, each Sabbath being individually numbered, we would propose what seems to us the simplest explanation of Horace's terminology. The poet's reference was not to any particular solemn day, such as the Day of Atonement which some have suggested, but simply to the weekly Sabbath. Knowing, however, that the Jews designate their Sabbaths numerically, he called his Sabbath tricesima, the number which best suited the metrical requirements of his dactylic hexameter."[226]

Thus, Reinach perhaps came the closest to this solution when he pointed out that the thirtieth Sabbath had nothing particularly significant about it. However, he was most unfair to Horace when he concluded his commentary by inferring that "le poète dans son ignorance ait cru que le sabbat revenait tous les trente jours, et l'ait confondu avec la néoménie."[227] Reinach's judgement that Horace

[226] Vetus Testamentum, 16 (1966), 286.

[227] Textes, p. 247, n. 2.

was ignorant about Jews is startling, especially when one recalls the nature of the poet's other Jewish references. Although it was not Baumgarten's main purpose to underscore Horace's knowledge of Judaism, his explanation of "tricesima sabbata" inevitably demands such an emphasis. For Horace to have been aware of such a relatively insignificant aspect of Jewish religious practices as the habit of counting sabbaths in a numerical series is impressive. Moreover, that he should put the phrase into the mouth of Fuscus is even more revealing because it would seem that his circle of literary friends, and presumably many of his reading public, also knew that the Jews were in the habit of counting their weekly day of rest. Horace's friendship with Asinius Pollio and the exceptional favouritism of the Augustan government toward Herod and the Jews of the Empire may well have had a bearing in fostering his knowledge about and even shaping his attitude toward the Jews.

In the third satire of Book Two, Horace wishes to portray the various follies of men. Among the phases of madness which he considers is superstition. So, as an illustration of religious folly in lines 288ff he describes how a mother whose child had been ill in bed for five long months vowed to Jupiter that if he would cure the child,

she would fast on the day which he appointed and then place the child naked in the Tiber:

> "Iuppiter, ingentis qui das adimisque dolores,"
> mater ait pueri mensis iam quinque cubantis,
> "frigida si puerum quartana reliquerit, illo
> mane die, quo tu indicis ieiunia, nudus
> in Tiberi stabit."

Horace then goes on to explain that the mother's deranged mind was stricken by a "timore deorum", for, even if the child recovered, whether by chance or by the aid of a doctor, she would keep her vow and let her child stand in the frigid Tiber; in this way she would most probably kill him by bringing back the fever.

Many editors and commentators of Horace's satires have readily interpreted this scene as another reference to the credulous Jews. Yet, it is certainly significant to note that scholars like Radin and Leon, who were most concerned with the study of the Jews in Roman times, completely ignored this passage in Horace. Reinach[228] was also right in seeing no clear reference to Judaism, but unfortunately he did not bother to give any concrete reasons for his opinion.

[228] Textes, p. 246-247, n. 3.

The idea of a Jewish allusion originated in part with the commentaries of the ancient scholiasts. For the phrase "illo mane die" both Acron and Porhyrion suggested a reference to "Die Iouis".[229] For "nudus in Tiberi stabit", Acron wrote: "Quasi legem Iudaeorum pulsat." Accordingly, modern commentators have expanded on these statements.

For instance, arguing on the strange premise that "our native superstitions do not attract our notice" Morris insisted that the incident which Horace described was unquestionably foreign and presumably Jewish.[230] But as it should be clear by now, Horace did not have to be so discreet in order to satirize any oriental superstition, let alone Jewish religious customs. There is no valid reason to suppose that he did not simply have in mind a superstitious Roman woman. Horace and his contemporaries obviously knew that a sincere Jewess would never have prayed to Jupiter to have her child rescued. Truly, in the words of Hild, "la confusion de Jupiter et de Jehovah est choquante."[231] If some still persisted in their view that Horace had the Jews in mind, it is because the activities of the mother may be construed to resemble certain Jewish practices. But again, this is only after

[229] In Havthal, op. cit. II, 266 and 279 respectively.

[230] Op. cit. p. 197-198, n. on l. 290f.

[231] REJ, 11 (1885), 35.

considerably stretching the facts of Horace's story to fit their argument.

Following the statements of the scholiasts that "illo mane die" referred to "die Iouis", which in the planetary or astrological week corresponds to Thursday, many argued that Horace was alluding to one of the two weekly Jewish fasts which were known to take place on "Mondays" and "Thursdays." This is yet another case where scholars have not followed their line of argument in detail, whether out of ignorance or for some other reason.

First, "illo mane die" may well have referred to "die Iouis" as the ancient scholiasts said, but only in the context of the time in which these commentators lived, which for pseudo-Acron was the fifth century C.E. and for Prophyrion early third century C.E. In other words, given the context of Horace's passage which, it should be stressed, only included a reference to the god Jupiter, it was natural for the scholiasts to see in "illo mane die" a possible allusion to "Thursday" which for them was actually termed the day of Jupiter. From a passage in Cassius Dio[232] it can be inferred that the planetary seven day week had only come into universal use throughout the Roman world

[232] XXXVII.18f.

shortly after the beginning of the third century, although it was never officially instituted or recognized.[233] Working backwards from the approximate date of Cassius Dio's passage the evidence for the adoption of such a planetary week is very slim so that it can safely be supposed that at least in Horace's day there was no such thing as a Roman week in the modern sense, that is, there was no general or official practice of a division of time and the calling of days after the names of the sun, moon and five planets. Therefore, Horace could not possibly have had in mind our modern "Thursday" when he wrote "illo mane die". Moreover, the idea of a die Iouis recurring every seven days may not even have existed in the poet's time.

[233]See esp. F.H. Colson, The Week (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1926), pp. 18ff; note also his Appendix F. For only a very sketchy account of the week in Roman times, see E.J. Bickerman, Chronology of the Ancient World (London: Thames and Hudson, 1968), pp. 58-61. A.K. Michels, The Calendar of the Roman Republic (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1966), pp. 89, 167, 192, accepts the idea that "the planetary week was known in Rome certainly in the Augustan period and perhaps earlier.", but does not offer any concrete arguments for this opinion. This same author has nothing to say too about the Jewish Sabbath, its widespread adoption by non-Jews, and its supposed connection with the planet Saturn. Another major failure of this book is the neglect to explain how and when the notion of naming the days of the week (e.g. p. 191: "dies solis, dies lunae, etc.,") came to evolve.

Those who saw an allusion to Thursday in the phrase "illo mane die" took Horace's passage to mean a reference to the weekly Jewish fast on that day.

However, in Horace's story there is no allusion to some kind of weekly fast. But more significantly, it is evident that those who made such a proposal failed to consider whether their explanation was plausible from the Judaic point of view. Here the first thing to note is that it was only the most pious among the Jews who deemed it necessary to fast on "Thursdays" and "Mondays". Moreover, in the Mosaic Law, the only fast was the Day of Atonement which was undoubtedly the most solemn occasion among the Jewish religious feasts. Other statutory fasts came into existence, but they were invariably associated with mourning, usually in commemoration of a tragic event in Jewish history. So for all these reasons Horace's superstitious woman was certainly not following any traditional Jewish fast. Although in his commentary on Horace's passage Lejay rightly did not agree that the woman's fasting activity had any connection with the very rarely observed "Thursday" fast of the Jews, he nevertheless made the startling contention that "il vaut mieux rapporter ce jeûne, assigné pour un certain jour, au jeûne du sabbat, connu des Romains du 1 er s."[234] This interpretation not

[234]Op. cit. p. 440, n. on l. 291; cf. Villeneuve, op. cit., p. 169-170, n. 3.

only implies that Horace was ignorant of the true nature of the Sabbath, which is most unlikely, but also indicates Lejay's ignorance of ancient Jewish ritual if indeed he himself actually thought that the Jews fasted on their weekly Sabbath. Not only did the Jews regard their Sabbath as a day of spiritual joy and a respite from normal business activity, but whenever a statutory fast, except the Day of Atonement, happened to fall on a Sabbath day, it was automatically postponed to the following day. So the day in question in Horace's passage is certainly not an allusion to the weekly Jewish Sabbath.

One last aspect about Horace's passage which has caused some to think that he had the Jews in mind is about the superstitious woman's intention of giving her child some kind of ritual bath if Jupiter cured him. Again there is no reason to think that this Roman woman was imitating a Jewish rite; traditional Jewish practices concerning ablutions or immersions were very special and related almost exclusively to some definite religious purpose. To what particular religious practice, if indeed any at all, Horace was alluding is difficult to guess. It is possible, though not certain, that the woman was partly imitating some oriental or Egyptian native rite. For instance, in a vivid passage of his diatribe against women, Juvenal described how in the middle of winter a

fanatic devotee of the cult of Isis would plunge three times into the cold waters of the Tiber and then crawl naked, shivering and with bleeding knees, right across the Campus Martius to the Temple of Isis.[235] The woman whom Horace was satirizing was not Jewish nor was she imitating any kind of Jewish custom.

This last discussion is instructive because it seems that whenever a foreign superstitious practice that is mentioned by a Latin writer is doubtful, the general tendency has often been to associate it with some Jewish custom. But as it should be clear by now, in referring to Jews or some aspect about their particular mode of life, Latin writers were always precise and never concealed their intentions. This being the case, one should suspect all references which do not clearly represent Jews or some aspect about their life. The following short excerpt from one of Tibullus' elegies (I.3.17-18) is a case in point.

Briefly, in this poem the poet described how he was prevented by a severe illness from continuing his voyage with his friend Messalla. He recalled how before he left Rome his beloved Delia had grieved in terror of his

[235] Sat. VI.522ff.

intended journey. Even after she had received all possible assurances from the gods for his safe return, she could still not bear to see him leave the city. Tibullus in turn soon found it difficult to depart on account of her pleadings. Desiring then to linger on a while longer, he remembered how he had found various pretexts: "aut ego sum causatus aves aut omina dira/Saturnive sacram me tenuisse diem."

Whether Tibullus had especially the Jewish Sabbath in mind when he gave his third reason for delaying his journey is very doubtful. Yet, in a short note on this reference, Reinach readily identified the day in question as a Saturday and thus called Tibullus another "poète 'sabbatisant'".[236] Such an interpretation is hasty and not at all certain. The weekly celebration of the Sabbath was the most conspicuous of all Jewish religious institutions; it is surely strange that if Tibullus wanted to have referred to it he should not have used the proper terminology, which was certainly well known to his readers. Moreover, that the words "Saturnive diem" should necessarily have corresponded to the modern "Saturday" is also questionable. As it was pointed out earlier in the commentary for Horace, Sat. II.3.288ff there is scarcely any definite proof to

[236] Textes, p. 247, n. 2; cf. Hild, REJ, 11 (1885), 33; Leon, p. 13.

show that a seven-day planetary week was commonly used in the time of Augustus. In this respect even Colson was not too consistent in his study of the origin and development of the seven-day cycle when on the one hand he inclined to think that there was no allusion to the modern "Thursday" in Horace's "illo mane die", but on the other saw a possible reference to the modern "Saturday" in Tibullus' "Saturnive diem".[237] One obviously cannot have it both ways here. And as Colson was indeed compelled to admit, the conclusion that Tibullus had a knowledge of the planetary week, solely on the basis of his reference to some "Saturn's day", is not "absolutely certain". Therefore, it cannot readily be said that for Tibullus the words "Saturnive sacrem diem" meant the Jewish Sabbath, even if one goes so far as to conjecture with Colson the possibility that in the poet's day there were already many Romans who may have misinterpreted the Jewish day of rest and spiritual rejoicing for an unlucky day or, in other words, associated the Sabbath with various "'real' Saturn's days" which the astrologers deemed as unfavourable to any kind of activity.

A further argument for questioning a reference to the Jewish Sabbath is to consider Tibullus' passage within the

[237] Colson, op. cit. pp. 16-17; 35; 124-125.

entire context of the poem. The only passing reference to some foreign cult is in lines 23-26 in which the poet asked in vain what help was there for him in Delia's goddess Isis. All other religious allusions were strictly Roman. Here it may be significant to note that in lines 35ff Tibullus devoted a considerable amount of space to the mythological king Saturn. Moreover, it should be remembered that the other two pretexts which the poet cared to mention at random, the flight of birds and ominous sayings, were typical Roman religious observances. It follows that there is no important reason to see in the third pretext other than what Tibullus wrote on paper. From the general context of the passage it is also clear that Delia did not really care what excuses her lover gave her, so long as he remained with her a while longer. One may conclude then that Tibullus' pretended celebration of Saturn's feast was just a momentary invention and not at all intended as a special reference to the Jewish Sabbath.

Unlike his younger contemporary Tibullus, Ovid's three references to the Jews' Sabbath were unmistakably clear. In the First Book of Ars Amatoria the poet advised his male reader as to where he might best find a suitable mistress. Besides the crowded theatres, circuses and banquets, he suggested many other favourable spots of the city where the lover was likely to encounter some unoccupied

young lady. Among these more casual places which he enumerated were the porticoes of Pompey and Livia, the temple of Memphis, the law courts and the wooded areas around the aqueducts. Two other things were not to be overlooked by the amorous youth: "Nec te praetereat Veneri ploratus Adonis, / Cultaque Iudaeo septima sacra Syro."[238]

The young Roman ladies were known to have been devoted to Adonis, and the inference in the first line is that when his death came to be commemorated at the temple of Venus, the lover was almost certain to meet an attractive female celebrant at the temple. An equally favourable location, according to Ovid's second directive, was the place where the Jews held their weekly worship on the Sabbath, presumably the synagogue. In other words Ovid was advising his male readers to loiter around the synagogues if not actually to enter them. Apparently the lively, and indeed to any Roman, very strange religious service that went on every week inside the Jewish prayer houses of the city attracted the attention of many Roman women. However, from the general context of Ovid's passage one is more inclined to think that a good number of these pious ladies were not fully Jewish by religion, but were simply idlers

[238]Ars Amat. I.75-76.

and even passers-by eager to experience any foreign and exciting new cult. Not being fully acquainted with the Jewish service at hand, the assumption was that most of them could easily be distracted by the male onlookers and girl-watchers for whom Ovid was addressing his verses.

