

Classical texts, quotations and allusions in
Christian literature
of the first two centuries



Reginald Robert Derek Spears
Blackfriars
University of Oxford

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The work of researching and writing this thesis has been a voyage of discovery and I wish to dedicate it to those who enabled me to undertake this voyage of exploration.

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Short Abstract

The genesis of this study was the iambic trimeter quoted by Paul in 1 Corinthians. It rapidly expanded to cover classical quotations and allusions in early Christian literature to the end of the 2nd century CE, employing a linear approach. The first part (NT and Apostolic Fathers) re-examines *de novo* the perceived quotations and allusions, arguing that they have been too frequently seen through the lens of 5th and 4th century BCE literature, that has been mostly studied in schools and universities, and which may not always reflect the social and educational circumstances of the first Christians.

The following parts explore the classical material and quotations in the Apostolic Fathers, Justin Martyr, the apologists and Clement of Alexandria which have too often been overlooked in favour of their philosophical background. From a tentative start in Justin – the first to name classical authors – to Clement, who quoted prolifically, the study analyses the increasing confidence in classical quotation. Though the writers may have had different assessments of the material they quote, there is an assurance that this can play a part in Christian discourse, reflecting a greater awareness of the *paideia enkyklios* and involvement of those with a literary “elite” background.

In the case of Clement – with some 1,700 quotations - it was not feasible to examine them in detail; instead, the study examines Clement in the context of contemporary miscellanists, such as Aulus Gellius and Athenaeus, and explores the use of hypothetical florilegia in the 2nd century context, arguing that the writers were their own florilegists, and their effective use of texts in quotations implies a knowledge of the original sources. (Philology plays an important part in this study.) It leads to the conclusion that this more confident use of classical literature reflects a growth in the Christian community of those more appreciative of this heritage.

Long Abstract

The thesis opens with a brief conspectus of classical quotations and allusions in the authors whose writings will form the material for the body of this work. It also examines some of the principles and assumptions underlying the thesis: authorship of the books of the NT, and the presupposition that, though they form the canon of the Christian church, they are also to be treated as 1st century CE documents. This draws on Millar's 1993¹ address to the Classical Association. (*Mutatis mutandis* this will also be true of the other Christian texts to be examined.) It will also explore the role of the Septuagint (LXX) in the period under discussion, and the LXX, being the normative version of the OT in this period, will also be the main text used in the study.

In chapters 1 and 2, the study will also explore how the predominance of 5th and 4th BCE literature, and the comparative neglect of literature contemporary with the NT, in university syllabi before the 20th century, may have influenced perceptions of the NT. (Wettstein's 1752 edition of the NT may be seen as an important and influential exemplar of this approach.) Grammars of the NT, a product of 19th century scholarship, despite much learning, may have also isolated the NT writings and seen them as a special case. The opening section will also examine the growth in the practice of quotation from the 4th century BCE (in authors such as Plato) up till the usage of 2nd century CE authors.

In chapter 3, as a *prolegomenon* to the section on the NT, analysis of two examples of studies on classical allusions will seek to highlight the over-optimistic approach of much earlier scholarship. Chapter 3, the first part of the section on the NT, explores the alleged allusions to classical writings in the NT, including those given in Nestle/Aland 28th edition.

¹ Millar (2002)

(This curiously omits the Epimenides hexameter.) This will include a study of the proverbial collections of Diogenianus and Zenobius which may throw light on non-literary use of proverbial matter. A very high proportion of the literature that has survived is what may be termed “elite” writings, written by those who will have undergone the *paideia enkyklios*, and works of lesser literary pretensions will have vanished because they were not read, or subsequently copied and thus have not survived. The contents of Diogenianus/Zenobius contain proverbial material which may be the roots of that found in the “elite” literary sources and, in view of high levels of illiteracy in the ancient world, may be an equal, if not indeed more probable, source for some of the supposed literary allusions in the NT. (The gnomic lines found in ancient authors, chiefly Euripides and Menander, though often referred to as proverbs in modern scholarship, are rarely attested in Diogenianus and Zenobius. Perhaps they should be referred to as “gnomai”.)

In chapter 4, the three classical quotations are examined in depth. The first, 1 Corinthians 15:33, is traced from its occurrence in papyrus Hibeh 1.7, through allusions in other ancient authors and the Fathers up to Photius. This section centres on the attestations and probability of its attribution to Menander. The occurrence of the scholion ἐν θαδία (sic) in a presumed lost manuscript, collated by Henricus Stephanus, is also investigated leading to the conclusion that the attribution to the *Thais* is far from secure. (The attribution to the *Thais* also occurs in three Syriac MSS but anomalies in spelling may cast doubt on the accuracy of the attribution). The lack of elision in all the manuscripts of Paul, the Fathers and the NT from Vaticanus and Sinaiticus may indicate a line that has drifted free from its literary Context. The line’s occurrence in the *Sententiae Menandri* may indicate that Paul encountered it in a scholastic context, and there may be a possibility of further reminiscences of the *Sententiae* in Romans. The analysis of the Aratus’ hemistich in Acts 17: 28 suggests that it is unlikely to

have come from direct knowledge of the *Phaenomena* and probably came to the author of Acts from a Hellenistic-Jewish source in Aristobulus. Equally the Epimenidean hexameter in Titus 1:12 is unlikely to have been sourced from a direct reading of the original text. The context, and paucity, of these quotations (seventeen words *in toto*) suggest that the NT writings do not sit at the heart of the “elite” literary world, but rather in a more peripheral context.

Chapter 5 consists of an exploration of the alleged references or citations to classical literature in those writings that are traditionally dated between the New Testament and Justin Martyr. (Some like the Pastoral Letters and 2 Peter may be contemporaneous.) Most of the Apostolic Fathers are free from any classical quotations and allusions. The two major points are the posited references in the 1st Letter of Clement to classical mythology, Δαναΐδες καὶ Δίηκαὶ and the phoenix. The first refers to relatively obscure myths, unlikely to have formed the basis for spectacles in the arena and, as others have pointed out, the text is probably corrupt. The second’s sources (the reference to the phoenix) are difficult to trace accurately. The conclusion of the research points to these writings occupying a position not dissimilar to that of the New Testament, in terms of its literary placing. This section ends with a comparison in the use of quotation between the NT and the Apostolic Fathers and Philo and Josephus, two Jewish writers. The latter (in their discussion of the Jewish faith) employ quotations from classical literature, an indication that they may well be writing for an audience of a different cultural level.

Chapter 6 is the central panel of the three major sections of the dissertation and evaluates the use by Justin of fragments of classical literature in the *Apologies* and *Dialogue with Trypho*. It seeks to challenge the purpose of the two *Apologies*, arguing for a more inward approach, centred on the Christian community, rather than an overt missionary purpose to

the Greco-Roman world in general. This also seeks to challenge the dissemination of such writings as the *Apologies* in the contemporary book trade. This section further investigates the nature of Justin's school, the background of those martyred with Justin, and what this implies about Justin's hypothetical school. This section seeks to establish that Justin's work marks a new stage, however hesitant, in the church's understanding of itself as witnessed through the first (surviving) naming of pagan authors and the quotation of their works (curiously neglected in many of the writings on Justin).

Chapter 7 is concerned with the quotations and allusions in the Apologists and in the case of Tatian, Athenagoras, Theophilus, Tertullian and Irenaeus the greater range and freedom of quotation. Relatively little work has been done on the classical quotations and allusions in the Apologists, and this section seeks to remedy that gap. It will thus be in the nature of a link between the sections on Justin and Clement, but also illustrating some of the tensions, that the use of classical literature produced – as for example in Tatian. It also tries to place some of the Apologists in the context of the Second Sophistic and also to establish links between the different writers in the context of shared allusions to, in particular, some ancient historians. The Apologists also vary in their attitude to this classical heritage; Tatian and Tertullian are more negative than Athenagoras or Irenaeus, though Tatian may be utilising a trope also found in Lucian. The use of classical quotations and allusions may also indicate, whether consciously or subconsciously, that the writers are seeking to place themselves in the context of their pagan contemporaries and that Christians, without subscribing to the beliefs of the Olympian pantheon, may also claim a part in this cultural heritage.

Chapter 8 provides the major final section which is devoted to Clement of Alexandria, placing him in the context of some 2nd century CE writers such as Plutarch, Aulus Gellius and

Athenaeus, in the way that they construct works built on citations. This had been hinted at, but not developed, by Holford-Strevens in his work on Aulus Gellius, and the study will seek to underline and give depth to this aspect of Clement's work. The thesis will also explore the role that handbooks and in particular florilegia may have played in the composition of his writings. This will include an examination of Stobaeus' *Anthologion* and alleged or hypothetical florilegia in Plutarch, as well as a discussion of Elter's work on florilegia and its influence on subsequent scholarship. The discussion has perhaps been over-concerned with poetic texts without assessing the plausibility or proof of existence of florilegia comprising prose texts. The study will also seek to argue that the habit of taking notes, as attested in Plutarch, Aulus Gellius, and Clement himself, will prove much more significant, and further that the role of florilegia has been misunderstood or overestimated in the light of Stobaeus' *Anthologion*. The pattern of quotations, both of biblical and pagan texts, in Clement has parallels with other contemporary writers in that they support the argument through example, rather than themselves being expounded and explained. (This is a different pattern to that found in Origen's commentaries.) One interesting side path explored in the study is the possibility that groupings and patterns of cited texts in the *Paedagogus* may indicate that parts of Books II and III may be based on a pre-existent text from Clement's pre-conversion days. The study seeks to underline the possibility that the understandable concentration on Clement's theology has perhaps obscured his importance as a writer and the way in which he blends biblical and classical texts alongside his evident love of classical literature. (Clement is an important witness to some ancient authors – 20% of the fragments of Heraclitus only survive because of Clement's use of them.) Though the Λόγος, and Clement's devotion to that Λόγος, will always prevail, I will seek to suggest that Clement seeks a fusion of the Christian faith with what he sees as good in classical literature and culture. (He admires the Homeric

poems while at the same time deploring the immorality of some of the stories.) Clement is writing for a readership that will appreciate such use of quotation; is it a coincidence that the *Cur dives salvetur* is the first significant text to handle the problem of wealth?

Chapter 9 sums up the thrust of the thesis. This has proved to be a fascinating subject and the in-depth examination of the sources has led to me to challenge several current orthodoxies. (It has also been a fusion of passions developed through the study of classics and theology and part of the *raison d'être* of the study has been to bring those two approaches together on a level of parity). It also seeks to refocus the NT world, and that of the remaining Christian writers of the first two centuries CE, through their use of classical literature. Compared with Philo and Josephus, two Jewish writers who quote classical literature, the NT writers and the Apostolic Fathers display relatively little interest in classical literature. This may, in part, be accounted for their desire to interpret the significance of the “Jesus” event, but may also reflect the cultural and literary interests of their intended audience and readers. In that sense they do not reflect the concerns of an “elite” readership, but rather reflect the social background of early Christians as explored by writers such as Malherbe, Meeks and Theissen. It is a highly probable assumption that all the writers will have learnt their Greek writing skills through exposure to the *enkyklios paideia* – there is no comparable evidence for Christian schools as there is for Jewish – and the nature of the evidence may suggest from Paul to Justin that this was confined to the first two levels of the *enkyklios paideia*. Justin sees a new development in Christian writing, tentative at first, in the employment of classical literature. This was not a necessary development – the *Letter to Diognetus*, as an example, shows the depth of Christian writing was not dependent on the use of classical literature. The degree of enthusiasm in writers after Justin in citing classical literature may well indicate this was a welcome development, but also an increasing

permeation by Christians of the level of society of those who might be numbered among the literary “elite”. This practice of literary quotation gives as it were a “back” history to these writers before their conversion; it may well be significant that the only cradle Christian, Irenaeus, among these writers does not differ in his manner of quotation. This seeming growth in education, witnessed in the use of quotation, reflects the internal needs of the church in administration and bureaucracy, but also an external desire to be play a part in and to be accepted by those among the literary and cultural “elite.”

It was the purpose of this study to examine in depth the role of classical quotation and allusion in early Christian writings, to explore the growth in confidence in quotation and allusion, but also to act as a *prolegomenon* and to provide steppingstones and points of departure for further scholarly investigation.

Chapter 1 - Introduction

The genesis of this study began when, as an undergraduate, my tutor, Peter Brown, stirred my interest in Menander, leading to a fascination with Paul's quotation of an iambic trimeter in 1 Corinthians 15:33 – φθείρουσιν ἥθη χρηστὰ ὁμιλίας κακαί,² traditionally ascribed to the *Thais* of Menander, though Paul's text bears no attribution. In Kassel and Austin's edition of the fragments of the Greek comic poets,³ this line is one of eight fragments surviving from the play. The longest quotation is four lines from the prologue quoted by Plutarch⁴ followed by Aelius Dionysius (in his *Ἀττικά ὀνόματα*)⁵ who quotes just over two iambic trimeters. As I investigated further, during an all too brief sabbatical, it soon became obvious that the history of the line was considerably more complicated than many of the commentaries on this passage assumed. It was only on retirement that a friend suggested I take up the subject again. But by this time my interest had widened – not just to the exploration of the history of this line and the two other classical quotations in the Pauline literature⁶ - but now to include the interplay between classical literature and the early church from the period of the New Testament through the works of Justin Martyr, the first to employ classical quotations, named by author, and allusions, to Clement, the father who quotes classical literature with the greatest depth.

² All the MSS of the New Testament give this line without elision; Clement, though later than the period of the New Testament, often omits elision in citing verse. Several early editions, (such as Stephanus' *Editio Regia* and an edition after Courcellaeus and Mills, published by Wettstein in 1735 at Amsterdam,) make the elision, less on manuscript authority, than the younger Éstienne correcting a presumed metrical fault. (The authority of the *Editio Regia* – where the elision is printed – was probably the reason for subsequent editions following suit; though the edition of Wettstein in 1752/3 makes plain his doubts as to the accuracy of the reading.)

³ Kassel and Austin *PCG* VI 2 frg. 165.9

⁴ *De audiendis poetis* (*Quomodo adolescens poetas audire debeat*) 19 A.

⁵ alpha 16 16 – also quoted later by Photius, who derived his knowledge from Aelius Dionysius.

⁶ Acts 17:28 and Titus 1:12.

The study begins from a narrow base; there are only three certain quotations in the NT of the Greek classics: Acts 17:28 (Aratus); 1 Corinthians 15:33 (Euripides/Menander); Titus 1:12 (Epimenides). In the works of the Post-Apostolic Fathers, there are hardly any traces, if at all, of the interaction of classical literature with the nascent church, and it is only with the first comparatively tentative steps in the writings of Justin that we begin to see a deepening engagement with classical literature. This trend continues through the works of writers in the second half of the second century CE culminating in the *oeuvre* of Clement, who may well be compared with Plutarch in his breadth of quotations. After Clement there is something of a reaction; Origen, though having a good classical knowledge, rarely, if ever, names authors alluded to in his works with the exception of the *Contra Celsum*.

In the interaction between the church and the society in which it found itself, greater attention has been given by scholars to the role of philosophy than that of literature; yet a knowledge of literature was equally regarded as the sign of an educated cultivated man, perhaps in some ways even more so. The major purpose of this study is to explore this interaction and what it implies about the church's growth. The use of classical literature may also tell us something of the background of the writers and the hypothetical place that florilegia may have played in the acquisition of such knowledge, especially in the case of the Apologists and Clement.

Principles (1) – Biblical matters

When discussing the books of the NT, I will assume, though using the traditional names, that all the books of the NT are anonymous. The one exception is the Pauline letters; the Pastoral Letters, (1 and 2 Timothy, and Titus), 2 Thessalonians, and Ephesians are certainly pseudonymous and the remainder, (Romans, 1 and 2 Corinthians, Galatians, Philippians, 1

Thessalonians and Philemon), genuine. The one exception is the letter to the Colossians;⁷ the names mentioned in the letter seem to tie this epistle very closely to Philemon, yet there are elements particularly in the first two chapters, such as the understanding of ἐκκλησία, that may seem non-Pauline.

For many of the writers of the New Testament, the sub-apostolic generation, the apologists and their successors up to the time of Jerome,⁸ the version of the Old Testament that they used and with which they were most familiar was the Septuagint (LXX).⁹ To give one example, but an important one, in the *Protrepticus* Clement quotes the OT¹⁰ 302 times.¹¹ Of these quotations 194 reproduce the text of the LXX¹² exactly or with very minor variations;¹³ the remaining 108 quotations are not as textually exact – this is just as likely, if not more so, to be the result of Clement’s technique in quotation than variation in the text of the LXX. His practice still attests to the importance of the LXX as their source and that it was indeed Clement’s OT as it was for the ante-Nicene Fathers. In this study, all quotations from the OT will be taken from the LXX as the prime version of the OT in the first four centuries.¹⁴

⁷ A trenchant discussion giving the arguments both for genuineness and pseudonymity can be found in Barclay (1997).

⁸ Born circa 342-347CE; died 420CE.

⁹ Though technically the title Septuagint applies to the first five books of the OT canon (the Torah), for ease of reference, in this study, the subsequent translation of the remaining books will also be termed the LXX.

¹⁰ These include books such as Siracides (Ecclesiasticus) which were in the Greek “canon” but not the Hebrew.

¹¹ There are also seven further allusions which cannot be classified as quotations.

¹² The edition of the LXX used in this study is that of Rahlfs in its second edition by Hanhart.

¹³ The minor variations in the first list are typically omissions of particles such as καὶ and δὲ; the variations in the second list include word order, synonyms and readings which may reflect a different manuscript tradition.

¹⁴ Any significant variations from the Masoretic text will be noted if they are relevant to the argument. Though other Greek translations, such as those of Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion, preserved such as they are though the labours of Origen in the *Hexapla*, have left traces of use in variant readings, the overwhelming impression is that the Septuagint is the preferred source for the Church in the Greek East for the centuries covered in this study. This is confirmed by Law (2013) when he writes (pg. 139) “The Septuagint stands at the heart of the early church. Except for a small number of Christians in the Syriac church, every Christian who heard or read the Bible in the first few centuries of the Christian era would have heard the text of the Septuagint or of its translation in the Old Latin version in the languages of the East.”

In quoting texts from the OT, particularly in the sections devoted to the Apologists and Clement, the practice will be to refer to passages quoted from the Testaments as “biblical” texts. When these authors were writing, the formal concept of a New Testament canon, first exemplified in Athanasius’ thirty-ninth Pastoral Letter (367 CE) was still far distant. The nature of the canon of the Greek OT is considerably more nebulous. Though the hypothesis of the council of Jamnia (circa 85 CE), believed to be instrumental in defining the Hebrew canon, is now generally discounted,¹⁵ it seems apparent from a passage in Josephus’ *Contra Apionem*¹⁶ that the canon was already closed by the end of the 1st century CE. In contradistinction the emerging church was less driven to define the books of the Septuagint as canonical. They had authority but not yet canonicity. The obvious word to have used in this context might have been “scripture” but as Law points out,¹⁷ scripture and canonicity are often confused today, though two distinct concepts. To avoid this potential confusion, “biblical texts” will denote quotations from the books of the OT and NT up to the latter years of the fourth century CE (i.e. before 367 CE), and “canonical texts” quotations from the Testaments in authors writing in the years following this first attempt to define a canon.

This study will also take as one of its basic principles that the NT is a collection of first and second century CE texts, similar to those of Strabo (earlier in the period), Philo, Josephus, Musonius Rufus, and Plutarch (later in the period). Fergus Millar in his address to the Classical Association in 1993 argued powerfully that, *inter alia*, such texts as the Septuagint, the two

¹⁵ Barton (2007) – pg. 24 – “this expression distorts the character of the discussions recorded in the *Mishnah*” which rather point to “uncertainty about the limits of the third scriptural division, the Writings.”

¹⁶ I 37 – 43, in particular; δύο δὲ μόνα πρὸς τοῖς εἴκοσι βιβλία τοῦ παντός ἔχοντα χρόνου τὴν ἀναγραφὴν, τὰ δικαίως πεπιστευμένα – Barton (op.cit.) pp. 26 – 27. (Josephus’ account of twenty-two books conflicts with latter Rabbinical tradition with twenty-four but it is possible that Ruth was subsumed in Judges and Lamentations in Jeremiah.)

¹⁷ Law (op. cit.) pg. 139.

books of Maccabees, the New Testament ought to be studied in the context of classical literature of the same period.¹⁸ It was, perhaps, an inevitable consequence of the establishment of the canon that the NT was seen in a different category; indeed, it was almost "hermetically" sealed off from other contemporary literature. (This may have happened later in the West, dependent as it was on the first publication of the Greek NT by Erasmus in 1516.) The NT was seen as the province of theologians and scholars, and though a Greek text, it was rarely, if ever, studied as a text *per se* at university level by classicists.¹⁹ The first NT text to be prescribed in *Literae Humaniores* at Oxford was the Acts of the Apostles in 1968.²⁰

The nineteenth century saw the production of several NT grammars such as those of Winer²¹ and Moulton.²² Though works of considerable and immense scholarship, which drew on a vast conspectus of Greek literature and dialects, they, perhaps unwittingly, gave the impression that the NT existed in isolation from other contemporary Greek texts. The opening of the Winer grammar, in the translation by Moulton also gives a hint of the difficulties that faced those engaged on a such a project in the nineteenth century;²³ the Jewish Hellenic authors quoted are Aristeeas, Philo and Josephus as well as the Septuagint. The preponderance of authors quoted are still those of the classical tradition from Homer onwards; of the fifty-seven authors before the New Testament era, thirty-one were active in the period up to 300 BCE.

¹⁸ Reprinted in Cotton and Rogers (2002).

¹⁹ The examples, for the sake of brevity, are taken from the British Isles, but *mutatis mutandis*, may be equally true of continental Europe.

²⁰ University of Oxford (1968).

²¹ Winer and Moulton (1882).

²² Moulton (1906).

²³ "As the language in which the NT is written is a variety of Greek, the proper object of a NT grammar would be fully accomplished by a systematic grammatical comparison of the NT language with the written Greek of the same age and of the same description. As however, this later Greek itself has not yet been fully examined as a whole, and as NT Greek displays in general the influence of a foreign tongue, (the Hebrew-Aramean), NT grammar must take a proportionally wider range and investigate scientifically the laws according to which the Jewish writers of the NT wrote the Greek of their time" – Winer – Moulton pg. 2.

Principles (2) – Quotation, allusion and limits of the thesis

As this thesis will be predicated on the occurrence of references to classical literature in Christian texts, it is necessary to lay down some basic principles. The original title – What has Athens to do with Jerusalem – an examination of classical literature in Christian writings of the first two centuries – was felt by the examiners at confirmation of status to be too vague, and I gratefully adopted their suggestion for the original opening “classical texts, quotations and allusions” which underlined the precise field of work. The use of the word “text” is both a reminder that the quotations and many of the allusions will derive from written texts, but also because some writers, without quoting, will name a work, or part of a work, of ancient literature, either surviving or lost. But the main thrust of the study falls on quotations and allusions, giving the study an important philological basis. Relatively little work has been done on this aspect of many early Christian texts, as will be highlighted throughout the study, with an attendant lack of secondary literature.

By quotation is meant a passage of three, four or more words cited from an ancient literary source. (Smaller quotations may be found but they will in all probability depend on a rare or unusual word to identify them.) Quotations were often made from memory – ancient scrolls were not the most user friendly, without the benefit of modern punctuation – and prose texts, without the aid of metre, were more likely to vary from their original source.²⁴ Quotations will thus imply the possibility that the quoter has a familiarity with the original text, or else a work in which the text has been quoted. They are thus a strong pointer to the cultural, literary and educational background of the writer. Though the early stages of the *paideia enkyklios* were founded on the copying of lines from Homer²⁵ and the

²⁴ A good example would be the quotations from Musonius in the 2nd *Paedagogus* of Clement.

²⁵ This will not necessarily imply a wider knowledge of the Homeric text.

dramatic poets, chiefly Euripides and Menander, lines mainly of a gnomic quality, that does not necessarily guarantee a full knowledge of the parent work, especially as the lines, as for example in the *Sententiae Menandri*, were cut free from their original context. This will have come with further reading and study, in all probability the third stage of the *paideia enkyklios*, and may well indicate a social status, (i.e. the “elite”) where such an accomplishment was assumed. (In this study Plutarch and Clement, from pagan and Christian backgrounds, would be good examples). (Quotation as an adornment seems notably absent from the papyri letters that have survived from ancient Egypt). As will be argued later in the thesis, the art of quotation started in the 4th century BCE; it may well imply the growth of a literary canon as the first quotations were mainly drawn from Homer and the 5th century dramatic poets.²⁶ Thus the use and frequency of quotation in Christian literature may be a possible indicator of the educational background of the writer but also a growth in conversion and influence in Christian circles of that section of society who, in educational terms, might be perceived as the “elite”.

Allusions in this study display a variety of forms. In some instances, there may be no direct quotation of a pre-existent text but rather words which will indicate a knowledge of the passage, one which has been reframed by the author concerned. “God so loved the world that he gave his only Son” is a quotation but “the giving love of God for his creation” might rather be an allusion. In many ways allusions might be said to resemble the *testimonia* employed by editors in the editions of lost authors, gathering up the references to the writers in the surviving literature; they are a witness to the knowledge that other ancient writers had of their life and work. Allusions thus afford a knowledge of

²⁶ The first and second centuries CE saw an increase in works employing quotations.

contemporary culture or literary ambience; such would be the references to pagan gods in Aristides' apology or the references to female poets in Tatian's *Oratio*. They may well derive from oral sources – as in the case of Aristides' work - or as in the case of Tatian from literary sources, still surviving or lost. Allusions²⁷ may be literary,²⁸ historical,²⁹ philosophical³⁰ or religious³¹. In some cases, such as that of Tatian and Tertullian, allusions may provide more knowledge about their awareness of the classical heritage than their use of direct quotations. No ancient theorists appear to have attempted an analysis of allusions, or indeed quotations, and their modern counterparts seem not much more enthusiastic, as Pasco³² in his study of allusions in French writers of the 19th and 20th centuries wryly notes; "very little attention has been paid to the way it works."³³ In another work³⁴ we find the following; [Allusion] "a brief, indirect, and deliberate reference—in a poem or other medium—to a person, place, event (fictitious or actual), or other work of art, allusion may be used by its author to enhance a work's semantic and cultural density, topicality, or timelessness. Despite its etymology, allusion need not be playful but does require that the audience recognize the borrowed reference". Pasco also notes; "I insist upon function, since allusion is not a genre, but is rather a mode, a strategy, a device that occurs in all genres"³⁵

²⁷ Examples are drawn from *Ad Autolycum*; Theophilus is probably the least "learned" of the writers of the 2nd half of the 2nd century CE.

²⁸ *Ad Autolycum*; II 13 - Τὸ δὲ εἰπεῖν Ἡσίοδον τὸν ποιητὴν ἐκ Χάους γεγενῆσθαι Ἐρεβος καὶ τὴν Γῆν καὶ Ἐρωτα.

²⁹ *Ad Autolycum* III 27 Κύρου οὖν βασιλεύσαντος ἔτεσιν κη' καὶ ἀναιρεθέντος ὑπὸ Τομύριδος ἐν Μασσαγετίᾳ. This allusion derives from Herodotus I 214, but how it came to Theophilus we cannot tell.

³⁰ *Ad Autolycum* III 17

Δεῖ οὖν μᾶλλον μαθητὴν γενέσθαι τῆς νομοθεσίας τοῦ θεοῦ, καθὼς καὶ αὐτὸς ὡμολόγηκεν ἄλλως μὴ δύνασθαι τὸ ἀκριβὲς μαθεῖν, ἐὰν μὴ ὁ θεὸς διδάξῃ διὰ τοῦ νόμου. This allusion derives from Plato's *Meno* 99E but again we cannot be certain how it came to Theophilus' attention.

³¹ *Ad Autolycum* III 9

Τούτου μὲν οὖν τοῦ θεοῦ νόμου διάκονος γεγένηται Μωσῆς, καὶ θεραπόντων τοῦ θεοῦ, παντὶ μὲν τῷ κόσμῳ, παντελῶς δὲ τοῖς Ἑβραίοις, τοῖς καὶ Ἰουδαίοις καλουμένοις. This allusion derives from several passages in the LXX.

³² Pasco (1994).

³³ Pasco (op. cit.) p. 6.

³⁴ Preminger and Brogan (1993)

³⁵ Pasco (op. cit.) p. 6

The writer of the article on Allusion³⁶ notes; “Allusion tends to assume an intelligent reader, a shared body of knowledge, and the value of previous works or contexts, but its manifestations in history. and culture are extremely varied. Only a hundred years ago, a poet could assume that a reader would recognize the phrase “through a glass darkly” as a biblical allusion, but few would deny the lesser likelihood of this familiarity today.” *Mutatis mutandis* many of these principles and suggestions may underlie the use of allusions in the authors discussed in this study. The article on Allusion³⁷ sums up; “Allusion tends to assume an intelligent reader, a shared body of knowledge, and the value of previous works or contexts, but its manifestations in history. and culture are extremely varied.” Though such an approach may underline all the Christian writers of the second half of the second century CE, it may be seen perhaps most clearly in the works of Tatian and Tertullian.

Thus the exploration of the cultural background of the first two Christian centuries is founded on quotations and allusions appearing in the writings of that period – echoing the famous phrase “Avez-vous un texte?” often attributed to the 19th century French historian Numa-Denys de Coulanges.³⁸

It would have been fascinating to have pursued further other scholarly work, using inferences presumed from the text but not necessarily directly based on them, such as MacDonald’s³⁹ use of *mimesis* theory in perceiving the work of some pagan writers, for example Homer, Vergil,⁴⁰ Plato and Euripides, lying behind the formation of some writings in the NT canon. *Mimesis* theory has been effectively used in the exploration of works such

³⁶ Preminger and Brogan (op. cit.)

³⁷ Preminger and Brogan (op. cit.)

³⁸ Hight, G. (1948 – reprint 1970) .

³⁹ MacDonald (2000), (2015a), (2015b) and (2017).

⁴⁰ It must be admitted that the lack of references to Vergil in surviving ancient Greek literature – only six or so in *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* - and the perception in Plutarch and Clement that literature was primarily Greek, may question the depth of Luke’s knowledge of Vergil.

as Vergil's *Aeneid* and its relationship to the Homeric poems, or that of the Electra plays of Sophocles and Euripides to the *Oresteia* of Aeschylus, and in particular the *Choephoroi*. MacDonald's work is based on a variant of the *mimesis* theory⁴¹ which draws attention to similarities in the narratives of the works, under scrutiny, as, for example, in the gospel of Mark, the *Odyssey* and part of the *Iliad*, though Mark's knowledge of Homer cannot be assumed as readily as we assume Vergil's knowledge of Homer.

It might have strengthened MacDonalds' position if he had examined in greater detail the background to the knowledge of the Homeric epics in the Diaspora and Judaea itself⁴² in the three centuries preceding the composition of Mark's gospel. The Homeric epics seem to have been known in the Diaspora – they are cited by Philo – and writers such as Theodotus⁴³ and Philo Epicus⁴⁴ composed works on Jewish themes, in a form of Homeric pastiche, borrowing dialect and vocabulary. This stance, typical of the Diaspora, was probably not followed in the heartland of the Jewish faith – Judaea. Rajak⁴⁵ has observed that in all probability Josephus did not acquire his knowledge of the Homeric corpus until he became a *cliens* of the Flavians. Although Greek was undoubtedly spoken and used in Judaea – it is attested on inscriptions in Jerusalem - it is highly improbable that the methods of the *paideia enkyklios* were used, if at all, in Jerusalem and its surrounds. Knowledge of

⁴¹ His work has attracted both a positive response such as Phillips (2016) as well as a more negative one, Sandnes (2005).

⁴² Equally it might have been profitable to examine the style of Mark's gospel as to whether it was compatible with the level of education implied in the knowledge of the Homeric epics MacDonald presupposes. His remark (pg. 171 op. cit.) "Few scholars know Homeric epics as well as the average ancient Greek reader" may be over optimistic.

⁴³ Three lines from Theodotus; frg. 758(Lloyd-Jones , H. and Parsons, P. (1983).

ἔνθεν δ' ἐξενέποιμεν, ὅθι πτόλιν ἦλυθ' Ἰακῶβ
εὐρεῖαν Σικίμων· ἐπὶ δ' ἀνδράσι τοῖσιν ἔτησιν
ἀρχὸς Ἐμῶρ σὺν παιδὶ Συχέμ, μάλ' ἀτειρέε φῶτε.

⁴⁴ Two and a half lines from Philo Epicus; frg. 681 (Lloyd-Jones and Parsons; (1983).

Ἀβραάμ κλυτοχέξ, ὑπέρτερον ἄμματι δεσμῶν,
παμφαές ἐπλήμμυρε μεγαυχήτοισι λογισμοῖς
θειοφιλῇ θέλγηθρα.

⁴⁵ Rajak (1983).

the Homeric poems was probably very circumscribed as Feldman⁴⁶ has argued. Further in Judaea the presence of the Olympian pantheon in the Homeric poems might have discouraged a wider dissemination, the deities of the poems being seen as δαιμόνια,⁴⁷ texts which were thereby seen as antithetical to the monotheism of Judaism. It is a possibility that such beliefs were current in Jewish circles and were adopted by the early church – Paul bears witness to them even if he did not necessarily share them. It is difficult to estimate if such beliefs had any effect on the reception of writings where the pagan gods played an important part; *argumenta ex silentio* are notoriously difficult to evaluate but the virtual absence of any quotations from classical literature, especially the Homeric epics, in Christian writings till the time of Justin might suggest that this was a possibility. As we know so little about Mark's background, whether he was of Gentile origin, a proselyte or of Jewish stock, it may be difficult to judge how such factors would have influenced the composition of his gospel, but the investigation might have been worthwhile. The present work, as an empirical inquiry into Christian knowledge of pagan literature, may be seen as a necessary complement, or desirable preliminary, to such speculative exercises as that of Macdonald. Constraints of space forbid it to go beyond the written evidence of quotations and allusions in Christian writers of the first two centuries. This work because of the limits of space has perforce limited itself to those quotations and allusions, that is written evidence, in the surviving works of Christian writers of this period. To have pursued further would lie outside the bounds of the planned thesis.

⁴⁶ Feldman (2006).

⁴⁷ Note Psalm 95 (LXX) ὅτι πάντες οἱ θεοὶ τῶν ἐθνῶν δαιμόνια. Though the word δαίμων has several meanings, one of them was a semi-divine or spiritual being inferior to the gods; to Jews and Christians of the first century CE, it was a way for some to indicate the reality of the pagan gods. This view is attested to in the first letter to the Corinthians; 10:20 - οὐ θέλω δὲ ὑμᾶς κοινωνοὺς τῶν δαιμονίων γίνεσθαι. It is also reflected in the discussion of food offered to idols (chapter 8) between the “strong” who deny the reality of the δαιμόνια - and the “weak” who still believe in the existence of δαιμόνια.

Principles (3) – perceptions of the classics

It was also inevitable that universities would concentrate on the classics of Greek literature; the Examination Statutes of Oxford in the 1880's prescribe for i): *Literae Humaniores*: Homer; Demosthenes *De corona*; Aeschylus *Oresteia* or any four plays including *Agamemnon*; Sophocles – any three plays; Euripides – four from a prescribed list; Aristophanes - three from a prescribed list; Theocritus; Pindar – *Olympian* and *Pythian Odes*; Plato – *Apology*, *Phaedo* and *Phaedrus* or *Protagoras*; Thucydides Books I, II, III or II, III, IV, ii): for Greats, historical texts: Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon *Hellenica*; Demosthenes *Olynthiacs*, *Philippics*, *de falsa legatione*, *de corona*; Plutarch *Lives of the Gracchi*; and iii): for philosophy - Plato *Republic*, *Protagoras*, *Phaedrus*, *Gorgias*, *Laws III, VII, X* and Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics*, *Politics*. With nothing later than the 4th century BCE (except for the Plutarch work above, and Diodorus, Pausanias and Strabo in certain special subjects) it was inevitable that the New Testament should be seen in isolation.⁴⁸ With the discovery of papyri in Egypt from the late 19th century onwards, the picture changed; here was a body of literature and writings that seemed to share a similarity with the NT. Deissmann's *Light from the ancient East* was highly influential in refocussing the NT in this new context. Inevitably there was reaction; many realised that the New Testament was on a higher level than much of the utilitarian literature found in the papyri. And yet there still remains a divide; the first edition of the *Oxford Classical Dictionary* (1999) only contains one article on a NT book, the Acts of the Apostles. This study takes as its premise that the NT and subsequent Christian

⁴⁸ I have illustrated this divide in terms of British universities for the sake of brevity – but it will equally apply to those countries, especially Germany, where classical studies were important, and also where the New Testament writings were being treated for the first time in a critical manner.

documents must be treated as first and second century CE Greek and Latin texts above all; it is perhaps only in this context that they will fully reveal their theological riches.

Literature written in Greek starts with the Homeric epics, probably dated to the eighth century BCE, but when to determine the ending is more difficult, as works were still being written in Greek until the fall of Constantinople (1453CE). Though the Eastern empire outlived the fall of the Western empire, conventionally dated with the deposition of Romulus Augustulus (476CE), Christian writers outnumbered those from a pagan background from the fourth century CE onwards – the only significant pagan writers in the fourth century CE are Iamblichus, Julian and Libanius. Even the period from Homer to the composition of the NT covers some seven hundred to eight hundred years, and within that period the Greek language changed. The most important factor was the spread of κοινή Greek after the conquests of Alexander the Great, and though less witnessed in literary Greek of the period,⁴⁹ it is an important influence on the LXX and the NT, and is also attested in the non-literary papyri of this period.⁵⁰

The great age of Greek literature is the 5th – 4th centuries BCE. This is the literature, with the exception of the Homeric poems,⁵¹ still most frequently studied in school and in universities; most of this is the work of Athenian writers and reflects a particular form of Atticism.⁵² It also had something of the appearance of a golden age,⁵³ and in terms of

⁴⁹ It is arguable that Polybius and Plutarch may exhibit characteristics of written *koine* - Horrocks (2010).

⁵⁰ On the rise and influence of *koine* see Palmer (1980) – especially pages 191 ff. - on the genesis of *koine*, and pg. 194 on the language of the NT: also Horrocks (2010.) (op. cit.) – especially pp. 32ff on *koine* as an extension of 'Great Attic' and pp. 56 ff. on the role of the LXX in *koine* Greek.

⁵¹ The Homeric poems were the bedrock of the *enkyklios paideia*.

⁵² Notably, of surviving writers, the tragedians, Aristophanes, Thucydides, Plato, Demosthenes, Aristotle; apart from these stand Herodotus, Xenophon, (who some have considered the 'father' of *koine*) and Menander (whose seeming failure to use full-blown Atticism led to his lack of consideration for the school syllabus and loss, until the papyri discoveries of the last century.)

⁵³ Not dissimilar to the late 16th and 17th centuries in England: Shakespeare, Johnson, Webster, Beaumont, Fletcher, Donne, Bacon, Milton, Bunyan, Dryden; and in 17th century France: Montaigne, Corneille, Racine, Molière, Pascal, Descartes, Boileau.

quotations and allusions, its writings predominate in later authors.⁵⁴ (The evidence of the papyri seems to indicate a certain time lag for acceptance of contemporary writers, perhaps in part caused by the conservative nature of the *enkyklios paideia*.)

When considering the relationship of classical literature to the NT, (and other early Christian writers), it is perhaps important to remember two facts; the diversity of the ancient world and the background of those who wrote. With regard to the first, the NT was written under the early Principate, a period as different as that of 5th century BCE Athens or the Hellenistic world under the *Diadochoi*. The classical world is not monochrome and in drawing possible parallels it is essential to remember that fact. The perceptions or prejudices of one period may not be those of another. As an example, in his discussion on Titus 1:12, Towner⁵⁵ instances a passage from the *Odyssey* as proof of Cretan piracy,⁵⁶ a text written some 800 years before the letter to Titus, comparable to citing Chaucer as a proof of modern day attitudes. (In fact, the passage alluded to contains no reference to piracy – Odysseus in his Cretan disguise alludes to taking part in piratical raids⁵⁷ and there is no obvious reference to Cretans being famed for piracy). What part the Homeric passage had in forming the Cretans' reputation for piracy is impossible to say, and perhaps it needs to be qualified. Likewise Towner instances Strabo⁵⁸ and Plato⁵⁹ on the Cretans' attitude to homosexuality, or more specifically, pederasty. The Strabo derives from Ephorus on the constitution of the Cretans – a historical work – and the Plato refers to the Cretans concocting a story concerning Ganymede to justify their own practices. The two passages are different in tone, and it is

⁵⁴ To take two writers as diverse as Plutarch and Clement, (book casing the 2nd century CE) the preponderance of authors quoted or alluded to in their works come from the 5th and 4th centuries BCE).

⁵⁵ (Op. cit.) pg. 701.

⁵⁶ *Odyssey* 19. 173ff.

⁵⁷ *Odyssey* 14. 222- 34 and also 17.424-3.

⁵⁸ *Geography* X 4 21.

⁵⁹ *Laws* 1 636 C – D.

perhaps only the Plato that comes closer to the point that Towner is making. The examples from Towner, perhaps, exhibit a wider tendency, possibly more prevalent in authors from a more evangelical background, in that too often, and it may be quite unwitting, classical authors are “raided” for quotations and allusions to support the essential rightness of the NT. Because of the “isolation” of the NT, and its centrality to the Christian faith, there is a tendency to see the NT at the heart of the classical world, and perhaps forget or overlook those pointers which might place it in a more peripheral position.

If it is necessary to be aware of the diversity of the classical world, there may be also a tendency to forget the radical differences, compared with modern society. Harris⁶⁰ in his work on ancient literacy argued that the ability to write was probably only shared by 10% of the population,⁶¹ and within that 10% there were different levels, ranging from the functionality revealed in Egyptian papyri to the sophisticated literacy of the “elite.” The problem is that a high proportion of the surviving literature was written by the “elite” – not necessarily for the “elite” as Aristophanes’ and Menander’s audiences could vouchsafe. Though the graffiti in Pompeii indicate that some knowledge – usually beginnings – of classic works such as Vergil’s *Aeneid* was available, the fact remains that access to literature was only readily accessible to those who could read. The literature that has survived reflects the tastes and abilities of a small minority. The problem is, as Harris notes, that there is little evidence of “lower brow” literature – the romances of the first three centuries CE still demand a degree of literacy and the papyri remains do not point to a high degree of popularity.

⁶⁰ Harris (1991).

⁶¹ In fairness, it has to be said that some scholars are less sceptical than Harris.

The paradox may well be that the most cherished literature of the 1st century CE, the NT, does not easily fit into any category; the generally prosaic style⁶² and lack of sophistication may be more obvious because any similar works have simply vanished without trace. It is still hard, despite much learned endeavour over the years, to align some of the literary forms of the NT to pre-existent forms, such as the gospels and the letters of Paul.⁶³ There may also be a temptation to assume that such texts of religious importance may also have been the work of those with an equal competence in the literary skills of the age; perhaps Paul's words in 2 Corinthians on earthenware vessels⁶⁴ should have come to mind.

The practice of quotation in antiquity

It is in the fourth century that the art of quotation, to underline a point or illustrate an argument, first makes a significant impact on Greek literature; Plato and Aristotle are perhaps the first most notable writers to employ quotations in their writings – the Homeric poems and 5th century BCE tragedians among the most important sources. The usage developed in gradual parallel with the “canonization” of the works of the most prominent authors of the 5th and 4th centuries – and it is no coincidence that, Homer apart, Euripides and Menander were the most quoted authors. Indeed, until the 20th century Menander survived only in quotations. From the middle of the first century CE, the art of quotation began to play a more significant role in the works of such writers as Pamphile of Epidaurus, her successors, and through the writings of Plutarch, Aulus Gellius, and Clement culminating in the *tour-de-force* of Athenaeus' *Deipnosophistae*.

⁶² There are some notable exceptions; the author of Luke/Acts displays a diversity of approach, and some have seen hints of Asianism in 2 Peter.

⁶³ There appears to be no surviving parallel for letters in antiquity written to small communities.

⁶⁴ Ἐχομεν δὲ τὸν θησαυρὸν τοῦτον ἐν ὀστρακίνοις σκεύεσιν.

It is no coincidence that such use of quotation is found in the work of authors writing for what might be termed an "elite" audience, those who through their own education would be familiar with many of the works drawn upon, especially the Homeric poems, and appreciate the use of such literary material. As it were in sympathy with the Horatian "*Graecia capta ferum victorem cepit*,"⁶⁵ Cicero larded his letters to friends with quotations and Greek words, implying a shared intellectual delight and culture.⁶⁶ Though this is clearly obvious in the most prolific letter writer of his generation, a cultural background that was held in common can be assumed, to a greater or lesser degree, in many of the writers who employed quotations in their works. Hansen,⁶⁷ in his anthology of what he terms popular Greek literature, notes the difficulty of defining such literature in that if it did not enter the canon of works that were copied, it would be lost; equally he notes the problem of determining the audience for such literature. Of the works he anthologises, and are closest to the period of the NT, and the Apostolic Fathers,⁶⁸ none of them contain any quotes from classical literature, nor is there any trace of such quotations in the papyri letters retrieved from the sands of ancient Egypt. This may lead to the inference that the natural *sitz-im-leben* of such a practice, the art of quotation, is in literature intended and designed for an "elite" readership. To direct quotation, may also be added references to authors and their works as another indication of the importance of the literary heritage and the role that it plays in such writings.

This may be confirmed by an analysis of texts from the late 1st century BCE and the first century CE. This was not, in terms of surviving writings, the most notable period of Greek or Hellenic literature – the principal authors are Diodorus Siculus, Dionysius of Halicarnassus,

⁶⁵ Horace *Epistulae* 2.1. 156.

⁶⁶ On this habit of Cicero, see Baldwin (1992).

⁶⁷ Hansen (ed.) (1998).

⁶⁸ Xenophon of Ephesus *An Ephesian tale*, Vita Secundi Philosophi, Pseudo-Lucian *Lucius or the ass*, the Aesop Romance.

Strabo, Philo, Musonius Rufus,⁶⁹ Epictetus,⁷⁰ and Josephus.⁷¹ Allusions to authors outnumber quotations; the two historians, Diodorus and Dionysius contain ninety-two allusions and twelve quotes, and four hundred and one allusions and seven quotes respectively, while Strabo, the geographer, has three hundred and sixty-four allusions and eight quotes. The nature of all three works may predicate a greater predilection for allusions than quotes, but all three exhibit an easy familiarity with the heritage of the classical world. The two philosophers, Musonius with four quotes and four allusions, Epictetus with one quote and twenty allusions, may at first glance indicate a less assured knowledge, but this may rather reflect the nature of the compilation and transmission of the text over which neither philosopher had any control.

Philo and Josephus stand apart from this group with regard to their Jewish background. Of the authors in our survey, Philo references Homer (five times), Hesiod (twice), Sophocles (an allusion) and quotes Euripides six times,⁷² Pindar (quoted twice), Aeschylus (quoted once), Plato (quoted three times and referenced nine times).⁷³ Josephus references Homer (five times), Hesiod (twice), Herodotus (nine times), Thucydides (twice), and Plato (six times). Josephus was born in Jerusalem around 37CE to a priestly aristocratic family, claiming descent from Simon Psellus. Rajak⁷⁴ notes that Josephus himself professes he had a traditional education⁷⁵ and points of agreement with later Rabbinic tradition may well suggest that he

⁶⁹ It is uncertain if Musonius committed his teachings to writing himself; Lucius gathered some of them in the *Discourses* which survive through twenty-one lengthy excerpts in Stobaeus.

⁷⁰ Epictetus' teachings survive through the notes of his pupil, Arrian, published as *Dissertationes* and *Enchiridion*.

⁷¹ The authors in the survey were Homer, Hesiod, Pindar, Aeschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, Aristophanes, Herodotus, Thucydides, Plato, Demosthenes, and Menander, representatives of the main forms of literature in the 5th and 4th centuries.

⁷² Of the twenty-two surviving lines of Euripides' relatively obscure satyr play *Syleus*, seventeen are due to Philo alone.

⁷³ This aspect of Philo will be discussed more fully in a later section of the study.

⁷⁴ On Josephus' youth and education see Rajak (1983) pp. 11ff.

⁷⁵ *Vita* 8. ff.

was educated by his parents, and that this education was broadly Pharisaical.⁷⁶ Before the Jewish war of 67 – 69CE, his only contact with the wider Romano-Hellenic world was as a member of an embassy to Rome (64CE) and of this Rajak notes that “the Josephus who went to Rome had the intellectual background of a Jerusalem Pharisee[who] will have known Hebrew and the Bible extremely well.”⁷⁷ His appointment to the embassy may well indicate that he could speak Greek,⁷⁸ though Rajak argues that it was unlikely that Josephus gravitated to any circles in which Greek literature was read or studied, and that it was improbable that he had read any classical Greek authors before his life in Rome.⁷⁹

That might well account for the relative paucity of his references to classical literature in the *Jewish War* and *Antiquities*, say compared with a writer like Strabo.⁸⁰ Yet an examination of the *Contra Apionem* reveals quotation of, or allusion to, fifty-five writers, covering a wide conspectus of Greek literature and thought, from Homer and Hesiod, Pythagoras and Anaxagoras, Thucydides and Herodotus, Hellanicus and Plato, Ephorus and Polybius.⁸¹ Equally there are writers who now may be known only to specialists in Greek historiography such as Timagenes,⁸² Cadmus of Miletus,⁸³ Acusilaus of Argos,⁸⁴ Philo the

⁷⁶ Rajak (op. cit.) pg. 26 and pg. 30.

⁷⁷ Rajak (op. cit.) pg. 44.

⁷⁸ Evidence of inscriptions and allusions in the NT – Acts 6:1 γογγυσμός τῶν Ἑλληνιστῶν; Acts 6:9 ἐκ τῆς συναγωγῆς Λιβερτίνων καὶ Κυρηναίων καὶ Ἀλεξανδρέων – indicate that Greek was familiar in Jerusalem.

⁷⁹ Rajak (op. cit.) pg. 62.

⁸⁰ It has been argued that, as the *Jewish War* may have been written for a Jewish audience (there was an earlier edition in Hebrew or Aramaic which has not survived), there was no motive for quoting or alluding to classical literature. On the other hand, in the *Antiquities* Josephus explains Jewish words and customs – which may point to a wider audience.

⁸¹ It is noteworthy, that not only in the *Contra Apionem* but also in the two major historical works, the Greek dramatists are conspicuous by their absence which might suggest that Josephus was driven by the demands of his writing, rather than anything that might have been imbibed through education or wider reading.

⁸² FGH 88 – three fragments – frgs. 4 – 6; the latter two in the *Antiquities*.

⁸³ FGH 489 – four testimonia.

⁸⁴ FGH 2 – two testimonia.

elder⁸⁵ and Dios.⁸⁶ (Of these, Dios is the most interesting as he is only quoted by Josephus.)⁸⁷

The *Contra Apionem* is an apologetic work; Josephus is offering a defence of Jewish faith and history, and the use of quotations and allusions indicate that he seeks to address an audience where such things matter, whether Jewish⁸⁸ or Gentile, what one might term an "elite" readership. It is highly unlikely that Josephus' education in Jerusalem will have followed the conventional patterns of the *paideia enkyklios*, and that such knowledge must have been gained in his life in Rome. This he acknowledges in the *Antiquities*,⁸⁹ and the acquisition of such knowledge is an essential part of his literary endeavours. Price⁹⁰ has argued that Josephus is writing for three potential audiences, Roman, Jewish, and the Greek east. Within that audience, he has in mind those "elite" that would appreciate such quotations and allusions. (Josephus' background in an aristocratic Jewish family may also have contributed to that viewpoint.) At one point in the *Contra Apionem*⁹¹ Josephus refers to "assistants" (συνεργοῖς) who seem to have helped with aspects of the Greek language (πρὸς τὴν Ἑλληνίδα); it has been argued, without much probability, that such assistants may have translated for Josephus, or even "ghosted" his works. Even if that were true, Josephus is certainly his own master, and the tone and purpose of his works is his alone.

⁸⁵ FGH 729 – one testimonium.

⁸⁶ FGH 785 – one testimonium and one fragment.

⁸⁷ Dios' work (*Inquiries into Phoenician history*) may be dated to the middle of the first century CE, though if Josephus derives his knowledge of him from Alexander Polyhistor, Dios' date may be pushed further back. Dios seems unaware of the LXX – transcribed Phoenician names do not follow the Septuagintal form – and may derive his information from Tyrian records – Kaldellis (2016).

⁸⁸ Philo's use of quotations and allusions indicates that such an audience existed in Jewish circles in Alexandria.

⁸⁹ *Antiquities* XX 263 [11. 2] - ἔχω γὰρ ὁμολογούμενον παρὰ τῶν ὁμοεθνῶν πλεῖστον αὐτῶν κατὰ τὴν ἐπιχώριον παιδείαν διαφέρειν καὶ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν δὲ γραμμάτων ἐσπούδασα μετασχεῖν τὴν γραμματικὴν ἐμπειρίαν ἀναλαβὼν, τὴν δὲ περὶ τὴν προφορὰν ἀκρίβειαν πάτριος ἐκώλυσεν συνήθεια.

⁹⁰ Price (2005).

⁹¹ *Contra Apionem* I 50. 2 - εἴτα σχολῆς ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ λαβόμενος, πάσης μοι τῆς πραγματείας ἐν παρασκευῇ γεγενημένης χρησάμενός τισι πρὸς τὴν Ἑλληνίδα φωνὴν συνεργοῖς οὕτως ἐποίησάμην τῶν πράξεων τὴν παράδοσιν.

The evidence of all such works contemporaneous to the writings of the NT (particularly noteworthy being those of Josephus and Philo on account of their Jewish background) indicates that the use of quotation and allusion was a significant pointer to what the readers of such works might expect, readers who were amongst the "elite" and who would have received a thorough grounding in the *paideia enkyklios* and beyond. Nor is the use of quotation and allusion confined to philosophical works – apart from Epictetus and Musonius - it extends through works whose subject matter comprises history, geography, and exposition of religious texts. Though the use of quotation may not be on a par with later authors such as Plutarch, Aulus Gellius, Athenaeus, and Clement,⁹² it still attests to a particular cultural milieu present in the first century CE.

⁹² These authors may well reflect literary tendencies in the second century CE.

Chapter 2 - The New Testament

Part of the difficulty in seeking to assess the knowledge and influence of classical literature in the NT canon is the fragmentary nature of the evidence. By far the greater part of classical literature has been lost. To take but one example, of the eighty one or two⁹³ plays attributed to Aeschylus, only seven, or six if, as some affirm, the *Prometheus Vincetus* is assigned to another tragedian, have survived; of the one hundred and twenty three plays⁹⁴ credited to Sophocles only seven.⁹⁵ Euripides was more fortunate; of the eighty three plays⁹⁶ attributed to him eighteen have survived – the *Rhesus* is generally taken to be of fourth century BCE origin. One of the determining factors in survival, but not the only one, was the use of texts in the Byzantine educational syllabus; unless a text was read, it was unlikely to be copied and if not copied, it would not survive. An important case was that of Menander;⁹⁷ one of the most quoted authors in antiquity – Clement quotes him twenty-four times – he survived in fragments, often of a moralistic or gnomic nature, which give little hint of his skills as a dramatist. This was greatly changed by the discovery of papyri in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century containing large portions of the *Samia*, *Epitrepontes*, and *Aspis*, amongst others, culminating in 1958⁹⁸ with the discovery (slightly earlier) and publication of the *Dyscolus*.

But the stark fact remains that most of Greek literature was lost; many, if not most, of first century CE authors survive only in fragments, which will rarely give a context of style or vocabulary. Of Greek writing authors who were near contemporaries of the New Testament

⁹³ Sommerstein (2008) pg. v.

⁹⁴ Lloyd-Jones (2003) pg. 4.

⁹⁵ About half of the *Ichneutae* survives in a papyrus.

⁹⁶ Collard and Cropp (2008) pg. xii.

⁹⁷ Easterling (1995).

⁹⁸ Menander (Martin (ed.) (1958).

writers, the most important are Strabo, Plutarch, and the Judaeo-Hellenistic writers Philo of Alexandria and Josephus. These on the whole were not writers studied in depth in universities in the nineteenth century and before; they were perhaps more the province of those with specialist interests.⁹⁹ It was perhaps inevitable that scholars and theologians would seek parallels in the literature most available to them; that of the fifth and fourth centuries BCE, a literature written before the conquests of Alexander the Great and the linguistic development known as *koivn*. One of the most impressive witnesses to this approach is the 1752/3 edition of the NT by the Swiss scholar Wettstein.¹⁰⁰ Its width and breadth is a tribute to his Cyclopean labours. It is still an invaluable resource, ranging widely over the classics, patristic literature, and Jewish targums. Though Wettstein printed the *textus receptus*, he included an *apparatus criticus* with variant readings. In the *Prolegomena* to his edition he gave an account of the various manuscripts, the different versions – he was one of the first to collate readings from the Syriac – and also readings which were found in the patristic writings. Wettstein’s edition was an important step forward in the textual history of the NT.

Unwittingly his edition may have had another effect. Through his copious quotations of classical literature, both Greek and Latin, from Homer to writers like Nonnus, Wettstein seemed to place the NT at the heart of the classics. One example, chosen because the verse will recur later in this study, may serve to typify this approach:

on Acts 17:28a he quotes passages from: Plato *Phaedo*, *Bacchae* 506, Aristotle *Rhetoric* III 1.1, Suetonius *Augustus* 98, *Oedipus Tyrannus* 322, I Corinthians 15:10; on 17:28b Longinus *De sublimitate* 15; on 17:28c Dio Chrysostom XXXII pg. 39; on 17:28d Ovid *Metamorphoses* IV 608 and 638, *Iliad* v 896, Herodianus 1. 13 3, Pindar, (a fragment of a Nemean Ode quoted by

⁹⁹ Note the authors studied in the 1880’s at Oxford, quoted above.

¹⁰⁰ Wettstein (1752).

Themistius), Valerius Flaccus [Argonautica] V 505, Tyrtaeus,¹⁰¹ Servius on *Georgics* III 4, Avienus,¹⁰² Manilius IV 896, Lucretius [*De rerum natura*] II 990, Arrianus “– hoc hemistichium in *Phaenomenis* Arati legitur.”

Wettstein gives this passage without any commentary; it stands as parallels of language and ideas. Even in this passage the breadth of quotation is impressive, and almost certainly reflects the views of Wettstein’s own day on the position of the NT and the classics. This was a view that was destined to cast a long shadow, probably till the first years of the twentieth century. Yet from the viewpoint of the early 21st century it is not difficult to think that so much of the labour has a feel of the Horatian line, “*parturient montes; nascetur ridiculus mus*”¹⁰³. Of the authors who wrote before the composition of the New Testament, the quotations may help to give an idea of what language and images were in the air, as it were. Yet even here Wettstein is probably too optimistic. It is highly unlikely that Latin literature was widely known in the Greek East; Plutarch, a later contemporary of the NT period, generally only quotes Roman authors in the context of *The Parallel Lives*, and in works which have a Roman theme such as *Apophthegmata Romana*, *Quaestiones Romanae*, and *de fortuna Romanorum*. Nearly a century later Clement quotes no Roman authors – for him literature is Greek¹⁰⁴. If well-educated writers like Plutarch (mostly) and Clement shun Roman writers, it is even more improbable that New Testament writers would have been aware of authors like Plautus, Terence and even Cicero. Quotations from writers who lived after the writing of the NT are not much more enlightening. They may indicate that certain idioms remained in use, but also by citing them, Wettstein may, unwittingly, have given the

¹⁰¹ frg 11 line 1 *apud Stobaeum* IV 9. 16. 2.

¹⁰² No reference in Wettstein, only the line; I have been unable to trace the line in Avienus.

¹⁰³ *Ars Poetica* 139.

¹⁰⁴ The seeming exception is a reference to Varro at *Protrepticus* 46. 4; this is not a direct quotation, rather an allusion.

impression that ancient literature was more monolithic over the centuries than is the case. What is also lacking is any sense of context; though this may in part have been supplied by the reader, it is unlikely that many could parallel Wettstein's encyclopaedic knowledge. The quotations, torn from context, could give no indication of their literary milieu and worth; Homer and Nonnus (to give but one example) are laid side by side with the parallels from the New Testament and what may thereby be created is a misleading sense of uniformity in literary style and purpose. There is also no obvious pattern in the order of quotations, such as earliest by date coming first, or Greek authors taking precedence over Latin authors, nor those, which mirror most the New Testament passage under consideration, given a prominent position. Wettstein's wealth of quotation, (and its very indiscriminate nature), from the only source open to him, (classical literature), may have, inadvertently, moved the NT to the centre of that world. The NT's position as sacred scripture may have aided that view, that writings which enshrined such divine truths must be on the same level as the greatest classics of the ancient world. Yet the Enlightenment was heralding a new approach; Wettstein's near contemporary Reimarus¹⁰⁵ was inaugurating a new approach to the study and criticism of the NT. The certainty that Wettstein's edition might have seemed to enshrine in the relationship of classical literature to the NT, cast a long shadow, even when Wettstein's edition would only be known to specialists in NT criticism.

Echoes of Wettstein in the 20th century

As an illustration of the more optimistic approach, typified by Wettstein, that some took to the knowledge of classical literature, an article by E. B Howell "St Paul and the Greek

¹⁰⁵ See, *inter alios*, Israel (2011).

world”¹⁰⁶ is not untypical. It is significant that the author acknowledges that he took his degree from Cambridge in 1898, and he perhaps reflects the greater optimism of the late Victorian world in seeing classical allusions in the New Testament. He views Paul as indebted to Plato for many concepts, and as having a wider knowledge of classical literature than is usually granted today. He also argues that Paul used technical terms of the law court, theatre, the ring and the stadium with the precision of an expert; in short he was a complete member of the Greek world – or could assume that character when it suited him so to do. One or two examples may serve to illustrate his over optimistic approach. In Acts 21:39, he sees Paul’s words – ἐγὼ ἄνθρωπος μὲν εἰμι – as possibly deriving, via “homo sum; nil humani a me alienum puto”¹⁰⁷ from Menander. The lack of metre and the addition of Ἰουδαῖος in Acts would seem to render this implausible. In the same context (21:39), Paul describes himself; οὐκ ἀσήμου πόλεως πολίτης. Though ἄσημος is not a particularly uncommon word, it is linked with πόλις in Euripides’ *Ion*;¹⁰⁸ (The suggestion that Claudius Lysias may thereby “recognise” a fellow scholar is pure whimsy.) There may be a possible allusion here though the fact that Strabo¹⁰⁹ also uses the phrase οὐδ’ αὕτη ἄσημος πόλις may indicate that the phrase had become something of a cliché. Less plausible still is the supposition that σεβάσματα in Acts 17:23 may refer to a passage in the *Choephoroi* of Aeschylus where in lines 690 – 725 the word σέβασμα is mentioned five times, or the use of χαίρειν in the closing lines of the same play. What is lacking is any appreciation of context; what Luke or his potential audience would be expected to understand from such allusions and how they would deepen their awareness of Luke’s message. It is almost as if Howell expected some of the authors of the NT to share

¹⁰⁶ Howell (1964).

¹⁰⁷ Terence *Heauton Timorumenos* line 77.

¹⁰⁸ *Ion* line 8; οὐκ ἄσημος Ἑλλήνων πόλις.

¹⁰⁹ VIII chapter 6 14 3.

his own knowledge of Greek literature; the sociological approach pioneered by such scholars as Wayne Meeks,¹¹⁰ which might well have tempered such enthusiasm, was still far distant in the future.

A more scholarly article is one by Robert Renehan¹¹¹ - an article mentioned with approbation by Malherbe¹¹² - in which he notes the need to distinguish between quotations and allusions. As an example he notes the verse from 1 Timothy 6:10; ῥίζα γὰρ πάντων τῶν κακῶν ἐστὶν ἡ φιλαργυρία. Renehan argues this was a commonplace in the classical world and quotes various authors who employ a similar thought - Dinarchus,¹¹³ Aristotle,¹¹⁴ "Hippocrates,"¹¹⁵ and two passages from Galen.¹¹⁶ They all share a gnomic resemblance but no verbal similarity. It might have strengthened Renehan's case if he had noted the appearance of part of the Aristotle fragment in the collections of Zenobius and Diogenianus, a link between written literature and proverbial wisdom. He also quotes a hexameter, attributed to *Pseudo-Phocylides*¹¹⁷ (also found in *Oracula Sybillina* [2] line 111) - ἡ φιλοχρημοσύνη μήτηρ κακότητος ἀπάσης,) which is perhaps the closest parallel to the verse from I Timothy. Is there a link through Jewish-Hellenistic wisdom? Though there may be no exact parallel, it may indicate a corpus of proverbial wisdom which existed at several levels, written and oral.

Renehan seeks further examples of contact between classical literature and the NT: he instances Matthew 7:3 and a comic *adespota*¹¹⁸ - τί τάλλότριον, ἄνθρωπε βασκανώτατε,

¹¹⁰ Meeks (1983).

¹¹¹ Renehan (1973).

¹¹² Malherbe (2014) "Social level and literary culture of early Christianity".

¹¹³ *Oratio* 1.22.

¹¹⁴ *frag.* 544 (Rose) – part of the fragment also occurs in the proverbial collections of Diogenianus (Century 2:36) and Zenobius (Century 2:34).

¹¹⁵ *Epistle* 17.230.

¹¹⁶ 1.61. Kuhn and 5.53 Kuhn.

¹¹⁷ Young (ed.) (1971) "*Pseudo-Phocylides Sententiae* line 42.

¹¹⁸ Kassel/Austin *P.C.G.* Vol. VIII frg. 725.

κακὸν ὀξυδορκεῖς, τὸ δ' ἴδιον παραβλέπεις. There is undoubtedly a common theme, but the *adespoton* lacks the striking imagery of the Matthean passage. Coincidence is probably the simplest answer though a hypothetical, lost gnomic source cannot be ruled out. The lines are quoted twice by Plutarch¹¹⁹ without any indication of source, their only appearance in an ancient text. One cannot help asking the question; where would the evangelist have had access to such a source? The same objection may be held against another parallel that Renehan suggests: Luke 4:23 and Euripides frg. 1086¹²⁰; ἄλλων ἰατρὸς αὐτὸς ἔλκεσιν βρύων.¹²¹ There is, undoubtedly, a similar theme, but coincidence is probably the answer, especially as in the verse from Luke, παραβολήν, almost certainly means proverb. (There is a parallel for this usage in the LXX – τί ὑμῖν ἡ παραβολή αὕτη ἐν τοῖς υἱοῖς Ἰσραὴλ.¹²²) A gnomic background rather than a literary connection seems the answer; both authors drawing on the proverbial heritage available to them. The rest of the parallels that Renehan detects will be discussed under the heading of Acts 26:14 and the three certain quotes from the Greek classics.

One may well wonder why none of the patristic writers from Clement¹²³ onwards detected or observed any of these allusions, especially that verse (πρὸς κέντρα λακτίζοιμι θνήτος ὢν θεῶ ¹²⁴) which most modern commentators have seen as a likely allusion. (None of the Greek fathers quotes or alludes to the line and the only quotation of it comes at the close of the *Christus Patiens*¹²⁵.) The eagerness, noted above, to detect parallels in the NT

¹¹⁹ Plutarch; *De tranquillitate animi* 469 B 4, and *De curiositate* 515 D 6.

¹²⁰ Collard and Cropp (2008).

¹²¹ Renehan also instances *Prometheus Vincit* 473 – 5, but this is much less probable, lacking the gnomic brevity of Luke and Euripides.

¹²² Ezekiel 18:2(LXX).

¹²³ Clement quotes the *Bacchae* four times and the close of *Protrepticus* 118. 5 onwards depends on the reader's knowledge of the *Bacchae*.

¹²⁴ *Bacchae* 795.

¹²⁵ *Christus patiens* 2269.

with classical literature may reflect an immersion in the literature of the 5th and 4th centuries CE and the status of the NT as canonical literature.

If anything, it is a problem reversed today; with the decline in classical studies, there are fewer NT scholars who will have a working knowledge of the classical world; for many it will be a fascinating world they enter with interest, but not one in which they necessarily feel at home. Equally with the decline in religious belief, there may also be fewer classicists with an interest in the world of the NT, and its language. In addition, Homer and the writers of the fifth and fourth centuries BCE are still the most studied and read authors, especially by those beginning a classical education. The most prominent surviving authors from the first century CE are Philo, Strabo, Musonius Rufus,¹²⁶ Epictetus,¹²⁷ Josephus, Dio Chrysostom, and Plutarch, and with the exception of the latter, are more probably read or studied by those with a more specialist interest in, for example, philosophy, history and Judaism. (It is very unlikely that these authors came within the orbit of the writers of the New Testament.) This is also a reminder that the classical world and its writings are far from monochrome; the world of the fifth century BCE is a different milieu from that of the first century CE; perhaps the single decisive factor was the spread of Hellenism after the conquests of Alexander the Great.

Though diverse antecedents have been sought for the gospels in ancient literature, there is as yet no agreed model that has commanded universal assent; the letters of Paul, though they show common traits with other ancient letters, differ in that they seem to be the only ancient surviving letters addressed to small communities. The language of the NT owes much to κοινή¹²⁸ Greek; one of the principal channels and influence is also the language of

¹²⁶ Though Musonius Rufus left no direct writings, one Lucius collected some of his philosophical opinions, under the title *Discourses*.

¹²⁷ Again Epictetus survives through his pupil Arrian, the compiler of the *Enchiridion* and the *Discourses*, four books out of the original eight.

¹²⁸ On the various meanings and levels of κοινή, see Swain (1996) pp. 19 ff.

the Septuagint.¹²⁹ The NT occupies an intermediate position between a functional non-literary language as displayed in the papyri letters from Hellenistic Egypt and the language of such "elite" authors as Plutarch and Dio Chrysostom.¹³⁰ The NT is more than a collection of 1st century CE documents; it is also the canonical scriptures of the Christian church, and it is possible that the estimation of the second may influence how the first is regarded in the supposition that such essential documents must have been written by those who were not on the relative margins but closer to the centre. This is certainly the supposition that lies behind the first approach mentioned above, and may still be detected in the second. Perhaps we need to remember that those who wrote the NT documents were not conscious that they were penning canonical scripture but rather their understanding of the Jesus event and its implications for those for whom they were writing. It may be tempting to see parallels in the "elite" literature, particularly that of the 5th and 4th centuries BCE, especially as that of the 1st century CE may not be the most fertile hunting ground. It might also be helpful to examine other surviving texts, which fall outside the "elite" category, to see if they can illumine the NT writings. The authors of the NT had all learnt to write Greek, and thus they must have had some experience of the *enkyklios paideia*, certainly at a more elementary stage. It is unlikely that they will have experienced the full range of the ancient educational system, despite the endeavours of scholars, (especially in America) from Betz¹³¹ onwards to show that Paul was a fully trained rhetor.¹³²

¹²⁹ On this aspect of the LXX see Müller (1996); when I started this study, I began using the LXX (Ralfs – Hanhart) in saying the Office, as the OT of the first centuries of the Church. It has been an instructive experience in appreciating the debt of the NT to the LXX.

¹³⁰ The NT itself is stylistically diverse from the relatively prosaic style of a gospel such as Mark through the greater sophistication of Luke/Acts to the alleged Asianism of 2nd Peter.

¹³¹ Betz (1979).

¹³² This is not to deny that Paul had rhetorical skills – *inter alia* 1 Corinthians 13 is proof – but that he lived in a society where oratory flourished and may have absorbed such skills in diverse ways.

The following section is an attempt to re-examine the alleged allusions to classical literature in the NT and the three certain quotations and to locate their *sitz-im-leben* in the surviving literature, and, if possible, to discern what light this might throw on the milieu of the NT writers.

Chapter 3 - Perceived classical allusions in the New Testament

2 Peter 2:22.

This has been seen by some as reference or allusion to a fragment of Heraclitus;¹³³ it is so noted in Nestle/Aland,¹³⁴ though with a question mark. The fragment runs¹³⁵ ὕες βορβόρῳ ἡδονταὶ μᾶλλον ἢ καθαρῷ ὕδατι. The only words in common are pig(s) and βορβόρος. The first part of the verse from 2 Peter is an allusion to Proverbs 26:11 - ὥσπερ κύων ὅταν ἐπέλθῃ ἐπὶ τὸν ἑαυτοῦ ἔμετον καὶ μισθητὸς γένηται. Though there is not much exact verbal resemblance, the sentiment is not dissimilar; it is perhaps characteristic of the writer of 2 Peter that he uses the rare word ἐξέραμα (a NT *hapax*) for the LXX's ἔμετον. The verses are placed at the climax of a passage which denounces false teachers and prophets, as those, who having known the truth, return to their former ways and falsity, like the dog to its vomit and the pig that has washed to wallow in mud. Neyrey¹³⁶ notes that dogs and pigs would be familiar to Jews and Greeks. Bauckham,¹³⁷ in his commentary on this verse, refers to the *Story of Ahikar*, which, in the Arabic version, runs¹³⁸ "thou hast been to me like the pig who went into the hot bath with people of quality, and when it came out of the hot bath, it saw a filthy hole and it went down and wallowed in it."¹³⁹ (Bauckham was anticipated by Green¹⁴⁰ in his quotation of the *Story of Ahikar*.) This seems to provide a sense that is parallel to the actions of the false preachers and prophets in 2 Peter chapter 2, that having been cleansed, they return to the source of their pollution; and also gives sense to λουσαμένη – the pig

¹³³ frg. 13b Diels/Kranz.

¹³⁴ 28th edition(revised) pg. 878.

¹³⁵ quoted at Clement *Stromateis* I 2 (II 4, 3 St.); note also frg. 13a Athenaeus V 178 F - δεῖ γὰρ τὸν χαρίεντα μήτε ῥυπαρὴν μήτε αὐχμεῖν μήτε βορβόρῳ χαίρειν καθ' Ἡράκλειτον.

¹³⁶ Neyrey (1993) – pg. 224.

¹³⁷ Bauckham (1983).

¹³⁸ VIII 15.

¹³⁹ Charles (1913) pg. 772 and Conybeare *et al.* (1913).

¹⁴⁰ Green (1968) pg. 121.

having washed itself clean, makes itself dirty again wallowing in mud. This might well suggest that, even if the *Story of Ahikar* was not the direct source, there was a gnomic precedent which may well be lost. (The collections of Diogenianus and Zenobius provide no direct parallel – the closest is βορβόρω ὕδωρ λαμπρὸν μαιίνων οὐποθ'εὐρήσεις πότον¹⁴¹ but this seems to have no obvious moral sense as that implied by the 2 Peter verse.) In this context fragments 13a and b¹⁴² may reflect a different meaning; frg 13a - δεῖ γὰρ τὸν μήτε χαρίεντα μήτε ῥυπᾶν αὐχμεῖν μήτε βορβόρω χαίρειν καθ' Ἡράκλειτον;¹⁴³ frg. 13b - βορβόρω ἡδονται μᾶλλον ἢ καθαρῷ ὕδατι.¹⁴⁴ Kirk¹⁴⁵ argues that there is no ethical or moral message in this fragment; he suggests that βορβόρω χαίρειν shows that as pigs delight in mud, men find it repulsive. The same thing can mean different things to pigs and men as in fragment 61;¹⁴⁶ sea water is good for fish, while deadly to men.¹⁴⁷ Kirk writes, "It is both pleasant and unpleasant – therefore these two apparent opposites are not really different but 'one and the same thing'".¹⁴⁸ Marcovich¹⁴⁹ agrees with Kirk in his interpretation of the fragment as one more concrete example of *coincidentia oppositorum*. If both are right in this interpretation, and also in rejecting the moral and ethical view of this dictum, it is highly improbable that the author of 2 Peter is referring to this fragment. Despite the common use of ὕς and βόρβορος, there is a great difference between the context of 2 Peter chapter 2 and the meaning of the two fragments together as *coincidentia oppositorum*. Rather than a reference or allusion to Heraclitus, a gnomic source is the certain provenance of these

¹⁴¹ Zenobius II 76.

¹⁴² Diels/Kranz.

¹⁴³ Athenaeus V 178 F.

¹⁴⁴ Clement *Stromateis* I 2 2.

¹⁴⁵ Kirk (1954).

¹⁴⁶ Diels/Kranz.

¹⁴⁷ θάλασσα, ὕδωρ καθαρώτατον καὶ μιανώτατον, ἰχθύσι μὲν πότιμον καὶ σωτήριον, ἀνθρώποις δὲ ἄτοπον καὶ ὀλέθρον (Hippolytus *Refutatio* 9. 10.5).

¹⁴⁸ Kirk (op. cit.) page 80.

¹⁴⁹ Marcovich (2001).

allusions. The text indeed makes this plain – τὸ τῆς ἀληθοῦς παρομίας¹⁵⁰ – and it is perhaps an example of some commentators ignoring the gnomic in favour of hypothetical, and improbable, classical allusion.

Acts 12:7ff.

The story of Peter's escape from prison, led by an angel, has encouraged some commentators to see a parallel with that of the bacchantes in the *Bacchae*.¹⁵¹ Dodds,¹⁵² in his commentary on the *Bacchae*, envisions that memories of the present passage may have helped mould the Lucan account of Peter's release. Seaford¹⁵³ also adds the miraculous release of Antiope in the Euripidean play which bears her name. The *Antiope* survives only in fragments and this passage is not one of them; for this we are dependent on pseudo-Apollodorus.¹⁵⁴ As Euripides seems to have been unique in handling this subject, it is a logical inference that pseudo-Apollodorus is probably dependent on Euripides. The only thing that the three passages have in common is the use of the word αὐτόματος, and we cannot be sure that the brevity of pseudo-Apollodorus reflects the Euripidean text accurately; αὐτόματος is a relatively common word, and it is also used in the gospel of Mark.¹⁵⁵ The release of Peter is accomplished by an angel who guides him out of the prison; in the *Bacchae* the bacchantes are released by Dionysus who is unseen to them. In the *Bacchae* it is the chains around the feet of the women that fall away αὐτόματα and the keys open the doors without a mortal's hand; in Acts the chains fall of Peter's hands (and, presumably, the guards are put in a trance by the angel) and it is the last door that opens αὐτομάτη. Though there are vague parallels, there

¹⁵⁰ 2 Peter 2:22.

¹⁵¹ *Bacchae* 444ff.

¹⁵² *Bacchae* (Dodds ed.) (1986).

¹⁵³ Seaford (Euripides) 1997.

¹⁵⁴ pseudo-Apollodorus *Bibliothecae* III 44. 6 - λαθοῦσα δέ ποτε, τῶν δεσμῶν αὐτομάτων λυθέντων.

¹⁵⁵ Mark 4:8 - αὐτομάτη ἡ γῆ καρποφορεῖ.

are also differences – the angel’s detailed instruction to Peter to clothe himself – and there seems no compelling reason to envisage a borrowing or an allusion here. Further there may be parallels in Judaeo-Hellenistic literature which might be seen as equally compelling. Eusebius¹⁵⁶ quotes a Jewish-Hellenistic author, Artapanus,¹⁵⁷ who, in a highly elaborated life of Moses, describes his escape νυκτὸς δ’ ἐπιγενομένης τὰς τε θύρας πάσας αὐτομάτως ἀνοιχθῆναι τοῦ δεσμωτηρίου. (Clement¹⁵⁸ also quotes a variant of the passage but with the omission of αὐτομάτως)¹⁵⁹. A close contemporary of Luke, Josephus, in his account of the destruction of the Temple¹⁶⁰ recounts how a massive door that twenty men could scarcely close opened of itself: ὥφθη κατὰ νυκτὸς ὥραν ἔκτην αὐτομάτως ἠνοιγμένη. In view of the use of αὐτομάτως, one cannot help wondering if it was the customary, indeed clichéd, word to describe such events. An Euripidean allusion *tout court* here seems improbable; if there is a literary ancestor, and there is no compelling reason to argue for this, it is now probably impossible to trace.

Acts 26:14

In this third version of Paul's conversion on the Damascus road, Luke writes: τῇ Ἑβραϊκῇ διαλέκτῳ. Σαοῦλ, Σαοῦλ, τί με διώκεις; σκληρόν σοι πρὸς κέντρα λακτίζειν. Commentators often have seen a reference or allusion to the *Bacchae* of Euripides – line 795.¹⁶¹ Conzelmann¹⁶² rightly notes the phrase was a common Greek proverb but then adds

¹⁵⁶ P. E. IX 27 23 line 2 – Jacoby *FGH* 762 – Artapanus frg. 3a – generally dated late 3rd – 2nd century BCE; also in Alexander Polyhistor Jacoby *FGH* 273 frg. 19a.

¹⁵⁷ Artapanus frg. 3b (Jacoby *FGH* 762).

¹⁵⁸ *Stromateis* I 154 2.

¹⁵⁹ Is this a possible indication that Clement is quoting from memory or more probably quoting from his own notes?

¹⁶⁰ *Jewish Wars* VI 294.

¹⁶¹ *Bacchae* line 795 πρὸς κέντρα λακτίζοιμι θνήτορ ὢν θεῶ.

¹⁶² Conzelmann (1988).

Aeschylus *Agamemnon* 1624,¹⁶³ Euripides *Iphigenia Taurica* 1396 [this latter in error - there are no κέντρα, rather κῦμα;¹⁶⁴]. Fitzmyer,¹⁶⁵ notes that it is a common Greek proverb; he adds two more classical references *Prometheus* 324-5,¹⁶⁶ and Pindar, *Pythian Odes* 2.94-95¹⁶⁷. Bruce¹⁶⁸ observes that there is no Aramaic equivalent – the only commentator to take τῇ Ἑβραϊδὶ διαλέκτῳ seriously. He merely reiterates the usual suspects - Euripides, Aeschylus, Pindar as well as Terence *Phormio* 1. 2. 27. (This latter reference is almost certainly an *ignis fatuus*: Plutarch quotes Roman authors mainly in connection with his *Parallel Lives* and Clement quotes none; for him literature is almost exclusively Greek. It is highly improbable that Luke would have known of Terence, and even if Terence were imitating a Greek author, it is impossible now to determine the context.) Bock¹⁶⁹ notes that the phrase is part of a Greek proverbial idiom. He adds two potential Judaeo-Hellenistic parallels: *Psalmi Solomonis* 16.4:¹⁷⁰ - hardly a parallel as the essential element λακτίζειν is missing; and Philo *Decalogue* 17; 87.¹⁷¹ This latter makes no sense in the context and one can only assume that the writer mistyped κεντῶν for κέντρων in *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*. What is surprising is that none of these commentators note a further parallel in Euripides himself from the *Peliades* frg. 604 (Loeb) – πρὸς κέντρα μὴ λάκτιζε τοῖς κρατοῦσι σου.¹⁷²

¹⁶³ *Agamemnon* 1624 πρὸς κέντρα μὴ λάκτιζε, μὴ παίσας μογῆς.

¹⁶⁴ This confusion may go back to a *Dissertatio de Graecorum proverbio πρὸς κέντρα λάκτιζε* of one Iohannes Georg Hager published in Leipzig in 1738 – see Emsley (1822) on line 794.

¹⁶⁵ Fitzmyer (1998).

¹⁶⁶ *Prometheus* 323 – 4(recte) πρὸς κέντρα κῶλον ἐκτενεῖς, ὁρῶν ὅτι / τραχὺς μόναρχος οὐδ' ὑπεύθυνος κρατεῖ.

¹⁶⁷ *Pythia* 2 lines 94 -5 ἀρήγει· ποτὶ κέντρον δέ τοι λακτιζέμεν τελέθει.

¹⁶⁸ Bruce (1990).

¹⁶⁹ Bock (2007).

¹⁷⁰ ἔνυξεν με ὥς κέντρον ἵππου ἐπὶ τὴν γρηγόρησιν αὐτοῦ.

¹⁷¹ *De decalogo* 17. 87 - ἀλλὰ κεντῶν καὶ τιτρώσκων ἀνίατα κ.τ.λ.

¹⁷² This had already been noted by Wettstein.

Haenchen¹⁷³ notes the phrase is a common Greek proverb, meaning 'opposition to me is senseless and impossible' and in support of this he quotes a scholion on Pindar: *Scholia vetera in Pindari Carmina [Pythia]* II 60f. οὐ συμφέρει τῇ τύχῃ ἄνθρωπον ὄντα διαμάχεσθαι as the meaning of the quotation. He also adds that, for the explanation of the epiphanies and miracles of deliverance or punishment in Acts, recourse to Euripides is from a literary point of view superfluous, and the author's education does not extend beyond the popular philosophical standards of the Hellenistic age, in which Euripides did not belong to school reading. The first is certainly true but the second is more debatable; school papyri¹⁷⁴ indicate that Euripides was one of the most frequent sources of lines for copying.

It may be instructive to turn briefly to the way in which some editors of the *Bacchae* treat line 795; an early commentary by Elmsley¹⁷⁵ merely notes the reference to Zenobius V 70 and adds; sequentia collegit Wettstenius: Pindar, Aeschylus, *PV* and *Agam.*, *Peliades* (Euripides fr. 4),¹⁷⁶ an approach not untypical of early commentaries. Dodds, in his edition of the *Bacchae*,¹⁷⁷ adds an anonymous iambic¹⁷⁸ ἵππος ὄνῳ. 'πρὸς κέντρα μὴ λακτίζετω'. He also notes: "The author of Acts uses it (9:5¹⁷⁹ and 26:14) exactly as Euripides does, as a warning to the θεομάχος; he may in fact have borrowed it from the present passage." Roux¹⁸⁰ and Kirk¹⁸¹ have nothing new to add. Compared with commentators on Acts, those from a classical viewpoint seem relatively uninterested in the religious viewpoint and relatively uninformed of

¹⁷³ Haenchen, (1971).

¹⁷⁴ Morgan (1998).

¹⁷⁵ Elmsley (1821).

¹⁷⁶ *Frg.* 604.

¹⁷⁷ Dodds (1986) on *Bacchae* line 795.

¹⁷⁸ Diehl (1952).

¹⁷⁹ Dodds must have followed the Authorised Version (*textus receptus*); all the best manuscripts and all modern editions of the NT omit σκληρόν σοι πρὸς κέντρα λακτίζειν at Acts 9:5 – perhaps a recollection from his Northern Ireland youth.

¹⁸⁰ Roux (1970).

¹⁸¹ Kirk(ed.) - *Bacchae* (1980).

developments in understanding of the NT. The one exception is Seaford in his edition of the *Bacchae*.¹⁸² Seaford understands the play from a ritualistic viewpoint and summons the NT in support; he is of the opinion that the *Bacchae* has influenced the NT to a greater extent than has been realised. Some of his connections are very tenuous: the wine (i.e. Dionysus) poured to out the gods and conferring benefits on humankind¹⁸³ is presumably meant to be seen as a parallel to the eucharist. The wine of the eucharist is not of itself a sacrifice, rather a symbol of the new covenant – τοῦτο ποιεῖτε ὁσάκις ἐὰν πίνητε εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν.¹⁸⁴ Seaford, on the passage 434 – 518, sees the last words of the choral song as favouring the humble, and now the humble (servant) will (in contrast to the political authority) favour the new cult. This, presumably, is meant to be understood as a parallel to the Marcan concept of the Son of Man as servant¹⁸⁵, but this rather draws on ideas adumbrated in the OT, especially the servant songs of Deutero-Isaiah. Seaford interprets line 502¹⁸⁶ as akin to the truth: that what you see depends on your state of mind – and in support quotes Callimachus *Hymn. Apoll.* 9¹⁸⁷ and also compares Mark 8:18 and Luke 24:16. The former derives, in slightly garbled form, from Ezekiel 12:2; the latter refers to Cleophas and his companion not recognising the risen Jesus, a lack of recognition paralleled elsewhere in John's gospel¹⁸⁸ and ἄσεβής is the last word that could be applied to them. Seaford¹⁸⁹ also sees the off stage appearance of Dionysus as an epiphany that is in a sense a rite of passage, which also has much in common with the conversion of Paul. This shares with the *Bacchae* (a) lightning and light, (b) people falling to the ground, (c)

¹⁸² Seaford- *Bacchae* (1997).

¹⁸³ *Bacchae* lines 284 – 5: οὗτος θεοῖσι σπένδεται θεὸς γεγώς,
ὥστε διὰ τοῦτον τάγαθ' ἀνθρώπους ἔχειν.

¹⁸⁴ I Corinthians 11:24.

¹⁸⁵ Mark 10:45.

¹⁸⁶ παρ' ἐμοί· σὺ δ' ἄσεβής αὐτὸς ὢν οὐκ εἰσορᾷς.

¹⁸⁷ ὡπόλλων οὐ παντὶ φαίνεται, ἀλλ' ὃ τις ἐσθλός.

¹⁸⁸ John 20:14 (Mary of Magdala) οὐκ ᾔδει ὅτι Ἰησοῦς ἐστίν.

¹⁸⁹ Seaford on the *Bacchae* lines 576 – 641.

an invisible divine voice, (d) a divine command to rise from the ground. There are indeed some superficial parallels, but there is no lightning in the three Lucan accounts – the light is bright as the sun¹⁹⁰ and this may be intended as a reminiscence of the Transfiguration¹⁹¹. More critically, the epiphany in the *Bacchae* is accompanied by destruction – the shaking of Cadmus’ palace – and it is a revelation to the chorus while in Acts, it is a private experience as only Paul hears the voice. Seaford sees a further reference to the conversion of Paul at lines 606 – 9. Once again the evidence seems tenuous – this is a communal experience (εὐίου βακχεύματος) even if the chorus leader speaks in the singular. More controversially Seaford retains the reading of the manuscripts L and P at line 630; φῶς ἐποίησεν κατ’ αὐλήν and thereby argues that the light φῶς plays an important part in the rites of passage (conversions) such as those in Acts 9:3 – 9, 16:26 – 30 (imprisonment, earthquake, liberation, despair of the jailer who brings light into the dark prison, his conversion) cf. 12:6 – 7 a miraculous light in the dark prison and liberation. This is consonant with the importance that Seaford attributes to ritual¹⁹² in this play but even if the reading were right, it attributes too much to this single concept of light. Pentheus does not undergo a conversion experience and the conjecture of Jacobs which Diggle¹⁹³ prints in his text φάσμι’ ἐποίησεν κατ’ αὐλήν makes more sense in the context of the fate that is overtaking Pentheus; later in the play Pentheus will see a double sun and Thebes.¹⁹⁴ The parallels that Seaford seeks to find with the NT seem, on closer examination, too forced and also inconsonant with the general picture of classical literature in the NT that I am seeking to propose.

¹⁹⁰ Acts 26:1 – οὐρανόθεν ὑπὲρ τὴν λαμπρότητα τοῦ ἡλίου.

¹⁹¹ Luke 9:29 and parallels.

¹⁹² For a vigorous rebuttal of Seaford’s ritualistic interpretation of the *Bacchae* see Rainer (2000).

¹⁹³ Diggle (1994) (ed.) *Euripidis fabulae* Vol. III.

¹⁹⁴ *Bacchae* lines 917 – 8.

All of these commentators (and they are but a sample) are right to indicate the proverbial nature of this phrase. What is more surprising that none of them cite the source which would confirm this.¹⁹⁵ There are two collections of proverbs of Hadrianic date:¹⁹⁶ Diogenianus and Zenobius, part of the *Corpus paroimiographorum*. These are collections of proverbs arranged alphabetically – the text of Diogenianus is less accurate in this respect and may reflect a more disturbed textual tradition. They are also almost certainly epitomes of earlier collections. The heading to the Zenobius reflects this: Ζενοβίου ἐπιτώμη ἐκ τῶν Ταρραΐου καὶ Διδύμου παροιμιῶν συντεθεῖσα κατὰ στοχείων. The proverbs are a collection of short, pithy sayings. Among them are such examples: ἄμμον μετρεῖν, ἐν οἴνῳ ἀλήθεια, μία χελιδὼν ἕαρ οὐ ποιεῖ.¹⁹⁷ Of the six hundred and fifty two proverbs in the collection of Zenobius twenty eight are metrical; in this case in the form of an iambic trimeter. These lines come from diverse sources:

Anacreon (also attributed to Timocreon) (1)

Aeschylus (frg. 373 – Loeb) (1)

adespota (15)

Aristophanes (4) – one *dubium* and a line also quoted by Anacreon;

Archilochus frg. 66

Cercidas frg. 18

Euripides (2) – one of which is a *dubium*

Menander (1)

Sophocles (2)

¹⁹⁵ Elmsley (1821) is the exception, but he draws no conclusion from this quotation.

¹⁹⁶ Leutsch and Schneidewin (1839 reprint 1961).

¹⁹⁷ quoted by Aristotle in the *Nicomachean Ethics* 1. 7. 1.

The line from the *Bacchae* is not among them. Instead we find: Zenobius 570 Πρὸς κέντρα λακτίζειν: παροιμία, ἧς μέμνηται Εὐριπίδης (*Bacchae* 795) καὶ Αἰσχύλος δὲ ταύτης μέμνηται.

The collection of proverbs under the name of Diogenianus¹⁹⁸ is larger than that of Zenobius with some 876 proverbs and a smaller proportion of metrical lines, twenty two in all. The parallel entry runs: 784 Πρὸς κέντρα λακτίζεις: δῆλη ἡ παροιμία. This, perhaps more than the entry in Zenobius, may indicate the proverb had a separate existence apart from literary quotations. It is now impossible to say which came the first; the proverb or the literary quotations. What is certain is that the proverb existed in Greek, and that the collections of Zenobius and Diogenianus reflect, with a fair degree of accuracy, idioms that were in popular use. This may also illustrate a certain *tendenz* amongst commentators, (both classical and scriptural), to seek parallels drawn from "elite" literature¹⁹⁹ rather than "popular" writings to which the contents of the *Corpus paroemiographorum* attest. There is no reason why the Luke, who was capable of the relative sophistication of the opening sentences of the gospel and Acts, should have taken such a proverb and used it for his own purposes. It is perhaps now more difficult, in the context of the use of this proverb, and its place in the proverbs of Diogenianus and Zenobius, to affirm categorically that Luke was influenced by or used a quotation from the Greek classics in this passage. Proverbial wisdom, whether in its Greek²⁰⁰ or Aramaic form, may be more at home in the world of the NT than a familiarity with the works of classical literature, and it is to the former that Luke's use of the idiom must be firmly attributed.

¹⁹⁸ *Corpus paroemiographorum* (op. cit.)

¹⁹⁹ The *Bacchae* will have been a text familiar from school and university.

²⁰⁰ Greek was the shared and common language of the ancient world and there is no reason why Luke should not have been familiar with Greek proverbs.

Chapter 4 - Part 1: The three quotations in the New Testament

1 Corinthians 15:33²⁰¹

Paul's quotation of a line from one of the great Greek dramatists²⁰² at 1 Corinthians 15:33 – φθείρουσιν ἥθη χρηστὰ ὁμιλῖαι κακαί²⁰³ - is his only certain known use of a classical text. As such it would seem to have merited a thorough search of the background and history of the line. Much of the information for an exploration of the history of this trimeter is given in the critical apparatus of the entry in Kassel and Austin's edition of the fragments of the Greek comic poets, *PCG*, Vol. VI 2, frg. 165 (187),²⁰⁴ a summation of research over many years.²⁰⁵ Yet what is more surprising is how little interest has been displayed in exploring the provenance of this iambus by writers on Paul. To classical scholars, the line is of relatively little interest; for those concerned with writings of Paul, the line has a unique fascination and the following is an attempt to unravel the complex history of this line, given the weight that so many have attached to its importance as the sole, undisputed quotation by Paul of classical literature. The *apparatus criticus* of Kassel/Austin indicates that the history of the line and its attestations is more complex than might be supposed, and that an understanding of the

²⁰¹ Walker (2007) has sought to argue, on the basis *inter alia* of the reference to baptism for the dead, that these verses are a Marcionite interpolation. While he may be right to call attention to the challenges of these verses, as do other commentators, the close proximity in time to the Apologists, (Justin, Athenagoras, and Theophilus who all show knowledge of the epistle) and Clement, who certainly quotes these verses, and their geographical diversity, Rome, Athens, Antioch and Alexandria) makes it implausible that such an interpolation should have dominated the textual history of the letter to the exclusion of any "non-interpolated" texts. The difficulties, if they be such, are better left with Paul.

²⁰² Euripides or Menander.

²⁰³ The lack of elision is intentional – all the manuscripts from Vaticanus and Sinaiticus onwards have no elision, and, when the text is quoted in patristic literature, there is also no elision.

²⁰⁴ The figure in brackets refers to Körte and Thierfelder's edition of the fragments of Menander.

²⁰⁵ Kassel/Austin's edition of the *PCG* is one of the great scholarly achievements of recent years; yet as I studied the *apparatus* of this particular fragment it became plain that the evidence straddled various disciplines. When I wrote to Colin Austin, in 1995, at the suggestion of my former classics tutor, Peter Brown, his reply gratefully acknowledged my contribution in supplying the references to the line in the works of Origen, translated by Jerome and Rufinus. (As classical scholars, Kassel and Austin, would have no need to know that Origen survived in part through the efforts of Jerome and Rufinus. It also highlighted the different approach in transmission of a text by classical and NT scholars.)

transmission and story of the line may not only help to place the trimeter more securely in its context but also throw light on how Paul may have acquired his knowledge of the line.

The pre-Pauline history of the line.

The earliest appearance of the line is in a Hibeh papyrus edited by Grenfell and Hunt²⁰⁶ (line 94 φθειρουσιν ἡθη [χρησθ'ὀμίλιαι κακαί]) which appears in a fragmentary collection of lines of a tragic nature including several from the *Electra* of Euripides (lines 10 – 22 in the papyrus; 367 – 379 in the play). The verso of the papyrus is dedicated to a speech by Lysias; the recto contains collection of lines not untypical of the Ptolemaic period, e.g. Pap. Petrie 1, 3 (1), Pap. Tebt. 1 and 2²⁰⁷. In his article on florilegia, Chadwick²⁰⁸ sees this papyrus as an early example of a florilegium²⁰⁹. This seems over optimistic; the theme, noble origins and wealth, which he takes as the essence of the lines in the papyrus, is in fact confined to the *Electra* passage. The papyrus is so fragmentary that it is difficult to make sense of most of it. Amongst the opening lines occur phrases such as βρομῶ κομποῖς (line 8), σχετῶν οὐταζει²¹⁰ (l. 47), which might suggest a lyric context, possibly on the theme of Dionysus. The remains of lines 91- 93 also suggest tragedy – the use of ὀθοῦνεκα may point in this direction.²¹¹ The papyrus ends with words assigned to Epicharmus.²¹² In their edition Grenfell and Hunt refer to this papyrus as an "anthology"; this may be simply to distinguish it from the other papyri in the

²⁰⁶ Grenfell and Hunt (1906) Hibeh papyri 1.7.

²⁰⁷ Grenfell and Hunt (op. cit.).

²⁰⁸ Chadwick (1969) and (2006 – revised version).

²⁰⁹ Column 1132: "Themenkriese gruppiert, etwa das weibliche Geschlecht, Reichtum, gesellschaftliche Stellung oder Tugenden und Laster. Eine der frühesten erhalten Anthologien ist P. Hibeh 7(3. Jh.vC.) wo das Thema der vornehmen Herkunft und des Reichtums durch Stellen aus tragischen Lyrikern, Euripides, Epicharmos und den berühmten Vers illustriert." In the revised version, the themes are "family distinction and wealth" (op. cit.) chapter XIX pg. 1) and the authors quoted are named as tragedians, Euripides and Epicharmus.

²¹⁰ In *LSJ* preponderance of usages favours epic and tragedy.

²¹¹ Renehan (1975); Renehan observes that several examples of the use of ὀθοῦνεκα in Euripides are omitted by *LSJ* and that it does not seem to occur in comedy as opposed to tragedy – see also Knox (1925).

²¹² ὥστ' ἐμὶν δοκεῖ frg. 88 Epicharmus et Pseudepicharmea (Austin (1973) – now Epicharmus fr. 246 K-A (in *PCG* I).

collection which are devoted to single authors²¹³. The papyrus is dated by the fact that the latest date in this collection of Hibeh papyri appears to be the 25th year of Ptolemy III Euergetes, which might indicate a date circa 220 BCE. Though Menander died about 290 BCE, it is possible that copies of his plays might have reached Egypt, and there are some late 3rd century BCE papyri fragments.²¹⁴ Whether individual lines might have acquired the notoriety that allowed them to be used in such a context is perhaps more debatable. The evidence, however, of this papyrus might seem to point to a Euripidean source, rather than a Menandrian, given the nature and source of the lines in it. Apart from this papyrus fragment, the use of the line by Paul is the only known quotation, found in literary works of the classical period, until it occurs in the works of Clement.

The line, however, is alluded to in other authors. In the *History* of Diodorus Siculus, usually dated c. 40 - 30 BCE, Diodorus paraphrases the line twice. The first is more obviously referred to in an anecdote about Philip of Macedon²¹⁵ and the second, more obliquely, in a passage regarding Charondas, the chosen law-giver of Thurii.²¹⁶ Plutarch²¹⁷ also appears to refer to the line in his *De sera numinis vindicta*.²¹⁸ The most intriguing reference is the *Letter of Aristeas*²¹⁹. Writing probably about the middle of the 2nd century BCE, the pseudonymous

²¹³ Hibeh papyri part 1 - These are a list of the authors found in the individual papyri; 1: Epicharmus, 2: Epicharmus Γνώμαι?, 3 : Sophocles *Tyro*?, 4 : Euripides *Oeneus* ?, 5: Philemon? 6: Comedy – Menander or contemporary? 8 – 12: poetical fragments 13: Hippias? *Discourse on music*, 14: Lysias *In Theozotidem*, 15: Rhetorical exercise on the death of Alexander – possibly written 280 – 240 BCE, 16: Theophrastus? on Democritus' atomic theory, 17: Sayings of Simonides, 18: Literary fragment – comedy? 19 – 23: passages from Homer, 24: Euripides *Iphigenia Taurica* small and scattered fragments, 25: Euripides - the chorus which closes *Alcestis*, *Andromache*, *Bacchae*, *Helena*, and, with a different first line, the *Medea*.

²¹⁴ Notably the Sorbonne papyrus of the *Sikyonioi*.

²¹⁵ Diodorus Siculus XVI 54.4 καὶ φίλους ὀνομάζων ταῖς πονηραῖς ὁμιλίαις διέφθειρε τὰ ἥθη τῶν ἀνθρώπων.

²¹⁶ XII 12, 3 - Ὑπολαβὼν γὰρ τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς ἄνδρας ἐνίστε διὰ τὴν πρὸς τοὺς πονηροὺς φιλίαν καὶ συνήθειαν διαστρεφῆσθαι τὰ ἥθη πρὸς κακίαν; there is also a possible resemblance to *Monostichoi* 289.

²¹⁷ Though Plutarch is writing after Paul, it is convenient to include his reference here as he is the only non-Christian writer to refer to the line after Paul's lifetime.

²¹⁸ Plutarch *De sera numinis vindicti* 6 pg. 551 D - ἐξανθεῖ δὲ τὴν κακίαν παρὰ φύσιν ὑπὸ τροφῆς καὶ ὁμιλίας φαύλης φθειρόμενον εἶτα.

²¹⁹ Section 130 - for a convenient summary of current opinion on the *Letter of Aristeas* see de Crom (2021) "The *Letter of Aristeas*".

author, in recounting the production of the Septuagint (LXX), seeks to exalt its text. The passage in question - Θεωρεῖς ἔφη, τὰς ἀναστροφὰς καὶ τὰς ὁμιλίας, οἷον ἐνεργάζονται πρᾶγμα, διότι κακοῖς ὁμιλήσαντες διαστροφὰς ἐπιλαμβάνουσιν ἄνθρωποι – echoes the sense of the trimeter and some of the language i.e. ὁμιλίας κακοὶς ὁμιλήσαντες. If this is indeed an oblique reference to the line, it may well indicate that the text was familiar in Jewish Hellenistic circles of the mid-2nd century BCE and may throw some light on the way that Paul became acquainted with the line. None of these usages, however, bear any positive attribution of authorship, indeed, if anything, they rather attest to a line that is relatively well known, but they afford no indication of the background to the line, or how they came to know it.

The patristic period to the fifth century.

The two earliest Fathers to quote the line were near contemporaries, Tertullian and Clement of Alexandria. Tertullian gives the line twice in his *Ad uxorem*; first at 1. 8 4: *memor illius uersiculi sanctificati per apostolum: Bonos corrumpunt mores congressus mali* and secondly at 2. 3 3: *bonos corrumpunt mores confabulationes²²⁰ malae.*²²¹ Tertullian, who was fluent in Greek, may well have made his own translations. The first quotation is in the context of widows' continency and abstinence, made more difficult because they have known the joys of married life.²²² He may have chosen the word *congressus*, unique in this context of Latin translations of ὁμιλίαι, with its hint of sexual intercourse,²²³ to underline the moral dangers facing widows. The second version of the quotation uses *confabulationes*, the word favoured

²²⁰ Jerome uses *confabulationes* eight times.

²²¹ This is how the line is given and punctuated in Munier (1980) – *Ad uxorem I and II*.

²²² *Gloriosior continentia quae ius suum sentit, quae quid uiderit nouit.*

²²³ Pliny the elder *N.H.* XII 14 30 – *feminarum*.

by Jerome.²²⁴ Tertullian will also have recognised that the line was metrical and the fact that, in the first instance, he refers to it as 'sanctificati per apostolum' may indicate that he realised it probably had a theatrical provenance. The *Ad uxorem* is a work written before Tertullian encountered the teachings of the New Prophecy.²²⁵ Certainly in the later *De pudicitia*, a work written under its influence, Tertullian takes a very dim view of theatrical spectacles.²²⁶ Even if his views were not as rigorous in earlier days, he may still have felt that Paul was lending a note of respectability to this presumably theatrical line – hence 'sanctificati'. But of authorship Tertullian says nothing.

Nor does Clement of Alexandria. He refers to the line twice. The first is in the *Stromateis*²²⁷ - περι τῆς τῶν νεκρῶν ἀναστάσεως διαλεγόμενος ἱαμβεῖω συγκέχρηται τραγικῶ τί μοι ὄφελος; λέγων μη πλανασθε· φθείρουσιν ἥθη χρηστὰ ὁμιλίας κακαί. The second is in the *Paedagogus*²²⁸ where the trimeter is followed by ἡ ποιητικὴ λέγει. What may give pause for reflection is the fact that while Clement identifies the Aratus quotation from the *Phaenomena* and that from Epimenides' in Acts and Titus respectively, he is seemingly vague on the origin of the iambus.²²⁹ Aratus seems to have been a popular author in the first and second centuries CE, though Epimenides rather less so. (The first, and only, author before the letter of Titus to show knowledge of the phrase 'Κρητες ἀεὶ ψευσταί' was Callimachus in the 3rd century BCE.)²³⁰ Clement uses the phrase "ἡ ποιητικὴ" two further times in a similar

²²⁴ Houghton (2016) – notes that Tertullian "rarely, if ever, quotes the same verse twice in exactly the same form, sometimes even within the same work". – pg. 6. He also observes that Tertullian was probably not working with a fixed version of the Latin text but produced his own translations as he felt necessary.

²²⁵ This is the term used by the followers of Montanus to describe their sect.

²²⁶ *De pudicitia* 7 - Perit igitur et fidelis elapsus in spectaculum quadrigarii furoris et gladiatorii cruoris et scaenicae foeditatis et xysticae uanitatis, in lusus, in conuiuia saecularis sollemnitis.

²²⁷ *Stromateis* 1. 14 59 4.

²²⁸ *Paedagogus* II 6 50 4.

²²⁹ Clement does not make the elision in quoting this line. In this he may be following the textual tradition of 1 Corinthians as he had received it, but it should be noted that in quoting iambic trimeters Clement does not always observe the elision.

²³⁰ *In lovem* line 8.

context. He quotes three lines of Eratosthenes²³¹ followed by two seemingly anonymous verses,²³² the whole passage introduced by ἡ ποιητικὴ ὠφελήμενη λέγει. The second comes from the *Stromateis*²³³ where it follows the quotation of a lyric *adespota*.²³⁴ Both of these usages seem to indicate that Clement was ignorant of the author's name or had forgotten it, and this must equally apply to his quotation of the line in the *Paedagogus*.

Given his very extensive knowledge of classical literature - Clement quotes widely from Aeschylus,²³⁵ Sophocles,²³⁶ Euripides,²³⁷ Aristophanes,²³⁸ and Menander²³⁹ - it may make it all the odder that he fails to identify a line from Euripides/Menander, two of the most popular and quoted authors of antiquity, when he correctly identifies Aratus and Epimenides. Clement's silence is puzzling. One would have expected him, of all the Fathers, to have identified the line, given his knowledge and experience, and moreover he had access to a far wider range of classical literature.

One further point perhaps needs to be made in this context. Many quotations in antiquity, both in classical and Christian literature, were made from memory. The use of scrolls was cumbersome, and there was generally no effective means of identifying the passage searched for. Editors of texts are well aware of this problem, and this may suggest that Clement was familiar with the line but not fully aware of its origin, perhaps because the

²³¹ Frg. 34 (Powell).

²³² *Paedagogus* II 2 28 2; whether Clement himself made this conjunction or derived it from a pre-existent source is uncertain.

²³³ V 5 27 5; καὶ τὰν Ὀλυμπον καταδεκκομένην σκηπτοῦχον Ἦραν
ἔστι μοι πιστὸν ταμειῖον ἐπὶ γλώσσας.

²³⁴ Page (*PMG*) fragment 42.

²³⁵ 12 times.

²³⁶ 27 times.

²³⁷ 101 times including two doubtful fragments.

²³⁸ 11 times.

²³⁹ 27 times, including two doubtful fragments.

line had come to him from a source where attribution was not given, or that he did not know.²⁴⁰ Tracing it would have been cumbersome and bothersome.

Clement's great successor, Origen, appears to cite the line four times in his extant writings. (The words Μένανδρος and κωμικός do not occur in any of Origen's writings, surviving in Greek.)²⁴¹ References to the line are found in the *In Lucam homiliae* xxxi B *Patrologia Graeca* 13 (col. 1880)²⁴², again at *In Ezechielem Homiliae* PG 13 (col. 728) viii. 1²⁴³, *In Leviticum Homiliae* V paragraph 7²⁴⁴ and also at the commentary on Romans 5 (PG xiv 1007 A)²⁴⁵. (These four attestations survive only in the translations of Jerome and Rufinus). Origen seemingly now adds Menander as the author of the line by implication as the "de comico" in the text of the *In Lucam homiliae* almost certainly refers to Menander.

The reference in the Lucan homilies is thus seemingly the prime witness to Origen identifying the line as Menandrian, but it does not allow us to infer the reasons for this attribution or the grounds on which he named Menander – *de comico* - by inference as the author, whether he had textual evidence or merely assumption. Two factors, however, may provide reasons for hesitation in unequivocally attributing Menandrian origin of the line to Origen. The first is the reluctance of Origen to name classical authors in his commentaries;

²⁴⁰ The use of ἰαμβεῖον τραγικῶν and ἡ ποιητικὴ points firmly to this conclusion.

²⁴¹ In fact, references to Greek authors by name only seem to occur in the *Contra Celsum*.

²⁴² Quomodo autem diabolus per occasionem temporum de scripturis loquitur: sic e contrario Paulus pro utilitate eorum qui audivit, non solum de scripturis, sed etiam de saecularibus libris assumit testimonium et ait 'Cretenses semper mendaces, malae bestiae, ventres pigri': et rursum de alio 'Ipsius enim et genus sumus' necnon de comico 'Corrumpunt mores bonos colloquia mala'. Sed neque diabolus si de scripturis locutus fuerit, poterit me hac occasione decipere: neque Paulus si de gentilibus litteris aliquid exemplum sumpserit, quoque modo me eloquio deterrebit. Ideo enim exsumpsit Paulus verba etiam de his quae foris sunt ut ea santificet. – Jerome's translation.

²⁴³ Et homo hominem constituere potest, malus in malo, bonus in bono – Corrumpunt enim mores bonos confabulationes pessimae – Jerome's translation.

²⁴⁴ Aut non super hoc fermentum habebat verbi Dei sacrificium positum ille, qui dicebat: "corrumpunt mores bonos colloquia mala" et: "Cretenses semper mendaces, malae bestiae, ventres pigri" et alia his similia ex fermento sumpta Graecorum? – Rufinus' translation.

²⁴⁵ Nolite seduci, Corrumpunt mores bonos colloquia mala – Expergiscimini justi et nolite peccare – Rufinus' translation.

the other two fragments – Aratus and Epimenides – are quoted without reference to their authorship.²⁴⁶ The present example would be a very rare occurrence in Origen's works. The second factor is the fact that the attribution to Menander occurs in Jerome's translation of the Lucan homilies. Lienhard,²⁴⁷ in his translation of the Homilies, observes that Jerome usually translates accurately;²⁴⁸ pointing out that Rufinus, who had every reason to find inaccuracy in Jerome's translation, could only find two instances of defective translation, one of them at Luke 4:4. It may be ultimately impossible to decide conclusively. Given Origen's reluctance to name classical authors,²⁴⁹ it is possible '*de comico*' may derive from an addition by Jerome. He names Menander more than any other Christian author in this context (see below) and he may have added *de comico* without a second thought. Against this may be placed Jerome's seeming accuracy and reliable transcription of Origen's text, and '*de comico*' in its Greek version was indeed what he discovered in the original text of the *Homilies*. This must raise a doubt that Origen was categorically the first to imply Menandrian authorship,²⁵⁰ but if he was, certainty as to what grounds he had for making that assumption cannot be guaranteed or assured.

But if '*de comico*' is an insertion by Jerome, the same question inevitably arises as to the nature of his sources and the reason for his attribution to Menander of the iambic. In terms of Roman literature, Jerome may not unreasonably be termed the Clement of the

²⁴⁶ See footnote 250 (below) with a reference to Origen omitting Aratus' name in quoting the opening of the *Phaenomena*.

²⁴⁷ Origen - Lienhard (translator) (1996).

²⁴⁸ Lienhard (op. cit.) Introduction pg. xxxvi.

²⁴⁹ When Origen quotes the opening of Aratus' *Phaenomena* Ἐκ Διὸς ἀρχώμεθα in the Commentary on John's gospel (Book X chapter 7 section 30 line 10) he merely says καὶ τῷ εἰπόντι Ἐκ Διὸς ἀρχώμεθα. (Note that Origen, followed by Eusebius, omits the sigma in ἀρχώμεθα; it is correctly quoted by Theophilus and Clement, following Aratus' epic usage.)

²⁵⁰ As Sieben (1992) (pg. 314) notes in his translation (based on Rauer's 1951 edition of the text) – Ein geflügeltes Wort, das auf den griechischen Dichter Menander (4. Jh v. Chr.) zurückgeht.

West,²⁵¹ but though proficient in Greek, his knowledge of Greek literature seems to have been derived at second-hand.²⁵² (Rufinus derides his claim to have read Pythagoras.) The authorship of the three quotations is mentioned in the *Adversus Iovinianum* and the commentaries on Ephesians, and Galatians, but the chief discussion is reserved for the commentary on Titus. (It should be noted that Jerome offers different versions when he refers to the line.²⁵³ The quotation usually begins “corrumpunt bonos mores”; three times it ends “colloquia mala;” twice “confabulationes malae”; and six times “confabulationes pessimae”²⁵⁴. This may be as much stylistic as reflecting different translations.) More importantly Jerome refers to Menander as the author of the line seven times – more than any other Christian writer. The principal discussion of the three quotations is the commentary on Titus - chapter 1:12-14,²⁵⁵ a work which is generally assumed to take as its source the lost commentary by Origen on Titus.²⁵⁶ How much of the material in the present passage goes back to Origen himself, is open to doubt; the whole passage in Jerome has the feel of a set piece, expanded to include the three quotations. The references to the Latin translations of Aratus, by Cicero, Germanicus, and Avienus²⁵⁷ are almost certainly not present in the hypothetical Origen source, and it may also be doubted if Origen’s text at this point included a discussion on the other two quotations. Given Origen’s reluctance to name classical authors

²⁵¹ Hagendahl (1958).

²⁵² On Jerome’s knowledge of Greek literature, see Courcelle (1948).

²⁵³ By contrast Augustine quotes the line 23 times in exactly the same form – corrumpunt bonos mores colloquia mala, and twice with per added before colloquia mala.

²⁵⁴ The Vulgate has “corrumpunt bonos mores colloquia mala” at 1 Corinthians 15:33.

²⁵⁵ *Ad Titum*, cap.: 1, versus: 12-14, SL 77C pag.: 29, line 651: In Actibus quippe apostolorum.....inter cetera ait: Sicut et quidam de uestris poetis dixerunt: "Ipsius enim et genus sumus"; quod hemistichium in Phaenomenis Arati legitur, quem Cicero in Latinum sermonem transtulit et Germanicus Caesar et nuper Avienus et multi quos enumerare perlongum est.

²⁵⁶ Scheck (2010).

²⁵⁷ Avienus, being a fourth century CE writer, is disqualified on chronological grounds.

in his commentaries,²⁵⁸ it is difficult to speculate on what Jerome found before him in the commentary on Titus. Granted Jerome's seeming lack of first-hand knowledge of much of Greek literature,²⁵⁹ it is almost certain that he will be dependent on an earlier source for the information contained in the commentary on Titus as to the provenance of the lines and their authorship. Clement is the only surviving author earlier than Jerome²⁶⁰ to name both Aratus and Epimenides and it must remain a possibility that this or an intermediary work derived from Clement was Jerome's source.²⁶¹ If that is the case, the lack of ascription of the trimeter in 1 Corinthians 15 in Clement, might suggest that Jerome was making an assumption on the basis that such gnomic lines were ascribed to Menander. Menandrian authorship on the testimony of Jerome may not be as certain as has been generally assumed.

Socrates Scholasticus in his *Ecclesiastical History*²⁶² ascribes the line to Euripides, in the context of a discussion of the other two classical references, (those from Aratus and Epimenides), in which he claims that Paul's use of these lines points to his education, and that he must have read them in the authors concerned. Of other authors (up to the fifth century CE) quoting the line - Eusebius, Epiphanius, Athanasius,²⁶³ Basil, Asterius, (twice), Didymus

²⁵⁸ The Aratus hemistich and the Epimenides hexameter are quoted without authorial attribution in the *Homilia ad Lucam*.

²⁵⁹ The remark of Rufinus may be relevant here - Ante enim quam converteretur, me cum pariter et litteras graecas et linguam penitus ignorabat. (This was before his adoption of the monastic life in Bethlehem) *Apol. Adv. Hier.* II 9 (PL 21 590). A little earlier in the same work Rufinus makes fun of Jerome's claim to have read the works of Pythagoras (*Apol. Adv. Hier.* II 7 (PL 21 588)).

²⁶⁰ The three authors are also named in the *apparatus Euthalianus* but the uncertain dating of this material probably debars it from being a possible source for Jerome.

²⁶¹ Given Jerome's knowledge of the Latin translations of Aratus, he may well have had some acquaintance with the Greek text, but for a more obscure fragmentary author such as Epimenides, he was almost certainly reliant on an earlier source.

²⁶² 3: 16 24 ff. – 'Ἐπεὶ πόθεν ὁρμώμενος ἔλεγεν· 'Κρήτες αἰεὶ ψεῦσται, κακὰ θηρία, γαστέρες ἀργαί', εἰ μὴ τοὺς Ἐπιμενίδου τοῦ Κρητὸς, ἀνδρὸς τελεστοῦ, ἀνεγνώκει χρησμούς; ἢ πόθεν ἐγνώκει τὸ 'Τοῦ γὰρ καὶ γένος ἐσμέν', εἰ μὴ τὰ Φαινόμενα τοῦ ἀστρονόμου Ἀράτου ἠπίστατο; ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ 'Φθείρουσιν ἥθη χρηστὰ ὁμιλίας κακαί' δείκνυσιν μὴ ἀνήκοον τῶν Εὐριπίδου δραμάτων τυγχάνοντα.

²⁶³ *De synodis Arimini in Italia et Seleucia in Isauria* 39 3 7 – in the context of the other two quotations from classical literature but no authors are named.

Caecus (five times), Amphilochius,²⁶⁴ Adamantius, Ephraem Syrus (three times), John Chrysostom (eight times), Palladius (twice), Cyril of Alexandria, Theodoret, and Isidore - none names Menander. Athanasius is the only writer of this group to place the line in the context of the other two quotations from the classics. Of the three pre-Constantinian writers who refer to the line, (Tertullian, Clement and Origen,) each, in their different ways, offer a justification of Paul's use of the line - Tertullian through the use of the word 'santificati';²⁶⁵ Clement that Paul is not afraid to accord Greek writers something of the truth and to use their poems;²⁶⁶ and Origen that Paul 'sanctifies' such writings.²⁶⁷ No such justification appears in post-Constantinian writers; indeed, it is probable that for most of the authors above, the line had significance only as it occurred in Paul's writings. (It is often coupled with the verse from Isaiah that precedes it in 1 Corinthians.) Many of them write in a way that seems to credit the line to Paul; typical are Ephraem Syrus,²⁶⁸ John Chrysostom,²⁶⁹ and Palladius.²⁷⁰ Frustrating as it may be for modern scholars, it seems that most of the patristic writers above were not interested in the source or origin of the line; it had become part of the text of Paul's letter, and that was sufficient.²⁷¹ It may not have occurred to them to note if they had come across the line in any other context except that of 1 Corinthians.²⁷² The last, and as it were the

²⁶⁴ *Iambi ad Seleucum* 76 ff. καὶ γάρ, ὡς Παύλῳ δοκεῖ/ φθείρουσιν ἥθη χρηστὰ ὁμιλίας κακαί. / Ναὶ μὴν ἐκεῖνο σφόδρα σοι τηρητέον·/ μίσει θεάτρων, θηρίων, ἵπποδρόμων / ἄσεμνον ὥδῃν, δύσεριν κακῶν θέαν. Given the context, Amphilochius seems unaware or unconcerned about the line's theatrical provenance.

²⁶⁵ *Ad uxorem* 1. 8.

²⁶⁶ *Stromateis* I 14 59 3 - προφήταις δίδωσί τι τῆς ἀληθείας καὶ οὐκ ἐπαισχύνεται πρὸς τε οἰκοδομὴν καὶ πρὸς ἐντροπὴν διαλεγόμενός τινων Ἑλληνικοῖς συγχρῆσθαι ποιήμασι.

²⁶⁷ *In Lucam homiliae* xxxi B - Ideo enim exsumpsit Paulus verba etiam de his quae foris sunt ut ea santificet.

²⁶⁸ *In illud attende ipsi* (capita xii) – κατὰ τὸν Ἀπόστολον, λέγει γάρ and the trimeter follows.

²⁶⁹ *In Genesim Homiliae* PG Vol 53 pg. 50 line 10 - καὶ ὁ μακάριος Παῦλός φησι, Φθείρουσιν ἥθη χρηστὰ ὁμιλίας κακαί.

²⁷⁰ *de vita Ioannis Chrysostomi* 79. 1 – πρὸς οὓς ὁ ἀπόστολος πληκτικώτερον τὴν διόρθωσιν ἐπάγει λέγων and the trimeter follows.

²⁷¹ The fourth century CE saw the codification of the canon of the NT, first formally attested in Athanasius' 39th *Festal Letter* of 367CE. It may be that the trimeter's place in holy scripture gave it an authority which transcended its pagan origin.

²⁷² It might seem odd that Basil did not make use the line in his discussion of classical literature *Oratio ad adolescentes* if he was primarily aware of its origin in Euripides or Menander.

summation of patristic learning in the treatment of Paul and the Pauline literature's use of classical lines, is Photius in his *Quaestiones ad Amphilochium* 151.²⁷³ Even here the evidence is not clear-cut. It is almost certain that Photius is dependent on the apparatus Euthalianus - the last significant Patristic witness to the classical quotations in the NT – the reference to the Spartan proverb in the context of the Isaiah quotation is common to both,²⁷⁴ though, even here, the evidence to Menandrian authorship is not explicit.²⁷⁵

The apparatus Euthalianus,²⁷⁶ mentioned above, is a miscellany; comprising prologues, quotation lists, chapter headings and various other matter on the Acts of the Apostles, the Pauline and Catholic epistles. It is of debated authorship and date, though a general consensus allows that the work may have its origin in the 4th century CE. It is found in quite a few manuscripts of the NT, particularly those of the latter Byzantine period, and also exists in versions in Syriac, Gothic and Armenian, which on the whole predate the appearance of the Greek version in the various manuscripts. The apparatus Euthalianus names Menander as the author of the trimeter; but it is not clear on what source the compiler was drawing. The likeliest presumption is that he was drawing on patristic writings. Origen and Jerome seem plausible candidates, but for the fact that, uniquely, the Isaiah quote²⁷⁷ is described as λακωνική παροιμία (Long list) and Δημάδου²⁷⁸ λακωνική παροιμία (Short list).

²⁷³ Photius - Laourdas and Westerink (1983).

²⁷⁴ ἐν δὲ τῇ αὐτῇ δημῳδὸς τινὸς Λακωνικῆς μέμνηται παροιμίας, ἣν καὶ προλαβὼν Ἡσαΐας ὁ προφήτης ἐν τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ κατατάττει λόγοις· 'φάγωμεν καὶ πίωμεν, αὔριον γὰρ ἀποθνήσκομεν.

²⁷⁵ The editors of the latest Teubner text omit the reference to Menander; in two of the codices Θ and Γ there is a space after ἐπιστολῇ and in Θ a later hand has inserted the reference to Menander. ἔτι δὲ ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ ἐπιστολῇ *** 'φθείρουσιν ἥθη χρηστὰ ὁμιλίας κακαί'.

²⁷⁶ The most important works on the Euthalian material are Robinson (1895), Willard (2009), Blomkvist and Hellholm (2012).

²⁷⁷ 1 Corinthians 15:2 – Isaiah 22:13 LXX – the opening phrase φάγωμεν καὶ πίωμεν may have had an independent existence as it occurs in Aelius Herodianus *Partitiones* 274 14 and the *Souda* phi 12 – is it this that was thought to be the Spartan proverb?

²⁷⁸ Δημάδου may well be a corruption of δημῳδης.

The inference must be that the apparatus Euthalianus derives in part from a lost patristic source.

The evidence from the patristic period is uncertain. Socrates Scholasticus and, by implication, Clement seem to point to a tragic source, almost certainly Euripides, while Origen, Jerome, Photius (possibly) and the apparatus Euthalianus, certainly, point to Menander. None of them give the source of the play – the *Thais* to which the line is generally attributed.

***Thais* or not *Thais*?**

One of the paradoxes of the history of the line is that the attribution to the *Thais* comes late in the story, being found in a scholion, recorded in a manuscript of the NT, now generally accepted as lost, by Henricus Stephanus, and in three Syriac manuscripts.²⁷⁹ These four²⁸⁰ manuscripts are the only source of the attribution of the line to the *Thais* of Menander. Some commentators, accepting the scholarly consensus at the time, note the attribution *en passant*; such are Fee,²⁸¹ Barrett,²⁸² and Robertson-Plummer.²⁸³ Others are rather more

²⁷⁹ Brock (1979) - British Library Add. 7157 (dated 796 CE) and New College 333, first quoted by Wettstein in his edition of the NT, and SMC 2-3 (St. Mark's Monastery, Jerusalem 2-3).

²⁸⁰ There are two further manuscripts, mentioned later in the study, which seem to parallel the missing α' , but may well be later insertions.

²⁸¹ Fee (2014) "Delusion is spelled out in the language of an epigram from Menander's *Thais* which comes into the argument as something of a jolt."

²⁸² Barrett (1988) "From Menander's lost comedy *Thais*----It is unnecessary to suppose that Paul had read or seen the play; the quotation, like others from Menander had become proverbial, and if Paul had recognised the verse he would have elided and written $\chi\rho\eta\sigma\theta'\acute{o}\mu\lambda\iota\alpha\iota$, thought it seems that in this period elision was more often spoken than written."

²⁸³ Robertson and Plummer (1914). "It is uncertain whether Menander adapted a popular proverb or the saying passed from the *Thais* into popular use but the form $\chi\rho\eta\sigma\tau\omicron\varsigma$ (for the reading $\chi\rho\eta\sigma\theta'$ has hardly any authority) points to the proverb rather than the play.....We cannot infer from this passage and Acts and Titus that St. Paul was well acquainted with classical writers". It would be truer to say the reading $\chi\rho\eta\sigma\theta'$ has no authority.

sanguine of the context in Paul's writing; such are Hengel²⁸⁴, Thistleton²⁸⁵, Fitzmyer²⁸⁶, and Collins.²⁸⁷ Winter²⁸⁸ takes a more positive approach drawing on his earlier arguments in '*Paul among the sophists*'.²⁸⁹ He does not rule out categorically the possibility that Paul may have read the work of Menander, and also quotes an article by Malherbe,²⁹⁰ which notes that the works of Menander were highly regarded in Paul's day and often suggested as suitable material for aspiring rhetoricians. But there are others who have gone further than Winter in their assessment of the trimeter and its influence on Paul. Cover²⁹¹ argues that the iambic line is evidence that Paul had read, or studied, the works of Menander. He writes "Far from being a mere throw-away line, Paul's quotation from Menander is part of a broader rhetorical strategy and signifies *in nuce* the literary and theo-dramatic mode of 1 Corinthians,"²⁹² and

²⁸⁴ Hengel (1991) "It is completely uncertain whether he had ever seen a Greek tragedy or a mime. At best one might perhaps assume that Paul had occasionally heard one of the re-quotations of poetry which were popular at the time..... His language shows no trace of any knowledge of Greek poetry, i.e. of epics, drama and poetry. The only lyric (sic) which he quotes, in 1 Corinthians 15:33, comes from Menander's *Thais* and – like many other verses of the comic poet had long since become a detached saying."

²⁸⁵ Thistleton (2013) - pg. 1254 "Jerome seems first to have attributed the quotation to Menander's comedy but there is clear evidence that it had also become a popular maxim. Paul may well have heard it quoted more than once as a popular maxim, and we may infer neither knowledge nor ignorance of Greek literature on Paul's part from this quotation." Thistleton also translates ὁμιλῖαι κακαί as bad gangs. (Jerome, in fact, does not mention the source play and the evidence that the line had become a popular maxim is far from clear, given the surviving paucity of its quotations.)

²⁸⁶ Fitzmyer (2008) "Paul adds a popular proverb which was apparently first coined by Menander in *Thais* frg. 218 (LCL). In the proverb the noun ὁμιλῖαι is used in its basic meaning "associations, social groupings;" hence ὁμιλῖαι κακαί "bad associations. Paul adds this proverb, drawn from the Greek culture, in which Christians of Roman Corinth lived, in order to warn them to be careful about the influence of that culture on their mode of life, and especially about their thinking."

²⁸⁷ Collins (1999) :Paul adds a popular slogan that appears in Menander's comedy, *Thais*. This is the only quotation of a pagan author that appears in the authentic Pauline corpus. Menander (d. 292 B.C.E.) was a comic dramatist known for his bawdy portrayals of private life. It is likely that Paul quotes the slogan not as a literary quotation, but as a *bon mot* in popular currency.....Paul's version does not make use of the elision that the aphorism requires". In his description of Menander as bawdy, perhaps Collins was rather thinking of Aristophanes and his contemporaries.

²⁸⁸ Winter (2001) pp.98 – 100. It is unfortunate that Winter runs frgs. 163 and 165 together as if they were one fragment in his translation.

²⁸⁹ Winter (1997) pp. 237 – 241.

²⁹⁰ Malherbe (2014) "The beasts at Ephesus."

²⁹¹ Cover (2018).

²⁹² Cover (op. cit.) pg. 532.

he finds parallels in 1 Corinthians with passages in the *Samia*.²⁹³ Cover does not speculate on how Paul may have acquired a knowledge of Menander; whether he may have seen Menander in the theatre, or read him in the home. The evidence²⁹⁴ suggests Jews in the Diaspora may have been more likely to visit the theatre than those living in Judaea. Whether Paul, as the scion of a pious Jewish family,²⁹⁵ would have frequented the theatre, even in the Diaspora, must be open to speculation. Given the depth of knowledge of Menander by Paul that Cover seems to assume, it may be doubted that this would have been picked up in the theatre. Study would seem to be the only plausible option, though it is still an open question if Paul had read Menander, or to what extent he would have expected the recipients of the letter in Corinth to have shared his hypothetical knowledge of Menander.

The *apparatus criticus* of Kassel/Austin may indicate that the history of the line and its attestations is rather more complex than such as Winter and Cover might suggest, and that an understanding of the transmission of the line may throw more light on how Paul may have acquired his knowledge of the line. If the line is recognised as coming from a literary source, with a known author and work - such as the *Thais* of Menander - then it may well indicate a different *sitz-im-leben* for Paul's encounter with the line than if it is an *adespota*, that has drifted free from its source. To this end, it may be necessary to explore and eliminate different approaches, whether Paul had gained his knowledge of the line in a literary context, as a proverb, or in the context of his education.

²⁹³ Cover argues speculatively that the πορνεία of 1 Corinthians 5 and its unspeakability is paralleled in Demeas' speech – *Samia* 267 – 99.

²⁹⁴ See Lanfranchi (2006) especially pgs. 39 – 53 and Jeff (2017) also points out the ambivalent attitude to the theatre in ancient Jewish sources, and that Rabbinic condemnation may more be directed at mimes, gladiatorial contests, spectacles in the amphitheatre rather than the performance of tragedies and comedies.

²⁹⁵ Philippians 3:4 – 6.

The starting point for this exploration is the apparatus Euthalianus. Though modern editions of the NT are innocent of any part of the apparatus Euthalianus²⁹⁶, parts of the apparatus may be found in early editions, such as those of Erasmus (1516 CE) and the *Editio Regia* of Robertus Stephanus (1550 CE). The part of the apparatus that concerns this study is the list of the quotations from non-scriptural authors. These exist in two forms – a long and a short - and both contain the attribution to Menander. Willard notes that there are two different sorts of lists; one is a brief summary of quotations only by number, the other is a longer ordered list of the quotations quoted in full. Zacagni added an enumeration list which was his own invention – and this comes first in his edition.

The quotations from the Pauline epistles²⁹⁷ are as follows:

1 Corinthians 15:32 Long list: λακωνική παροιμία:

Short list Δημάδου²⁹⁸ λακωνική παροιμία:

1 Corinthians 15:33 Long list Μενάνδρου κωμωδιογράφου γνώμη:

Short list Μενάνδρου γνώμη:

Titus 1:12 Long list Ἐπιμενίδου Κρητὸς μάντεως χρησμός:

Short list Ἐπιμενίδου Κρητὸς, καὶ μάντεως χρησμός, καὶ Καλλιμάχου Κυρηναίου ποιητοῦ ἡ αὕτη:

These show no further advance on the information contained in the Fathers, and, indeed, are in all probability derived from it. The exceptions are in a scholion, recorded in a lost manuscript by Henricus Stephanus (Henri Éstienne) and three Syriac manuscripts mentioned above.

²⁹⁶ The *editio princeps* was that of Zacagni (1698).

²⁹⁷ Willard (op. cit.) pg. 31 and pg. 32.

²⁹⁸ See footnote 260.

The *Thais*²⁹⁹ seemingly has not benefitted from the papyrus discoveries that have greatly increased the knowledge of Menander's work. Compared with the greater number of fragments from the *Epitrepontes* or the *Samia*, it might suggest that the *Thais* was one of Menander's less popular plays. The surviving book fragments, including the line quoted by Paul (frgs. 163 - 168³⁰⁰), amount to just over seven complete trimeters and three references to phrases or words, used by other writers. The longest fragment is four lines from the prologue, quoted by Plutarch³⁰¹, the second longest just over two trimeters quoted by Aelius Dionysus³⁰² in his *Ἀττικά ὀνόματα*.³⁰³ The play, though mentioned by Athenaeus in the *Deipnosophistae*,³⁰⁴ is not quoted there. Martial entitles a two-line epigram, Μενάνδρου Θαῖς³⁰⁵, possibly for a presentation copy of the play,³⁰⁶ which may indicate that the play was still being read in Rome around 90 -100 CE. The fact, however, that none of the quotations occur in authors later than 200 CE may suggest that despite the play's seeming notoriety, it was a relatively early casualty of the loss of Menander.

It is not until 1550 that the line was given a literary context with a name supplied to the source play.³⁰⁷ There was, seemingly, one manuscript of the NT which contained further information and was used in the preparation of the 3rd edition of the NT by Robertus

²⁹⁹ Blanchard "Reconstructing Menander" (2014); he notes that 106 titles have come down to us of which eight are alternative titles.

³⁰⁰ Kassel/Austin *PCG* Vol. VI 2.

³⁰¹ *De aud. Poet.* 4 p. 19 A.

³⁰² A rhetorician of Hadrianic date.

³⁰³ Erbse (1950) - this work, *Ἀττικά ὀνόματα*, seems to have survived till the time of Photius, who valued its usefulness, and also quotes the same lines – drawn from Aelius Dionysus – alpha entry 95 line 11.

³⁰⁴ *Deipnosophistae* 13 21. 40.

³⁰⁵ XIV 187: Hac primum iuvenum lascivos amores;

Nec Glycera pueri, Thais amica fuit.

See on this Iversen (2011) pp.186-191.

³⁰⁶ Epigrams 183 – 196 are on literary works, including Vergil, Lucan, Tibullus and Catullus; Homer and Menander are the only Greek authors.

³⁰⁷ Though the Syriac manuscripts, which seem to attest to the *Thais* being the source of the line are earlier, 768 CE, 11th and 13th century CE, it is not until the 1752 edition of the NT by Wettstein, that the second, New College 333, is quoted in support of the attribution to the *Thais*.

Stephanus, the so-called *editio Regia*. Robertus employed his son, Henricus, who would have been in his late teens to collate fourteen manuscripts. Of the relevant quotations, the first three are given below:³⁰⁸

1550 Μενάδρου δε κωμικου ἐν Θαδίᾳ ια΄ (in the margin)³⁰⁹

1565 From Bezae's edition of the NT printed by Henricus Stephanus.

"Iambicus est senarius ex Menandri comoedia nomine Thadia, ut annotatum inveni in uno vetusto codice. Ubi tamen pro Θαδίᾳ legendum puto Θαῖδι, cuius nominis comoediam Menandri citat Athenaeus".

1569 From Henricus Stephanus' edition of the *Sententiae Comicarum Graecorum*:

"Affertur autem et a Paulo Apostolo epist.1 ad Corinthios, capite 15, ubi memini me in quorum collationem pater meus in consilium adhibuit quum Novum Testamentum excudere, legere haec verba margini adscripta Menandrou tou komikou gnome en Thadiai ubi tamen merito quis suspicietur scribendum potius Thaidi, ac certe, ut verum fatear, propemodum oculos fugiebant postremae huius vocis literae."

Though this, at first sight, seems convincing, these passages contain their own problems. The comment in the margin of the *editio Regia* seems to confirm the original reading as ἐν Θαδίᾳ. The knowledge of Menander would have been limited at this point in the early to mid-sixteenth century - the first edition of Menander's fragments was not published until 1553: *Ex comoediis Menandri quae supersunt*, edited by Guillaume Morel. Stephanus may well have used Athenaeus in the preparation of his *Sententiae* of 1569, and that seems confirmed by Bezae's 1565 preface, hence the emendation to Θαῖδι.

³⁰⁸ Also to be noted, Stephanus' *Thesaurus* of 1572, which adds a mysterious scholion on χρήστος/κούφος, and also notes that the reading ἐν θαδίᾳ was found in more than one copy; eorum enim nonnulla ascripta margini habebant haec verba, and also Bezae's 1588 edition of the NT.

³⁰⁹ This reading was unchanged in latter reprints during the 17th century, such as the copy in the library of Trinity College, Oxford (1601).

There are, however, inconsistencies in these accounts which may give grounds for caution. The 1569 passage (by implication) and the 1588 account (in uno vetusto codice) imply that there was only one manuscript whereas the *Thesaurus* of 1572 states that there were more than one. It is generally recognised that the apparatus Euthalianus³¹⁰ is the source of Stephanus' comments on the three passages, but the only passage that Stephanus quotes exactly from the apparatus is that on the hexameter in Titus 1:12. He prints the iambic trimeter with the elision - φθείρουσιν ἥθη χρήσθ' ὁμιλίας κακαί - ³¹¹ even though the evidence of the manuscripts (as far back as Sinaiticus and Vaticanus) and those of the Fathers gives the line without elision. Given that the line is printed without elision, in the 1546 *O mirificam*³¹² edition of the NT by his father, Robertus Stephanus, the presumption must be that this alteration was made at the instance of his son, Henricus, who knew that in classical Greek such an elision must be made. Sadly, this high-handed attitude is not untypical of Henricus Stephanus' methods and his later career affords further examples relevant to the assessment of the scholion ἐν θαδία.³¹³

Though Henricus Stephanus is one of the most important figures of French humanism in the 16th century, his work and life have received rather less attention than they deserve. In English, the standard work is still Mark Pattison's essay³¹⁴ which is a review of a study by Léon Feugère.³¹⁵ Stephanus junior was born into a family of printers, his grandfather (Henri) and father (Robert) were both printers,³¹⁶ as well as his step-grandfather, Simon de Colines.

³¹⁰ As, for example, in the apparatus criticus of Kassel/Austin PCG vol. 6 II. Wettstein in his edition of 1752/3 confirms this as he re-collated one of Stephanus' manuscripts.

³¹¹ This reading is still found today in editions of the *Textus Receptus*.

³¹² So called from the opening words of the preface.

³¹³ I adopt this form because of its occurrence in Stephanus τ' - see footnote 359 below.

³¹⁴ Pattison (1889).

³¹⁵ Feugère (1864).

³¹⁶ On Robertus Stephanus see Armstrong, (1989).

Pattinson notes³¹⁷ “Greek was not to him [Henri] a foreign tongue; he had appropriated it”. He often signed or designated himself Ἡρικός Στεφάνος as over the seventy-six Homeric hexameters that he composed for the preface of the *Editio Regia*.

In 1554 Stephanus published an edition of the *Anacreontea*; a collection of poems, inspired by the historical Anacreon, but dating from the late Hellenistic period onwards till the Byzantine. Stephanus was convinced that these were indeed the work of the historical Anacreon and suppressed the opening poem of the collection,³¹⁸ which makes explicit that the work is not that of Anacreon himself, but rather of an imitator. To excuse his reordering, Stephanus placed another poem³¹⁹ at the head of the collection. This Stephanus justified on the grounds that he had found another source - in altero exemplarium, nimirum in eo quod libro, id est cortice, scriptum reperi. West, in his edition of the *Anacreontea* dismisses this second source as a fiction; and in this he is supported by Considine:³²⁰ “The phrase *cortex arboris* need not puzzle us: Estienne must have meant papyrus. But there is no corroborating evidence for a second manuscript of the *Anacreontea*, whether written on papyrus or any other medium”. Stephanus allowed himself to be persuaded that he had a second source, permitting a publication of these poems as the genuine work of Anacreon,³²¹ but it was in fact fictitious.

³¹⁷ Pattison (op. cit.) pg. 112.

³¹⁸ Ἀνακρέων ἰδὼν με / ὁ Τήϊος μελωιδός / (ὄναρ λέγω) προσεῖπεν / κἀγὼ δραμῶν πρὸς αὐτόν / περιπλάκην φιλήσας.

³¹⁹ Poem 23 in West’s edition of the *Anacreontea* - Θέλω λέγειν Ἀτρείδας / Θέλω δὲ Κάδμον αἰδεῖν / Ἀβάρβιτος δὲ χορδαῖς / Ἔρωτα μοῦνον ἤχεῖ. In her book on the *Anacreontea* Rosenmeyer (1992) claims that the first edition of Stephanus *Anacreontea* begins with the second poem Δότε μοι λύρην Ὀμήρου / Φονίης ἄνευθε χορδῆς but all first editions that I have examined indicate that no 23 in West’s edition is the opening poem.

³²⁰ Considine (2008).

³²¹ Ronsard, *Odes* 5, 15, hailed Stephanus as the restorer of Anacreon: “Je vay boire à Henri Estienne, / Qui des enfers nous a rendu, / Du vieil Anacreon perdu, / La douce lyre teïenne. See O’Brien (1994).

But West, Considine and Rosenmeyer are not alone in suspecting Stephanus of a lack of veracity, or, at the best, exaggeration. Wettstein in the *Prolegomena*³²² to his edition of the NT writes that in the preface of the 1587 NT, Stephanus claimed to have seen thirty manuscripts, partly in the Royal library, and partly on his trip to Italy as a young man.³²³ Wettstein leaves it to the reader to draw their own conclusion, as to Stephanus' conduct.³²⁴ In the 19th century, a Scottish minister, Cotterill³²⁵ argued that Stephanus was careless in his *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* of 1572³²⁶ - noting that Stephanus omits words, does not give chapter and verse for references, and that the wording of the quotations is sometimes inaccurate.

To these we may add Stephanus himself. In 1569 he wrote: hoc scholium χρήστα ἀντὶ τοῦ κοῦφα ut dicat Menander corrumpi malis congressibus leves mores.³²⁷ This "scholion" seems entirely to have slipped from view.³²⁸ The only subsequent scholar who mentions it is Mill in his 1707 edition of the NT with reference to Theodoret:³²⁹ Χρηστά ἐνταῦθα τὰ κοῦφα ἐκάλεσε τὰ ῥαδίως ἐξαπατώμενα. This may well be the source of what Stephanus terms a scholion, but the independent existence of such a phrase (which has not otherwise been recorded as a NT scholion) must be highly implausible.

It is against this background that must be set the occurrence of ἐν θαδια in the manuscript that the Stephani, father and son, term as ια'. Its certain loss means that

³²² Wettstein (1752/3) pg. 143.

³²³ Wettstein (op. cit.) pg. 143 "plusquam triginta veteres scripturae libros vidi".

³²⁴ Wettstein (op. cit.) pg. 143 "Utrum igitur H Stephanus negligente an studiose in hoc negotio versatus est, Lectori dijudicandum relinquo".

³²⁵ Cotterill (1879) – though Cotterill's conclusion is fantastical and unbelievable, yet his criticisms of Stephanus have validity and point.

³²⁶ This was to remain a standard work till the 19th century.

³²⁷ This would seem to be confirmed in the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* where he writes - Item χρήστα ἀντὶ τοῦ κοῦφα

³²⁸ Unfortunately, little if any work has been done on NT scholia.

³²⁹ *Patrologia Graeca* 82 pg. 361 line 38.

verification of what Henricus Stephanus saw, is now impossible and that conjecture must fill the gap. From the readings ascribed to it in the *editio Regia*, α' would seem to be a late Byzantine manuscript of no particular merit that had already been used by Simon de Colines, in his edition of the NT in 1534.

Apart from the three Syriac manuscripts, the scholion that Stephanus recorded on 1 Corinthians 15:33 is the only one that seems to attest to the source of the iambic trimeter as from the *Thais*, and that by emendation. None of the Greek manuscripts used by Zacagni for the *editio princeps* of the apparatus Euthalianus, nor any collated since³³⁰, attest to this source, nor do the Gothic, Armenian and Syriac versions, with the exception of the manuscripts mentioned above.

The question inevitably then arises as to the provenance of this information. It seems that manuscripts of Menander were still being made and copied in the 4th and 5th centuries CE;³³¹ two pages survive of a 4th century codex, that was overwritten twice. Easterling³³² argues that the loss of Menander occurred during the 6th and 7th centuries, not helped by his failure to gain a place on the Byzantine school syllabus. Blanchard³³³ points out that the lack of survival also suggests that Menander was not included in the second campaign of transcription into miniscules in the 10th century CE. Given the paucity of fragments from the *Thais*, this play may have been lost even earlier.³³⁴ The source is unlikely to have been the play itself – possibly a florilegium - but certainty is now unattainable.

³³⁰ With two further exceptions, detailed below.

³³¹ Bathrellou (2014) "New Texts: Greek Comic papyri."

³³² Easterling (1995).

³³³ Blanchard (op. cit.) – he also suggests that Egypt, so favourable to Menander was now cut off from Constantinople by the Arab conquest and hence was not in a position to copy his comedies.

³³⁴ There seem to be no named surviving papyri from this play; it also does not feature in mosaic representations of Menander's plays.

The apparatus Euthalianus is usually dated to the middle or late 4th century CE; Zuntz³³⁵, seeking to argue that the apparatus might be attributed to Euzoius (a conclusion not widely accepted) argued more plausibly that the compiler might have had access to the library of Caesarea and drawn on works that he found there. At some stage, it must be presumed the reading ἐν θαδια was added to one exemplar of the apparatus Euthalianus to appear later in the manuscript that Stephanus examined. Though the apparatus Euthalianus is not often found in earlier manuscripts of the NT, unlike that of the Armenian, Syriac and Gothic versions, it does appear frequently in medieval manuscripts. The manuscripts that the Stephani used for the *Editio Regia* are of all relatively recent date, exceptions being Codex Bezae β' ³³⁶ (5th century) and Codex Regius η' (8th century).