Not much can be deduced from this passage for an appraisal of Ovid's personal attitude toward the Jews, although it is indeed significant to find him referring to a Roman temple of Venus and a Jewish synagogue in the same context. Presumably for Ovid all religious observances, whether they were Roman or foreign in origin, amounted to the same. It can therefore safely be assumed that he was not particularly hostile to any foreign minority, including the Jews. His calling the Jew of his passage a "Syrian" should not be construed as derogatory even though the term was usually used contemptuously by the Romans. It was simply not Ovid's intention here to deride the Jews, or for that matter, the Syrians; it is clear that the poet used the term "Syro" more in terms of fact than anything else. It is perhaps helpful to recall that in writing about the art of love Ovid claimed to have had a great deal of personal experience on the subject.[239] Judging from the

[239]Cf. Ars Amat. I.29-30: "Usus opus movet hoc: vati parete perito; / Veram canam: coeptis, mater Amoris, ades!"

overall content of his poems one has perhaps no serious reason to question the authenticity of his directives to young lovers. So when he counseled his Roman reader to frequent the synagogues in order to find a girl of his taste, one must suppose that Ovid knew what he was talking about. But it stands to reason that in such a place, besides the curious crowd of Roman ladies, the young Romans were bound to come across attractive Jewesses as well. It is relevant to point out that Ovid did not bother to specify to his Roman adventurer what was the best type of females for seduction; presumably, as long as she was fairly pretty and willing, any Jewess, Syrian or Roman maiden might do. In fact, judging from another passage Ovid seemed to have approved of love affairs with foreigners.[240]

There are many facets to the art of love, and in another section of the same poem Ovid pleaded with his novice not to disregard the time element. The following passage is just a sample of his directives on this subject:

> Tu licet incipias qua flebilis Allia luce
> Vulneribus Latiis sanguinolenta fluit,
> Quaque die redeunt, rebus minus apta gerendis,
> Culta Palaestino septima festa Syro.
> Magna superstitio tibi sit natalis amicae:
> Quaque aliquid dandum est, illa sit atra dies.[241]

[240] Ars Amat. I.171-176.

[241] Ars Amat. I.413-418.

First, it should not be necessary to show at any great length that the poet definitely had the Jews in mind in line 416. Used by themselves without any other allusion to some traditional Jewish custom, the words "Palestino Syro" could conceivably be questioned as to their designation of a Jew. To take but a most obvious example, some have doubted very much that the Σύριοι οἱ ἐν τῇ Παλαιστίνῃ in Herodotus, II.104 was an allusion to Jews. Although there was no reference to the generic term "Iudaeus" in Ovid's passage, the mentioning of a seventh-day festival, "culta septima festa", makes it clear that a reference to the Jewish Sabbath was intended.

Lines 413f refer to the dies Alliensis a sort of national mourning day for the Romans. In 390 B.C.E. they suffered a terrible defeat by the Gauls and henceforth commemorated the tragic event; July 18 was the date which yearly recalled the disaster. The day was incorporated into the Roman religious calendar as a dies nefas, and this meant that ordinary business activity was to be suspended during this time. Thus Ovid suggested that an amorous young man was likely to find an idle maiden on such a day. It is interesting to discover that in the next two lines the Jewish Sabbath was classed as an occasion comparable to a traditional Roman religious observance. It was clear from the first passage quoted

above that Ovid was aware that the Jews were religiously obliged to attend their weekly religious service at the synagogue. In this particular instance it is evident that he was also familiar with the fact that it was religiously unlawful for Jews to work on that day; this is suggested by the phrase "rebus minus apta gerendis".

Ovid's passage is also significant for another reason. To the Jews the Sabbath day was not only intended to be a day of physical rest; the day was primarily a religious occasion devoted to study, prayer and spiritual contemplation. Since pious Jewesses and, presumably, the more serious Jewish proselytes among the Romans were not likely to venture outside their homes on that day, Ovid's reference gives another very important indication in Roman literature as to the extent to which certain aspects about Judaism had penetrated into the daily life of the general Roman populace. His reference serves to point out that in his day there must have been a considerable number of Roman women, and presumably some men also, who found it agreable to imitate the weekly Jewish habit of abstaining from work. Ovid's Roman ladies may not of course have participated fully in the Sabbath ritual, but simply took the day off from their usual chores and idled about the city where they might fall prey to the poet's pupils of the art of love. It is to be noted too that most of the examples chosen

either to start a love affair or to avoid such intrigues with women referred to single occasions in a year. The Jewish Sabbath on the other hand occurred every seventh day of the year. So Ovid's mention of it in his list of favourable occasions to win a woman's affection may well indicate that he personally thought that this day was more to an amorous young man's advantage than most of the Roman holidays which he enumerated at random and which only occurred once a year in the Roman liturgical calendar.

Again one cannot conclude from this second reference that Ovid was being particularly disrespectful toward the Jews' religion. The young reading public for whom he was writing apparently had few religious scruples. One can detect a very subtle kind of cynicism when Ovid implied to his readers that religion might often inspire and even secure the best times and most favourable places for their love affairs. Although the Jewish Sabbath might seem to afford the best results, Roman festivals were equally not to be neglected, even if some of them only occurred once a year. Ovid always classed the Sabbath celebration with other Roman festivals. So if there was some contempt in the poet's mind for the Jewish cult, the same must be said for his attitude to the Roman religion.

The third Ovidian reference to the Sabbath was made in the work dedicated to the so-ealled "cures of love".

In short, the poet addressed his directives to the lovers who wanted to break away from their amorous bonds. Curiously enough the Sabbath day was once again mentioned simultaneously with the dies Alliensis, but this time with an opposite end in mind. Ovid taught that one of the best ways that a young man might end a love affair was simply to leave his girl friend abruptly by starting on a long journey abroad. However cruel the idea might seem at first, the man had to persist in his decision without trying to find any excuse to detain him: "Nec pluvius opta, nec te peregrina morentur / Sabbata, nec damnis Alli nota suis."[242]

It is incorrect to derive the implication from this passage that Ovid's readers were a priori religiously minded simply because they were now advised to disregard religious festivals. The readers of Remedia Amoris were doubtless almost the same as those for Ars Amatoria. The apparent religious skepticism of Ovid's pupils in Ars Amatoria should also hold true for those who were later interested in learning how they could be released from their love affairs. So when Ovid pleaded with them not to be delayed in their intended journey by such religious restrictions as either the Sabbath or the dies Alliensis,

[242]Remedia Amoris I.219-220.

he was surely with tongue in cheek only being poetic. Thus, also, the adjective "peregrina" applied to the Sabbath was not so much meant to be derogatory in tone as it was simply rhetorical. Ovid only used the term

in order to emphasize the fundamental point he wished to make. As far as one can judge from the general context of the two earlier references, to both Ovid and his readers the "foreignness" of the Sabbath would never as such become a matter to make great fuss about especially in a negative sense.

The important thing to note about this last Ovidian reference is that it provides yet another indirect but clear allusion to the Jews' successful proselytizing activities. These resulted in the growing tendency of the Roman public to pay some religious attention if not to the fundamental meaning of the Sabbath at least to its outward requirements. Again, Ovid's more sophisticated readers were generally skeptical when it came to religion and so his directive here would not have been taken seriously. Yet the fact remains that Ovid could not obviously have proposed such a counsel if it was not generally known already that at least among the less educated classes the Jewish holy day of rest was observed in earnest by a great many people. As Ovid chose to associate the Sabbath with the dies Alliensis, it may well indicate also that in

their ignorance many of these Roman observers tended to think of this religious occasion as an unlucky day much as their own familiar dies Alliensis came to be regarded.

Altogether Ovid's feelings toward the Jews can best be characterized as indifferent rather than hostile. His own religious indifference no doubt affected his opinion. His lack of interest though does not necessarily suggest that he was ignorant about the Jews' basic social and religious customs so that the conclusion might rightly be made that "just as Horace met Jews in the boulevards, so Ovid knew them in the slums."[243] Unlike Horace's, however, Ovid's Jewish references have not attracted the attention of a great many scholars; yet the poet's short passages bear valuable witness to the extent of Jewish proselytism among various levels of Augustan society.

Among the other poets of the Augustan period whose works are either partially or wholly extant not a word was written about Jews. For instance, no direct references can be found in either the poems of Propertius or of Vergil.[244] About Vergil's enigmatic Fourth Eclogue, however, Feldmann made the interesting suggestion that Vergil's relationship

[243] Radin, p. 250.

[244] Georg. III.12: "primus Idumaeas referam tibi, Mantua, palmas" definitely shows Vergil's familiarity with the geography of Judaea. The same might be true when Propertius mentioned Arabs or Arabia.

with Pollio might well serve to indicate that the poet had been influenced by Jewish sources.[245] Almost a century ago Hild had even gone further and conjectured that it was through his friend Pollio that Vergil must have come across the numerous messianic beliefs which existed in Graeco-Jewish literature, notably the Jewish sibylline oracles which were modeled on the Graeco-Roman ones.[246] Such Jewish messianic beliefs and ideas of a supernatural saviour were even current among the Romans of the Augustan period and apparently remained so in the popular minds of men right down to the times of Nero and Vespasian.[247]

Of the Latin prose writers of this period references to Jews can only be located in two of Livy's Periochae and in two extant summaries of Pompeius Trogus together with his extensive digression on the Jews which have come down in an abridged version of his complete work by M. Junianus Justinus, probably dating from the third century.

Livy's extant Jewish references in the Periochae for Books CII and CXXVIII reveal only straightforward information and therefore need not be commented upon. In the first

[245] Op. cit. p. 80.

[246] Hild, REJ, 11 (1885), 41-44.

[247] Cf. Suet., Nero XL.3; Vesp. IV.9; V.9; Tac., Hist. II.78.4-7; V.13.1-5; Cassius Dio, LXVI.1.4; Jos., B. III.399ff.

summary it is said that Pompey pacified the Jews and captured the temple of Jerusalem, which was up to that time unviolated. The second summary recorded simply that Antony's lieutenants (presumably King Herod and Sosius, before 37 B.C.E.) pacified the Jews.

Livy was the major historian of his day, and it is indeed unfortunate that Books 46 to the end of his massive work were not preserved. This considerable section covered roughly the period from 167 B.C.E. to his day. Within this scope Livy would undoubtedly have had to mention the Jews at the time of the initial Maccabean uprising when the Romans promised to help the Judaeans against the Seleucid king. Of the greatest historical value would also have been the historian's account of Pompey's campaign in Judaea. Pompey's exploits in the East were still relatively recent and presumably well documented in Livy's day so that one can safely suppose that his account of these events was generally done in a serious way and with few if any factual errors. On this last point it is perhaps significant to note Josephus' sole reference to Livy. When he recounted the story of the Jewish priests who bravely did not abandon their religious ceremonies while Pompey's soldiers were entering the confines of the Temple and were killing its defenders, Josephus invoked the testimony of all those who had narrated Pompey's deeds, notably Strabo, Nicolaus

of Damascus and Livy, in order to prove that his own account was truthful.[248] Of Livy's veracity then when he dealt with the Jews in a factual or historical way there can be little doubt. But the same may not readily be said when Livy must have passed judgement on the Jews as a people. In this respect it is difficult to accept Hild's oversimplified contention that "la modération habituelle de cet auteur, les tendances philosophiques de son esprit, et une sorte de générosité cosmopolite" would suppose a dignified and equitable judgement of the Jewish nation.[249] One has only to think of the numerous biased references about diverse foreign peoples which Livy made in the course of his narrative to doubt very much that he would not likewise have derided the peculiar traditions of the Jews.

After Livy, Pompeius Trogus was probably the most important historian of the Augustan period. His Historiae Philippicae amounted to forty-four books and were meant to be an account of the Macedonian monarchy. The work contained so many excursuses that it became a sort of universal history. The Jews naturally figured in the history of the peoples of the Middle East, and Book 36 contained a digression on their origins and customs.

[248] A. XIV.68.

[249] REJ, 8 (1884) 11; cf. 11 (1885), 39-40.

This excursus has only partially survived in an abbreviated form in Justin's own Historiae Philippicae. Other minor Jewish historical references are to be found in the Prologues of Trogus' Books 36 and 39.

What is most striking about Trogus' brief account of the origins, early history and customs of the Jews is that it contains numerous errors and misconceptions. Due to the length of the passages it will not be possible here to examine every succeeding section in detail, but only enumerate a few of the more obvious distortions involved.

First, one is told that the Jews are of Damascene origin.[250] Whether this was the most current view among many Greeks and Romans at the time that Pompeius Trogus wrote his book is not certain. Exact parallels in either Greek or Latin literature cannot be found. For instance, of the six different and fantastic stories which Tacitus related about the origins of the Jews, none resemble exactly the one cited by the Augustan historian.[251] Trogus goes on to enumerate the names of five early kings of the Jews. His sources or his own confused interpretation of his sources were clearly at fault because the Israelites were not known to have had such kings as Damascus, Azelus, Adores or even Abraham and Israel, the latter two being

[250] Justin XXXVI.2.1.

[251] Hist. V.2.2-3.1.

considered only as the forefathers of the Hebrew people and not monarchs in the strict sense of the word. Trogus' mention of Abraham in connection with Damascus is noteworthy since Josephus cited a passage from the fourth book of Nicolaus of Damascus' Histories which claimed that Abraham had come as an invader from the land of the Chaldees and then for some time ruled as King over Damascus; after Abraham left the city his name continued to be remembered by the people of the whole region.[252] Why Abraham and the Jews came to be identified with Damascus is not known. It has been suggested that such "traditions must have arisen at the time when Damascus and Israel were on intimate terms."[253] But be that as it may, one is still left with the unsolved question of Trogus' immediate source of information for this opinion.

Trogus also wrongly narrates some aspects of the biblical story of Joseph.[254] Joseph did not have nine brothers as the historian's text implies, but eleven; and, moreover, it was not Joseph who was the youngest of Israel's (i.e. Jacob's) sons, but his brother Benjamin. Again if one had to believe Trogus, the Jews got their name from

[252] A. I.159-160.