All of these, because of their connection with the Stephanus *Editio Regia* and its importance in relation to the *Textus Receptus*, have been examined and re-collated; the reading ἐν θαδια has seemingly not been reported in any of them. This has been taken as proof that it was only attested in manuscript α'.³³⁷ It was on examining an online copy of minuscule 2298³³⁸ (Gr.102 Bibliothèque Nationale)³³⁹ (Robertus Stephanus ι') that I came across the following two readings:

ιδ' δημῶδη Λακωνικὰ παροιμία

ιε' Μενανδρου του κομικου³⁴⁰ γνῶμη ἐν θαδια³⁴¹

Both these readings are correctly numbered as they appear in the quotation lists for 1 Corinthians in the apparatus Euthalianus; ιδ' appears as in the short list; ιε' is closer in form

³³⁵ Zuntz (1953).

³³⁶ α' is the Complutensian Polyglot.

³³⁷ For example, Kassel/Austin in their edition of *PCG* Vol. VI 2 describe the manuscript as "deperditi".

³³⁸ A screen shot of the relevant page can be found at page 295.

³³⁹ Willard (op. cit.) gives only the Argumenta and the Chapter Lists for this manuscript (pg. 168).

³⁴⁰ This is how the word komikou is written in the manuscript.

³⁴¹ ἐν θαδια is the form given in ι' and will be the form used in this study.

to that of the short list where του κομικου(sic) does not appear. What was surprising, and unexpected, were the words ἐν θαδια. It has been the general assumption that this reading only occurred in the lost manuscript ια³⁴² and it has not, seemingly, been recorded in any other manuscript.³⁴³ Minuscule 2298 has been dated to the 12th century; unfortunately the loss of ια' means that it is impossible to assign it a date. Given the difficulty, if indeed feasibility or plausibility, of producing stemmata for NT manuscripts, it would be impossible to establish a relationship between these two manuscripts, whether one depended on the other. If one was copied from the other, then Stephanus' emendations, first ἐν Θαδίᾳ and then ἐν Θαῖδι, retain their plausibility. If the two manuscripts represent two independent traditions, the question has to be raised as to whether the likelihood of both making the same mistake is a possibility, or what originally under laid these readings, and how it could have become distorted. Certainty may well be impossible.

There is, however, another possibility. In the *editio Regia*, ι' and ια' are quoted as witnesses to the Spartan proverb - Λακωνικὰ παροιμία; ια' alone for ἐν θαδια. This is a likely proof that Henricus Stephanus collated both these readings. In the *Sententiae Comiorum Graecorum*³⁴⁴ Stephanus³⁴⁵ writes: ac certe, ut verum fatear, propemodum oculos fugiebant postremae huius. This cannot be said to apply to the entry ἐν θαδια in minuscule 2298; it is placed in the middle of the margin and the writing is clear and legible. There are further anomalies. The letters θ and α in particular are unlike those in the main text, the θ is written

³⁴² Elliott (op. cit.) notes this manuscript as lost and that the numbers assigned it are 8a 10p.

³⁴³ This may indeed highlight the fact that the NT has been isolated from other ancient texts; those studying the manuscripts for their importance for the text of the NT, might not see the relevance of this reading and classicists might either assume that NT manuscripts had nothing to offer them or else that those studying from a theological viewpoint would still record such readings.

³⁴⁴ Stephanus 1569 (op. cit.).

³⁴⁵ The full text can be found on pg. 71.

in lower case³⁴⁶ and there appears to be no iota subscript under the second alpha³⁴⁷. Though it is impossible to verify accurately in the online reproduction, the words ἐν θαδια seem to be darker, as if written in a different ink. It may be a possibility that these words were added as an *aide mémoire* by Stephanus himself. In the 16th century manuscripts were not treated with the respect accorded them today. Erasmus used a manuscript as his copy for the printer,³⁴⁸ and thus it should not come as a surprise, or an impossibility, that Stephanus entered these words, particularly as there seemed to be something similar in ια', which also contains the Spartan proverb.³⁴⁹ If this is plausible, it may indicate that ια' is still the sole source for ἐν θαδια.

In a recent article,³⁵⁰ John Cook drew attention to a reading, communicated to him by Dr. Jan Krans, found in a manuscript in the Vatican library. This manuscript 623³⁵¹ contains a reading - Μενανδροῦ τοῦ κωμικοῦ γνώμη ἐν Θαδιά. The manuscript was one of nine used by Zacagni for the *editio princeps* of the Euthalian apparatus, and was also collated by Wettstein, Scholz and Griesbach. It is surprising that Zacagni did not note this reading – I consulted the 1st edition of Zacagni's work in Christ Church library, where it is not present. Wettstein was also interested in 1 Cor. 15:33 – he was the first to note the Syriac version – and again it is surprising that he does not record this reading. But there are other anomalies. Krans also noted that the scholion on verse 32 – the quotation from Isaiah which in the Euthalian apparatus is termed a Spartan proverb - contained a reference to Isaiah, which otherwise is not found in connection with the Greek versions of the Euthalian apparatus.³⁵²

³⁴⁶ This would suggest that what Stephanus saw was not ἐν θαδια.

³⁴⁷ Unlike the entry in the *Editio regia* which runs ἐν Θαδιά.

³⁴⁸ This manuscript still survives – Basle AN iv. I – Reynolds and Wilson (2013) pg. 162.

³⁴⁹ Similar words occur in minuscule 5 Gr. 106 Stephanus δ' but with τοῦ κωμικοῦ omitted.

³⁵⁰ Cook (2020).

³⁵¹ Vat. gr. 1650, 1037 CE.

³⁵² It is in the Syriac versions that we find mention of Isaiah at the scholion on 1 Corinthians 15:32.

The scholion on 1 Cor. 15:33 in MS 623 does not match the versions in either the long or short versions of the Euthalian apparatus. It seems almost certain that this is an interpolation derived from the *editio Regia* – but by whom is impossible to say. The scholion apes the form in the *editio Regia* but the version $\Theta\alpha\iota\delta\acute{\iota}\alpha$ is seemingly unique – without the addition of the first iota it is the same as in Estienne’s ι' – both lack the final iota subscript. It leaves the interesting problem how a manuscript of 1037CE – MS 623 is dated – has the same form as the *Editio Regia*. One might well expect that such a reading might have left some other trace in the tradition.³⁵³ There are thus three manuscripts which appear to contain an attribution to the *Thais*; the lost $\iota\alpha'$, gr. 2298 (Estienne’s ι') and MS 623, all of which mirror the same form, one that differs from the long and short versions in the Euthalian apparatus. It is the loss of $\iota\alpha'$ that prevents a satisfactory solution to the problem, but the anomalies in gr. 2298 and MS 623 may rather more economically suggest that they are dependent³⁵⁴ on $\iota\alpha'$ as witnessed in the *editio Regia* and that $\iota\alpha'$ is indeed the only source.

This then poses a further problem. If manuscript $\iota\alpha'$ is the only witness to $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \theta\alpha\delta\iota\alpha$, its survival must be accounted for. Such unique testimonies are not unknown in the classical world. Classical scholars are familiar with scraps of learning to be found in scholia preserved through copies that may have been copied from very early exemplars, which have then vanished. A parallel might be found in the thirty-six verses of Juvenal’s Satire VI, which survive in an 11th century manuscript in Beneventan script (Canonici Class. Latin 41) – in the Bodleian Library, first discovered in 1899. Though the text is corrupt, the majority consensus is that the lines are to be treated as genuine.³⁵⁵

³⁵³ Also the scholion in gr. 2298 has $\kappa\omega\mu\iota\kappa\omicron\upsilon$ for $\kappa\omega\mu\iota\kappa\omicron\upsilon$ – this may well be a version by the scribe of $\kappa\omega\mu\omega\delta\omicron\gamma\rho\alpha\phi\omicron\upsilon$ in the Euthalian apparatus, but one not overtly familiar with the word – hence the alteration.

³⁵⁴ Possibly later interpolations?

³⁵⁵ Not all editors accept them as genuine – the Teubner edition of 1997 by J. Willis omits the lines as an interpolation. I am grateful to Peter Brown for this reference. See also Griffith (1963). Tarrant (1983) (p. 203)

If a Menandrian play title is concealed by ἐν θαδία, then it must, in all probability, have entered the apparatus Euthalianus before the loss of Menander, say no later than the 6th or 7th century. If Wettstein is right in his estimate of the worth of ια', and he collated four hundred of its readings from the *Editio Regia*, it seems to be a latish manuscript with a Byzantine text. The inference must be that the original manuscript must have been copied, probably more than once, but also that all intervening copies have disappeared or not been traced. Implausibility seems piled on implausibility. The reading - ἐν θαδία - seems to create more difficulties than it solves.

The fact that Stephanus only quotes ια' for the iambic trimeter, but both, ι' and ια', for the Spartan proverb, may indicate that he added ἐν θαδία to ι'. ια' was also used by Simon de Colines in his edition of 1534.³⁵⁶ Simon de Colines, having married Guyonne Viart, the widow of the elder Henricus Stephanus, was thus the step-grandfather of the younger Henricus. It is thus a distinct possibility that ια' remained in the Estienne family after de Colines' death, particularly if de Colines himself had used it as a working copy. If this is probable, it might well explain the predominant use of ια' by the younger Stephanus; it was convenient and accessible.

As Erasmus used a manuscript for his copy for the printer, so it may be a possibility that de Colines followed this precedent, and that his working copy was indeed Stephanus' ια'. De Colines' edition of 1534 has all the editorial material in Greek (and not the conventional Latin). In this edition, de Colines prefaced it with a barbarous form of Latinized Greek; ἐν Λευτετι των παρησιων παρα σιμωνι κολιναιω δεκεμβριου μηνος δευτερα φθινοντος ετει απο

argues that the excision or intrusion of the Oxford fragment must have taken place during the earliest stages of transmission before the relative stability of the text reached in the 4th century CE.

³⁵⁶ Wettstein *Prologomena* pg. 141.

της θεογονίας α φ λ δ³⁵⁷. It may be possible that he himself annotated the manuscript ια' (particularly if he used it as his copy for the printer) with the annotation Μενανδρου του κωμικου and added ἔνθαδε³⁵⁸ ('here') to indicate its position. If de Colines did write ἔνθαδε, it is perhaps significant that the version of the scholion, ἐν θαδία, found in ια' and ι' is closer to ἔνθαδε, than that found in Stephanus' later accounts.³⁵⁹ It may seem banal to attribute the reading ἐν θαδία to a confusion over ἔνθαδε but given the "heady" atmosphere over the use of Greek that de Colines shared with his contemporaries, it is feasible that de Colines liked to demonstrate his linguistic skills (albeit in a somewhat amateurish way). It is also probable that Stephanus did not detect an interpolation and assumed the reading in ια' was much older than it was in reality.

The loss of ια' is singularly unfortunate. It is no longer possible to confirm what Henricus Stephanus saw and collated, and, in view of Stephanus' edition of the *Anacreontea* and the phantom "liber corticeus" as well as the ghostly scholion on κουφα and the doubts of Wettstein, Cotterill, Pattison, Considine and West, his reliability and accuracy must be called into question. Certainty on what he saw and collated may no longer be determined with any degree of reliability, and if we relied solely on Stephanus, the attribution to the *Thais* must not only be called into question, but indeed rejected.³⁶⁰

³⁵⁷ Scrivener (1894) (op. cit.) Vol. II pg. 188.

³⁵⁸ If he did add ἔνθαδε to the scholion, he may well have squashed it into the margin, which would seem to support Stephanus' claim that it was difficult to read.

³⁵⁹ The reading ἐν θαδία in ι' (almost certainly) and Vatican 623 (probably) are interpolations, later than the date of the respective MSS.

³⁶⁰ Though the Syriac manuscripts seem to support the ascription to the *Thais*, they present their own problems. There are differences in the spelling of *Thais*, (private communication from Dr. Bradley Marsh and also Arzhanov (2017). In a period when interest in and quotation of Menander was fading fast, the likelihood of a Christian writer encountering the line in a hypothetical complete edition seems remote. Gnostic wisdom was ascribed to a "Menander" who had drifted free from the Athenian playwright – see Monaco (2012) on the *Sentences of the Syriac Menander*; perhaps a problem for Syriac scholars to resolve.

Euripides or Menander?

The other problem is authorship of the line, Euripides and/or Menander? The earliest witness to the line, papyrus Hibeh 1 7, would seem to favour Euripides. The lines from the *Electra* and the seemingly tragic context of the neighbouring verses in the papyrus would seem to point to Euripides, as does Clement in the *Stromateis*³⁶¹ and also Socrates Scholasticus.³⁶² The rest of the patristic witnesses, if they mention a source, name it as Menander. It is often asserted in this context that Menander borrows from Euripides; it is certainly true that Menander was indebted to his great predecessor, but in a rather more nuanced way than simple plagiarism. Direct quotation does not necessarily occur in every Menander play. The surviving portions of the *Georgos*, *Kitharistes*, *Koneiazomenai*, *Encheiridion*, *Leukadia*, *Synaristosai*, *Theophorumene*, *Perikeiromene*, *Phasma*, and *Dyskolos* seem to contain no direct Euripidean material. Quotation is often used for dramatic effect. This is seen clearly in the *Epitrepontes* and the *Aspis*. In the *Epitrepontes* Menander draws on two Euripidean plays: the *Alope*³⁶³ and the *Auge*.³⁶⁴ The *Alope* provides the inspiration for one of the great scenes of the *Epitrepontes* in which a grandfather unwittingly presides over an arbitration involving his grandson and two herdsmen, reflecting a scene in the *Alope* in which Kerkyon conducts a similar arbitration over his grandson. In the *Auge* it is the rape of the heroine at a festival and the discovery of the child's paternity through a ring that parallels the action of the *Epitrepontes*. Towards the climax of the play Onesimus³⁶⁵ quotes lines from the *Auge* directly: τραγικὴν ἐρῶ σοι ῥῆσιν ἐξ Αὔγης ὅλην/ ἂν μὴ αἴσθῃ, Σμικρίνη.³⁶⁶ Here

³⁶¹ *Stromateis* 1. 14 59 4.

³⁶² 3: 16 line 90 – δείκνυσιν μὴ ἀνήκοον τῶν Εὐριπίδου δραμάτων τυγχάνοντα.

³⁶³ See Wright (2019) pg. 153ff.

³⁶⁴ Wright (op.cit.) pg. 161ff.

³⁶⁵ So Sandbach (2008) – earlier editors assign the line to Sophrona.

³⁶⁶ lines 1125 – 6.

Menander explicitly states his source; elsewhere he does not need to be so explicit – in *Sikyonioi* a messenger's speech³⁶⁷ echoes one in Euripides' *Orestes*.³⁶⁸ Menander echoes or modifies phrases from the Euripidean scene but “he transforms and modifies the tragic situation by substituting something contemporary and bourgeois for the distanced path of the myth.”³⁶⁹

Given that Menander used Euripidean material, what are we to make of the line φθείρουσιν ἥθη χρηστὰ ὁμιλίας κακαί? As the context of the line is lost in Euripides and Menander, this is probably an unanswerable question. What does seem less likely is that Menander, given the nature of his borrowings outlined above, would have borrowed *tout court* such a gnomic line. He was the source of many lines such as ἀνερρίφθω κύβος³⁷⁰ or ὅν οἱ θεοὶ φιλοῦσιν, ἀποθνήσκει νέος,³⁷¹ – a plagiaristic approach seems unnecessary; where Menander does borrow from Euripides, it is rather for dramatic effect than simply the purloining of an effective line. Perhaps the strongest advocate for Euripidean authorship of the line is the Hibeh papyrus, written at a time when it is highly unlikely that individual Menandrian lines would have reached Egypt, as opposed to copies of the plays.

³⁶⁷ *Sikyonioi* lines 176ff.

³⁶⁸ *Orestes* 866ff. – compare *Sikyonioi* 176 – 177, 182, 188, 215 – *Orestes* 866 -7, 920, 871, 918.

³⁶⁹ Katsouris (1975) – see also now Cusset (2003).

³⁷⁰ frg. 59 from the *Ἀρρήφορος ἡ Αὐλήτρις* (Körte and Thierfelder (op. cit.).

³⁷¹ *Δίς ἐξαπατῶν* frg. 4 (Sandbach (op. cit.).

A line among the proverbs

Many of the writers on Paul have assumed the iambic trimeter in 1 Corinthians is a proverb. Such are Ruef,³⁷² Fror,³⁷³ F.F. Bruce,³⁷⁴ Fitzmyer,³⁷⁵ Collins,³⁷⁶ Keener,³⁷⁷ and Héring.³⁷⁸ They are certainly right to recognise the gnomic quality of the line; it is for this reason that more fragments have been preserved of Euripides and Menander than of Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Aristophanes. The former were greatly esteemed for their gnomic lines. It does not necessarily follow, however, that such gnomic lines gained the status of proverbs. There are two collections of proverbs of Hadrianic date,³⁷⁹ Diogenianus and Zenobius, part of the *Corpus paroimiographorum*. They are arranged alphabetically – the text of Diogenianus is less accurate in this respect and may reflect a more disturbed textual tradition. The two collections are discussed earlier in the study in the context of σκληρόν σοι πρὸς κέντρα λακτιζειν.³⁸⁰

What is noticeable about the collections of Zenobius and Diogenianus is that the proverbs gathered there are short and pithy; of the first two hundred proverbs in Zenobius, only forty-eight are longer than five words and in the corresponding first two hundred in

³⁷² Ruef (1977). “Paul quotes this proverb with evident approval.”

³⁷³ Fror (2009). “Here Paul uses a proverb current in his time – it comes from a play by the Greek poet Menander (341 – 290 BCE)”.

³⁷⁴ Bruce (1996). “The quotation is an iambic trimeter from Menander’s comedy *Thais*; it had probably become a proverbial saying and Paul need no more have been consciously quoting Menander than people today who quote Shakespeare or biblical tags are always aware of their sources.”

³⁷⁵ Fitzmyer (2008) “Paul adds a popular proverb which was apparently first coined by Menander in *Thais* frg. 218 (LCL)”.

³⁷⁶ Collins (1999) “Paul adds a popular slogan that appears in Menander’s comedy, *Thais*, frg. 187. This is the only quotation of a pagan author that appears in the authentic Pauline corpus. Menander (d. 292 B.C.E.) was a comic dramatist known for his bawdy portrayals of private life. It is likely that Paul quotes the slogan not as a literary quotation, but as a *bon mot* in popular currency”.

³⁷⁷ Keener (2005) pg. 129 “The metrical quotation in verse 33 was probably a popular proverb, earliest attested in Menander’s comedy *Thais* (who may have borrowed it from earlier usage, as some argue).”

³⁷⁸ Héring (1962) “The iambuses (sic – though the fault may be that of the translators) in 15:33 a proverb which is also found in Menander’s *Thais*”.

³⁷⁹ Leutsch and Schneidewin (1961) – also Lelli (2006).

³⁸⁰ pp. 52ff.

Diogenianus, the number falls to forty-three. The subject matter is diverse: gathered from mythology, the animal world, observation of humanity, and *mutatis mutandis* many of them have parallels in modern proverbs.³⁸¹ The shortness and the pithiness of the proverbs in these two collections (a suitability for easy memorisation) probably echo the fact that most of those who lived in the ancient world were illiterate. Harris³⁸² notes that even in the Roman Republic, by 100 BCE, probably only ten percent of the population were literate.³⁸³ He also observes “But some of the marks of an oral culture always remain visible, most notably a widespread reliance on and cultivation of the faculty of memory”.³⁸⁴ The collections of Zenobius and Diogenianus reflect, as closely as it is possible to obtain, the sort of proverb that would be used in the agora or the forum, though it is also noteworthy how rarely they occur in written literature, the literature of those who were able to read.³⁸⁵ The line quoted by Paul does not fit easily into this context. Perhaps the problem is exacerbated by the indeterminate use of proverb by modern commentators to describe different usages.³⁸⁶ The line does not conform to the overwhelming majority of the proverbs in Diogenianus’ and Zenobius’ collections; perhaps another *sitz-im-leben* is to be sought for it.

³⁸¹ Lelli (2008), pp. 125-141.

³⁸² Harris (1991).

³⁸³ Harris (op. cit.) pg. 329.

³⁸⁴ Harris (op. cit.) pg. 327.

³⁸⁵ It should also be noted that very few of the proverbs in Diogenianus and Zenobius are metrical; another indication that 1 Corinthians 15:33 was not popular or well known.

³⁸⁶ A possible parallel may be afforded by the line “A little learning is a dangerous thing”. Some will be aware that it is a gnomic line from Pope’s *Essay on criticism*, some will have heard others saying the words, often in the abbreviated form “a little learning” (or, occasionally, “knowledge”) without knowing the source of the lines. Perhaps there is a need to differentiate between a γνώμη, discerned as a literary text, and the same words which have passed into popular culture and have drifted free from their literary roots. Shakespeare may well afford other similar parallels.

In the school room.

There is one further source for this line among those mentioned by Winter,³⁸⁷ a source that has been occasionally mentioned but often overlooked by modern commentators. This is the *Sententiae Menandri*,³⁸⁸ a collection of monostichs attributed to Menander. In fact, the collection contains lines from a variety of authors, Euripides, Menander himself, Philemon and other New Comedy writers, and other tragedians such as Chaeremon³⁸⁹. These lines were often used as exemplars in schools for copying by pupils – alongside verses from Homer. Gnomologies first appear in the Hellenistic period.³⁹⁰ No school text gnomology exactly produces the content of any surviving collection, but as there were a plethora of gnomologies in circulation, it is difficult to draw a definitive conclusion from this.³⁹¹ Much, if not nearly all, of the surviving evidence comes from Egypt through the fortunate survival of papyri. It cannot be presumed that the same gnomologies were used over the Hellenistic world, even if the underlying principles of the *enkyklios paideia* were the same. What was used in Athens or Alexandria might not have been used in Tarsus, even if the educational principles were the same. Gnostic collections were copied and circulated throughout the Hellenistic world up to Byzantine times, and indeed a collection of monostichs (in Greek) was published in 1494, before the *editio princeps* of Sophocles and Euripides respectively.³⁹² The papyri from Egypt have provided over 250 gnostic texts as school exercises; of these the greater majority are by Menander or Menandrian in style and display the full range of handwriting styles and

³⁸⁷ Winter (2001) (op. cit.).

³⁸⁸ These exist in a variety of collections. The most convenient, though now not the best, is the edition by Jäkel (1964). Pernigotti (2008) (who keeps Jäkel's numbering) must be now the preferred edition of the *Sententiae*; the textual background to the various collections is more clearly given and he is a more lucid guide to the penumbral world of the *Sententiae*.

³⁸⁹ frg. 42 – see above.

³⁹⁰ Morgan (2007) (reprint) – especially chapter 4; Literature II: Maxims and morals. The following passage is greatly indebted to this account.

³⁹¹ Morgan (op. cit.) pg. 121.

³⁹² Morgan (op. cit.) pg. 122 – the publisher was Lascaris.

capabilities.³⁹³ They cover such topics as wealth, virtue, *logos* and speech, intellect, letters and education, women, family, friends, old age, the gods, *tyche*, and self-control.³⁹⁴ One such maxim (chosen because it echoes the sentiment of the trimeter quoted in 1 Corinthians 15:33) found on an Egyptian papyrus³⁹⁵ runs as follows: ἡθὴ πονηρία [τὴν φύσιν] δι[αστρέφ]ει (Fol. Vlb 164 – 5).³⁹⁶ Though it comes from the Christian epoch, it also illustrates the conservative nature of the educational material, and there can be little doubt that such *sententiae* were given to pupils to copy throughout the Hellenistic world for many centuries. If we can trust Luke that Paul was a native of Tarsus,³⁹⁷ and there is no obvious reason for Luke to invent this, then it almost certainly follows that Paul acquired his ability to write Greek in such a Hellenistic environment. If Paul went to a Greek speaking school to acquire the first elements of the *enkyklios paideia*, he would have been exposed to the copying of Greek texts, such as Homer and gnomic monostichs from a variety of sources, which may, in all probability, have included φθείρουσιν ἡθὴ χρηστὰ ὁμιλίας κακαί. It will have come to him with no literary background, simply as an improving γνώμη, one that he will have copied, certainly more than once, and as such may have lodged in his memory.³⁹⁸ It is also possible that the references to the Pauline trimeter by Diodorus Siculus, the *Letter of Aristeas*, and Plutarch³⁹⁹ may also indicate a line divorced from its literary hinterland, and as such, free to be re-imagined in the context of their writing, a line which they may equally have learnt at school.

³⁹³ Morgan (op. cit.) pg. 122.

³⁹⁴ Morgan (op. cit.) pg. 123.

³⁹⁵ Hagedorn and Weber (1968) – this comes from the monastery of Epiphanius, near Luxor, and may be dated late sixth or early seventh century.

³⁹⁶ ἡθὴ πονηρὰ τὴν φύσιν διαστρέφει – *Menandri Sententiae* 289.

³⁹⁷ Acts 21:39.

³⁹⁸ The fact that he does not quote other Greek authors may simply be accounted for by the vagaries of transmission, or more probably, that some such as Homer had no role to play in Paul's theological exposition.

³⁹⁹ See footnotes, 215, 216, 218, 219.

For Paul the line would probably, if not certainly, have had no literary significance, and it may have been the gnomic φαγώμεν καὶ πίωνμεν, ἄυριον γὰρ ἀποθνήσκομεν, with its implication of riotous living that served to bring the trimeter to his memory. Knox⁴⁰⁰ in a speculative article (on the basis of three papyri)⁴⁰¹ seeking to prove that Cercidas was the first anthologist,⁴⁰² was almost certainly wrong in the attribution of the line as occurring in an anthology by Cercidas.⁴⁰³ The only attested ancient source of the line, apart from Christian texts, is the *Sententiae Menandri* and it is in a selection from that anthology that Paul will have almost certainly encountered the line. It is a line that had become devoid of any literary content or background, and as such can give no indication of Paul's knowledge of ancient literature.

Further traces of the *Sententiae Menandri*?

It was during the task of noting authors who had, unwittingly, contributed to the *Sententiae Menandri* that I came across the following entry in Pernigotti's⁴⁰⁴ edition: "*Monostichos* 30 ἀνὴρ ἀτυχῶν σώζεται ὑπὸ τῆς ἐλπίδος: Men. frg. 859⁴⁰⁵ - cf. Romans 8:24 τῇ γὰρ ἐλπίδι ἐσώθημεν".

The line is printed in an unmetrical form and differs from that given in other editions where the line is given as ἄνθρωπος ἀτυχῶν σώζεθ' ὑπὸ τῆς ἐλπίδος. Elision, as we have seen, was infrequently observed from the first century onwards and the reading that Pernigotti

⁴⁰⁰ Knox (1923).

⁴⁰¹ Heidelberg 310, Lond. 155 verso and Bodl. Ms. Gr. Class f.1(P).

⁴⁰² (Op. cit. pg. 14.) "And it may have been from blurred and hazy reminiscence of his far off and forgotten training in the humanities in some small Jewish school beneath the heights of Tarsus, that Paul the self-styled apostle drew his quotation φθείρουσιν ἡθὴ χρησθ' ὁμιλίας (sic) κακάι. If so, it was assuredly in the collection of Cercidas, and not in the original play that the young scholar read and marked words, the truth of which, as all will agree, his subsequent career, at one time or another so strikingly illustrated."

⁴⁰³ This depends on his assumption that Gregory Nazianzen used such an anthology.

⁴⁰⁴ Pernigotti (2008).

⁴⁰⁵ Kassel-Austin PCG Vol VI 2.

printed, may reflect the tradition of the manuscripts he used. What surprised me was Pernigotti's comparison of the iambic trimeter to a verse from Romans: 8:24 - τῇ γὰρ ἐλπίδι ἐσώθημεν. Seemingly, he may well be the first to do so.

Wettstein's edition makes no indication of a parallel or allusion. Later Sanday and Headlam⁴⁰⁶ make no reference to any classical allusion; instead they discuss the views of earlier commentators on the grammar of the phrase.⁴⁰⁷ They note that most older commentators understand the dative as a dative of instrument, as well that most modern commentators⁴⁰⁸ take the words in the sense of a *dativus modi* – in hope were we saved. They also add that some German editors understand the phrase as a *dativus commodi* “for hope were we saved”, although this is an interpretation that they reject. Contemporary editions make no mention of any possible allusion to the *Sententiae Menandri*. The question inevitably arises – was Pernigotti simply being too optimistic in his assessment of the two passages?

What might give pause for thought is both the possibility, as I have argued above, that Paul was not unfamiliar with at least one monostichos from the *Sententiae Menandri* and might well have alluded to another *en passant* and also the frequency of quotation. The trimeter occurs only in Stobaeus Book 4 chapter 46 section 4 line 2 and in the *Sententiae Menandri*. The phrase ὑπὸ τῆς ἐλπίδος also occurs in Plutarch,⁴⁰⁹ and that is the sum total of quotations of the monostichos before the 5th century. This is a meagre total and suggests that the line was not well known, certainly at a literary level.⁴¹⁰

⁴⁰⁶ Sanday and Headlam (1902).

⁴⁰⁷ Sanday and Headlam (op. cit.) pg. 209.

⁴⁰⁸ that is around 1890 – 1900.

⁴⁰⁹ *Vita Antonii* 40. 5 2 - μαλασσόμενος ὑπὸ τῆς ἐλπίδος sc. Antony.

⁴¹⁰ Various permutations of ἐλπίδος/ἐλπίδι and σώζω in *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* suggest that there are no further quotations than those enumerated above.

The context in Romans is certainly striking: οὐ μόνον δέ, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτοὶ τὴν ἀπαρχὴν τοῦ πνεύματος ἔχοντες ἡμεῖς καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐν ἑαυτοῖς στενάζομεν υἱοθεσίαν ἀπεκδεχόμενοι, τὴν ἀπολύτρωσιν τοῦ σώματος ἡμῶν. τῇ γὰρ ἐλπίδι ἐσώθημεν. The words συστενάζει καὶ συνωδίνει, στενάζομεν, though set in a context of ultimate hope, reflect the sentiment of the monostichos. Those who are waiting for adoption and the redemption of the body, are yet those who are still suffering; like the ἀτυχῶν they will be saved by hope. It is obviously not a direct quotation; Paul's text is not metrical. But as a refashioning of a metrical thought in prose, parallels may be deduced from the reworkings that Diodorus Siculus⁴¹¹ and Plutarch⁴¹² made of φθείρουσιν ἥθη χρηστὰ ὁμιλίας κακαί. It is now impossible to guess the thought processes that may have recalled the line to Paul. Given the lack of quotation of the line before Stobaeus, and the striking nature of the line, it remains more than a possibility that Pernigotti is right in his supposition that Paul may have recalled the line in penning this passage.

The question then arises as to why Pernigotti may have been the first to suggest such a parallel? The answer is probably relatively simple; the *Sententiae Menandri* played a peripheral part in the history of classical studies, and it would have been relatively easy for such a monostichos to have slipped under the radar, as it were, of critical scholarship. Many modern commentators ignore the *Monostichoi* in discussing the Pauline quotation in 1 Corinthians,⁴¹³ preferring the proverbial option, or the possibility that Paul may have had some knowledge of the plays of Menander. It remains a fascinating possibility that such a

⁴¹¹ Diodorus Siculus XVI 54.4 and XII 12, 3 – the full text is quoted in footnote 370: it is clearer that the second example is a freer version of the line than the first.

⁴¹² Plutarch *De sera numinis vindicta*. 6 pg. 551 D. – full text quoted at footnote 371.

⁴¹³ 1 Corinthians 15:33.

striking phrase, in one of the great passages of Pauline theology, may have owed part of its genesis to a Menandrian monostichos.

This may well be strengthened by the possibility that, only a few verses further on,⁴¹⁴ there may be lurking yet another reminiscence of the *Sententiae Menandri*. Rance⁴¹⁵ noted a phrase which occurs in the *Strategicon* attributed to the Emperor Maurice:⁴¹⁶ μὴ εἰδότες χρήσασθαι τῷ καιρῷ, ἀκούειν φιλοῦντες νίκᾳ καὶ μὴ ὑπερνίκᾳ. The words, ἀκούειν φιλοῦντες, Rance argues, seems to point a proverbial source and he notes other parallels in later Byzantine literature.⁴¹⁷ The only parallel that Wettstein offers is from the Emperor Leo VI Sapiens⁴¹⁸, a testimony, at least, to the breadth of Wettstein's reading and scholarship. Subsequent commentaries seem to take little interest or note of the literary usage of the verb. Behind these examples, seems to lie a line from the *Sententiae Menandri*: καλὸν τὸ νικᾶν ἀλλ' ὑπερνικᾶν κακόν.⁴¹⁹ The source of this line, like the majority of the *Monostichoi*, cannot be determined with any degree of accuracy. ὑπερνικάω occurs rarely in earlier Greek literature⁴²⁰ and those usages are not without their own textual problems. The quotation of ὑπερνικάω in a *testimonium* of Empedocles - Tzetzes. *Exeg. Iliad*.⁴²¹ κατὰ γὰρ Ἐμπεδόκλεα τὸν φυσικὸν καὶ μετὰ τὸ γῆν φανῆναι καὶ θάλασσαν ἀτάκτως [καὶ] ἔτι τὰ στοιχεῖα κεκίνητο ποτὲ μὲν τοῦ πυρὸς ὑπερνικῶντος καὶ καταφλέγοντος may owe as much to Tzetzes⁴²² as to Empedocles himself. The occurrence of the word in Diodorus Siculus is taken from the

⁴¹⁴ Romans 8:37.

⁴¹⁵ Rance (2008).

⁴¹⁶ Pseudo-Maurice *Strategicon* vii. 12a 1 3

⁴¹⁷ Such as Michael Attaliates *Historia* Chapter 2 Bekker page 26-27 line 14

⁴¹⁸ *Tactica* 14; 21 4.

⁴¹⁹ *Monostichoi* 419 ed. Pernogotti (op. cit.).

⁴²⁰ only three examples, in Hippocrates, Empedocles and Diodorus Siculus.

⁴²¹ p. 42, 17 ed. Herm.

⁴²² ὑπερνικάω was, probably as a result of Paul's usage, very popular among Byzantine authors.

fragmentary Book IX⁴²³ and occurs in a passage from Tzetzes⁴²⁴ and again certainty is impossible whether the words come from Diodorus or Tzetzes. The final passage comes from Hippocrates: *de septimanis* (= *de hebdomadibus*).⁴²⁵ The text of this work only survives in a barbarous Latin translation, which at least permits the placing of the surviving Greek fragments, but may well call into doubt the use of the word in the original. If that be true, it is possible that the only usage of ὑπερνικάω before 300CE occurs in Paul and the *Sententiae Menandri*. The date of the trimeter's incorporation into the *Sententiae* cannot be accurately dated, a probable result of the nature of the *Sententiae*. Earlier editions up to that of Jäkel assumed that the *Sententiae* had been gathered together as a monolithic block, and that variations were to be ascribed to the textual tradition and accordingly relegated to the apparatus criticus. It is one of the merits of Pernigotti's edition, as Vayos Liapis⁴²⁶ points out, that he did not follow the tradition of assuming, as "earlier scholars, like August Meineke, Wilhelm Meyer, and Alfred Körte, thought that the ultimate source of all these redactions was a hypothetical *Ursammlung*, which was later broken up into the various surviving sub-collections."⁴²⁷ The tradition was much more fluid, and teachers, scribes, pupils would play their own part in making collections for their own use, and, given the undoubted use of the *Sententiae* in the educational process over so many centuries, they would have been certainly subject to what Lipsius terms *remaniement*.⁴²⁸

This inevitably means that what Paul might have encountered in his school at Tarsus, both depended on the whim of his teacher and would have differed from other schools

⁴²³ IX 15.

⁴²⁴ *Histories* 2 555- 559.

⁴²⁵ Roscher (1913).

⁴²⁶ Liapis (2007).

⁴²⁷ Liapis (op. cit.) pg. 261.

⁴²⁸ Liapis (op. cit.) pg. 262.

throughout the Romano-Hellenistic world. It is impossible to affirm categorically that Paul might have encountered σώζεται ὑπὸ τῆς ἐλπίδος and ὑπερνικάω in copying monostichoi, but it must remain a strong and distinct possibility.

In the case of ὑπερνικάω, this may suggest two possibilities: the first that Paul “invented” ὑπερνικάω. This might then entail a presupposition that the trimeter was composed after the letter to the Romans. This is inherently more improbable – the majority of the trimeters in the *Sententiae* seem to be drawn from Attic tragedy and comedy in the centuries before the Christian era. The other may be on the principle that “great minds think alike” and Paul⁴²⁹ and the anonymous author of καλὸν τὸ νικᾶν ἀλλ’ ὑπερνικᾶν κακόν in their different times, realised the same form of the verb. This indeed may be possible, but probably the simpler answer is the probability, though it cannot be proved certainly, that the trimeter was indeed incorporated in the *Sententiae* before the life of Paul, that he may have learnt it at school and reapplied it to underscore the message of this passage. If this is plausible, then the text of Romans supplies us with two reminiscences of Paul’s schooldays in relative proximity.

This is the history of a line of uncertain authorship, a line whose literary roots seems to have been lost. The ascription to the *Thais* is highly problematic, if not improbable, and awareness of the line does not guarantee a knowledge of Menander or its place in Paul’s writings. Though gnomic in nature, it does not seem to fit comfortably into the type of proverbs exemplified by the collections of Zenobius and Diogenianus, nor does it seem to have enjoyed the popularity that many commentators assume. In the matter of authorship, the evidence seems to point to Euripides as author. The context in the other main surviving

⁴²⁹ The three earlier usages, in Empedocles, Hippocrates and Diodorus Siculus, are very unlikely to have influenced Paul, assuming that they are indeed genuine.

source from antiquity, the *Sententiae Menandri*, points to a use in the *enkyklios paideia* in a school room in Tarsus where the youthful Paul encountered this text, and possibly two others from the *Sententiae*, as he learned his letters.

Chapter 4 - Part 2:

Acts 17:28

Of the three “certain” quotations from classical authors in the NT this half hexameter is the easiest to place. It is the opening of line 5 from Aratus’ *Phaenomena*⁴³⁰, a didactic poem, very influential and popular in antiquity.⁴³¹ Aratus was born in Soli,⁴³² not far from Tarsus,⁴³³ and the poet might have enjoyed a local celebrity which might well have been reflected in the use of his poetry in schools. It is thus a possibility that Paul might have encountered the *Phaenomena*, whole or (more likely) in extracts, in his earlier days. It is another probability that Luke might have used the quotation, knowing of its local connection with Paul. The first part of the poem is a versification and adaption of a similarly named work by Eudoxus of Cnidus, seemingly commissioned by Antigonos II Gonatas, and was written during Aratus’ stay at Antigonos’ court sometime after 276BCE. The poem seems to have been popular in antiquity. There are at least four Latin translations: Cicero,⁴³⁴ Ovid,⁴³⁵ Germanicus,⁴³⁶ and Avienus.⁴³⁷ Surprisingly it is two Christian authors, Theophilus⁴³⁸ and Clement,⁴³⁹ who are the first to quote the poem of Aratus’ poem in full. Morgan⁴⁴⁰ depicts Paul as wooing his

⁴³⁰ The work has sometimes been seen as two poems, *Φαινόμενα* (lines 1 – 757) and *Διοσημεῖα* (lines 758 – end). There is an old tradition that the break comes at line 732 and Kidd (1997) argues that this division goes back to the 2nd century BCE commentary by Boethus.

⁴³¹ There are three Latin translations - an incomplete one by Cicero (see further Gee (2001), a version traditionally ascribed to Germanicus Caesar, and a later version by Avienus. There are also two fragments of a translation by Ovid.

⁴³² Callimachus *Epigrammata* 27:

ὁκνέω μὴ τὸ μελιχρότατον
τῶν ἐπέων ὁ Σολεὺς ἀπεμάξατο· χαίρετε λεπταί
ῥήσιες, Ἀρήτου σύμβολον ἀγρυπνίης.

⁴³³ At least one ancient source, Asclepiades of Myrleia, claims Aratus was born in Tarsus; Jacoby *FGH* 697 frg. 11.

⁴³⁴ Cicero’s version survives incomplete.

⁴³⁵ Of Ovid’s version only two short fragments remain.

⁴³⁶ Germanicus’ version, complete with scholia, survives in its entirety.

⁴³⁷ Avienus’ version dates to the 4th century CE.

⁴³⁸ *Ad Autolycum* II 8 15.

⁴³⁹ *Stromateis* V 14 101 2.

⁴⁴⁰ Morgan a (2007).

Athenian audience with their shared knowledge of Aratus.⁴⁴¹ It is an intriguing picture but ignores the difficulty of knowing how accurately the author of Acts reflects the *ipsissima verba* of Paul, and fails to allow for the creative impulse of the author in constructing the speeches of Acts. It is unclear from the context in Acts⁴⁴² whether Paul is addressing the court of the Areopagus, or speaking in the area where the court met,⁴⁴³ and thus it may be difficult to guess the nature of Paul's hearers.⁴⁴⁴ But most problematic is the assumption that Paul, as a Christian, would offer for identification a passage that takes as axiomatic the presence of Zeus in all creation,⁴⁴⁵ and sees humankind as his descendants. This also ignores the fact that the proem is found in two different versions, one of which exhibits Jewish influence, as will be examined below.

The poem begins with an invocation to Zeus:

- 1 Ἐκ Διὸς ἀρχώμεσθα, τὸν οὐδέ ποτ' ἄνδρες ἑῷμεν
 ἄρρητον. μεστὰ δὲ Διὸς πᾶσαι μὲν ἀγυιαί,
 πᾶσαι δ' ἀνθρώπων ἀγοραί, μεστή δὲ θάλασσα
 καὶ λιμένες, πάντα δὲ Διὸς κεχρήμεθα πάντες.
- 5 Τοῦ γὰρ καὶ γένος εἰμέν' ὃ δ' ἥπιος ἀνθρώποισιν.....

⁴⁴¹ Morgan (op. cit.) pg. 86 – 'On other occasions, a *gnome* is introduced but the audience is left to supply the author. So Paul of Tarsus, in The Acts of the Apostles, woos the Athenians with their shared knowledge of Aratus: 'From one man, [God] made every race of men to inhabit the whole face of the earth, and he set out when and where they would live, so that they would seek God and perhaps grope for him and find him – though he is not far from any of us. For "in him we live and move and exist"; as some of your poets have said, "for we are also his offspring"' – though would not the Athenians if they had recognised the quotation have assumed that Paul was referring to Zeus?

⁴⁴² Acts 17:19ff.

⁴⁴³ The court may not have always met on the hill of Ares – [Demosthenes] *Against Aristogeiton* (25.23) implies that the court may have convened on occasion in the Stoa Basileus. It is equally possible that Luke may have placed Paul's speech there as he knew of it as the most famous court in Athens.

⁴⁴⁴ Some have seen in the opening words of the speech ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι an allusion to Athenian orators, principally Demosthenes, but the overwhelming usage in the Demosthenic corpus – of 765 usages, about 30 omit the *omega* – is ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, and the absence of the *omega* probably negates any allusion.

⁴⁴⁵ The proem is sometimes described as pantheistic, but this may be an anachronism both of the period when Aratus composed his work and in the 1st century CE.

Some have detected a similarity to the opening of the *Hymn to Zeus*⁴⁴⁶ by Cleanthes, a contemporary of Aratus, especially in the words italicised:

Κύδιστ' ἀθανάτων, πολυώνυμε παγκρατὲς αἰεὶ,
Ζεῦ φύσεως ἀρχηγέ, νόμου μετὰ πάντα κυβερνῶν,
χαῖρε· σὲ γὰρ καὶ πᾶσι θέμις θνητοῖσι προσαιδᾶν.
Ἐκ σοῦ γὰρ γενόμεσθα⁴⁴⁷, θεοῦ μίμημα λαχόντες
μοῦνοι, ὅσα ζῶει τε καὶ ἔρπει θνήτ' ἐπὶ γαῖαν·

Kidd⁴⁴⁸ in his edition of the *Phaenomena* argues that, though the language and metre of the proem owe a debt to Hesiod, especially in the *Theogony*, the thought reflects that of the Old Stoa. He also sees parallels in the Hymn to Zeus by Cleanthes. Kidd⁴⁴⁹ also notes that the traditional sky-god Zeus is now presented as the life-giving force that pervades the whole cosmos (*Phaenomena* 2 – 5; *Hymn to Zeus* 1 – 2, 4 – 5, 11- 13) and since we are part of the cosmos and derive life from that force, we can still describe Zeus as the father of men (5, 15 – *Hymn to Zeus* 34).⁴⁵⁰ As Luke⁴⁵¹ writes ὡς καὶ τινες τῶν καθ' ὑμᾶς ποιητῶν εἰρήκασιν, some have argued that the plural may indicate more than one poet and have thereby assumed that he was also referring to Cleanthes in the light of the parallels quoted above. Dibelius has

⁴⁴⁶ Preserved by Stobaeus I chapter 1 12 2.

⁴⁴⁷ Unfortunately, the text is corrupt. Stobaeus gives ἐκ σοῦ γὰρ γένος ἐσμέν, † ἤχου μίμημα λαχόντες. The reading γενόμεσθα was proposed by Meineke in his edition of Stobaeus and adopted by Powell (1925). γένος ἐσμέν may have crept into Cleanthes' text because of confusion with Aratus' line. Curiously Stobaeus gives a version which owes more to quotation in Christian texts – would not Cleanthes have, like Aratus, used the epic εἰμέν? For a discussion of the various readings see Watanabe (1988) and Thom (2005).

⁴⁴⁸ Kidd (1997).

⁴⁴⁹ Kidd (op. cit.) pg. 10.

⁴⁵⁰ Some commentators have seen traces of Stoic thought in the Areopagus speech.

⁴⁵¹ Acts 17:28.

shown⁴⁵² that this use of the plural is a literary convention, and despite the plural, only one poet may be inferred.⁴⁵³

It cannot be assumed that Luke had read Aratus' poem at first hand. There are two possible indications in the text which may indicate that this is unlikely. The first sign is that Luke uses the Attic form ἔσμεν for the Ionic and epic form εἰμέν that Aratus employs. It is possible that Luke, if quoting from memory, may have simply used the form of the verb εἶμι with which he was most familiar, or else used a version of the text that had earlier made the same change. The second sign is that, as the text stands in Aratus, τοῦ γὰρ καὶ γένος εἰμέν⁴⁵⁴ must mean that human beings are of the race of Zeus. It may seem odd that Luke would cite part of a text with this implication, in a Christian apologetic speech, and an implication that would be understood by such of his readers that were familiar with the original. Further, if Luke had come across this text in an anthology or florilegium, it is highly implausible that the quoted fragment would have stood alone; it must have been set in the context of the opening lines of the poem.

There remains the possibility that Luke may have come across the line in another context and this has been supplied by Mark Edwards.⁴⁵⁵ He noted that a fragment of Aristobulus⁴⁵⁶ quoted these lines, but with significant alterations (underlined). Eusebius⁴⁵⁷ quotes the passage:

⁴⁵² Dibelius (1973) – pg. 50 note 56 - also Fitzmyer (1998) on this verse, citing several parallels.

⁴⁵³ Cleanthes, though born at Assos in the Troad (Diogenes Laertius VII 168 – 176) lived most of his life in Athens, and thus might qualify for inclusion as an Athenian poet. The poem only survives through Stobaeus' *Anthologion*; it does not seem to have been otherwise quoted in antiquity. How it might have come to the attention of the author of Acts is difficult to assess, but given that knowledge of the *Phaenomena* hemistich may have come through a secondary source, it seems improbable that such a comparatively esoteric poem was known to Luke, and that Dibelius is probably right to assume that only one poet is referred to.

⁴⁵⁴ *Phaenomena* line 5.

⁴⁵⁵ Edwards (1992).

⁴⁵⁶ Denis (1970).

⁴⁵⁷ *Praeparatio Evangelica* XIII chapter 11 3. 5.

καὶ Ἄρατος δὲ περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν φησιν οὕτως·

Ἐκ θεοῦ ἀρχώμεσθα, τὸν οὐδέποτ' ἄνδρες ἐῷσιν

ἄρρητον· μεστὰ δὲ θεοῦ πᾶσαι μὲν ἀγυιαί,

πᾶσαι δ' ἀνθρώπων ἀγοραί, μεστὴ δὲ θάλασσα

καὶ λιμένες, πάντα δὲ θεοῦ κεκρήμεθα πάντες.

τοῦ γὰρ καὶ γένος ἐσμέν· ὁ δ' ἥπιος ἀνθρώποισι

δεξιὰ σημαίνει.....

σαφῶς οἶομαι δεδεῖχθαι διότι διὰ πάντων ἐστὶν ἡ δύναμις τοῦ θεοῦ.⁴⁵⁸

Aristobulus⁴⁵⁹ was one of the earlier philosophers who sought to make a rapprochement between Greek and Hebraic thought, exemplifying the dictum of Numenius of Apamea - Τί γάρ ἐστι Πλάτων ἢ Μωσῆς ἀπτικίζων.⁴⁶⁰ Aristobulus is generally thought to have lived during the reign of Ptolemy Philometor (circa 180 – 120BCE). In the *Phaenomena* passage Aristobulus substituted the name of God (θέος) for that of Zeus (Ζεὺς or Δίος) when metre permitted. If this was Luke's source, it makes much more sense. The τοῦ γὰρ καὶ γένος now refers to the Jewish God rather than Zeus, and that we are the children of God - κατ'εἰκόνα ἡμετέραν καὶ καθ' ὁμοίωσιν.⁴⁶¹ Aristobulus also seems to anticipate Luke in using the Attic form ἐσμέν for εἰμέν. (It may well be, however, that it was Eusebius, in citing Aristobulus, who made the change from his source.) All the Fathers from Theophilus onwards quote the line as τοῦ γὰρ καὶ γένος ἐσμέν. This may indicate that none of them had read the line in Aratus and simply copied each other, or else that the growing sense of the authority

⁴⁵⁸ Frg. 2 pg. 223 apud Denis (1970)

⁴⁵⁹ On Aristobulus, see Gruen (1997) - pgs. 86 - 87. Gruen notes Aristobulus's connection with "the inventiveness and the imaginative reconstructions that amalgamate Jewish pronouncements with Greek philosophy and poetry." (pg. 87).

⁴⁶⁰ Numenius - Section 1 fragment 8 line 14; des Places (1974).

⁴⁶¹ Genesis 1:26 – (LXX).

and inspiration of biblical texts meant that Luke trumped Aratus, and the Lucan form became the norm). There is no way of knowing how much of the context of Aristobulus' quotation of this passage Luke was aware of. It is even a possibility that he may have assumed that Aristobulus' version went back to Aratus himself, if he encountered the passage taken from its prose context.

There may be one more, and admittedly more tenuous, link with this passage. Just before citing the lines from Aratus, Aristobulus writes: ἔτι δὲ καὶ Ὀρφεὺς ἐν ποιήμασι τῶν κατὰ τὸν Ἱερὸν Λόγον αὐτῷ λεγομένων οὕτως ἐκτίθεται περὶ τοῦ διακρατεῖσθαι θείᾳ δυνάμει τὰ πάντα καὶ γενητὰ ὑπάρχειν καὶ ἐπὶ πάντων εἶναι τὸν θεόν. The sentiment is not dissimilar to Acts 17:25b and, just before citing the lines from Aratus, Aristobulus uses the verb ὑπάρχει which appears in participle form in Acts 17:27. This occurs before the well-known verse ἐν αὐτῷ γὰρ ζῶμεν καὶ κινούμεθα καὶ ἐσμέν.⁴⁶² Some have sought to see this a reference to a hypothetical *Minos* by Eumenides⁴⁶³, though such a belief needs to recast the line in metrical form as the Lucan version is in prose. Perhaps, more plausibly, is the possibility, as some have observed, that it may be the Aratus' passage itself that lies behind this verse and that the fact that the words quoted from Aristobulus have some vague resemblances to the Lucan text, might indicate that it was in Luke's mind as he wrote. A key word in the opening of the *Phaenomena* is μεστός; it is used twice in lines 2 – 4, climaxing in πάντη δὲ Δίος (or θεοῦ in the version of Aristobulus) κεχρήμεθα πάντες. The streets (or the cities), the assemblies/market places, the sea, the harbours are full of Zeus/God. Could this sense of the fullness, the presence of God – the God of whom Aratus says πάντη δὲ Δίος (or θεοῦ) κεχρήμεθα πάντες - lie behind the Lucan ἐν αὐτῷ γὰρ ζῶμεν καὶ κινούμεθα καὶ

⁴⁶² Acts 17:28a.

⁴⁶³ This will be treated in greater depth in the discussion on Titus 1:12.

ἐσμέν? In a sense Luke turns the Aratus passage upside down. The God who is present in creation and in human beings, this is the God in whom we live, we move and are.⁴⁶⁴ (The traditional English rendering of this line "in whom we live, and move, and have our being"⁴⁶⁵ lends the line a poetic beauty, that is belied by the more prosaic original above.) Though Luke does not depict Paul as a writer of letters, we cannot necessarily assume that he was unfamiliar with aspects of Paul's thought. The Pauline ἐν Χριστῷ⁴⁶⁶ may indeed have been known to Luke. Equally the Iohannine "in-dwelling"⁴⁶⁷ may reflect a belief that was in the air and such ideas might have helped Luke to form this line, a melding of Aratus' thought 'μεστὸς' and Christian ideas. And if this has plausibility, it presupposes that Luke was familiar with the lines of Aratus as transmitted and used by Aristobulus. Aristobulus has "judiacised" Aratus' thought and Luke takes it from Aristobulus and "christianises" it.

Titus 1:12

Of the three scraps of classical literature in the NT, this is perhaps the most "esoteric".⁴⁶⁸ Unlike Euripides/Menander or Aratus, this line is ascribed to an author who may legitimately be described as more "recherché" – Epimenides. The quotation in Titus is the only complete occurrence of the line before the writings of Athenagoras⁴⁶⁹ and Clement of Alexandria.⁴⁷⁰ The latter, who (unlike the author of Titus or Athenagoras) gives the name of

⁴⁶⁴ In the context of this whole passage, psalm 113:9 – 26 (psalm 115 Massoretic text) may be noted. There are verses on the futility of idols (113:12 – 16), the presence of God's activity in heaven and earth (113:11) and a verbal similarity ψηλαφάω. This verb and its cognates are not particularly common, but it does occur sixteen times in the LXX and also at Luke 24:39. It is a possibility that the psalm stands as a precursor of this passage combined with the ideas from Aratus' poem.

⁴⁶⁵ The AV, RSV, NRSV and NIV among the most familiar.

⁴⁶⁶ Romans 3:24 *et passim*.

⁴⁶⁷ For example, John 14:20 γνώσεσθε ὑμεῖς ὅτι ἐγὼ ἐν τῷ πατρὶ καὶ ὑμεῖς ἐν ἐμοὶ καὶ ἐν ὑμῖν.

⁴⁶⁸ Also, unusually in NA28, the source of the hexameter - Epimenides – is absent from the margin of the main text (pg. 651) and the "*Loci citati vel allegati – B. e scriptoribus Graecis*" (pg. 878).

⁴⁶⁹ *Legatio* Chapter 30 section 3 line 1.

⁴⁷⁰ *Stromateis* 1 14 59 3.

the source, Epimenides. There is, however, one occurrence of part of the line before either author in a poem by Callimachus.⁴⁷¹

Ζεῦ, σὲ μὲν Ἰδαίοισιν ἐν οὔρεσσι φασὶ γενέσθαι,

Ζεῦ, σὲ δ' ἐν Ἀρκαδίῃ· πότεροι, πάτερ, ἐψεύσαντο;

‘Κρῆτες ἀεὶ ψεῦσται’· καὶ γὰρ τάφον, ὧ ἄνα, σεῖο

Κρῆτες ἐτεκτῆναντο· σὺ δ' οὐ θάνες, ἐσσι γὰρ αἰεὶ.

This shows that the line was at least known, and it also demonstrates, as if there was any need, the vagaries of the transmission of classical texts and the immensity of the loss, that no earlier quotation of the line survives. Epimenides is one of those figures who hover between myth and historicity. It may be no coincidence that the fragments assigned to Epimenides by Diels and Kranz⁴⁷² come after such mythical figures as Orpheus, Linus and Musaeus. Diogenes Laertius' life⁴⁷³ reflects the mixture of myth and history that is the story of Epimenides. A mythical story of Epimenides, falling asleep in a cave for fifty-seven years is linked to another, seemingly historical story, a visit to Athens to stay a plague and to purify the city, dated to the 46th Olympiad.⁴⁷⁴ This story is related in different forms by Aristotle⁴⁷⁵ who dates the purification about 600 BCE and Plato⁴⁷⁶ to 10 years before the Persian wars, that is 500 BCE. The Aristotelian date is more in accord with the traditions preserved by Diogenes Laertius than the Platonic.

Epimenides was also celebrated as a poet. Diogenes Laertius names a *Κουρήτων καὶ Κορυβάντων γένεσις*, and a *Θεογονία* (5,000 lines *in toto*). In addition an *Ἀργοῦς ναυπηγία*

⁴⁷¹ *Hymnus in Iovem* lines 6 – 9.

⁴⁷² Jacoby included Epimenides in *FGH* 457 – eleven testimonia and twenty fragments.

⁴⁷³ I chapter 10 109ff.

⁴⁷⁴ 595 – 592 BCE.

⁴⁷⁵ Aristotle *Ath. Pol.* 4 1.

⁴⁷⁶ Plato *Laws* I 642 D.

and *Ἰάσονος εἰς Κόλχους ἄποπλους* (in 6,500 lines) were to be attributed to him. He is also credited with works καταλογάδην⁴⁷⁷ *On Sacrifices and the Cretan Constitution* and *Περὶ Μίνω καὶ Ραδαμάνθυος* which run to ἔπη⁴⁷⁸ τετρακισχίλια. In addition, Jerome attributes to him a work on *Oracles*⁴⁷⁹. He also argues that the writer of Titus (i.e. “Paul”) calls Epimenides a prophet because the false Christians on Crete deserve such a prophet, or else that “Paul” had indeed consulted the book and discovered that there were oracles which foretold the future, hence the book is entitled “*Oracles*”. It was for this reason that “Paul” examined the book to see what the wisdom and divination of the pagans promised, and thereby used this verse to annihilate the false teachers of the Cretans with the words of one of their own. It is highly improbable that the author of Titus was conversant with the book of *Oracles*. This is almost certainly an inference of Jerome (or Origen, his source⁴⁸⁰). Diels/Kranz give *Χρήσμοι* as an alternative title for *Θεογονία*. This must be assumed to be an inference from Jerome’s commentary on Titus, as no Greek author seems to name such a work as by Epimenides. *Χρήσμοι* may well be a generic title for such collections – it is used in this sense by Philo, Plutarch and Clement of Alexandria among others. Clement, when he mentions Epimenides, writes: οἱ δὲ Ἐπιμενίδην τὸν Κρητᾶ· ([ὄν Ἑλληνικὸν οἶδε προφήτην,]⁴⁸¹) οὗ μέμνηται ὁ ἀπόστολος Παῦλος ἐν τῇ πρὸς Τίτον ἐπιστολῇ, λέγων οὕτως· “εἶπέν τις ἐξ αὐτῶν ἴδιος προφήτης οὕτως· Κρητὲς αἰὶ ψεῦσται, κακὰ θηρία, γαστέρες ἀργαί· καὶ ἡ μαρτυρία αὕτη ἐστὶν ἀληθής.” ὁρᾷς ὅπως καὶ τοῖς Ἑλλήνων προφήταις δίδωσὶ τι τῆς ἀληθείας καὶ οὐκ

⁴⁷⁷ In prose.

⁴⁷⁸ ἔπη as lines of a work can be paralleled in Isocrates 12. 36 and Lucian *Hist. Consacr.* 28.

⁴⁷⁹ Jerome *Commentariorum in epistolam ad Titum* PL 26 706: Dicitur autem iste versiculus in Epimenidis Cretensis poeta oraculis reperiri.....Denique ipse liber, *Oraculorum*, titulo prae-notatur.

⁴⁸⁰ The fact that Jerome refers to other translations of Aratus, those by Cicero, Germanicus Caesar and Avienus, may suggest that some of this passage does not entirely derive from Origen. With the exception of the *Contra Celsum*, Origen rarely, if ever, mentions Greek authors. It is thus very unlikely that such information on Aratus’ Roman translators derives from Origen.

⁴⁸¹ Deleted by Wilamovitz.

ἐπαισχύνεται πρὸς τε οἰκοδομὴν καὶ πρὸς ἐντροπὴν διαλεγόμενός τινων Ἑλληνικοῖς συγγραῖσθαι ποιήμασι.” It is perhaps curious that Clement, in giving a positive assessment of the Epimenidean hexameter, does not mention its source – from a hypothetical *Χρήσμοι*.

In a series of articles for the *Expositor* in 1906⁴⁸², 1907⁴⁸³ and 1912⁴⁸⁴, Rendel Harris sought to add another verse to the fragments of Epimenides, a metrical form of Acts 17:28 - ἐν αὐτῷ γὰρ ζῶμεν καὶ κινούμεθα καὶ ἐσμέν. In the first article he quotes passages from the *Gannat Busamé* or *Garden of Delights*, a collection of Syriac passages on the NT, which he finds at an extended length in a commentary on Acts by Iso’dad of Merv, mentioned in the third article. Harris also refers to a poem on Minos (and Rhadamanthus), of 1,000 lines, mentioned by Diogenes Laertius.⁴⁸⁵ This must be an error or confusion of memory on his part, as this work, as quoted by Diogenes, is in prose⁴⁸⁶ and has no individual assessment of its length⁴⁸⁷. No such poem exists, and if Harris thought he had found evidence in the Syriac texts, he does not make this clear, and the evidence of Diogenes Laertius would seem to nullify such a claim. Harris’ arguments, which have a period flavour of *The Golden Bough*, have been generally rejected by editors and scholars. The confusion seems to derive from the third homily of John Chrysostom on the letter to Titus⁴⁸⁸. The text in *PL* 57 676 runs after verse 28a Ἐπιμενίδης οὗν ἐστὶν ὁ εἰρηκῶς, Κρής καὶ αὐτὸς ὢν, and this is the text translated by Schaff.⁴⁸⁹ It is the version of the text used by Rothschild⁴⁹⁰ in her ingenious, but ultimately futile,

⁴⁸² Harris (October 1906).

⁴⁸³ Harris (April 1907).

⁴⁸⁴ Harris (October 1912).

⁴⁸⁵ Diogenes Laertius I chapter 10 section 112.

⁴⁸⁶ A search of *TLG* reveals no other mention of this work in ancient authors.

⁴⁸⁷ The edition by Marcovich (1999) gives no indication in the apparatus criticus that there was any textual variation. The edition by Long (1964) is also in agreement. The most recent edition by Dorandi (2013) gives the same text with no hint of variation in the apparatus criticus.

⁴⁸⁸ *ad Titum* 3. 677.34-41.

⁴⁸⁹ Nicene and post Nicene Fathers.

⁴⁹⁰ Rothschild (2014).

attempt to show that Paul is an Epimenides “redivivus”. She writes “For Luke, both Paul and Epimenides are strangers from afar summoned to Athens to fix a mistake; both announce that the tomb of their god is a lie; and both transfer eastern cult traditions to Greece through Athens. By associating Paul with such a religious expert and miracle worker – a figure of higher-than-human status, Luke conformed his ἐκφρασις of Paul to a scheme that validated and gave authority to new cults in antiquity: “the cult founded by a heroic figure from a time when gods walked with men”.⁴⁹¹ This is simply too optimistic. It presupposes a knowledge of Epimenides that Luke, or his first audience, was unlikely to hold. Of 1st century and early 2nd century CE authors, only Diodorus Siculus,⁴⁹¹ Strabo⁴⁹² and Plutarch (ten times) mention him. But a more serious and critical, indeed fatal, objection is the lack of textual evidence. Field, in his 19th century edition of the homilies of Chrysostom,⁴⁹³ prints the relevant passage as: καὶ τίς καὶ πόθεν ἐστὶν ὁ εἰρηκῶς, ἀναγκαῖον εἰπεῖν πρὸς ὑμᾶς. ἔχει δὲ οὕτως ἡ ὑπόθεσις, while noting in the apparatus criticus, the variant reading that Migne supplied. It was left to Goodall⁴⁹⁴ to throw light on, and solve, the conundrum⁴⁹⁵. He observed that Chrysostom often preached extempore and his words were recorded by scribes. He notes that tradition unanimously states that Chrysostom spoke extemporaneously and that many of his sermons were recorded by stenographers. Gregory of Nazianus refers to this at *Orat.* 42 26⁴⁹⁶ – χαίρετε, τῶν ἐμῶν λόγων ἐρασταί, καὶ δρόμοι, καὶ συνδρόμοι, καὶ γραφίδες φανεραὶ καὶ λανθάνουσαι.⁴⁹⁷ Chrysostom may have published his homilies in their draft form or else texts

⁴⁹¹ Diodorus Siculus V 80 4 6 - Ἐπιμενίδη τῷ θεολόγῳ.

⁴⁹² Strabo: X 4 14 8.

⁴⁹³ *Sancti ... Joannis Chrysostomi ... interpretatio omnium epistolarum Paulinarum per homilias facta* published between 1849 and 1862.

⁴⁹⁴ Goodall (1979).

⁴⁹⁵ It is only fair to record that Pohlenz (1949) (pp. 101ff) envisaged the possibility that Chrysostom was speaking *ex tempore* and in the heat of the moment may have named the wrong poet.

⁴⁹⁶ PG 36 492A – see also Socrates in his *Historia Ecclesiastica* 6. 4 = PG 67.672B-C.

⁴⁹⁷ Goodall (op. cit.) pg. 64.

circulated, taken from the scribes' dictation, without his permission. Goodall identified three families of manuscripts of the *Homilies on Titus* and the latter α , which comprised manuscripts A, K, L, and O, he recognised as not circulating earlier than the 10th century. He argues that the editor of α sought to make sense of a difficult or corrupt text, and so supplied the "missing" author, Epimenides, referring back to the opening where Titus 1:12 is quoted rather than Aratus or Callimachus, both of whose works are also quoted. The *ignis fatuus* of an Epimenidean verse at Acts 17:28a vanishes and we are left alone with Titus 1:12.

It is noteworthy the author of Titus calls the writer of the hexameter προφήτης, and what may be meant by such a title is a matter of some debate. Quinn⁴⁹⁸ argues that the use of prophet may be to denigrate those (presumably Jewish-Christians) who heeded Jewish myths and the commands of those seeking to pervert the truth to lead others astray. Dibelius and Conzelmann⁴⁹⁹ argue that the title of prophet is employed to suggest that the author of the line was correct in his view of the Cretans, while also advancing the view that the writer of Titus may have been influenced by Cicero⁵⁰⁰ and Aristotle⁵⁰¹ in seeing Epimenides as a sage and diviner with mantic qualities. Huxley,⁵⁰² quoted by Mounce,⁵⁰³ argues that the line was uttered by a Delphic prophet denouncing Epimenides (who had denied that the *omphalos* was the centre of the world) and querying the plausibility of Epimenides (himself a Cretan) denouncing his fellow countrymen⁵⁰⁴. It is true that the phrase πρὸς Κρήτα κρητίζεις⁵⁰⁵ may indicate such a reputation for the inhabitants of Crete.

⁴⁹⁸ Quinn (1990).

⁴⁹⁹ Dibelius and Conzelmann (1984).

⁵⁰⁰ Cicero *De divinatione* I 18 - concitatione quadam animi aut solute liberoque motu futura praesentiunt.

⁵⁰¹ *Rhet.* 3. 17 10 – 1418 A.

⁵⁰² Huxley (1969).

⁵⁰³ Mounce (2000).

⁵⁰⁴ The use of the line as the Epimenides' paradox in later philosophy is almost certainly irrelevant here.

⁵⁰⁵ It is found in proverbial collections: Diogenianus VII 65, the *Souda* π 2717 and 2745 and, in a slightly different form, participle for main verb, at Polybius VIII 19 5 2.

If Clement is right in attributing the line to Epimenides, one may ask on what evidence? Quinn⁵⁰⁶ suggests that the line may have come from an anthology of the sayings of Cretan wise men, circulating in Hellenistic schools. Such anthologies have been found, but they generally comprise the works of Euripides and Menander, and nothing as *recherché* as the verse or sayings of Cretan wise men.⁵⁰⁷ Clement includes Epimenides among the Seven Sages of ancient Greece, who attracted to themselves gnomic sayings; οἱ δὲ Ἐπιμενίδην τὸν Κρήτα· ([ὄν Ἑλληνικὸν οἶδε προφήτην,] οὗ μέμνηται ὁ ἀπόστολος Παῦλος ἐν τῇ πρὸς Τίτον ἐπιστολῇ, λέγων οὕτως· “εἶπέν τις ἐξ αὐτῶν ἴδιος προφήτης οὕτως· Κρήτες ἀεὶ ψεῦσται, κακὰ θηρία, γαστέρες ἀργαί”). Given Clement’s knowledge of some of the pre-Socratic philosophers, it is not improbable that he would have known lines attributed to Epimenides. Whether Epimenides actually wrote the line, may be impossible to prove. What may be more probable is that by the time Clement wrote, the line had attached itself to Epimenides, a semi-mythical-historical figure,⁵⁰⁸ who had denounced, in all probability, his fellow countrymen for propagating a false view of the death of Zeus. This is a view that would be consonant with the use of the opening phrase by Callimachus. It may be equally uncertain whether the author of Titus knew of the origin of the line or its putative author. The three fragments quoted in the NT are all given without the author’s name and the use of προφήτης⁵⁰⁹ might well suggest

⁵⁰⁶ Quinn (op. cit.).

⁵⁰⁷ Morgan (op. cit.) gives a selection of authors quoted one or twice in school papyri, and there is nothing comparable to Cretan authors.

⁵⁰⁸ In a similar way works attached themselves to mythical figures such as Orpheus, Linus and Musaeus.

⁵⁰⁹ Much has been made of the use of προφήτης as indicating that the author of Titus was, as it were, drawing Epimenides into the sphere of the Jewish prophetic tradition as a rebuke to the Cretans. The more usual classical word was μάντις, but this is rarely found in Jewish writers: once in Philo (in the context of Apollo *Legatio ad Gaium* 109 1) and 3 times in Josephus. On the contrary προφήτης is rarely found in classical authors (3 times in Aeschylus, 3 times in Euripides, once in Herodotus, once in Aristophanes, once in Plato, once in Plato comicus, once in Polycharmus, once in Diodorus Siculus, once in Strabo); the remaining 242 usages are found in the LXX, Philo, the New Testament and Josephus. It seems thus that προφήτης is a predominantly Jewish usage and the normal term for a prophet. If that is the case, it might be rash to read too much in its usage in this passage, as simply indicating a vatic or prophetic figure. In the NT the predominant use is to denote an OT prophet or a prophetic figure in early Christian liturgy. The only two references outside this

that the author recognised the line as coming from a vatic source or a collection such as the sayings of the seven wise men, amongst whom Epimenides was sometimes included.

Coda – Paul’s schooling and knowledge of the LXX

The purpose of the examination of the scraps of classical literature in the New Testament, as well as possible allusions, is to argue that in the past estimations of their use have been over optimistic. This may in part have been as the result of the greater familiarity with the texts from classical literature from the 5th and 4th centuries BCE, than with the literature of later periods, as well as the desire to honour the authority of scripture by acknowledging it as being on the same level as the best of the ancients. The comparative neglect of the collections of Diogenianus and Zenobius,⁵¹⁰ short and pithy proverbs,⁵¹¹ meant that such lines as πρὸς κέντρα λακτίζοιμι θνητὸς ὢν θεῶν⁵¹² were rather seen in the context of a source play than deriving from proverbial imagery. (The same imagery also occurs in the *Agamemnon*⁵¹³ though it rarely, if ever, occurs in the commentaries on Acts, a possible reflection on the relative popularity of the *Agamemnon* and the *Bacchae*.) It is impossible to say which came first – the literary lines or the proverb – but both have independent existences, the latter chiefly in popular speech which only leaves a record in a collection of proverbs. Kindstrand⁵¹⁴ noted, however, that proverbs are usually much older than their first

usage are to Balaam in a disparaging sense (2 Peter 3:16) and the present passage, both of which might indicate a possible mantic figure or seer.

⁵¹⁰ For many years the only edition of *Corpus Paroemiographorum* was that of Leutsch and Schneidewin, published in 1839 (and reprinted in different editions in 1965 and 2010), until the work of W. Bühler from 1982 onwards.

⁵¹¹ It was noted earlier how few metrical lines are present in these collections. Indeed, some of the proverbs seem to have been shortened from longer originals, much in the same way “a little learning” may represent the longer line from Pope.

⁵¹² *Bacchae* 795.

⁵¹³ Line 1624 - πρὸς κέντρα μὴ λάκτιζε, μὴ παίσας μογῆις.

⁵¹⁴ Kindstrand (1954) – pg. 10.

literary effort.⁵¹⁵ The sort of proverb contained in the *Corpus paroemiographorum* probably existed more at the oral and popular level than at the literary level; of the first hundred proverbs in the collection attributed to Diogenianus, only twenty-four occur in the extant literature.⁵¹⁶ This is a reminder that in the “classical” era gnomic material may exist at the demotic and elite levels - that Πρὸς κέντρα λακτίζεις⁵¹⁷ and πρὸς κέντρα λακτίζοιμι θνητὸς ὦν θεῶι⁵¹⁸ are intertwined and the determining factor as to which is being alluded to may equally depend on context, style, the nature of the parent work, and its intended audience.⁵¹⁹ This may be equally true of the supposed Heraclitus’ allusion which may rather owe more to gnomic sources than to direct allusion.

Of the three undoubted fragments of classical literature quoted in the NT, it is implausible that the authors who quoted them found them in their original context. Despite the enthusiasm of Socrates Sozomenus⁵²⁰ and his modern followers, it is unlikely that Paul will have found the line through his reading of Euripides or Menander. Paul will certainly have experienced certain aspects of the *enkyklios paideia* and may well have come into contact with lines from Homer and other Greek poets. The fact that he does not quote them may reflect the nature of what he was writing and the potential audience who would hear the letters read aloud. With the possible exception of Romans, Paul’s letters were a response to problems and challenges facing different congregations, a response which simply did not

⁵¹⁵ (Op. cit.) As an example he quotes the paroemiac ἔτος φέρει, οὐχὶ ἄρουρα, which is first recorded in Theophrastus *Hist. pl.* VIII 7, 6. may well be an extremely ancient fragment of a didactic poem.

⁵¹⁶ Three of them indeed may derive from literary works - *Odyssey* ix 109, Sophocles frg. 895, Euripides frg. 799a.

⁵¹⁷ Diogenianus Century 7 84.

⁵¹⁸ *Bacchae* 795.

⁵¹⁹ If πρὸς κέντρα/κέντρον occurred in a papyrus letter preserved in the sands of Egypt, it would be a strong presumption the source was a version of the proverb found in Diogenianus or Zenobius, but if the same phrase was found in Plutarch or Clement, it would be an equally strong presumption that the source was its use in Aeschylus or Euripides.

⁵²⁰ Socrates Sozomenus *Historia ecclesiastica* III 16. 27 - ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ‘Φθείρουσιν ἥθη χρηστὰ ὁμιλῖαι κακαί’ δείκνυσιν μὴ ἀνήκοον τῶν Εὐριπίδου δραμάτων τυγχάνοντα.

involve or necessitate the quotation of classical literature. Paul's letters occupy, as it were, a halfway house between the letters of "elite" authors like Seneca and the younger Pliny and the mundane correspondence revealed in the papyri from Egypt.⁵²¹ In the first century CE there is no obvious parallel for the Pauline letters written to small communities, and no obvious reason why Paul should cite or employ classical literature. (This may also reflect the intellectual and social level of the communities, where many would be illiterate.)

Again, it is more probable that the author of Luke/Acts may have received his knowledge of the Aratus fragment from a source which ultimately goes back to Aristobulus, rather than by direct knowledge of the *Phaenomena* and it is far from likely that the author of Titus would have read the works of Epimenides⁵²². A rather more plausible level is to be found in the gnostic, such as the collections of the *paroemiographi* or in the schoolroom. The setting of the gospels is essentially a rural one⁵²³, reflecting the milieu of Galilee; the urban setting of the first Christians was not, on the whole, that of the élite.⁵²⁴ The Greek of the NT is not the utilitarian Greek of the documents, revealed by papyri discoveries in Egypt, with its lack of quotations or allusions, nor yet the cultivated style of "elite" writers, such as a near contemporary, Plutarch, with a lively engagement with classical literature.

The three undoubted fragments of classical literature quoted in the New Testament contain a mere seventeen words, but they acquired a weight beyond their length. Of the Aratus, Clement notes: "τοῦ γὰρ καὶ γένος ἐσμέν" ἐξ ὧν δῆλον ὅτι καὶ ποιητικοῖς χρώμενος

⁵²¹ A convenient, if modest, selection can be found in Hunt and Edgar's edition of *"Select papyri – private documents"* Cambridge: HUP 1932(revised 1969) 88 – 169; they are innocent of any classical allusion except for a 2nd or 3rd century CE mother's reference to her son's reading – το ζῆτα – presumably the sixth book of the *Iliad*.

⁵²² Epimenides is named, or quoted, only by Diodorus Siculus, Strabo or Plutarch in the first century CE.

⁵²³ Knapp quotes the NT frequently in his study of what he terms the "invisible Romans"; Knapp (2011).

⁵²⁴ This is exemplified, *inter alios*, in the work of Meeks and Theissen.

παραδείγμασιν ἐκ τῶν Ἀράτου Φαινομένων δοκιμάζει τὰ παρ’ Ἑλλησι καλῶς εἰρημένα”,⁵²⁵ and Origen⁵²⁶ observes of the three quotations: “Ideo enim exsumpsit Paulus verba etiam de his quae foris sunt ut ea sanctificet”. Along with Tertullian’s reference to the iambic trimeter – “memor illius uersiculi sanctificati per apostolum” - this may suggest that in certain quarters of the Christian community there was a certain unease at this time (end of the 2nd and beginning of the 3rd centuries) at the use of such literature by New Testament writers.

In the in-depth exploration of these fragments earlier in this study, it was argued that it was highly implausible that the authors who quoted them found them in their original context. The attributions of the iambic trimeter to Menander and the source play as the *Thais* are attended with major problems. The version of the opening lines of the *Phaenomena* as given by Aristobulus⁵²⁷ removes the embarrassment of τοῦ as referring to Zeus,⁵²⁸ but also precludes the direct source as Aratus’ poem. The most problematic is the source of the hexameter at Titus 1:12. Epimenides was seemingly not widely read in the 1st century CE; Clement⁵²⁹ apparently suggests that he might be included amongst the Seven Wise Men of Greece. (The list is fluid and it is a possibility that the line was included in an anthology of lines attributed to them.) The fact the line is attributed in Titus to a προφήτης might suggest that something of Epimenides’ reputation as a seer was known to the writer.

It is probably a coincidence that all the classical references are found in the Pauline literature. Earlier generations might have seen this as a proof of Paul’s acquaintance with classical literature – not untypical, to take an example from the patristic period, would be

⁵²⁵ *Stromateis* I 19 91 4.

⁵²⁶ *In Lucam homiliae* 31.

⁵²⁷ Eusebius *Praeparatio Evangelica* XIII chapter 11 3. 5.

⁵²⁸ The words immediately following the Aratus’ fragment in Acts – γένος οὖν ὑπάρχοντες τοῦ θεοῦ - seem to confirm this.

⁵²⁹ *Stromateis* 1 59 2.

Socrates Sozomenos ⁵³⁰ but with the advent of a more critical scholarship, this unanimity could not be taken for granted. It could no longer be assumed that the Lucan speeches accurately reflected the speaker's words or thoughts, or that Paul was the author of all the letters that bear his name. Each fragment has to be judged in its own context.

This lends a greater weight to the only line from a classical source that is quoted by Paul himself. Earlier in this study, it was argued that the line was probably Euripidean, that the attribution to Menander's *Thais* was highly debatable, and that the only certain quotation in antiquity⁵³¹ is the presence of the line in the *Sententiae Menandri*. Though Paul's Greek does not necessarily attain the level of near contemporaries such as Strabo or Plutarch, it displays a competence and skill that places it above the rather pedestrian Greek of, say, the papyri letters from ancient Egypt. Unlike Josephus, who says that he used συνέργοι to help him in his writing, Paul makes no such claim and the scribe Tertius, mentioned in Romans,⁵³² may rather have produced the fair copy despatched to the Christians in Rome. Paul was his own author, and it is his voice that speaks through his own personal style, a style that was almost certainly formed in his younger days. Too often the debate about where Paul received his education focusses on the claims of Tarsus⁵³³ and Jerusalem⁵³⁴ as presented in Acts. But perhaps the starting point should be Paul's own writings and what they might reveal about his education.

⁵³⁰ Socrates Sozomenus *Historia ecclesiastica* III 16. 27 - ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ 'Φθείρουσιν ἥθη χρηστὰ ὁμιλίας κακαί' δείκνυσιν μὴ ἀνήκοον τῶν Εὐριπίδου δραμάτων τυγχάνοντα.

⁵³¹ Apart from Paul and the subsequent quotations in the Fathers.

⁵³² Romans 16:22.

⁵³³ Acts 21:39 - 'Εγὼ ἄνθρωπος μὲν εἰμι Ἰουδαῖος, Ταρσεὺς τῆς Κιλικίας and 22:3 'Εγὼ εἰμι ἀνὴρ Ἰουδαῖος, γεγεννημένος ἐν Ταρσῷ τῆς Κιλικίας.

⁵³⁴ Acts 22:3 - ἀνατεθραμμένος δὲ ἐν τῇ πόλει ταύτῃ, παρὰ τοὺς πόδας Γαμαλιήλ – and 26:4 Τὴν μὲν οὖν βίωσίν μου ἐκ νεότητος τὴν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς γενομένην ἐν τῷ ἔθνει μου ἐν τε Ἱεροσολύμοις ἴσασι πάντες Ἰουδαῖοι.

The only contemporary comment on Paul's Greek are the remarks attributed to members of the Corinthian congregation that his letters are βαρεῖαι καὶ ἰσχυραί.⁵³⁵ These are contrasted with his personal appearance - ἡ δὲ παρουσία τοῦ σώματος ἀσθενής – which might suggest at one level that the letters, their style and content, were not being condemned on grounds of inadequacy or poor Greek. The consistency of Paul's Greek in his letters argues for a foundation that, however it may have later developed, goes back to his youth. One of the key methods of learning was the copying of lines by rote, a procedure that was integral to the *enkyklios paideia*. Though Homer was the principal source, gnomic lines, such as those found in the *Sententiae Menandri*, were popular.⁵³⁶ The presence of the iambic trimeter in the *Sententiae* and possible allusions in Romans chapter 8 to two other *sententiae*⁵³⁷ is the most plausible *sitz-im-leben* for Paul's acquisition of the knowledge of these lines, copying them as a schoolboy.

There is a further argument that Paul may have acquired his knowledge of Greek in his youth. Paul quotes the OT about one hundred times⁵³⁸ in the letters generally ascribed to him, and the source is nearly always the LXX.⁵³⁹ Of these quotations thirty-nine reproduce the text of the LXX exactly.⁵⁴⁰ In a further eleven Paul omits words from the LXX passages; in another ten he employs synonyms for words in the LXX; in twelve he inverts the order of the LXX text and fourteen are closer to paraphrase. Of the remainder, some passages employ two

⁵³⁵ 2 Corinthians 10:10.

⁵³⁶ The lines found in the Byzantine codices probably represent an amalgam of various collections.

⁵³⁷ Ἄνθρωπος ἀτυχῶν σῶζεθ' ὑπὸ τῆς ἐλπίδος (no.30) and Καλὸν τὸ νικᾶν ἀλλ' ὑπερνικᾶν κακόν (no. 429).

⁵³⁸ It is difficult to be precise about the exact number of quotations as reminiscences merge into quotations such as the passage on the armour of God in 1 Thessalonians chapter 5.

⁵³⁹ If Paul learnt his knowledge of the LXX in Tarsus in the early years of the 1st century CE, his sources were probably texts that drew ultimately from the first versions of the LXX (OG). The revision, which Barthélemy identified in the Greek Nahal Hever scroll of the Twelve Prophets and termed καὶ γε, probably took place in the 1st century BCE. Kreuzer (2021) (pg. 455) suggests this revision was mostly carried out in the 1st cent BCE in Palestine, spreading out in a second wave, and in time superseding the OG version of the LXX in most areas. It is unlikely that this revision will have made its way to Tarsus by Paul's time.

⁵⁴⁰ For the purposes of comparison, I used the Rahlfs/Hanhart edition of the LXX and NA28.

or more of the traits noted above, and in a few cases it is difficult to determine whether there is a direct quotation or allusion. 2 Corinthians 9:7 quotes a verse of the LXX not in the Hebrew text.⁵⁴¹ There seems to be a preference for the Masoretic text at Romans 12:19 - Ἐμοὶ ἐκδίκησις, ἐγὼ ἀνταποδώσω where the LXX has ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ἐκδικήσεως, ἀνταποδώσω⁵⁴². Paul follows the LXX in using the verb for the noun in the Hebrew, and it is probably difficult to be certain what moulded Paul's words at this point, a remembrance of the Hebrew text or a rephrasing of the Greek.⁵⁴³

What is apparent is that Paul is quoting from memory. Just under two fifths of the quotations reflect the text of the LXX exactly, and the remainder, despite the variations in wording (generally synonyms),⁵⁴⁴ order,⁵⁴⁵ and omissions⁵⁴⁶ indicate that the LXX was unequivocally their source. Equally the differences may underline the importance of memory, rather than textual variances or different sources.⁵⁴⁷ It is difficult to estimate the textual fluidity of the LXX during the 1st century CE. Certainly, some manuscripts were open to Christian interpolation. The addition of ἀπὸ τοῦ ξύλου to Psalm 95(96):10, attested by Justin in the *Dialogue with Trypho*,⁵⁴⁸ is a case in point. (Kujanpää⁵⁴⁹ argues that ἡ τίς προέδωκεν αὐτῷ, καὶ ἀνταποδοθήσεται αὐτῷ⁵⁵⁰ is not a quotation from Job,⁵⁵¹ (as indicated in the

⁵⁴¹ **ἰλαρὸν** γὰρ **δότην** ἀγαπᾷ **ὁ θεός** – Proverbs 22:8a where the verb is εὐλογεῖ: the words in bold are in common.

⁵⁴² Deuteronomy 32:35.

⁵⁴³ The same version is also found at Hebrews 10:30. Does this indicate Paul and Hebrews drew on a common source, otherwise unattested, or the writer of Hebrews may have read Romans?

⁵⁴⁴ Romans 12:20 referring to Proverbs 25:21 – 22 where LXX has τρέφε for Pauline ψώμιζε; also Exodus 9:16 where Paul has δύνάμιν for LXX ἰσχύν.

⁵⁴⁵ Romans 10:20 referring to Isaiah 65:1 where the two phrases in Isaiah are inverted by Paul.

⁵⁴⁶ Romans 3:15 referring to Isaiah 57:7 where Paul has added ὄξεϊς and omitted four words.

⁵⁴⁷ It is suggested (Lincicum (2021) pg. 530) that at Romans 11:4 Paul is quoting an Antiochian version of 3 Kingdoms 19:18. It might be equally true that he is quoting from memory – the insertion of ἐμαυτῷ - and reconfiguring the passage to suit his needs. It cannot be assumed that Paul travelled with scrolls of the LXX, or equally rushed off to the nearest synagogue to check his references.

⁵⁴⁸ *Dialogue* 73 1.

⁵⁴⁹ Kujanpää (2019).

⁵⁵⁰ Romans 11:35.

⁵⁵¹ Job 41:3.

margin of NA28) to which it bears little resemblance in either the LXX or the Masoretic text, but rather may derive from a verse attested in the *apparatus criticus* of Rahlfs/Hanhart to Isaiah 40:14).⁵⁵² Paul is not unique on this reliance on memory,⁵⁵³ which may well account for minor differences in texts, especially prose texts. There is little, if any, evidence of other major textual traditions playing an important part in Paul's knowledge of the books of the Jewish biblical texts. It has been argued that Romans 12:19 - Ἐμοὶ ἐκδίκησις, ἐγὼ ἀνταποδώσω – reflects the Masoretic text. Even if does, it reflects it through a Septuagintal lens – ἐκδίκησις and its cognates are more common in the LXX than τιμωρία.⁵⁵⁴ Further, Paul's Greek style displays an important debt to that of the LXX, and in particular the psalter. Such traits as the infinitive preceded by (εἰς) τὸ, τοῦ, ἐν τῷ are both common in and to the psalms and Paul's style.⁵⁵⁵

⁵⁵² The line is found in *Sinaiticus* (original reading) and *Alexandrinus* (correction) There is no obvious reason for a Christian insertion and the fact that Paul quotes it in the context of Isaiah 40:13 may well suggest that it was present in a tradition known to Paul.

⁵⁵³ It is instructive to compare the quotations of biblical texts by Paul (about one hundred from the OT), Clement of Rome (sixty-three from the OT), Epistle of Barnabas, (seventy-one from the OT), Justin (seventy-two from the OT in the two apologies - it is a reasonable assumption that his practice will not differ radically in the *Dialogue with Trypho* - and Clement (one hundred and twenty (both NT and OT) in the *Protrepticus*). It is important to note that all these quotations are prose; in general, the exigencies of metre ensured that quotations of poetry by ancient authors were generally more accurate. The same tendencies in methods of quotation point to the same conclusion – that passages are generally quoted from memory. Of the five writers, Clement (*Protrepticus*) is the most “accurate” with sixty-five passages corresponding exactly to their sources, Paul with thirty-nine, Clement of Rome with twenty-one, the epistle of Barnabas with eighteen and Justin with ten. The “accurate” sense of the passage seems to have been more important to all of them than verbal accuracy – perhaps a more modern preoccupation. In all the writers words are omitted, phrases reordered and synonyms employed, and in Paul and Justin different quotations run together: such are Romans 3:10 - 18 and *1st Apology* 32.10. (In the first case the text of Psalm 13 (14) in one MS of the LXX (A) was “contaminated” by the addition of the relevant verses from Romans.) Quotations that are given twice (such as Habakkuk 2:4 at Romans 1:17 and Galatians 3:11 (both omit the LXX μοῦ) and Exodus 3:14 at *1st Apology* 63. 7 and 11 – four words omitted from LXX) may point to the passages having taken this form in the writers' mind. Memory played a more important role in the ancient world than it does today, when learning by rote is eschewed compared with ancient schools. The Homeric poems exhibit all the norms of oral poetry, and they must have existed in such a form before being committed to writing. Equally memory must have played an important part in the transmission of the *pericopae* that feature in the NT.

⁵⁵⁴ An examination of Paul's Old Testament quotations reveals nothing parallel to the Matthean (2:15) substitution of τὸν υἱόν for the Septuagint's τὰ τέκνα (Hosea 11:1.)

⁵⁵⁵ Such usage is found in *koine* Greek, though generally eschewed by “elite” writers; in Strabo's *Geography* there is only one example of ἐν τῷ followed by an infinitive – (IX 2 10); Ausloos' (2021) (pg. 168) suggestion that in the LXX ἐν τῷ followed by an infinitive derives from the Hebraic *bêl* followed by the infinitive may be

Given the overwhelming predominance of the LXX in Paul's quotation of biblical texts,⁵⁵⁶ it is a legitimate question to ask at what stage of his life Paul may have acquired this knowledge. Paul differs from Justin and Clement of Alexandria in that he was brought up in the Jewish faith, whereas Justin and Clement will, presumably, have only acquired their knowledge of the OT texts after their conversion to Christianity. As the self-proclaimed apostle to the Gentiles,⁵⁵⁷ Paul will have communicated with Christian congregations, whether founded by him or not, in the *lingua franca* of the Romano-Hellenistic world, with the inevitable corollary that all quotations from the OT would also be in Greek. There are two possibilities – that Paul studied the books⁵⁵⁸ of the OT first in Hebrew and later acquired his knowledge of the Septuagint, or that the Septuagint was his first encounter with the OT. His familiarity with certain books of the Septuagint is unquestioned, as well as his ability to combine different passages such as that at Romans 3:10ff. On the principle of Occam's razor, it seems superfluous to suggest that Paul first acquired his knowledge of the γράφαι in Hebrew and then reduplicated it in the LXX. Paul was writing to communities where knowledge of the Jewish scriptures would have been limited. There would have been some Christians from a Jewish background, but the majority would have been Gentile, whose knowledge of the LXX would have been minimal or non-existent.⁵⁵⁹ In theory, Paul might well have made his own translations. The alternative that he searched the scrolls of the LXX to find

open to the objection that though *koine* may have influenced Septuagintal Greek, the converse is unlikely to be true.

⁵⁵⁶ It is also worth noting that alongside the absence of any influence from the Hebrew text, Paul quotes at 2 Corinthians 9:7 **ἵλαρόν** γὰρ **δότην** ἀγαπᾷ [εὐλογεῖ LXX] **ὁ θεός** from Proverbs 22:8a – a line not found in the Hebrew.

⁵⁵⁷ Romans 11:13 - ἐφ' ὅσον μὲν οὖν ἐγώ εἰμι ἐθνῶν ἀπόστολος.

⁵⁵⁸ Not necessarily all the books - the Torah, Isaiah and the Psalms are those most frequently quoted by Paul.

⁵⁵⁹ There is a reference to the LXX in "elite" literature – Longinus *de sublimitate* 9. 9 - ταύτη καὶ ὁ τῶν Ἰουδαίων θεσμοθέτης,.... εὐθὺς ἐν τῇ εἰσβολῇ γράψας τῶν νόμων "εἶπεν ὁ θεός", φησί, —τί; "γενέσθω φῶς, καὶ ἐγένετο· γενέσθω γῆ, καὶ ἐγένετο – otherwise the LXX is absent from the works of "elite" writers of this and earlier periods.

the relevant passages seems equally unlikely, nor does this account for the re-orderings, omissions and synonyms typical of Paul's use of the LXX. Paul's knowledge and use of the LXX seems one that presumes a long acquaintance, and thus the most economical view is that Paul acquired his knowledge of the LXX in his youthful years. This would be equally consonant with the view of Paul's passage through the first stages of the *enkyklios paideia* that has been argued in this study. Both these factors seem to point to a Greek speaking environment as the source of Paul's scriptural knowledge and education, and if the author of Acts is right in identifying Paul's birthplace as Tarsus in Cilicia, then Paul was educated as a Jew of the diaspora and immersed in the version of the scriptures that was familiar to Jews of the diaspora.⁵⁶⁰

If Paul indeed gained his education at Tarsus through the *enkyklios paideia*, the evidence from the Egyptian papyri will suggest that Homer and the poets represented in the *Sententiae Menandri* were on the syllabus. It has been argued that Aratus of Soli, being a local poet to Tarsus, and the author of the *Phaenomena*⁵⁶¹ may have been the source of lines for copying. The *proem* to the poem, containing the hemistich quoted in the Areopagus speech, might be a likely candidate and the source of Paul's knowledge of the line. It is an intriguing suggestion, that assumes the speech reflects the *ipsissima verba* of Paul, rather than owing more to the creative abilities of the author of Luke/Acts, who, as it was argued

⁵⁶⁰ Acts depicts Paul studying at the feet of Gamaliel, (Acts 22:3) In the *Mishnah* (*Sotah* 9. 15) Gamaliel is acclaimed as one of the greatest teachers in Judaism – “since Rabban Gamaliel the Elder died, there has been no more reverence for the Law, and purity and piety died out at the same time.” It is Acts alone which depicts Gamaliel as sympathetic to the Christian cause, and this may well be an inference on the author's part. There is no suggestion that Gamaliel would have taught in Greek, and Josephus' assertion (*Antiquities* XX 263) that he excelled in Jewish learning implies that his education was in Hebrew or Aramaic, and though he may well have had some Greek at his command in his earlier years, it is only as a *cliens* of the Flavians that he seems to have seriously studied Greek. (It is worth noting that an earlier version, which has not survived, of the *Bellum Judaicum* was published in Aramaic - Ἑλλάδι γλῶσση μεταβαλὼν ἃ τοῖς ἄνω βαρβάροις τῇ πατρίῳ συντάξας ἀνέπεμψα πρότερον – BJ I 3).

⁵⁶¹ The poem was highly popular in antiquity to such an extent that it was translated into Arabic.

earlier, may have received his knowledge of the Aratus fragment from a source which ultimately goes back to Aristobulus, rather than by direct knowledge of the *Phaenomena*. It is equally unlikely that the author of Titus would have read the works of Epimenides⁵⁶². A rather more plausible level for seeming allusions of classical literature in the NT is to be found in the gnostic, such as the collections of the *paroemiographi* or in the schoolroom. The setting of the gospels is essentially a rural one⁵⁶³, reflecting the milieu of Galilee. The urban setting of the first Christians was not, on the whole, that of the elite.⁵⁶⁴ The Greek of the NT is not the utilitarian Greek of the documents, revealed by papyri discoveries in Egypt, nor the cultivated style of “elite” writers, such as a near contemporary, Plutarch. If Luke is right in describing Paul as a σκηνοποιός, a trade that may well have been that of his father before him, it does not imply the financial resources adequate to sustain an education beyond that of the first two levels of the *paideia enkyklios*.⁵⁶⁵ Perhaps Paul, as someone who had a trade to support him, was more typical of early Christianity. The writers of the NT constitute a group or body more on the lower echelons of Greek and Roman society/culture than those that might be termed “elite”, a placing reflected in its literature.

⁵⁶² Epimenides is named or quoted only by Diodorus Siculus, Strabo or Plutarch in the 1st century CE.

⁵⁶³ Knapp quotes the NT frequently in his study of what he terms the “invisible Romans”; Knapp (2011).

⁵⁶⁴ This is exemplified, *inter alios*, in the work of Malherbe, Meeks and Theissen.

⁵⁶⁵ It is beyond the scope of this study, but the view proposed above of the role of classical literature and culture in the NT world would make this a very unlikely proposition; the level of education, the third stage of the *enkyklios paideia* at which oratorical skills were acquired, has left no obvious trace in the NT.

Chapter 5 - The Apostolic Fathers

The writings, gathered under the generic name of the Apostolic Fathers, comprise a varied group of different types and dates. Some of them may be contemporaneous with the later writings of the NT, such as the second letter of Peter, and others closer to the era of the Apologists. It is customary to include the *Letter to Diognetus* and the fragment of Quadratus among the Apostolic Fathers, though they also have something in common with the early apologists. This part of the study is a brief conspectus of allusions, hypothetical or real, to classical literature in the Apostolic Fathers. Of the Apostolic Fathers, the *Didache*, the *Letters of Ignatius*, 2 *Clement*, the *Letter of Polycarp*, the *Martyrdom of Polycarp*, the *Shepherd of Hermas*, the fragment of Quadratus and the fragments of Papias seem innocent of any allusion to classical literature. This may be the result of several factors. The subject matter of the writings did not encourage classical allusions, or, like Origen's practice in his commentaries, the writers may have felt that classical and pagan learning was not appropriate in essentially religious compositions; or, even more simply, their education and background did not include a grounding in classical literature enabling them to adorn their writings with quotations germane to their purpose. The *Letter of Diognetus* may also seem devoid of references to classical literature except for one possible passage:⁵⁶⁶ πᾶσα ξένη πατρίς ἐστὶν αὐτῶν, καὶ πᾶσα πατρίς ξένη. In language, even if not an exact parallel in sentiment, this may seem to echo a fragment of Euripides - ὥς πανταχοῦ γε πατρίς ἡ βόσκουσα γῆ,⁵⁶⁷ or rather closer, a line from the *Monostichoi*: τῷ γὰρ καλῶς πράσσοντι πᾶσα

⁵⁶⁶ *Letter to Diognetus* 5.5.

⁵⁶⁷ Euripides *Phaethon* frg. 163(F 777) – Collard and Cropp (op. cit.)

γῆ πατρίς.⁵⁶⁸ The phrase πᾶσα γῆ πατρίς also occurs in a speech by Lysias,⁵⁶⁹ in Epictetus,⁵⁷⁰ and in the proverbial collections of Diogenianus⁵⁷¹ and Zenobius.⁵⁷² The Euripides line is not particularly close in subject matter to the passage of Diognetus; the same is not true of the line from the Monostichoi.⁵⁷³ The phrase τῷ γὰρ καλῶς πράσσοντι, though it is not quoted, in many ways applies to the nature of the argument from section 5.4 onwards. The Christians described are indeed those doing good - τῷ γὰρ καλῶς πράσσοντι. It is a possibility that the author may have learnt this line at school and the subject matter of what he was about to pen recalled the line to his memory and he skilfully adapted it to fit the context. It is a hypothesis that cannot be proved, but it parallels the use and adaption of the trimeter, quoted by Paul, by Diodorus Siculus, Plutarch and the author of the *Letter of Aristeas*. Another possible classical allusion has been posited in the epistle of Barnabas. In section 5.10 of the letter we find: βλέποντες αὐτόν ὅτε τὸν μέλλοντα μὴ εἶναι ἥλιον, ἔργον τῶν χειρῶν αὐτοῦ ὑπάρχοντα, ἐμβλέποντες οὐκ ἰσχύουσιν εἰς τὰς ακτῖνας αὐτοῦ ἀντοφθαλμῆσαι. It has been paralleled with a passage from Xenophon's *Memorabilia*:⁵⁷⁴ ἐκεῖνος γὰρ λέγων μὲν τὸ αὐτὸ εἶναι πῦρ τε καὶ ἥλιον ἡγνόει ὅτι τὸ μὲν πῦρ οἱ ἄνθρωποι ῥαδίως καθορῶσιν, εἰς δὲ τὸν ἥλιον οὐ δύνανται ἀντιβλέπειν, καὶ ὑπὸ μὲν τοῦ ἡλίου καταλαμπόμενοι τὰ χρώματα μελάντερα ἔχουσιν, ὑπὸ δὲ τοῦ πυρὸς οὐ.⁵⁷⁵ The Xenophon passage is concerned with Socrates' reflections on Anaxagoras, how he risked madness as a result of his speculations on the mechanisms the gods employ. Anaxagoras' view, that the sun and fire are identical, is refuted

⁵⁶⁸ *Monostichoi* 735 (ed. Jäkel (op. cit)).

⁵⁶⁹ Lysias *In Philonem* 6.2.

⁵⁷⁰ Epictetus III 24.66.1.

⁵⁷¹ Diogenianus *Centuria* 7.48 line 1.

⁵⁷² Zenobius *Centuria* 5.74.1.

⁵⁷³ The authorship of the line, whether Menander or another New comedy poet, or even a tragedian, is now impossible to ascertain.

⁵⁷⁴ *Memorabilia* IV 4.7.

⁵⁷⁵ also R 7 – Anaxagoras; Laks/Most (2016).

by the fact that humans can look on fire but not directly at the sun. This latter seems to be the only idea in common, and while it is possible that the Xenophon passage may stand behind the usage in Barnabas, it is equally possible, and more probable, that the image may have entered general thought. If this was not the only seeming classical allusion in the Letter of Barnabas, there might be a stronger case for seeing a direct link with the Xenophon passage.

Δαναΐδες καὶ Δίρκαι?

Probably, and paradoxically, the writing that is generally reckoned to be the earliest of the Apostolic Fathers, the first letter of Clement, has been viewed as containing more allusions to classical literature and culture. Early in the letter, the author writes:⁵⁷⁶ διὰ ζῆλος διωχθεῖσθαι γυναῖκες, Δαναΐδες καὶ Δίρκαι. It is generally assumed that this refers to Christian women being martyred, in the guise of the mythological figures of the daughters of Danaus, the Danaids, and Dirce. This reading has not been universally accepted. Lightfoot suspected that all the witnesses were corrupt at this point, and adopted the emendation of Wordsworth:⁵⁷⁷ νεάνιδες, παιδίσκαι. Coleman⁵⁷⁸ has argued that what she calls “fatal charades”, the punishment of condemned criminals in mythological re-enactments, embodied some of the principal means of capital punishment in the Roman legal system, *damnatio ad bestias*, *crematio (vivicomburium)* and crucifixion. These were the punishments reserved for the *humiliores*. The *honestiores*, of a higher social class, would be despatched by decapitation. Such “fatal charades” seem to have been first staged in the dying years of the

⁵⁷⁶ First Letter of Clement 6 2.

⁵⁷⁷ and adopted by Dain (1952).

⁵⁷⁸ Coleman (1990).

Roman republic. Strabo⁵⁷⁹ refers to the execution of a Sicilian bandit leader,⁵⁸⁰ Seleurus, the “son of Aetna”. This set the trend for such theatrical punishments, which became a feature in Rome during the 1st century and inspired some of the epigrams in Martial’s *Liber spectaculorum*, almost certainly written for the opening of the Colosseum in the reign of Titus. A hundred years later in the Severan period, Tertullian refers to the same liking of “fatal charades”: vidimus aliquando castratum Attin, illum deum ex Pessinunte, et qui vivus ardebat, Herculem induerat.⁵⁸¹ What is noteworthy is that Martial and Tertullian both refer to Hercules. His immolation on mount Oeta was preceded by donning the robe, poisoned with the blood of the dying centaur Nessus. In the case of the condemned man, this would have been the *tunica molesta* covered in pitch. Also Martial and Tertullian, with one exception, take all the examples of “fatal charades” from Greek mythology. The one exception in Martial is the reference to Laureolus, a condemned robber, crucified and mauled by a bear. This had become the subject of a mime during the reign of Caligula⁵⁸² and is also referred to by Juvenal.⁵⁸³ Martial’s *Liber spectaculorum*⁵⁸⁴ contains several epigrams seemingly referring to “fatal charades” and the mythological characters involved in them: Pasiphae,⁵⁸⁵ Laureolus (the one exception to mythological figures⁵⁸⁶), Daedalus,⁵⁸⁷ Hercules,⁵⁸⁸ and Orpheus.⁵⁸⁹

⁵⁷⁹ Strabo 6. 2 6.

⁵⁸⁰ This to be dated between Strabo’s first visit to Rome (44BCE) and the construction of the first stone amphitheatre in 29 BCE by Statilius Taurus.

⁵⁸¹ Tertullian *Apologia* 15 4 - 5.

⁵⁸² Suetonius *Caligula* 57.

⁵⁸³ Juvenal VIII 187.

⁵⁸⁴ *Martial – Epigrams* (ed. Shackleton Bailey) (1993).

⁵⁸⁵ epigram 6(5); Coleman notes as a parallel the scene in the *Metamorphoses* of Apuleius where a Roman lady has intercourse with the bewitched donkey – (*Metamorphoses* 10. 22) – literature imitating life.

⁵⁸⁶ epigram 9(7).

⁵⁸⁷ epigram 10(8) – Shackleton Bailey argues that this may be a beast fighter, rather than a character in a “fatal charade”. Coleman (op. cit.) disagrees and argues that the condemned criminal may have been hung on a crane, and then, deprived of his wings, was mauled by a bear.

⁵⁸⁸ epigram 19(16B) – the beast fighter is representing Hercules who overcame the bull of Crete. After his return to Eurystheus, the bull was released and made its way to Marathon, where it was later killed by Theseus. This is the accepted version of this labour but Martial may be referring to another version.

⁵⁸⁹ epigrams 24(21) and 25(21B) – Orpheus was believed to have charmed the beasts by his music.

Coupled with the Tertullian passage from the *Apology*, the mythological figures seem to be well known and thus familiar to the amphitheatre audience. Coleman also treats the Danaids and Dirke, mentioned in Clement's first letter. She argues that scholars are unwilling to accept the *lectio difficilior* principle and are abjuring the cruelty implied in Clement's text. It is not the cruelty – Romans were well practised in that – but rather the improbability of the mythological figures invoked that may give cause for hesitation. Coleman⁵⁹⁰ argues that the letter of Clement was written in the reign of Nero (around 65 CE) and that the punishment implied was that of Nero himself, if, as Tacitus writes, he sought to implicate the Christians as scapegoats for the fire of Rome.⁵⁹¹ This dating seems too early; it does not allow for the passage of time implied by Clement's account of the deaths of Peter and Paul.⁵⁹² It is perhaps impossible now to infer whether Clement may indeed be referring to persecutions under Nero or later under Domitian. Coleman also argues that Δίρκη is to be read instead of the text's Δίρκαι, on the grounds that the plural of Danaids may have attracted the singular of Dirce into the plural. It is possible that Clement was simply using the plural to indicate types, that is Danaids and Dirces. Such a usage might be paralleled in Aristophanes' *Frogs*: ἀλλ' οὐ μὰ Δί' οὐ Φαίδρας ἐποίουν πόρνας οὐδὲ Σθενεβοία⁵⁹³. What perhaps more seriously calls the reading into question is the nature of the myths involved. One feature of the "fatal charades" as described by Martial and Tertullian is that there is some element of the story involved.

⁵⁹⁰ Coleman (op. cit.) pg. 73.

⁵⁹¹ Tacitus *Annals* XV 44: ergo abolendo rumori Nero subdidit reos et quaesitissimis poenis adfecit, quos per flagitia invisos vulgus Christianos appellabat.

⁵⁹² Clement 5. 4ff. An earlier date has been argued by some such as Herron (1989) on the grounds that 1 Clement 41 seems to presuppose the daily offering of sacrifices in the Temple and thus must predate the fall of Jerusalem in 70CE. As Attridge (1989) notes (pg. 8) Josephus in the *Antiquities* uses the present tense in regard to the offering of sacrifices – *Antiquities* IV 9 1-7: 224 -57. The silence of the Letter to the Hebrews on the fall of the Temple can be argued either way in terms of date but Attridge argues that the author is more interested in the old cult as a foundation for his Christological exposition. Curiously the *Epistle to Diognetus* 3 still refers to sacrifices being offered in the present tense – may this simply be the power of assumption?

⁵⁹³ *Frogs* 1043 though the addition of πόρνας makes the structure and the meaning clearer.

Hercules is clothed, presumably in the *tunica molesta*, before being burnt on the pyre; Orpheus seeks to calm the beasts by playing his lyre. In legend the daughters of Danaus were condemned endlessly to fill a leaking receptacle with jars of water as a punishment for killing their husbands. Coleman argues that the condemned women, carrying jugs, might have been assembled in the arena before being dispatched to death in a variant of the story not otherwise recorded. Simply carrying jugs of water does not seem likely to titivate the sadistic enjoyment of the crowd. Holmes⁵⁹⁴ argues that as the daughters of Danaus were put up as prizes in a foot race, this implies they were raped before being martyred. This version is derived from Pindar's 9th *Pythian*⁵⁹⁵ and in the conclusion Pindar depicts the dedicatee of the ode, Telesicrates, asking how his ancestor, Alexidamus, acquired his bride. Pindar relates that it was through a footrace with Danaus who, in disposing of his unwed daughters by a similar manner, is quoted as an earlier example. This is placed in a celebration of marriage which makes Holmes' conjecture more implausible. Though there were statues of the Danaids in the Augustan temple of Palatine Apollo⁵⁹⁶, it may be argued how well known the myth was. Aeschylus composed a trilogy on the subject, but otherwise it seems to have been ignored by tragedians, both Greek and Latin. There are few references to the Danaids in Latin literature, which may well indicate that it was not a well-known or popular myth. There are also relatively few references naming Dirce in Latin literature up to the end of the 1st century CE, around sixteen in total, and most of them refer to the spring near Thebes into which Dirce was changed after her death. The only reference to Dirce and the bull is an allusion to a statue in the elder Pliny's *Natural History*.⁵⁹⁷ Pacuvius also wrote a tragedy, *Amphio*, almost certainly

⁵⁹⁴ Holmes (2007).

⁵⁹⁵ lines 110 ff.

⁵⁹⁶ Prop. 2. 3 l. 1-4; Ovid *Amores* 2. 2. 3-4, *Ars Amatoria* 1. 73-4.

⁵⁹⁷ *Natural History* 36. 33.

dependent on Euripides, the only Greek tragedian to compose a play on this theme. It is ironic that the theme of Dirce and the bull may have been more familiar to scholars of the last century through literature and art. The novel *Quo vadis*⁵⁹⁸ by Henrik Sienkiewicz in which the heroine Lygia (Calina) is tied to the horns of a bull in the amphitheatre, draws on the story of Dirce. The story also inspired Henryk Siemiradzki's painting "Christian Dirce".⁵⁹⁹ Compared with the myths of Hercules and Orpheus, those of the Danaids and Dirce are relatively obscure and infrequently attested in Greek and Latin literature. Coleman's picture of women carrying jugs waiting to be killed seems rather a counsel of despair and the story of Dirce too unfamiliar to a Roman audience to be the convincing centre piece of a "fatal charade". The emendation, νεανίδες, παιδισκαί makes more sense of a difficult passage. Even if the Corinthian congregation were familiar with the obscure myths which lie behind Δαναΐδες καὶ Δίρκαι, they almost certainly would not have set them in the context of the brutal entertainments of a Roman amphitheatre. As a classical allusion, the daughters of Danaus and Dirce have no place in the writing of Clement of Rome.

The phoenix

The other passage⁶⁰⁰ that demands attention is that on the phoenix.⁶⁰¹ This is the first mention of the phoenix in Christian literature, a topic which was to prove fertile, in varying degrees, in later Christian literature.⁶⁰² The *fons et origo* is the second book of Herodotus;⁶⁰³

⁵⁹⁸ Published in book form in 1896.

⁵⁹⁹ Painted 1897 and now in the National Museum, Warsaw.

⁶⁰⁰ This section is much indebted to a chapter by Lecocq "Inventing the Phoenix" (2016).

⁶⁰¹ Clement *First epistle* 25.1 – 5.

⁶⁰² The point of departure appears to be psalm 91:13 δίκαιος ὡς φοῖνιξ ἀνθήσει where the word for date palm - φοῖνιξ – has been confused with that for the mythical bird, having the same spelling in the Greek.

⁶⁰³ Herodotus 2.73 ff. beginning "Ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλος ὄρνις ἱρός, τῷ οὐνομα φοῖνιξ.

though not the first mention of the phoenix in Greek literature.⁶⁰⁴ While the account of Herodotus has certain similarities, five hundred years, the city of Heliopolis, Arabia, there are significant differences: the most important of which is the means whereby the bird is regenerated, through a worm which acquires wings and becomes the phoenix *redivivus*.⁶⁰⁵ After Herodotus, the phoenix is rarely mentioned in surviving Greek literature.⁶⁰⁶ There is a description in Ezekiel's *Exagoge*,⁶⁰⁷ a brilliant picture of the bird, but no mention of the worm. In Latin literature Ovid is, with the exception of Manilius, seemingly the first to mention the phoenix.⁶⁰⁸ He describes how the bird, after 500 years of life, builds a nest of fragrant plants, lies on it and dies. From the corpse comes a new phoenix.⁶⁰⁹

The first author to mention the worm is Pliny the elder,⁶¹⁰ a detail which he attributes to the senator Manilius. According to Manilius, the phoenix lives for 540 years, then constructs a nest out of wild cinnamon and frankincense, on which the bird dies; from its bones is born a maggot, which changes into a chicken (*pullum*). This new bird takes the nest, after paying due funeral rites to its parent, to the city of the Sun near Panchaia. Again, there are differences from the account in Clement: the length of time, the destination of the phoenix, and the omission of the examination of the public records by the priests in Pliny/Manilius. Near contemporary references in Statius⁶¹¹ and Martial⁶¹² add little. The two most probable antecedents of the account in Clement must be those of Herodotus and

⁶⁰⁴ Hesiod frg. 304 (Merkelbach and West) – the phoenix is described as a long-lived bird.

⁶⁰⁵ The account in Herodotus has no *raison d'être* for the birth of the bird.

⁶⁰⁶ Aristophanes *Acharnians* 89 – φέναξ, meaning quack or impostor with a possible pun on phoenix: Antiphanes frg. 175(Kock).

⁶⁰⁷ Ezekiel *Exagoge* lines 254ff. (Snell *TGF* Vol.I).

⁶⁰⁸ Ovid *Metamorphoses* XV lines 392 – 409.

⁶⁰⁹ *Metamorphoses* XV line 402.

⁶¹⁰ Pliny the Elder *Natural History* X 2.

⁶¹¹ Statius *Silvae* 2: 4, line 37 on a parrot who “scandet odoratos phoenix felicior ignes.”

3: 2 114 quae sibi praesternat vivax altaria phoenix.

⁶¹² Martial *Epigrams* V 7 1 the phoenix is not explicitly named but inferred.

Manilius/Pliny the elder. Apart from Ezekiel the tragedian, there appears to be no other Greek writer of the 2nd BCE – 1st CE centuries who describes the phoenix, nor is the bird mentioned in the extant works of Philo. From what source Clement gathered this passage is now impossible to state. It is possible that he brought these elements together through his own creativity, but certain details such as the priests examining their records are unparalleled elsewhere, and would seem to imply a written source. It might be that it came to him in a compendium of wonderful birds and creatures, but this can only remain a supposition. What is equally striking is the theological message that Clement draws from the story. He sees it as a foretaste of the resurrection, and from this pagan story draws a spiritual meaning - τῶν ἀπάντων ἀνάστασιν ποιήσεται τῶν ὁσίως αὐτῷ δουλευσάντων ἐν πεποιθήσει πίστεως ἀγαθῆς, ὅπου καὶ δι' ὀρνέου δείκνυσιν ἡμῖν τὸ μεγαλεῖον τῆς ἐπαγγελίας αὐτοῦ. This he confirms with quotations from the OT - psalm 27:7(LXX) – though the crucial reference to resurrection is missing, psalm 3:6 and psalm 22:4(LXX) – two psalm verses combined, which might indicate that Clement was quoting from memory, as does the last reference – a paraphrase of Job 19:26(LXX). Though Clement is usually dated to the end of the 1st century CE, the confident use of material that is seemingly derived from classical literature in this passage might possibly indicate a somewhat later date.

Of the perceived classical allusions in the Apostolic Fathers, there is none that imperatively demands a direct acquaintance with the original source. The references to Danaids and Dircae in 1 Clement refer to myths implausible as scenarios for spectacles in the Roman amphitheatre and emendation seems a more plausible way of solving the difficulty. The possible allusion to Xenophon's *Memorabilia* in the Epistle of Barnabas has no direct verbal similarity (except for various compounds of the verb βλέπω) and one concept in common (the difficulty of looking at the sun) and an indirect transmission of the idea seems

considerably more probable than a direct reference to the text of Xenophon. The perceived allusions in the *Letter to Diognetus* again are unlikely to have come from direct acquaintance with the author in question – Euripides – and may owe more to proverbial usage and a recollection of one of the *Sententiae Menandri*. The passage on the phoenix in 1 Clement is perhaps the only possible indication of a deeper acquaintance with the literature on the subject, but, in the absence of any direct verbal link with the authors concerned, it is difficult to be dogmatic on the way the story was transmitted to the author of Clement. There is nothing in the writings of the Apostolic Fathers that parallels the three explicit quotations of fragments of classical literature in the NT, yet overall there is a consonance with the picture already established in the NT, of communities where such usage would be of little relative or no importance.⁶¹³

It is also noteworthy that letters, both real and as patterns, figure prominently in the literature of this period,⁶¹⁴ and the social milieu of the writers and the recipients may simply have not encouraged quotations from, or allusions to, classical literature, communities which were probably still on the relative fringes of the Hellenistic - Roman “elite” literary world. Around the middle of the 2nd century CE, there was a change, for whatever reason (possibly an increase of the number of Christians) particularly among the “elite” and equally a perception that, as it were, the classical heritage of the *paideia enkyklios* was not alien to the church. As a result, increasingly from Justin onwards, and for the rest of the century, Christian writers felt a freedom to draw on this classical heritage.

⁶¹³ As it is difficult to date with complete certainty many of the writings, both of the NT and the Apostolic Fathers, there may well be a certain amount of overlap in terms of chronology; thus the dates of the Letter to Titus and 1 Clement may not be very far apart.

⁶¹⁴ Twenty-one in the NT and eleven in the writings of the Apostolic Fathers.

The NT and the Apostolic Fathers compared with Philo and Josephus

As a conclusion to this overview of the NT and the Apostolic Fathers, it may be instructive to contrast Philo of Alexandria and Josephus with the NT and the Apostolic Fathers, writings roughly contemporaneous. Philo and Josephus "bookend" the 1st century CE - in their attitude towards classical quotations and allusions - and are linked by their common Jewish faith, though it was a faith acquired in different circumstance and expressed in different ways. Philo a diaspora Jew, was educated in Alexandria in Greek, and Josephus in Aramaic in Jerusalem.⁶¹⁵ The latter probably only acquired a working knowledge of Greek when he moved to Rome as a *cliens* of the Flavians. What united them was their use of Greek literature in quotation and allusion, an acknowledgement that whatever their potential audience for their books, they were writing for those that would have appreciated such quotations and allusions, along with such other 1st century CE authors as Dionysius Halicarnassensis, Strabo, Epictetus, and Musonius.⁶¹⁶ *Inter alios* Philo draws on and alludes to Homer, Hesiod, Pindar, Aeschylus, Sophocles and Euripides, and Josephus in his turn alludes to Homer, Hesiod, Herodotus, Thucydides, and Plato. Subject matter may play a part in the choice of texts. Philo uses more poetic texts than Josephus which may reflect the historical nature of his two major works, and also Josephus' education in Jerusalem, where he was less likely to be exposed to Greek literature. On the other hand, in the *Contra Apionem*, Josephus refers to forty-six historians⁶¹⁷ to establish his case in defence of Judaism against the attack of Apion, a form of

⁶¹⁵ On Josephus' education see Rajak, (1983).

⁶¹⁶ The transmission of Epictetus and Musonius through secondary writers, may not give a fully accurate picture of their use of classical literature.

⁶¹⁷ For one of them, Dios – *Jacoby* 785 – Josephus is the sole source.

defence appealing to those readers with literary interests. It is obvious that Philo had received a good classical education, even if the circumstances may not be entirely clear, whether he was educated in a Greek or Jewish establishment. He himself stresses the importance of a good and well balanced education,⁶¹⁸ and he is clearly at home at intertwining literary quotations and allusions, also in the expectation that this would be welcome to his readers.⁶¹⁹ Koskeniemi argues that “Philo was a master of Greek literature, acquainted with both philosophers and poets and employing them as skilfully as would other imperial writers such as Plutarch, Philostratus or any other learned sophist.”⁶²⁰ (As one example, Philo⁶²¹ quotes seventeen lines from Euripides’ satyr play *Syleus*, out of the twenty-two surviving, making it the best attested satyr play from Euripides’ *oeuvre*, apart from the surviving *Cyclops*.)

What unites Philo and Josephus’ work is their exposition of Jewish themes, Philo in his interpretation of the Torah and Josephus in his history and defence of the Jewish people. Both feel free to draw on the literary heritage of the Hellenistic world from Homer onwards in the understanding, tacit or conscious, that such a practice, shared by other contemporary authors, will place and commend their writings to a wider “elite” audience, whether in the diaspora or the wider context of the empire, especially in the East. Josephus’ comparative silence on poetic texts,⁶²² as compared with prose, almost certainly reflects his education in Jerusalem, and that such acquisition of prose texts, especially those quoted in the *Contra Apionem*, occurred during his life at Rome. The belief in the antiquity of the Jews and of Moses, the lawgiver in particular, and the indebtedness of later Greek thinkers to this

⁶¹⁸ On Philo’s education, see Koskeniemi “Philo and classical education” (2014).

⁶¹⁹ Philo’s readership may have been primarily destined by him for a Jewish audience, though there is some evidence that his works may also have been read by pagans – see Hilhorst “Was Philo read by pagans?” (1992).

⁶²⁰ Koskeniemi (op. cit.) pg. 106. He also observes that Philo, because of changing circumstances in Alexandria, may have been one of the last generations of Jews to receive a classical education.

⁶²¹ *Quod omnis probus liber* 98 – 104.

⁶²² Pindar, Aeschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, Aristophanes, and Menander are not named in Josephus’ writings.

inheritance, an idea which is already found in Aristobulus of Alexandria,⁶²³ may well have bolstered this practice. Philo and Josephus bookend the 1st century CE in which the majority of the NT texts were penned, but the two of them, especially Philo, seem to inhabit a different literary world, with a willingness to draw on the literary heritage of the Hellenistic world, in opposition to the world of the NT, and that of the Apostolic Fathers, where such a presence seems relatively peripheral. Though the writers of the NT and the Apostolic Fathers will, in all probability, have learnt to read and write through the *paideia enkyklios*, they were also writing for an audience where illiteracy would have been prevalent, and there would thus have been no compelling impulse to display the fruits of their learning in quotation and allusion, unlike Philo and Josephus.

⁶²³ Eusebius *Praeparatio Evangelica* IX 6 and XI 10.

Chapter 6 - Justin – a new beginning?

Most of what later generations know of Justin, comes from his own writings. He was born⁶²⁴ in Flavia Neapolis, the son of Priscus, the grandson of Baccheius.⁶²⁵ Flavia Neapolis was, as its name indicates, a *colonia* established under Vespasian after the war of 67 – 70CE. The family were Gentile,⁶²⁶ seemingly confirmed by the fact that Justin himself says he was uncircumcised.⁶²⁷ Given these facts, it must be a strong presumption that Justin learnt his ability to write and read through some form of the *paideia enkyklios*,⁶²⁸ which will almost certainly have taken place in Flavia Neapolis. It is a possibility that two passages in the *Apologies* may refer to this stage of Justin's life, perhaps a recollection of copying lines from Homer and other poets.⁶²⁹ Classical literature was central to the *paideia enkyklios* and the evidence from papyri suggests that the materials remained much the same in the first centuries of the Christian era, even if they may have varied locally.⁶³⁰ Pupils would have learnt by copying lines, principally from Homer⁶³¹ but also from Euripides, Menander and other pagan authors. Many of the exercises would have involved stories based on pagan mythology. Diaspora Jews may well have organised schools to teach their children the stories of their faith in the LXX but throughout the Greek East the evidence seems to indicate that schools

⁶²⁴ The date is unknown but probably his birth was in the first years of the 2nd century CE.

⁶²⁵ *Apology* 1. 1.

⁶²⁶ Though Justin on several occasions seems to refer to himself as a Samaritan - notably *Dialogue with Trypho* 120 6 – Bobichon in his note on this passage suggests that this, in all probability, refers to his birth place and that the use of γένος in Justin's works has an ambiguous meaning.

⁶²⁷ *Dialogue with Trypho* 28 2 – πιστεῦσθαι τῷ ἀπερίτμητῳ.

⁶²⁸ Munier *Apologie* (op. cit.) pg. 13.

⁶²⁹ *Apology* 1 54: Οἱ δὲ παραδιδόντες τὰ μυθοποιηθέντα ὑπὸ τῶν ποιητῶν οὐδεμίαν ἀπόδειξιν φέρουσι τοῖς ἐκμανθάνουσι νέοις and *Apology* 2 7: ὥς καὶ ἔν τισιν οἱ ποιηταὶ διὰ τὸ ἔμφυτον παντὶ γένει ἀνθρώπων σπέρμα τοῦ λόγου μεμισῆσθαι καὶ πεφονεῦσθαι οἶδαμεν.

⁶³⁰ Morgan (1998) (op. cit.).

⁶³¹ On the influence of Homer, and the reaction of early Christian authors see Sandnes (2009).

and schoolteachers who taught the *paideia enkyklios* were the norm, and that no other provision was made, unless a parent was rich enough to afford private tuition. Sandnes⁶³² quotes a schoolboy's textbook from the *Boriant Papyri*, probably dated in the 4th century CE, on which the schoolboy has drawn a cross and written the word θεός.⁶³³ The obvious inference must be that this was a boy from a Christian family attending the local school. Though Christianity of the 4th century CE held a different role and place in society from that of two centuries earlier, in the lack of evidence of "independent" Christian schools, there must be a strong possibility that children from Christian families in the early and middle decades of the 2nd century underwent the same education as they learnt their letters, and that there was no other option, certainly at the level of the *paideia enkyklios*.⁶³⁴

What sets Justin apart from his predecessors is that he is the first Christian writer to explicitly name and quote pagan authors.⁶³⁵ Though the references in the *Apologies*⁶³⁶ and the *Dialogue with Trypho* are few and tentative, they are the first and it was a path that was taken up in their different ways by Tatian, Athenagoras, Tertullian, Theophilus, Irenaeus and finally in an explosion of classical learning by Clement of Alexandria. This is a step forward that is often ignored by writers on Justin. To take but a sample: Goodenough,⁶³⁷ Chadwick,⁶³⁸

⁶³² (op. cit.) pg. 3.

⁶³³ This is followed by the letters εγωλ which some, including Leclercq, Marrou and Laistner have interpreted as εὐλογητός.

⁶³⁴ It remains a possibility the rich Christians could afford private education for their children. Tertullian in the *de idololatria* allows for the education of the young even though he bars a Christian from teaching.

⁶³⁵ The quotations in the NT are unattributed and no authors are named.

⁶³⁶ This is how the text has been transmitted, but some, notably Minns and Parvis (2009) have taken a different stance. Parvis has argued that Justin wrote a petition which cannot now be retrieved, which included most of the two Apologies and ended with chapters 14 and 15 of the 2nd Apology. This was presented to the emperor, in the hope of response. Later, it is argued, Justin rewrote the text and most of what is now the 2nd Apology was discarded and published after Justin's death by his disciples. Chapters 14 and 15 may have ended the first Apology and that is where Minns and Parvis place them in their edition.

⁶³⁷ Erwin (1923).

⁶³⁸ Chadwick, H. (1965).

Barnard⁶³⁹, Osborn,⁶⁴⁰ Grant,⁶⁴¹ Frances Young,⁶⁴² and David Nystrom,⁶⁴³ make no reference to Justin's use of classical quotations and allusions⁶⁴⁴. Though Justin shows himself indebted to Greek philosophical thought, it could be presented in a way that did not necessarily involve displaying a knowledge of classical literature. To give but an obvious example: θεός was a word and a concept that would be shared, *inter alios*, by pagans, Jews, and Christians, even though different interpretations and meanings might be involved.

Justin is the first Christian author to indicate that he, though a pagan at the time, must have passed in all probability (if not certainly) through the *paideia enkyklios* by the quotation of classical literature. But more important than that is the perception that the Christian church may be entering a new stage on its journey. For the first time Christians are appropriating the literature read and used by their contemporaries, albeit in a tentative fashion. This may well be a sign of a church growing in confidence, a church that is looking to assume a new place and standing among its contemporaries. This may well be reflected in the apologetic genre itself, a genre that may be both outward and inward looking at the same time. Grant⁶⁴⁵ argues that apologists "stand on a borderline, overlapping parts of both areas but not fully identifiable with either the part or the whole". The address to the emperors at the beginning may indicate a willingness to address the wider world of which the imperial family was the apex, even if such aspirations were not necessarily fulfilled. Equally the argument from

⁶³⁹ Barnard, (1966); the only Menander that Barnard mentions is the 2nd century CE heretic.

⁶⁴⁰ Osborn, (1973).

⁶⁴¹ Grant, (1988).

⁶⁴² Young (1999).

⁶⁴³ Nystrom (2018). Nystrom acknowledges, (pg. 5) Justin's deep engagement with the surrounding culture, rivalling faiths and philosophies. This study is in agreement with Nystrom's assessment, particularly with the first point, through an analysis of Justin's quotations and allusions from classical literature which Nystrom does not include in his study. (In his summary outline of the *Apology*, Nystrom does mention the Menander allusion *en passant*, but does not draw any significance from it.)

⁶⁴⁴ The index of Classical, Rabbinic and Patristic texts in Parvis and Foster (2007) contains no references to any of the passages quoted by Justin.

⁶⁴⁵ Grant (1988) – pg. 9.

prophecy, as Young underlines,⁶⁴⁶ is central to Justin's theme, and will have been appreciated by his fellow Christians⁶⁴⁷ as an affirmation of their beliefs.⁶⁴⁸ Justin stands on the threshold of a new understanding of the church's wider relationship to the society that surrounded it, and of which it was also a part.

Justin's predecessors

Justin was not the first Christian apologist;⁶⁴⁹ that honour must fall to writers like Quadratus and Aristides.⁶⁵⁰ Eusebius⁶⁵¹ writes that both Quadratus⁶⁵² and Aristides⁶⁵³ presented apologies to the Emperor Hadrian on his visit to Athens.⁶⁵⁴ It is usually assumed on the evidence of the bishops that Eusebius mentions (Alexander and Xystus of Rome, Primus and Justus of Alexandria) that he seems to indicate the first visit of Hadrian.⁶⁵⁵ Though

⁶⁴⁶ Young (1999) pg. 84.

⁶⁴⁷ One may well speculate what pagan readers would have made of such arguments.

⁶⁴⁸ Young (op. cit.) pg. 84) also argues that Justin "is already justifying the abandonment of the pagan classics for barbarian scriptures whose truth has been proved by fulfilment" - I would suggest that rather he is the first, however tentatively, to seek some form of rapprochement between classical literature and the Christian faith.

⁶⁴⁹ For a discussion of the various meanings of "apology" and the approach taken by different authors see Nystrom (2018). It is noteworthy that for Eusebius an apology seems to have included an address to the authorities. Modern scholarship generally includes those works which fall outside the "Eusebian" definition of an apology.

⁶⁵⁰ Nystrom (op. cit.) (pg. 31) raises the possibility of Justin having read or having knowledge of Aristides' work and borrowed themes like the address to the emperor, but rejects the idea of any significant influence on the text.

⁶⁵¹ *H.E.* 4. 3 Αἴλιος Ἀδριανὸς διαδέχεται τὴν ἡγεμονίαν. τοῦτῳ Κοδρᾶτος λόγον προσφωνήσας ἀναδίδωσιν, ἀπολογίαν συντάξας ὑπὲρ τῆς καθ' ἡμᾶς θεοσεβείας..... καὶ Ἀριστείδης δέ, πιστὸς ἀνὴρ τῆς καθ' ἡμᾶς ὁρμώμενος εὐσεβείας, τῷ Κοδράτῳ παραπλησίως ὑπὲρ τῆς πίστεως ἀπολογίαν ἐπιφωνήσας Ἀδριανῷ καταλέλοιπεν.

⁶⁵² Foster (2007) and Grant (1977). Grant seeks to argue that Quadratus may be referring to Simon Magus. He notes the opening of the fragment, τοῦ δὲ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν, may indicate a false saviour is being referred to and suggests that Simon Magus may be a suitable candidate.

⁶⁵³ Pouderon (2003); Alpignano (1988). In this latter edition, the Syriac text is only given in Italian.

⁶⁵⁴ Hadrian's visits to Athens are usually dated autumn 124CE, spring 125CE; autumn 128CE and winter 131/132CE.

⁶⁵⁵ It was on this first visit to Athens in autumn 124CE that Hadrian was initiated into the Eleusinian mysteries. Ališauskas (2019), somewhat speculatively, suggests a hypothesis that the direct impulse to defend Christianity was the conflict between the Christians and the Athenian society on the issue of the Eleusinian mysteries. It may be doubted whether Christians in Athens were numerous, or strong, enough to initiate such a debate, given the prominence of the mysteries in Athenian society.

Eusebius claims that he has a copy of Quadratus’⁶⁵⁶ work and gives his readers a fragment, we have no certain proof that Quadratus’ apology⁶⁵⁷ contained any classical allusions or quotations.⁶⁵⁸ The same is not true of Aristides’ work which, Eusebius claims, was extant in his day. Aristides makes many allusions to Greek mythology, but seemingly no quotations or allusions from classical literature.⁶⁵⁹ If Aristides’ apology was indeed presented to Hadrian, the presumption must be that it was during his first visit. If the Syriac text is correct,⁶⁶⁰ “the Greeks then, O king, because they practise foul things in sleeping with males,”⁶⁶¹ it would have been seemingly undiplomatic to offer such a text to an emperor and his ἐρώμενος Antinous, and that would seem to eliminate the two latter visits.⁶⁶² For this reason, Grant⁶⁶³ was prepared to argue for a second edition of the *Apology* but there is no compelling evidence for such a rewrite. In addition, the Syriac version names the dedicatee as Caesar Titus Hadrianus Antoninus Augustus Pius, from Marcianus Aristides, a philosopher of Athens. Antoninus’ full regnal name as emperor was Imperator Caesar Titus Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus Pius,⁶⁶⁴ whereas that of Hadrian was Imperator Caesar Traianus Hadrianus

⁶⁵⁶ Jerome *de viris illustribus* 19 mentions Quadratus a bishop of Athens - Quadratus apostolorum discipulus, Publio Athenarum episcopo, ob Christi fidem martyrio coronato, in locum eius substituitur – as Foster (op. cit.) (pg. 55) notes this is unlikely on chronological grounds.

⁶⁵⁷ The early date of Quadratus’ work c. 124 – 5CE is often justified on the nature of the text “the truth of the claim that Jesus was a true miracle-worker is first-hand testimony presented over many years by the recipients of healing, although in Quadratus’ own contemporary setting this has become second-hand testimony, mediated through those who knew the earlier generation.” (Foster (op. cit.) pg. 57).

⁶⁵⁸ Andriessen (1947) attempts to argue, with some ingenuity, that the surviving fragment of Quadratus fits into the lacuna after 10.8, but the presumed length of the lacuna seems too short to accommodate the switch of topic, implied by the Quadratus fragment.

⁶⁵⁹ Aristides’ apology chiefly survives in an abbreviated version of the Greek in the novel *Barlaam and Josaphat* and in a Syriac manuscript discovered by J. Rendel Harris. On the relation of the apology and its relation to the novel, see Simpson (2015).

⁶⁶⁰ Aristides *Apology* 17.

⁶⁶¹ *Apology* 8 1 - This passage is not found in the Greek version, but it is possible that it was omitted by the author of *Barlaam and Josaphat* as not suitable to his purpose – also *Apology* 9 3.

⁶⁶² Antinous would have been dead by the latter visit, but given Hadrian’s grief, such a reference would have been tactless.

⁶⁶³ Grant (op. cit.).

⁶⁶⁴ Salazar, Christine and Gentry, Francis (eds.) *Brill’s New Pauly*; consulted on line 1st August 2018.

Augustus.⁶⁶⁵ The Syriac text gives a form of the name of the dedicatee closer to Antoninus Pius, than that of Hadrian; the Syriac translator may have added Augustus because he assumed that was part of an emperor's name. It seems preferable to follow the Syriac text rather than Eusebius, who may simply have coupled two early apologists together and assumed from the use of Hadrianus in Antoninus Pius' name that the earlier emperor was intended⁶⁶⁶.

There is, however, another argument which might suggest that Aristides' *Apology* was written in the reign of Antoninus. If we accept the date of circa 124CE for the presentation of the *Apology* to Hadrian, that leaves a longish gap of over thirty years before the writing of Justin's *Apology* during which the first step taken by Aristides in his use of Greek mythology was not followed up. The usually accepted date of Justin's *Apology* is 155-7CE⁶⁶⁷ and given the relative speed with which subsequent writers⁶⁶⁸ followed in Justin's footsteps, it would seem more probable to reduce the period between Aristides and Justin and place the former's *Apology* in the reign of Antoninus Pius.⁶⁶⁹ Sara Parvis⁶⁷⁰ has also advanced arguments for dating Aristides later than the reign of Hadrian. She argues, plausibly, that the dating by Eusebius may have been in part prompted by the Hadrianic rescript (in Justin's *Apology*), a logical inference on the part of Eusebius.⁶⁷¹ She further notes that Aristides' *Apology* has a

⁶⁶⁵ Brill's *New Pauly* (op. cit.).

⁶⁶⁶ The Armenian text also dates Aristides to the reign of Hadrian, but this may be derived from Eusebius and not be an independent source. Pouderon in his edition (op. cit.) (pg. 45) inclines to accept the earlier, Hadrianic date – following Eusebius. Birley (2000) notes that Eusebius may well have confused Hadrian with Antoninus Pius.

⁶⁶⁷ The reference to Felix as a recent prefect of Egypt points in this direction.

⁶⁶⁸ Other contemporary apologists such as Apollinaris, Miltiades and Melito have been lost.

⁶⁶⁹ This leaves the obscure writer, Aristo of Pella, mentioned by Eusebius at *History of the Church* 4.6.3 - αὐτὸς διατάξιν Ἀδριανοῦ, ὡς ἂν μὴδ' ἐξ ἀπόπτου θεωροῖεν τὸ πατρῶν ἔδαφος, ἐγκελευσαμένου Ἀρίστου ὁ Πελλαῖος ἱστορεῖ. It seems unclear whether Aristo was an apologist or a chronicler.

⁶⁷⁰ Parvis "Justin Martyr and the Apologetic tradition" (2007).

⁶⁷¹ Parvis (op. cit.) observes that the dating in the *Historia Ecclesiastica* is less precise than that in the earlier *Chronicon*.

timeless quality about it and suggests that the apology may have been cobbled together from a general treatise in the wake of Justin's *Apology* and then given a date in the reign of Hadrian to account for the rescript. This part of her argument seems less plausible. Compared with Justin's and later writings, Aristides' work may seem jejune and underdeveloped and there is no apparent reason why someone would want to create such an apologetic work from another, even if by the same author, and especially in the time of the more inventive and creative apologists. It also leaves unexplained the dating in the Syriac translation. Aristides' work is best left in the reign of Antoninus where it seems to sit more logically. (O'Ceallaigh⁶⁷² sought to show that the work is that of a Jewish proselyte, which was presented to Hadrian on his first Athenian visit, and later redacted by a Christian author. The argument is not compelling – as Pouderon⁶⁷³ indeed noted “vaguement provocateur”.)

Aristides' *Apology* compared with Justin's is relatively simple; his arguments do not have the weight and thrust that Justin will develop. Sections eight to eleven are devoted to the gods of Greek mythology, mainly to their failings and the reasons why they are fallible deities. Aristides' vigorous attack, developing a trope which goes back to Xenophanes, is something of a cul-de-sac. He acknowledges the wisdom of the Greeks but ignores (or prefers to omit) that part, indeed a major part, of their wisdom which lay in their literature, which was the basis of the *paideia enkyklios*. If Christianity was to make advances into the upper strata of Graeco-Roman society, the path lay in both embracing the *paideia enkyklios* and the heritage that lay behind it, to prove that Christians were not mere ἰδιῶται, while at the same time preserving the monotheism which lay at the heart of the faith and the refusal to compromise that belief. It may just be coincidence that so many apologetic works were

⁶⁷² O'Ceallaigh (1958).

⁶⁷³ Pouderon (2003) (op cit.) pg. 30.

written in the second half of the 2nd century, but equally a sign of the church's growing spread and confidence, that it was now willing to harness the learning, both philosophical and literary, of the world and community around it in the service of the gospel. It is at this turning point that Justin stands, the first, to draw in depth on the philosophical tradition and to explore, however tentatively, the literary heritage.

Justin's quotations and allusions

The only author significantly referred to in the two apologies is Plato.⁶⁷⁴ This is probably a reflection of Justin's Middle Platonic background and how far he may have expected his readers to recognise these allusions is open to debate. As Daniélou notes: "Elle (la dépendance à l'égard du Moyen-Platonisme) est particulièrement notable chez Justin. L'exposé que donne celui-ci, au début du Dialogue, de ses idées philosophiques avant sa conversion montre qu'il était médio-platonicien."⁶⁷⁵ Given Justin's interest in Middle-Platonism and the part it plays in his thought and theology, it might have been expected that he might have quoted more from Plato. Might it be that he is not sure of the reaction such quotations might arouse in his readership, both in Rome and wherever his text might be copied? There may well be a difference between ideas and motifs, derived from Middle-Platonism, woven anonymously into Justin's theological discourse and texts quoted which come from an overt literary background, which has yet to be assimilated fully into Christian thinking and life, and which may still seem, in a sense, slightly alien. Equally open is the source

⁶⁷⁴ Quotations in various degrees of accuracy (is Justin quoting from memory?) from *Republic* 473DE (*Apol.* 1 3.3), 533 D (*Dialogue* 4. 1), 595C (2 *Apol.* 8(3) 6), 617E (1 *Apol.* 44. 8), *Phaedo* 107C (1 *Apol.* 18. 1), *Timaeus* 28C (2 *Apol.* 5(6). 1), 41B (*Dialogue* 5. 4), *Epistle* II 312E (1 *Apol.* 60. 7), *Crito* 43D (1 *Apol.* 68. 2) and eight or so allusions: some of the allusions are harder to evaluate so this can only be an approximation.

⁶⁷⁵ Daniélou - pg. 104 (1961).

from which Justin may have obtained these allusions. Given the freedom and errors in quotation, it might suggest that Justin had not read them in the texts directly, but perhaps through some form of handbook about middle Platonism. It is also possible, and probable, that Justin is quoting from memory. The two apologies are also largely free from quotations which might have derived from the context of the *paideia enkyklios*.⁶⁷⁶ The two possible exceptions are to a reference to Menander⁶⁷⁷ and a line from Euripides' *Hippolytus*. The former is something of an enigma. It is generally reckoned to be a reference to the *Hiereia* of Menander, chiefly it seems, as Clement quotes and names the author of the fragment.⁶⁷⁸ The words that Justin uses to refer to the passage - μείζονα γὰρ τὸν δημιουργὸν τοῦ σκευαζομένου ἀπεφήναντο – point to a craftsman being greater than his creation. This does not seem to be entirely consistent with lines from the fragment:

εἰ γὰρ ἔλκει τινὰ⁶⁷⁹ θεὸν

τοῖς κυμβάλοις ἄνθρωπος εἰς ὃ βούλεται,

ὁ τοῦτο ποιῶν ἐστὶ μείζων τοῦ θεοῦ.

This seems to infer that, if a man can force the hand of a god by cymbals,⁶⁸⁰ then he is greater than that god, something rather different from Justin's summary. What might give weight to Munier's supposition that passages from the OT⁶⁸¹ lie equally, if not more so, behind this reference is the use of δημιουργός. Of the seven usages of the word in Justin,⁶⁸² only this passage seems to use the earlier meaning of craftsman rather than that of creator (favoured

⁶⁷⁶ It is perhaps unfortunate that editors like Munier do not distinguish between quotation, allusion and parallels; this gives a very misleading picture of Justin's familiarity with earlier literature.

⁶⁷⁷ *Justin* (ed. Wartelle) (1987) pg. 257 and *Justin* (ed. Munier) (2006) pg. 186 *inter alios* still refer to the passage as the fragment of the *Hiereia*.

⁶⁷⁸ *Protrepticus* 75 4 – it also occurs in a longer form in *de monarchia* 5 2.

⁶⁷⁹ This is the text as printed by Sandbach (op. cit.); Clement's text has τὸν for τινὰ.

⁶⁸⁰ Instruments traditionally associated, but not exclusively, with the worship of Cybele.

⁶⁸¹ Psalm 113:12 (Hebrew; Psalm 115:4) – incorrectly given in Munier, and Psalm 134:15 *inter alia*.

⁶⁸² *Apologia* 1 8, 1 13, 1 26, 1 58, 1 63, *Apologia* 2 10, frg. 1.

in later philosophical discourse.) It may well be that Justin has come across some lines of Menander, whether by the Athenian dramatist or pseudonymous⁶⁸³ (and not necessarily frg. 188) quoted in an earlier, probable Jewish source, and vaguely remembered them. It is now almost certainly impossible to trace Justin's source with any degree of accuracy, except that he thought he was referring to the work of Menander. (Kassel and Austin⁶⁸⁴ omit any reference to the first *Apology* in their *apparatus criticus* at frg. 188, even as an allusion, further proof that this is not a reference to the *Hiereia*.)⁶⁸⁵

The other line is a line from the *Hippolytus*⁶⁸⁶ of Euripides, a line which is often thought of as well known, but is in fact, after Aristophanes' witty allusion to the first half,⁶⁸⁷ only quoted by Aristotle,⁶⁸⁸ Maximus of Tyre⁶⁸⁹ and Justin himself. Justin's text implies that he has failed to make the necessary elisions. This probably derives from Justin himself, rather than a scribal error, as the trimeter in I Corinthians appears unanimously in the textual tradition without elision and Clement often omits the elision.⁶⁹⁰ It has often been argued that τὸ λεγόμενον implies the line had acquired a proverbial status;⁶⁹¹ perhaps it simply implies that the line had come to Justin devoid of any literary connection, and how he discovered the line is now impossible to guess. As Barrett⁶⁹² and Halleran⁶⁹³ point out in their respective commentaries on the line, it is spoken by Hippolytus in anger, and serves to create the

⁶⁸³ The first two passages in *de monarchia* (1 2 and 2) – attributed falsely to Aeschylus and Sophocles – provide a good example, and are also quoted by Clement. A collection of pseudonymous fragments ascribed to classical authors, from Jewish sources, can be found in Denis (1970).