[253] H. St. J. Thackeray, Josephus, "Loeb Classical Library" (London: Heinemann, 1930), IV, 80, n. a, following Reinach's interpretation.

[254] Justin XXXVI.2.4-10.

Judah, another of Joseph's brothers. The fact of the matter is that the Hebrews became known as "Jews" only after they returned from their Babylonian captivity. But after these mistakes, Trogus' text conforms pretty much with the original biblical account of Joseph's life at the Pharaoh's court.

The excursus on Moses[255] deviates to a great measure from the traditional biblical record of the same stories. First, as the great grandson of Levi the Jewish lawgiver was not Joseph's son but his great grandnephew; Apollonios Molon, incidentally, had erroneously made Moses Joseph's grandson.[256] According to Trogus, it was at the time when the Egyptians were suffering from bots and leprosy, and after having duly followed the warnings of an oracle, that Moses was forced to flee with those who had contracted the disease.[257] Having stolen, before their departure, the sacred vessels of the Egyptians, Moses and the exiles were soon pursued by their enemies. On the whole, Trogus' account of the biblical story of the Exodus is confused and distorted. But at this particular point in his

[255] Justin XXXVI.2.11-16.

[256] In Alexander Polyhistor (=Reinach, Textes, p. 61, sect. 3).

[257] Cf. similar accounts by Manetho and Lysimachus found respectively in Jos., Ap. I.229 and I.305-307; see also Tac., Hist. V.3.1-2.

narrative it is remarkable the way in which he handles the episode dealing with Moses' separation of the waters. He simply writes "Aegyptii domum redire tempestatibus compulsi sunt" without ever alluding to any supernatural explanation. Since the mysterious crossing of the Red Sea by the Israelites became one of the most famous of the miracles of the Bible, it is very probable that many Jewish proselytes among the Greeks and the Romans were also familiar with the story. But whether Trogus derived his rather common-sensical interpretation of that story from his sources or simply deduced it himself from the original is unfortunately not possible to find out.

Continuing his narrative, Trogus makesMoses reach Damascus, supposedly his native country where he occupied Mount Sinai. Needless to say the leader of the Israelites did not lead his followers to Damascus. Again, Trogus' source for this particular piece of misinformation cannot be conjectured. One thing though is almost certain about the second part of this passage; a Greek writer would not likely have made the geographical error of locating Mount Sinai in Syria, somewhere near Damascus.[258] Even Apion the renowned anti-Jewish writer of the middle of the next century, who followed many older Greek anti-Jewish

[258]See Reinach, Textes, p. 254, n. 2.

writers seemed to have known that Sinai was a mountain situated between Egypt and Arabia.[259]

According to Trogus, it is at Sinai that Moses instituted a seventh-day fast which he called "Sabbath" in the language of the people because it was only after six days of fatigue and wandering in the Arabian desert that the exiles reached their native country of Damascus. The "Sabbath fast" thus commemorated the day on which the Israelites found food and terminated their journey. Once again it can be seen that Trogus' account is mistaken on numerous points. The historical origin of the Sabbath is still an obscure question among scholars today.[260] But in the Bible one can trace the Sabbath to the seventh day of creation, that is, the day which God blessed and rested after having finished his work.[261] In the Decalogue or Ten Commandments which were given by God to Moses the Sabbath was simply required to be

[259]Jos., Ap. II.2.25.

[260]Most critics would probably agree with the remarks of the eminent scholar, Baron, op. cit. I, 143, that "to be sure, the institution as such seems to belong to the most ancient of Israel" and also "the very name "Shabbat", ... is possibly older than the Hebrew language itself."

[261]Genesis II.1-3.

remembered and kept holy.[262] So contrary to Trogus' opinion the Sabbath was not really instituted by Moses, nor of course was it a day of fast. That the Sabbath was thought to be a period of fast was a mistaken notion which was current in the minds of many other ancient Greek and especially Roman writers. But although Trogus did not know that the Sabbath was a day of rest, he was at least correct in stating that the terminology of the day in question came from the language of the Israelites: "septimum diem more gentis Sabbata appellatum." In a sense his opinion is significant because it seems that there were various etymologies of the word "Sabbath" which were invented in order to insult the Jews. Apion, for instance, maintained that the Jewish word for Sabbath came from the Egyptian word "sabbo", meaning a disease of the groin! In refuting this writer, Josephus remarked that "the grammarian's distortion of the word "sabbath" betrays either gross impudence or shocking ignorance."[263]

[262]Exodus XX.8. Incidentally, the idea that ordinary business activity was also to be interrupted on that day was only enforced much later in history by Nehemiah (after c. 445 B.C.E.), apparently after a considerable period of laxity concerning the general observance of the Sabbath. See Nehemiah XIII.14-22.

[263]Ap. II.20-27.

In the following section, Trogus explains that because the Jews remembered they were expelled from Egypt for fear that they might spread their contagious disease, they decided not to mingle any more with strangers in order not to become hateful to their new neighbours and thus be attacked by them for the same reasons that they were expelled from Egypt. So Trogus adds that what was first born out of circumstantial necessity, soon became a rule and a religious institution. Trogus' very subtle and perhaps least disparaging way among ancient writers of commenting on the apparent exclusiveness of the Jews is certainly remarkable. In antiquity misanthropy was one of the easiest and most frequent accusations leveled against the Jews.[264] The only comparable remark to Trogus' allusion to Jewish exclusiveness was the brief, but slightly more contemptible comment of Hecateus of Abdera, a contemporary of Ptolemy Soter (306-283 B.C.E.): "διὰ γὰρ τὴν ἰδιάν ξενηλασίαν ἀπανθρωπόν τινα καὶ μισόξενον βίον εἰσηγήσατο".[265]

[264] See Manetho, in Jos., Ap. I.227ff; Lysimachus, in Ap. I.309; Apollonios Molon, in Ap. II.148, 258; Poseidonios, in Diodorus Siculus, XXXIV.1.1ff; Cic., Pro Flacco 66.; Apion, in Jos., Ap. II.121ff; Tac., Hist. V.5.2-5: "...Sed adversus omnes alios hostile odium...."; Juv., Sat. XIV.100-104; Philostratus (=Reinach, Textes, p. 176); Rutilius Namatianus, De Reditu Suo I.383-384: "Namque loci querulus curam Iudaeus agebat, / Humanis animal dissociale cibis."

[265] In Diod. Sic. XL.3.4.

In Trogus' last section on Moses, Aaron, his brother, is erroneously made to be his son. Trogus knows that Aaron was a priest, but of the Egyptian religion. For some strange reason he also thinks that Aaron later became king. This statement then leads Trogus to note that from Aaron's reign on the Jews were constantly in the habit of uniting the temporal and the religious powers of their nation under one head. Of course, in actual fact it was only comparatively late in history, during the Hasmonean regime (104 B.C.E.) that the Jews began to be governed in this way. Reinach was right in noting that like his Greek contemporary Strabo Trogus had completely ignored the history of the ancient kings of Israel.[266] But by the same token it can also be said that because the Jews' social and religious lives were actually so intermingled Trogus may have tried to trace this phenomenon to some ancient historical cause. As usual though it is not possible to guess whether he derived his particular conclusion himself or from some unknown source.

It will not be necessary to comment on Trogus' geographical and more factual references because they generally only reveal straightforward and some comparatively

[266] Textes, p. 255, n. 2.

uninteresting facts.[267] Still, the significance of these references, especially the historical ones dealing with Judaea's relations with her neighbours during the Hellenistic period, lies primarily in the fact that they represent the earliest extant Latin account on these matters; as such they also serve to corroborate from a comparatively early Roman viewpoint what Josephus and others had to say about the same subjects.

In writing about the Jews Pompeius Trogus made numerous serious errors. Yet, the general tone of his account points out that he had a genuine interest in the Jews, but unfortunately did not make use of the best available sources. When later on Tacitus decided to treat more or less the same subject it is clear that he deliberately chose the most hostile and biased sources on the Jews.[268]

[267] Justin XXXVI.1.10, 3.1-8; XL.2.4; Prologi XXXVI, XXXIX.

[268] See Hild, REJ, 11 (1885), 174ff; C. Thiaucourt, "Ce que Tacite dit des Juifs au commencement du livre V des Histoires", REJ, 19 (1889), 57-74; REJ, 20 (1889), 312-314; G. Boissier, "Le jugement de Tacite sur les Juifs", Mélanges de littérature et d'histoire religieuses, (Paris: Picard, 1899), I, 81-96; Reinach, Textes, pp. 295-325, his notes; I. Lévy, "Tacite et l'origine du peuple juif", Latomus, 5 (1946), 331-340; A.M.A. Hospers-Jansen, Tacitus over de Joden, Hist. 5, 2-13 (Groningen: Batavia, 1949).

From Trogus' numerous errors it seems that he had recourse to these same acrimonious records too. But unlike Tacitus it is evident that he recognized the very poor historical quality of these sources, and so did his best to select only the less disparaging and ridiculous stories which he came across. It is also noteworthy that unlike Tacitus who repeatedly interspersed his narrative with bitter and scornful comments of his own, Trogus never once made a personal attack on the Jews.

Of course it should be remembered that any judgement of Trogus' opinion about the Jews must inevitably be at the mercy of Justin's abridgement of the Augustan historian's work. It is not the general feeling that Justin misquoted or did not faithfully paraphrase his source. None the less one must bear in mind Justin's statement in his own preface that he was primarily concerned in extracting that which he thought deserved to be best known in Trogus' work: "...per otium, quo in urbe versabamur, cognitione quaeque dignissima excerpsi et omissis his, quae nec cognoscendi voluptate jucunda nec exemplo erant necessaria, breve veluti florum corpusculum feci, ut haberent et qui Graece didicissent, quo admonerentur, et qui non didicissent, quo instruerentur."[269] This may perhaps

[269] Praefatio 4.

explain why one does not even find a hostile reference to the Jews' monotheistic concepts and to their other peculiar customs, such as the practice of circumcision and their strict dietary laws. In Justin's day, these subjects were perhaps too well-known to the Romans to be worth repeating.

At any rate, if Pompeius Trogus' extant essay on the Jews is valid, then his remarks must partly be looked at as representing an opinion which was, to say the least, different from the general view expressed by the poets of his day. Whereas the poets were more inclined to get to know about Jews through various personal experiences and therefore wrote more factual things about them, literary men like Livy and Trogus may well have represented the more bookish, less informed and consequently more biased Roman opinion about Jews. But be that as it may, Trogus' distorted view of the origins and customs of the Jews probably never made much of a great impact on later Roman writers. Tacitus generally seemed to have preferred to follow Apion and the Hellenistic Greek writers. It is certainly important to note that Josephus never once cited Trogus among the writers who had been most influential in spreading calumnies against the Jews.

It was pointed out at the end of Chapter II that Julius Caesar was instrumental in laying the foundation

for the legal status of the Jews throughout the Empire, yet unfortunately no records of his own opinion about the Jews have come down. Augustus, who continued and indeed enlarged the policy of his predecessor, apparently expressed himself frequently about the Jews. There exist , however, only two extant instances of his personal remarks; and, needless to say, his utterances were not directly preserved from his own writings, but by Suetonius and Macrobius who wrote long after his death. These writers both claimed to have recorded the opinion of Augustus himself, so it is only fitting that their evidence should at least be briefly considered at this point.

In order to emphasize the fact that Augustus generally ate little and simple food, Suetonius quoted a fragment of a letter which the Princeps addressed to his stepson Tiberius and where he said: "Ne Iudaeus quidem, mi Tiberi, tam diligenter sabbatis ieiunium servat, quam ego hodie servavi...."[270]

If these words are authentic, it would appear that like so many Roman writers Augustus was guilty of misrepresenting the purpose for which the Sabbath was observed by erroneously connecting it with fasting. His opinion

[270] Div. Aug. LXXVI.4.

certainly remains puzzling considering that of all his contemporaries he was the one person for whom precise knowledge about Jewish customs was readily available from various reliable sources. It was mentioned at the beginning of this chapter that Philo claimed that Augustus was aware of the fact that the Roman Jews observed the Sabbath. Of course the passage just quoted does not necessarily imply that Augustus did not know that the Sabbath was a period of physical rest for the Jews. Since the Jews so rigidly observed this custom, it was probably logical for the Romans to think that there was something more to the Sabbath than mere cessation from work and thus came to associate the day with some kind of ritual fast. But be that as it may, it is difficult to believe that Augustus was also guilty of this common Roman misconception. Just as Suetonius chose the above mentioned letter to show that Augustus ate little, it may well be the case that Augustus himself wished to emphasize the same idea about his eating habits and so deliberately repeated the current misconception about the Sabbath fast when he wrote to his stepson. At any rate, Augustus' words were certainly not intended to ridicule what was an important religious practice for the Jews.

One drastic way to surmount the problem of Augustus' apparent ignorance of the true nature of the Sabbath

would be to challenge the authenticity of the letter quoted by Suetonius; but, unfortunately, there is no valid justification for doing this. Many of Augustus' letters were published posthumously. Moreover, as Hadrian's secretary ab epistulis Suetonius had access to all the private correspondence of the emperors since the time of Augustus. It is clearly stated more than once in the life of Augustus that he checked the autograph of the emperor before quoting one of his letters.[271] Since Suetonius did not even parenthetically correct Augustus' error after he quoted him, it may follow that he too supposed that the Jewish Sabbath involved fasting. His younger contemporaries Tacitus and Juvenal in their characteristic maliciousness toward the Jews refused to see in the observance of the Sabbath anything but a reason for idleness and laziness.[272]

In Saturnalia II.4.11 Macrobius wrote: "Cum audisset inter pueros quos in Syria Herodes, rex Iudaeorum, intra bimatum iussit interfici, filium quoque eius occisum, ait: 'Mallem Herodis porcus esse quam filius.'" In this passage, Macrobius wanted to record another of the many witty sayings of Augustus. This particular

[271] Div. Aug. 71.2; 87.1; 87.3.

[272] Respectively, Hist. V.4.6 and Sat. XIV.105-106.

remark, together with the other anecdotes which he noted, most probably derived from a collection of such sayings known perhaps as Ioci Augusti. In any case there is little reason to question the authenticity of the joke.

Whether Augustus ever heard about Cicero's "Quid Iudaeo cum Verre?" is unfortunately impossible to guess. But the aim of his own anecdote was similar to Cicero's, at least in the sense that the joke was not primarily concerned in deriding a very common Jewish custom. The idea behind Augustus' joke is also quite obvious. He knew that the Jews' dietary laws restricted them from eating pork and so he cleverly used this well known fact of their religious life in order to make a pointed comment on Herod's behaviour. Although the writers of Augustus' time never mentioned this particular Jewish custom, it does not necessarily follow that they were ignorant about it. In Macrobius' day Augustus' "Mallem Herodis porcus esse quam filius" was apparently still remembered as one of his wittiest remarks. Augustus himself would surely not have uttered such a phrase if the idea behind his joke was not already generally known. Thus Augustus' reference provides another example attesting the general knowledge of the Romans concerning basic Jewish practices.

If on the one hand the authenticity of Augustus' joke ought to be accepted, the validity of the context in

which Macrobius recorded it is debatable.[273] It is certainly too hasty to draw the conclusion that the background information with which he introduced Augustus' joke was a confirmation of the Christian story about the so-called "Massacre of the Innocents" recorded only by Matthew II.16. Macrobius wrote his Saturnalia some time after 385 when Christianity was widespread throughout the Empire. His text then, as Reinach pointed out, simply proves rather that he was familiar with the various stories in the New Testament which attacked Herod, and for some strange reason he connected Augustus' joke about Herod with the Christians' belief that the Jewish monarch massacred innocent children. In any case, Macrobius' background information was really not necessary, for Augustus' joke is certainly plausible and indeed appropriate by itself. Herod put three of his sons to death for allegedly conspiring against him, Aristobulus and Alexander in 7 B.C.E. and Antipater in 4 B.C.E.; contrary to Macrobius, at the time of their execution all three had reached the age of manhood.

[273] See Reinach, Textes, p. 357-358, n. 2.

Generally speaking the various notices to Jews in the literature of this period are not what one may call sympathetic. But if there was any underlying hostility, it was remarkably mild in degree. Compared to all the different periods treated within the scope of this thesis, not to mention of course the times when Tacitus and Juvenal and especially later on when the fathers of the Church spread their calumnies about the Jews, the Augustan references are by far the least disparaging in tone. Again, comparatively speaking, the Augustan poets did not have very much to say about Jews, referring to them only briefly and en passant, but a detailed analysis of the relevant passages shows that the views of the poets did not conflict with the official state policy toward Judaea and the Jews of both the city of Rome and the Empire. In fact, if there is any validity in the idea that the art and literature of this period were partly inspired or at least reflected to some extent the political circumstances of the times, the general tone of the remarks made about Jews by the Augustan writers is best understood within the existing background of toleration and protection for the Jews.

Chapter IV

The Jews in Roman Literature from the Reign of Tiberius to About the End of Nero's Reign

The Julio-Claudian emperors generally continued Caesar's established policy of toleration and protection of the Jews throughout the empire. Josephus made the passing remark about Tiberius that throughout his twenty-two odd years as ruler he never treated the Jews any differently from his other subjects.[274] Philo actually compared Tiberius' attitude toward the Jews with his predecessor's, testifying that he never set out to destroy any Jewish institution.[275] Likewise there is no evidence to show that Tiberius' successors down to Nero generally maltreated the Jews.[276] The "expulsion" of some Jews in 19 C.E. (or c. 30 C.E.) under Tiberius[277] and later

[274] A. XVIII.178.

[275] Leg. 159.

[276] Note e.g. Claudius' favourable edict to world Jewry in Jos., A. XIX.286-291.

[277] Tac., Ann. II.85; Suet., Tib. XXXVI; Cassius Dio, LVII.18.5a; Jos., A. XVIII.81ff; Philo, Leg. 159ff. See also Hild, REJ, 11 (1885), 46; Juster II, 170; Radin, pp. 306-313; E.T. Merrill, "The Expulsion of the Jews from Rome under Tiberius", CP, 14 (1919), 365-372; W.A. Heidel, "Why Were the Jews Banished from Italy in 19 A.D.?", AJP, 41 (1920), 38-47; E.M. Smallwood, "Some Notes on the Jews under Tiberius", Latomus, 15 (1956), 314-329; Guterman, op. cit. pp. 149, 155, n. 69; Leon, pp. 16-20.

under Claudius[278] together with the short episode of Gaius' obnoxious behaviour toward the Temple in Jerusalem at the end of his reign and then the civil disturbances in Alexandria between the Jewish and Greek inhabitants under Claudius[279] were isolated cases which did not adversely affect the legal rights and privileges of the Jews generally. The interpretation of these incidents is still a matter of controversy among scholars. As these events do not seem to have any direct bearing on the subject matter of this chapter it will not be necessary to discuss them.

One of the remarkable aspects about the literary output of the period roughly between the reigns of Tiberius and Nero is that it covered a wide range of ground. Hence one finds the Jews mentioned by a rhetorician with an interest in historical anecdotes, an encyclopaedist

[278] Suet., Div. Claud. XXV.4 and Acts XVIII.1-3 are misleading; Cassius Dio, LX.6.6 clearly refutes the above testimonies, while it is important to note that both Josephus and Tacitus saw no need to mention any general "expulsion" of Jews under Claudius. Radin, pp. 313-315, gave one of the best interpretations of the facts; see also Hild, REJ, 11 (1885), 58, n. 3; Reinach, Textes, p. 329, n. 1 and 2; Juster II, 171; Guterman , op. cit. pp. 149f, 156, n. 71; Leon, pp. 23-27.

[279] Philo, In Flaccum; Legatio ad Gaium; Jos., A. XVIII.257ff; XIX.278ff. Modern works on these subjects are too numerous to cite.

concerned with medicine, a practical farmer, a geographer, two satirists, an epic poet and finally a stoic philosopher! On the whole the references to Jews and their way of life in the various works of this period were only passing remarks and in this respect similar to most statements about Jews found in Latin literature.

The rhetorician Valerius Maximus is the first writer under Tiberius who mentions the Jews. He referred to them in the context of an expulsion, dated 139 B.C.E., which he recorded in his Factorum et Dictorum Mirabilium I.3.3. Unfortunately, this particular section of his work is only extant in two abridged versions, one by Julius Paris (fourth century C.E.) and the other by Nepotianus (sixth century C.E.).

The two epitomes which have come down to us are as follows:

(Julius Paris)

> Cn. Cornelius Hispalus praetor peregrinus M. Popillio Laenate L. Calpurnio coss. edicto Chaldaeos citra decimum diem abire ex urbe atque Italia iussit, levibus et ineptis ingeniis fallaci siderum interpretatione quaestuosam mendaciis suis caliginem inicientes. Idem Iudaeos, qui Sabazi Iovis cultu Romanos inficere mores conati erant, repetere domos suas coegit.

(Nepotianus)

> Chaldaeos igitur Cornelius Hispalus urbe expulit et intra decem dies Italia abire iussit, ne peregrinam scientiam venditarent. Iudaeos quoque, qui Romanis tradere sacra sua conati erant, idem Hispalus urbe exterminavit arasque privatas e publicis locis abiecit.

Although these two versions do not contradict each other, they do not give exactly the same information. Numerous and various discussions by scholars have tried to give some definitive interpretation to Valerius' puzzling evidence, yet one can find some fault with all these critics.[280] A detailed study of the information presented by the epitomists together with a commentary on modern opinion on the subject is too complex a problem for the scope of this thesis. Therefore, the following main points, some of which have already been argued by scholars, are here given without argument.

Valerius' record of an expulsion of Jews is definitely authentic despite his apparent confused interpretation of the facts, as clearly shown by the information presented by Julius Paris and Nepotianus. From the testimonies of the epitomists it would seem that the action which provoked the Roman authorities was an attempt at proselytism. The Jews in question were not Roman citizens, nor were they the Judaean ambassadors or even some members of their delegation who came to conclude a treaty

[280]The reader may note with caution the following authors for an introduction to the problem: Hild, REJ, 8 (1884), 5-7; Reinach, Textes, pp. 258f; F. Cumont, "A propos de Sabazius et du Judaïsme", Musée Belge, 14 (1910), 55-60; Juster II, 169f; Guterman , op, cit. pp. 12, 39; Leon, pp. 2-4; S. Alessandri, "La presunta cacciata dei Giudei da Roma nel 139 a. Cr.", Studi Classici e Orientali, 17 (1968), 187-198.

of friendship with the Romans and were cordially received by the Senate the same year that this expulsion took place. Moreover, the silence of such concerned writers as Cicero, Philo and Josephus who for different reasons and in different contexts ought not to have left a general expulsion of Jews unmentioned for the year 139 B.C.E. is in this case significant. The edict of the praetor peregrinus ought not to be interpreted as a general persecution of Jews. In strict Roman law his action was only valid for a year, the extent of his term of office. So the foreigners whom he expelled could technically have been allowed to return under the next magistrate. A further consideration presents itself if one takes only the view that the said Jews were expelled from Rome only. This could simply mean that, as their offence was essentially a religious one, they were only barred from entering the sacred confines of the city, the pomerium. Lastly, it is now agreed on the basis of evidence from Philo that although the "expulsion" of Jews under Tiberius' reign was officially sanctioned by the emperor, it was really Sejanus' idea to plot against the Jews of Rome. After Sejanus' fall Tiberius quickly reverted back to the old policy of toleration. None the less to contemporary observers like Valerius Maximus it must have been clear for some time that the emperor (under Sejanus' influence

which may not have been apparent outside government circles) had drastically shifted from his predecessor's policy of tolerating Jewish proselytizing activities. This being the case, it is possible that Valerius Maximus deliberately exaggerated the "Jewish incident" of 139 B.C.E. in order simply to ingratiate himself with Tiberius to whom his work was dedicated.

Another contemporary of Tiberius was A. Cornelius Celsus, the author of an encyclopaedia. Only the sections on medicine have survived and these contain two very brief, but none the less out-of-the-ordinary Jewish references, given the nature of the source they are found in.

Apparently one of the common methods for plastering a fractured skull which Celsus reproduced in De Medicina V.19.11 was the one which was ascribed to a certain Jewish author. A little later, in section V.22.4, Celsus again reproduced a medical formula advocated by a Jew, presumably the same person referred to before, this time, to stop the spread of gangrene. Some of the ancient rabbis possessed a remarkable knowledge of medicine. In the Talmud, for instance, there are passages dealing with such topics as surgical operations, amputations and artificial teeth and limbs.[281] Unfortunately Celsus

[281] Bava Metzia 83b; Yerushalmi Nazir 9.5; Shabbat 6.5.8.

did not name his authority in either of the cases he mentioned a Jew. It is obvious, however, that he did not deliberately mean to conceal the identity of the Jewish medical practitioner he was copying. His Greek source was most probably the reason for this neglect. At any rate, if there is anything significant about Celsus' medical passages it is that the more sober Roman writers who wrote about technical subjects did not disdain to give credit, when it was obviously due, to any foreign authority including a Jewish one.

A slightly younger contemporary of Celsus, also a technical writer who made two passing Jewish allusions, was L. Junius Moderatus Columella. Although his brief passages are not very significant, they are like Celsus' medical passages interesting in themselves and should not at least have escaped Reinach's notice of them.

In a section of his treatise on agriculture, De Re Rustica III.8.1-4, Columella wished to argue against the common notion that nature bestowed special endowments upon some nations or regions and completely denied the same gifts to others. To prove his point he proceeded to cite a few conspicuous examples. He admitted that the Germans were generally known to be tall persons; yet nature clearly did not deprive other nations of men of

exceptional stature. Not only were there records, he said, of very tall Roman citizens in Cicero's day, but the same was even true of his own time: "et nuper ipsi videre potuimus in apparatu pompae Circensium ludorum Iudaeae gentis hominem proceriorem celsissimo Germano." As early as republican times the Romans generally demonstrated a great curiosity for extraordinary and defective productions of nature. Rare animals, plants and human beings were avidly exhibited. Columella's notice of an exceptionally tall Jew having recently been paraded at the circus is only one of many such instances of spectacular human exhibits recorded in Latin literature. Unfortunately, Columella did not identify the Jew in question.

There is on record coinciding from the reign of Tiberius another Jew of imposing stature. Josephus stated that when the Parthian ruler Artabanus made peace with the Romans he sent to the emperor various gifts, among which was included a Jew by the name of Eleazar; according to Josephus, this man was known as "the Giant" on account of his abnormal size, he was seven cubits tall, that is, about ten and a half feet.[282] This man Eleazar would certainly fit Columella's description of a certain Jew

[282] A. XVIII.102-103.

who was taller in stature than the tallest Germans around. But the only difficulty with this conjecture is that Columella's phrase "nuper ipsi videre potuimus" would probably suggest a more recent date than Tiberius' reign.

The Elder Pliny was among Columella's famous erudite contemporaries and he was also interested in recording instances of giants and dwarfs. His description of a man from Arabia during the reign of Claudius may well coincide with Columella's Jew, though Pliny did not specify that the person in question was indeed Jewish: "Procerissimum hominem aetas nostra divo Claudio principe Gabbaram nomine ex Arabia advectum novem pedum et totidem unciarum vidit."[283]

Columella's second Jewish reference was in the same vein as his first one. After he had cited human examples to show that nature's endowments were universal, he passed to the animal world and from there he logically turned to various kinds of crops. This latter topic occasioned a passing reference to Judaea's famed exotic vegetation: "Mysiam Libyamque largis aiunt abundare frumentis, nec tamen Apulos Campanosque agros opimis defici segetibus; Tmolon et Corycon flore croceo, Iudaeam et Arabiam pretiosis odoribus inlustrem haberi; sed nec nostram civitatem praedictis egere stirpibus...."