⁶⁸⁴ PCG Vol. VI 2 pg. 139.

⁶⁸⁵ Nesselrath (2014) (pg. 677) notes that Justin quotes frg. 501(K/A) as supporting the prohibition of venerating idols. In fact this is simply the text of *Apology* 1, indicating a fragment of uncertain substance may lie concealed here.

⁶⁸⁶ *Hippolytus* line 612.

⁶⁸⁷ *Frogs* 1471.

⁶⁸⁸ *Rhetorica* 1416a 28ff.

⁶⁸⁹ *Dissertatio* 40 section 6 line 39.

⁶⁹⁰ Is this a possible indication that such lines had slipped loose from their original literary source?

⁶⁹¹ It does not appear in the collections of Zenobius and Diogenianus.

⁶⁹² Barrett (1964).

⁶⁹³ Halleran (1995).

dramatic situation as to whether Hippolytus will keep his oath.⁶⁹⁴ The line was parodied three times by Aristophanes⁶⁹⁵ and the story in Aristotle of its being used against Euripides in a law case suggests the line had acquired a meaning, quite divorced from its context. The fashion in which Justin refers to the line suggests strongly that he is unaware of the dramatic context, and that he accepts the line at its face value, as may well have been the case from Aristotle onwards, which might indicate the line had developed a separate existence from the play.

The most surprising allusions occur towards the end of the second *Apology*⁶⁹⁶ when Justin refers to some obscure Greek authors, Sotades, Philaenis, and Arcestratos.⁶⁹⁷ (Epicurus is also, somewhat confusingly, included among these authors, though neither a poet nor the author of lubricious material.) The group are referred to after the following; οὐκ ἔστι δὲ ἡμῶν τὰ διδάγματα κατὰ κρίσιν σώφρονα αἰσχροῦ, ἀλλὰ πάσης μὲν φιλοσοφίας ἀνθρωπείου ὑπέρτερα where one might have expected a reference to Greek philosophers, as being inferior to Christian teaching. Εἰ δὲ μή, καὶ Σωταδαῖοις καὶ Φιλαινιδεῖοις καὶ Ἀρχεστρατεῖοις⁶⁹⁸ καὶ Ἐπικουρεῖοις καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς τοιούτοις ποιητικοῖς διδάγμασιν, cannot help but seem rather bathetic, even if suggested by the use of αἰσχροῦ. Sotades⁶⁹⁹ of Maronea was a 3rd century BCE Hellenistic poet, famed for his invention of the Sotadean metre and his rewriting of Homer, employing this metre. He was reputed as the first to write

⁶⁹⁴ He does with disastrous results.

⁶⁹⁵ *Thesmophoriazousae* 275, *Frogs* 101 and 1471.

⁶⁹⁶ *Apology* II 15 3 – the closing two paragraphs of the second *Apology* are speculatively placed by Parvis and Minns at the end of the first *Apology* as paragraphs 69 and 70. (There is no textual evidence to support this emendation.)

⁶⁹⁷ This last author depends on a plausible emendation of Leutsch.

⁶⁹⁸ Fragments of Arcestratos' *Ἡδυπάθεια* poem survive only in Athenaeus; VIII 335b; Χρύσιππον δ', ἄνδρες φίλοι, τὸν τῆς στοᾶς ἡγεμόνα κατὰ πολλὰ θαυμάζων ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐπαινῶ τὸν πολυθρύλητον ἐπὶ τῇ Ὀψολογίᾳ Ἀρχέστρατον αἰεὶ ποτε μετὰ Φιλαινίδος κατατάττοντα, εἰς ἣν ἀναφέρεται τὸ περὶ ἀφροδισίων ἀκόλαστον σύγγραμμα.

⁶⁹⁹ The fragments are found in Powell (1925 repr. 1970). The *Sotadea* found in Stobaeus are almost certainly not the work of Sotades.

cinaedology⁷⁰⁰ and incurred the wrath of Ptolemy II Philadelphus on his marriage to his sister Arsinoe II.⁷⁰¹ Philainis of Samos⁷⁰² was almost certainly a pseudonym for a work written by a male author.⁷⁰³ It used to be thought that the subject matter was concerned with sexual positions, but the discovery and publication of a papyrus⁷⁰⁴ revealed the work as a rather prosaic forerunner of Ovid's *Ars amatoria*. Archestratos of Gela⁷⁰⁵ was probably born at the end of the 5th century BCE, and was the author of *Hedupatheia*,⁷⁰⁶ a poem in hexameters on gastronomy.⁷⁰⁷ Athenaeus notes that Chrysippus linked this work with Philaenis' *oeuvre*, perhaps a condemnation by the Stoic philosopher of excess in both works.⁷⁰⁸ Of 2nd century authors, apart from Justin, only Hephestion and Athenaeus allude to Sotades and his work. In the case of Philaenis, apart from Lucian,⁷⁰⁹ the only second century authors to refer to Philaenis are Justin, Tatian⁷¹⁰ and Clement.⁷¹¹ Of authors roughly contemporaneous with Justin, Athenaeus is the only one to refer to and quote Archestratos. How Justin acquired his knowledge of these three relatively obscure authors is impossible to determine; the only clue may lie in the fact that he couples them with an erroneous reference to Epicurus as being a

⁷⁰⁰ Strabo 14 14. - ἤρξε δὲ Σωτάδης μὲν πρῶτος τοῦ κιναιδολογεῖν.

⁷⁰¹ Weber G. (1998-9) – the offending line was: Εἰς οὐχ ὁσίην τρυμαλῆν τὸ κέντρον ὠθεῖς (frg. 1).

⁷⁰² Plant (2004); Tsantsanoglou (1973).

⁷⁰³ Parker (1992) pg. 94.

⁷⁰⁴ Lobel (1972).

⁷⁰⁵ Olson and Sens (2000). The ninth testimonium is taken from Justin, but there is no indication that the text depends on an emendation.

⁷⁰⁶ *Testimonium* 2 (Olson and Sens op. cit.) indicates that the work was known by several titles though Sens and Olson support *Hedupatheia* - *Testimonium* 2 apud Athenaeum 1 4e – (1. 7 Kaibel) - ὅτι Ἀρχέστρατος ὁ Συρακούσιος ἢ Γελῶς ἐν τῇ ὥς Χρύσιππος ἐπιγράφει Γαστρονομία, ὥς δὲ Λυγκεὺς καὶ Καλλίμαχος Ἡδυπαθεία, ὥς δὲ Κλέαρχος Δειπνολογία, ὥς δ' ἄλλοι Ὀψοποιία.

⁷⁰⁷ The fact that Athenaeus, the sole surviving source of the fragments does not mention book numbers led Olson and Sens to suggest the work could have fitted on one scroll – probably no more than 1,200 hexameters.

⁷⁰⁸ *Testimonium* 5 Athenaeus 335 b, d - 6a Χρύσιππον δ', ἄνδρες φίλοι, τὸν τῆς στοᾶς ἡγεμόνα κατὰ πολλὰ θαυμάζων ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐπαιῶ τὸν πολυθρύλητον ἐπὶ τῇ ὀψολογίᾳ Ἀρχέστρατον αἰεὶ ποτε μετὰ Φιλαινίδος κατατάττοντα.

⁷⁰⁹ *Pseudologista* 24.

⁷¹⁰ *Oratio* 34 3 10 and 9 31.

⁷¹¹ *Protrepticus* 4 61 2. It is possible to speculate that Tatian and Clement might have been depending on Justin.

poet - καὶ Ἐπικουρείοις καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς τοιούτοις ποιητικοῖς διδάγμασιν. As Justin does not seem to refer to the school of the Epicureans in the philosophies mentioned at the opening of the *Dialogue*,⁷¹² it is a possibility that Justin's knowledge of Epicureans was limited to the popular impression of Epicurus as a hedonist;⁷¹³ this would certainly be consistent with the tone of the other three writers mentioned by Justin.

The *Dialogue with Trypho* adds a few more quotations and allusions. The subject matter of the *Dialogue* provides less opportunity for the quotation of, or allusion to, the classics, except in the introduction.⁷¹⁴ For the first time in a Christian work, Homer, the basis of the *paideia enkyklios*, is quoted. There are two short quotations. The first⁷¹⁵ is a formulaic phrase Τίς δὲ σύ ἐσσι, φέριστε which occurs with different endings at *Iliad* vi 123 καταθνήτων ἀνθρώπων, xv. 247 Τίς δὲ σύ ἐσσι, φέριστε θεῶν, and xxiv 387 τέων δ' ἐξ ἐσσι τοκήων. (Justin Martyr is the first to quote.) The second quotation is ἀνθρώπων ἀλεεῖναι πάτον. Justin quotes this from *Iliad* vi. 202 though it is not an exact quotation, as he is almost certainly relying on memory - ὃν θυμὸν κατέδων, πάτον ἀνθρώπων ἀλεεῖνων is the line as given in Homer.⁷¹⁶ Justin is the second to cite, even in its slightly inaccurate form, after Aristotle *Problemata* 953 A 25. Compared with the Platonic quotations and allusions, there is a certain tentativeness about Justin's use of these quotations. It is possible that Justin was testing the waters as it were, but also there may have been another challenge in quoting

⁷¹² *Dialogue* 2. 1 - οὐ γὰρ ἂν Πλατωνικοὶ ἦσαν οὐδὲ Στωϊκοὶ οὐδὲ Περιπατητικοὶ οὐδὲ Θεωρητικοὶ οὐδὲ Πυθαγορικοί. Of the Θεωρητικοί, Bobichon notes that Alfonsi (1947) suggests that Θεωρητικοί is a gloss, reading οὐ for οὐδὲ.

⁷¹³ On the knowledge of Epicurus and his teachings in the 2nd century CE, see Erler, Michael "Epicureanism in the Roman Empire" (2009).

⁷¹⁴ There is only one classical allusion after *Dialogue* 8 3.

⁷¹⁵ *Dialogue* 1 3.

⁷¹⁶ The reference occurs in Justin's encounter with the παλαιός τις πρεσβύτερος.

literature which was so rooted in the Olympian pantheon, as compared with philosophical discourse.

This tentativeness might also explain and underlie two disputed entries in Justin's text. At *Apology* 1, 18 5, Munier⁷¹⁷ prints Σωκράτους, while Parvis and Minns⁷¹⁸ read Χενοκράτους (an emendation of Schmid⁷¹⁹) on the grounds that Socrates was not a writer. Though they note that Epictetus⁷²⁰ classes Socrates as a writer, and thus a precedent for Justin's view, they also point out that Theodoret⁷²¹ gives a list of writers similar to that of Justin, including Xenocrates, and adding Anaxagoras and Diogenes, who teach the incorruptibility of the soul. Against this, it may be observed that Theodoret's list comes from the 5th century CE, and may not reliably reflect Justin's text, if indeed it is derived from it. More important is the fact that at *Apology* 2 10 6 Justin depicts Socrates as banishing poets: ⁷²² Σωκράτης.....ἐκβαλὼν τῆς πολιτείας καὶ Ὅμηρον καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ποιητάς. It may be that Justin had a rather simplistic view of the relationship between Socrates and Plato, and that he viewed them, if not quite inter-changeable, as expressing the same views. In view of the fact, also, that Justin mentions no philosopher after Plato, one may well wonder whether he would have been aware of Xenocrates,⁷²³ or whether he would have expected his potential audience to be equally aware. It might be a reasonable presumption for a Clement to mention Xenocrates, but for Justin's more confined knowledge, it seems improbable. The reading Xenocrates may rather

⁷¹⁷ Munier (op. cit.) (2006).

⁷¹⁸ Parvis and Minns (2009).

⁷¹⁹ Schmid (1941).

⁷²⁰ *Diatribes* II 1 32, III 23 20.

⁷²¹ *Graecarum Affectionum Curatio* V 23.

⁷²² *Apology* 2 10 6.

⁷²³ Xenocrates (born circa 396/5BCE and died 314/3BCE) was a pupil of Plato and head of the Academy for the last twenty-five years of his life.

reflect the more optimistic view of Justin's knowledge held by earlier scholars, and, despite the implausibility of Socrates as a writer, it is preferable to stick with the manuscript tradition.

The other disputed point concerns Homer - *Apology* 1 18 3 - 5.⁷²⁴ The text at this point usually runs; καὶ οἱ λεγόμενοι παρὰ τοῖς μάγοις ὄνειροπομποὶ καὶ πάρεδροι καὶ τὰ γινόμενα ὑπὸ τῶν ταῦτα εἰδόντων πεισάτωσαν ὑμᾶς ὅτι καὶ μετὰ θάνατον ἐν αἰσθήσει εἰσὶν αἱ ψυχαὶ καὶ οἱ ψυχαῖς ἀποθανόντων λαμβανόμενοι καὶ ῥιπτούμενοι ἄνθρωποι, οὓς δαιμονιολήπτους καὶ μαινομένους καλοῦσι πάντες, καὶ τὰ παρ' ὑμῖν λεγόμενα μαντεῖα Ἀμφιλόχου καὶ Δωδώνης καὶ Πυθοῦς καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα τοιαῦτά ἐστι καὶ τὰ τῶν συγγραφέων διδάγματα, Ἐμπεδοκλέους καὶ Πυθαγόρου Πλάτωνός τε καὶ Σώκράτους, καὶ ὁ παρ' Ὀμήρῳ βόθρος καὶ ἡ κάθοδος Ὀδυσσέως εἰς τὴν τούτων ἐπίσκεψιν καὶ τῶν τὰ αὐτὰ τούτοις εἰπόντων. The words underlined are omitted by Parvis and Minns in their edition as a gloss. They argue "that they interrupt the genitival construction and were transferred to a position after "other things of that sort" by Davies, followed by Ashton, Schmid, and Marcovich. We have excluded the phrase as a gloss intended to provide an example of another writer "saying things of that sort".⁷²⁵ The general theme of the passage seems to be the question μετὰ θάνατον ἐν αἰσθήσει εἰσὶν αἱ ψυχαὶ, but this is not always clear. Of the three oracles quoted, Dodona and Delphi did not involve consultation of the spirits of the dead. Regarding the third, Amphilochus was the younger son of Amphiaros and Eriphyle. A mythical seer, he was credited with the foundation of several oracles, of which the most famous was at Sicilian Mallus.⁷²⁶ This latter is mentioned by Plutarch in his *De defectu oraculorum*⁷²⁷ as still flourishing, and if this is the same as the oracle of Mopsus mentioned in Plutarch's text, then

⁷²⁴ The tradition of Justin depends on one manuscript, Parisinus Graecus 450 – dated 11th September 1364. It is generally recognised that "the manuscript is in a deplorable state". Chadwick (1965).

⁷²⁵ Parvis and Minns (op.cit.) pg. 125.

⁷²⁶ Amphilochus – *Brill's New Pauly* (op. cit.).

⁷²⁷ *Moralia* 434 D.

divination was given by incubation. It may simply be that Justin was not well informed about the delivery of the oracles and assumed that, like that of the witch of Endor,⁷²⁸ they were given through the spirits of the dead.

It is true that the phrase καὶ ὁ παρ'Ὀμήρῳ βόθρος καὶ ἡ κάθοδος Ὀδυσσέως εἰς τὴν τούτων ἐπίσκεψιν is awkward and seems to interrupt the construction and the sequence of genitives. It is noteworthy that Munier in his translation writes: "et les récits des auteurs qui ont rapporté des faits analogues." There is nothing in the text to support "récits", and Munier may be supposing an understood repetition of διδάγματα or else the assumption of a missing synonym. The phrase refers to two episodes in the *Odyssey*: x 517ff.⁷²⁹ and xi 25ff. – the introduction to the *Nekuia* which forms the substance of Book xi. The sense of the passage, in view of the fact that the oracles have seemingly no connection with the souls of the dead and that Justin gives no details of the views that writers held, is paradoxically (and *pace* Parvis and Minns) strengthened by the allusion to the Homeric passages, which confirm the sentient souls of the dead. From the pseudo-Platonic *Minos*⁷³⁰ and Ephorus⁷³¹ onwards *Odyssey* xi was known as the *Nekuia* and was one of the most celebrated passages of an encounter with the souls of the dead in the ancient world. Justin does not employ the name *Nekuia*⁷³² that might be expected in other authors, but words sufficient to identify the passage, and reinforce the theme of the cognizant dead. While the possibility of a gloss cannot be excluded, the probability rests with Justin's authorship of the phrase, and the infelicity of the passage, if infelicity it may be, may equally rest with Justin, and remains the earliest mention of Homer

⁷²⁸ 1 Kingdoms 28:7ff (1 Samuel 28:7ff.).

⁷²⁹ Circe's instructions to Odysseus on digging a trench to contact the souls of the dead.

⁷³⁰ *Minos* 319 d 1.

⁷³¹ frg. 134a (Jacoby).

⁷³² The word νεκυία in the sense of necromantic rites is first found in Christian writers in Gregory of Nyssa *Contra fatum* 21.4.4, and seemingly first in the sense of the name for the eleventh book of the *Odyssey* in Eustathius, Archbishop of Thessalonica.

in Christian literature. Apart from the Platonic references and allusions in the two apologies, it has to be admitted that, compared with later apologists, the quotations and allusions in Justin's surviving works constitute a relatively meagre harvest. Some such as Johnson⁷³³ and Nasrallah⁷³⁴ have sought to place Justin in the context of the Second Sophistic. The paucity of quotations and allusions and what Chadwick terms the "rambling" nature of his style,⁷³⁵ compared with a Lucian or a Tatian, are probably sufficient to debar Justin from a place in the ranks of Second Sophistic authors.

Equally Justin, as it has been noted earlier, is also the first Christian writer to draw, however tentatively, on the literary heritage of the ancient world. This latter has often been almost completely overlooked in studies of Justin, possibly because of the relative paucity of quotations, yet in many ways it may well be the more radical step. Ancient Greek literature, from Homer onwards, was founded on, and totally impregnated with, a religious belief system that centred on the twelve Olympian Gods. This was a religious system that lay at the heart of the education system, the *paideia enkyklios*. Pupils would have copied verses from chiefly Homer, Euripides, and Menander. Ironically if those same pupils later read a philosopher such as Plato,⁷³⁶ they would have encountered proportionally fewer references to the twelve Olympian gods. In the works of Plato,⁷³⁷ the greatest number of mentions of a named deity is that of Zeus.⁷³⁸ Of the remaining twelve Olympian gods, Apollo is named thirty-three times, Hera twenty-four, Artemis three, Poseidon sixteen, Athena twenty-four, Ares sixteen,

⁷³³ Johnson (2017).

⁷³⁴ Nasrallah (2005).

⁷³⁵ Chadwick (1984 reprint) – Pg. 20 "and despite his rambling style, is very far from being an ignorant or half-educated fool."

⁷³⁶ Plato's dialogues run to 679,403 words compared with the 199,095 words found in the Homeric poems – *Iliad* and *Odyssey*.

⁷³⁷ I have included the spurious works, as they would probably have been current in the second century CE.

⁷³⁸ 27 in the nominative, 173 in the accusative (mainly through the use of the phrase *μὴ ἢ Δία*), 119 in the genitive, and 12 in the dative.

Aphrodite nineteen, Hephaistos twenty, Hermes nine, Demeter four, Bacchus (or Dionysus) not at all, and Hestia⁷³⁹ four. If the four dialogues most quoted by Clement, *Phaedo*, *Phaedrus*, *Theatetus* and *Timaeus*, a pointer perhaps to their importance in early Christian thought, are compared, the figures fall inevitably but are still significant: Zeus twenty times, Apollo six, Hera four, Athena once, Aphrodite twice, Hephaestus once, and Artemis, Poseidon, Hermes, Dionysus (or Bacchus), Demeter are not mentioned at all. It is instructive to compare this with the occurrences of the same figures in Homer, one of the essentials of the *paideia enkyklios*: Zeus five hundred and ninety-eight; Apollo one hundred and fifty-eight; Hera one hundred and twenty-eight; Artemis twenty-seven; Poseidon eighty-five; Athena three hundred and nineteen; Ares ninety-three; Aphrodite forty-two; Hephaestus sixty; Hermes six; Demeter six times.⁷⁴⁰ The contrast is striking. All who wished to read or write went through a schooling that was founded on literature impregnated with pagan polytheism. Those who read the Platonic dialogues, and they would have been a much smaller group, and also, in all probability, older, would have been reading works, that, though they contained references to pagan deities, were also concerned with the nature of θεός. Boundaries that were clearer in Homer, the tragedians and Menander were blurred in Plato and the philosophers. This can be seen already in Justin where Socrates has almost the status of a proto-Christian martyr. It has been assumed that philosophy was at the centre of the dividing line between Christian and pagan thought and culture in the 2nd century CE. But philosophy was the province of a relatively small group; those who had progressed to the third stage of ancient education or had dabbled in handbooks which gave access to some knowledge of ancient philosophy. It was not necessarily the mark of a literate person. That was gained though the *paideia*

⁷³⁹ Hestia and Dionysus vied for the twelfth place in the list of the Olympian gods. Plato accords Hades or Pluto a place among the twelve Olympians – *Laws* 828 C – D.

⁷⁴⁰ Dionysus is not mentioned in Homer.

enkyklios, founded on material and literature which more clearly marked the division between monotheism and polytheism. In this context the quotation by Justin of classical literature, tentative though it may be, is more significant and radical. It marks a new and significant engagement between the church and the society in which it found itself, an engagement that was to be explored at many levels and in many ways over the coming centuries. As Marksches⁷⁴¹ notes the use of pagan literature in schools does not seem to have posed a problem for Christian learners and pupils – certainly in later times. It may well be an issue that was settled for the main part relatively shortly after Justin’s writing. Certainly, the increase in quotations in the later apologists may point to a greater ease in using the heritage of earlier writings. Though many converts would have come to faith as adults, increasingly there must have been children from Christian families (and two of those martyred with Justin were cradle Christians) who would have needed to acquire the skills of literacy. It may well be that this was an issue which was coming to the surface at the time that Justin wrote, and his works reflect a first tentative approach to the subject. Justin’s quotations of Homer may well be the first overt indication of a Christian author having been schooled in the *paideia enkyklios*.

For whom was Justin writing?

This first use, albeit tentative, might also throw some light on the purpose of the Apologies. Apologetic speeches, from the *Apologia* of Plato,⁷⁴² are a feature of classical literature. In Christian circles the name was first applied to Tertullian’s *Apologeticum* of 197 CE. Though this work is later than those of Quadratus, and subsequent writers till the time of

⁷⁴¹ Marksches (2015).

⁷⁴² The defence of Socrates against his accusers, as recounted by Plato, and the ancestor of all such similar works.

Theophilus, the term is generally applied to those writers of the 2nd century who adopted the apologetic form.⁷⁴³ It is also generally assumed that these works were written for a non-Christian audience, and many, if not all, of the surviving works were addressed to the Emperor or members of the imperial family. The fact that two of the surviving works of the Apologists were written in Rome may have encouraged this view;⁷⁴⁴ and there have been ingenious attempts to demonstrate that Justin's work would have fitted into patterns of the time. But such attempts are fraught with difficulties well highlighted by Lorraine Buck in an unpublished thesis.⁷⁴⁵ *Inter alia*, she cogently argues that the errors in the imperial nomenclature⁷⁴⁶ and the seeming uncertainty as to the addressee(s),⁷⁴⁷ might point to an audience other than the imperial family and wider society. The rambling nature of the *Second Apology*,⁷⁴⁸ does not accord well with surviving examples of *libelli*, and if Justin's work is to be seen in the tradition of a *libellus*, it lacks that subservient and ingratiating tone, which characterise many of them. In a later article,⁷⁴⁹ Buck underlines these points, but also quotes Fergus Millar on the fact that the earliest official "relationship" between the church and the Roman state seems to have taken place in the reign of Gallienus around 260CE, after a decree forbidding persecution against the "hated sectarians", in a rescript to Egyptian bishops.⁷⁵⁰ Such examples of *libelli* may make it harder to see Justin's work as a *libellus*.

⁷⁴³ It has to be admitted there is a certain inconsistency in this usage. The *Letter of Diognetus* has much of the spirit of the apologists and it can equally be found in such writers as Minucius Felix, and even as late as the *de civitate Dei* of Augustine.

⁷⁴⁴ There are ingenious attempts to argue that Justin's work might have been presented to the emperor as a *libellus*, and so would have been read by the imperial eyes for which it was seemingly destined.

⁷⁴⁵ Buck (1998).

⁷⁴⁶ There is also a possibility that the state of the single manuscript on which the text of Justin depends may account for this discrepancy.

⁷⁴⁷ Buck (op. cit.) pg. 182.

⁷⁴⁸ Buck (op. cit.) pg. 186.

⁷⁴⁹ Buck (2003).

⁷⁵⁰ Millar (1992) – the discussion on *libelli* (pg. 240ff.) indicates that *libelli* were more inclined to be used by villages and individuals. The surviving examples indicate brevity and clarity were to be prized.

Buck refers to an article by Tcherikover⁷⁵¹ also instanced by David Nystrom,⁷⁵² and probably alluded to by Edwards in his survey of Apologetic literature;⁷⁵³ “it is a common observation today that evangelical literature is most often read by members of the author’s own communion, and as no evidence proves that any pagan was acquainted with the apologies that survive from the first three centuries, it is reasonable to suppose that they were more widely known within than outside the church.”⁷⁵⁴ Tcherikover argues that the cost of publication might prohibit such apologetic writings, whether Jewish (or, later, Christian), and he is looking primarily at Jewish works, being widely circulated in non-Jewish or non-Christian circles and that their attacks on Greco-Roman religion, often satirical or sarcastic, would hardly be of the nature to win them many friends or allies in contemporary society.⁷⁵⁵ Michael Bird⁷⁵⁶ has (in the light of Tcherikover’s work) examined some Jewish works, written in Greek, which have often been seen as evidence of Jewish missionary activity - works such as the *Epistle of Aristeas*, *Joseph and Aseneth*, *Tobit* and writings by Eupolemus, Demetrius and Josephus’ *Contra Apionem*. Bird’s examination of these works leads him to the conclusion, that with some qualification, Tcherikover’s argument that the intended audience for these works was Jewish, may stand. This is not to say that such literature may have come into Gentile hands, and may have encouraged a more positive view of Jewish religion and

⁷⁵¹ Tcherikover (1956).

⁷⁵² Nystrom (2018).

⁷⁵³ Harvey and Hunter (2008).

⁷⁵⁴ Edwards (2008) pg. 550. Other scholars who have been supportive of Tcherikover’s thesis are Goodman (1994) and McKnight (1991).

⁷⁵⁵ It is not improbable that in the atmosphere of the 18th century, and especially from the 19th century onwards, with the emphasis in Christian circles on missionary and evangelical work, many would have been willing to read these apologetic works at their face value and see them as early examples of a desire to win the world for Christ, by defending the faith.

⁷⁵⁶ Bird (2010).

culture.⁷⁵⁷ Thus, in later times, the fictive frame of an appeal to the Roman authorities, personified in the Imperial family, would give a sense of importance and worth to Jewish or Christian communities as well as strengthening their sense of cohesion and worth in a society which at times could appear dismissive and even hostile. Tcherikover's arguments might well be strengthened by an aspect of Justin's work which has been all but overlooked, even in such recent works as that of Nystrom, and yet stands as an important step in the relationship between the church and the society which surrounds it.

Justin is seemingly the first Christian author to quote or reference classical literature. Of the lost apologists of the 2nd century, none seem to have written between Aristides and Tatian, other than Justin himself. Eusebius writes of Justin (at the conclusion of his description of his martyrdom:) ὁ Ἰουστῖνος πλεῖστα δὲ οὗτος καταλέλοιπεν ἡμῖν πεπαιδευμένης διανοίας καὶ περὶ τὰ θεῖα ἐσπουδακείας ὑπομνήματα, πάσης ὠφελείας ἔμπλεα· ἐφ' ᾧ τοὺς φιλομαθεῖς ἀναπέμψομεν, τὰ εἰς ἡμετέραν γνῶσιν ἐλθόντα χρησίμως παρασημηνάμενοι.⁷⁵⁸ The important word is πεπαιδευμένης. Democritus contrasts the educated and the unlearned: κρέσσονές εἰσιν αἱ τῶν πεπαιδευμένων ἐλπίδες ἢ ὁ τῶν ἀμαθῶν πλοῦτος.⁷⁵⁹ The most obvious translation of Eusebius' words πεπαιδευμένης διανοίας would be "an educated understanding or intelligence." If that is so, then it has to be admitted that Eusebius is being over complimentary to Justin. It might be true of a Clement, yes, but the scant evidence of the *enkyklios paideia* revealed in Justin's quotations does not seem to merit such a generous encomium. Philosophy was not an essential element of the first two stages of the *enkyklios paideia*, but through copying lines of Homer, and other Greek authors, the pupil would have

⁷⁵⁷ This viewpoint has been supported by Michael White – "that most apologetic literature was really addressed to insiders who were looking to that margin with the larger society as the arena of acculturation and self-definition". (White (1995) pg. 234).

⁷⁵⁸ Eusebius *H.E.* 4. 17 – 18.

⁷⁵⁹ Democritus frg. 185 - Diels and Kranz (1952).

acquired a basic knowledge of Greek literature. If the addressees, including the future Marcus Aurelius, had read⁷⁶⁰ the *Apology*, it is not difficult to feel that they would have been unimpressed by the knowledge and scope of Greek literature here displayed. Justin could have followed the path already set by Aristides and the author of the *Letter to Diognetus* in illustrating the folly of pagan idolatry⁷⁶¹ and the way of life of the Christian believer,⁷⁶² without quoting classical literature. If Justin was seeking in the debate to depict himself as a participant in that level of Graeco-Roman society where such things mattered, and which could be taken as evidence of a person's educational credibility, then it should be said that he failed, as the history of the subsequent, surviving apologists amply illustrates. There is an increasing freedom in the use of the classics from Tatian onwards until the culmination in the works of Clement, who, with some justification, may be termed the Christian Plutarch.

In the 1st and 2nd *Apology*⁷⁶³ we find a quotation of a line of Euripides from the *Hippolytus*⁷⁶⁴ and three quotations from Plato. In indirect references, we note an allusion to Menander,⁷⁶⁵ six references to Plato and a mention of the Choice of Heracles, attributed by Justin to Xenophon⁷⁶⁶ (though Xenophon himself attributes the story to Prodicus of Cos). A disparate group of figures from classical learning are mentioned: Homer, Pythagoras, Empedocles, Heraclitus, Socrates, Plato, Menander, and Musonius. In a work supposedly designed to commend the Christian faith to contemporary society and addressed to the Imperial family and the senate, this must seem a relatively superficial acquaintance with the

⁷⁶⁰ Or, if one followed Grant's (1988b) argument, had heard; he attempts to see the influence of rhetoricians such as Menander on the apologists.

⁷⁶¹ *Letter to Diognetus* 2ff. and Aristides *passim*.

⁷⁶² *Letter to Diognetus* 5ff.

⁷⁶³ See the classical allusions from Justin's works listed above.

⁷⁶⁴ No author or play named.

⁷⁶⁵ As it was argued above, it is now impossible to identify the precise lines by Menander and so this only remains a vague allusion.

⁷⁶⁶ Xenophon *Memorabilia* II 1 21 – 8.

learning and literature of the Graeco-Roman world. Given the contemporaneous Celsus' prejudice against Christians on the grounds of lack of education and inferior social status, such a jejune acquaintance⁷⁶⁷ would simply confirm any existing prejudice. Rather than assume incompetence and maladroitness on the part of Justin, it might be wiser to seek an alternative explanation.

Tcherikover⁷⁶⁸ had proposed a new way of looking at apologetic literature, that to many scholars threw fresh light on approaches to Justin, taking as his starting point the problem of dissemination of such so-called "apologetic" writings. In contrast to earlier scholarship, which rather naively supposed the model of current literary practices, that books were published and disseminated in considerable quantities, he argued that this belief was unsustainable. It was once thought that books were copied several at a time through a reader and several scribes writing at his dictation, but the errors in Egyptian papyri are visual, not oral, suggesting strongly that each scroll was copied from an earlier copy.⁷⁶⁹ (Though the foundation of libraries⁷⁷⁰ in the 3rd century BCE onwards may have given an impetus to the production of scrolls, the lack of evidence probably points to the fact that the private copy

⁷⁶⁷ *Contra Celsum* III 44, 49, 52, 55, IV 36.

⁷⁶⁸ Tcherikover (op. cit.). He was specifically considering Alexandrian Jewish apologetic writings and seeking to challenge assumptions that such writings were meant to address a wider, Gentile audience. He was seeking to challenge the theories of Friedländer (1903) that Alexandrian Jewry followed a wider path than that in Judea and its aim was to disseminate a view of the Torah, which did not adhere to a narrower and more restrictive path (such as that followed by the Pharisees), but a wider and more comprehensive doctrine, which could be commended not only to Jews but also to all enlightened minds. This wider view, based on monotheism, might then be seen as preparing the way for the spread of Christianity, a view which attracted much support amongst Christian scholars and theologians. Tcherikover proposed, instead of this approach, which he termed theological, one which he designated historical in essence.

⁷⁶⁹ This would limit production of scrolls, in contradistinction to the hypothetical use of dictation.

⁷⁷⁰ Casson (2000). He (pg. 57 ff.) suggests that copyists from *scriptoria* might well have obtained copies from libraries, especially books that were not frequently read. He quotes the *Athenaion Politeia* which survived on the verso of four papyrus scrolls, originally farm accounts from Hermopolis in Egypt. The writing is professional and Casson speculates that the text might have been borrowed from a library.

remained the commonest form of book.⁷⁷¹) The Roman literary scene from the 1st century BCE onwards provides more evidence, through the letters of Cicero to his friend Atticus,⁷⁷² of a pattern whereby an author, or a rich friend or patron, had copies made of a work which was then sent to friends. Copies do not seem to have been numerous. When Cicero misattributed some lines of Aristophanes to Eupolis in the *Orator* he wrote to Atticus to have the correction duly made in the existing copies,⁷⁷³ and this is the text which has come down to us. Once the author achieved success, and this may have been helped by his place in society, this was probably the stage at which the bookseller may have become involved in a production, a production which would never be numerous by modern standards and would almost certainly depend upon demand. Tcherikover's account is rather generic, though as informed as the lack of any detailed knowledge of ancient booksellers and the book trade allows; but if it is to be applied to Justin, then it needs to be supplemented by an understanding of the book trade in ancient Rome. Kenney⁷⁷⁴ observes that, at first, an author might release a book to his friends and circle. Only later might the decision to release the work to a wider circle be taken, whether through a bookseller/publisher or simply allowing the book to be copied.⁷⁷⁵ There were no legal restraints such as copyright and anyone could make a copy of a book if they had an exemplar, whether themselves or through a trained scribe.⁷⁷⁶ Kenney⁷⁷⁷ concludes that it

⁷⁷¹ The evidence of papyri from Egypt shows a distinct preference for the classics; Hellenistic texts only appear in Roman and Byzantine times, an indication that contemporary books would not have proved popular with booksellers.

⁷⁷² Atticus arranged for the copying of Cicero's books, probably more as a friend than as a book publisher.

⁷⁷³ *Ad Atticum* 12. 6a 1 – non modo in tuis libris, sed etiam in aliorum, per librarious tuos. Cicero was not always successful. A request to alter *Phliuntii* in the *Republic* (2.8.) to the correct *Phliasii* seems not to have been successful as the sole manuscript has *Phliuntii*.

⁷⁷⁴ Kenney (1982).

⁷⁷⁵ Pliny *Epistles* 1. 8. 3 writes of a friend offering to read and criticise one of his compositions, that he could withhold or publish the emended work: erit enim et post emendationem liberum nobis uel publicare uel continere.

⁷⁷⁶ This latter course of action would probably only be open to those, like Atticus, Cicero's friend, who were wealthy enough to afford such a luxury.

⁷⁷⁷ Kenney (op.cit.).

is indisputable that there was a book trade in Rome from the early days of the Principate; Horace⁷⁷⁸ mentions the *Sosii fratres* and later Quintilian⁷⁷⁹ and Martial⁷⁸⁰ refer to Trypho. Though Quintilian and Martial were two contemporary authors, there is no evidence of the balance between ancient authors and contemporary. In the list of works for which Martial wrote “introductory” poems⁷⁸¹ the most recent is Lucan’s *de bello civili*. It remains a probability that contemporary authors needed to acquire a reputation, possibly through the reading of their works,⁷⁸² or by word of mouth among the author’s friends for a bookseller to be interested. It is frustrating that so little is known about the ancient book trade; but if the *fratres Sosii* and Trypho seem to reflect similar practices, separated by a century, it may be a plausible expectation that the same practices obtained in Justin’s time.⁷⁸³ This is not to deny that Justin’s works may have been copied in Christian circles. His own references to worship and the reading of, *inter alia*, the ἀπομνημονεύματα⁷⁸⁴ will certainly imply that such works were copied by, presumably, Christian scribes. Christian works were indeed copied and the dissemination of such Christian works, written for and read by other Christians, may have been relatively rapid. Oxyrhynchus papyrus 405 - a fragment of Irenaeus’ *Adversus haereses* (usually dated circa 180CE) has been ascribed to a period around 200CE, an indication that a Christian text could make its way from Lyons, where Irenaeus was bishop, to Egypt in twenty

⁷⁷⁸ Horace *Epistles* 1 20 and *Ars Poetica* 345

⁷⁷⁹ Quintilian *Institutio Oratoria* – opening letter to Trypho – *efflagitasti cotidiano convivio ut libros quos ad Marcellum meum de institutione oratorum scripseram iam emittere inciperem*.

⁷⁸⁰ Martial 4.72, 13. 3.

⁷⁸¹ Martial *Epigrams* XIV 183 – 196. The authors include Homer, the *Batrachomyomachia*, Virgil, Menander, Cicero, Propertius, Livy, Sallust, Ovid, Tibullus, Lucan, Catullus and Calvus.

⁷⁸² *Recitatio*.

⁷⁸³ Perhaps it is difficult for modern readers always to remember the immense changes in reading brought about by the introduction of the printing press and the dissemination of knowledge. As Kenney (op. cit.) remarks: “as an instrument for arousing public opinion, literature remained relatively powerless in large centralised societies until the coming of the printing press.” It is all too easy to make assumptions unfounded on evidence.

⁷⁸⁴ *Apologia* 1 66 3 – the most famous use of ἀπομνημονεύματα is the title of Xenophon’s work on Socrates, often translated «memoirs, recollections».

or thirty years. The greater difficulty is the assumption that such overtly Christian works would have been copied and published by booksellers, or have been present as scrolls in libraries. Though *argumenta ex silentio* are notoriously difficult to evaluate, it is perhaps a pointer that no pagan works over the next two or three centuries seem to refer to any apologetic writing by Christians.⁷⁸⁵

This seeming lack of dissemination may also throw a new light on the intention of Justin in penning his *Apology*. Until Tcherikover's article,⁷⁸⁶ it was generally assumed that Justin was writing for a Gentile audience, to commend the Christian faith. Such an overt "missionary" viewpoint may have been coloured by "μαθητεύσατε πάντα τὰ ἔθνη"⁷⁸⁷ and the missionary fervour that characterised the Western church in the 19th and early 20th century. In contrast in the 2nd century CE, the Christian faith was probably not spread by preaching or overt missionary activity.⁷⁸⁸ One may well speculate how much the pagan audience, headed by the imperial family, would take a lively interest in the intricacies of Christian doctrine, such as the meaning of the *spermatikos logos*.⁷⁸⁹ If, however, we look at Justin from the angle of the Christian community, his writing takes on a different aspect. The address to the imperial family⁷⁹⁰ may be a sign that the church is ready to assume a more significant place in its world,

⁷⁸⁵ The fragmentary survival of Celsus' work makes any evaluation difficult, but if he had poured scorn on apologists like Justin, it is surprising that Origen might not have chosen to mention it.

⁷⁸⁶ See above.

⁷⁸⁷ Matthew 28:19.

⁷⁸⁸ Freeman (2009) simply notes, (pg. 127) "How the communities grew is unknown". The pattern of growth outlined by Eusebius as depending on missionaries (*H.E.* III 37 1 – 4 and V 10 2) almost certainly reflects 4th century CE thought and practice, transposed into a 2nd century context. MacMullen (1984) conclude: "after Saint Paul, the church had no mission, it made no organised or official approach to believers, (pg. 34)," arguing that the church spread through informal networks.

⁷⁸⁹ It is also possible to speculate how much the description of Christian heretics, such as Simon and Menander, in chapters 26 and 56 of the first *Apology*, and the lengthy quotations of OT passages would equally have been of interest to a similar readership.

⁷⁹⁰ This is rather different from the injunctions to obey and pray for the rulers and those in authority found in Paul and other NT writers.

a sign of encouragement to its members that the church is not to be ignored.⁷⁹¹ The quotation of classical literature by Justin may well mark a new beginning, which would have significance for the Christian community, but to the level of society where such things mattered it might rather have been: *montes parturient, nascetur ridiculus mus*.⁷⁹² It is hardly likely the future Marcus Aurelius, if he had ever read Justin's work, would have been impressed by the erudition displayed. Justin's use of classical literature makes much more sense in a Christian context, an appropriation of classical literature in the life of the Christian community. Yet what might have seemed jejune to a Marcus Aurelius, might well have been interpreted in a different light by the Christian community, first in Rome and then possibly elsewhere. Justin's decision to continue to wear the pallium might indicate that he saw a continuity between his new life in Christ and his past, and that what he had learned from his past could equally be used in the service of his new faith. This was not to be confined solely to philosophy but could also be extended to the literature he had learnt in his school days.

The nature of Justin's "school"

In this context, it may be pertinent to consider the background to the publication of Justin's work and what we may gather of Justin's life in Rome, and the possible circles in which he moved. What little we know is gained in part from the *Acta Justinii et septem sodalium*. This exists in three recensions, of which C is generally regarded as an expansion, with rather more lurid and melodramatic details; the relationship between A and B is more complex though the studies of Lazzati⁷⁹³ have strongly suggested that A is the earlier version. In the A

⁷⁹¹ Both Buck (2003) (op. cit. pg. 53) (Justin fails to adopt the ingratiating tone characteristic of *libelli*) and Nystrom (op. cit. pg. 61) (Justin "transcends any conventional way of addressing a political authority") draw attention to points which undermine the idea of the *Apology* as primarily seeking to win over the emperor; the difference with Athenagoras' tone may be noted.

⁷⁹² Horace *Ars poetica* 139.

⁷⁹³ Lazzati (1956).

version, Justin describes his dwelling: "Ἐγὼ ἐπάνω μένω τοῦ Μυρτίνου βαλανείου." In the B version the text runs: "Ἐγὼ ἐπάνω μένω τινὸς Μαρτίνου τοῦ Τιμοστίνου βαλανείου". This may suggest that the text was corrupted at a fairly early stage. Despite the endeavours of Snyder⁷⁹⁴ to establish the possibility that the baths referred to were those of Mamertinus, and, given the discrepancies between A and B, we may have to accept with Musurillo that certainty is now impossible⁷⁹⁵ from the readings of the A and B versions of the *Acta Justinī*, to discover the exact location of the baths that housed Justin's lodging. As a result, it may equally impossible from this to determine anything reliable about Justin's social standing and background.

At the opening of the *Dialogue*⁷⁹⁶ Trypho says of Justin - ἐδιδάχθην ἐν Ἀργεῖ, φησὶν, ὑπὸ Κορίνθου τοῦ Σωκρατικοῦ ὅτι καταφρονεῖν οὐδὲ ἀμελεῖν τῶν περικειμένων τόδε τὸ σχῆμα.⁷⁹⁷ Why Justin continued to wear the pallium is open to debate. It may be that he saw it as a sign that his new faith was a continuation of his journey through the philosophical schools, however stylized that account at the opening of the *Dialogue* might be. Equally some have seen it as an indication that Justin continued as a "teacher" and have found evidence of this in the *Acta Justinī*. Ulrich⁷⁹⁸ and Georges⁷⁹⁹ in their different ways seek to throw light on the form of Justin's school. Ulrich suggests that as teacher (assuming without sufficient warrant that as a philosopher Justin will also have been a teacher) his methods and practice will be reflected in his writings. Even if we were to agree with Ulrich that didacticism is present

⁷⁹⁴ Snyder (2007).

⁷⁹⁵ As to the effects of living in close proximity to baths, Seneca (*Epistles* 56) and Martial *Epigrams* 11.52.4. are often quoted – though how much is exaggerated for literary effect is uncertain.

⁷⁹⁶ *Dialogue* 1. 2.

⁷⁹⁷ Several ancient authors mention that Justin wore the pallium of the philosopher; Justin himself *Dialogue* 9. 2, Eusebius *Hist. Eccl.* IV 11. 8 - ἐν φιλοσόφου σχήματι πρεσβεύων τὸν θεῖον λόγον, Jerome *de vir. illust.* 23.

⁷⁹⁸ Ulrich (2012).

⁷⁹⁹ Georges (2012).

in the *Apology*, and widely used, this is no proof that Justin might have employed such teaching material and methods in his hypothetical “school”.

Georges is more confident than Ulrich on drawing on the *Acta Justini* in the search for Justin’s school. In contradistinction to Frenschkowski,⁸⁰⁰ who called into question the existence of Christian schools in the 2nd century CE,⁸⁰¹ he seeks to use the *Acta Justini* as evidence. Georges is perhaps over optimistic in his use of recensions A and B; Lazzati⁸⁰² is almost certainly right in his estimation that recension A is the earliest. In Euelpistos’ claim that he took pleasure in hearing the “λογον” of Justin, λόγος carries so many meanings that it would be rash to limit it to a scholastic context. The “τούς μαθητάς” of recension B may be an inference on the part of the editor. Again, in a Christian context, the word carries several meanings, not all related to school. Justin’s words in recension B: καὶ εἴ τις ἐβούλετο ἀφικνεῖσθαι παρ’ ἐμοί, ἐκοινώνουν αὐτῷ τῶν τῆς ἀληθείας λόγων⁸⁰³ may have an ancestor in the words which conclude Acts: [Paul] ἀπεδέχετο πάντας τοὺς εἰσπορευομένους πρὸς αὐτόν, κηρύσσων τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ Θεοῦ.⁸⁰⁴ Though these arguments may not be decisive either way, the background of Justin’s companions may be of crucial importance in tilting the balance.

The names of those martyred with Justin are given in recensions A and B as Charito, Chariton, Paion, Euelpistos, Hierax and Liberianus. This last name is given as Valerian(us) in recension C. Given the relatively poor textual tradition of the *Acta Justini*, the possibility remains that Valerian(us) is the result of textual error.⁸⁰⁵ Of the six, Charito is the only woman.

⁸⁰⁰ Frenschkowski (2001).

⁸⁰¹ an opinion shared by Gamble (op. cit.).

⁸⁰² Lazzati (op. cit.).

⁸⁰³ *Recension B* 3. 32.

⁸⁰⁴ Acts 28:30.

⁸⁰⁵ Solin (1996) has no slave name Liberianus – in that sense it remains a hapax – but does give five occurrences of Valerianus, including one Balerianus. This is the form - Βαλεριανός – that the C recension uses. It remains an

The name Euelpistos, or variant Euhelpistos, appears fourteen times in Solin's list of slave names.⁸⁰⁶ Paion bears the same name as a Greek historian⁸⁰⁷ (Paion of Amathus, mentioned by Plutarch)⁸⁰⁸ otherwise it is unattested in Greek literature.⁸⁰⁹ Before the *Acta Justini*, Hierax is named as a character by Xenophon,⁸¹⁰ Theopompus,⁸¹¹ Posidonius,⁸¹² Demosthenes,⁸¹³ and as a sobriquet of Antiochus, the son of Antiochus II.⁸¹⁴ In Solin's list of slave names, Hierax appears fourteen times, all in the first two centuries CE. Chariton is a common name from Homer onwards. In Solin's list of Roman slaves, it appears as Charito or Chariton; there are forty one entries in date from 1st century BCE to the end of the 2nd century CE.⁸¹⁵ From Recension A we learn that Euelpistos is from Cappadocia and Hierax from Phrygia.⁸¹⁶ Recension B also contains the fact that Euelpistos is a slave of Caesar in the imperial household.⁸¹⁷ Though Lazzati and Mursurillo agree that Recension A is the earlier, they differ in their assessment of their relationship. In a form critical study of the three recensions, Bisbee⁸¹⁸ argues that B contains four readings in "which a separate, but not necessarily earlier text tradition can be argued for A and B". He also notes that as the *commentarius* which seems ultimately to lie behind the various recensions is lost, there is no room for a dogmatic view,

intriguing possibility that in A and B recensions Λιβεριανός has been formed by the transposition of λ and β from the original Βαλεριανός.

⁸⁰⁶ Solin (op. cit.). The names seem to date mostly 1st – 3rd century CE.

⁸⁰⁷ Jacoby 757 frg. 2.

⁸⁰⁸ *Theseus* 20.

⁸⁰⁹ Solin (op. cit.) includes Παίων as a slave name but only quotes the *Acta Justini* as her sole authority.

⁸¹⁰ *Hellenica* V 1 3 1.

⁸¹¹ frg. 42. 1.

⁸¹² frg. 121.

⁸¹³ *Olynthiaca* 1. 8 5.

⁸¹⁴ Plutarch 184A.

⁸¹⁵ As Solin does not indicate gender for fourteen occurrences of Charito, it remains a possibility that some of them may be female.

⁸¹⁶ Recension 4 7 - 'Ρούστικός εἶπεν· Ποῦ εἰσιν οἱ γονεῖς σου; Εὐέλπιστος εἶπεν· Ἐν Καππαδοκίᾳ. (8) 'Ρούστικός ἔπαρχος Ἰέρακι λέγει· Οἱ σοὶ γονεῖς ποῦ εἰσιν; Ἰέραξ εἶπεν· Ἐτελεύτησαν. ἐγὼ δὲ ἀπὸ ἱκανοῦ χρόνου τῆς Φρυγίας ἀπεσπάσθην.

⁸¹⁷ Recension B 4 2 Εὐέλπιστος δοῦλος Καίσαρος ἀπεκρίνατο· Κἀγὼ Χριστιανός εἰμι, ἐλευθερωθεὶς ὑπὸ Χριστοῦ, καὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ἐλπίδος μετέχω χάριτι Χριστοῦ.

⁸¹⁸ Bisbee (1983).

but rather individual assessment of the evidence. To give a possible example, the use of τοὺς μαθητάς in recension B might be an inference, as well as a use of biblically inspired language, whereas the fact that Euelpistos is a slave has no obvious *raison d'être*.

Of the various models that have been proposed for Justin's school, those that involve the *enkyklios paideia* may be discounted. This is a community that is composed of adults, nor does it seem to be an environment for learning, reading, and writing. This leaves what most writers on Justin seem to assume – a place where elements of philosophy might be taught and discussed. This is one of the elements that constitute the third element of ancient education, the one that was generally the prerogative of the well to do, and almost certainly a male preserve. There is a woman in this group, Charito, and in the context of ancient education, this might prove something of an anomaly.

Further, the names of the group do not suggest that they belong to the elite of society. Euelpistos appears to be a slave;⁸¹⁹ Hierax is described as “ἐγὼ δὲ ἀπὸ ἱκανοῦ χρόνου τῆς Φρυγίας ἀπεσπάσθην” – might this be an indication of slavery? There is no indication how Hierax and Euelpistos, who came from Cappadocia, found themselves in Rome.⁸²⁰ In the case of Liberianus (whose name has left no trace in literary Latin), given the root of the name, it may be possible to speculate that it was an apt name for a freed man. Equally it may be, as it was suggested above, a corrupt form of Valerianus. By social, educational and gender criteria, Justin's six companions are highly unlikely to have been students of a philosophical school, certainly as it would have been understood by their contemporaries. (If it is possible that at

⁸¹⁹ It may well be a coincidence but the Euelpistos who is named in Celsus' *de medecina*, a medical work, and in Scribonius Largus, where he is described as a *chirurgus*, may, like many in Roman times, have been a slave or a freedman. Antonius Musa who cured Augustus with cold compresses in 23 BCE was likewise a freedman.

⁸²⁰ Though it would place the martyrdom of Justin and his companions between 166 and 168, there is a possibility that Hierax and Euelpistos might have been recruited to the service of Lucius Verus during his time in the East 162 – 166CE.

least four, if not five, of the group bore the names of slaves, this fact may give an indication of their social background.) Rather the Pauline model of one who welcomed all those who came to him may be a more suitable way to understand Justin's "ministry". This would be consistent with his relationship with Tatian whom Eusebius describes as an ἀκροάτης of Justin⁸²¹ and be descriptive of Euelpistos' comment "Ἰουστίνου μὲν ἡδέως ἤκουον τὸν λόγον." It is probably impossible now to determine what brought this diverse group together. It is unlikely to have been philosophical speculation or education; perhaps it was the needs of those who were isolated, from diverse and humble backgrounds, and who sought fellowship in their shared faith. The belief in a Justinian school is an *ignis fatuus*; we cannot simply assume that as other philosophers taught, Justin did likewise. The names of the companions with whom he was martyred do not suggest that they were involved in a school of any description. Another possible indication of the diversity of the group is noted by Barnes.⁸²² The opening of recension A contains the following: Ὡν εἰσαχθέντων ὁ ἑπαρχος Ἰουστίνῳ εἶπεν· Τίνα βίον βιοῖς; Ἰουστίνος εἶπεν· Ἀμεμπτον καὶ ἀκατάγνωστον πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις. This contrasts with the more forceful approach to the others of the group, as exemplified in the question to Charito: Ῥούστικος ἑπαρχος Χαρίτωνι εἶπεν· Χαρίτων, καὶ σὺ Χριστιανὸς εἶ; Χαρίτων εἶπεν· Χριστιανὸς εἰμι θεοῦ κελεύσει. Barnes suggests that Rusticus may be offering Justin a way out of the crisis facing him; this may be on account of Justin's dress (if he was wearing the pallium of a philosopher). Equally, Rusticus' remark may have been occasioned by the disparity, in his eyes, between Justin and the others, seemingly a group of slaves.

⁸²¹ *Hist Eccl.* IV 29 3 4 Τατιανοῦ τινος πρώτως ταύτην εἰσενέγκαντος τὴν βλασφημίαν· ὃς Ἰουστίνου ἀκροατὴς γεγονώς, ἐφ' ὅσον μὲν συνῆν ἐκείνῳ, οὐδὲν ἐξέφηνεν τοιοῦτον, μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐκείνου μαρτυρίαν ἀποστάς τῆς ἐκκλησίας.

⁸²² Barnes (1968).

Dissemination of Justin's works

Even if Justin's "συνέλευσις" was not the centre of philosophic life that some have argued, this is not to underestimate the importance of Justin's *Apologies* for the Christian community of Rome and wider afield. Though it has been traditionally held that Justin was writing to commend the faith to a non-Christian community, there may be other approaches equally valid in throwing light on Justin's work. It is a strong presumption that there will have been scribes and copyists in the Christian community, if only because of the liturgical needs of the church. There must have been someone to write and copy the "τὰ ἀπομνημονεύματα τῶν ἀποστόλων ἢ τὰ συγγράμματα τῶν προφητῶν."⁸²³ It is entirely feasible that within the Christian community there was someone sufficiently wealthy to pay for copies of Justin's work, and in this way it might have been shared by other Christians. The real problem is how copies of Justin's work would have become available to a wider non-Christian community. The obvious answer, and one that is assumed by most writers on Justin, is that such copies would have been available through booksellers. This theory is open to the objection, outlined above, that booksellers would only be interested in selling copies if the author had gained a certain reputation, through reading of his works – a *recitatio*. Though Justin might well have read his work, it is implausible that he would have read it in the social circles which might have gained him the reputation for booksellers to be interested in his writing.⁸²⁴ It is also equally implausible that booksellers would have taken copies of Christian writings, a group that had a dubious reputation. What market would there be for them?⁸²⁵ If Justin was aware of these problems and difficulties, and it must be a presumption that he would have been, it

⁸²³ *Apology* 1 66 3

⁸²⁴ This might be truer if Justin's circumstances were relatively modest and those who were with him at his martyrdom were typical of his circle.

⁸²⁵ It is all too easy to superimpose our modern ideas of publication on those of ancient times.

may have influenced the reason for writing. If he was writing for a Gentile audience, to defend and commend the Christian faith, he would have wanted his work to be read and disseminated. But if Justin's work is looked at from a different angle, if he is primarily writing for a Christian audience, then some of these difficulties disappear. Publication (rather than copying for "internal" use) and dissemination would no longer be a necessity or a problem. In addressing the work to members of the imperial family, in citing classical literature, however tentatively, and appropriating the philosophical heritage of the Greeks through the lens of middle Platonism, Justin was attempting something new. This was a rapprochement, and the first of any significance, between the Christian faith and the heritage of the classical world. This was not an uncritical rapprochement – Justin attacks the polytheism that under laid the classical tradition.⁸²⁶ Though Justin may have assimilated certain apologetic elements – are his references to Socrates a tentative indication that Justin may have read Plato's *Apology*? – Justin's work seems to make more sense if it is primarily seen as an encouragement to the Christian body (primarily in Rome, but perhaps also in a wider context) to engage with a culture, which, if the church was to grow and gain in influence, it needed to be familiar with and to feel at ease in it. Even those passages which might primarily appear to address an external audience, such as the description of worship,⁸²⁷ would still offer to Christian readers a defence to be made to the curious outsider.⁸²⁸ Christians could no longer remain in isolation, as it were "hermetically" sealed off, but as Christians became more numerous, even if numbers were still relatively small, they needed an encouragement that they could no

⁸²⁶ As did Aristides before him.

⁸²⁷ *Apology 1* chapters 65 – 67.

⁸²⁸ This is not to deny the importance of an intention to satisfy an external audience, and for Justin to give his work that appearance of an apology. It is simply to suggest that it might not have been the primary and only intention.

longer be ignored by the society and culture which surrounded it. Justin's *Apologies* were the first steps on that path, a path to be followed by subsequent writers and thinkers.

Conclusion

Justin's work is important in many ways, and this study does not claim to cover the many aspects of his oeuvre. It only concentrates on the significance of the quotations and allusions from classical authors, named and unnamed. Nystrom⁸²⁹ has already argued that in Justin, "we encounter a deep engagement with the surrounding culture, rivalling faiths and philosophies." He suggests that this last may be the more important contribution of Justin, but this study also proposes that Justin's use of classical literature indicates an important advance on the position of, say, the *Epistula ad Diognetum*.⁸³⁰ Justin's work may reflect a hidden debate within Christian communities, and one which may have been felt more acutely in Rome, and this may reflect the comparative tentativeness of Justin as compared with his successors. This study also argues that though the *Apologies* may seem to address an external audience⁸³¹ (headed by the imperial family), they also speak to the communities of Christians.⁸³² This may also reflect the growth in numbers of Christians, the challenges raised as to their future role in the society of which they are a part. Though the evidence may suggest that the majority of 2nd century CE Christians did not belong to the literate "elite", the demands of an organised church life will depend on those who are literate, and as increasingly Christians would play an important part in the fabric of their society at many levels, literacy

⁸²⁹ (Op. cit.) pg. 5.

⁸³⁰ Notably the section of the letter from section 5 5 onwards: Πατρίδας οἰκοῦσιν ἰδίας, ἀλλ' ὡς πάροικοι· μετέχουσι πάντων ὡς πολῖται, καὶ πανθ' ὑπομένουσιν ὡς ξένοι· πᾶσα ξένη πατρίς ἐστὶν αὐτῶν, καὶ πᾶσα πατρίς ξένη.... It would be fascinating to speculate if this passage was influenced in any way by the Iohaninne concept of Christians being both of this world and yet not of this world – John 15:18 ff.

⁸³¹ No doubt an external audience might have been welcomed, but there are, as noted above, difficulties in the dissemination of such literature to a wider audience.

⁸³² The extensive passages of biblical texts and the treatment of heretics might not seem the obvious material for such a supposedly outward looking apologetic work.

and how to acquire it, especially for those born as cradle Christians, will have become a question of importance. Though this study has argued that Justin did not preside over a school of any description, but rather had a ministry of welcome and discussion, not dissimilar to that of Paul (as described in the closing verses of Acts), the question of schooling for cradle Christians must have arisen. The challenges of learning through material so heavily predicated on texts imbued with pagan polytheism must have been discussed and debated. As Anderson observed of Lucian, that he made a little culture go a long way,⁸³³ the same might be said, *mutatis mutandis* of Justin and his quotations and allusions from classical literature. He opened a door, however tentatively, through which his successors passed with increasing confidence until we come to the assurance of a Clement

⁸³³ Anderson (1976) - "Lucian was an effortless humourist, and his quotation habits are those of a travelling sophist; as far as learning is concerned, he travelled light." - pg. 68.

Chapter 7 – Writers between Justin and Clement

This section of the study is a link between the initiative of Justin Martyr in quoting classical literature, however tentatively, and the vastly greater exploitation of the classical heritage in the oeuvre of Clement of Alexandria. It is a bridge between the two writers, exploring the increasing ease and facility in quoting shown by the three surviving apologists, Tatian, Athenagoras and Theophilus and also the work of Tertullian and Irenaeus. Given the increasing number of quotations and allusions in these five authors and Clement, it is beyond the scope of this study to examine them in the same detail as those offered by Justin.

Of the apologists, Tatian is almost certainly the first to write. Eusebius notes that Tatian was an ἀκροάτης⁸³⁴ of Justin during the former's time at Rome. Though some have argued that Tatian's *Oratio* predates the two apologies of Justin, this is unlikely given the greater amount of classical literature quoted by Tatian, and the wider breadth of allusions to classical life and culture. If Tatian preceded Justin, then Justin's work seems a retrograde step, given that Athenagoras and Theophilus also displayed a keener interest in quoting classical literature. Though the term apologist is used of Justin, Tatian, Athenagoras, Theophilus and Clement,⁸³⁵ and it is a convenient term, it does not imply that they all followed the same form and structure in their writings. Unlike Justin, Tatian does not address his work to the imperial family, and the Senate, but to the more generic ἄνδρες Ἕλληνες.⁸³⁶ Athenagoras' address, though not dissimilar to Justin's is simpler in content: Αὐτοκράτορσιν Μάρκῳ Αὐρηλίῳ Ἀντωνίνῳ καὶ Λουκίῳ Αὐρηλίῳ Κομόδῳ Ἀρμενιοῖς Σαρματικοῖς, τὸ δὲ μέγιστον φιλοσόφοις,⁸³⁷ and Theophilus' work is addressed to an individual, who though addressed as

⁸³⁴ Eusebius *H.E.* IV 29 3.

⁸³⁵ The *Protrepticus* is regarded as an apologetic work.

⁸³⁶ *Oratio* 1 1.

⁸³⁷ *Legatio* 1.1.

ὦ ἑταῖρε in Book 1, is not named till the start of book 2.⁸³⁸ (The lost work of Melitus of Sardis also seems to have been addressed to Marcus Aurelius.)⁸³⁹ The work of the various apologists is contemporaneous with the period known as the Second Sophistic, and some have sought to interpret their work in the light of that context. Not untypical is Johnson.⁸⁴⁰ He notes: “The pages of Justin, Athenagoras, Theophilus, and others are littered with quotations from classical philosophers and poets, many in a notably positive manner — and, indeed, their appeal to Plato, Herodotus, Homer, and the tragedians highlights the ways in which Christian intellectuals participated in the larger imperial Greek project of creating, negotiating and resignifying a classical canon (Zeegers Vander Vorst⁸⁴¹).”⁸⁴² “Littered” is a simple exaggeration – for example, the majority of quotations in Theophilus are found in the second book; the first has two allusions, and book three contains seven quotations. The concept “of creating, negotiating and resignifying a classical canon” is delusory. The restricted nature of the authors quoted serves to strengthen this: as instances one might note the virtual absence of the pre-Socratics, and philosophers other than Plato; the quotations from Herodotus in Athenagoras are limited to Book II – a possible florilegium, or simply that Athenagoras had only read Book II? Zeegers Vander Vorst⁸⁴³ herself notes of Tatian’s practice in quotation that his quotations are hardly longer than a half verse – he only uses them for epithets “injurieuses ou expressions désabusées sur lesquelles il exerce une ironie facile”. Tatian, Athenagoras, Theophilus and Tertullian are an advance on the relatively few quotations in

⁸³⁸ *Ad Autolycum* 2. 1 - Ἐπειδὴ πρὸ τούτων τῶν ἡμερῶν ἐγένετο λόγος ἡμῖν, ὦ ἀγαθώτατε Αὐτόλυκε.

⁸³⁹ Eusebius *Historia ecclesiastica* 4.13.8; 4.26.1–11. Lightfoot (2007) convincingly demonstrates that the Syriac work ascribed to Melitus is pseudonymous.

⁸⁴⁰ Johnson (2017).

⁸⁴¹ Zeegers Vander Vorst (1972). This is a fascinating study - impaired by her decision to restrict Clement to the *Protrepticus* – thus giving an imperfect picture of Clement’s classical quotations, and dating *de monarchia* to the 2nd century CE.

⁸⁴² Johnson (op. cit.) pg. 628.

⁸⁴³ Zeegers Vander Vorst (op. cit.) pg. 24.

Justin, but even then, their aims are different. Tatian's attitude to classical literature might be summed up in his favourite word: γελῶ - I pour scorn.⁸⁴⁴ Of the second century Christian writers, Clement is the only one to be mentioned in the same breath as Plutarch, Athenaeus and Aulus Gellius in the breadth of his quotations and in the manner of constructing his works. The earlier apologists, though they may reflect ideas that were current and in the air, lack the familiarity with classical literature that many of the writers of the Second Sophistic exhibit. If the apologists had shown such a knowledge, one cannot help suspecting that Celsus might have found another ground to attack the church, rather than its plebeian origins and lack of learning.

Tatian

As the first apologist after Justin, Tatian's direct quotations are not much more numerous than those of Justin, though comprising a greater diversity of authors. They include quotations from the *Iliad* (five lines) and the *Odyssey* (one line), two lines from the *Frogs*,⁸⁴⁵ a tragic *adespoton*,⁸⁴⁶ Heraclitus,⁸⁴⁷ Hellanicus,⁸⁴⁸ Apion,⁸⁴⁹ and Solon.⁸⁵⁰ When the authors that Tatian alluded to are taken into account, the list swells by thirty-six - tragedians, poets, historians, and philosophers.⁸⁵¹ Some of the information and anecdotes on the philosophers and their lives may well have been garnered from philosophical handbooks, of which the work

⁸⁴⁴ In this respect, Tertullian is not dissimilar to Tatian.

⁸⁴⁵ Lines 92 – 93, though the first line is slightly garbled.

⁸⁴⁶ Frg. 565 (Kannicht – Snell).

⁸⁴⁷ Frg. 101 – slightly garbled.

⁸⁴⁸ FGrH 4 frg. 178.

⁸⁴⁹ FGrH 616 frg. 18.

⁸⁵⁰ Frg. 18 (ed. West).

⁸⁵¹ One of the most interesting is that to Democritus (17. 1) - Περὶ γὰρ τῶν κατὰ τὸν Δημόκριτον ξυμπαθειῶν τε καὶ ἀντιπαθειῶν τί καὶ λέγειν ἔχομεν ἢ τοῦθ' ὅτι κατὰ τὸν κοινὸν λόγον Ἀβδηρολόγος (a neologism of Tatian?) ἐστὶν ὁ ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀβδήρων ἄνθρωπος. According to the *Souda* ξυμπαθειῶν (vel συμπάθειῶν) καὶ ἀντιπαθειῶν is a work attributed to Bolos of Mende. Columella VII 5 writes: Sed Aegyptiae gentis auctor memorabilis Bolus Mendesijs, cuius commenta, quae appellantur Graece χειρόκμητα, sub nomine Democriti falso produntur. Why Tatian chose to allude to this relatively obscure work is uncertain.

of Diogenes Laertius is a more sophisticated example. Such anecdotal examples may be the slavery of Plato⁸⁵² and the death of Heraclitus.⁸⁵³ Of the authors referred to by Tatian, perhaps the most interesting are the historians; the first time such writers are quoted or alluded to by a Christian author. The historians are Hellanicus⁸⁵⁴ and Apion,⁸⁵⁵ but also Hegesias,⁸⁵⁶ Leon,⁸⁵⁷ Herodorus,⁸⁵⁸ Stesimbrotus,⁸⁵⁹ Herodotus, Ephorus,⁸⁶⁰ Philochorus,⁸⁶¹ Berossus,⁸⁶² Juba,⁸⁶³ Mochus–Laitos,⁸⁶⁴ Menander of Pergamum,⁸⁶⁵ and Ptolemy.⁸⁶⁶ Tatian is the first among Christian writers to mention these historians. Some, like Herodotus and Hellanicus, are familiar names, but others, such as Berossus, Mochus – Laitos, Iuba, and Menander of Pergamum, are less well known. Some of the historians mentioned occur in other writers: such are Clement,⁸⁶⁷ Tertullian,⁸⁶⁸ and the author of the *Cohortatio*.⁸⁶⁹ This might suggest they were drawing on a common source, except for the fact that Clement explicitly mentions Tatian as his source: εἴρηται μὲν οὖν περὶ τούτων ἀκριβῶς Τατιανῷ ἐν τῷ Πρὸς Ἑλλήνας, εἴρηται δὲ καὶ Κασσιανῷ ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ τῶν Ἑξηγητικῶν.⁸⁷⁰ This may also suggest that Christian

⁸⁵² Plutarch *Dion* 5 and Diogenes Laertius III 19.

⁸⁵³ Neanthes (*Jacoby* 84) frg. 25 – also in Diogenes Laertius IX 3 – 4. On the death of Heraclitus see Fairweather (1973).

⁸⁵⁴ *Jacoby* 4 – Tatian's allusion is not quite accurate as he appears to confound Atossa of the Assyrians with her homonym, the mother of Xerxes.

⁸⁵⁵ See above.

⁸⁵⁶ A derogatory reference to τὰ Ἥγησίου μυθολογήματα *FGrH* *Jacoby* 142.

⁸⁵⁷ Reference to Leon of Pella; *Jacoby* 659 Test. 1.

⁸⁵⁸ The MSS MPV have ἡροδότου. Ἡροδώρου is an emendation of Muller - cf. *Jacoby* 31 frg. 4 – no reference in *Jacoby's* commentary to Muller's emendation.

⁸⁵⁹ Stesimbrotus of Thasos; *Jacoby* 107 frg. 21.

⁸⁶⁰ Ephorus of Cumae; *Jacoby* 70 frg. 98.

⁸⁶¹ Philochorus of Athens; *Jacoby* 328 frg. 211a.

⁸⁶² Berossus 680 test. 2 (he compiled the history of the Chaldeans in three books for Antiochus).

⁸⁶³ Juba 275 frg. 4.

⁸⁶⁴ Mochus - Laitos 784 test. 1 – also frg. 1a.

⁸⁶⁵ Menander of Pergamum (Ephesus) 783 test. 4.

⁸⁶⁶ Ptolemy 611 test. 1a; frg. 1a.

⁸⁶⁷ *Stromateis* 1 101 3ff.

⁸⁶⁸ *Apologeticum* 19.

⁸⁶⁹ 9. 2ff.

⁸⁷⁰ *Stromateis* 1 101. 3. Julius Cassian is a 2nd century writer mentioned several times by Clement; in this passage and four times in *Stromateis* 3. (His views were of an encratic and docetic nature). Eusebius also mentions a *Chronography* in his *Historia Ecclesiastica* VI 13 7.

texts circulated more widely than is often assumed. (The Irenaeus' papyrus⁸⁷¹ may also be quoted as evidence of a wider dissemination.)⁸⁷²

We can only speculate where and how Tatian acquired his knowledge of these writers. One potential source can be eliminated, that of florilegia. Among the writers named above (for example Philochorus, Ephorus, Berossus, Laitos-Mochos, Juba, Menander of Pergamum), these are not found in Stobaeus⁸⁷³ whose interest in historians seems more ethical and moral rather than in historical facts and allusions. This implies that Tatian must have acquired his knowledge either from the original source, for example, Berossus, or from authors who themselves quoted Berossus. Of the six authors named above, Philochorus⁸⁷⁴ and Ephorus⁸⁷⁵ are relatively well attested; the other four rather less so and thus may prove more fruitful for investigation. Berossus⁸⁷⁶ of Babylon lived around the turn of the 4th century BCE, a younger contemporary of Alexander the Great. His work, in three volumes, is entitled *Babyloniaka*,⁸⁷⁷ and it survives in twelve testimonia and twenty-three fragments. Of the Christian authors who refer to or quote Berossus, Eusebius is the most frequent,⁸⁷⁸ followed by single allusions or quotations in Tatian, Theophilus, Clement of Alexandria, pseudo-Justin (*Hortatio*), and Julius Africanus. His work was also epitomised by Alexander Polyhistor⁸⁷⁹ and Juba of Mauretania.⁸⁸⁰

⁸⁷¹ Papyrus *Oxyrynchus* 405.

⁸⁷² The article by Roberts (1954) indicates that the date given by the first editors, Grenfell and Hunt, ranged from the latter years of the 2nd century CE to the middle of the 3rd; Roberts points out that Grenfell and Hunt were conservative in their dating of Christian papyri and that "few palaeographers would hesitate to place this hand near the end of the 2nd century [CE]".

⁸⁷³ Historians, even such as Herodotus and Thucydides, are quoted *apud Stobaeum* more for ethical and moral reasons than historical.

⁸⁷⁴ Jacoby 328 – Eight testimonia and two hundred and thirty fragments.

⁸⁷⁵ Jacoby 70 – 34 testimonia and two hundred and thirty-nine fragments.

⁸⁷⁶ Jacoby 680 - Berossus' name is probably a Greek rendering of the Babylonian name Bel-re'u-shunu, 'Bel (the Lord) is their shepherd'.

⁸⁷⁷ The alternative title *Chaldaika* is less well attested – see Kuhrt (1987).

⁸⁷⁸ Eight allusions or quotations.

⁸⁷⁹ Jacoby 273 – note the commentary on frg. 79a in *New Jacoby*. Alexander Polyhistor occupies a key position—though not the only one—in the transmission of Berossus' work (de Breucker (2012)).

⁸⁸⁰ Jacoby 275 – fifteen testimonia and one hundred and four fragments – many of which are found in 2nd century authors such as Plutarch and Athenaeus.