[283] Hist. Nat. VII.74.

From the fields of medicine and agriculture one's attention is called next to Pomponius Mela's popular geographical survey De Situ Orbis, written some time during the period of Claudius. In section I.11 of this manual Mela listed "Judaea" among the different names Syria was sometimes called. In his words the other names were "nam et Coele dicitur, et Mesopotamia, et Damascene, et Adiabene, et Babylonia, et...Commagene." Pliny's description of Syria in Hist. Nat. V.66 gave a similar list, but with more precise geographical information appended to each name. Unlike Mela, Pliny gave a geographical account of Judaea proper.[284] Though Mela named Judaea, it apparently did not even occur to him to name Jerusalem. Again in contrast, Pliny called the city "Hierosolyma, longe clarissima urbium orientis, non Iudaeae modo."[285]

In referring to Gaza and the two coastal cities of Ascalon and Joppa, Mela seemed to have followed some rather ancient authorities because instead of locating these communities in "Judaea" as it would probably have been normal in his day, but still strictly speaking erroneous,[286] he placed them in "Palestine", thus preserving

[284] Hist. Nat. V. 70-73.

[285] Hist. Nat. V. 70.

[286] Cf. Pliny, Hist. Nat. V.68-69; IX.11; XII.64; 109; XIX.101.

the ancient meaning for the land of the Philistines:[287] "Ceterum in Palestina est ingens et munita admotum Gaza... Est non minor Ascalon; est Iope, ante diluvium, ut ferunt, condita." Mela's passing remark about the city of Joppa, "ante diluvium, ut ferunt, condita", is interesting for one is tempted to identify this phrase as an allusion to Noah's flood, but it is more likely that Mela was simply thinking of Deucalion's. Apparently, such a story about the origins of Joppa was the common opinion at the time. Pliny made a similar allusion about the city.[288]

Seneca's nephew, M. Annaeus Lucanus, was like himself, a Stoic. He made an incidental, but definitely hostile reference to the Jewish deity in his epic poem Pharsalia concerning the civil war between Pompey and Caesar. In one passage he portrayed Pompey haranguing his soldiers about his own recent successes. In lines II.592-593, Judaea was added to the list of subjugated nations with the epithet "et dedita sacris / incerti Iudaea dei." That the Jews were thought to worship an "unknown deity" stemmed from the fact that they had no visible image of their god. As it was noted previously, this idea was foreign if not wholly incompatible to Roman anthropomorphic

[287] Cf. Reinach, Textes, p. 261, n. 2.

[288] Hist. Nat. V.69: "Iope Phoenicum, antiquior terrarum inundatione, ut ferunt."

concepts about the gods. So the notion soon spread that the Jewish god was some kind of ridiculous and intangible mysterious spirit dwelling somewhere in the sky. Lucan's phrase was a poetic way of expressing this view, and the context of the passage in which it is found was meant to reflect traditional Roman scorn for a barbarous superstitious belief. When Pompey and his soldiers forced their way into the Temple they were struck to find nothing in it. Thus Lucan's vivid imagery aimed at recalling too that unforgettable Roman experience of 63 B.C.E. Taking an alternative view, Reinach[289] compared the poet's expression with the inscription which Paul is said to have observed on an Athenian altar dedicated "to an unknown god."[290]

Roman satirists from Horace to Juvenal all voiced traditional Roman scorn for aliens and foreign manners in varying degrees of hostility. In this connection the Jews did not escape being mentioned by all these writers. The two major satiric writers of this period both provide ample evidence for their own dislike of Jewish customs.

Like his contemporaries Seneca and Lucan with whom he was acquainted, A. Persius Flaccus was a Stoic. He came from a well-to-do equestrian family from Etruria and was basically an austere and conservative person. His disdain

[289] Textes, p. 266, n. 1.

[290] Acts XVII.23.

for foreigners can perhaps be said to be a consequence of his education and philosophy of life. In his Fifth Satire, dedicated to his stoic teacher and friend L. Annaeus Cornutus, he developed the conventional stoic theme that all men, with the exception of the stoics themselves, were slaves of one kind or another.

In lines 176-179 Persius came round to scorn at the politician who in his thirst for power was really the slave of his electors whom he had to entice with gifts such as at the floral games. Since the Floralia was often a period of licentiousness and especially popular with the women, it may perhaps have led Persius to consider in the next section (lines 179-188) another type of slavery, superstitious observances.[291] In any case, the major part of this topic dealt with an attack on certain Jewish customs, though the Jews were notably never once specifically named. Persius' poetry often displayed clear Horatian ideas, and Satire V is one of the best examples of his work. So it is perhaps not coincidental that he chose to mention the Jewish superstitions almost at the very end of his satire. Although it cannot be proven,

[291]Suggested by G.G. Ramsay, Juvenal and Persius, rev. ed., "Loeb Classical Library", (London: Heinemann, 1940), p. 386-387, n. 3.

Persius may have wished to imitate his model Horace, Sat. I.4.139ff and Sat. I.5.97ff, in which as it was shown in Chapter III these poems were humorously rounded off by references to common Jewish practices.

Unlike Horace who was more worldly, Persius is generally thought to have been a homely type, almost even a recluse in his study. His references to Jews, however, do not at all suggest this view of the man. Persius' Jewish allusions definitely point out that he was "a man about town", a keen observer of life among the different lower classes of the capital, and like Horace had a wide-range, if only superficial, knowledge of peculiar Jewish habits. Whereas Horace's criticism of the Jews was restrained Persius' hostility was overtly expressed. In this respect his attitude is reminiscent of the later opinions voiced by Martial, Juvenal, Tacitus and Rutilius Namatianus. Persius is also the first of the satirists to focus exclusive attention on the social conditions of the Jewish plebs of Rome. Like Martial and Juvenal who followed him, he attacked the Roman Jews on account of their wretchedness and superstitious habits. Although his contempt centred mainly on the Sabbath, his vivid description of the way the celebrants prepared themselves for this weekly festival indicates first hand knowledge about this feast; it would therefore also seem likely that

he was aware of other Jewish religious practices and beliefs.[292]

Auspiciously, Persius introduced his topic with the words "at cum / Herodis venere dies." It is obvious from what follows in the text that he was not alluding to some special Jewish festival, or as some modern commentators ignorant about basic ancient Jewish ritual have suggested "the birthday of Herod the Great",[293] but simply to the Jewish weekly holy day of rest. Herod's magnanimity and close friendship with Augustus had created such a marked impression in his day that he was long remembered and even periodically referred to by later writers in various contexts. In this case Persius used Herod's name poetically as a synonym for Jews.

It was noted previously that the Sabbath was partly an occasion for spiritual rejoicing. To symbolize this idea of cheerfulness the Jews were required by their Law to light special oil lamps or candles on Sabbath eve. This particular duty usually fell upon the woman of the household. Customarily the festive feature of the Jewish holy day also called for the consumption of special food and drink. But as strict Sabbath observance forbade any

[292] Contrary to Hild's view, REJ, 11 (1885), 55: "...on peut regretter qu'il n'en ait pas connu davantage..."

[293] So Ramsay, op. cit. p. 387, n. 4.

kind of manual labour the Sabbath meal necessarily had to be prepared and stored in advance. Hence the "coldness of the Sabbath" was often derided by hostile critics.[294] The common aspects of the Jewish Sabbath ritual were well known to Persius who on several occasions must have wandered through the squalid areas of the city on Sabbath eves and observed how the pious Jews methodically practiced their most sacred religious ceremonies. One should note here the contrast between the historians Pompeius Trogus and Tacitus who were probably less inclined to mingle with the common people and who thus misrepresented the Sabbath and the poets Persius and Horace who did not mistake the Sabbath for a day of fast. Of course in describing the Jewish customs Persius' tone was deliberately biased, thus presenting a rather unsavory picture of an otherwise simple and solemn scene:

> ..... unctaque fenestra 180
> dispositae pinguem nebulam vomuere lucernae
> portantes violas rubrumque amplexa catinum
> cauda natat thymni, tumet alba fidelia vino,
> labra moves tacitus recutitaque sabbata palles.

The phrase "labra moves tacitus" refers to the special Sabbath prayers that were recited by the celebrants.

[294] E.g. Meleager of Gadara (= Reinach, Textes, p. 55); Rutilius Namatianus, De Reditu Suo, I.390.

"Recutita" is of course a direct allusion to a male celebrant's circumcision, the well known physical characteristic which marked him a Jew and the outward symbol of his covenant with his god. The idea that one "turned pale" on the Sabbath vividly expressed by the word "palles" was the poet's critical way of suggesting that the obligation to remain physically inactive on that day inevitably rendered one lifeless and pale, almost sick-like. "It is in the highest degree surprising that Reinach (p. 265, n. 3) could have accepted the theory that the pallor alluded to is the faintness brought on by fasting. The tunny fish on the plate should have convinced him of his error."[295] Lastly since the verbs "moves" and "palles" were written in the second person of the singular, one would presume that Persius was again addressing himself to the politician mentioned immediately before the Jewish passage. If this is so, Persius had another fling at the slavish man of politics who in his eagerness to win popularity among the lower classes was shamefully prepared to adopt foreign religious practices. Besides the Jewish cult, Persius criticized the cults of Isis and Cybele.

[295] Radin, p. 399, n. 14. None the less Radin offered no explanation of his own for Persius' use of "palles".

The satirist Petronius was Persius' contemporary and Nero's courtier. Two clear references to circumcision are found in Satryricon 68 and 102 respectively. In the first instance the scene is Trimalchio's[296] banquet where Habinnas' slave who was sitting at his feet began to sing Vergil. After the slave's performance his master praised him for being quite intelligent and boasted about his great talent for being able to do everything from making shoes to cooking. But what Habinnas found most disappointing in the boy was that he was "circumcised and snored." Some have tended to translate the Latin words "recutitus est et stertit" as if the word "Jew" was essentially required.[297] But in section 69 the clear implication from Trimalchio's comments about the slave is rather that he was a Cappadocian. Although from this information it would appear that the slave was ethnically not a Jew, one is left to conjecture about the possibility that the slave dealer from whom Habinnas bought him may have been a pious Jewish proselyte who saw to it that his

[296] W. Arrowsmith, The Satyricon of Petronius (Ann Arbor: Univ. of Michigan Press), p. 189, n. for p. 25, remarked that "the name seems to be of Semitic origin and to mean 'great and rich' or 'triply fortunate.'"

[297] So M. Heseltine, Petronius, "Loeb Classical Library", (London: Heinemann, 1930), p. 130f. Cf. E.V. Marmorale, Cena Trimalchionis, 2nd ed. (Florence: La Nuova Italia, 1969), p. 145, n. 8: "Era dunque un ebreo?".

slaves were circumcised in the Jewish fashion. Whatever the case may be, any translation of the phrase "recutitus est" should not include the word "Jew" for a faithful rendering of the Latin context.

The second time circumcision was mentioned in the Satyricon it was a specific reference to the Jewish practice. The scene was Lichas' ship the time when Eumolpus, Encolpius and Giton were desperately trying to find a way to escape. At one point Encolpius suggested that he and Giton might paint their bodies with black ink in order to look like two Ethiopian slaves and thus pretend to serve Eumolpus. Giton reacted sarcastically to Encolpius' proposal: "'Quidni?' inquit Giton 'etiam circumcide nos, ut Iudaei videamur, et pertunde aures, ut imitemur Arabes, et increta facies, ut suos Gallia cives putet...'" Giton argued that to try and look like an Ethiopian was a drastic and virtually impossible endeavour; for one thing the ink would soon wash away just by their sweat alone. In his words you could not "alter a man's whole appearance, and you didn't need perfection in every detail to sustain a good lie."[298] So it followed that smearing one's face with chalk like a Gaul, or wearing earings like an Arab or

[298] Arrowsmith's translation, p. 110.

being circumcised like a Jew would also not do the trick. Apparently to a Roman these were some of the typical characteristics which marked foreigners. In this respect Giton's objections are easy to surmise. To try and look like any of these peoples would be degrading and besides such a physical transformation might be painful to execute. It is somewhat difficult to follow Giton's logic for including circumcision in the list of possible ways that a Roman might disguise himself. The peculiar characteristics of an Ethiopian, an Arab and a Gaul might well do; yet in contrast one would presume that the Jewish trait was in normal circumstances unnoticeable. One should perhaps allow a certain amount of poetic license here, though as a clear example of Roman disdain for foreigners, including of course the Jews, Petronius' passage is of some value.

The following epigram is sometimes said to have been written by Petronius. It is remarkable how within the space of six lines the author managed to touch upon so many underlying features of Jewish life. But on the other hand, the absurd, calumnious and distorted comments he wished to make about the Jews speak for themselves:

Iudaeus licet et porcinum numen adoret
et caeli summas advocet auriculas,
ni tamen et ferro succiderit inguinis oram
et nisi nodatum solverit arte caput,
exemptus populo sacra migrabit ab urbe
et non ieiuna sabbata lege premet.[299]

If one recalls the remarks of Lucan and Persius, it appears that under the reigns of Claudius and Nero the followers of Stoic philosophy were apt to be the most hostile element in Roman society to the Jewish religion. The chief expounder of Roman Stoicism at this time was L. Annaeus Seneca. Despite his periodic humanitarian exclamations about the necessity for brotherhood and equality for all men, Seneca was probably also by virtue of his Stoic formation the most determinedly hostile critic of Judaism in his day.

Stoics had much to dislike about the Jews; at times they must even have regarded Judaism as a rival way of life. Both Stoic and Judaic teachings aimed at universality. Whereas for Stoics virtuous conduct was everything and ritual mattered little if at all, for pious Jews emphasis on forms and ceremonies was equally important if not paramount. But what must have infuriated the Stoics most about the Jews was on the one hand their self-isolation from Roman religious life and on the other their

[299] Poetae Latini Minores 97, ed. Baehrens. See Hild, REJ, 11 (1885), 191-193; Reinach, Textes, p. 266-267, n. 4.

aggressiveness at trying to win converts over to their own creed. A favourite way of Stoics to win adherents was by philosophical sermons and discourses which often led to fierce diatribes on various subjects. Anti-Jewish feelings were long espoused by Greek writers imbued with Stoic philosophy, so one finds hostile comments in the works of Poseidonios, Apollonios Molon, Damocritus and many other men of letters mentioned by Josephus.