The evidence for this latter lies in Tatian himself: Βηρωσὸς δὲ ἐστὶν ἀνὴρ ἱκανώτατος· καὶ τούτου τεκμήριον, Ἰόβας Περὶ Ἀσσυρίων γράφων παρὰ Βηρωσοῦ φησι μεμαθηκέναι τὴν ἱστορίαν. εἰσὶ δὲ αὐτῷ βίβλοι Περὶ Ἀσσυρίων δύο.⁸⁸¹ Given the relatively few surviving fragments of Berossus, and the fact that he was used by Alexander Polyhistor and Juba, (there are only two Christian authors who mention Juba – Minucius Felix⁸⁸² and Tatian⁸⁸³ himself), it is a probable inference that Tatian gathered his knowledge of Berossus⁸⁸⁴ at second-hand, and given the fact that it is only Tatian who ascribes a two volume work on Assyria to Juba, Juba may well have been his source for Berossus.

Laitos-Mochus⁸⁸⁵ is another historian who wrote on a localised theme, in this case Phoenicia. Josephus⁸⁸⁶ seems to imply that Mochus is to be coupled with Hellenistic writers like Berossus and Manetho whereas other writers seem to imply that Mochus was much earlier. Such is Strabo⁸⁸⁷ who writes δόγμα παλαιόν ἐστὶν ἀνδρὸς Σιδονίου Μώχου πρὸ τῶν Τρωικῶν χρόνων γεγονότος. Laitos, according to Tatian, translated Mochus and two other writers into Greek.⁸⁸⁸ The other two writers, Theodotos and Hypsikrates, mentioned by Tatian are otherwise unknown as writers on Phoenician matters. The first writer, Theodotos, has been tentatively identified as a Greek historian mentioned by Josephus,⁸⁸⁹ and Hypsikrates a Greek historian referred to by Strabo, and after him Josephus. Why Laitos would need to translate these authors into Greek is uncertain. Mochus, however, seems to be an authentic

⁸⁸¹ *Oratio* 36.

⁸⁸² *Testimonium* 9.

⁸⁸³ *Fragment* 4.

⁸⁸⁴ Berossus may well have been an author whose work was not easily accessible at this period – possibly in larger libraries like Pergamum and Alexandria.

⁸⁸⁵ Jacoby 784 – one *testimonium* and eight fragments.

⁸⁸⁶ *Jewish Antiquities* 1 107.

⁸⁸⁷ 16. 2 24.

⁸⁸⁸ *Oratio* 37 - γεγόνασι παρ' αὐτοῖς ἄνδρες τρεῖς Θεόδοτος, Ὑψικράτης, Μώχος· τούτων τὰς βίβλους εἰς Ἑλληνίδα κατέταξεν φωνὴν Λαῖτος ὁ καὶ τοὺς βίους τῶν φιλοσόφων ἐπ' ἀκριβὲς πραγματευσάμενος.

⁸⁸⁹ *Contra Apionem* 1 216.

Phoenician name, even though there is no exact parallel in transcription. Again, it may be suspected that Tatian was relying on an intermediary source, rather than the originals. He also quotes another historian, Menander of Pergamon.⁸⁹⁰ Menander⁸⁹¹ is a figure of some interest whose existence has both been denied⁸⁹² but also affirmed.⁸⁹³ His place of origin is also disputed. Tatian and Clement⁸⁹⁴ suggest that he comes from Pergamum while Tertullian⁸⁹⁵ and Josephus⁸⁹⁶ describe him as coming from Ephesus. He may have been a citizen of both towns, or, possibly, that Tatian – who is followed by Clement – has made a mistake, and Josephus, whose knowledge of Menander is more extensive, is to be preferred.⁸⁹⁷ Josephus with three variants of one testimonium and three fragments is the most important witness to the survival of Menander. Though Tatian does not mention Josephus, he is the principal 2nd century witness to Menander, and it is an interesting speculation that Tatian may have read Josephus, particularly the *Contra Apionem*. Two of the themes of the *Contra Apionem* are establishing the antiquity of the Jews, as opposed to Greek learning, and a defence against calumnies raised against the Jews. Similar motifs appear in Tatian's *Oratio*, and the use of classical literature, as in the quotation of historians, may be another parallel.⁸⁹⁸ Berossus, Menander of Ephesus, and Laitos-Mochos are names probably

⁸⁹⁰ *Oratio* 37 - καὶ Μένανδρος δὲ ὁ Περγαμηνὸς περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν (*id est* on Phoenician matters) τὴν ἀναγραφὴν ἐποιήσατο.

⁸⁹¹ Jacoby 783 – four testimonia and ten fragments.

⁸⁹² Barclay (2007).

⁸⁹³ Laqueur (1931).

⁸⁹⁴ *Stromateis* 1 21 114 2 – this whole passage from 101 has the appearance of compressed notes.

⁸⁹⁵ *Apologeticum* 19 5 – 6.

⁸⁹⁶ *Contra Apionem* 1 116 and also in the *Antiquities*.

⁸⁹⁷ The commentary by Fred Naiden on fragment 1 (*Brill New Jacoby*) argues that chronological inconsistencies might suggest that Josephus derived his knowledge of Menander from a source such as Alexander Polyhistor or Nicolaus of Damascus. He also points out that the same facts drawn from Menander and Dios (Jacoby 785) might point in the same direction.

⁸⁹⁸ A defence by Josephus of one misunderstood and often traduced religion might have inspired Tatian to the defence of another, especially as the OT (the Septuagint) was a potent factor in both cases.

only familiar today to those with a specialised interest, and from the relative paucity of fragments, they may not have been any more familiar in Tatian's day.

Whether Tatian obtained his knowledge from original sources or their quotation in subsequent writers (and we may speculate on the role that libraries⁸⁹⁹ played in the acquisition of such knowledge) again he is the first surviving writer, in the Christian tradition, to employ such historical references. Tatian's knowledge of the classical world is much greater than that of Justin. This is also evidenced in the names of authors and figures of note that he mentions *en passant*. The *Oratio* begins *in medias res* with a list of "barbaroi" who have benefited humankind with inventions, not dissimilar to the opening of Clement's *Protrepticus*, though here it is Greeks who benefit humankind, and, it must be admitted, Clement's opening is more sophisticated than Tatian's. It would be equally fascinating to speculate on the source of Tatian's knowledge of the Greek poetesses⁹⁰⁰ mentioned later in the *Oratio*.⁹⁰¹ The fact that the passage takes as its theme statues created by eminent sculptors of celebrated poetesses probably suggests that Tatian is drawing on a pre-existent source, rather than doing his own research, but the exact nature of this source is probably difficult to define. Tatian, or his source, is not free from error: Naucydes is named as the sculptor of a statue of Erinna,⁹⁰² but this is unlikely on chronological grounds. Erinna is usually dated around the middle of the 4th century BCE,⁹⁰³ and Naucydes around 400 BCE.⁹⁰⁴ Erinna was the author of a poem, *The Distaff*, and West notes a possible allusion by Tatian: *πᾶσαι δὲ αἱ παρ' ἡμῖν σωφρονοῦσιν*,

⁸⁹⁹ Equally the location of the libraries may be a matter for speculation, but the fact that Josephus wrote in Rome may suggest that some at least of the sources he used were obtainable in Roman libraries.

⁹⁰⁰ Brief details of the writers may be found in Plant (2004).

⁹⁰¹ *Oratio* 38.

⁹⁰² On Erinna see West (1977). He argues that Erinna's *chef d'oeuvre*, *The Distaff*, may be the work of another.

⁹⁰³ Eusebius' *Chronicon* gives the *floruit* of Erinna in 107 – 106 Olympiads – c. 352BCE. This is more plausible than the *Souda* which makes Erinna a contemporary of Sappho.

⁹⁰⁴ Naucydes in Brill *New Pauly*; Pliny *Naturalis Historia* 34. 50. Naucydes flourished in the 95th Olympiad.

καὶ περὶ τὰς ἡλακάτας αἱ παρθένοι τὰ κατὰ θεὸν λαλοῦσιν ἐκφωνήματα σπουδαιότερον τῆς παρ' ὑμῖν παιδός,⁹⁰⁵ an allusion rather more sophisticated than anything found in Justin.⁹⁰⁶ The probability that Tatian may be drawing on a pre-existent source might be confirmed by the fact that these poets do not figure prominently in second century writings. In addition to Tatian, Anyte is only mentioned by Pausanias and Julius Pollux, Myrtis by Plutarch, Erinna by Herodianus and Athenaeus, Nossis by no one else except Tatian. Telesilla is mentioned more for her role in leading her native city Argos through a military and political crisis in the 5th century BCE,⁹⁰⁷ than as a poet; Praxilla is listed by grammarians and paroimiographers on account of the famous (or, more accurately, infamous) ἡλιθιώτερος τοῦ Πραξίλλας Ἀδώνιδος, rather than an interest in her poetry; and Corinna is more referred to by grammarians than those citing her for purely literary ends. It is highly unlikely that Tatian would have undertaken original search; he may well have relied on common place books like those compiled by Pamphile⁹⁰⁸ of Epidaurus and her successors. Yet, whatever his source, Tatian here displays a wider knowledge of certain aspects of Greek cultural heritage than anything displayed by Justin.

This inevitable leads to speculation on Tatian's educational background. If we relied solely on the quotations in Tatian's text, it would probably not encourage a high estimate of his educational background, though it is an advance on the frequency and diversity of the quotations found in Justin. The allusions to classical writers and figures convey a much wider picture of Tatian's knowledge, but the clearest indication of Tatian's academic grounding is

⁹⁰⁵ *Oratio* 33.

⁹⁰⁶ Apart from two references in the grammarian Aelius Herodianus, Tatian and Athenaeus (7 18 38) are the only two authors to name Erinna in the 2nd century CE.

⁹⁰⁷ Pausanias 2. 20 8 *inter alios*.

⁹⁰⁸ Her name is also given as Pamphila; the fragments, or rather more accurately testimonia, are found in Müller (1878).

found in his style. Compared with Justin's rather pedestrian style, Tatian, in his writing, shows clear affiliations with the Second Sophistic. Several scholars have commented on this aspect of Tatian's writing – typical is Whittaker.⁹⁰⁹ She argues that Tatian must have had some training in rhetoric to write as he does, and also notes that his style reflects the Asianism, popularised by Hegesias,⁹¹⁰ in his use of short rhythmical cola, figures of speech and exotic vocabulary; he is always careful to avoid hiatus.⁹¹¹ Other scholars, despite Tatian's seeming scorn of Atticism,⁹¹² profess to find elements of Atticism in his style. Georgia⁹¹³ notes Tatian's inconsistent "Atticizing habit in the form of his inconsistent spelling; the use of a double-tau in place of the koine double-sigma had become an almost clichéd way for lowbrow sophists to appear to be Attic in their speech by the second century CE." This might be an indication that there was a certain eclecticism about Tatian, though as Georgia notes, "the sense of Greekness with which Tatian associates himself is more conscientiously sophistic and Atticizing⁹¹⁴ than any of his Jewish or Christian contemporaries."⁹¹⁵

Unlike Clement who begins the *Protrepticus* with Greek exemplars, Tatian starts the *Oratio* with a passage which exalts the capacity of "barbarians" as discoverers and inventors over the Greeks, an inversion of the usual attitude of Greeks towards barbarians. This is indicative of a theme which runs through the *Oratio*, a comparison of the "barbarians"

⁹⁰⁹ Whittaker (1975).

⁹¹⁰ Hegesias of Magnesia flourished around 300BCE – Strabo (14. 1 41) notes: Ἡγησίας τε ὁ ῥήτωρ, ὃς ἤρξε μάλιστα τοῦ Ἀσιανοῦ λεγομένου ζήλου παραφθείρας τὸ καθεστὼς ἔθος τὸ Ἀττικόν, and indeed from the 1st cent. BCE he was regarded as the main representative of Asianism (Cic. *Orat.* 226; 230; Ps.-Longinus, *De sublimitate* 3,2).

⁹¹¹ Whittaker (op. cit.) pg. 58.

⁹¹² *Oratio* 35 1 - διόπερ χαίρειν εἰπὼν καὶ τῇ Ῥωμαίων μεγαλαυχίᾳ καὶ τῇ Ἀθηναίων ψυχρολογίᾳ.

⁹¹³ Georgia (2018) – pg. 199.

⁹¹⁴ Perhaps, in view of Whittaker's comments above, this should be less emphasized, rather than the sophistic aspect of Tatian's work.

⁹¹⁵ Georgia (op. cit.) pg. 200.

towards the Greeks, to the detriment of the latter.⁹¹⁶ Though some scholars, such as Droge,⁹¹⁷ have detected a *topos*, a *laudatio barbarorum*, shared by several ancient authors, it is perhaps ill advised to seek such a common theme. Often, as in the case of the *Germania* and parts of the *Agricola*, such praise serves as a comment, veiled or otherwise, on the authors' contemporaries.⁹¹⁸ Rather Tatian views himself, as a βαρβαρός,⁹¹⁹ who, as he himself affirms παιδευθεὶς δὲ πρῶτον μὲν τὰ ὑμέτερα, has now discovered a deeper truth and philosophy. If a parallel is to be sought, it may rather be found in the work of Lucian,⁹²⁰ who also describes himself as a "barbarian." In Lucian's case it is the "barbaros" who surpasses the "cultivated" in writing Attic Greek. They also have a further point of contact in that they both describe themselves as "Assyrian". The complexities of such usage is well described by Andrade,⁹²¹ who notes: "In the Roman imperial period, the terms Syrian and Assyrian therefore constituted meaningful social identifications, and as such, they represented points of both intersection and difference. Like some of their late antique and modern successors, Syrians of the Roman empire created meaningful Assyrian historical memories while adopting and adapting new or non-traditional cultural idioms, such as the Greek language, in shifting imperial contexts." Tatian follows a path, which had already been explored by Philo⁹²² and

⁹¹⁶ Tatian is the shortest of the late 2nd century apologists, at 10,275 words, yet has thirteen words derived from βαρβαρός. Justin, whose works total 69,565 words, has six, all in the conventional sense. Athenagoras totals 20,242 words but has only one word (in *De resurrectione*), and Theophilus, at 21,643 words, has only two – again in the conventional sense.

⁹¹⁷ Droge (1989) – (pg. 88) refers to a *laudatio barbarorum* and instances Tacitus' *Germania* as an example.

⁹¹⁸ It is exceedingly unlikely that Calgacus, if indeed he existed, uttered the words attributed to him; *ubi solitudinem faciunt, pacem appellant* (*Agricola* 30. 4)

⁹¹⁹ *Oratio* 42. 1 - Ταῦθ' ὑμῖν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἕλληνες, ὁ κατὰ βαρβάρους φιλοσοφῶν Τατιανὸς συνέταξα, γεννηθεὶς μὲν ἐν τῇ τῶν Ἀσσυρίων γῇ.

⁹²⁰ Other points of similarity between Lucian and Tatian may be found in their use of speech form and a tendency to plunge *in medias res* – see Nasrallah (2005) for links between Tatian and Lucian.

⁹²¹ Andrade (2014) – pg. 300. Andrade also analyses three writers who straddle the Greek/Assyrian(Syrian) world: Meleager, Lucian and Tatian.

⁹²² This is particularly true of the 2nd book of the *Life of Moses*.

Josephus,⁹²³ that Moses is a supreme lawgiver, whose precepts the classical Greek philosophers had imitated or misunderstood. But Tatian takes this a stage forward – Moses is the originator of all “barbarian” wisdom and the Greeks had counterfeited this wisdom to deceive people into believing myths that concealed divine truth. The idea of Moses as the primal law giver and the source, even if misunderstood, of Greek thought, is not unique to Tatian - it occurs in other Christian writers such as Clement. Yet it seems to dominate in the *Oratio* and may give a solution to some of the enigmatic aspects of Tatian’s work.

The closing paragraph of the *Oratio* affirms the principal themes of the work. Tatian, the disciple of the “barbarian”, proclaims his Assyrian origins, the superiority of the “barbarian” philosophy and his desire to adhere to that way of life. Yet amidst this seeming certainty there are lurking enigmas. The place of encounter with the γραφαῖς τισιν.... βαρβαρικαῖς remains uncertain. The references to Juppiter Latialis and Diana (Artemis) just before the mention of the γραφαῖς might indicate Rome, and that might be strengthened by the fact that Tatian mentions Justin with respect. If Rome was indeed the place where Tatian first encountered the barbarian writings, it will almost certainly have been in the Septuagint,⁹²⁴ given that this translation was the dominant version in Christian circles.⁹²⁵ Tatian is silent as to whether these writings included the NT; the emphasis on antiquity certainly implies the OT as the source of the “barbarian writings”. Yet the *Oratio* contains few allusions to the OT (or, indeed, the NT).⁹²⁶ Μόνος δὲ ὁ ἄνθρωπος εἰκὼν καὶ ὁμοίωσις τοῦ

⁹²³ *Contra Apionem* – in particular the second book and the prologue and opening sections (especially 4 171 – 331) of *Jewish Antiquities*.

⁹²⁴ Lighthouse (2011) – the Septuagint was almost certainly used in Roman synagogues.

⁹²⁵ This gives rise to the paradox that the “barbarian wisdom” is encountered in the language of the despised Greeks.

⁹²⁶ On the allusions to the Testaments see, *inter alios*, Hawthorne (1964) – though Hawthorne is almost certainly too over optimistic in his assessment of allusions to the NT.

θεοῦ⁹²⁷ is an allusion to Genesis 1:26 and ἐπειδὴ βραχύ τι παρ' ἀγγέλους ἡλαττώθησαν⁹²⁸ to Psalm 8:6.⁹²⁹ Allusions to the NT are seemingly confined to the fourth gospel – John 4:24⁹³⁰ and 1:5.⁹³¹ Compared with Justin and Athenagoras, this is a very modest use of biblical texts; perhaps more puzzling is any lack of reference to Jesus/Christ or to the body of Christians. The other apologists do not display the same reticence in naming Jesus/Christ⁹³² or Christians.⁹³³ Indeed, if it was not for references to the Logos, the unwary might think that Tatian was making a defence of Judaism. Though Tatian describes the nature and the work of the Logos,⁹³⁴ it is only later in the *Oratio*⁹³⁵ that Tatian makes any reference to the incarnation: θεὸν ἐν ἀνθρώπου μορφῇ γεγονέναι καταγγέλλοντες.⁹³⁶ The theme is not developed, and for a major doctrine of Christianity, it seems curiously reticent.⁹³⁷ It is devoid of any historical detail. A Christian reading the *Oratio* would assume the story, but to the ἄνδρες Ἕλληνες (the presumed recipients of Tatian's work) it must have been something of an enigma.⁹³⁸

A possible answer to the enigma may be found in the emphasis on the antiquity of Moses and the “barbarian writings.” For Tatian, the “barbarian writings” almost seem to be a part of the Christian heritage – a view he may have absorbed from Justin. Tatian himself mentions Justin,⁹³⁹ the first time describing him as ὁ θαυμασιώτατος Ἰουσιτῖνος, implying

⁹²⁷ *Oratio* 15.

⁹²⁸ *Oratio* 15. 4.

⁹²⁹ Since Tatian is probably quoting from memory and adapting the phrase to the context, it is impossible to say if his source is the psalm or Hebrews 2:7, though the former is much more probable.

⁹³⁰ *Oratio* 5.2.

⁹³¹ *Oratio* 13 1.

⁹³² Justin 110 times, Athenagoras none, Theophilus three times.

⁹³³ Justin sixteen times, Athenagoras eight times and Theophilus seven times.

⁹³⁴ Chiefly *Oratio* 5 and 7.

⁹³⁵ *Oratio* 21. 1.

⁹³⁶ There may also be vague parallels in biblical texts such as Baruch 3:18 as well as 1 Timothy 3:6, Philippians 2:6ff etc.

⁹³⁷ There may be a parallel with the equally reticent reference (in a grammatically subordinate genitive absolute) to the baptism of Jesus in Luke's gospel; ch. 3:21.

⁹³⁸ Certainly some pagans, such as the roughly contemporaneous Celsus, were not unaware of some of the historical details of Jesus' life.

⁹³⁹ *Oratio* 18 2 and 19 1.

some degree of affection or respect.⁹⁴⁰ Rajak⁹⁴¹ notes C.D.F. Moule's remark on the church's use of the LXX that it was "one of the most remarkable takeover bids in history", and instances Justin's attitude towards the LXX as evinced in the *Dialogue with Trypho*. Justin quotes part of Psalm 95 (LXX) - ὁ κύριος ἐβασίλευσεν ἀπὸ τοῦ ξύλου (the last three words an interpolation, almost certainly of Christian origin) possibly from a collection of *testimonia*? Justin accuses the Jews of mutilating the text – a crime as heinous as that of the golden calf.⁹⁴² This, as Rajak⁹⁴³ observes, exhibits an almost proprietorial attitude towards the LXX, and it is quite plausible that Tatian may have acquired such views from Justin. This may explain the importance of "the barbarian writings", a view inherited from Justin?, a foundational document that becomes a means of asserting the superiority of "barbarian" wisdom, referencing a trope that is found in another sophistic writer, Lucian. The "Assyrian" takes the wisdom of the Greeks, and trumps it in the writings of "barbarians" – paradoxically written in Greek, a paradox that would have delighted Lucian. But the antiquity of the "barbarian writings" may also reference another reason for Tatian's writing. Though the relationship between the Roman authorities and the Jews of the Diaspora was often troubled, there was also an element of tolerance, and one factor in that tolerance was the antiquity of the Jewish religion. Is it possible that by annexing, as it were, these barbarian writings, Tatian is seeking to give Christianity a back history, and thus a sense of legitimacy parallel to that accorded to Judaism?⁹⁴⁴ That might explain his reluctance to name Jesus, whose story might at this time

⁹⁴⁰ Eusebius *Historia ecclesiastica* IV 4 29 3 [Tatian] ὃς Ἰουστίνου ἀκροατῆς γεγονώς, ἐφ' ὅσον μὲν συνῆν ἐκεῖν, οὐδὲν ἐξέφηγεν τοιοῦτον.

⁹⁴¹ Rajak (2009) - pg. 279.

⁹⁴² To the modern reader, this must seem as odd as the belief that Greek philosophy derived ultimately from Moses - in the words of Numenius of Apamea that Plato is an atticizing Moses.

⁹⁴³ Rajak (op. cit.).

⁹⁴⁴ This would include freedom from persecution.

not be unfamiliar,⁹⁴⁵ and his underplaying of the incarnation. It may be possible that Tatian is follow in Justin's footsteps but in a writing, which displays a much greater familiarity with the classical heritage, while also employing a pattern that is found in at least one other sophistic writer. Tatian also seeks to encourage Christians by showing the wisdom of the "barbarian writings" (and probably by tacit extension the emerging writings of the nascent church) trumps that of the Greeks, and that the antiquity of the writings which might be considered as the foundation of their faith and philosophy, guarantees them the same protection as the old Israel which they now supersede.⁹⁴⁶ Whereas in Justin's writings the classical quotations and allusions provide, as it were, a veneer of acquaintance with Hellenistic learning, they are much more central to Tatian. They constitute a central plank of his argument concerning the difference between the "Greeks" and the "barbarians". This is the work of man who has a knowledge of literature, philosophical and historical tenets and anecdotes – however he may have acquired such a knowledge - who is versed in aspects of what we call the Second Sophistic. He employs tropes familiar from other Second Sophistic writers such as Lucian, and is prepared to employ them in different ways in defence of his new faith. Possibly there has been a tendency to "isolate" Christian writers from their contemporaries⁹⁴⁷ and forget or ignore their back history before conversion. Perhaps Tatian's *Oratio* only makes full sense if it is placed in the context of his contemporaries. Tatian, while he concedes the superiority of the "barbarian wisdom", does so in a context which also engages the knowledge which he learnt in his pagan past, and, paradoxically, uses that learning to proclaim a new way. Some

⁹⁴⁵ It was certainly familiar to Celsus, a slightly later contemporary.

⁹⁴⁶ It may also be possible that Tatian is familiar with the view, familiar from Clement, that Moses (i.e. the Torah) was the source of much classical thought and philosophy.

⁹⁴⁷ Should writers like Tatian, Athenagoras, and Clement be equally present in library rooms devoted to classics and theology?

have argued that Tatian is rejecting *in toto* his pagan past and heritage; such is Pouderon:⁹⁴⁸ “Tatien rejette en bloc la pensée païenne, sa philosophie et sa culture”. This is probably too simplistic an approach; Tatian is rather employing the culture of the Greeks to validate a higher wisdom – a “barbarian wisdom” discovered by an “Assyrian”. Tatian is re-inventing his past (in a manner that is reminiscent of a Lucian) to find a new path.

Athenagoras

To turn to Athenagoras is to enter a more measured world. Of the author, little is known. The title of his work⁹⁴⁹ describes him as φιλόσοφος and Χριστιάνος, and that he comes from Athens. He does not figure in the works of Eusebius, and Jerome is equally silent in his *de viris illustribus*. The only two ancient authors who name Athenagoras are Methodius of Olympos, who quotes him in his own work on the resurrection, and Philip of Side.⁹⁵⁰ Philip⁹⁵¹ writes: Τοῦ διδασκαλείου τοῦ ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ Ἀθηναγόρας πρῶτος ἡγήσατο, κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους Ἀκμάσας Ἀδριανοῦ καὶ Ἀντωνίνου..... τούτου μαθητὴν γενέσθαι φησὶν ὁ Φίλιππος τὸν Στρωματέα Κλήμεντα καὶ Πάνταινον {τὸν} Κλήμεντος.⁹⁵² As Pouderon⁹⁵³ observes, “Que de confusions en effet”. Philip is certainly wrong on the emperors concerned and Eusebius⁹⁵⁴ implies that Pantaenus was the first head of the school in Alexandria (whatever the precise nature of that school). Perhaps the most that can be said is that Athenagoras, like Justin before him, was a philosopher (whether the head of a small school is

⁹⁴⁸ Pouderon (1992).

⁹⁴⁹ This may or may not be the words of Athenagoras himself.

⁹⁵⁰ Hansen (1995). On the early school of Alexandria, see van den Hoek, (1997) and on Philip of Side, Willem (2015).

⁹⁵¹ “in the 24th *logos*”; this may mean the 24th chapter or the 24th volume; Photius says that each of Philip’s *biblia* contained many *logoi*.

⁹⁵² Philip (ed. Hansen (1995) – line 2.

⁹⁵³ (Op. cit.) pg. 12 – see also Pouderon (1998).

⁹⁵⁴ *H.E.* V 11 - ὅς [sc. Clement] δὴ καὶ ὀνομαστὶ ἐν αἷς συνέταξεν Ὑποτυπώσεσιν ὡς ἂν διδασκάλου τοῦ Πανταίνου μέμνηται – *H.E.* VI 6 Πάνταινον δὲ Κλήμης διαδεξάμενος, τῆς κατ’ Ἀλεξάνδρειαν κατηχήσεως εἰς ἐκεῖνο τοῦ καιροῦ καθηγεῖτο, ὡς καὶ τὸν Ὀριγένην τῶν φοιτητῶν γενέσθαι αὐτοῦ.

now impossible to determine) who saw his later Christian life as a continuation of that philosophic journey.

Athenagoras' *Legatio* was probably written between 175 – 180CE,⁹⁵⁵ the most probable year being 178CE.⁹⁵⁶ The work contains more quotations than Tatian's, though considerably less allusions. The authors quoted by Athenagoras are: Homer,⁹⁵⁷ Hesiod,⁹⁵⁸ Empedocles,⁹⁵⁹ Pindar,⁹⁶⁰ Aeschylus,⁹⁶¹ [Sophocles],⁹⁶² Euripides,⁹⁶³ Herodotus,⁹⁶⁴ Philolaus,⁹⁶⁵ Lysis,⁹⁶⁶ Opsimos,⁹⁶⁷ Plato,⁹⁶⁸ Callimachus,⁹⁶⁹ Apollodorus,⁹⁷⁰ Leon of Pella,⁹⁷¹ Ktesias,⁹⁷² *Orphica*,⁹⁷³ and various *adespota tragica*.⁹⁷⁴ Most of the quotations are found in other authors: the Aeschylus fragment is quoted by Plato⁹⁷⁵ and may have come to Athenagoras through this context, but some are unique to Athenagoras; two of the fragments of Euripides,⁹⁷⁶ and *adespota* frgs. 99, 100 and 101 are only quoted by Athenagoras.⁹⁷⁷ It has

⁹⁵⁵ The death of the emperor Marcus Aurelius.

⁹⁵⁶ For a more detailed exposition of the date of the *Legatio* see Barnes (1975) and Barnard (1972).

⁹⁵⁷ 17 quotations from the *Iliad* and three from the *Odyssey*.

⁹⁵⁸ Two quotations; *Theogony* 27 and frg. 51 (OCT. ed. Merkelbach and West) and an allusion *Works and Days* 276 – 8.

⁹⁵⁹ frgs. 6 and 17 (Diels) – also an allusion.

⁹⁶⁰ *Pythians* 3; 54 – 5, 57 – 8.

⁹⁶¹ frg. 350.

⁹⁶² frg. 618 (Kannicht and Snell) – this is a probable Jewish Hellenistic imitation of Sophocles.

⁹⁶³ frgs. 900, 941, *Melanippe Wise* frg. 480, *Alcestis* 1 – 2, 8 – 9, frg. 901, *Cyclopes* 332 – 3, frg. 324 lines 1 – 3 (*Danae*).

⁹⁶⁴ 10 quotations and one allusion – all are taken from Book 2 – the digression on Egypt.

⁹⁶⁵ frg. 15 (Diels).

⁹⁶⁶ Testimonium 4 (Diels).

⁹⁶⁷ Only two testimonia mention Opsimos – restored in an emendation by Meursius.

⁹⁶⁸ Four quotations and three allusions from *Timaeus*, one from *Politicus*, one from *Phaedrus*, one from *Epistula II*, and an allusion to *Gorgias*.

⁹⁶⁹ *Hymn to Zeus* lines 8 – 9.

⁹⁷⁰ *Jacoby* 244 frg. 104 – in the original *FGH* Jacoby was sceptical that the content of this fragment could belong to the Περὶ Θεῶν but Mary Williams, in the *New Brill*, was prepared to accept the fragment as coming from Apollodorus, since it might form a context in which he might have been arguing against philosophers. She also argues that frg. 357 also comes from the Περὶ Θεῶν.

⁹⁷¹ Pella of Leon; *Jacoby FGH* 659 frg. 2.

⁹⁷² Ktesias of Knidos; *Jacoby FGH* 688 frg. 11-b I b.

⁹⁷³ frgs. 57 and 58 (Kern).

⁹⁷⁴ frgs. 99, 455, 101, 102 (Kannicht/Snell).

⁹⁷⁵ *Republic* 383B.

⁹⁷⁶ frgs. 900 and 901 – the last two lines of 901 are, sadly, hopelessly corrupt.

⁹⁷⁷ The fourth *adespota* frg. 455 is also found in a scholion on Sophocles' *Antigone* 620.

often been assumed⁹⁷⁸ from the latter years of the 19th century that Athenagoras may have found such fragments in *florilegia*, but as this study will propose in the case of Clement, there is no overwhelming proof for such a view – the author may have been his own florilegist, compiling quotations for future use in notebooks.

It has been generally recognised by many scholars⁹⁷⁹ that from a philosophical view, Athenagoras is to be placed amongst the middle Platonists. It has also been assumed from Geffcken's⁹⁸⁰ work on Athenagoras that he consulted handbooks: a view supported by Schoedel⁹⁸¹ – Athenagoras used a work called Δόξαι⁹⁸² which Schoedel translates as “*Opinions*” – and Pouderon⁹⁸³ who refers to “les recueils doxographiques”. The passage to which they are all referring is: ἐπὶ τὰς δόξας ἐτραπόμην.⁹⁸⁴ Handbooks, as sources for the work and thought of many ancient philosophers, came into prominence after Diels' groundbreaking study *Doxographi Graeci*. Noticing the close links between material in Theodoret's *Graecarum affectionum curatio*, Ps-Plutarch *Placita Philosophorum* and the *Eclogae*, in the first two books of Stobaeus' *Anthology*, Diels⁹⁸⁵ postulated an original work, the *Placita*, created by a certain Aetius, who probably lived in the first two centuries of the Common Era. (The name of the compiler derived from the title that Theodoret gave to his source – Ἀετίου περὶ τῶν ἀρεσκόντων συναγωγήν.)⁹⁸⁶ Runia notes, at the end of his article,

⁹⁷⁸ Daniélou (1961) argued that the apologists were dependent on one or more *florilegia* of Plato, but this may be open to the objections that the evidence for prose *florilegia* is much more tenuous than that for verse. (In books 3 and 4 of Stobaeus verse quotations greatly outnumber prose.) Secondly the evidence of handbooks – note Diogenes Laertius on Plato and Aristotle – suggests no great enthusiasm for quotations in summarising the doctrines of the philosophers and, thirdly, the popularity of such passages as *Theatetus* 176 may come less from *florilegia* but rather that they were popular and thus shared and resonated with various writers.

⁹⁷⁹ Typical are Rankin (2007), Malherbe (C) (2014) and Pouderon (op. cit.).

⁹⁸⁰ Geffcken (1907).

⁹⁸¹ *Athenagoras* (Schoedel (ed.) (1972).

⁹⁸² *Legatio* VI. 2.

⁹⁸³ (Op. cit.) pg. 89.

⁹⁸⁴ *Legatio* VI. 2.

⁹⁸⁵ Runia (1989): a study of Diels' working methods and a fascinating *prolegomeneon* to his major study with Mansfield of the Aetian material.

⁹⁸⁶ *Affectionum Graecarum curatio* 4 31 2.

“It became apparent that for Aetius the collector of *placita* (note the title of his book), the δόξαι held by the philosophers were more important than the philosophers who actually held those views.” This may also explain an idiosyncratic feature of Pseudo-Plutarch and the material in Stobaeus – there are no quotations from the philosophers concerned; the partial exception seems to be Empedocles, and that is probably because he wrote in hexameters.⁹⁸⁷ This is a feature also shared with Diogenes Laertius. The section on Plato only contains two verbatim quotations,⁹⁸⁸ and those are not found in the description of his thought and philosophy. The chapter on Aristotle contains several *bons mots*, attributed to him, but nothing from his writings. This may well suggest that quotations were not a priority for those compiling doxographic material; they gave “facts” (δόξαι) but not the material on which those “facts” were based.

It is in the light of this that there is a need to re-examine the phrase “ἐπὶ τὰς δόξας ἐτραπόμην” – ‘I turned to the δόξαι.’ δόξα is a word with many meanings.⁹⁸⁹ Similar phrases in 2nd century authors do not necessarily imply handbooks.⁹⁹⁰ One might have expected a genitival phrase, such as τῶν φιλοσόφων, to define more clearly the nature of the δόξαι, as in the title of the Pseudo-Plutarch work. Δόξαι *tout court* seems insufficient to imply handbooks and there is no evidence to suggest that word was used by itself as a title, or to denote a generic form of writing. Further the context seems to point to another meaning. Athenagoras begins chapter six by writing that he is going to go through (διέξιμι) the opinions (δόγματα) of the philosophers (Plato and Aristotle, mentioned at the beginning of

⁹⁸⁷ The Pseudo-Plutarch work contains eleven poetic quotations, (Homer, Hesiod, Euripides etc.), three from Empedocles and nothing from Plato or Aristotle.

⁹⁸⁸ Both from the *Laws*.

⁹⁸⁹ See *LSJ* II which illustrates the diversity of the meanings of δόξα.

⁹⁹⁰ *Legatio* XXVII 1αὶ τῆς ψυχῆς ἄλογοι καὶ ἰνδαλματώδεις περὶ τὰς δόξας κινήσεις; Clement *Stromateis* IV 1 2 ὅσων ἦκον εἰς ἡμᾶς αἱ δόξαι; Favorinus frg. 76 λέγειν Δημόκριτον περὶ Ἀναξαγόρου ὡς οὐκ εἶησαν αὐτοῦ αἱ δόξαι αἷ τε περὶ ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης.

the chapter) though not in rigorous detail (οὐχ ὡς ἐπιδεικνύων τὰ δόγματα τῶν φιλοσόφων ἐπ'ακριβέως)⁹⁹¹ as he realises the two emperors are so well versed in philosophy.⁹⁹² Athenagoras needs to cite names to demonstrate that Christians are not the only ones to confine God to a unity - ἄνευ παραθέσεως ὀνομάτων ὅτι μὴ μόνοι εἰς μονάδα τὸν θεὸν κατακλείομεν. Then occurs the phrase ἐπὶ τὰς δόξας ἐτραπόμην. Though the concept of the unity of God may have occurred in the handbooks, given the lack of quotations in handbooks noted above, it is unlikely that the two quotations from *Timaeus*⁹⁹³ which follow were taken from a handbook. (The views of Aristotle, his followers, and the Stoa are not represented by any direct quotation, but still may be comprehended under the umbrella of δόξας.) What δόξας means is rather opinions, or quotations. Athenagoras is simply underlying the argument that he is quoting Plato (and later referring to Aristotle, his school, and the Stoa) in support of his thesis. The phrase may not be the most elegant, but we can surely acquit Athenagoras of resorting here to the handbooks. A further point may be made. Athenagoras is keen here, and elsewhere, to establish his credentials as a philosopher. It seems improbable that he would seek to undermine this position by indicating that he resorted to handbooks, the sort of basic guides for beginners, especially on a point of such importance. The “opinions” Athenagoras turns to are those of Plato from the *Timaeus*,⁹⁹⁴ and as such would be consonant with his knowledge of Middle Platonism.

This passage also points to a factor that unites Tatian and Athenagoras, their much more confident use of the classics. The references to the classics in Justin are more decorative

⁹⁹¹ *Legatio* VI 2.

⁹⁹² True of Marcus Aurelius, but gross flattery in the case of Commodus.

⁹⁹³ *Timaeus* 28C (also quoted by Justin, Clement and Tertullian) and *Timaeus* 41a (incomplete and also quoted by Clement and Origen).

⁹⁹⁴ The fact that the *Timaeus* is one of the most quoted dialogues in 2nd century CE philosophical writings has led some to suppose that the quotations may have been derived from *florilegia*, but popularity does not necessarily point to *florilegia*.

than structural, whereas in Tatian and Athenagoras the quotations are considerably more integral to the fabric of the work. They are central to the construction of arguments, and the two writers handle the classical material with more assurance than Justin. Whatever the exact nature of the works, and the audience for whom they were destined, the use of such material speaks of a greater confidence and assurance both to the wider society in which they lived, but also to the smaller community of which they were both a part. To the former, it was an earnest of an inheritance which they now had in common; to the latter it was a sign of engagement with that society at all levels, from the slave to the “elite”.

There is also another point of contact between Tatian and Athenagoras, which they also share with two other close contemporaries, Tertullian and Clement. They all allude to, or name, Leon of Pella.⁹⁹⁵ Leon⁹⁹⁶ is a somewhat shadowy figure of whom two *testimonia* and nine fragments survive. Of these, only two are quoted by non-Christian authors: Hyginus⁹⁹⁷ and a scholion on Apollonius’ *Argonautica*.⁹⁹⁸ (There is another possible reference in Plutarch’s *de Iside et Osiride*⁹⁹⁹ where Pohlenz has plausibly restored the text to read τῷ ἀθέῳ Λέοντι.¹⁰⁰⁰)

Leon is believed to have composed a letter purporting to be from Alexander the Great to his mother, Olympias, concerning the tales of the gods. Augustine¹⁰⁰¹ seems to imply that the name of the priest, who vouchsafed the revelations, was Leon; this would appear to be a

⁹⁹⁵ Keyser (2012).

⁹⁹⁶ On Leon see Rusten (1980).

⁹⁹⁷ frg 9a - *Poetic Astronomy*, 2, 20 sed de Hammonis simulacro Leon, qui res Aegyptias conscripsit, ait: etc.

⁹⁹⁸ Scholion on IV 257 – 262. The scholion appears muddled, and possibly corrupt; the reference to Leon runs Λέων ἐν ᾧ τῶν Πρὸς τὴν μητέρα.

⁹⁹⁹ *Moralia* 360A.

¹⁰⁰⁰ The emendation is more plausible as there is a reference to Euhemerus a little further down in the text, whose views Leon seems to have shared.

¹⁰⁰¹ frg. 1 *de civitate Dei* 8. 5, frg. 3 (op. cit.) 12. 11, and frg. 9 (op. cit.) 9. 27.

mistake on Augustine's part.¹⁰⁰² Hyginus and Clement¹⁰⁰³ both identify Leon as the author of a work on Egyptian gods, and this seems to be supported by Tatian (probably),¹⁰⁰⁴ Tertullian,¹⁰⁰⁵ and Arnobius.¹⁰⁰⁶ Though Keyser¹⁰⁰⁷ does not mention it, it is a probability that the letter was part of a work on Egyptian gods, which acquired an independent existence. This might explain the reference to book 1 in the scholion on the *Argonautica*. If that is the case, there is a possibility that Athenagoras may be drawing on more than just the allusion to the letter of Alexander in chapter 28. Much of the chapter, including the quotations from Herodotus, may go back to this source. This indeed is hinted at by Pouderon in his edition,¹⁰⁰⁸ commenting on a "forced" interpretation of a passage of Herodotus, in seeming to anticipate Euhemerus.¹⁰⁰⁹ In his view of heroes and mortals who received divine honours, Athenagoras is certainly following the tenets of Euhemerus, but whether he is responsible for the interpretation in his text must be left open. An analysis of the quotations from Herodotus in this chapter¹⁰¹⁰ reveals variant readings and omissions which might suggest that Athenagoras was not copying these quotations from the original text. This is not an exact quotation from

¹⁰⁰² Leon is a very unlikely name for an Egyptian priest.

¹⁰⁰³ frg. 7 - *Stromateis* 1 21 106 3 - Λέων δὲ ὁ τὰ περὶ τῶν κατ' Αἴγυπτον θεῶν πραγματευσάμενος τὴν Ἰσιν ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων Δήμητρα καλεῖσθαι φησιν, ἥ κατὰ Λυγκέα γίνεται ἑνδεκάτη ὕστερον Μωυσέως γενεᾷ.

¹⁰⁰⁴ *Oratio* 27.

¹⁰⁰⁵ frg. 8 *de corona milites* 7 6.

¹⁰⁰⁶ T. 2 b – *adversus nationes* 4. 29. Arnobius seems to be drawing on Clement's *Protrepticus* 2 24 2 but adds Leon to the list. He is also the only source to identify – Leon Pellaeus – as coming from the Macedonian city of Pella.

¹⁰⁰⁷ Keyser (2012).

¹⁰⁰⁸ Pouderon (op. cit.) pg. 179 – Cette interprétation de la pensée d'Hérodote était peut-être déjà le fait de Léon de Pella dans son ouvrage *Sur les dieux égyptiens*.

¹⁰⁰⁹ II 144.

¹⁰¹⁰ The Athenagoras reading comes first:

II 144 αὐτοὺς for πάντας; ἀπηλλαγμένους for ἀπαλλαγμένους; - ὕστερον for ὕστατον

156 3 Ἰσιδος for Ἰσιος; αὐτοῖς for αὐτοῖσι καὶ

41 1 Ἰσιδος for Ἰσιος; A. omits τὸ γὰρ; A. omits Ἰσιος

3 1 ἀφηγημάτων for ἀπηγημάτων; διηγέσθαι for ἐξηγεέσθαι; αὐτέων for αὐτῶν; μοῦνα for μοῦνον.

61 1 After τύπτονται A. adds τρόπον

170 1ff. ἱερῶ for ἱρῶ; ὀπισθεν for ὀπισθε; A. omits τοῦ; ἐχόμενον for ἐχόμεναι; A. omits καὶ ἐν τῷ τεμένει ὀβελοὶ ἐστᾶσι μεγάλοι λίθινοι; δ' ἐστὶν for τέ ἐστι; A. omits καὶ ἐργασμένη εὖ; A. omits ποιεῖσι τὰ

86 2 σφισιν for σφι; Δεικνύασι for δεικνύουσι; A omits τὸ.

the text of Leon. The reference to Apollodorus of Athens, a 2nd century BCE author,¹⁰¹¹ cannot have been in the original, which must predate the sack of Pella, the home town of Leon, in 168BCE. The subject of this passage is also consonant with the fragment quoted by Clement.¹⁰¹²

What is intriguing is that this work is mentioned and drawn on by four Christian authors: Tatian,¹⁰¹³ Athenagoras,¹⁰¹⁴ Clement,¹⁰¹⁵ and Tertullian¹⁰¹⁶ within a forty year period. They also lived and wrote in different parts of the empire: Tatian in Rome,¹⁰¹⁷ Athenagoras in Athens,¹⁰¹⁸ Clement in Alexandria,¹⁰¹⁹ and Tertullian in Carthage. Indeed, apart for the quotations by Christian writers, Leon would be poorly attested – Hyginus, a scholion on the *Argonautica*, and a possible reference in Plutarch’s *De Iside et Osiride*.¹⁰²⁰ The vagueness of Tatian’s allusion - τὰ ὑπομνήματα¹⁰²¹ - and the grouping of Leon with Diagoras and Apion might suggest that Tatian had come across the reference in another source. Athenagoras’ and Clement’s references are more specific and suggest a knowledge and familiarity with the work. Tertullian’s references are more enigmatic; that from *de corona militis* describes Leon as an Egyptian¹⁰²² and the phrase “praestantissimus in hac quoque materia commentator Claudius Saturninus” might suggest that this was Tertullian’s source. The second reference in

¹⁰¹¹ *New Brill Jacoby* 244 frg. 104; Jacoby was doubtful that this originated in Apollodorus’ *Περὶ θεῶν*. If Athenagoras is drawing on a passage from Leon, it is possible that the reference to Apollodorus may be an addition by Athenagoras himself, utilising notes he had made earlier, whether from Apollodorus himself or a secondary source.

¹⁰¹² *Stromateis* 2 106 3.

¹⁰¹³ *Oratio* 27.

¹⁰¹⁴ *Legatio* 28 1.

¹⁰¹⁵ *Stromateis* 2. 106 3.

¹⁰¹⁶ *De corona militis* 7 6 and *de pallio* 3.

¹⁰¹⁷ The *Oratio* was probably written in Rome before Tatian’s return to his native land.

¹⁰¹⁸ The title of the *Legatio* describes Athenagoras as an Athenian philosopher, and the evidence that links him to Alexandria is very tenuous.

¹⁰¹⁹ All Clement’s major works were almost certainly written in Alexandria.

¹⁰²⁰ See footnote 157 above.

¹⁰²¹ *LSJ* note that ὑπομνήματα can refer to dissertation or treatises, as well as explanatory notes and commentaries.

¹⁰²² This might be an assumption from the subject matter of his work.

the *de pallio* - quod Aegyptii narrant et Alexander¹⁰²³ digerit et mater legit – might seem just a throw away remark except the story about Ammon and the discovery of wool is very similar to that reported by Hyginus – [Hammon] aliquid primus inuenisse diceretur.

Tertullian's sources may indeed be Claudius Saturninus and Hyginus;¹⁰²⁴ but Athenagoras and Clement almost certainly had knowledge of the work.¹⁰²⁵ Clement acknowledges that the chronological matters which form the substance of chapter twenty-one of the first *Stromateus* were already treated by Tatian.¹⁰²⁶ It is frustrating that so little is known of this period but perhaps we should not assume that writers in Christian communities lived in isolation. Clement mentions Tatian¹⁰²⁷; a fragment of papyrus shows that Irenaeus' work reached Egypt not long after its composition. It can only be speculation that a copy of Athenagoras' *Legatio* might have reached Clement in Alexandria. Leon's work is such an example, and there are other historical writers who will be quoted in common. What this does perhaps is indicate that during the last thirty years of the 2nd century CE there was an increase of interest in Greek and Roman authors amongst writers in the Christian communities which points to a greater sense of confidence to engage with one aspect of the society in which they lived.

¹⁰²³ The letter which Alexander was presumed to have sent to Olympias and which Leon "forged."

¹⁰²⁴ It is tempting to speculate if a copy of Leon's work would have been available in a Carthaginian library

¹⁰²⁵ It was more likely to be available in libraries in Athens and Alexandria.

¹⁰²⁶ 21 101 2; Clement also mentions Cassian and his work *τὰ Ἐξηγητικά*. Much of this section, with its lists of names and dates has the feel of being taken undigested from Clement's notebooks.

¹⁰²⁷ Tatian also mentions Justin though not in a literary context.

Theophilus

At the same time, it is important to remember that not all writers of this period will show the same confidence in dealing with classical quotes and allusions. In some ways the most tentative author of this period is Theophilus;¹⁰²⁸ direct quotations are only found in the last two books of the *ad Autolycum*. Amongst the authors quoted are Homer,¹⁰²⁹ Hesiod,¹⁰³⁰ Archilochus,¹⁰³¹ Simonides,¹⁰³² Pindar,¹⁰³³ Aeschylus,¹⁰³⁴ Sophocles,¹⁰³⁵ Euripides,¹⁰³⁶ Aristophanes,¹⁰³⁷ Timocles *comicus*,¹⁰³⁸ Menander,¹⁰³⁹ Philemon *comicus*,¹⁰⁴⁰ Dionysius 1,¹⁰⁴¹ Aratus,¹⁰⁴² Simylus,¹⁰⁴³ and Ariston.¹⁰⁴⁴ Though at first glance this appears impressive, in fact

¹⁰²⁸ On Theophilus, see Rogers (2000).

¹⁰²⁹ Six quotations from the *Iliad*, two from the *Odyssey*.

¹⁰³⁰ Three quotations – all from the *Theogony*.

¹⁰³¹ frg. 126 line 1.

¹⁰³² frg. 22 line 1.

¹⁰³³ *Nemeans* 1 vv. 51 – 52.

¹⁰³⁴ Two quotations. Frg. 456 (II 37) is assigned as spurious by Radt and rejected by Sommerstein in his Loeb edition. Frg. 22 (II 37) is also quoted by Stobaeus III 26-7 1 as from the *Bacchae* of Aeschylus. This play is only otherwise attested in the medieval catalogue and may well be derived from other plays on Dionysiac themes such as the better attested *Bassarids*, and *Wool-carders*. In addition, the fragment is also quoted by Stobaeus, along with Theophilus, as a part of a larger whole, which consists of frg. 412 (Nauck) and two further lines possibly of unknown comic origin.

¹⁰³⁵ *Oedipus Rex* lines 978 -9 with textual differences. frgs. 961 and 962 – both lines are also in Stobaeus.

¹⁰³⁶ frgs. 1089 – 2, (Euripidean authorship of frg. 1089 has been doubted on style), *Bellopheron* frg. 303 – Theophilus omits four words, *Iphigenia Aulensis* 394a – 5, *Thyestes* frg. 391. Theophilus separates line 1 from lines 2 and 3, and frg. 391. This latter fragment is attributed to the *Thyestes* by Orion 5. 7; Theophilus to a Θέστιος – this name occurs in a list of authors of other fragments, and is more probably Theophilus' error - confusion with Θυέστης – rather than a corrupt reading in V.

¹⁰³⁷ *Aves* 695 – in a slightly garbled version with omissions.

¹⁰³⁸ frg. 33.

¹⁰³⁹ *Epitrepones* lines 1092/734.

¹⁰⁴⁰ frgs. 131 and 197 – Kassel/Austin list this among the dubia. Wilamovitz suspected that Philemon may have written Θεόυς and Meineke that the line was *pia fraude confictum esse*.

¹⁰⁴¹ frg. 5.

¹⁰⁴² *Phaenomena* lines 1 – 9. It is surprising that Theophilus does not mention that part of line 5 is quoted in Acts 17:28.

¹⁰⁴³ frg. 2 – *PCG* VII K/A – dubium. Parsons and Lloyd-Jones(1983) attribute the lines to Simylus *iambicus*

¹⁰⁴⁴ This author is something of a mystery. Though the author is still referred to by Grant (1970) as Ariston *comicus*, Meineke (*FCG* Volume I pg. ix. – x.), following an emendation of Grotius, had attributed these verses to Aristophon *comicus* (Vol. 1 pg. 411) but withdrew that suggestion, recognising that the verses do not seem the work of a comic poet. He suggested, noting that iambic verses (attributed to Zeno and Crantor) were preserved by Stobaeus, that the lines might be attributed to a philosopher such as Aristo(n) of Chios. Lloyd-Jones and Parsons, (op.cit.) cite two fragments of Aristo of Chios in verse form - frgs. 204 and 205; this is neither of them. (Fortebaugh and White (2006) note that fragments of Aristo of Chios were attributed to Aristo of Ceos – but they do not ascribe this fragment to either philosopher.) The subject matter of the

ten of the authors in the list above appear in two sequences of quotations.¹⁰⁴⁵ Grant¹⁰⁴⁶ argues that both lists are derived from an anthology underlying those compiled by Stobaeus and Orion. This is highly unlikely as the encyclopaedic scale and repetitions of Stobaeus' work imply that he probably used several compilations. Certainly, the nature of Theophilus' two lists indicate that their source was some form of thematic handbook, an impression seemingly confirmed by the appearance of the composite Aeschylus passage, both in Theophilus and Stobaeus.¹⁰⁴⁷ Theophilus' work probably gives us the clearest indication of the use of handbooks (in the context of quotations) in the surviving apologists. Handbooks, with regard to the lives of the philosophers, may also lie behind Theophilus' knowledge of their teachings and doctrines. Apart from Plato, Protagoras is the only philosopher explicitly quoted.¹⁰⁴⁸ Plato is quoted¹⁰⁴⁹ once in a passage assigned by Theophilus to the *Republic*, but in fact from the *Laws*,¹⁰⁵⁰ with minor differences and omissions. Earlier,¹⁰⁵¹ Theophilus refers to the practice of having wives in common as coming from the first book of the *Republic* - ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ βίβλῳ - whereas in fact it comes from the fifth,¹⁰⁵² a mistake unlikely to be attributed to a copyist. It is quite probable that Theophilus' knowledge of Plato owes as much to handbooks as it does for other philosophers.

fragment might well suggest that it is another example of the Judaeo-Hellenistic "forgeries" found in Christian authors and the identity of Ariston must remain an enigma.

¹⁰⁴⁵ II 8 and II 37. Each list is on a different theme – the first on providence and the second on justice and punishment.

¹⁰⁴⁶ (Op. cit.) pg. 35.

¹⁰⁴⁷ Given Theophilus' somewhat sketchy knowledge of classical literature, it is improbable that he created this composite fragment. Perhaps it is also helpful to note that, in all probability, there were many ephemeral collections which have vanished without trace, or else have been subsumed in larger collections, of which Stobaeus is the only surviving example.

¹⁰⁴⁸ frg. 4 (Diels/Kranz.)

¹⁰⁴⁹ III 16.

¹⁰⁵⁰ *Laws* 677 CD.

¹⁰⁵¹ III 6.

¹⁰⁵² *Republic* V 457D.

Paradoxically it is in the allusions to and quotations of historians that Theophilus appears to show a wider knowledge.¹⁰⁵³ These writers include Apollonides Horapios?,¹⁰⁵⁴ Satyrus,¹⁰⁵⁵ Apollonius Aegyptius,¹⁰⁵⁶ Manetho,¹⁰⁵⁷ Menander of Ephesus/Pergamum,¹⁰⁵⁸ Thallus,¹⁰⁵⁹ Berossus,¹⁰⁶⁰ and Chryserus Nomenclator.¹⁰⁶¹ Josephus is mentioned by Theophilus once,¹⁰⁶² but it is a reasonable assumption that his knowledge of Manetho and Berossus may well have come from Josephus. Thallus, another historian mentioned by Theophilus, was believed to have referred to the darkness at the death of Christ,¹⁰⁶³ which may have led to an interest in his writings. Only two 2nd century writers, Theophilus and Tertullian, mention Thallus and Garstad¹⁰⁶⁴ suggests that Tertullian may have derived his knowledge of Thallus from Theophilus. It is plausible, though it also reminds us how little we know of transmission of texts amongst Christian authors and communities. More puzzling is how Theophilus acquired knowledge of such localised authors as Satyrus (writing on the demes of Alexandria) and Chryserus *Nomenclator* on Roman history and chronology. In the little we know of Theophilus' life there is no suggestion that he travelled either to Rome or

¹⁰⁵³ It is highly improbable that references to historians for explicit facts and dates will have come from handbooks – Stobaeus only shows an interest in Herodotus and Thucydides in passages of narrative or moral interest.

¹⁰⁵⁴ Jacoby 661 frg. 1. – Apollonides is also mentioned by Athenaeus.

¹⁰⁵⁵ Jacoby 631 frg. 1 – this is the only fragment given by Jacoby. Schorn (2004) (pp. 438 -75). He is reluctant to ascribe this fragment to Satyros of Kallatis, whose themes do not cohere with that in this fragment, which is probably still to be attributed to the otherwise obscure Satyros of Alexandria. On the relationship of the Satyrus fragment and P. Oxy. 27.2465 see Gambetti (2012).

¹⁰⁵⁶ This Apollonius is not found in Jacoby and his identity with any of the surviving writers named Apollonius is obscure and uncertain.

¹⁰⁵⁷ Jacoby 609 frg. 9a.

¹⁰⁵⁸ Jacoby 783 frg. 1.

¹⁰⁵⁹ Jacoby 256 frg. 2.

¹⁰⁶⁰ Jacoby 680 test. 3.

¹⁰⁶¹ Brill New Jacoby 96 frg. 1. Theophilus is the only writer to mention this author. He notes that Chryserus was the *nomenclator* of Marcus Aurelius until his death in 180CE. (A *nomenclator* was a slave who stood beside a Roman official – in this case the emperor – to remind him of visitor's names.) The errors in dates are more likely to be attributed to Theophilus than Chryseros, though copyists' errors in transmission cannot be ruled out. (See the essay by Costa (2021).

¹⁰⁶² III 23.

¹⁰⁶³ BNJ 256 frg 1 – Eusebius *Extract of Chronography* (ed. Dindorf), p. 609, 21

¹⁰⁶⁴ See BNJ 256 Benjamin Gastard (2007).

Alexandria to search out the originals; it is a possibility that both reached a library in Antioch, or, more probably, that they reached him in the excerpting work of authors who have left no trace. Grant,¹⁰⁶⁵ sadly, is probably right in his low estimate of Theophilus' Hellenism and knowledge. The quotations of Hesiod seem insufficient to sustain Cury's¹⁰⁶⁶ thesis that Theophilus is attempting a Christian *Theogony*. The bizarre reference¹⁰⁶⁷ to Ζεὺς ὁ καλούμενος Τραγωδός¹⁰⁶⁸ having burnt his hand¹⁰⁶⁹ may be a greatly garbled reference to the story of Mucius Scaevola, rather than inexperience with thunderbolts, a reminder that not all of the writers of the 2nd half of the 2nd century were as well versed in the classical heritage. Theophilus' rather pedestrian style, a liking for rather rambling quotations, stands in contrast with the brevity and force of his near contemporary, Tertullian.

Tertullian

Of the writers of this period, Tertullian stands apart, if only because he is the only surviving 2nd century CE writer who was born in the west of the Roman Empire.¹⁰⁷⁰ In attitude and in his use of classical quotations and allusions, he stands closer to Tatian than the other apologists; both pour scorn on pagan learning and culture and deploy it as a means to underlie the greater truth they had found in their Christian faith.¹⁰⁷¹ Tertullian's education will have been founded on the Latin classics, though he was also sufficiently competent in Greek to

¹⁰⁶⁵ Grant (1950).

¹⁰⁶⁶ Cury (1988).

¹⁰⁶⁷ III 8.

¹⁰⁶⁸ This is unlikely to be a reference to Lucian's work of the same name, where Ζεὺς Τραγωδός has a real point with reference to the subject matter of the work.

¹⁰⁶⁹ An almost certain emendation by Otto for V's κατακλύσας.

¹⁰⁷⁰ Irenaeus lived and wrote in Lyons, but he was Greek by birth.

¹⁰⁷¹ Tertullian only refers to Tatian once in *De ieiunio aduersus psychicos* (CPL 0029) pag. CSEL: 293, linea:12. The similarity of attitude is probably coincidental rather than a knowledge of Tatian's writing.

write several works in Greek, which are not extant.¹⁰⁷² Léal in his edition of *De anima*¹⁰⁷³ notes “les allusions aux auteurs païens, à l’inverse, sont très nombreuses”. He also quotes Osborn¹⁰⁷⁴ to the same effect that Tertullian is one of the ancient Christian authors to cite the most pagan authors.¹⁰⁷⁵

Tertullian’s direct quotations from classical authors are found unevenly throughout his works. Fifteen works are free of quotations, though they may contain allusions. This may reflect the subject matter, or, equally, Tertullian thought quotations appropriate only to certain topics or themes. Authors quoted include Virgil,¹⁰⁷⁶ Lucretius,¹⁰⁷⁷ Empedocles,¹⁰⁷⁸ Epicharmus,¹⁰⁷⁹ Plato,¹⁰⁸⁰ Seneca¹⁰⁸¹ Epicurus,¹⁰⁸² a Delphic oracle,¹⁰⁸³ Laberius,¹⁰⁸⁴ Pacuvius,¹⁰⁸⁵ Heraclitus,¹⁰⁸⁶ Ennius,¹⁰⁸⁷ and anonymous.¹⁰⁸⁸ Though Tertullian’s quotations outnumber Tatian’s,¹⁰⁸⁹ compared with Athengoras, this is certainly a modest total, and fades into insignificance when contrasted with the richness of Clement. Other authors are named, and are alluded to, even if they are not quoted explicitly. The list includes

¹⁰⁷² His version, or translation, and the subsequent commentary, of Psalm 91:13 (LXX) - δίκαιος ὡς φοῖνιξ ἀνθήσει - Deus enim in scripturis suis “Et florebit inquit velut phoenix, id est de morte, de funere ut credas de ignibus quoque substantium corporis exigi posse. Multis passeribus antistare nos dominus pronuntiavit: si non et phoenicibus, nihil magnum. Se homines semel interibunt, avibus Arabiae de resurrectione securis? - might suggest that Tertullian, like Homer, could nod. (*De resurrectione carnis* 13. 3).

¹⁰⁷³ Tertullian – Léal (2019) – (pg.72).

¹⁰⁷⁴ Osborn (1996).

¹⁰⁷⁵ Osborn (op. cit.) finds thirty authors quoted in the *Apologeticum*. (pg. 30).

¹⁰⁷⁶ *Georgics* I 125, iii 113 – 4, *Aeneid* i 16ff (twice), iii 415, iv 174, (twice)

¹⁰⁷⁷ *de rerum natura* i 305 (twice).

¹⁰⁷⁸ D 240 Laks/Most – a line generally attributed to Empedocles.

¹⁰⁷⁹ frg. 12 Diels/Kranz

¹⁰⁸⁰ *Phaedo* 65 AB – the translation may well be Tertullian’s own.

¹⁰⁸¹ *De beneficiis* IV 6 6 – the quotation is slightly garbled; *de immature morte* frg. 23 (Haase) – Tertullian alone to cite.

¹⁰⁸² Epicurus *Ratae Sententiae* 11 – is this Tertullian’s own translation?

¹⁰⁸³ Line 2 of a Delphic oracle in Herodotus I 47 – also as *Anthologiae Graecae appendix* no. 64.

¹⁰⁸⁴ frg. 154 (Ribbeck).

¹⁰⁸⁵ Pacuvius *Antiopa* frg. 4 (Ribbeck) – also in Cicero *de divinatione* II 133 (140 16).

¹⁰⁸⁶ D 51 Laks/Most – eadem via sursum et deorsum.

¹⁰⁸⁷ Frg. 35 (Vahlen).

¹⁰⁸⁸ *Fato stat Iuppiter ipse* – seemingly a fragment of unknown authorship – see Houseman on Morel (1928).

¹⁰⁸⁹ Eleven quotations in Tatian’s *Oratio*

Herodotus,¹⁰⁹⁰ Ctesias,¹⁰⁹¹ Diodorus the Greek,¹⁰⁹² Thallus,¹⁰⁹³ Cassius Severus,¹⁰⁹⁴ Cornelius Nepos,¹⁰⁹⁵ Pindar,¹⁰⁹⁶ Varro,¹⁰⁹⁷ Tacitus,¹⁰⁹⁸ Manetho,¹⁰⁹⁹ Bero(s)sus,¹¹⁰⁰ Hiero(ny)mus,¹¹⁰¹ Ptolemy Mendes,¹¹⁰² Menander of Ephesus,¹¹⁰³ Demetrus of Phalerum,¹¹⁰⁴ Rex Iuba,¹¹⁰⁵ Apion,¹¹⁰⁶ Zeno,¹¹⁰⁷ Cicero,¹¹⁰⁸ Timaeus,¹¹⁰⁹ Stesichorus,¹¹¹⁰ Cleanthes,¹¹¹¹ Suetonius,¹¹¹² Aristotle,¹¹¹³ Homer¹¹¹⁴ Charon,¹¹¹⁵ Ephorus,¹¹¹⁶ Heraclides,¹¹¹⁷ Euphorion,¹¹¹⁸ Strabo,¹¹¹⁹

¹⁰⁹⁰ *Apologia* 9. 9 – a reference to Herodotus IV 70 – named in the text.

¹⁰⁹¹ *Apologia* 9.16 - Jacoby *FGH* 668 frg. 44b – frg. 44a in *Ad nationes* I 16; unique to Tertullian

¹⁰⁹² *Apologia* 10. 7. This may well be a reference to Diodorus Siculus; Jacoby attests to no Diodorus who fits this description.

¹⁰⁹³ *Apologia* 10. 7 - Jacoby 256 test. 3

¹⁰⁹⁴ A Roman orator, active during the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius.

¹⁰⁹⁵ *Apologia* 10 7 - none of these four authors, Diodorus, Thallus, Severus or Nepos write of Saturn *aliud quam hominem promulgaverunt*. These four authors reoccur in Minucius Felix XX1 21 4 – 5, evidently a borrowing from Tertullian.

¹⁰⁹⁶ *Apologia* 14. 4 – Aesculapius punished with a thunderbolt - a reference to *Pythians* 3 54 ff.

¹⁰⁹⁷ *Apologia* 14. 8(Varro).

¹⁰⁹⁸ *Apologia* 16 1 - References to two passages in *Histories* V 4 and 9.

¹⁰⁹⁹ *Apologia* 19 6 (and also for the six subsequent references) Jacoby 608 test. 6b.

¹¹⁰⁰ Jacoby 680 test. 3.

¹¹⁰¹ Jacoby 787 test, 1b.

¹¹⁰² Jacoby 611 test. 1a

¹¹⁰³ Jacoby 783 test. 2a.

¹¹⁰⁴ Jacoby 228 frg. 52.

¹¹⁰⁵ Jacoby 275 – no testimonium or fragment explicitly ascribed to Tertullian.

¹¹⁰⁶ 1st century CE sophist and grammarian, attacked by Josephus.

¹¹⁰⁷ *Apologia* 21. 10.

¹¹⁰⁸ *Apologia* 50. 14 - A reference to the *Tusculanae questiones*.

¹¹⁰⁹ *De spectaculis* 5 - Jacoby 566 frg. 62a.

¹¹¹⁰ *De spectaculis* 9 cf. frg. 178 (Campbell Vol III (1991).

¹¹¹¹ *De anima* 25. 9 - Cleanthes *S.V.F.* frg. 518.

¹¹¹² *De anima* 44. 2 - Suetonius *Nero* 46 1.

¹¹¹³ *De anima* 19. 2 - Aristotle *de divinatione per somnium* 462b.

¹¹¹⁴ *De anima* 33. 68 - Pavum se meminit Homerus and ten other references.

¹¹¹⁵ *De anima* 46. 4 – Charon of Lampsacus – Jacoby 262 test. 3 d.

¹¹¹⁶ *De anima* 46. 5 - Ephorus Jacoby 70 frg. 217.

¹¹¹⁷ *De anima* 46. 5 - Seemingly Heraclides Ponticus – also mentioned at *de anima* 9. 5.

¹¹¹⁸ frg. 119 (Lightfoot, J.L *Hellenistic Collection* HUP (2010).

¹¹¹⁹ *De anima* 46. 5 - A reference to Mithridates gaining the kingdom of Pontus after a dream – seemingly not in Strabo.

Callisthenes,¹¹²⁰ writers on dreams,¹¹²¹ Nymphodorus,¹¹²² Nicander,¹¹²³ Hesiod,¹¹²⁴ Callimachus,¹¹²⁵ Anaximander,¹¹²⁶ Novius,¹¹²⁷ Lentulus¹¹²⁸ and Hosidius Geta.¹¹²⁹

The diversity of Tertullian's references, particularly to history and mythology, would seem to imply that he had read more widely than the somewhat circumscribed list of quoted authors detailed above would suggest. It might well be expected that Tertullian would have read such Latin authors, as Virgil, Cicero, Lucretius, Varro, Tacitus, Suetonius; the Greek authors are a much more diverse group. Of the prose writers, Herodotus might be expected with his wide-ranging excursions; in that respect the soberer Thucydides may have provided less material for Tertullian. Some of the historians are considerably more obscure, though some are also found in Josephus and Tatian: Manetho,¹¹³⁰ Bero(s)sus,¹¹³¹ Hiero(ny)mus,¹¹³² Ptolemy Mendes,¹¹³³ Menander of Ephesus,¹¹³⁴ Demetrius of Phalerum,¹¹³⁵ Rex Iuba,¹¹³⁶ and Apion.¹¹³⁷ This may well indicate that Tertullian did not derive his knowledge of them from

¹¹²⁰ *De anima* 46. 5 - Jacoby 124 frg. 27.

¹¹²¹ A list of authors on dreams – Artemon, Antiphon, Philochorus, Epicharmus, Serapion, Cratippus, Dionysius Rhodius, Hermippus. Most are obscure and Serapion is first attested to by Tertullian – see Waszink (1947) pp. 495 – 6.

¹¹²² *De anima* 57. 10 – Jacoby 572 frg. 14.

¹¹²³ *De anima* 57. 10 – Nicander, son of Anaxagoras, son of Damaïos of Kolophon. Jacoby 271 – 272 frg. 43

¹¹²⁴ *De corona* 7. 18 and one other reference.

¹¹²⁵ *De corona* 7. 30 and one other reference.

¹¹²⁶ *De pallio* 2. 1.

¹¹²⁷ *De pallio* 4.4.1. Quintus Novius (1st century BCE) wrote *Atellanae fabulae*, including *Fullones* mentioned by Tertullian. See the article by Schmidt (1996) in *Brill's New Pauly*.

¹¹²⁸ *De pallio* 4.4.1 – (also mentioned at *Apologia* 15) – Lentulus was a writer of mimes, including *Catinenses*, who lived in the early Imperial period. See the article by Benz in *Brill's New Pauly*.

¹¹²⁹ *Praescriptio contra hereticos* 38. Hosidius Geta was a contemporary of Tertullian, who compiled a tragedy *Medea*, a cento of lines from Virgil.

¹¹³⁰ *Jacoby* 609 test. 6a/b is common to Josephus and Tertullian.

¹¹³¹ Mentioned twelve times in Josephus, three times in Tatian. *Jacoby* 680 frg. 14 (from Josephus *Jewish Antiquities*, 1, 107) couples Manetho and Bero(s)us.

¹¹³² Mentioned four times in Josephus. *Jacoby* 787 test. 1a/1b common to Josephus and Tertullian.

¹¹³³ *Jacoby* 611 – test. 1a from Tatian; test. 2a from Tertullian.

¹¹³⁴ *Jacoby* 783 – test. 2a Tertullian, test. 3a/b/c. Josephus, test. 4 Tatian, frgs. 1 and 3 Josephus, frg. 2 Tatian.

¹¹³⁵ *Jacoby* 228 – frg. 51 Josephus, frg. 52 Tertullian.

¹¹³⁶ *Jacoby* 275 – test. 7 – Josephus, frg. 4 Tatian – there is no fragment or testimonial explicitly ascribed to Tertullian.

¹¹³⁷ *Jacoby* 616 – many quotes from Josephus; Tatian test. 5d and 11a, frgs. 2a and 18; Tertullian test. 12.

their original writings but second-hand, either from Josephus or Tatian, or a source common to all three; an author such as Alexander Polyhistor or Iuba.

If there may be a suspicion that Tertullian's sources on the historians he names derive from secondary sources, there may well be a stronger possibility that this is true of the poets. Tertullian may, in all probability, have read Virgil, Lucretius, Ennius and Pacuvius, and, possibly, even Laberius. One might have expected a reference to Horace and Catullus, who had already achieved classic status (though the bulk of the latter's work may not have appealed to Tertullian). Though it may be unfair to contrast Tertullian's learning with that of Cicero, the latter's practice in quotation may not be totally irrelevant. In his prose works Latin verse quotations outnumber those of Greek, probably because of the intended audience.¹¹³⁸ In the letters, the proportion is reversed (Greek quotations outnumber Latin) - perhaps as a compliment to the recipients, and also because of the private¹¹³⁹ nature of the letters. As a sample from Cicero's letters, we may note that there are two quotes from Aeschylus, one from Sophocles, fourteen from Euripides, one from Aristophanes, two from Menander, and two from Pindar.¹¹⁴⁰ The predominance of Euripides is instanced by Cicero's quotations,¹¹⁴¹ and while one might not necessarily have expected references to the other dramatists by Tertullian, the absence of Euripides is perhaps more unexpected (given that he seems to be the most popular Greek dramatist in Roman circles).¹¹⁴² Menander does not seem to have received Tertullian's approval to judge by the disparaging *jeux de mots* on his name.¹¹⁴³ He

¹¹³⁸ Hunter (2010).

¹¹³⁹ Armleder (1967) - pgs. 81 – 85. He also stresses the fact that many of Cicero's quotations would have been made from memory, especially when he was far from a library.

¹¹⁴⁰ Shackleton-Bailey (1995).

¹¹⁴¹ Of the dramatists, Euripides has the highest number of allusions by name in the surviving Latin literature up to Apuleius – seventy-eight.

¹¹⁴² This is also true of the ancient world in general – more fragments survive of Euripides than any other ancient poet or dramatist – followed by Menander, Homer excepted.