Seneca was not by any means a great innovator, and as he generally copied the ideas of older Stoic thinkers he inevitably fell prisoner to their traditionally biased attitude toward the Jewish religion.[300] Early in his life he spent some time with his uncle in Alexandria. There the violent anti-Semitic feelings of the Greeks for the Jewish inhabitants must not have escaped his notice. Seneca admitted that in his early days he was for a time under the influence of Sotion who introduced him to certain Pythagorean ideas.[301] Hild observed that since Nicolaus of Damascus belonged to the same school of thought as Sotion, Seneca had no reason to be ignorant of Jewish history and basic Judaic beliefs. Even later in his life

[300] Cf. Hild, REJ, 11 (1885), 56-59.

[301] Ep. 49; 108.17.

through his affiliations with Nero, he had an opportunity to get better acquainted with Judaism if he really had the inclination for it. One of Nero's special favourites was the Jewish actor Aliturus whom Josephus was fortunate enough to befriend on his first visit to Italy. It was through this courtier that Josephus managed to secure an audience with the emperor's wife Poppaea Sabina. She subsequently talked her husband into liberating some Judaean priests imprisoned in Rome and then personally gave Josephus large gifts.[302] In connection with the episode of Poppaea's later intercession on behalf of a delegation of Palestinian priests in a case against King Agrippa and the Roman governor Florus, Josephus referred to Nero's consort as "θεοσεβὴς γὰρ ἦν."[303] Poppaea's generally benevolent attitude toward the Jews which on at least two occasions had an influence on Nero's final decision was no doubt well known in Rome especially at court and in government circles. Indeed Josephus had no charges to make against Nero's overall policy toward the Jews. Nero also continued his predecessors' habit of being friendly toward the Judaean royal family. For instance, it is known that he personally gave the city of

[302] V. 15-16.

[303] A. XX.195.

Tiberias together with other territories including a portion of Galilee to Agrippa II; Nero also made Agrippa's cousin Aristobulus, son of Herod, king of Chalcis, ruler of Arminia Minor.[304] Seneca could not have been ignorant of any official motion favouring world Jewry under Nero and even Claudius and Tiberius before him; his own brother Gallio had dealings with Jews while he was proconsul of Achaea.[305] Yet in his brief remarks on the Jews it is obvious that Seneca preferred to follow his own personal philosophical experiences.

The point Seneca wanted to make in Epistle XCV.47 was that the worship of the gods was a theme which ordinarily lent itself to teaching by precepts. For his first example he chose the lighting of lamps on the Sabbath, a practice which he said ought to be prohibited: "Accendere aliquem lucernas sabbatis prohibeamus, quoniam nec lumine di egent et ne homines quidem delectantur fuligine." Seneca's typically Stoic reasoning for banning this practice parallels Persius' contemporary critical picture of garishly decorated and smoky lamps along greasy window sills.

[304] Jos., V. 37; B. II.252; A. XX.158f; cf. Tac., Ann. XIII.7.1.

[305] Acts XVIII.12ff.

It is quite evident from the above passage that Seneca had the Jewish practice in mind even though he did not specifically name the religious celebrants in question. His omission is noteworthy because it definitely proves that in his day there were already so many non-Jews who had adopted some or other Jewish practices that it was no longer necessary to explain the foreign origin of these religious manifestations. This passage, which incidentally is Seneca's only extant Jewish reference from his own writings, is also a perfect commentary on Josephus' own proud claim some forty years later that the custom of lighting lamps was one of many Jewish habits adopted by a great number of people in the Graeco-Roman world.[306]

Unfortunately, Seneca's most noteworthy comments about Judaism are extant only in an excerpt of his lost De Superstitione included by Augustine in De Civitate Dei VI.11. But even if one is inevitably at the mercy of Augustine's choice of passages, there is no reason to question the veracity of his selections.

In his Antiquitates Rerum Divinarum Varro had accepted the pontiff Scaevola's idea that there were three kinds of gods: one handed down by the poets, another by the philosophers and a third by statesmen. It is thought that

[306] Ap. II.282.

this tripartite division was a notion about the gods which originated from the Stoic philosopher Panaetius.[307] Seneca was familiar with this classification and according to Augustine he included Judaism "with other superstitions of the civil theology."

Seneca scoffed at all the Jewish religious institutions, but more especially the weekly celebration of the Sabbath. He was totally insensitive to the deeply religious significance of the idea of physical rest on that day. In typically Stoic fashion he condemned the practice as a wasteful and bad habit: "inutiliter eos facere adfirmans quod per illos singulos septenis interpositos dies septimam fere partem aetatis suae perdant vacando et multa in tempore urgentia non agendo laedantur." It is a well known fact that in their wars against their neighbours the Judaeans lost many decisive battles simply because they refused to bear arms on the Sabbath. During the Maccabean struggle for independence national feelings ran so high that Mattathias was able to persuade his followers to fight in self-defence on their holy day of rest.[308] Although from that time on this rule of practice

[307] W.M. Green, Saint Augustine: The City of God Against the Pagans, "Loeb Classical Library", (London: Heinemann, 1957) II, 98, n. 1 for De Civitate Dei IV.27.

[308] I Macc. II.39-41.

prevailed officially, the strict regulations which governed the observance of the Sabbath were so deep rooted in the minds of men that they were probably never completely overriden by the more pious Jews under any circumstances. One learns, for instance, from Josephus that Pompey had taken advantage of the Jewish holy day of rest in his siege of Jerusalem.[309] The refusal of the Jews to fight on their Sabbath was well known and baffled both the Greeks and the Romans who regarded the idea as absurd. Seneca's phrase "et multa in tempore urgentia non agendo laedantur" may vaguely have been an allusion to the detrimental consequences which the Sabbath might bring upon its celebrants in such grave emergencies as times of war. The Greek historian and geographer of the second century B.C.E., Agatharchides of Cnidus, was cited by Josephus for ridiculing the Jews in their foolish refusal to bear arms on their Sabbath.[310]

Seneca not only detested the Jewish religion but also hated the Jews, if one singles out the words "sceleratissimae gentis" from Augustine's quotation. The context in which Seneca referred to the Jews as an "accursed people"

[309] B. I.145-151.

[310] A. XII.5-7; Ap. I.205ff.

was an allusion to the great success the Jews had in his day in influencing others to adopt their customs. As one recalls, the success of Jewish proselytism was also observed in the days of Horace and Ovid; it was mentioned too by Seneca's contemporary Philo and a little later by Josephus; Tacitus and Juvenal also made derogatory references to the missionary activities of the Jews. Thus Seneca may not have been exaggerating too much when he wrote: "Cum interim usque eo sceleratissimae gentis consuetudo convaluit ut per omnes iam terras recepta sit." Such language clearly corroborates the statement made earlier about the bitterness the Stoics generally had for the Jewish religion; the basic moral teachings of the Jews were likely seen as a serious threat to many Stoic precepts. Seneca's remark also serves to indicate that the Stoics were envious of the methods which the Jews used and the relative ease with which they seemed to win converts. His following statement summed it all up in the most contemptuous way: "victi victoribus leges dederunt."[311] His epithet, incidentally, may have been inspired by Horace's equally famous praise about Greece:

[311] Cf. Rutilius Namatianus, De Reditu Suo I.397-398: "latius excisae pestis contagia serpunt, / victoresque suos natio victa premit."

"Graecia capta ferum victorum cepit."[312] At this point Augustine noted that, as Seneca did not know "what was being wrought by the providence of God", he had shown surprise at his own statement. Augustine then quoted another of Seneca's remarks which according to him was supposed to show what Seneca thought of Jewish institutions. But detached from its context, Augustine's last quotation from Seneca is somewhat obscure,[313] so it seems rather that Seneca's remark was uttered as if he had paid the Jews too great a compliment when he had stated that they had given laws to their conquerors. At any rate, here is the Stoic philosopher's last abusive statement: "Illi tamen causas ritus sui noverunt; maior pars populi facit quod cur faciat ignorat."

[312] Ep. II.1.156.

[313] See Reinach, Textes, p. 263, n. 2.

Conclusion

As early as the third century B.C.E. the Jews of Palestine found cause to emigrate to all parts of the Mediterranean world. There is therefore every reason to believe that not unlike any other major centre of the world the city of Rome must certainly have possessed a Jewish enclave by 150 B.C.E. Moreover, unlike so many of the foreign nations with whom the Romans first came into contact, the Romans' initial formal encounter with the state of Judaea was cordial. Treaties of friendship and alliance were concluded and renewed at various times by the rulers of both nations. Indeed, except for a few isolated incidents, official relations between Rome and Judaea remained peaceful until the start of the Jewish War. Such are the more particular viewpoints from which a survey of references to Jews in Latin literature must be seen. At the same time remarks made about Jews by Roman authors must also be observed in the light of a more general frame of reference, namely that of traditional Roman disdain for foreigners and non-Roman ways of life. Although here it should be pointed out that for all their imperialistic tendencies the Romans did not generally subscribe to the stricter, theoretical Greek concepts of racial purity and exclusiveness

Thus the Jews of Rome, similar in this respect to the attitude taken toward other foreigners, were not hated qua Jews, but on account of their outlandish customs were only regarded as culturally inferior to the Romans. The large number of Romans who gradually came to adopt certain Jewish practices should serve to indicate that Jews were respected as well as criticized. It should also be stressed that the official Roman position in regard to the particular religious and social customs of the Jews throughout the empire was marked by an exceptional degree of toleration and protection from the earliest times during the Republican era down to the advent of the Christian emperors.

Except for a few cases, references to Jews in Latin literature are only passing remarks. This is especially so for the references treated within the scope of this thesis. None the less the nature of these references and the context in which each of them are found are so varied that they cannot be classed into one particular type. They allude to the Jews as a people, their peculiar social and religious customs, and finally aspects about the geography of Judaea. But whenever value judgments were made about some aspect pertaining to Jews, no matter in which literary context, the opinion expressed was generally scornful. Yet what is noticeable is that the

degree of hostility varied from author to author and likewise from epoch to epoch. Moreover, pertinent information about the life of the Jews in Rome can also indirectly be derived from the nature of the notices which were made about them.

The initial extant references demonstrate beyond a doubt that the Roman public at large had long formed a biased opinion about the Jews, presumably in the same way as it had developed a dislike for other alien minority groups. But for this same period it is also evident that there were indeed already some Romans who thought quite highly of Jewish monotheistic concepts. It can also be inferred that by Cicero's day the Jews of Rome were for the most part Roman citizens who constituted an important foreign element within the lower classes of the city.

Not all the writers of the Augustan period mentioned the Jews in their writings; and the extant references are indeed not numerous at all considering the voluminous output of this short period. None the less a few of these writers show a remarkable knowledge of all the major Jewish customs, with the celebration of the Sabbath attracting most of their attention. What is alluded to for the first time is the apparent fervent zeal of the Jews to proselytize. Lastly, what is certainly noteworthy about the general tone of the Augustan references is that it is

far less bitter in its criticism of Jewish customs than the remarks made at other times.

In contrast to the latter period practically all the major extant writers who wrote between Tiberius and Nero found some cause to refer to Jews. Again, most of the remarks made are brief, but they vary in tone and content from the straightforward information provided by the technical writers to the disparaging comments made by the satirists. From the wide range of contexts in which the Jews were mentioned during this period it would be safe to conclude that by about the second half of the first century C.E. most Roman men of letters were at least acquainted with basic Jewish religious and social customs. What is also interesting to discover for this period is that the Romans who despised the Jews most were the Stoics. One of the things that provoked the irritation of the Stoics was that there were so many Romans who found it to their interest to adopt some or other Jewish practice, notably the abstention from work every seventh day.

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Appendix A

List of Jewish References in Latin Texts from c. 70 B.C.E. to c. 200 C.E.

Most of the passages noted below have in them the words "Jew", "Jewish" or "Judaea"; some mention Jewish historical personalities; others deal with the geography of Judaea; many allude to diverse aspects of Jewish social, political or religious life.

(!) indicates a reference which was completely overlooked by Reinach, Textes, or in a few cases one which he alluded to in a footnote, usually with little or no comment.

(?) indicates a reference whereby a definite allusion to Jews or some aspect of their lives is probable but not made explicit in the Latin text.

(X) indicates a reference which the present writer finds wrongly attributed.

M. Tullius Cicero, in Plutarch, Cic. VII.5

Ad. Att. II.9.1 (!)

Pro Flacco XXVIII.66-69

De Provinciis Consularibus 10

C. Valerius Catullus, Poem XLVII (!?)

M. Terentius Varro, Res Rusticae II.1.27 (!)

a fragment of his Antiquitatum Rerum Humanarum et Divinarum cited by Augustine, De Civitate Dei IV.31.2

C. Asinius Pollio, a fragment of his Historiae used by Strabo who was quoted by Jos., A. XIV.138

Q. Horatius Flaccus, Epistulae II.2.183-184

Satirae I.4.139-143

I.5.97-103

I.9.60-74

II.3.288-292 (X)

Albius Tibullus, Elegiae I.3.17-18 (X)

P. Ovidius Naso, Ars Amatoria I.75-76

I.413-418

Remedia Amoris I.219-220

P. Vergilius Maro, Eclogae IV (?)

Georgicon III.12

T. Livius, Periochae CII and CXXVIII

Pompeius Trogus, abridged fragments of Historiae Philippicae preserved by M. Junianus Justinus, Historiae XXXVI.1.10-3.8; XL.2.4; Prologi XXXVI, XXXIX

Augustus, in Suetonius, Div. Aug. LXXVI.4

in Macrobius, Saturnalia II.4.11

Valerius Maximus, Factorum et Dictorum Mirabilium I.3.3

A. Cornelius Celsus, De Medicina V.19.11

V.22.4

VII.25 (!?)

L. Junius Moderatus Columella, De Re Rustica III.8.2 (!)

III.8.4 (!)

L. Annaeus Seneca (rhetor), Suasoriae II.21 (!)

Pomponius Mela, De Situ Orbis I.11

M. Annaeus Lucanus, Pharsalia II.592-593

III.216

A. Persius Flaccus, Saturae V.179-184

Petronius, Satyricon 68 (X)

102

Poem XCVII

L. Annaeus Seneca, Epistulae XCV.47

fragments of his De Superstitione cited by Augustine, De Civitate Dei VI.11

Naturales Quaestiones III.25.5 (!)

C. Plinius Secundus, Historia Naturalis II.226

V.66-74

VI.213 (!)

VII.65 (!)

VII.98

IX.11 (!)

XII.64 (!)

XII.100 (!)

XII.109 (!)

XII.111-118

XII.124

XIII.26

XIII.44-46,49 (!)

XIV.122

XIX.101 (!)

XXIV.85 (!)

XXVI.60

XXVII.15

XXVIII.80 (!)

XXX.11

XXXI.24

XXXI.95

XXXV.178

XXXVI.24

XXXVII.14

C. Valerius Flaccus, Argonautica I.5-14

P. Papinius Statius, Silvae III.3.138-142
V.1.210-215
V.2.138-141

M. Fabius Quintilianus, Institutio Oratoria III.7.21

Sextus Julius Frontinus, Strategemata II.1.17 (!)

Ti. Catius Asconius Silius Italicus, Punica III.599-606

M. Valerius Martialis, Epigrammaton II.2.5 (!)
IV.4.7
V.17.4 (!?)
VII.30.5
VII.35.4 (!)
VII.55.7-8 (!)
VII.82.6 (!)
XI.75.1-8 (!?)
XI.94.1-8
XII.57.13-14
XIV.59 (!)

M. Antonius Julianus, in Minucius Felix, Octavianus XXXIII.4

P. Cornelius Tacitus, *Historiae*	I.10.5	(!)
	II.1.2	(!)
	II.2.1-2	(!)
	II.4.5	
	II.5.3	(!)
	II.6.2, 5	(!)
	II.73.1	(!)
	II.74.2	(!)
	II.76.12	(!)
	II.78.4-10	
	II.79.1-2	(!)
	II.81.1-4, 7	(!)
	II.82.6	(!)
	IV.3.5	(!)
	V.1-13	
Annales	II.42.7	
	II.85.5	
	XII.23.2	
	XII.54.6	(!)
	XIII.7.1	(!)
	XV.44.5	

D. Junius Juvenalis, Saturae I.127-31 (!)
III.10-16
III.290-299
VI.153-160
VI.542-547
VIII.158-162 (!?)
XIV.96-106

Hadrian, fragment of a letter to his brother-in-law Servianus (consul 134 C.E.), cited by Hadrian's freedman Phlegon and quoted by Flavius Vopiscus, Vita Saturnini VIII

C. Suetonius Tranquillus, Div. Jul. LXXXIV.8
Div. Aug. LXXVI.4
XCIII.2
Tib. XXXII.4 (!)
XXXVI.1-3
Div. Claud. XXV.11
XXVIII.1
Nero XL.3 (!)
Vit. XV.1 (!)
Galba XXIII.2 (!)
Div. Vesp. IV.9-12
V.9-10
VI.6 (!)
VIII.1

C. Suetonius Tranquillus (cont'd)

Div. Titus IV.3

V.3

VII.1, 4 (!)

Dom. II.2

XII.5-6

L. Annaeus Florus, Epitome I.50.29-31

M. Cornelius Fronto, Ad M. Caesarem II.7 (!?)

De Bello Parthico 2

L. Apuleius, Apologia XC.6

Florida VI.1

Appendix B

The Authenticity of Cicero's Jest "Quid Judaeo cum Verre?"

In the late nineteenth century, Reinach argued against the authenticity of Cicero's jest: "What has a Jew to do with a hog?,"[314] as reported by Plutarch in his Life of Cicero VII.5. Essentially, his whole thesis revolved around the following ideas. A certain Q. Caecilius Niger was Cicero's rival prosecutor in the case against Verres and in readily identifying this Q. Caecilius Niger with the Caecilius who is mentioned in Plutarch's text, he attempted to show that Cicero's jest was not only apocryphal but that it could never have been uttered due to an error of fact as well as an error of law. According to him, this resulted from the faulty information given by Plutarch. It is obvious though that Reinach's view was never widely taken seriously, for one finds Cicero's remark quoted in general histories of the Jews and more often in specialized works dealing with the Jews in Roman times. Reinach's article did not appear in one of the more familiar classical journals so this may account for

[314] "Quid Judaeo cum Verre?", REJ, 26 (1893), 36-46.

the fact that his opinion was never formally challenged.

From the information given by Plutarch, Reinach arrived at four basic conclusions. First, according to him, Q. Caecilius Niger, Cicero's opponent and Verres' quaestor, was neither a Jew by religion nor a freedman. Secondly, the reason why Plutarch's Caecilius was so designated is because he was mistaken for the Sicilian rhetorician Caecilius Calactinus. Reinach's third contention was that Cicero's jest "Quid Judaeo cum Verre?" was not genuine at all and that Plutarch carelessly borrowed it from the Joci Ciceronis, a work which, according to him, did not originate with Cicero's secretary, Tiro. Finally, on the basis of these conclusions, Reinach maintained that there was no significant Jewish community in Italy or Sicily before the fall of Jerusalem under Pompey.

The manner in which Reinach arrived at these conclusions will be briefly sketched. It will not be necessary to challenge in detail all the assertions he made because it will become clear from the mere exposition of his line of argument that he often had to go to extreme lengths in order to prove his premises.

In Plutarch's text Caecilius is made to be a freedman who was thought to follow Jewish practices. Besides this Plutarch added only that Caecilius wanted to do away with

the Sicilian accusers and prosecute Verres himself. There is no further indication as to who this freedman Caecilius was. Nevertheless, Reinach maintained, through evidence gathered from Pseudo-Asconius' commentary on Cicero's Divinatio in Q. Caecilium and from Cicero's speech itself, that this Caecilius had been born in Sicily and that he served in that province as Verres' quaestor. On this basis, he then argued ex silentio that if indeed Caecilius was also of servile origin and, moreover, an adherent to the Jewish faith, as Plutarch had it, then Cicero would never have left these facts unmentioned in his speeches against Q. Caecilius or against Verres. According to Reinach, neither Cicero nor his Roman audience had any doubts about Caecilius not being affiliated with Jewish practices.[315] This is therefore Plutarch's error of fact. Reinach also noted that Plutarch's statement contained an error in Roman law. For, as he pointed out, the possibility that Q. Caecilius Niger, as quaestor of Sicily, was also a freedman is immediately ruled out because libertini were excluded from the ius honorum.[316]

Having thus argued that Plutarch's Caecilius was none other than Q. Caecilius Niger and that he was neither

[315] Reinach, REJ, 26 (1893), 38-40.

[316] Ibid., 40-42.

a freedman nor a Judaizer, Reinach then had to explain why Plutarch apparently made such a gross error. He did not suspect, however, that Plutarch himself made the story up. He mentioned the fact that the Suda recorded the existence of another Caecilius, a rhetorician from the Sicilian town of Calacte and who lived in Rome during the time of Augustus. The Suda also recorded that this Caecilius was a freedman who professed to belong to the Jewish religion. Reinach then attempted to prove the validity of this information.

He brought forth inscriptional and literary evidence to show that Caecilius' former name of Archagathos would strongly suggest Sicilian birth and servile origin. He even suggested two members of Sicily's patron gens, namely the Caecilii, for the rhetorician's possible manumissor. It could have been either L. Caecilius Metellus, Verres' successor, or even Q. Caecilius Niger, Verres' quaestor. Then as proof of Caecilius the rhetorician's belief in the Jewish religion, Reinach pointed out the similarity existing between a passage of the Treatise on the Sublime and three verses in Genesis.[317] In this way, according to him the rhetorician Caecilius' Jewish faith is at least indirectly confirmed by the fact that the anonymous author of the Treatise on the Sublime

[317] Cf. Reinach, Textes, pp. 114, 115, n. 1.

must have gathered his biblical knowledge from a similar treatise, supposedly written by the Sicilian rhetorician and Judaizer, Caecilius Calactinus. Having thus taken his cue from the Suda's remarks and shown their apparent validity, Reinach concluded that the identity of the Sicilian rhetorician was erroneously placed upon Caecilius Niger. Moreover, in his words, "cet anachronisme a suggéré le jeu de mots prêté a Cicéron, à moins, au contraire, que le désir de justifier un mauvais jeu de mots n'ait suggéré l'anachronisme."[318]

Reinach's next question is obvious: how could this strange confusion have originated? He suggested that it was a writer who came well before Plutarch and whom Plutarch copied. According to him, internal evidence of the Vita Ciceronis point to a Roman source, quite familiar with Cicero's private life. Hence Plutarch gathered most of his information on Cicero's life from Tiro's Latin biography of his patron. Tiro is also reputed to have compiled a series of anecdotes and popular jests uttered by Cicero throughout his life. Quintilian, however, doubted Tiro's authorship of the Joci Ciceronis. Now since there is every reason to believe that the jest on

[318] Reinach, REJ, 26 (1893), 44; see also 42-44.

Caecilius most probably derived from the Joci Ciceronis, it would follow from Quintilian's judgment that it too should be doubted. The reason which Reinach gave for this was that Tiro, as Cicero's confidant and himself a freedman who must have been aware of the social stigma attached to that class, could not possibly have confused Cicero's old rival with a person who was like himself a freedman and a man of letters. Furthermore, Reinach held that this error in perspective could only have been committed after the death of the two Caecilii in question, not to say too after Tiro's death. The Joci Ciceronis, according to Reinach, were therefore written during Tiberius' reign.

Reinach's interpretation of Plutarch's text is certainly ingenious, but fails on numerous points. The least objection that can be found for his refusal to accept its validity will be enough to shake the foundation of his initial premise. His four basic conclusions which were enumerated at the beginning of the discussion are all interrelated. The last of these is perhaps the easiest to refute.

As it was demonstrated in Chapter I various dates have been suggested by a number of scholars for the first Jewish presence in Rome. Needless to say, all these estimates are clearly opposed to the idea that there was no substantial Jewish community in Italy prior to Pompey's

capture of Jerusalem in 63 B.C.E. In rejecting the authenticity of Cicero's jest on Caecilius, Reinach inevitably had to settle with Philo's rather vague statement that the Roman Jews originated for the most part from emancipated slaves, presumably as he held, brought over as prisoners of war by Pompey.[319] As it was also pointed out earlier, Philo was clearly mistaken, or at least was certainly oversimplifying the matter if he was referring particularly to Pompey's Jewish captives. Cicero's Pro Flacco is evidence enough that Philo's statement is difficult to interpret precisely. But, in any case, whichever date one is prepared to accept for the arrival of the first Jews in Rome, it is now unquestionably clear that Reinach's contention that there were simply no Jews in Italy prior to 63 B.C.E. can successfully be disclaimed, even if one does not, as he did, take into account the information given by Plutarch concerning Cicero's jest on Caecilius, dated c. 70 B.C.E.

In his massive work on the Jews, Juster claimed that he could not find any Jew who filled the post of quaestor. In a note on Plutarch's Caecilius, he strictly followed Reinach's thesis that Plutarch made an error in reporting Cicero's jest, and that Q. Caecilius Niger was definitely

[319] Leg. 155ff.

not a Jew.[320] Juster is the only major commentator to have accepted Reinach's view.

Hild cautiously accepted the authenticity of Plutarch's statement, but without formulating any concrete reasons why.[321] L. Friedlaender did not see any valid reason for questioning the authenticity of Plutarch's passage. In fact, in his opinion, Q. Caecilius Niger could very well have been a Jew, considering the important fact that, as he put it: "Das auch in Sizilien Juden früh in grosser Anzahl gewohnt haben, ist an sich wahrscheinlich."[322] To reinforce his position he followed Mueller, FHG 331, who pointed to the Servile Wars and the many Syrians in Sicily. Friedlaender also noted the existence of a Jewish inscription at Syracuse and of Jewish catacombs in that area. In other words, to Friedlaender's mind there is no confusion between Verres' quaestor and the rhetorician Caecilius. Some scholars, however, notably Vosius, Toupious and Bernhardy, even insisted that it was rather the Suda which confused the rhetorician with Plutarch's Caecilius, but Reinach rejected outright this probability.[323]

[320] Juster II.248, n. 10.

[321] REJ, 8 (1884), 24.

[322] Sittengeschichte Roms, 9th ed., rev. G. Wissowa (Leipzig: Hirzel, 1920), III, 209.

[323] REJ, 26 (1893), 42, and n. 1.

On this particular point, Leon agreed with Reinach in upholding the Suda's testimony, arguing that "the lexicographer would hardly have invented such" an important detail as that Caecilius was a Jewish proselyte.[324] On the basis of a passage in Gellius, Noctes Atticae XX.1, C. Müller[325] went so far as to suggest that the Suda (or possibly its glossator) had confused the rhetorician Caecilius with the jurisprudent Sextus Caecilius. More recently, L. Herrmann accepted the authenticity of Cicero's jest on Caecilius and suggested that the rhetorician Caecilius' father could well have been Q. Caecilius Niger's freedman, have practiced the Jewish religion and, moreover, have been ordered by his patron to work for the praetor.[326] Generally speaking, Leon too tended to give credence to Plutarch's story. He believed, however, that as a freedman Q. Caecilius Niger could not possibly have had the right to hold the magistral post of quaestor. But contrary to Reinach, he asserted that Q. Caecilius could simply have been "a 'Judaizer', that is, one who had accepted monotheism and accepted such Jewish

[324]Leon, p. 15.

[325]Cited by Reinach, REJ, 26 (1893), 43, n. 2.