¹¹⁴³ *De anima* 50. 1 – the other Menander is the heretic.

also alludes to him in the *de pallio*;¹¹⁴⁴ *Menandrīco fluxu delicatam vestem*. (There are verbal parallels with one of Phaedrus' *fabulae* – V. 1.¹¹⁴⁵) (Tertullian's text¹¹⁴⁶ at this point in the *de pallio* is elliptical, with a seeming hiatus after *et comicus*. Braun,¹¹⁴⁷ following Gerlo and earlier scholars, assumes the missing word is *dicit*, which might suggest that the *comicus* is Menander himself, though Braun prefers an unknown comic writer. Hunink¹¹⁴⁸ suggests that the missing word may be *audivit*, in which case Menander may have been a character in a lost Roman comedy,¹¹⁴⁹ or, more plausibly, Tertullian is referring to an unknown comic author.)¹¹⁵⁰ Of the other three poets alluded to by Tertullian, Pindar, Stesichorus and Euphorion, Pindar is the one to receive the most allusions.¹¹⁵¹ He is quoted by Cicero,¹¹⁵² Quintilian,¹¹⁵³ and Aulus Gellius.¹¹⁵⁴ In comparison Stesichorus is alluded to eight times,¹¹⁵⁵ and Euphorion five times, four of which are lists of other poets and artists; neither are quoted. This may well suggest that both poets were known by reputation rather than an actual acquaintance with their works, and that Tertullian may have gained his knowledge of them from other sources, than

¹¹⁴⁴ 4. 8 2.

¹¹⁴⁵ This is also testimonium 10 in *PCG* VI 2 (Kassel/Austin); the words in Phaedrus are *vestitu (a)fluens* and *gresso delicato*.

¹¹⁴⁶ *Menandrīco fluxu delicatam vestem humi protrahat, audiat penes se quod et comicus: qualem demens iste chlamydem disperdit?*

¹¹⁴⁷ Braun (1992).

¹¹⁴⁸ Hunink (2005).

¹¹⁴⁹ This does not seem very plausible – an allusion to the Phaedrus *fabula* seems more probable.

¹¹⁵⁰ The line seems unparalleled in the surviving Greek comic fragments; perhaps *Menandrīco* may simply be intended as a synonym for "theatrical".

¹¹⁵¹ Twenty-seven in the literature of the first two centuries – including five by Aulus Gellius (17. 10) – a discussion of Pindar's 1st *Pythian* and the eruption of Aetna, in a comparison with Virgil.

¹¹⁵² *Epistulae ad Atticum* XIII 38 2 – frg. 213 (Maehler).

¹¹⁵³ 10. 1 109 – in Latin – *pluvias, ut ait Pindarus, aquas colligit sed vivo gurgite*.

¹¹⁵⁴ Tertullian writes (*Apologeticum* 14. 4) *est et ille de lyricis, Pindarum dico*. The allusion is to the death of Asklepios by a thunderbolt at the hands of Zeus for Asklepios' avaricious crime in raising men to life and is found in the 3rd *Pythia* 55ff. Curiously just above the reference to Asklepios, Tertullian notes Apollinem Admeto regi pascendis pecoribus addicit – the banishment inflicted by Zeus on Apollo for his killing of the Cyclopes for the making of the thunderbolt that killed Asklepios. This is not mentioned in the 3rd *Pythia* and raises the possibility that the two passages might have been found in close proximity in a mythological handbook, as they are part of the same story.

¹¹⁵⁵ Four of the allusions are in lists of other poets etc.

the actual texts. *Stesichorus docet*¹¹⁵⁶ and *Euphorion promulgavit*¹¹⁵⁷ may seem slightly implausible words to use of poets. Though the prime meaning of *doceo* is to learn or teach, and it generally has pedagogic overtones, it can also mean show or tell. *Promulgo* generally means to publish, to publicly inform, to promulgate and is most frequently used of laws and legal matters; very rarely it means just to make known. It is difficult to know whether the use of the two words reflects Tertullian's style, or else a degree of uncertainty as to the exact nature of Stesichorus' and Euphorion's work and their own standing and artistic sphere.

It is when we turn to the treatment of the philosophers that more pressing doubts arise as to the nature of Tertullian's sources.¹¹⁵⁸ His quotations from the philosophers are sparse, one quote each from Heraclitus and Empedocles, and only two or three from Plato, insignificant when compared with the wealth of quotations in Clement of Alexandria.¹¹⁵⁹ Only two handbooks have survived from antiquity – Diogenes Laertius' *Vitae Philosophorum* and pseudo-Plutarch's *Placita philosophorum*.¹¹⁶⁰ It is probable that these works may have drawn on other handbooks, which have simply vanished without leaving any significant trace. Neither works seem to have relied on quotations to support their statements. In his lives of Plato and Aristotle, Diogenes Laertius only quotes both philosophers twice, and, in both cases, the quotes are not found in the passages describing their philosophical beliefs and tenets, but rather in the biographical sections. Both works share a predilection for lists and also anecdotes of their subjects' lives. The opening of chapter eight of the *Placita philosophorum*,

¹¹⁵⁶ *De spectaculis* 9.

¹¹⁵⁷ *De anima* 46.6 Mattei's translation in the *de anima* – c'est ce qu'a fait connaître Euphorion – gives as good a flavour as any.

¹¹⁵⁸ Waszink's edition of the *de anima* explores fully and in detail the hypothetical sources from pagan literature that Tertullian may have drawn on in this work.

¹¹⁵⁹ Twenty percent of the surviving fragments of Heraclitus are preserved by Clement.

¹¹⁶⁰ The *Placita* of Aetius (a philosopher of the 1st – 2nd century CE) is a hypothetical reconstruction by Diels in his *Doxographi Graeci* (1879) of passages from pseudo-Plutarch and Stobaeus.

a passage chosen at random, but entirely typical, gives a flavour: Θαλῆς Πυθαγόρας Πλάτων οἱ Στωικοὶ δαίμονας ὑπάρχειν οὐσίας ψυχικὰς· εἶναι δὲ καὶ ἥρωας τὰς κεχωρισμένας ψυχὰς τῶν σωμάτων, καὶ ἀγαθοὺς μὲν τὰς ἀγαθὰς κακοὺς δὲ τὰς φαύλας. Ἐπίκουρος δ' οὐδὲν τούτων ἐγκρίνει.¹¹⁶¹ Of anecdotes concerning philosophers, Diogenes Laertius¹¹⁶² is typical. Of the death of Heraclitus he writes: καὶ κελεύειν τοὺς παῖδας βολίτοις καταπλάττειν· οὕτω δὲ κατατεινόμενον δευτεραῖον τελευτῆσαι καὶ θαφθῆναι ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ. Νεάνθης δ' ὁ Κυζικηνὸς φησι μὴ δυνηθέντ' αὐτὸν ἀποσπάσαι τὰ βόλιτα μεῖναι καὶ διὰ τὴν μεταβολὴν ἀγνοηθέντα κυνόβρωτον γενέσθαι,¹¹⁶³ and of the death of Empedocles he gives this version – one of several: Ἰππόβοτος δὲ φησιν ἐξαναστάντα αὐτὸν ὠδευκέναι ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν Αἴτνην, εἶτα παραγενόμενον ἐπὶ τοὺς κρατῆρας τοῦ πυρὸς ἐναλέσθαι καὶ ἀφανισθῆναι, βουλόμενον τὴν περὶ αὐτοῦ φήμην βεβαιῶσαι ὅτι γεγόνοι θεός, ὕστερον δὲ γνωσθῆναι, ἀναρριπισθείσης αὐτοῦ μιᾶς τῶν κρηπίδων· χαλκᾶς γὰρ εἵθιστο ὑποδεῖσθαι. πρὸς τοῦθ' ὁ Πausanίας ἀντέλεγε.¹¹⁶⁴ Both these anecdotes are found in Tertullian.¹¹⁶⁵ Similar anecdotes are found throughout Tertullian's *oeuvre*. The following are a sample – Speusippus killed in the act of adultery, Democritus' self-blinding because he could not look on women without desire,¹¹⁶⁶ Empedocles being once a fish,¹¹⁶⁷ and Chilon embracing his victorious son at Olympia.¹¹⁶⁸ The section of the *De anima*, which concentrates on dreams,¹¹⁶⁹ may in all probability derive from a compendium or handbook on the same subject, which Tertullian may have excerpted for

¹¹⁶¹ *Placita* 882B.

¹¹⁶² Modern readers will draw on writers like Diogenes Laertius but to Tertullian and the other apologists such stories may have been familiar without any direct knowledge of the source.

¹¹⁶³ D.L. IX I. 4.

¹¹⁶⁴ D.L. VIII 2. 69.

¹¹⁶⁵ *Ad martyres* 4 (both) and *de anima* 50. 5 for Empedocles again.

¹¹⁶⁶ Both stories *de anima* 46. 10

¹¹⁶⁷ *De anima* 32. 1 – also D. L. VIII 77.

¹¹⁶⁸ *De anima* 52. 3 – also D.L. 1 72. 12.

¹¹⁶⁹ *De anima* 43. 2 - 47. 3.

his own use.¹¹⁷⁰ (Barnes¹¹⁷¹ also agrees that Tertullian may have used handbooks or compendia.) Another literary “motif” which Tertullian employs and may be paralleled in the surviving handbooks is the use of lists - a list of famous men characterised by a virtue,¹¹⁷² philosophers by an element typical of their thought,¹¹⁷³ famous figures of history whose deaths or sufferings were notable.¹¹⁷⁴ Such lists in their accumulation of names give the appearance of learning, but individually are relatively jejune.

Yet again, Tertullian, like Homer nods, but rather more frequently than a Clement or an Athenagoras. *Incorruptibilis*¹¹⁷⁵ does not appear in Plato as an attribute of the soul.¹¹⁷⁶ Only in Tertullian do Pythagoras and Empedocles place the souls of the wise in heaven. There is also confusion between the two Catos,¹¹⁷⁷ a reference to Hippias killed for plotting against his city,¹¹⁷⁸ Strabo given as the source of a dream experienced by Mithridates (though there is no such passage in Strabo’s works)¹¹⁷⁹ and the reference to Aristotle’s treatment of Hermias (the ruler of Atarneus)¹¹⁸⁰ appears unattested in the surviving references to Hermias in Greek authors.¹¹⁸¹ These are only a few examples, but they may underline the uncertainty of making

¹¹⁷⁰ Leal, seemingly following Waszink, argues that Hermippus of Berytus is the source of Tertullian’s information in this section on dreams. Relatively little is known about Hermippus – see Montanari in Brill’s *New Pauly* – his works are sometimes attributed to Hermippus of Smyrna, though on chronological ground this is unlikely in the case of the five volumes named by Tertullian.

¹¹⁷¹ Barnes (1985) – pg. 196.

¹¹⁷² *Apologia* 11. 15.

¹¹⁷³ *Contra Marcionem* I 13. 3 – the sources of heresy are exemplified in the elements early philosophers typified as divine.

¹¹⁷⁴ *Ad martyres* 4. 4.

¹¹⁷⁵ *De anima* 24. 1.

¹¹⁷⁶ It is possible that Tertullian may have obtained this view from Apuleius *de Platone et eius dogmate* 9 – Plato tres amores hoc genere dinumerat, quod sit unus divinus cum incorrupta mente et virtutis ratione conveniens.

¹¹⁷⁷ *Apologia* 39. 12.

¹¹⁷⁸ This seems confused – there is no evidence concerning Hippias the Sophist as a plotter, nor was Hippias the tyrant put to death – it was his brother Hipparchus that was killed, and Hippias himself later exiled.

¹¹⁷⁹ *De anima* 46. 6.

¹¹⁸⁰ *Apologia* 46. 15 – Aristoteles familiarem suum Hermiam turpiter loco excedere fecit.

¹¹⁸¹ The *Souda* (3040 line1), Diogenes Laertius (V 1. 4), Hermippus, frg. 45 line 11, Dionysius Halicarnassensis *ad Ammaeum* 5. 11, *inter alios*, all mention that Hermias was a eunuch, in all probability an ancient slander. Diogenes Laertius also notes that Hermias was connected to Aristotle by marriage – his wife, Pythias, seems to have been Hermias’ daughter or niece. Aristotle also wrote a paeon after Hermias’ death at the hands of

assumptions about Tertullian's sources; the relative paucity of quotations, particularly from Greek authors, may indicate that Tertullian's knowledge was not necessarily first-hand. For example, the reference to Pindar and the killing of Asclepius by a thunderbolt does not automatically guarantee direct knowledge on Tertullian's part of the third *Pythian*; it may equally come from a secondary source.¹¹⁸² In that respect Tertullian may stand closer to an earlier contemporary, Tatian; they also share the same disparaging view of the non-Christian authors they allude to or quote. Rarely, if ever, will one hear the admiring words of a Clement - Καὶ σοῦ, ὦ Ὅμηρε, τεθαύμακα τὰ ποιήματα.¹¹⁸³ Tertullian is indeed a skilled writer, but he may also share characteristics with an earlier contemporary, Lucian.¹¹⁸⁴ Barnes¹¹⁸⁵ argues that Tertullian's erudition and technique can thus both be viewed as a manifestation of the Second Sophistic movement; indeed he goes so far as to apply to Tertullian the epithet that Tertullian bestows on Miltiades, a designation which he could more justly have claimed for himself – *ecclesiarum sophista*.¹¹⁸⁶ Of Lucian, Anderson notes:¹¹⁸⁷ "Lucian's literary pose should not deceive us: he casts himself as the exacting and learned purist who condemns the trite and superficial." The sobriquet "exacting and learned purist" might well be one that Tertullian was happy to share. Anderson also observes of Lucian; "Lucian was an effortless humourist, and his quotation habits are those of a travelling sophist; as far as learning is concerned, he

Artaxerxes III. Diogenes Laertius also notes that Hermias and Aristotle were on very friendly terms. He also quotes another writer, Aristippus, in his first book *On the Luxury of the Ancients* as recording that Aristotle's wife was part of Hermias' harem.

¹¹⁸² Because some handbooks will have had an ephemeral existence, it may be tempting to assume (like some of the passages mentioned as coming from Herodotus) that they must go back to the original, and ignore any potential or hypothetical intermediary sources.

¹¹⁸³ *Protrepticus* 2 33 1 1. Even if Clement had unease about the morality of certain passages in the Homeric poems) it might also indicate a different approach to their intended audience.

¹¹⁸⁴ Hunink (op. cit.) draws attention to parallels between some of Apuleius' rhetorical works, especially the *Florida*.

¹¹⁸⁵ Barnes (op. cit.) - pg. 213. He offers many examples of Tertullian's closeness to and employment of forms which would ally him to the Second Sophistic. He also sees parallels between Tertullian and Apuleius' oratorical works such as the *Florida*.

¹¹⁸⁶ *Adversus Valentinianos* 182. 7.

¹¹⁸⁷ Anderson (1976).

travelled light”¹¹⁸⁸ Tertullian may not be an effortless humourist – he probably owes more in that respect to Tacitus – nor was he a travelling sophist, but, like Lucian, he travelled “light”, but with such a sense of assurance and panache in his use of classical quotations and allusions, that many have taken his “lightness” for “depth”.

The two major events on Tertullian’s spiritual journey were his conversion to Christianity¹¹⁸⁹ and his rapprochement to and acceptance of the teachings of the New Prophecy, (generally called Montanism)¹¹⁹⁰. These were more stringent in certain aspects than the Catholic position and it has been argued that Tertullian, in conforming to and defending this narrower view, might have abandoned his use of quotations and allusions derived from the classical heritage. Of the eighteen works conventionally dated¹¹⁹¹ to the pre-Montanist period, nine contain quotations or allusions to the classical heritage of which the most important is the *Apologeticum*. Of the remaining thirteen works generally assigned to the post-Montanist period, seven are marked by their use of the classical heritage in quotations and allusions, a slightly higher percentage than the pre-Montanist works, of which the *De Anima* contains the most references. This suggests that in this aspect of his *oeuvre*, Tertullian saw no difference between the two aspects of his spiritual journey. In the works in which he did not draw on the classical heritage, such as, to take at random, two from the pre-Montanist period *de baptismo* and *de carne Christi*, the subject matter may well have been not such to encourage the use of classical material and *mutatis mutandis* the same may be said of the post-Montanist period, such as *de fuga* and *de monogamia*. Rather

¹¹⁸⁸ Anderson (1967) (op. cit.) pg. 67.

¹¹⁸⁹ Usually dated to 193CE or thereabouts.

¹¹⁹⁰ Usually dated from 207CE onwards.

¹¹⁹¹ Barnes (1985), Rankin (1995), Tabbernee (2007).

it may well be that Tertullian,¹¹⁹² like some of his contemporaries, saw the use of material from the classical heritage as asserting the place of Christians amongst the educated “elite” and in journeying to join the adherents of the New Prophecy, he was claiming the same status for them; they were now the “true” church and worthy to be recognised as such, and in that sense there was no difference between the two phases of his spiritual journey.¹¹⁹³

Irenaeus

The life of Irenaeus of Lyon affords another striking example of mobility in the 2nd century CE, paralleled in the lives of Justin and Clement of Alexandria. Irenaeus was born in Smyrna; though it is mentioned in no ancient text, it is generally assumed that his parents were Christians. This has been inferred from two passages of Irenaeus himself. He writes¹¹⁹⁴ that he saw Polycarp ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ ἡμῶν ἡλικίᾳ. The phrase is ambiguous. ἡλικία simply means age, and it is usually assumed that Irenaeus means youth; but a similar phrase in Pindar - ἀλικία πρώτῃ¹¹⁹⁵ - seems to mean the prime of manhood and in Thucydides¹¹⁹⁶ men of military age. The context of the passage in Irenaeus lies in a discussion of the apostolic succession. Polycarp conversed with those who had seen Jesus - πολλοῖς τοῖς τὸν Κύριον ἑωρακόσιν - and Irenaeus himself had seen Polycarp - ὃν καὶ ἡμεῖς ἑωράκαμεν ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ ἡμῶν ἡλικίᾳ - thereby aligning himself in that apostolic succession. There is no obvious

¹¹⁹² Waszink draws attention to the passage in *de anima* (2.4) where Tertullian argues for his use of pagan sources and examples – invenias inter philosophos quam societas, cum et in ipsa societate diversitas eorum deprehendatur, siquidem vera quaeque et consonantia prophetis aut aliunde commendant aut aliorum subornant cum maxima iniuria veritatis, quam efficiunt aut adiuvari falsis aut patrocinari.

¹¹⁹³ In a sense it is Tertullian’s perception that matters and not whether all the contemporary adherents of the New Prophecy were indeed amongst the literary “elite”.

¹¹⁹⁴ *Adversus Haereses* III 3 4.

¹¹⁹⁵ *Nemean* 9 52.

¹¹⁹⁶ VIII 75 – οἱ ἐν τῇ ἡλικίᾳ.

implication that Irenaeus was of an age to be accompanied by a parent. It is rather the second passage that may lend strength to the supposition that Irenaeus was raised in a Christian household. This comes from Irenaeus' lost *Letter to Florinus*, quoted by Eusebius.¹¹⁹⁷ Here he writes that he saw Florinus; εἶδον γάρ σε, παῖς¹¹⁹⁸ ἔτι ὧν, ἐν τῇ κάτω Ἀσίᾳ παρὰ Πολυκάρπῳ, λαμπρῶς πράσσοντα ἐν τῇ βασιλικῇ αὐλῇ. If he was still a boy and participating in a meeting in a public hall or building, which must be the implication of τῇ βασιλικῇ αὐλῇ,¹¹⁹⁹ he would in all probability have been accompanied by his father. The fact that they were both at a gathering in the presence of a bishop, would indeed suggest that Irenaeus' father was a Christian.¹²⁰⁰

The date of Irenaeus' birth is a matter of conjecture. Behr's suggestion of c. 130¹²⁰¹ allows more time for Irenaeus' knowledge of Polycarp and a more plausible date for his consecration as Bishop of Lyons than Foster's date of mid 140's CE.¹²⁰² If Behr is correct, then Irenaeus' education took place in the late 130's and early 140's. The evidence of Irenaeus' writings would suggest that he had undergone some form of the *enkyklios paideia*, and, unless Irenaeus' father was wealthy enough to employ a tutor, this must have been in a local school. Of all the 2nd century Christian writers whose writings have survived, Irenaeus is the only one of whom it can be said with any certainty that he was a cradle Christian, yet his treatment of

¹¹⁹⁷ *Historia Ecclesiastica* V 20 5.

¹¹⁹⁸ παῖς will imply that Irenaeus was still a child, and had not yet reached the status of an *ephebos*; from the 3rd century BCE the *ephebeia* was universal in the *poleis* of the Hellenistic world – see Marrou (1982) pt. 2 chapters 1 and 9. Irenaeus also stresses in the same passage the importance of memory in childhood, a sentiment also paralleled in Pseudo-Plutarch *de liberis educandis* 9 E ff.

¹¹⁹⁹ Some, such as Behr, (2013) have assumed that this is a reference to the imperial court and that Florinus was engaged on imperial business. In the absence of the emperor, the governor's residence would have functioned as the equivalent. Burrrell (2002/3) notes that Philostratus (*Vitae. Soph.* 1 25 1 – 4) records that the orator Polemon persuaded Hadrian (on his visit in 124CE) to spend "ten million" from which the city built *inter alia* the most magnificent gymnasium in Asia. Halls for debating and public meetings were often incorporated into the gymnasiums and it is highly probable that such a building, either officially or unofficially, acquired the name of the imperial hall.

¹²⁰⁰ Though the inference may be that Irenaeus' mother was also a Christian, it cannot be definitely proved.

¹²⁰¹ Behr (2013) (op. cit.) pg. 68.

¹²⁰² Foster (Parvis and Foster (2012) pg. xv.

classical quotations and allusions does not differ significantly from his contemporaries, a possible indication that his education proceeded along the lines of the *enkyklios paideia*,¹²⁰³ and that Irenaeus' parents were content to send their son to a local school. Marksches¹²⁰⁴ notes that "a predominantly pagan elementary education in the public framework and the private Christian upbringing of children probably stood largely unconnected alongside each other..... (Most Christians attended the pagan elementary instruction, probably without great hesitation.)"

Irenaeus' quotations and allusions may not be as numerous as those of other contemporary writers, but they still display an ease of usage that compares well with Athenagoras and surpasses that of Theophilus. Such is the allusion to Oedipus:¹²⁰⁵ κατὰ τὸν τραγικὸν Οἰδίποδα ἑαυτοῦς τυφλώσαντες. Homer and Plato are the authors most quoted and alluded to: Homer with four quotations¹²⁰⁶ and allusions and Plato two quotations¹²⁰⁷ and one allusion. Hesiod is also quoted¹²⁰⁸ and there are allusions to Pindar¹²⁰⁹ and Stesichorus.¹²¹⁰ The references to philosophers other than Plato – there are no direct quotes – may well be derived from handbooks; this may not be unusual amongst contemporary writers. Theophilus and Tertullian may have taken advantage of the same sources.

Of the classical quotations and allusions three demand more than a passing notice: the Homeric *cento*,¹²¹¹ the reference to Antiphanes,¹²¹² and a possible allusion to

¹²⁰³ If the βασιλική αὐλή was indeed part of the gymnasium built as a part of Hadrian's generosity, might the gymnasium also have housed Irenaeus' school, and was thus something familiar to him?

¹²⁰⁴ Marksches (2015) pg. 40.

¹²⁰⁵ V 13 2 – the predominance of biblical exegesis in the last three books may have inhibited the use of classical quotations. The absence of classical quotations in Origen's commentaries may be a parallel.

¹²⁰⁶ *Iliad* ii 1 – 4, iv 1 and 43 and the Homeric cento.

¹²⁰⁷ *Laws* IV 715E and *Timaeus* 29E.

¹²⁰⁸ Allusion to Pandora *Opera* 81 and quote of line 78.

¹²⁰⁹ 1st *Olympian* – the story of Pelops.

¹²¹⁰ The *palinodia* concerning Helen.

¹²¹¹ I 9 4 83ff.

¹²¹² II 14 1.

Xenophanes. With regard to the *cento*, Usher¹²¹³ notes that the 2nd century CE affords only a seven line *graffito* of Hadrianic date on the statue of “Memnon” and the *cento* in Irenaeus.¹²¹⁴ Wilken,¹²¹⁵ in refuting Daniélou’s supposition that the *cento* may be the work of Valentinus, argues convincingly that Irenaeus intends a parallel between the way that Valentinians treat biblical texts and the method of a writer creating a *cento*. When faced with such a text as the *cento*, those with a knowledge of Homer would recognise that it was a distortion by the use of lines torn from their original context: Ὁ δ’ ἔμπειρος τῆς Ὀμηρικῆς ὑποθέσεως ἐπιγνώσεται, [suppl. μὲν τὰ ἔπη, τὴν δ’ ὑπόθεσιν οὐκ ἐπιγνώσεται,] εἰδὼς ὅτι τὸ μὲν τι αὐτῶν ἐστὶ περὶ Ὀδυσσεύος εἰρημένον, τὸ δὲ περὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Ἡρακλέος, τὸ δὲ περὶ Πριάμου, τὸ δὲ περὶ Μενελάου καὶ Ἀγαμέμνονος. Ἄρας δὲ αὐτὰ, καὶ ἐν ἑκάστον ἀποδοὺς τῇ ἰδίᾳ, ἐκποδὼν ποιήσει τὴν ὑπόθεσιν. This appears to be the main purpose of the *cento*, and the point once established, Irenaeus turns to other modes of attack.

Homer’s poems were the ideal vehicle for such a point. They were accepted as the classics of Greek literature, familiar to those who had been through the *enkyklios paideia*. Biblical texts with their increasing authority in Christian circles would have seemed inappropriate for such treatment, as well as being the subject of Valentinian distortions, but Homer’s work, being an established classic, would make the point well. Of the ten lines which compose the *cento*, six are not quoted elsewhere, one line is quoted seven times and the other three once or twice. This might suggest the composer of the *cento* knew his way around

¹²¹³ Usher (1995) pg. 305

¹²¹⁴ There are three Homeric *centos* in the *Palatine Anthology*; IX 361 (ascribed to Leo the Philosopher), IX 381 (on Hero and Leander) IX 382 (on echo). The last two are anonymous, but unlikely to be of 2nd century date. The largest Homeric *cento* to survive from antiquity is that of the Empress Eudocia in the 5th century CE. Tertullian (*de praescriptione haereticorum* 39) refers to *Homerocentones* who, in the fashion of a patchwork, create their own works from the lines of Homer. (Intriguingly, Tertullian at the end of section 38 refers to Valentinus adapting his matter to the scriptures.)

¹²¹⁵ Wilken (1967).

Homer. There are several minor variants, which might be the result of copyist error – *Iliad* xxiv 327¹²¹⁶ - or alteration to fit the new context.¹²¹⁷ Perhaps the most significant reading is the beginning of *Iliad* xxiv 328 where the text of the *cento* has οἴκτρ' for πόλλ'.¹²¹⁸ It is conceivable these differences may be the result of quoting from memory.

The *cento* is not a self-contained work like the *centos* in the *Palatine Anthology*. It appears to be an extract from a larger work. Tertullian's use of the term *Homero-centones* might imply that the genre was popular in the late 2nd century CE but unfortunately Irenaeus' *cento* is the only Greek example to survive.¹²¹⁹ Later antiquity provides works such as Ausonius' *Cento nuptialis*,¹²²⁰ Faltonia Betitia Proba's *Cento Vergilianus de laudibus Christi* and Eudocia's Ὀμηροκέντρωνες. These take as their subjects, in the former, a wittily obscene description of a marriage, in the last two, Christian themes; topics which have no connection with their source poet. Irenaeus' *cento* does not resemble later examples, in that its subject – Herakles stealing Cerberus - is adumbrated in the parent work, chiefly at the end of the *Nekuia* when the *eidolon* of Herakles encounters Odysseus.¹²²¹ If this *cento* is an extract from a longer work, its theme will either be the Theft of Cerberus or the Labours of Heracles. Compared with other *centos*, the Irenaeian *cento* is perhaps not the most accomplished; and the last line has an ingenious twist of gender: Ἦιδεε (sc. Athena) γὰρ κατὰ θυμὸν ἀδελφεὸν, ὥς ἐπονείττο.¹²²² Athena had no full siblings, but through Zeus, Athena was Herakles' half-sister, and she had assisted Herakles in three of the twelve labours.¹²²³ The original context,

¹²¹⁶ Καρπαλίμως ἀνὰ (κατὰ *recte*) ἄστν. φίλοι δ' ἀνὰ (ἄμα *recte*) πάντες ἔποντο

¹²¹⁷ *Odyssey* xi 626 where δέ μ' ἔπεμπεν has been altered to ἀπέπεμπεν to fit the new context.

¹²¹⁸ This reading is noted in the *apparatus criticus* of Allen's edition.

¹²¹⁹ Tertullian instances the *Medea* of Hosidius Geta, a Virgilian *cento*.

¹²²⁰ Ausonius is the only surviving author to afford a comment on the structure and content of the Virgilian *cento* – a work that he describes as *frivolum et nullius pretii opusculum* – *Epistula ad Paulum* line 1.

¹²²¹ *Odyssey* xi 617ff. – chiefly in the lines 621 ff. μάλα γὰρ πολὺ χείρονι φωτὶ δεδμήμην, ὃ δέ μοι χαλεποὺς ἐπετέλλετ' ἀέθλους. καὶ ποτὲ μ' ἐνθάδ' ἔπεμψε κύν' ἄξοντ'. Line xi 626 is also quoted in the Irenaeian *cento*.

¹²²² *Iliad* ii 409.

¹²²³ This included the theft of Cerberus.

however, refers to Menelaus and his brother Agamemnon. It is noteworthy that after the *cento*, Irenaeus refers to those characters alluded to in the original Homeric verses; Odysseus, Herakles, Priam, Menelaus and Agamemnon. None of them are referred to by name in the *cento*, and it would seem a firm indication of Irenaeus' knowledge of Homer that he was able to name the characters alluded to in the *cento*.¹²²⁴ He also assumes that some at least of his readers will be able to see through the imposture; Ὁ δ' ἔμπειρος τῆς Ὀμηρικῆς ὑποθέσεως ἐπιγνώσεται, [μὲν τὰ ἔπη] and will thus see the improbability of the new arrangement. The *cento* passage is a significant witness to Irenaeus' knowledge of the classical heritage, and curiously it is sandwiched between references to pre-Socratic philosophers, in the paragraphs¹²²⁵ following the *cento*, Thales, Anaximander, Anaxagoras "the atheist", Democritus and Epicurus.

Earlier¹²²⁶ there may be lurking allusions to two fragments¹²²⁷ of Xenophanes.¹²²⁸ Mansfeld notes earlier scholars who have affirmed the presence of Xenophanes in the text of Irenaeus,¹²²⁹ and he argues that Xenophanes frg. 17 underlies various passages in

¹²²⁴ Whether this knowledge points to Irenaeus as the compiler of the *cento* as Ziegler (1871) (pg. 17 - Mag Irenäus diese Zusammen- stellung selbst gemacht) – suggested, and endorsed by Grant (1949) is perhaps more debatable. The words just before the *cento* - Ὡς ὁ τὸν Ἡρακλέα ὑπὸ Εὐρυσθέως ἐπὶ τὸν ἐν τῷ Ἀδῇ κύνα πεμπόμενον διὰ τῶν Ὀμηρικῶν στίχων γράφων οὕτως – might suggest that Irenaeus was borrowing from another source. On the other hand, the *cento* so admirably fits Irenaeus' purpose, and as he has knowledge of the original Homeric lines, it is a tempting, but ultimately unprovable, hypothesis that Irenaeus is its begetter.

¹²²⁵ *Adversus haereses* II 14 2 – 3.

¹²²⁶ *Adversus haereses* II 13 2.

¹²²⁷ frgs. 16 and 17 – Laks/Most. Frg. 16 is also quoted by Clement *Stromateis* V 109: frg 16 (D/K 23) εἷς θεός, ἔν τε θεοῖσι καὶ ἀνθρώποισι μέγιστος, / οὔ τι δέμας θνητοῖσιν ὁμοίος οὐδὲ νόημα: frg 17 (D/K 24) οὔλος ὄρᾱι, οὔλος δὲ νοεῖ, οὔλος δέ τ' ἀκούει. (Though Sextus (*Adv. math.* IX 144) gives no author, attribution to Xenophanes seems assured by doxographical references D20 and R6(6) (Laks/Most.)

¹²²⁸ Irenaeus' contemporary Clement quotes Xenophanes four times.

¹²²⁹ Mansfeld (1988) – pg. 106 - footnote 59; *inter alios* he names R. Grant and Schodel.

Irenaeus,¹²³⁰ and frg. 16 may have inspired a passage little further on.¹²³¹ It is unfortunate that the Greek text of Book 2 has been lost and with it any possible verbal similarities with the Xenophanes fragments. Frg. 16 is also quoted by Clement, and Edwards,¹²³² in arguing that this fragment may be the work of a Christian "forger," draws attention to the dactyl - εἰς θεός. Apart from the Xenophanes' fragment, the phrase does not occur again until Philo, and subsequently frequently in monotheistic contexts. If Aristobulus could "adapt" Aratus, it is not inconceivable that a Jewish or Christian source might have done something very similar to Xenophanes.¹²³³ It is frustrating that we can only speculate how such passages might have come to the knowledge of Irenaeus and Clement, widely separated in Lyons and Alexandria, but a possible reminder that the Christian community was more interconnected than has been assumed.

Of all the authors mentioned by Irenaeus, the most *recherché* is "Antifanus"¹²³⁴, the comic poet. This is generally assumed to be Antiphanes,¹²³⁵ a Middle Comedy poet, though Grant¹²³⁶ has argued that the Latin translator wrote Antifanus for Aristophanes, positing a resemblance between the theogony in the *Birds* - noting the phrases πρὶν Ἐρως ξυνέμειξεν

¹²³⁰ *Adversus haereses* I 12. 2 - ὅλος ἔννοια ὦν, ὅλος θέλημα [ὦν], ὅλος νοῦς, ὅλος φῶς, ὅλος ὀφθαλμός, ὅλος ἀκοή, ὅλος πηγὴ πάντων τῶν ἀγαθῶν: II 13 3, et simplex et non compositus et similimembrius et totus ipse sibimetipsi similis et aequalis est, totus cum sit sensus et totus spiritus et totus sensuabilitas et totus ennoia et totus ratio et totus auditus et totus oculus. In their edition of *A.H.I.*, Rousseau and Doutreleau are reluctant to see any reference to Xenophanes, mainly on the grounds of substitution of nouns for the verbs of the Xenophanes line.

¹²³¹ *Adversus haereses* II 13 4 - Sensus enim capax omnium bene ac recte dicetur, sed non similis hominum sensui; et lumen rectissime dicetur, sed nihil simile ei quod est secundum nos lumini.

¹²³² Edwards (1991b).

¹²³³ The pseudonymous passages from Jewish sources are monotheistic and the use of ἐν τε θεοῖσι would thus seem very unusual in such a context.

¹²³⁴ *Adversus haereses* II 14 1 – in the form as given in the Latin translation.

¹²³⁵ There is no agreement over the title of the work, given by Irenaeus as *Theogonia*. For different suggestions see the entry *Theogonia* under Antiphanes in Kassel/Austin *PCG* Vol. pg. 366. Arnott (2010) notes that twenty-two plays by Antiphanes are on the subjects of myth parodies, which might suggest that *Θεογονία* and *Ἀφροδίτης Γοναί* might be possible candidates.

¹²³⁶ Grant (1965). In this he is followed by Rousseau and Doutreleau (1982) *Livre 1* pg. 254, though the absence of birds might well indicate Aristophanes is not the source.

ἅπαντα¹²³⁷ and pro Cupidine, per quem ait comicus reliqua omnia disposita.¹²³⁸ There are differences, however. In Aristophanes Love is born from the egg hatched by Night, and the birds are the offspring of the intercourse of Love and Chaos. In Antiphanes Chaos is the offspring of Night and Silence, then Love is born from Chaos and Night. More significantly, it is highly unlikely that the translator of the Latin version¹²³⁹ would have changed Aristophanes into Antiphanes, who would have been much more obscure in Latin speaking areas - the principle *lectio difficilior* may be pertinent here. Antiphanes was one of the more prolific authors of the Middle Comedy, yet by the 2nd century CE he is quoted relatively infrequent. There are, for example, only two quotes from his plays in Clement of Alexandria. (The one exception is the *Deipnosophistae* of Athenaeus.) Jacob,¹²⁴⁰ in speaking of Athenaeus, speculates that “personal excerpts from the original works themselves are probably mixed in an inextricable way with materials gathered from previous collections and glossaries of a similar kind.” This may well be true *mutatis mutandis* of authors like Aulus Gellius, Clement and Irenaeus himself. Nesselrath,¹²⁴¹ in a survey of later Greek comedy, notes that “the evidence that Antiphanes – after his time as an author for the stage – ever served as a source for reading is next to nil”. He also observes that Athenaeus was fortunate to be able to use the resources available to him in Alexandria and Rome. It is almost certain that in Gallic Lugdunum, Irenaeus would not have had access to similar resources, and that the reference

¹²³⁷ *Birds* line 700.

¹²³⁸ *Adv.Haer.* II 14 1.

¹²³⁹ The general consensus is that the Latin version was made towards the end of the 4th century CE, and before the seeming use of the Latin version in Augustine’s *Contra Julianum* (422).

¹²⁴⁰ Jacob (2000) pg. 86.

¹²⁴¹ Nesselrath (2014) pg. 670.

to Antiphanes will not have come from a direct reading of the original play, but from a handbook or florilegium, the exact nature of which may be open to speculation.¹²⁴²

Though Irenaeus' references may not be as copious as some of his contemporaries, he displays an easy confidence in using them and also the expectation that his readers will be familiar with them, and that they have a place in Christian discourse. The work of Irenaeus is a further signpost along the road that will lead to the writings of his contemporary, Clement of Alexandria.

Coda

The apologists¹²⁴³ and other Christian writers form a link between the tentative first steps of Justin in quoting texts and allusions to the veritable cornucopia of quotations and allusions in the works of Clement of Alexandria. The writers differ in their attitude towards the material they quote; all of them affirm the superiority of their Christian faith, but take different stances in their assessment of the works they quote. Tatian and Tertullian's views may be summed up in Tatian's theme word "γενῶν". Theophilus perhaps stands in the middle, neither as dismissive as Tatian and Tertullian, nor as approving as Athenagoras, Irenaeus or Clement. Perhaps, the real question is why with their different attitudes towards classical literature, these writers thought it necessary to interweave it into their works. Earlier Christian works, such as the *Epistula ad Diognetum*, did not find it necessary to create such writings distinguished by the use of classical quotations or allusions. Part of the reason may be in the increase of Christian congregations, not merely numerical, but also in social status. The use of quotation and allusions is primarily a mark of "elite" literature and authors; it is

¹²⁴² It may be coincidental but II 14 1 – 6 contain references not only to Antiphanes, but also Homer, Anaximander, Anaxagoras "the atheist", Democritus, Epicurus, Empedocles, Plato, Hesiod, the Cynics, and Pythagoreans in the context of Valentinus and his followers deriving their doctrines from pagan sources. Might this be in the context of a handbook or florilegium?

¹²⁴³ It is frustrating that not all the apologists from the second half of the 2nd century CE have survived.

noteworthy that a collection¹²⁴⁴ of “popular” Greek literature contains no examples of quotations. It may well be that Christian authors were asserting their claim to share in such “elite” discourse, but also to assert their place in that rank of society where such things mattered. In a sense there is a Janus like quality to these writers. To the internal audience, they are affirming that such literature, even though much of it is based on the premise of a pagan pantheon, populated by what some Christians might regard as δαιμόνια, might still afford glimpses of the truth, even if seen through a distorted lens.¹²⁴⁵ There were no separate Christian schools, and if cradle Christians were to learn the necessary skills to support the growing Christian bureaucracy, it was in those very schools that they would learn to read and write.¹²⁴⁶ To the external audience, the writers were asserting their right to participate in that section of society where such things mattered, and that they should no longer be perceived as ἀγράμματοί ... καὶ ἰδιωταί.¹²⁴⁷ Though many Christians still came from relatively humble backgrounds,¹²⁴⁸ the growth in writings from the Christian communities (both in length and complexity) and their transmission round the Christian world point to a wider engagement with the culture of literacy, and in certain quarters a growth in prosperity.¹²⁴⁹ The writers of the second half of the 2nd century were a witness to a growth that will reach its apogee in the works of Clement of Alexandria.

¹²⁴⁴ Hansen (1998).

¹²⁴⁵ This will have been helped by the belief in the antiquity of the Hebrew writings, as is witnessed in Tatian, Theophilus and Clement, especially the Torah, and that they were known to some writers such as Plato.

¹²⁴⁶ It is possible those who had come to faith as adults saw no problem in sending their children to those schools where they had learnt their letters. Tertullian’s wrestling in the *de idololatria* – that a Christian should not be a teacher but it was permitted for a Christian child to learn – may not have been widely shared.

¹²⁴⁷ Acts 4:13.

¹²⁴⁸ Justin and his companions, the Scillitan martyrs, the martyrs of Lyons, and Perpetua, Felicity and their companions on the whole were not drawn from the elite of society.

¹²⁴⁹ It may be no coincidence that Clement’s *Cur dives salvetur* is one of the first writings to tackle the problem of wealth at length.

Chapter 8

Clement of Alexandria¹²⁵⁰

This part of the study seeks, *inter alia*, to place Clement among his contemporaries both as a miscellanist and to determine whether florilegia played any part in his and their acquisition of quotations. For it is in Clement that we see the greatest exploration of classical literature in early Christian writings. Clement quotes over three hundred authors and his works contain some seventeen hundred quotations or allusions. This compares favourably with Plutarch,¹²⁵¹ and indeed Clement's quotations and allusions exceed those found in Lucian's works.¹²⁵² Further Clement is a significant witness to the survival of some ancient authors. Twenty-two of the surviving one hundred and twenty-three fragments of Heraclitus are quoted by Clement alone. Osborn,¹²⁵³ an acknowledged authority on Clement, writes that "Clement, more than any other early Christian, knew and enjoyed Greek philosophy and literature".¹²⁵⁴ Yet there is an ambivalence in Osborn's work to this classical heritage, exploited by Clement. At one point he observes¹²⁵⁵ that Clement quotes more than 300 different literary sources for more than a thousand references to other writers. Yet in his estimation of quotations in Clement's works¹²⁵⁶ he notes 348 different classical authors,

¹²⁵⁰ Jane Heath's book on Clement was published after I had nearly finished work on this part of the study. It was gratifying to find that following on Méhat, there was a mutual agreement on the importance of miscellanist writers in assessing Clement's *oeuvre*; from that point our researches took different paths. Dr. Heath was exploring the literary and theological character of Clement's writings, whereas my emphasis was focussed on Clement's use of classical literature.

¹²⁵¹ Helmbold and O'Neil (1959). They suggest that Plutarch refers to four hundred and ninety-seven authors (of whom thirty-four are Roman writers) and that his works contain six thousand, eight hundred and fifty quotations, references or allusions. Plutarch's surviving works contain 1,036,815 words compared with Clement's 269,698 words.

¹²⁵² Lucian's works contain 281,64 words, some 11, 366 more than in Clement. Householder (op. cit.) claims some twelve hundred quotations and allusions for Lucian's works – but some such as Anderson (1976) (op. cit.) claim this is an overestimation.

¹²⁵³ Osborn (2005).

¹²⁵⁴ Osborn (op. cit.) pg. 5.

¹²⁵⁵ Osborn (op. cit. pg.) 2.

¹²⁵⁶ Osborn (op. cit.) pg. 4.

including Plato 600 times, Philo 300 times and Homer 240 times. The figures of non-scriptural sources rely, as does van den Hoek's exploratory article,¹²⁵⁷ on the indices of Stählin's edition, not always a reliable guide. My own researches, based on the footnotes of Stählin's edition and the various volumes of the *Sources Chrétiennes* edition indicate rather different figures: three hundred and fifty-nine quotations, allusions and references to Plato,¹²⁵⁸ the *Iliad* one hundred and seven quotations, allusions and references, the *Odyssey* sixty quotations, allusions and references. (Though Philo plays an important part in the thought of Clement,¹²⁵⁹ his works were not part of the Greek *paideia enkyklios* and thus will not play a major part in this study.) This is perhaps an indication that the role of classical literature in Clement has not yet received the treatment in depth that it requires, nor Clement's position in relationship to other 2nd century CE writers both pagan and Christian. The perception of Clement as primarily a Christian theologian has almost certainly overshadowed his importance as a 2nd century CE writer *per se*, and his relationship to other contemporaneous writers.¹²⁶⁰ Part of the purpose of this part of the study is to initiate a fresh assessment of Clement's work in its 2nd century context.

Even a superficial reading of Clement's works reveals his delight in classical literature, and also his knowledge. We know so little about Clement's early life; even the place of his birth is not known precisely.¹²⁶¹ It can only be a presumption, but a likely one, that he acquired his knowledge of classical literature in his younger years, but it was not a knowledge he abandoned in the subsequent years after his conversion. Clement interwove classical and

¹²⁵⁷ van den Hoek (1996). She notes, somewhat wryly, that the subject demands a thesis.

¹²⁵⁸ Exactitude will always be uncertain as there will always be disagreement over some allusions.

¹²⁵⁹ See, for instance, van den Hoek (1988).

¹²⁶⁰ It might not be too fanciful to suggest that copies of Clement's writings should be both in the classical and theological sections of libraries.

¹²⁶¹ Epiphanius *Panarion (Adversus haereses)* I pg. 445 line 17 - Κλήμης τε, (ὃν φασί τινες Ἀλεξανδρέα, ἕτεροι δὲ Ἀθηναῖον).

biblical texts in a way that attests to his familiarity with both. Osborn notes:¹²⁶² “As a theologian Clement quotes and expounds scripture interminably”. But, and curiously Osborn glosses over this point, he does it in a way that differs radically from, say, Origen, his great successor. Origen wrote commentaries and homilies on the books of the Bible, expanding and interpreting the text. This approach is not found in Clement.¹²⁶³ It is most clearly seen in the *Protrepticus* where the argument is interspersed with quotations, both biblical and classical, which may strengthen the argument but are not discussed or expounded. In the three books of the *Paedagogus*, we also see the same technique, though perhaps more nuanced. The first book of the *Paedagogus*¹²⁶⁴ contains a passage on milk: “Ἐτι καὶ τὸ πρὸς τοῦ ἀποστόλου εἰρημένον ἐπεξηγητέον “γάλα ὑμᾶς ἐπότισα, ὡς νηπίους ἐν Χριστῷ, οὐ βρῶμα· οὐπω γὰρ ἐδύνασθε.”¹²⁶⁵ What follows is in part an exposition of this passage, but equally interspersed with further biblical quotations, which support the argument but themselves are not developed, or commented on. The argument is complete without the quotations, though undoubtedly enhanced and strengthened by them. The passage seems to evoke the title of a collection of studies on Stobaeus’ *Thinking through Excerpts*.

In the surviving works of Clement there are, according to Osborn, five thousand one hundred and twenty-one quotations or allusions to biblical texts as compared with one thousand seven hundred to classical literature. He makes much of this, implying Clement is immersed in biblical texts and references, figures which must come from the indices of Stählin’s edition. Osborn notes that implies five quotations or allusions to biblical texts for every page of Stählin’s text. There are, however, many pages of Clement’s text which are free

¹²⁶² (Op. cit.).

¹²⁶³ It is a technique also seen in the works of Plutarch and Athenaeus.

¹²⁶⁴ | 6 34 3.

¹²⁶⁵ 1 Corinthians 3:1 - 2.

from biblical quotations. The opening of the sixth *Stromateus*, with the extensive passage on Greek “plagiarism,” is a case in point. Osborn’s number for quotes by Plato may be equally optimistic. He implies that there are six hundred quotations; in fact, there are three hundred and fifty-nine quotations and allusions – an exact number is impossible. Of these one hundred and eight-five are quotations of some significance. Osborn seems to have relied on Stählin’s indices, but it is unclear how he arrived at these inflated figures. Inflated they are and there is a similar inflation for biblical texts and allusions.¹²⁶⁶ An examination of Clement’s complete surviving works¹²⁶⁷ produces a total of three thousand and twenty-two quotations, allusions and references. Though this figure may appear precise, it has a certain provisionality about it, as one scholar’s allusion may be another’s phantom. Some allusions are minimal, and it is only references to similar passages from the same biblical text that may give plausibility to seeing a reference present in the text. Of these one thousand seven hundred and four are quotations of some significance; that is of more than two words. Seventy-two are what one might term “freer” quotations where there is some significant textual variation or the use of synonyms. This is more probably the result of Clement quoting from memory than any comment on the quality or reliability of the text in front of him. The final category is that of allusions where there is no direct quotation, where synonyms may be used, or the text paraphrased. These amount to one thousand, two hundred and forty-six, though this number as indicated above, may be on the generous side. This significantly alters the balance between biblical texts and

¹²⁶⁶ I have excluded from this list quotations from other Christian writings, such as *1 Clement*, *the Epistle of Barnabas*, and apocryphal works such as *The Preaching of Peter* and *The gospel of the Hebrews*, since it is evident from his language that Osborn is referring to works which later were deemed canonical.

¹²⁶⁷ The fragmentary works produce another two hundred and fifty-two quotations, and one hundred and fifty-one allusions, but the incomplete nature of these works makes it harder to get a balanced perspective of Clement’s practice in these works.

those from a classical source. It implies a greater parity than Osborn's figures would suggest and may have implications for the way that Clement uses quotations and references.

This was a pattern that can be paralleled in other works of the 1st and 2nd centuries CE. The earliest (and most famous?) was the *Naturalis Historia* of Pliny the Elder, constructed through excerpts drawn from earlier authors.¹²⁶⁸ A contemporary of Pliny the Elder was Pamphila (or Pamphile) of Epidaurus, the author of *ὑπομνήματα ἱστορικά*, which seems to have had the nature of a commonplace book. Later in the 2nd century CE lived Favorinus of Arles, the companion of Hadrian, Antonius Pius and the tutor of Marcus Aurelius, and the author of, *inter alia*, *Ἀπομνημονεύματα* and also *Παντοδαπή Ἱστορία*, works which seem to have been based on extracts.

Use of quotations – Aulus Gellius and Athenaeus

The two most famous (and surviving) 2nd century works, based on this method, are the *Deipnosophistae*¹²⁶⁹ of Athenaeus¹²⁷⁰ and the *Noctes Atticae*¹²⁷¹ of Aulus Gellius,¹²⁷² both contemporaries of Clement. Athenaeus' work is set in a fictitious banquet or symposium held at the home of Larensis, a wealthy Roman book collector and patron of the arts. It is a massive work in fifteen books¹²⁷³ whose subject is matters related to dining, food, music and song, *hetairai*, and the intellectual talk that was at the heart of a Greek symposium. What gives the work its fame, or notoriety, is its witness to the fragments of Middle Comedy.¹²⁷⁴ No complete

¹²⁶⁸ What influence, if any, the elder's Pliny work had on later Greek authors is open to debate; literature for Plutarch and Clement is almost exclusively Greek.

¹²⁶⁹ A title difficult to translate – *The learned banqueters* is probably the best attempt.

¹²⁷⁰ Athenaeus was a slightly later contemporary of Clement – his floruit is usually given as circa 190 CE.

¹²⁷¹ *Attic Nights*. The work survives intact except for the eighth book, of which only the index remains.

¹²⁷² An earlier contemporary of Clement; his birth fell between 125 and 128 CE and died sometime after 180 CE.

¹²⁷³ The first two books only survive in epitomes, as well as parts of the third, eleventh and fifteenth books.

¹²⁷⁴ Middle Comedy is the name given to comedies produced between the production of Aristophanes *Wealth* in 388 BCE and the production of Menander's first play in 321 BCE. One of its distinguishing marks was the diminution in importance of the chorus.

play has survived from Middle Comedy, and the bias of Athenaeus' work has inevitably distorted the perceived nature of Middle Comedy. (One of the characters in the work claims to have read over eight hundred Middle Comedy plays.)¹²⁷⁵ Unlike Euripides or Menander, Middle Comedy plays were not staged in later antiquity; they were a purely literary interest, and an esoteric one at that. How Athenaeus created this work, is a matter of conjecture, which has not yet received a satisfactory answer. Of the second century CE authors who quote Middle Comedy, the most quotations, apart from those in Athenaeus himself, are found in the works of Pollux and the Antiatticist,¹²⁷⁶ writers with pronounced lexicographical interests prompted by the revival of interest in Attic forms in the 2nd. Century CE. (Julius Pollux was a contemporary of Athenaeus, who like him came from Naucratis.)¹²⁷⁷ There are only a very few quotations in Plutarch, and indeed with twelve quotations, Clement himself is the only other major 2nd century CE author to cite Middle Comedy with any degree of frequency.¹²⁷⁸ Some have argued that Athenaeus was dependent on earlier florilegia, but given the abstruse nature of his work, and the relative lack of interest of other second century authors, the principle of Occams's razor might well suggest that to propose two major collections of quotations from Middle Comedy in the 2nd century CE is to strain credibility, and that Athenaeus should be given the credit for assembling his work himself. As Olson, in his introduction to the later Loeb edition,¹²⁷⁹ wryly remarks: "it is difficult to believe that

¹²⁷⁵ *Deipnosophistae* VIII 336D (15 2) - πλείονα τῆς μέσης καλουμένης κωμωδίας ἀναγνοῦς δράματα τῶν ὀκτακοσίων καὶ τούτων ἐκλογὰς ποιησάμενος.

¹²⁷⁶ The work of the Antiatticist is to be dated to the middle of the 2nd century CE – see Valente (2015).

¹²⁷⁷ His only surviving work is the *Onomasticon*, which depends on four incomplete and interpolated manuscripts, themselves derived from an epitome in the possession of Arethas (c. 860 - 939 CE).

¹²⁷⁸ Twelve references *in toto*. Antiphanes frg. 146, Cratinus junior frg. 13, Eubulus frgs. 94 and 127, Nicostratus frg. 32, Philemon frgs. 84, 88, 101 115, 125, 126, and Timocles frg. 38. This assumes that Philemon, generally considered as a poet of New Comedy, also wrote Middle comedies. His first Dionysian victory is attested for 326 BCE (testimonium 13) and thus he may have been active during the declining years of the period traditionally ascribed to Middle Comedy.

¹²⁷⁹ Athenaeus (Olson ed.) (2006).

complete copies of e.g. the plays of the early Athenian comic poets or the mimes of Sophron were available in Rome at the end of the 2nd century CE.”¹²⁸⁰ Olson also acknowledges that Athenaeus may well have drawn on the work of earlier Hellenistic scholarship, and again it may be debatable whether such works were open to scrutiny in Roman libraries. It may be difficult to determine how much Athenaeus was dependent on his predecessors, and how much on his own reading, but given the lack of quotation of Middle Comedy in Plutarch, it may well be that the Democritus, who claims readership of over eight hundred Middle Comedies,¹²⁸¹ conceals the author, Athenaeus, himself.

Aulus Gellius is another 2nd century author whose work depends on quotations, chiefly of Roman authors. In his work on Gellius, Holford-Strevens¹²⁸² discusses Aulus Gellius’ knowledge of Greek literature. Homer is freely quoted and Hesiod occasionally. Of lyric poets, Solon is quoted more as a legislator, Archilochus and Theognis are mentioned in passing. At a dinner party,¹²⁸³ Sappho and Anacreon are named and the poem which Aulus Gellius quotes “to relieve his scholarly labours”¹²⁸⁴ is one of the earliest sightings of the *Anacreontea*.¹²⁸⁵ Greek tragedians are rarely alluded to; of Greek comedians Aristophanes and Menander are the most favoured. Aulus Gellius is familiar with the *Frogs* of Aristophanes which he quotes several times and he compares the *Plocion* of Menander with Caecilius’ adaptation. Of other poets mentioned (such as Empedocles and Callimachus, Theocritus and Parthenius,) Holford-Strevens¹²⁸⁶ suggests that they may have come to Gellius second-hand from other sources. It

¹²⁸⁰ Olson (ed.) (op. cit.) pg. xv.

¹²⁸¹ Though this may seem a somewhat extravagant number, the number of Middle comedies itemised in Olson (2007) – taking the highest figure for Antiphanes (365) is not far short of 800.

¹²⁸² Holford-Strevens (2005) pp. 232ff.

¹²⁸³ *Noctes Atticae* 19. 9.

¹²⁸⁴ Holford-Strevens (op. cit.) pg. 233.

¹²⁸⁵ *Noctes Atticae* 19. 9 5 – 6.

¹²⁸⁶ Holford-Strevens (op. cit.) pg. 237.

may well be that Gellius had his own copies of the writings he quoted frequently. Holford-Strevens notes¹²⁸⁷ that Roman writers of the 2nd century CE were less steeped in Greek literature, and quoted it less frequently, and even if Aulus Gellius read more than he quoted, it is still a relatively meagre harvest when compared with Plutarch or Clement. This might suggest that it may be over optimistic to assume that Roman libraries were furnished with more esoteric texts of Greek origin. No Roman writer of the 2nd century appears to cite texts from Middle Comedy, a silence also very largely shared by Plutarch. Plutarch's silence is interesting. It may be accounted for by the fact that Plutarch was simply uninterested in Middle Comedy, or, alternatively that the libraries most accessible to him in Greece were poorly supplied, if at all, with copies of Middle Comedy plays. It may be possible that Aulus Gellius' knowledge of such a writer as Pamphila may derive from his stay in Attica, and that he returned with a copy of her writings to Rome. Gellius was an earlier contemporary of Athenaeus. Part of his education took place in Athens and he himself informs the reader that the idea of publishing a commonplace book took shape during the long winter nights in Attica, when he was there as a young man studying: *inscripsimus Noctium esse Atticarum*. In the preface Aulus Gellius notes how many works there were that gave '*uarium et miscellam et quasi confusaneam doctrinam*,' which were too numerous for one reader to fully comprehend. It was the expectation of polite society to have some acquaintance with books and their contents; a man would thus be all the more grateful for summaries and commonplace books which allowed an access to learning that enabled the cultivated *homme du monde* to take his place in society. Aulus Gellius does not lay claim to the exhaustiveness of a work like the *Naturalis Historia* of the elder Pliny. Holford-Strevens observes; 'the *Nights* are of a different kind, making no pretensions to completeness, but offering isolated facts and self-contained discussions that should retain the reader's interest by brevity and variety.'¹²⁸⁸ He also notes that

¹²⁸⁷ Holford-Strevens (op. cit.) pg. 239.

¹²⁸⁸ (Op. cit.) pg. 29.

Gellius' work appeals to the taste of the time, citing Plutarch, Aelian and Athenaeus, as authors with parallel interests as well as more obscure contemporary authors - Ptolemy the Quail, Granius Licinianus and Herodes Atticus. To these he appends Clement's *Stromateis*: "he adopted it for a work imparting not a general culture, but a specific message."¹²⁸⁹ While it is gratifying to have a classicist acknowledge this aspect of Clement's work, it may be argued that it is more central to Clement's oeuvre than this implies.

Clement – consideration of his surviving works

Clement's main three surviving works¹²⁹⁰ are *Protrepticus*, *Paedagogus*¹²⁹¹ and *Stromateis*.¹²⁹² It has been argued on the basis of a passage in the opening of the *Paedagogus* that Clement intended a trilogy with the *Protrepticus* and the *Paedagogus* forming the first two parts: Καίτοι καὶ διδασκαλικὸς ὁ αὐτός ἐστι λόγος, ἀλλ' οὐ νῦν.¹²⁹³ The *Stromateis* undoubtedly contain teaching, but if Clement proposed an "exhaustive" work parallel to the first two writings, then the *Stromateis* fails to deliver this promise.¹²⁹⁴ Clement himself acknowledges, somewhat belatedly, the disorganised nature of the work at the opening of the fourth *Stromateus*: συλλαμβάνουσι μὲν οὖν πρὸς τε ἀνάμνησιν πρὸς τε ἔμφασιν ἀληθείας τῷ οἷω τε ζητεῖν μετὰ λόγου οἱ τῶν ὑπομνημάτων Στρωματεῖς. δεῖ δὲ καὶ ἡμᾶς τούτοις προσεκπονεῖν καὶ προσεφευρίσκειν ἕτερα, ἐπεὶ καὶ τοῖς ὁδὸν ἀπιοῦσιν.¹²⁹⁵ Clement frequently recalls the name of the work as if to emphasise its disorganised and random

¹²⁸⁹ (Op. cit.) pg. 29.

¹²⁹⁰ The *Cur dives salvetur* is a shorter, sermon like work.

¹²⁹¹ In three books.

¹²⁹² In seven books. The status of the eighth book is disputed and it has been argued that it is part of another work by Clement.

¹²⁹³ *Paedagogus* I 2 1.

¹²⁹⁴ Book I – begins with the topic of Greek philosophy, then the origin of Greek culture and technology; Book II – largely devoted to the roles of faith and philosophical argument; Book III - covers marriage and asceticism; Book IV – the implications of martyrdom; Book V – picks up again the subject of faith; Book VI– Greek plagiarism, then the subjects of sin and hell; Book VII – the true nature of Christ, the anthropomorphic origins of Greek religion, prayer and the relationship between love and knowledge and the book ends with a passage on heresies and divisions in the church.

¹²⁹⁵ *Stromateis* IV 2 4 3.

nature. The word στρωματεύς means a coverlet or bedspread;¹²⁹⁶ in the plural it was applied to literary to works of a miscellaneous nature, perhaps because bedspreads were assembled by sewing patches together.¹²⁹⁷ Gellius refers to *Stromateis* when he is searching for a name for his work: Sunt etiam qui Λύχνους inscripserint, sunt item qui Στρωματεῖς, sunt adeo qui Πανδέκτας et Ἑλικῶνα et Προβλήματα et Ἑγχερίδια et Παραξιφίδας.¹²⁹⁸ The so-called Lamprias catalogue of Plutarch's works lists as no 62: Στρωματεῖς ἱστορικοὶ καὶ ποιητικοί. Eusebius¹²⁹⁹ quotes a work by Plutarch with the same name, but the surviving fragmentary work is almost certainly not genuine. And lastly there is a lost work of Origen, similarly entitled, which surveyed Greek philosophy in relation to Christianity. Clement's *Stromateis* were not unique.

Compared with the organisation of *Protrepticus* and *Paedagogus*, that of the *Stromateis* is much looser. In that aspect, it resembles the work of Athenaeus, though the latter's work is much more discursive and rambling. Yet there are some points of comparison and stylistic features in common. Athenaeus ends his fourth book with the words: ἐπὶ τούτοις τέλος ἔχέτω καὶ ἦδε ἡ βίβλος, ἑταῖρε Τιμόκρατες, ἱκανὸν εἰληφυῖα μήκος.¹³⁰⁰ Clement ends Book II of the *Stromateis*: Περιγεγράφθω καὶ ὁ δεύτερος ἡμῖν ἐνθάδε Στρωματεὺς διὰ τὸ μῆκός τε καὶ πλῆθος τῶν κεφαλαίων.¹³⁰¹ Another feature of Athenaeus is the long, rambling speeches, which often seem to go on beyond the demands of the context. At the opening of *Stromateus* VI, Clement pens a passage on Greek plagiarism¹³⁰² – more strictly on coincidence

¹²⁹⁶ Antiphanes frg. 38, Alexis frg. 115 line 3.

¹²⁹⁷ LSJ (Liddell and Scott), both ordained clergymen, amusingly refer to Gellius and Plutarch but no mention of the most important *Stromateis* – that of Clement.

¹²⁹⁸ Preface 7.

¹²⁹⁹ *PE* I 7 16 7.

¹³⁰⁰ Book 4 (Kaibel) paragraph 84 line 40.

¹³⁰¹ *Stromateis* II 147 5.

¹³⁰² *Stromateis* VI 2 5 3ff.

and similarity - which follows the treatment of Greek thefts from Hebrew writers at the end of *Stromateus* V. He extends the passage at a greater length than the argument demands; it is as if Clement is delighting in the subject for its own sake, and thus parallels a trait of Athenaeus. It was argued by Stemplinger¹³⁰³ that Clement was here depending on a shadowy work by Aretades,¹³⁰⁴ *Περὶ συνεμπτώσεως πραγματεία* mentioned by Eusebius¹³⁰⁵ in the context of ancient works on plagiarism. The theory that Clement was using this source – Aretades - was revived by de Jauregui.¹³⁰⁶ He notes “that in order to back up this somewhat tendentious argument, he (sc. Clement) goes through numerous examples that he takes from a treatise *On Plagiarism* (περὶ κλόπης), which appears to be of pagan origin given that it has no apologetic intention, the date of which may be assigned to the Hellenistic age, not long after Callimachus¹³⁰⁷ (end of the 3rd century BC), the latest author quoted.”¹³⁰⁸ In fact the title of the work, attributed to Aretades, is *Περὶ συνεμπτώσεως πραγματεία*. De Jauregui is mistaken here. A search of *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* reveals no ancient work called by this name περὶ κλόπης. The confusion may derive from an article on plagiarism by Grafton in the *New Pauly*,¹³⁰⁹ which refers to treatises on περὶ κλώπων as does an article by Silk,¹³¹⁰ who also refers to the passage in Eusebius *P.E.* 10 3. 12 where Porphyry is quoted as listing authors who wrote works on plagiarism. In fact, as the Porphyry passage makes clear, περὶ κλόπης seems only to be used with the name of an author, accused of plagiarism, such as Ephorus,

¹³⁰³ Stemplinger (1912).

¹³⁰⁴ Some scholars, such as Müller, (*FGH* 4 pg. 316 (1868) identified him with Aretades of Cnidos. There is no certain evidence to support the identification, and it is highly speculative.

¹³⁰⁵ Eusebius *P.E.* 10 3 23 Ἀρητάδου τέ ἐστι Περὶ συνεμπτώσεως πραγματεία, ἐξ ὧν τοιαῦτα πολλὰ ἔστι γινῶναι.

¹³⁰⁶ de Jauregui (2010).

¹³⁰⁷ In fact, Clement hardly quotes any poets after Callimachus – an exception is Nicander. Bowie (1970) notes this as a characteristic of writers during the Second Sophistic age.

¹³⁰⁸ De Jauregui (op. cit.) pg. 201.

¹³⁰⁹ Grafton (1996).

¹³¹⁰ Silk (1999).

Ctesias, and Herodotus. Eusebius prefaces the passage on “plagiarism” extracted from Porphyry with a section drawing on Clement’s sixth *Stromateus*. Whereas Clement’s list is mostly devoted to poets, the passage from Porphyry with which Eusebius prefaces it is a list of prose authors, some of whom are only mentioned once by Clement, like Pythagoras and Aeschines. It is fair to say that much of Clement’s list does not describe what would be termed plagiarism today, but rather coincidence or similarity. As the Clement and the Porphyry fragment are the only surviving passages related to so-called plagiarism, it is perhaps difficult to draw firm conclusions from them both. Would Aretades’ work have just consisted of a list of passages without any connecting material, like the opening section of Clement’s list? It is possible that the whole section on “plagiarism” is a mixture of different sources, some of which may have been borrowed from other writers - possibly those who had written on prose authors and some of which were passages, collected and noted by Clement himself.¹³¹¹ A list of examples of borrowing or “plagiarism” *tout court* would hardly be stimulating reading. It is the linking material that would give the quoted texts interest and context. Athenaeus would not have published a sequence of quotations without a linking narrative, and it is highly unlikely that Aretades, in his *Περὶ συνεμπτώσεως πραγματεία*, would just have published a list of quotations, without some sense of context. It also begs the question whether Clement,¹³¹² deploring the Greeks who borrowed from each other, as well as borrowing from the “barbarian philosophy,” would have laid himself open to the charge of “plagiarism”. Clement was well versed in Greek literature – why can he not be allowed to create his own list of poetic texts, interrelated to, and “borrowing” from each other?¹³¹³ That the passage

¹³¹¹ The passage contains the longest surviving fragment of the sophist Hippias.

¹³¹² It is an interesting speculation whether Clement would have regarded his “silent” appropriation of texts from Musonius and Philo as “plagiarism”.

¹³¹³ Stemplinger and de Jauregui’s arguments are not cogent enough to deny Clement the basic authorship and compilation of this passage – another example of Clement’s confident knowledge of classical texts.

stretches beyond the demands of the argument, may simply be an indication of that lack of moderation which can equally be found in the *Deipnosophistae*. It also remains a possibility that Clement was “borrowing” from himself; that in his pre-Christian days he had compiled such a list, perhaps inspired by Aretades (without necessarily drawing on him) and which he had retained in his notes. As it is highly unlikely that there was a direct link between Clement and Athenaeus, it may be such traits were features of such miscellanies. Μηδέν ἄγαν might not have been a principle to which Clement and Athenaeus always subscribed.

The background to assembling works employing quotations

As to the creation of such works, Aulus Gellius notes his methods: “Usi autem sumus ordine rerum fortuito, quem antea in excerptando feceramus. Nam proinde ut librum quemque in manus ceperam seu Graecum seu Latinum vel quid memoratu dignum audieram, ita quae libitum erat, cuius generis cumque erant, indistincte atque promisce annotabam eaque mihi ad subsidium memoriae quasi quoddam litterarum penus recondebam, ut quando usus venisset aut rei aut verbi, cuius me repens forte oblivio tenuisset, et libri ex quibus ea sumpseram non adessent, facile inde nobis inventu atque depromptu foret.”¹³¹⁴ Aulus highlights a process which was commonplace in antiquity. Plutarch also witnesses to the same method.¹³¹⁵ This same process is attested to by Clement himself, at the opening of the *Stromateis*.¹³¹⁶ A further link with the work of Aulus Gellius is the use of an index; Clement provides these for the *Paedagogus*.

¹³¹⁴ *Noctes Atticae* Preface 2 – 3. Heath (1989) argues “that where the characteristic tendency of modern criticism is to seek coherence in thematic unity, the characteristic tendency of ancient criticism was to seek coherence in thematic plurality ordered primarily at a *formal* level” (pg. 150). This may throw light on the unity of works like *Noctes Atticae* and the *Stromateis*.

¹³¹⁵ *De tranquillitate* 464 F and *De cohibenda ira* 457 D.

¹³¹⁶ 1 11. 1ff.

As the three main surviving authors who produced similar works, (or four if Plutarch is included), Clement, Athenaeus and Aulus Gellius are linked by common themes and processes. They construct works on excerpts, mainly drawn from literature of the past rather than contemporary works. In the case of Clement, those quoted by him who lived closest to his age are Musonius Rufus¹³¹⁷ and Plutarch,¹³¹⁸ though neither are named. It has often been argued that florilegia and compendia were instrumental in the constructing of such works.¹³¹⁹ An examination of the biblical quotations in the *Protrepticus* indicates that Clement was quoting from memory, evinced by the use of synonyms and a freedom in adapting biblical verses to the grammatical context. It is a possibility that Clement might have used philosophical handbooks – the general lack of quotations from post-Platonic philosophers, including Aristotle, and the use of generic terms such as Stoics might point to a dependency on such handbooks.¹³²⁰ In the case of florilegia of literary quotations, however, the evidence is far from certain. The anthologies found in the papyri and often so named by editors, are very jejune affairs. Only one has passages arranged under themes, ἔπαινος and ψόγος,¹³²¹ compared with the collection of Stobaeus. Given the comprehensive nature of Stobaeus' collection,¹³²² one might expect a certain degree of overlap, but three quarters of Clement's quotations from Menander are not found in Stobaeus. There is no compelling literary evidence for such collections under different themes, and like the guest in Athenaeus who claimed to have read over eight hundred Middle Comedies, we must allow for the ancient habit of making excerpts and subsequently drawing on those collections

¹³¹⁷ Musonius died c. 100 CE, seems not to have written anything himself but a collection of *Discourses* collected by a certain Lucius are found in Stobaeus, hence we know that Clement quoted Musonius.

¹³¹⁸ Circa 46 – 120 CE.

¹³¹⁹ The whole subject of florilegia forms a later section of this study.

¹³²⁰ Diels' *Doxographoi* and such writers as Diogenes Laertius are evidence for such writings.

¹³²¹ Praise and blame.

¹³²² Under headings that are mainly scientific, philosophical and ethical.

Florilegia

It is too often assumed that many 2nd century CE authors, such as Plutarch and Clement are indebted to florilegia for many of their quotations. There is an apocryphal remark attributed to Wilamowitz¹³²³ that Clement must have used florilegia as he could not have remembered all the material that he quotes. Wilamowitz, if indeed it was he, was probably unfair to Clement. Many, if not most, of the biblical quotations in Clement's works were made from memory.¹³²⁴ Though florilegium, in the singular or the plural, is one of the accepted modern terms for such collections, the word itself occurs quite late in Latin literature as the title to one of Isidore of Seville's poems, *Florilegia et Grammatica*.¹³²⁵ The corresponding Greek term ἀνθολόγιον, a derivative of the noun for collecting flowers, is only attested with any degree of frequency in the *Souda* where it is used of writers like Stobaeus and Orion of Thebes. Earlier writers, such as Plutarch,¹³²⁶ use the word γνωμολογία to refer to collections of gnomic material, rather than collections embracing a wider diversity of texts. The infrequency of the occurrence of such or similar terms is, in itself, noteworthy of interest.

Florilegia have been seen as a possible solution to the use of classical material from the writings of Elter¹³²⁷ in the late 19th century through subsequent authors, including Zeegers Vander Vorst's study on quotations in the apologists¹³²⁸ and as late as Pouderon's edition of three Pseudo-Justin works.¹³²⁹ Chadwick, in his revised version of his article on florilegia,¹³³⁰

¹³²³ I have been unable to trace the source.

¹³²⁴ An analysis I made of the Biblical quotations in the *Protrepticus* seems to confirm this; of the 120 quotations, 63 are exact and the remainder show slight verbal differences, such as synonyms, or different ordering, which may well be attributed to the power of memory.

¹³²⁵ *Notitia Clavis Patrum Latinorum*: 1212 - *Carmina (uel Versus uel Tituli)*.

¹³²⁶ Γνωμολογίαι Θεόγνιδος in *Quomodo adolescens poetas audire debeat* 16C.

¹³²⁷ Elter (1893).

¹³²⁸ Zeegers Vander Vorst (op. cit.)

¹³²⁹ Pouderon *Pseudo-Justin* (2009).

¹³³⁰ Chadwick (2006).

observes that the “popularity of anthologies can hardly be exaggerated.”¹³³¹ He notes that “the long-winded table-talk in Athenaeus takes much from anthologies but allows the option of using alternative compilations.”¹³³² (Unfortunately the reference that Chadwick gives¹³³³ is to the causes of wars – women – and throws no light on alternative sources.) Chadwick also quotes Hibeh Papyrus 1. 7 as an earlier anthology.¹³³⁴ The title may have been given to this papyrus fragment by the original editors to distinguish it from other papyri in the same collection, which are devoted to single authors. The impression given by Chadwick, and assumed by many others, is that the collection of passages from a single author or varied sources implies the existence of florilegia, without actually giving a *raison d’être* for the existence of such collections. Some, such as the *Sententiae Menandri*, will have had a scholastic purpose – though the present form of the collection will probably represent the accumulation of smaller units over many years.¹³³⁵ It is one of the merits of Pernigotti’s edition of the *Sententiae* that he includes variant readings of the different trimeters, which may reflect other, smaller collections, unlike Jäkel’s Teubner edition, which seeks to shoehorn the trimeters into one version, with different readings noted in the apparatus criticus. Pernigotti’s edition thus allows for smaller collections of the *Sententiae* which may have been gathered together to form the corpus found in the Byzantine manuscripts. A similar process may be seen in the collections of proverbs, attributed to Zenobius and Diogenianus; smaller collections merged into a larger one, collections united by a common, gnomic theme.¹³³⁶

¹³³¹ Chadwick (op. cit.) XIX pg. 6

¹³³² Chadwick (op. cit.) XIX pg. 6

¹³³³ Athenaeus XIII 560ff.