[326]"Cicéron et les Juifs", Atti del I congresso internazionale di studi Ciceroniani (Rome, Centro di Studi Ciceroniani, 1961), I,114.

practices as observance of the dietary laws and the Sabbath."[327] Lastly, C. Nicolet had no doubts whatsover that Q. Caecilius Niger was at least Jewish by religion; since his family probably came from the Sicilian town of Lilybaeum, Nicolet even conjectured the possibility that Caecilius was of Semitic origin.[328]

Although various interpretations have been suggested to explain Plutarch's text, in contrast to Reinach's opinion the authenticity of his report has generally been maintained. Several other points in Reinach's argumentation are also difficult to accept. For instance, his rather wild assertion that the unknown writer of the Treatise on the Sublime had been influenced by the writings of the rhetorician Caecilius is simply not certain. Again, Reinach's judgment of Tiro is surely too hasty and should be questioned. There is no valid reason to deny outright as he did that solely on the basis of Quintilian's uncertainty Tiro wrote the Joci Ciceronis. For after all Quintilian was never wholly dogmatic about Tiro not being the author of the Joci. He simply wrote: "Utinamque libertus eius Tiro aut alius, quisquis fuit, qui tris hac de re libros edidit."[329] Quintilian did not seem to have been

[327]Leon, p. 16, see also 15.

[328]L'Ordre équestre: l'époque républicaine (312-43 av. J.-C.), (Paris: De Boccard, 1966), I.256-7.

[329]Institutio Oratoria VI.3.5.

very much interested in who exactly compiled Cicero's jests. One would think that his exceptional position at Domitian's court would surely have enabled him to do more penetrating research on the matter if indeed he really wished to have done so. But in his mind this was not necessary because the three books on Cicero's Joci were genuine. Reinach was moreover wrong to suppose that Quintilian's words "Tiro aut alius" necessarily implied a post Tironian source. Macrobius was perhaps more certain that it was actually Tiro who was responsible for the publication of his patron's anecdotes. He wrote: "Cicero autem quantum in ea re valuerit quis ignorat, qui vel iberti eius libros quos is de iocis patroni composuit, quos quidam ipsius putant esse, legere curavit?"[330] It should not be forgotten too that Tiro's biography of Cicero was respected not only by Plutarch, but also by Tacitus.[331]

It is not necessary to challenge Reinach any further. As it stands Plutarch's statement could very well describe a plausible incident while at the same time it cannot be denied that "the pun certainly has the true Ciceronian flavour."[332]

[330] Saturnalia II.1.12.

[331] Plutarch, Vita Ciceronis XLI.3; XLIX.2; Tacitus, Dialogus de Oratoribus 172.

[332] Leon, p. 16.

Appendix C

Notes on Catullus, Poem XLVII

Little is known about Catullus except what is revealed in his poetry. Politically one can say that he tended to be conservative, as he periodically demonstrated an aversion for Caesar's party. But what is more to the point is that he was not particularly interested in foreign cults and ways of life. None the less his sporadic derision of foreign customs shows clearly that he shared in the traditional Roman dislike for aliens. From these general items then one can only speculate that if he had any regard for Jews it was certainly less than sympathetic. Since he was born in northern Italy one can also fairly suppose that he was not very likely to have met many Jews in his early years. But his travels in Bithynia and elsewhere in Asia Minor may easily have exposed him to Jewish customs, and so could his stay in Rome even among the best society and literary circles. Catullus' best friends were literary men and a possible source of information on the Jews which in this case should not be overlooked is a man called Veranius. This person was probably Catullus' closest friend and he is mentioned several times in his poetry. The titles of two of his works are extant,

one on the art of augury, Auspiciorum Libri, and the other on problems dealt by the pontifical priests, Pontificales Questiones.[333] But Veranius' interests were not solely confined to Roman antiquities. It has been argued that like Varro and Pliny the Elder Catullus' friend was a scholar and "an interested observer of the customs, organization, and history of provincial peoples."[334] On this slim basis, the case can be made that the peculiar customs of the Jews should have attracted his attention, particularly since Pompey's recent capture of Jerusalem and Cicero's public attack on the Jews in his Pro Flacco would have put this strange eastern people in the political limelight for some time. Returning to Catullus, his social contacts with scholarly friends like Veranius added to his own relatively wide literary background and the experiences of his eastern travels make it almost inconceivable to think that he was totally ignorant of Jewish customs and religious beliefs.

There is at least one precise reference to circumcision in Catullus' poetry and it is found in Poem XLVII.

[333] See H. Bardon, La litérature inconnue, tome I: L'époque Républicaine (Paris: Klincksieck, 1952), p. 310ff.

[334] C.L. Neudling, A Prosopography to Catullus (Oxford: Iowa Studies in Classical Philology, 1955), p. 183.

This poem reads as follows:

> Porci et Socration, duae sinistrae
> Pisonis, scabies famesque mundi,
> vos Veraniolo meo et Fabullo
> verpus praeposuit Priapus ille?
> vos convivia lauta sumptuose
> de die facitis, mei sodales
> quaerunt in trivio vocationes?

Hild, who made an extensive study of Roman references to Jews in the literature of the Late Republic and Early Empire, did not even consider Catullus among the writers who actually or may have written something about Jews. Reinach claimed to have compiled the most comprehensive list of references to Jews in classical literature, yet he also overlooked this particular reference.

Before examining Poem XLVII, it should be pointed out that the word "verpa" in Poem XXVIII.12 does not have the same meaning as "verpus" in Poem XLVII.4. It may as well be added too that "verpa" and "verpus" appear quite rarely in Latin literature and the close resemblance between the two words has apparently confused some scholars. For instance, C. Stuttaford erroneously translated "verpa", Poem XXVIII.12, as "circumcised".[335] In Catullus' Poem XXVIII the word "verpa", as in Martial's epigrams[336] is

[335] Catulli Carmina (London: Bell, 1909), p. 123.

[336] E.g. XI.46.2; cf. also Auct. Priap. XXXIV.5.

simply another vulgar synonym for the membrum virile.

Most commentators and translators of Catullus' poems, notably Cornish, Eisenhut, Ellis, Ernout and Lafaye, have preferred to translate "verpus", Poem XLVII.4, with words like "filthy" and "obscene". In light of the invective nature of the poem such relatively mild renderings are not satisfactory. That they do not convey the precise Latin meaning should already be obvious. The word "verpus" unmistakably refers to a man who is circumcised. The problem now is whether Catullus had in mind the particular Jewish practice. There is, however, no direct allusion to the Jewish ritual in the poem. Therefore, only a prosopographical survey of the persons mentioned in the poem may provide a vague indication that Catullus might have had the Jewish practice in mind.

Scholars have not been able to identify with any certainty Piso's two agents, Porcius and Socration. Whether Porcius represents M. Cato, tribune in 56 B.C.E., or some otherwise unknown person in Piso's circle of friends, and Socration a Greek freedman or really Piso's household Epicurean philosopher Philodemus, neither man can be said to be a Jew or have direct connections with these people. They are clearly only portrayed here as disreputable characters. Catullus figuratively described them as Piso's "duae sinistrae". The characterization

was clearly intended to be malicious, for the left side of everything was thought by the Romans to denote evilness. Thievery was particularly represented by the left hand. Thus "scabies famesque mundi" imply that Porcius and Socration did not disdain to do much of Piso's dirty work for him.

If Porcius and Socration provide no insight in solving the problem of "verpus", neither can the other two characters mentioned in the poem, Catullus' friends Veranius and Fabullus. It is difficult to determine Fabullus' identity and his general background is practically unknown.[337] As for Veranius it is quite possible that he was acquainted with Jewish customs. But the context in which he appears in this poem does not allude to his being interested in Jews or, for that matter, any other foreign peoples. So it is difficult to assume that Catullus was inspired to think of a foreign practice like circumcision by a mere reference to his friend Veranius.

The Piso whom Catullus was attacking is presumably L. Calpurnius Piso Caesoninus, Caesar's father-in-law and governor of Macedonia from about 58 to 55 B.C.E.[338] Catullus' friends Veranius and Fabullus were members of

[337] See Neudling, op. cit. p. 65f.

[338] Neudling, ibid. p. 42ff; T.R.S. Broughton, The Magistrates of the Roman Republic (New York: American Philological Association, 1952), II, 202-203.

Piso's staff in Macedonia, but were apparently neglected by him in favour of Porcius and Socration. This explains Catullus' writing Poem XLVII. As in Poem XXVIII it is evident that he wished to inveigh against Piso as forcefully as he could, hence his attack on Piso's most reputed weaknesses excessive greed and sexual lasciviousness. Piso's pervasive conduct must have been more than proverbial at the time, for Cicero also leveled similar charges against him in his public speeches.

With this information in mind Catullus' reference to Piso as a "verpus Priapus" is still the crux of the problem. Priapus was a deity connected with fertility. As Catullus himself revealed in Fragment II of his extant poetry, after his cult had spread to Greece, he became the subject of numerous coarse poems. Among the principal themes of these poems were "the shameful chastisements awaiting thieves, the phallus of the god, the offerings presented to him."[339] So far it can be seen that Catullus' representation of Piso as the god Priapus was clever and appropriate. But it is at first puzzling to see why he should also have referred to him as being circumcised. There is no valid reason to suppose that

[339] C. Favez, "Priapeia", trans. J.W. Duff, Oxford Classical Dictionary, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970).

Priapus himself was originally a circumcised deity. The Greeks would certainly not have depicted the god as such. Both the Greeks and the Romans generally regarded circumcision as a shameful foreign practice.

There is also no reason to believe that Piso was himself circumcised, or even less, for that matter, a follower of the Jewish religion. If he were a Jewish proselyte, it is fairly certain that neither Catullus nor Cicero would have left the matter unmentioned in their invectives against the man. Such an idea about him would also not be compatible with his reputed Greek tastes and love of Greek company. It cannot be shown also that Piso was associated with the Jews of the capital or more likely that he had foreign _clientelae_ with Jewish families of Judaea or elsewhere in the eastern Diaspora. The _gens_ Calpurnia of which Piso was a member is not known to have had any major connections with the East. Rather most members of the Calpurnii served in Gaul, Spain and Africa.[340] So from what is known about Piso there is nothing to indicate that he had anything to do with Jews.

In calling Piso "Priapus" Catullus wished to allude to his voluptuous sexual conduct. To emphasize the fact more vividly he added the adjective "_verpus_", thus making

[340] See E. Badian, _Foreign Clientelae (264-70 B.C.)_ (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1958), p. 312.

the attack doubly insulting for an erect Priapus would naturally have appeared "verpus". To be called a "Priapus" was shameful enough; but to a Roman a circumcised person almost automatically sprung to mind the idea of a despised foreigner. When Martial and Juvenal wrote disparagingly about men who were circumcised and used the word "verpus" to do so, they were referring to Jews.[341] So it is quite possible that Catullus had the same anti-Jewish prejudice in mind when he went out of his way to inveigh against Piso.

[341] Martial, Epigr. VII.82ff; IX.94ff; Juv., Sat. XIV.104.

Appendix D

Jewish References in Sallust?

As it was demonstrated in Chapter II Roman literary opinion about Jews for the entire Republican period is confined to what Cicero and Varro had to say. The fact that their contemporaries did not even refer remotely to these people need not necessarily be interpreted as total ignorance on their part. Rather a lack of interest in the Jews, or for that matter in foreign people in general, would be a more plausible explanation. One should remember that if it were not for the particular circumstances arising from Flaccus' trial, Cicero's hostile feelings toward the Jews would scarcely have been known.

Of the Late Republican writers who might have referred to Jews but whose works are completely or partially lost, a few words may only be said about the historian Sallust. As a popularis and a tribune of the people (52 B.C.E.) he most probably had occasion to meet with the leaders of the Jewish community. If indeed he did come across some Jews during his rather short political career, either in Rome or in North Africa where he was governor, he necessarily had to form an opinion about them. Of course any guess as to what precisely was his attitude would be

presumptuous for lack of concrete evidence. Tentatively one is only left with the idea that his association with Caesar's party might have had a positive influence in shaping his opinion. Other Caesarians, notably Mark Antony, Dolabella and L. Lentulus Crus [342] among many other lesser officials stationed in the provinces during the civil war, are known to have followed their leader's example and showed a most friendly disposition toward the Jews whenever they had to deal with them.

Nothing relevant, however, can be deduced from Sallust's extant works. His historical monographs, Bellum Catilinae and Bellum Jugurthinum, did not require any special mention of Jews. His major historical work, his now almost completely lost Historiae, covered a relatively short period in Roman history, roughly from 78 to 67 B.C.E. This was the time the Romans were fighting with Mithridates and Tigranes in the East and it is only in this context that one can imagine Sallust mentioning in passing the official position taken by the Jews of Palestine vis-à-vis those two formidable enemies of Rome. At this time Judaea was still allied to Rome and like all the smaller nations of the East the Judaeans, as one can

[342] Jos., A. XIV.217-230.

gather from Josephus,[343] feared both Tigranes and Mithridates. One of the ways the government in Jerusalem could help to prevent either one of these men from invading Judaea was to cooperate with the Roman commanders posted in their general area. So it is quite conceivable that Sallust would have mentioned the Jews of Palestine within such an historical background. But even if factual references to Jews were extant, it would still be difficult to determine what Sallust personally thought about these people. Since he is the major historical writer of this period, it is unfortunate that his opinion is not known. The few times he digressed to describe the origins and customs of foreign peoples, he usually appeared to have carefully weighed and considered the more sober traditional and even current opinion of his day before expressing his own views; witness, for example, his geographical description of Africa and the characterization of its people in his Bellum Jugurthinum, XVIII.3ff. Sallust was generally fair and objective in treating non-Romans; he rarely resorted to the rhetorically biased attitudes of his famous contemporary Cicero. Given also Sallust's own temperament and his inclination to write factual history, one cannot help but think that an extant

[343] A. XIII.419ff; XIV.110ff.

digression on the Jewish people in his Historiae would likely have revealed a more serious and carefully balanced account than some of the rather absurd and calumnious statements made about the origins and customs of the Jews by later Roman historians like Pompeius Trogus and Tacitus.