¹³³⁴ The reference to this in the English article is more accurate in its descriptions of the papyrus’ content than the original German.

¹³³⁵ Is there a parallel with the *Anthologion* of Stobaeus?

¹³³⁶ The collections of Zenobius and Diogenianus are referred to and described in the earlier part of the study – pages 52ff.

Chadwick also notes that many quotations, which occur in Hellenistic papyri, also occur in Stobaeus eight centuries later, and this he takes as evidence for a degree of continuity through successive florilegia.¹³³⁷ This fails to take into account that, inevitably, certain quotations or passages were more popular, and this popularity is no necessary evidence for the existence of florilegia. While many fragments are quoted only by one author, others recur in different writers. To take one example at random: Euripides' frg. 449 from his *Cresphontes* appears, in whole or in part, in a papyrus from Fayum,¹³³⁸ and is quoted by Cicero (in a Latin translation),¹³³⁹ Strabo,¹³⁴⁰ Plutarch,¹³⁴¹ Sextus Empiricus,¹³⁴² Clement of Alexandria,¹³⁴³ Menander rhetor,¹³⁴⁴ Stobaeus,¹³⁴⁵ and in a scholion on Hermogenes' *Περὶ εὐρέσεως*.¹³⁴⁶ Equally, many fragments are not preserved through sources which can be attributed directly to florilegia. Of the over eleven hundred fragments of Euripides contained in Collard and Cropp's edition, six hundred and seventy-three do not occur in Stobaeus.

But what seems lacking is an understanding of a purpose or market for such collections, and a prospective readership. The papyrus evidence seems to suggest that such collections had a certain randomness - a collection of lines from Euripides or Menander, or else grouped around a theme – such as the praise or blame of women.¹³⁴⁷ The question or likelihood of booksellers “stocking” scrolls filled with suitable quotations, grouped around an

¹³³⁷ Chadwick op. cit. XIX pg. 2.

¹³³⁸ Coles (1970).

¹³³⁹ *Tusculan Disputations* 1. 115.

¹³⁴⁰ 11.11. 8.

¹³⁴¹ *Moralia* 36F.

¹³⁴² *Outlines of Pyrrhonism* 3.320.

¹³⁴³ *Stromateis* 3. 3 15 2.

¹³⁴⁴ Pg. 413. 27 – 9 (ed. Spengel).

¹³⁴⁵ 4. 52 42.

¹³⁴⁶ Walz, C. *Rhet. Gr.* VII 765. 17.

¹³⁴⁷ There is a pronounced misogynistic streak in the *Sententiae*.

author, or different themes seems not to have been faced or else assumed. The “elite”¹³⁴⁸ would probably not have needed them or would have made their own collections from their reading. Those whose education was much more basic were unlikely to spend money on such a luxury; there is little evidence of the use of such gnomic or thematic material in the papyri letters that have survived from the rubbish heaps of ancient Egypt.¹³⁴⁹ There is a tendency to assume that collections of quotations in the surviving literature must have come from florilegia, without seeking any other another plausible explanations.¹³⁵⁰

It is probably the existence and influence of Stobaeus’ massive collection of texts and fragments that have been responsible for this view of florilegia. Stobaeus, even in the mutilated form in which his work has come down to us, seems so encyclopaedic that when Stobaeus and an earlier author share a quotation, there may be an assumption, generally tacit, that it must have come from a florilegium. Equally, however, there are many surviving quotations which are not in Stobaeus.

Stobaeus as a florilegist

Stobaeus, despite his importance, has been relatively little studied. An important exception is the collection of essays, “*Thinking though Excerpts*”.¹³⁵¹ Stobaeus’ work has been transmitted under two titles – *Eclogae* for books one and two, and *Florilegium* for books three and four.¹³⁵² It is evident from Photius that he read the work as a whole, though contained in two volumes. Though not authentic, *Anthologion* may be a convenient modern usage for the

¹³⁴⁸ The elite may refer both to the rich, who will have had access to the full range of the education system of the ancient world, but also to those who fully profited from that education system.

¹³⁴⁹ As a sample the private letters collected in Hunt and Edgar’s edition of *Select Papyri – Private Documents* (1932) nos. 88 – 169 - contain no gnomic material or quotations.

¹³⁵⁰ It may be important to distinguish between handbooks, which might supply a basic knowledge of philosophy or scientific knowledge (topics that might not have been taught in depth in the first stages of the *paideia enkyklios*) and florilegia as collection of excerpts.

¹³⁵¹ Reydam-Schils (ed.) (2011).

¹³⁵² Searby’s essay (2011) “The intertitles in Stobaeus: condensing a culture” is a very helpful introduction.

whole work. The work has not come down complete; it is known from Photius that the work was originally prefaced by a *Proemium* which is now lost except for one chapter.¹³⁵³ Fifty-two chapters, chiefly from Book 2, are also missing.

The structure and plan of the work seem to go back to Stobaeus himself; the first book is indebted to the doxographical tradition as exemplified in the speculative work of Diels¹³⁵⁴ and well-known from the *Placita Philosophorum* of Pseudo-Plutarch. Chapter 2 section 7 which introduces the ethical part of the work is indebted to the ethical doxography of Arius Didymus. Book III has the clearest use of antitheses in treating of virtue and vice in various forms. Book IV covers a wider range of social and political themes, ending with reflections on death, mortality and grieving (though even here the antithetical treatment of subject matter, evident from earlier papyri collections, is evident – such as the chapter headings in IV 32: πενίας ἔπαινος¹³⁵⁵ and πενίας ψόγος).¹³⁵⁶

Stobaeus stands unique in the size of his work. The remains of the contemporary anthologist, Orion of Thebes,¹³⁵⁷ have only eight chapter headings, and a comparative paucity of quotations.¹³⁵⁸ Thus Stobaeus will inevitably dominate the way that anthologies and florilegia are viewed. The purpose of the work has been much debated; we learn from Photius that the work is dedicated to Stobaeus' son, Septimius.¹³⁵⁹ Piccione¹³⁶⁰ has suggested that the

¹³⁵³ Περί ἀριθμητικῆς.

¹³⁵⁴ Diels *Doxographi* (op. cit.)

¹³⁵⁵ IV 32a 1 – 22.

¹³⁵⁶ IV 32b 23 – 45.

¹³⁵⁷ F.G. Schneidewin *Coniectanea critica* Göttingen: Dieterich, 1839.

¹³⁵⁸ Orion's work was originally dedicated to the empress Eudocia, when she was living in Jerusalem after her fall from grace (438 CE). It was originally in three books, and it is tempting to speculate that it might have benefited from the introduction of the codex.

¹³⁵⁹ Photius *Bibliotheca* 167 - Ἀνεγνώσθη Ἰωάννου Στοβαίου ἐκλογῶν, ἀποφθεγμάτων, ὑποθηκῶν, βιβλία τέσσαρα ἐν τεύχεσι δυοῖ. Προσφωνεῖ δὲ ταῦτα, δι' ὃν καὶ τὴν συνάθροισιν φιλοπονῆσαι λέγει, Σεπτιμῷ ἰδίῳ υἱῷ. ἐπὶ τῷ ῥυθμίσει καὶ βελτιῶσαι τῷ παιδί τὴν φύσιν ἀμαυρότερον ἔχουσιν πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἀναγνωσμάτων μνήμην, στείλειεν.

¹³⁶⁰ Piccione (2002).

work is to be viewed in an educational context: “aurait eu en quelque sort un caractère propédeutique.” It seems unlikely, *pace* Piccione, that the work would have been used in a school as a teaching instrument, but given the embryonic florilegia in the papyri, especially those inspired by the ἔπαινος/ψόγος theme, Stobaeus may have taken such scholastic hints and developed them into a θήσαυρος, which would have provided something of a glimpse into the treasures of the past. Because of the size of the work, it is tempting to see the work as providing a conspectus of the riches of Greek literature, but in fact there are major gaps and omissions in the authors covered. Historical writers, on the whole, are conspicuous by their absence. Stobaeus quotes from three hundred and fifty-three named authors, as compared with Plutarch’s quotations from four hundred and sixty-three Greek authors. Clement quotes about eighty-five authors, about half of whom are writers on historical themes, who are not found among the authors quoted by Stobaeus. Because the authors utilised by Stobaeus in books III and IV mostly employ poetry,¹³⁶¹ this may partially explain why scholars from Elter onwards have concentrated on florilegia that are centred on poetic quotations. Though logically prose passages ought to have been material¹³⁶² for anthologists as well as verse, the evidence for such prose collections is much more tenuous.

Elter begins his study: “Sapientiae Graecae thesaurum amplissimum quem Septimio filio Ioannes Stobaeus composuit, non ab ipso Stobaeo ex antiquis scriptoribus decerptum et collectum esse, sed vetustiora fuisse gnomologia quibus ille uteretur, inter viros doctos decantata res”.¹³⁶³ He assumes that such gnomologia will be very numerous: “interim cum gnomologia quae in codicibus praeter Stobaeum innumera feruntur singular deinceps edere

¹³⁶¹ One cannot help feeling that poetry is only of value to Stobaeus in the gnostic qualities it provides.

¹³⁶² Nearly all school *gnomologia* and *florilegia* seem to be verse. In Orion’s *florilegium* verse quotations greatly outnumber prose – only Isocrates (five), Demosthenes (three), Plato (three). (The same phenomenon seems equally true in English where verse outnumbers prose collections.)

¹³⁶³ Elter (op. cit). pg. 1.

coeperim". As a start, Elter takes a collection of poetic lines, found in Sextus Empiricus.¹³⁶⁴ Sextus writes: δῆλον ἐκ τοῦ τὴν ὄντως κρατίστην καὶ ἡθοποιὸν φιλοσοφίαν ἀπὸ τῆς παρὰ τοῖς ποιηταῖς γνωμολογίας τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐρριζῶσθαι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τοὺς φιλοσόφους, εἴ ποτε παραινετικῶς τι λέγοιεν, ταῖς ποιητικαῖς φωναῖς ὥσπερ εἰ σφραγίζεσθαι τὸ ὑπ' αὐτῶν λεγόμενον. It is possible that γνωμολογίας may have prompted Elter to take this passage as a starter for his examination of florilegia, otherwise it does not seem the most promising of passages. Examination of similar passages leads Elter to the conclusion that Chrysippus is the *fons et origo* of such quotations.¹³⁶⁵ The argument seems as optimistic as that displayed by von Arnim in *Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta* III.¹³⁶⁶ The disappearance of Chrysippus' works makes confirmation of such a hypothesis difficult if not impossible. The argument seems as tenuous as that which convinced Knox¹³⁶⁷ that Cercidas was the first Greek anthologist.

There are, however, facts and possibilities which the arguments of Elter and Knox seem to ignore or do not take into account, in the assembling of florilegia. One such theme is highlighted by Thompson¹³⁶⁸ who observes that papyri connected with Ptolomaïos, an ἐγκάτοχος in the Serapeum at Memphis¹³⁶⁹, contain fragments from a miscellany of authors, a miscellany which she argues is an attempt to define his Hellenistic background in an alien culture. The passages seem chosen at random, but perhaps reflect lines he had come across

¹³⁶⁴ *Adversus mathematicos* I section 271.

¹³⁶⁵ Elter op. cit pg. 15 - iam apparet nisi ego egregie fallor contra Chrysippum dicat esse quae apud Sextum de gnomologia poetica legimus, Chrysippum non solum poetarum exemplis in variis suis libris abundanter usum esse, sed de qualibet quae incideret quaestione, ut in laude lenticularum atque αὐταρκείας et in loco περὶ φιλαγυρίας neque minus in theologia vidimus, cum aliorum apophthegmata tum poetarum dicta praesertim Euripidis ad sententiam suam revocasse et propria arte quomodo poetas audire debeamus demonstravisse, ad Chrysippum denique redire et e Chrysippi copiis derivata esse quae multis saeculis post gnomologorum qui aetatem longe copiosissimus Stobaeus in eundem modum composuit.

¹³⁶⁶ The mention of Stoics in a text was enough for von Arnim to include the passage among the fragments of Chrysippus; the fragments of Chrysippus quoted in the footnotes of Clement in older editions simply turn out to be the text of Clement above.

¹³⁶⁷ Knox (1923) (op. cit.)

¹³⁶⁸ Thompson (1987).

¹³⁶⁹ This is to be dated from 172BCE onwards.

or had committed to memory. This, at times random, selection is reflected in other papyri which may be placed in a school environment, and may have led others to create florilegia, of relatively limited scope, from passages they knew or remembered, almost certainly for their own use and delectation. It is a far step from this relatively simple type of florilegium to the complex nature of Stobaeus' work which is based on excerpts chosen to illustrate different themes. It is almost certain that Stobaeus will have drawn on handbooks for his philosophical and scientific excerpts;¹³⁷⁰ Diels' pioneering work in the 19th century laid a basis for their existence.¹³⁷¹ The problem with literary florilegia is that they seem to have left little, if any, trace of their existence in surviving works. The clearest indication of a florilegium might be a collection of quotations in close proximity on a similar theme. One such example might be a passage from Book II of Theophilus,¹³⁷² introduced with the words: ταῦτα καὶ εἰς μαρτύριον τοῖς τὰ ἄδικα πράσσουσι λέγοντες ὅτι μέλλουσιν κολάζεσθαι, and this is followed by quotations from Aeschylus,¹³⁷³ Pindar,¹³⁷⁴ Euripides,¹³⁷⁵ Archilochus,¹³⁷⁶ Dionysius I,¹³⁷⁷ a seven line fragment of uncertain origin,¹³⁷⁸ Simonides,¹³⁷⁹ two further passages from

¹³⁷⁰ It might be possible to argue that Clement himself used such aids for post Platonic philosophers; the vagueness of references to the Stoics *et al* might indicate such a position.

¹³⁷¹ It might be argued that Diogenes Laertius' *Vitae philosophorum* represents, though at a higher literary level, such an approach.

¹³⁷² *Ad Autolycum* II 37.

¹³⁷³ frg. 456 – Radt Vol. 3 *TGF*. This may not be Aeschylean – Mette excludes it from his edition as does Sommerstein.

¹³⁷⁴ *Nemeans* iv 51 – 52.

¹³⁷⁵ Euripides frgs. 1090, 1091 and 1092. The first fragment may be from a chorus – the metre is anapaestic and Grotius' emendation νόμος for Theophilus' νόμου in frg. 1092 is needed for the sense.

¹³⁷⁶ Frg. 126 1 (West, *Iambi et elegi Graeci*, vol. 1).

¹³⁷⁷ Frg. 5 Snell.

¹³⁷⁸ The first two lines, according to Stobaeus, are from the *Bacchae* of Aeschylus, a play only attested in the medieval catalogue and by Stobaeus. They may come from another play on the subject of Bacchus such as the *Bassarids*. The third to fifth lines are drawn from an unknown tragedy – *adespota tragica* 493 (Kannicht and Snell). The last two lines seemingly come from an unknown comedy; Kock frg. 143/ Kassel/Austin frg. 877.

¹³⁷⁹ frg. 22 D.L. Page, *Poetae melici Graeci*

Euripides,¹³⁸⁰ and Sophocles.¹³⁸¹ Six of the fragments, Aeschylus, Dionysius, the seven line fragment, the last two passages from Euripides and Sophocles also occur in Stobaeus. Given the encyclopaedic nature of Stobaeus' compilation, this duplication may not be unexpected; what is more noteworthy is the seven-line fragment, composed of three different passages, which occurs only in Theophilus and Stobaeus. Near the beginning of Stobaeus' *Anthologion*¹³⁸² occurs a section: Περὶ δίκης παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ τεταγμένης ἐποπτεύειν τὰ ἐπὶ γῆς γινόμενα ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, τιμωροῦ οὔσης τῶν ἀμαρτανόντων. This is not dissimilar to the theme underlying Theophilus' series of quotations and four passages, Aeschylus frg. 456, Dionysius, the composite seven-line passage and Sophocles frg. 962 are common to both. This might well suggest a common source, especially the use of the seven-line passage as it is unlikely that Theophilus ran these lines together to create this passage. On the other hand, two of the passages quoted by Theophilus are assigned to other headings by Stobaeus; Euripides *Bellerophon* frg. 303: Stobaeus 3 2 13 περὶ κάκίας, and Euripides *Iphigenia Aulensis* 394a – 5: Stobaeus 3 28 2 περὶ ἐπιπορκίας.¹³⁸³ While this passage in *ad Autolycum* may indicate the possibility of the use of florilegia, particularly in a writer like Theophilus,¹³⁸⁴ it also indicates a degree of flexibility in the assembling of florilegia, that quotations can be quoted under different themes. It might also be important to note that the quotations assembled in the hypothetical florilegium in Theophilus have, as it were, a religious dimension, which may be important in the light of the discussion below. The loss of so much classical literature also complicates the issue. We simply do not know if there was an earlier, hypothetical source

¹³⁸⁰ *Bellerophon* frg. 303 (Loeb). Theophilus omits four words from the fuller text apud Stobaeum 3 2. 13; *Iphigenia Aulensis* 394a – 5. The first line is omitted in manuscripts L and P.

¹³⁸¹ frg. 962 (Lloyd-Jones).

¹³⁸² 1 3 1ff.

¹³⁸³ Five of Theophilus' quotations are not found in Stobaeus.

¹³⁸⁴ Of the subsequent apologists to Justin, Theophilus seems the least assured in his handling of the classics.

from which Theophilus might have taken the seven-line text, or if there were any intervening sources between Theophilus and Stobaeus, which might have ensured the passage's transmission. It may be all too easy to assume a link between Theophilus and Stobaeus simply because the passages are the same, and a common theme may also seem to underlie that assumption.

The passage from Sextus Empiricus that was the start of Elter's ruminations does not even have a common theme to link the quotations together, and several of them appear in Stobaeus under more than one heading.¹³⁸⁵ This may well lend credence to the supposition that for Elter and his contemporaries florilegia were the source of quotations. Such a view may seem to denigrate the achievement of a Plutarch or a Clement. What is apparent to any reader of, for example, Plutarch and Clement is the appositeness of the quotations embedded in the text, their suitability to the variations in subject matter. What few have sought to understand is the practice or methods by which this aptness was achieved, or how the quotations were to be retrieved. Is it to be supposed that either Plutarch or Clement had access to collections grouped under authors, or collections centred on various themes? (These would seem to be the most realistic way of assembling florilegia.) Given the difficulty and impracticability of using scrolls for retrieving texts – which is why many ancient authors quote from memory – this would seem a cumbersome and time-consuming way of delivering quotations to be included in their proposed text. Clement's work also provides a further instance of the implausibility of such an approach. One of the features of Clement's writing is his aptitude in placing appropriate biblical texts and literary texts beside each other.¹³⁸⁶ Even

¹³⁸⁵ Euripides *Temenidae* frg. 734 - Stobaeus 3 1 4; Euripides *Aeolus* frg. 20 - Stobaeus 3 3 31; 4 31c 61; Euripides frg 892 - Stobaeus 3 3 34; 3 40 9 69; *Iliad* i 469 et al: Not Stobaeus; Pseudo-Epicharmus frg. 247 - Not Stobaeus; *Iliad* xxiv 54 - Stobaeus 4 57 1; Euripides *Phrixus* A or B frg. 835 - Stobaeus 1 3 15.

¹³⁸⁶ A sample of these drawn from *Protrepticus*, *Paedagogus* II, *Stromateis* I and II will be found at pp. 171 ff.

if the existence of florilegia drawn from classical texts was granted, it is simply improbable to speculate on the existence of florilegia compiled from biblical texts by the time that Clement was writing.¹³⁸⁷ Clement's expertise in pairing quotations¹³⁸⁸ on similar themes does not necessarily imply the existence of florilegia; other explanations, such as he being his own florilegist, must be sought.

Between the embryonic florilegia in the papyri and the compilation of Stobaeus, there is, if not a great gulf fixed, relatively little trace of such hypothetical florilegia in the surviving literature. This may be attributed to the fact that the potential users of florilegia probably existed beneath the level of more sophisticated writers; perhaps a parallel to the *Sententiae Menandri* which reflects the life of the schoolroom. One of the questions that Elter and others do not appear to tackle is the dissemination of such hypothetical florilegia. Unlike handbooks, which would supply a certain degree of competence in philosophy and other related matters, lists of quotations under various themes might not seem the most obvious "best-seller".¹³⁸⁹ The more plausible form of dissemination would be copying, which would permit the choice of material suitable to the needs of the copier. Again, the parallel with the *Sententiae Menandri* may be instructive; the surviving corpus comprises many smaller collections, which teachers might compile and use for their pupils. Florilegia may have enjoyed a penumbral existence; we can only speculate on what florilegia Stobaeus may have had access to in the creation of his *Anthologion*. Yet Stobaeus' oeuvre shows every sign of drawing on earlier collections. The prose sections, chiefly found in the first two books, seem to draw on earlier handbooks

¹³⁸⁷ The *catenae* are still far in the future.

¹³⁸⁸ Examples of this expertise are analysed in pp. 274 – 276.

¹³⁸⁹ The anthology in which the work of Theognis has come down to us and the *Στέφανος* of Meleager are not precise parallels as this type of anthology was a distinct literary creation, rather than a collection of lines assembled under different themes.

(such as the *Placita* of pseudo-Plutarch)¹³⁹⁰ and second-hand sources. What no one has suggested (and it is outside the ambit of this study) is that the sources of the *Anthologion* draw, not just on the primary texts, but on secondary texts, such as Plutarch (of those now extant and others now lost). As uncommon primary texts were being lost, and the hints below may indicate that the process was already beginning in the 2nd century and will have accelerated in the succeeding centuries, those fragments that were quoted in other works were more likely to be preserved. If the quotations were now free from their original context, their categorisation was more likely to depend on particular words in the fragment, which caught the florilegist's attention, and which might explain why several in Stobaeus' work, were allocated under different headings.

It is only in surveying the wider picture of authors like Clement and Plutarch that the inadequacy of such views as seeing florilegia as sources becomes apparent. One of the striking features of Plutarch, and indeed of Clement, is the apposite way in which they insert quotations into their works, in a way that coheres convincingly with the context. If Stobaeus and Orion are taken as typical, and they are the principal, indeed probably the only surviving examples, the quotations in the *Anthologion* and Orion's florilegium are grouped under headings, two hundred and forty-nine in the case of Stobaeus.¹³⁹¹ Though this may seem encyclopaedic, it does not cover all the topics and themes explored, say, by Clement and Plutarch.¹³⁹²

But, perhaps, more importantly, it also raises the question as to how ancient authors might have used florilegia. It is well known that ancient authors quoted from memory; looking

¹³⁹⁰ Diels also argued that Aetius might be another source for the *Placita*.

¹³⁹¹ This includes both the surviving and lost chapters.

¹³⁹² Not to mention the diversity and different themes in Athenaeus.

up scrolls to check references was cumbersome and time consuming.¹³⁹³ It is because Stobaeus is the only surviving florilegium of any significance that there is a tendency, perhaps, to view his work as the norm. The surviving portions of Stobaeus' work amounts to three hundred and seventy-four thousand, five hundred and fifteen words. A book of Thucydides' History¹³⁹⁴ would fill an average roll. If that is taken as the standard, the surviving part of Stobaeus' *Anthologion* would fill about twenty rolls; at an informed guess, the missing parts might have occupied another five rolls. This would certainly have been cumbersome to use, also given the lack of identifying marks common in ancient scrolls. But perhaps that would have been unnecessary and Stobaeus' work was not intended for scrolls, but rather for a codex. The 4th century CE witnessed the triumph of the codex over the scroll.¹³⁹⁵ Codices were easier to use, especially in the liturgical context of Christian worship. If Stobaeus' *Anthologion* was conceived for a codex, it would explain its size. Stobaeus was gathering together all that was available to him from earlier sources, almost certainly written on scrolls, and collected in a codex, which would have permitted easier access in consultation.

If Stobaeus' *magnum opus* is not typical of florilegia, it is difficult to envision such works, as they have left little, if any, trace. Probably Orion's work may be more typical, collections of lines around a theme, which were then copied by others, and which in their turn may have spawned other florilegia.¹³⁹⁶ If florilegia had the same purpose as handbooks, to give an *aperçu* of classical literature, it is extremely unlikely that a Plutarch or a Clement would need such aids. If Athenaeus depended on florilegia for the *Deipnosophistae*, then the resulting work would almost be as large as the work they begat, and by the principle of

¹³⁹³ This probably explains Clement's use of synonyms in his quotation of biblical texts.

¹³⁹⁴ A book from the *History* averaged about 19,000 words.

¹³⁹⁵ Codex Sinaiticus and Codex Vaticanus witness to this change.

¹³⁹⁶ It is difficult to imagine that they existed in a "published" form.

Occam's razor unnecessary. Perhaps the time has come to acknowledge that the role that florilegia played in the literary life of the 2nd century CE and subsequent centuries has been overestimated, and that there are more plausible ways in which writers may have acquired their knowledge of the texts they quote.

Paradoxically, the one sphere in which testimonia seem to have played an important part is that of religious faith. A primitive example can be found in the pages of the NT – Mark 9:49 – 50. The common theme is salt: πᾶς γὰρ πυρὶ ἁλισθήσεται. καλὸν τὸ ἅλας. ἐὰν δὲ τὸ ἅλας γένηται, ἐν τίνι αὐτὸ ἀρτύσετε; ἔχετε ἐν ἑαυτοῖς ἅλα καὶ εἰρηνεύετε ἐν ἀλλήλοις. This may well have been transmitted orally, but it serves to illustrate the principle. It has also been argued that some in the early Church may have collected testimonia, excerpts from the Hebrew scriptures to attest to various theological viewpoints, such as the Messianic status of Jesus, a process inferred from the use of the OT in the writings of the NT.¹³⁹⁷ Earlier, Jewish examples were found among the scrolls at Qumran. The most famous is the manuscript known as 4QTestimonia, a collection of Old Testament passages, relating to a Messianic figure.¹³⁹⁸

A further objection may be raised to the plausibility of florilegia as source material for 2nd century authors. Elter and his *epigonoι* concentrate on florilegia which are composed of verses extracted from poets, chiefly Euripides and Menander.¹³⁹⁹ Stobaeus also quotes prose authors, drawn mainly from the philosophical and scientific tradition; it is a probability that handbooks may have contributed to this section of his work. He quotes the two greatest Greek historians; Herodotus thirty-eight times and Thucydides thirty-three times, excerpts

¹³⁹⁷ The gospel of Matthew may be an early example.

¹³⁹⁸ This manuscript dates from Hasmonean times – early 1st century BCE.

¹³⁹⁹ Gnomic verses seem to feature more in these writers than, say, Aeschylus or Sophocles, and may account for the fact that more lines survive from Euripides and Menander than the latter.

which seem to have more of an ethical or moral bias than a purely historical. This might suggest that Herodotus and Thucydides are included for other reasons than those of a historical, chronological nature. Clement quotes around eighty-five authors who are not named by Stobaeus; of these, just under half, forty-one, are historians. Clement's quotations of those who might be termed historical writers are generally for historical information, are relatively brief and generally apposite to the context of the passage. It is hard to see any underlying theme which might have informed their collection into a florilegium, certainly any of the motifs which underlie other florilegia. Many of the historians quoted by Clement are relatively obscure, and their works more likely to appeal to writers with a particular interest. It seems highly implausible that Clement would have obtained his knowledge of these writers from florilegia, and that *mutatis mutandis* the same is probably true of other authors like Plutarch.

Plutarch and his use of quotations

As Plutarch was writing at the beginning of the 2nd century CE and Clement towards its close (a century which included surviving authors like Athenaeus and Aulus Gellius) both are worthy of study in the context of the use of possible florilegia, especially in the breadth of their quotations.¹⁴⁰⁰ There seems no obvious method or practice in Plutarch's use of quotations, as can be seen in an examination of the opening essays of the *Moralia*.¹⁴⁰¹

- 1 *Quomodo adolescens poetas audire debeat* 204 quotations: 9,884 words
- 2 *De recta ratione audiendi* 12 quotations: 5,118 words
- 3 *Quomodo adulator ab amico internoscatur* 62 quotations: 11,778 words
- 4 *Quomodo quis suos in virtute sentiat profectus* 20 quotations: 5,053 words

¹⁴⁰⁰ Athenaeus, though a more prolific citer of fragments, is more restricted in the subject matter of his quotations, this being determined by the hypothetical setting of his work.

¹⁴⁰¹ The *Consolatio ad Apollonium* is omitted on account of its pseudonymity.

- 5 *De capienda ex inimicis utilitate* 24 quotations: 3,001 words
- 6 *De amicorum multitudine* 17 quotations: 1,819 words
- 7 *De fortuna* 14 quotations: 1,261 words
- 8 *De virtute et vitio* 5 quotations: 669 words
- 9 *De tuenda sanitate praecepta* 19 quotations: 6,915 words
- 10 *Coniugalia praecepta* 6 quotations: 3,722 words
- 11 *Septem sapientium convivium* 16 quotations: 8,742 words
- 12 *De superstitione* 22 quotations: 3,326 words

The survey is confined to quotations, both poetry and prose, and excludes references and allusions. The work with the greatest density of quotations, *Quomodo adolescens poetas audire debeat* is an obvious candidate for the use of frequent quotations. It might have been expected that Plutarch might have used more quotations in the *Coniugalia praecepta*, the dramatic poets providing a suitable arsenal. Instead, he draws on anecdotes as illustrations for the bride and groom of appropriate behaviour. There is an obvious difference between the four works in the survey with the lowest frequency of quotations (2, 9, 10, and 11 in the table above) compared with that with the highest frequency, *Quomodo adolescens poetas audire debeat*, but it is much harder to account for this difference. Was it availability of suitable quotations, difference of approach and aptitude to the various subjects, his mood when writing, the original form of the essay as a spoken declamation? It is probably now impossible to account for these differences, but what is clear is that quotations, and references, played a highly important role in Plutarch's works, but also that his approach to and use of quotation was more diversified than those who followed him later in the century. It is also noteworthy that Plutarch rarely comments on the quotations he uses; they appear

as illustrations to strengthen his argument or underline a point. Indeed, in this respect, his practice is not dissimilar to that of Clement himself.

In an attempt to ascertain if there is any plausibility concerning Plutarch and his hypothetical use of florilegia, it may be useful to examine one of Plutarch's works and to see what light it may throw on the vexed question of florilegia. *Quomodo adolescens poetas audire debet* seemed as good a candidate as any of Plutarch's other works, concentrating as it does on poetic quotations. The work contains two hundred and six quotations, of which only two derive from prose works.¹⁴⁰² Of the quotations, one hundred and six are taken from the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, and given the ubiquity of Homer as the most quoted ancient author, it seemed unnecessary to examine them in detail. In fact, the passages from Homer quoted by Stobaeus in the whole of the *Anthologion* number only sixty-five; this is less than the quotations by Plutarch in one work alone. Compared with the six hundred and eighty-two named quotations from the works of Euripides and three hundred twenty-one from those of Menander, this seems a curious anomaly. If Stobaeus paid such attention to Euripides and Menander, the comparative ignoring of the Homeric works, the staple of the *paideia enkyklios*, seems to demand some sort of explanation. It may well be that because of this centrality, Stobaeus, or his sources, chose not to focus on the works of Homer, simply because it was the one corpus of literature to which those who learned to read and write would be exposed, and to which they might have ready and easy access.¹⁴⁰³ If Stobaeus was indeed drawing on earlier compilations and florilegia, it is a possibility that the quotations from Homer were already contained in the text and he simply left them there.¹⁴⁰⁴

¹⁴⁰² Heraclitus frg. 87 and Plato *Epistula* III 315C.

¹⁴⁰³ As Photius reminds us, the work was compiled with the needs of Stobaeus' son, Septimius in mind.

¹⁴⁰⁴ If this is a plausible explanation for the disparity between Homer and other writers, it may also throw a possible light on another Stobaeian enigma. Though the name Iohannes might indicate Stobaeus came from a Christian family, it has been something of a puzzle as to whether he was in fact a Christian since he quotes no

Of the ninety-eight remaining fragments quoted by Plutarch,¹⁴⁰⁵ twenty-seven are also attested in Stobaeus. Of these, five are also doubly quoted under a different chapter heading and others are also given in a longer form than that found in Plutarch. All of Stobaeus' quotations are grouped under a thematic chapter heading, such as ἀρετή. There is indeed a section of Plutarch's text which gathers together various passages on this theme, and it might indeed seem a prime candidate for the use of florilegia. The passages are as follows:

44 ¹⁴⁰⁶	24D	τῆς δ' ἀρετῆς ἰδρῶτα θεοὶ προπάροιθεν ἔθηκαν	Hesiod <i>Opera</i> 289
			Stobaeus 3 1 section 205b 22
			(Stobaeus quotes 287 – 292 in full)
45	24D	τῆμος σφῆ ἀρετῇ Δαναοὶ ῥήξαντο φάλαγγας	<i>Iliad</i> xi 90
46	24D	εἰ δὲ θανεῖν θέμις, ὧδε θανεῖν καλόν, εἰς ἀρετὴν καταλυσάμενους βίον	Euripides frg. 994 (twice in Plutarch)
47	24E	Ζεὺς δ' ἀρετὴν ἄνδρεςσιν ὀφέλλει τε μινύθει τε	<i>Iliad</i> xx. 242
			Stobaeus 1 1 section 4 line 2 (also quotes following line)
48	24E	πλούτῳ δ' ἀρετὴ καὶ κῦδος ὀπηδεῖ,	Hesiod <i>Opera</i> 313
			Stobaeus 3 29 section 3 l 6 (quoting 308 – 313)

This might seem to point to an obvious conclusion that Plutarch derived these passages quoted in relative proximity from a florilegium on the subject of ἀρετή, but on closer examination this proves to be illusory. Two of the quotations¹⁴⁰⁷ are not paralleled in

Christian writers. If the explanation for the comparative neglect of Homer has some plausibility, it might also explain why biblical texts were omitted. They were central to the faith, but also may have been more easily accessible and thus there was no need for them to be anthologised.

¹⁴⁰⁵ Two of them are rewritten by Plutarch himself bringing the total to one hundred.

¹⁴⁰⁶ The numbers on the left identify the quotations in Plutarch, and those in brackets on the right identify the number of the references in Stobaeus.

¹⁴⁰⁷ 45 and 46.

Stobaeus. Of the remaining three, only number 44 from Hesiod's *Opera* appears under the title *περὶ ἀρετῆς*. Number 47 from the *Iliad* is listed under the heading “ὅτι θεὸς δημιουργὸς τῶν ὄντων καὶ δίδει τὸ ὅλον τῷ τῆς προνοίας λόγῳ καὶ ποίας οὐσίας ὑπάρχει, and number 48 from Hesiod is found under *περὶ φιλοπονίας*. It is inevitable that passages of several verses may have been categorised under different headings depending on the understanding of the anthologist, and the intertwining of different themes. There may well be a thematic connection uniting these quotations, but it is considerably more probable that it was Plutarch himself who assembled them from his own notes and knowledge, rather than relying on a florilegium.

Four further passages quoted by Plutarch appear under two different headings: *εἰμαρμένον γὰρ τῶν κακῶν βουλευμάτων / κακὰς ἀμοιβὰς ἐστὶ καρποῦσθαι βροτοῖς*¹⁴⁰⁸ - Book 1 chapter 3 “On the justice of God” and Book 3 section 3 “On prudence”; *μακάριος ὅστις οὐσίαν καὶ νοῦν ἔχει*¹⁴⁰⁹ - Book 4 chapter 31d (*Menagyrtes*) “That money is harmless” and Book 4 chapter 39 (*Demiourgos*) “On happiness”; *τοῦ μὲν δικαίου τὴν δόκησιν ἄρνησο, τὰ δ’ ἔργα τοῦ πᾶν δρῶντος ἔνθα κερδανεῖ*¹⁴¹⁰ - Book 3 chapter 3 “On prudence” and Book 3 chapter 9 “On the virtue of justice” and *μὴ πλοῦτον εἵπης. οὐχὶ θαυμάζω θεὸν, ὃν χῶ κάκιστος ῥαδίως ἐκτήσατο*¹⁴¹¹ - Book 3 chapter 3 “On prudence” and Book 4 chapter 31c “Censure of wealth.” The themes under which Stobaeus categorises the passages are not reflected in Plutarch’s use of the quotations. The first¹⁴¹² is quoted in the context of the fate of those who act discredibly, and so come to a bad end; the second¹⁴¹³ regards Menander’s

¹⁴⁰⁸ *Tragica adespota* frg. 352.

¹⁴⁰⁹ Menander frg. 101 (Koerte)– it is attributed by Stobaeus to two different plays.

¹⁴¹⁰ Euripides *Ixion* frg. 426a?

¹⁴¹¹ Euripides *Aeolus* frg. 20.

¹⁴¹² *Moralia* 23E.

¹⁴¹³ *Moralia* 34C.

sentiment as applying equally to repute, leadership and skill in oratory; the third¹⁴¹⁴ is the middle of three quotations, which through wicked and untrue sentiments, apply appropriately to Eteocles, Ixion and an unknown usurer, and the last¹⁴¹⁵ emphasises, rather than wealth, the god who equally allows the base to attain reputation, beauty, a general's cloak or a priestly crown. Of the remaining twenty-two quotations found both in *Quomodo adolescens* and Stobaeus, nine are quoted by Plutarch in a manner that does not reflect the theme of the relevant section in Stobaeus; the themes of four concur with the headings of Stobaeus' sections and the remaining nine have a much looser connection with the relevant motif of Stobaeus' headings. The remaining sixty-eight quotations (apart from those in the Homeric corpus) are not found in Stobaeus.

Given the quasi-encyclopaedic nature of Stobaeus' *Anthologion*,¹⁴¹⁶ it is inevitable that there will be duplication between authors like Plutarch, Athenaeus and Clement. Yet what is more distinctive about a work like *Quomodo adolescens* is the freedom of quotation, and the aptness with which Plutarch inserts his chosen quotations into the text. This implies a probable, if not, indeed, certain familiarity with the original works and the context of the quotations, rather than the more generic nature of quotations stripped from their source. This may be confirmed by the assignment of several fragments to more than one section of the *Anthologion*, as in the five fragments in the *Quomodo adolescens* quoted more than once. This may also indicate the diverse nature of the hypothetical florilegia that Stobaeus may have drawn on for the compilation of his work. It is also a possibility that some of the quotations used by Stobaeus may themselves have been drawn from secondary works, rather than the

¹⁴¹⁴ *Moralia* 18E - a passage in the context of Damonidas' boots, made for his crippled feet; when they were stolen, he prayed that they might fit the thief's feet.

¹⁴¹⁵ *Moralia* 34E.

¹⁴¹⁶ For example, four hundred and one attributed fragments, fifty-one unattributed and three spurious from the works of Euripides alone.

original text, without the surrounding material to indicate the predominant theme of the passage, and thus the quotation.

A further argument that Plutarch did not use *florilegia* may be found in an Euripidean line¹⁴¹⁷ quoted in the *de Monarchia*¹⁴¹⁸ and also cited by Plutarch. Zeegers Vander Vorst speculates that this line is drawn from a florilegium of Chrysippus and his school, a theory she adopted from Zelter. Plutarch quotes this line from *Melanippe the wise*¹⁴¹⁹ in his *Amatorius*.¹⁴²⁰ He comments on it in the context of a story that this fragment – Ζεύς, ὅστις ὁ Ζεύς, οὐ γὰρ οἶδα πλὴν λόγῳ was the original opening of the play, an opening that caused an outrage, because of its seeming irreligious nature. Plutarch writes that Euripides, having confidence in the play, demanded another chorus and changed the offending line to Ζεύς, ὥς λέλακται τῆς ἀληθείας ὕπο.¹⁴²¹ If we may judge by the example of Stobaeus and Orion in the context of verse quotations, florilegia are simply that – a collection of passages without any extraneous material. It is highly unlikely that Plutarch would have found this anecdote and hence the line in a florilegium. Given the extensiveness of Plutarch's quotations, there is no obvious reason why he should need to draw on this hypothetical (and small) florilegium.

One further argument against the hypothetical use of florilegia in the works of Plutarch, and by implication also in the works of Clement, is their use of writers of history. Stobaeus includes passages from Herodotus¹⁴²² and Thucydides.¹⁴²³ These are excerpted, not primarily for their historical or chronological information, but rather, in accordance with the

¹⁴¹⁷ In the *de Monarchia* it is falsely attributed to the *Hecuba*.

¹⁴¹⁸ A work attributed to Justin, but almost certainly pseudonymous, and probably written in the mid-third century CE

¹⁴¹⁹ See also Wright (2019) pp. 271 - 4.

¹⁴²⁰ *Amatorius* 756B.

¹⁴²¹ This is independent of the historical plausibility of the story It is, as Collard/Cropp note, inherently unlikely that such a sceptical statement would open a tragedy.

¹⁴²² Thirty-eight passages.

¹⁴²³ Thirty-three passages.

general tenor of the greater part of Stobaeus' work, for their ethical and moral tendencies. This seems to apply to other, more obscure historians, such as, for example, Anaximenes of Lampsakos.¹⁴²⁴ Eight fragments are assigned to him by Stobaeus, fragments of a sententious nature.¹⁴²⁵ This is typical of Stobaeus' use of historians, but it does not reflect the use made of them by Plutarch and Clement. Here historians are mined for their chronological and historical information, whether the information may have come from a direct reading of the original sources or from another writer's use of the material. A typical example of the former usage is a quotation by Plutarch¹⁴²⁶ of a fragment of Acesander:¹⁴²⁷ ἐπιτυχῶς ἀναμνησθεὶς ἀπέφαινον Ἀλέξανδρον ἐν τῷ Περὶ Λιβύης ταῦθ' ἱστοροῦντα. 'καὶ τοῦτο μὲν' ἔφην 'τὸ ἀνάγνωσμα τῶν οὐκ ἐν μέσῳ ἐστίν. This seems to imply that Plutarch had read the source, and also that the book was not a common one. Another glimpse into the use of historians is provided by Clement in a passage of *Stromateis* 1.¹⁴²⁸ It is a highly compressed, and, it must be admitted, rather disorganised passage, which probably derives from notes that Clement may have taken himself. Among the numerous writers mentioned are Hellanicus,¹⁴²⁹ Pha(i)nias,¹⁴³⁰ Xanthos of Lydia,¹⁴³¹ Dorotheus,¹⁴³² Aristotle,¹⁴³³ Theopompus,¹⁴³⁴

¹⁴²⁴ No. 72 in Brill's *New Jacoby*. Anaximenes is credited with thirty-four testimonia, and forty-one fragments, three of which occur in Plutarch, as well as three quotations in Athenaeus, and an allusion in Clement's *Stromateus* VI.

¹⁴²⁵ There is some doubt as to which Anaximenes is being referred to by Stobaeus. *BNJ* 72 (op. cit.) under frg. 38 notes a possibility that the Anaximenes referred to by Stobaeus may be his nephew, also an Anaximenes. "However, they (i.e. the quotations by Stobaeus) are consistent with Anaximenes's pithy remark on tyranny (Testimonium 7) and his moralizing advice to Alexander (Testimonium 9b), which also take the form of *sententiae*."

¹⁴²⁶ *Moralia* 675AB.

¹⁴²⁷ *BNJ* (469) frg. 7.

¹⁴²⁸ *Stromateis* I 21 131 – 135.

¹⁴²⁹ *BNJ* 4 frg. 187b.

¹⁴³⁰ *FGH* IV 1012 frg. 10.

¹⁴³¹ *BNJ* 765 frg. 30.

¹⁴³² *BNJ* 145 frg. 4.

¹⁴³³ ἡ Φωκέων πολιτεία.

¹⁴³⁴ *BNJ* 115 frg. 334b.

Philochorus,¹⁴³⁵ Ephorus,¹⁴³⁶ Timaeus,¹⁴³⁷ and Pythocles.¹⁴³⁸ Where and how Clement gained knowledge of these authors is probably impossible to say. He may have come across them in the original books or in a secondary source; where he certainly did not find them was in a florilegium. Florilegia are meant to concentrate on passages which illumine a certain theme or motif, rather than the collection of facts. Further in the passage from which these names are taken, it is hard to find an overall theme which would account for their being gathered together. Unlike the philosophical handbooks, which may have existed to give an outline of the thoughts of such groups as the Stoics or the Epicureans for those who had not studied or read their writings at a higher degree of education, it is difficult to find a milieu that would satisfactorily explain the gathering together of such a disparate collection of historical facts and chronology. Clement quotes forty-one historians not found in Stobaeus; of a selection of forty-nine historical writers¹⁴³⁹ quoted by Plutarch or pseudo-Plutarch,¹⁴⁴⁰ six are also excerpted in Stobaeus. Of these six, four are quoted in *Parallela minora*, a work by pseudo-Plutarch, which either directly, or through an intermediary channel, was a source for Stobaeus. This leaves only two shared quotations in Plutarch and Stobaeus, a relatively meagre harvest from the sample of examined historians. This disparity, and the number of historians found in Clement and not in Stobaeus, must form a strong presumption that florilegia of the sort that would comprise historical facts and information, never existed.

Part of the problem is that florilegia have a distinct resemblance to the shadowy *trittyes* of the Cleisthenic constitution; the *phylai* and the demes are well attested, but the

¹⁴³⁵ *BNJ* 328 frg. 211b.

¹⁴³⁶ *BNJ* 70 frg. 221b.

¹⁴³⁷ *BNJ* 566 frg. 116.

¹⁴³⁸ *BNJ* 833 frg. 1b.

¹⁴³⁹ Helmbold and O'Neil *Plutarch's Quotations*; the historians, a selection, are listed under the letters A to C.

¹⁴⁴⁰ Two of them are not found in Jacoby.

trittytes, though essential to the working of the constitution, are rarely mentioned in the sources. It is almost certain that Stobaeus drew on florilegia. The assignment of the same quotations to different chapter headings points to a diverse assessment of the nature of the passage in question, and this might suggest a plurality of those assembling the lists, as Stobaeus himself is unlikely to have had a multiple view of the relevant passage. It might also suggest that some of the quotations were taken not necessarily from primary sources – where the meaning of the passage would have been clear – but also from secondary sources where the use of certain key words, now torn from context, might suggest the allocation to different thematic lists. A good example might be the quotation of the fragments of Anaximenes in pseudo-Plutarch's *Parallela minora* quoted above, and incorporated in Stobaeus, almost certainly taken at second-hand from pseudo-Plutarch, rather than from a reading of Anaximenes. It might also suggest that the compilation of florilegia was possibly rather later than has generally been assumed. The literature of the 2nd century which is marked by a high density of quotations displays a wide diversity of authors and sources; the Plutarchan corpus refers to four hundred and sixty-three Greek authors, and Clement himself quotes or alludes to two hundred and seventy-nine authors,¹⁴⁴¹ but these are both eclipsed by some six hundred and sixty authors quoted or alluded to by Athenaeus in the *Deipnosophistae*.

It might be instructive to compare Plutarch, Athenaeus and Clement with another 2nd century CE writer, Lucian, who also employs quotations. These have been examined in some detail by Householder¹⁴⁴² and further commented on by Bompaire.¹⁴⁴³ Though Householder

¹⁴⁴¹ The two hundred and seventy-nine includes writers quoted or alluded to by Clement; some, such as Musonius are not named, and one, Chrysippus, though named in *Stromateis* I 14 64 1, is not quoted. The references in Stahlin's edition to fragments of Chrysippus are the result of von Arnim's over-enthusiasm in SVF III to see references to the Stoics in general as pointing back to Chrysippus. It excludes fifty-three *adespota* to whom no known author can be assigned.

¹⁴⁴² Householder (1941).

¹⁴⁴³ Bompaire (1958).

claims twelve hundred quotations¹⁴⁴⁴ and allusions for Lucian, Anderson in two articles¹⁴⁴⁵ argues that such a number may be an overestimate, and that Householder ignored secondary sources or the possibility of some quotations having become literary tags or proverbs.¹⁴⁴⁶ As examples of ‘double borrowings’, Anderson posits the anonymous scholion at *Pro lapsu* 6¹⁴⁴⁷ and the reference to the palinode of Stesichorus mentioned in the *Gorgias*.¹⁴⁴⁸ The scholion as quoted by Lucian is closer to the Platonic version, which itself seems to be a paraphrase, rather than the version quoted twice by Athenaeus¹⁴⁴⁹ and also by Clement.¹⁴⁵⁰ In addition, he argues that some of the quotations also occur in rhetorical handbooks. As an example, the fragment of Euripides’ *Meleager*¹⁴⁵¹ quoted by Lucian¹⁴⁵² also occurs in Demetrius *De elocutione*.¹⁴⁵³

If Lucian may have garnered some of his quotations from secondary sources, it is also legitimate to ask how wide the canon of authors he quotes is or to whom he alludes. Householder and Bompaire tend to assume that an author named by Lucian will be part of his canon; this does not necessarily follow. Aeschines is mentioned by Lucian several times;¹⁴⁵⁴ two of the mentions are in the context of others: Demosthenes,¹⁴⁵⁵ Demades and

¹⁴⁴⁴ Many of the Homeric quotations are one-word adjectives, which merely indicate a familiarity with the Homeric idiom.

¹⁴⁴⁵ Anderson (1976) and (1978.)

¹⁴⁴⁶ He also raises the interesting fact that some of Lucian’s quotations and allusions come at the beginning of texts, and also at the conclusion, where they would be relatively easy to find, except in the latter case for the bother of having to unroll the scroll.

¹⁴⁴⁷ *Pro lapsu* 6; ὁ μὲν γὰρ τὸ σκόλιον γράψας, οὗ καὶ Πλάτων μέμνηται, τί καὶ οὗτός φησιν; Ὑγιαίνειν μὲν ἄριστον, τὸ δεύτερον καλὸν γενέσθαι, τρίτον δὲ πλουτεῖν, τοῦ χαίρειν δὲ τὸ παράπαν οὐκ ἐμνήσθη.

¹⁴⁴⁸ *Gorgias* 415E (near the beginning) – Lucian seems to have no further information on the subject than that offered by Plato.

¹⁴⁴⁹ *Deipnosophistae* 2,2 page 158 line 35 (epitome) and 15 paragraph 50 line 34.

¹⁴⁵⁰ *Stromateis* 4 5 23 2.

¹⁴⁵¹ *Meleager* frg. 515.

¹⁴⁵² *Symposium* 25.

¹⁴⁵³ *De elocutione* 58 though quoted here, after Praxiphanes, for the gratuitous insertion of particles such as φεῦ or αἶ αἶ.

¹⁴⁵⁴ Three of these. refer to Aeschines Socraticus.

¹⁴⁵⁵ *Somnium* 12 12.

Philocrates.¹⁴⁵⁶ Unlike Plutarch and Clement who have quotations from Aeschines' speeches, Lucian has nothing to indicate whether Aeschines is simply the name of an orator he has heard of, or one whose speeches he has read. The same difficulty is created by another list: τὰ Πλάτωνος; τὰ Ἀντισθένης; τὰ Ἀρχιλόχου; τὰ Ἰππώνακτος; ἢ τούτων μὲν ὑπερφρονεῖς, ῥήτορες δὲ μάλιστά σοι διὰ χειρός; εἰπέ μοι, καὶ Αἰσχίνου τὸν κατὰ Τιμάρχου λόγον ἀναγινώσκεις.¹⁴⁵⁷ Lucian appears to refer to a fragment of Archilochus: τὸ δὲ τοῦ Ἀρχιλόχου ἐκεῖνο ἤδη σοι λέγω, ὅτι τέττιγα τοῦ περοῦ συνείληφας.¹⁴⁵⁸ This appears to be a reminiscence of a fragment of Archilochus: τέττιγος ἐδράξω περοῦ.¹⁴⁵⁹ Is Lucian quoting from memory? Again, it is difficult to determine whether this is the veneer of learning or a genuine engagement with Archilochus. The same doubts arise when examining Lucian's¹⁴⁶⁰ involvement with the main poets of literature.¹⁴⁶¹ Aeschylus is named twice and quoted twice.¹⁴⁶² Sophocles is represented by a fragment from *Meleager*,¹⁴⁶³ *Electra*,¹⁴⁶⁴ and two allusions to *Τρισόβιοι*¹⁴⁶⁵ and one to a line from *Ajax*.¹⁴⁶⁶ Euripides is represented by twelve quotations from the surviving plays, and thirteen fragments from the lost plays.¹⁴⁶⁷ (Two further "quotations" are ammetrical versions of Euripidean lines). Aristophanes is represented by four quotations and Menander equally by four, of which two are quoted by pseudo-Lucian, and one is only a two-word fragment. Compared with the quotations by Plutarch and

¹⁴⁵⁶ *De parasito* 42 13.

¹⁴⁵⁷ *Adversus indoctum et libros multos ementem* 27.

¹⁴⁵⁸ *Pseudologista* 1 9.

¹⁴⁵⁹ Frg. 223 – West (1989).

¹⁴⁶⁰ Anderson (op. cit.) pg. 67.

¹⁴⁶¹ As Homer is so ubiquitous in Greek culture, quotations from his works are omitted.

¹⁴⁶² The quotations are in works dubiously attributed to Lucian. The first (*Niobe* frg. 162) is also quoted by Plato (*Republic* 391e); [Lucian] misquotes the text. The second (*Myrmidons* frg. 136) is quoted in [Lucian] *Erotes* 54.

¹⁴⁶³ frg. 401.

¹⁴⁶⁴ line 369.

¹⁴⁶⁵ frg. 837.

¹⁴⁶⁶ *Ajax* line 665 - ἄδωρα δῶρα.

¹⁴⁶⁷ Householder does not distinguish between genuine and pseudonymous Lucianic writings – seven quotations in his list are from pseudo-Lucian. He also includes two paraphrases as genuine quotes.

Clement, of the three great tragedians and the two most important comic writers, this is a meagre harvest. Indeed, this impression is confirmed in surveying Householder's list. Many ancient writers are represented by one or two quotations, and the list is inflated by one-word allusions from the Homeric poems,¹⁴⁶⁸ and *adespota comica* which may rather reflect Kock's misplaced optimism in seeing comic lines in Lucian's prose. Anderson is probably not being unfair to Lucian when he notes; "Lucian was an effortless humourist and his quotation habits are those of a travelling sophist; as far as learning is concerned, he travelled light."

If this was a form of erudition that was recognisable to a greater or lesser degree in sophistic circles,¹⁴⁶⁹ it was one that was eclipsed by writers such as Plutarch, Athenaeus and Clement¹⁴⁷⁰ These are authors writing for an audience willing and able to engage with a higher degree of literary knowledge. To take but one example (that of Euripides, one of the most quoted authors of antiquity, apart from Homer) Plutarch quotes or alludes to Euripides three hundred and sixty-eight times,¹⁴⁷¹ Clement's works contain one hundred and one quotations or allusions¹⁴⁷² and Athenaeus some seventy-five.¹⁴⁷³ This considerably exceeds Lucian's quotations and perhaps indicates that we are dealing with a different milieu, or audience.

It was often asserted in the past that Plutarch depended on florilegia for his knowledge of classical authors. De Wet¹⁴⁷⁴ argues convincingly that Plutarch's knowledge and use of the Homeric poems both reveals a working knowledge of the texts, but also demonstrates his power of memory and recall. He also suggests that Plutarch's quotations of Pindar,¹⁴⁷⁵

¹⁴⁶⁸ His potential audience would have recognised them, if only as memories, from their own schooldays.

¹⁴⁶⁹ There will, inevitably, have been sophists with a much wider literary expertise than Lucian displays.

¹⁴⁷⁰ And in the Roman West, Aulus Gellius.

¹⁴⁷¹ A welcome guide to the use by Plutarch of Euripidean material is a thesis by Mitchell (1968).

¹⁴⁷² Considering that the surviving works of Clement are just over a quarter of the length of the extant works of Plutarch, this is an impressive figure.

¹⁴⁷³ Given the nature of Athenaeus' work, it is perhaps inevitable that comedy writers will predominate.

¹⁴⁷⁴ Wet, de B. X. (1988).

¹⁴⁷⁵ Pindar is the lyric poet most frequently quoted by Plutarch.

Alcaeus, Simonides, Archilochus, and Stesichorus show a first-hand knowledge of their poetry.¹⁴⁷⁶ In passing he also notes Barrow's observation:¹⁴⁷⁷ "In the *Moralia*, a citation, direct or indirect, is made very often for the purpose of illustration; it is not vital to the argument; it could often be omitted. Such quotations could only be made by a mind familiar with a work from which the citation is made, and, if references are made over the whole range of the work, it is a reasonable conclusion that the whole work has been read and is well known." If this is true of Plutarch, *mutatis mutandis*, it is also true of Clement's practice in quoting both biblical and classical texts.

In the light of these observations, and in an attempt to ascertain if there is any plausibility concerning Plutarch and his hypothetical use of florilegia, it may be useful to take the work already examined above - *Quomodo adolescens poetas audire debet* - as good a candidate as any of Plutarch's other works, concentrating as it does on poetic quotations. What deserves to be stressed again is the freedom of quotation, and the aptness with which Plutarch insets his chosen quotations into the text. This implies a probable familiarity with the original works and the context of the quotations, rather than the more generic nature of quotations stripped from their source. If the use of quotations, outlined above, seems to point to the unlikelihood that Plutarch drew on florilegia, there is a further argument that may well point in the same direction.

An analysis of the quotation of the fragments of the surviving dramatists of the 5th century reveals an unusual pattern.

1st Century CE 2nd century CE¹⁴⁷⁸ 2nd- 3rd century CE 3rd Century CE

¹⁴⁷⁶ de Wet (op. cit.) pg. 20 ff.

¹⁴⁷⁷ Barrow (1967) – pg. 156.

¹⁴⁷⁸ Plutarch, though he straddles the century divide, has been included among the 2nd century CE authors.

Aeschylus ¹⁴⁷⁹	19	89	2	0
Sophocles ¹⁴⁸⁰	19	134	0	5
Euripides ¹⁴⁸¹	21	189	4	21
Aristophanes ¹⁴⁸²	8	212 ¹⁴⁸³	2	6

The most surprising fact is the number of 2nd century CE quotations – inevitably there will be a few authors, who were writing in the latter years of the 1st century and the early years of the 3rd century, whose main activity was in the 2nd century. Even allowing for that imprecision, it is still an impressive increase in the number of quotations, and one for which an attempt to account for this increase must be made. The simplest answer might be simply to assume the increased availability of florilegia; the problem with this solution is there no obvious reason to account for the sudden increase in the production of florilegia. The earliest writer who might be termed a “miscellanist” was Pamphila (or Pamphile) of Epidaurus, the author of *ὑπομνήματα ἱστορικά*, a contemporary of Pliny the Elder. Given that from Plutarch to Clement, literature in the East was almost exclusively Greek, it is implausible to suppose that the example of Pliny would have sparked an interest in florilegia of the sort that might lie behind the interests of the 2nd century miscellanists. Even if Pamphila had contemporaries whose work has been lost, and their work sparked an interest or need for florilegia, it still allows relatively little time to compile florilegia, given the lack of evidence of quotation in the 1st century. By the 3rd century CE the fashion for works employing a high density of quotations

¹⁴⁷⁹ Fragments 1 – 402a. (ed. Sommerstein (op. cit.)).

¹⁴⁸⁰ Fragments 1 – 966 (ed. Lloyd-Jones (op.cit.)).

¹⁴⁸¹ Fragments 1 – 1128d (ed. Collard/Cropp (op.cit.)).

¹⁴⁸² Fragments 1 – 924 (excluding the *dubia* and single word fragments) (ed. Henderson (op. cit.)).

¹⁴⁸³ This “inflated” figure when compared with Euripides is accounted for by the nature of Athenaeus’ work and also the interest of Julius Pollux in Atticism.

seems to have faded. Both Sextus Empiricus¹⁴⁸⁴ and Diogenes Laertius¹⁴⁸⁵ employ fewer quotations than their 2nd century predecessors, and, of the remaining surviving 3rd century authors, none show evidence of the same use of quotations as their 2nd century predecessors, nor do their works necessarily demand it. There is not much more evidence of such a “miscellanistic” nature from authors whose works survive only in fragments. It is curious that Elter starts his study on florilegia from an analysis of a passage in Sextus Empiricus, a writer in a century when the use of quotations declines. If it is supposed that 2nd century writers depended on florilegia, it is highly puzzling that authors like Sextus Empiricus and Diogenes Laertius did not draw on the same sources to embellish their works. Given that Stobaeus contains many quotations not used by 2nd century authors, this might have served as an indication that there were still other fragments which might have occurred in 3rd century authors. The alternative is to suppose that these hypothetical florilegia “disappeared” and were not available for use until mined by Stobaeus or his sources. The fall in quotations in the 3rd century is an indication perhaps that an alternative solution for the increase in quotations by 2nd century authors is to be sought.

Part of the answer lies in the fact that there are surviving authors like Plutarch, Athenaeus, Clement and, in Rome, Aulus Gellius, who took a delight and interest in drawing extensively from their literary heritage to adorn and construct their works. It may now be impossible to determine the impulses which led to this interest in creating works which relied heavily on quotation, but the fact remains that it is a feature of some 2nd century writers. If the existence of florilegia is not a satisfactory explanation for this practice, then it must be sought elsewhere, and the evidence lies in the works of at least three of these writers.

¹⁴⁸⁴ Twenty-one references to Homer and two quotations; eleven to Euripides and five quotations.

¹⁴⁸⁵ Twenty-eight references to Homer and one quotation; twenty-seven to Euripides and five quotations.

2nd century authors as note takers

As to the creation of such works, Aulus Gellius notes his methods in the preface to the *Noctes Atticae*.¹⁴⁸⁶ Aulus highlights a process which was commonplace in antiquity. Perhaps the most famous example is the younger Pliny, aged eighteen at the time, making notes from a scroll of Livy, while Vesuvius was erupting: *posco librum Titi Liui, et quasi per otium lego atque ut coeperam excerpo*.¹⁴⁸⁷ Turning to Plutarch, and given the richness and the diversity of Plutarch's use of the literary heritage of his predecessors, the inevitable question arises as to how he accessed this wealth of learning. The first is probably the power of memory; today when learning by rote has fallen from favour, it is easy to underestimate the power of memory. Perhaps we need to remember that the most important texts of the ancient Greek world, the Homeric poems, display many of the marks of oral poetry. As a witness to Plutarch's power of memory, one might cite a passage from the *adversus Colotem*.¹⁴⁸⁸ Not only does Plutarch seem to claim that he has read extensively in Plato, but he is also confident, relying on his memory, to assert that Colotes is wrong. But as to what supplemented memory, Plutarch himself gives us a hint in two passages from the *Moralia*: μήτε δὲ χρόνον ἔχων, ὡς προηρούμην, γενέσθαι πρὸς οἷς ἐβούλου μήθ' ὑπομένων κεναῖς παντάπασιν τὸν ἄνδρα χερσὶν ὀφθῆναί σοι παρ' ἡμῶν ἀφιγμένον, ἀνελεξάμην περὶ εὐθυμίας ἐκ τῶν ὑπομνημάτων ὧν ἐμαυτῷ πεποιημένος ἐτύγχανον.¹⁴⁸⁹ The second passage is as follows: διὸ καὶ συνάγειν

¹⁴⁸⁶ The text is quoted in full on pg. 228.

¹⁴⁸⁷ Pliny *Epistulae* VI 20 5.

¹⁴⁸⁸ *Moralia* 1115 C- D; Ἀλλὰ δὴ Πλάτων φησὶ τοὺς ἵππους ὑφ' ἡμῶν ματαίως ἵππους εἶναι <νομίζεσθαι> καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἀνθρώπους>.' καὶ ποῦ τοῦτο τῶν Πλάτωνος συγγραμμάτων ἀποκεκρυμμένον εὗρεν ὁ Κωλώτης; ἡμεῖς γὰρ ἐν πᾶσιν ἀναγινώσκομεν καὶ τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἄνθρωπον καὶ τὸν ἵππον ἵππον καὶ πῦρ τὸ πῦρ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ δοξαζόμενον.

¹⁴⁸⁹ *De tranquillitate* 464 F.

ἀεὶ πειρῶμαι καὶ ἀναγινώσκειν οὐ ταῦτα δὴ νοῦν μόνα τὰ τῶν φιλοσόφων, οὐς φασὶ χολὴν οὐκ ἔχειν οἱ <οὐκ> ἔχοντες, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον τὰ τῶν βασιλέων καὶ τυράννων.¹⁴⁹⁰

In both these passages, Plutarch is attesting to a practice that is well attested in antiquity, notably, *inter alios*, in Aulus Gellius and Clement, the making of notes. It is probably one of those practices that was taken for granted in antiquity, and so mentioned relatively infrequently, but still an important way of accumulating texts and passages that could be used by the collector in the fashioning of his own works.¹⁴⁹¹

Aulus Gellius also bears witness to this process, as is noted above, and he is just as explicit as Plutarch. Gellius may not treat himself with full justice. If these notes were to be of any use, he must have kept some record on the scroll of its contents, or from which author they were taken, even if those contents were not in any necessary order. This same process is attested to by Clement himself, at the opening of the *Stromateis*,¹⁴⁹² a passage of great importance to this whole process, where he writes: "Ἦδη δὲ οὐ γραφὴ εἰς ἐπίδειξιν τετεχνασμένη ἦδε ἡ πραγματεία, ἀλλὰ μοι ὑπομνήματα εἰς γῆρας θησαυρίζεται, λήθης φάρμακον, εἶδωλον ἀτεχνῶς καὶ σκιαγραφία τῶν ἐναργῶν καὶ ἐμψύχων ἐκείνων, ὧν κατηξιώθην ἐπακοῦσαι, λόγων τε καὶ ἀνδρῶν μακαρίων καὶ τῷ ὄντι ἀξιολόγων. Clement refers to those at whose feet he has sat to learn, but such ὑπομνήματα will have also been derived from written works, in the same way that Aulus Gellius¹⁴⁹³ and, by assumption, Athenaeus will have scrolls filled with ὑπομνήματα. Both Aulus Gellius and Clement emphasise the same purpose, and in language which is not so very dissimilar: *eaque mihi ad subsidium memoriae quasi quoddam litterarum penus recondebam*, and ἀλλὰ μοι

¹⁴⁹⁰ *De cohibenda ira* 457 D.

¹⁴⁹¹ This practice cast a long shadow as Francis Bacon and John Milton could attest.

¹⁴⁹² 1 11. 1ff.

¹⁴⁹³ A further link with the work of Aulus Gellius is the use of an index; Clement provides these for the *Paedagogus*.

ὑπομνήματα εἰς γῆρας θησαυρίζεται, λήθης φάρμακον. Whether this was a common literary theme, it is perhaps impossible to surmise, but it cannot be pure coincidence that at least three authors who built their works on the use of quotations, testify to the importance of notebooks as a means of retaining material for future use.

Such a practice might also explain some anomalies in quotations. The first is the power of memory. Helmbold and O’Neil¹⁴⁹⁴ had already noted the significance of this practice: “Even in professedly verbatim quotations, therefore, Plutarch may have quoted from memory. Or again, he may have been careless in copying; he may have copied from different sets of notes; he may have looked up the passage for one place and repeated it from (faulty) memory in another.” Prose quotations may have been more subject to distortion, without the constraints of metre to guarantee a more faithful version. The influence of memory may be illustrated by a passage from Clement, a plausible example of his relying on memory in his quotation of lines from the *Dyskolos* of Menander.¹⁴⁹⁵ Clement’s version of the passage runs:

τὴν ὁσφὺν ἄκραν

τὴν χολὴν ὅστέα τὰ ἄβρωτα (φησί) τοῖς θεοῖς

ἐπιθέντες αὐτοὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἀναλίσκουσιν.

The same passage is also quoted by Athenaeus:¹⁴⁹⁶

οἱ δὲ τὴν ὁσφὺν ἄκραν

καὶ τὴν χολήν, ὅτι ἔστ’ ἄβρωτα τοῖς θεοῖς

ἐπιθέντες αὐτοὶ τὰ ἄλλα καταπίνουσι.

¹⁴⁹⁴ (op. cit). pg. ix.

¹⁴⁹⁵ lines 451 – 3.

¹⁴⁹⁶ *Deipnosophistae* IV 27 46

Editors¹⁴⁹⁷ invariably followed Clement in their version of this fragment until the discovery of the papyrus containing the *Dyskolos* and the publication of the *editio princeps* by Martin in 1958.¹⁴⁹⁸ Here the version of this passage ran: οἱ δὲ τὴν ὁσφὺν ἄκραν

καὶ τὴν χολήν, ὅτι ἔστ' ἄβρωτα τοῖς θεοῖς

ἐπιθέντες αὐτοὶ τᾶλλα καταπίνουσι.

Athenaeus was vindicated, but Clement's version of the passage might suggest that he was quoting from memory. ὅστέα and ὅτι ἔστ' are not dissimilar and Clement also has ἀναλίσκουσιν for Athenaeus' and the *Dyskolos* papyrus' καταπίνουσι; both are plausible but the authority of Athenaeus and the papyrus probably vindicate καταπίνουσι. This might serve as one example of memory: in this case a fallible example.

This practice of making notes might also explain the diversity in quotation. Ancient authors were untroubled by copyright laws; plagiarism, as in the opening of Clement's sixth *Stromateus*, was as much about originality, as purloining another author's words. In making their notes, those copying may not have always troubled to note their sources exactly; although there is evidence of line numbering in ancient scrolls,¹⁴⁹⁹ it cannot be assumed that it was present in every copy, and that it would have been of much interest to those making copies. It may also have been the subject matter that attracted the excerptor's attention, rather than the author. Musonius Rufus would not have been known as the source of material in Clement's *Paedagogus* II if Stobaeus had not excerpted passages from Musonius in the *Anthologion*. The subject matter, and its relevance to their particular interests at that moment, was probably the determining factor in their decision to note the passage down,

¹⁴⁹⁷ Notably Meineke, Kock and Körte – in the case of the latter his edition was published just before the *editio princeps* of the *Dyskolos*.

¹⁴⁹⁸ Though published in 1958, the edition was not available, for instance, till March 1959 in the UK.

¹⁴⁹⁹ An example is P. Oxy. 852 -, Euripides' *Hypsipyle*.

and its source may well have been a secondary factor. Clement¹⁵⁰⁰ quotes two lines¹⁵⁰¹ from a tragic poet of uncertain date, Biotos.¹⁵⁰² It is only from Stobaeus’¹⁵⁰³ quotation of the passage that we learn that the line is attributed to Biotos’ *Medea*. Chronologically it is more likely that Clement may have had the opportunity to garner the line from a copy of the play. By the time Stobaeus made his compilation, it is considerably less likely that the play will have survived – it is the only fragment attributed to Biotos. Whether Clement copied the line from its original source, or found it elsewhere, the authorship of the line may not have been of great importance to him. Alternatively, in quoting the line, he may have quoted from memory and the poet’s name eluded him. Because so much ancient literature has been lost, it is no longer possible to determine if Clement’s and Stobaeus’ source was the same, nor can it be assumed that the original source was a florilegium.¹⁵⁰⁴ It might also be worth noting that Clement’s use of the lines¹⁵⁰⁵ fits well in the context of the education afforded by the Logos, and display a more sympathetic understanding of the lines than the generic heading *περὶ νηπίων* assumed by Stobaeus.¹⁵⁰⁶ Particularly in the case of the 2nd century “miscellanists,” it is probably the case to grant that the writers were themselves their own florilegists.¹⁵⁰⁷

¹⁵⁰⁰ *Paedagogus* Book 1 chapter 6 49 4 6.

¹⁵⁰¹ τὸ θρέψαι δ’ ἐν βροτοῖσι πολλάκις
πλείω πορίζει φίλτρα τοῦ φύσαι τέκνα.

¹⁵⁰² He has been identified with a comic poet Biottos, who is only known from inscriptions. He came third in the Lenaia in 167 BCE and 154 BCE. (The double *tau* is attested in the inscriptions.)

¹⁵⁰³ Book 4 chapter 24d section 48 line 2.

¹⁵⁰⁴ Given the name of the play *apud Stobaeum*, Clement cannot be his source.

¹⁵⁰⁵ *Paedagogus* (op. cit.) Πάντη τοίνυν ἡμεῖς τὰ πάντα Χριστῷ προσωκειώμεθα, καὶ εἰς συγγένειαν διὰ τὸ αἷμα αὐτοῦ, ὧς λυτρούμεθα, καὶ εἰς συμπάθειαν διὰ τὴν ἀνατροφὴν τὴν ἐκ τοῦ λόγου, καὶ εἰς ἀφθαρσίαν διὰ τὴν ἀγωγὴν τὴν αὐτοῦ.

¹⁵⁰⁶ A more appropriate section might have been II 31 1 130 – *περὶ ἀγωγῆς καὶ παιδείας* – possibly another indication that Stobaeus was dependent on his sources.

¹⁵⁰⁷ It may well be true, especially in the case of the references to historical writers, that the excerptors were drawing on secondary material which has vanished, but the important fact remains that it is writers, like Plutarch and Clement, who were creating their own body of excerpts.

The place and role of libraries

The question then arises: where did the 2nd century miscellanists obtain their material? Some, like Plutarch at his home in Chaeronea, may well have had their own domestic library; what scrolls it contained can only be a matter for speculation. The Homeric poems, representative works of the great poets, playwrights, tragic and comic, historians and philosophers, may well have featured but certainly not the full range of writers quoted in his works.¹⁵⁰⁸ Libraries may seem the obvious solution, but this too presents its difficulties. Though Plutarch, Athenaeus and Clement all mention libraries in their writings, the references are generally to individual libraries, or the practice of libraries; what they fail to give is any understanding of their own possible use of a library. It is highly improbable that Chaeronea, a quiet provincial town, would have possessed a library of the scope demanded by Plutarch's works;¹⁵⁰⁹ Athens and, possibly, Delphi (where Plutarch was a priest)¹⁵¹⁰ may be more likely candidates. Yet, problematically, contemporary libraries are not mentioned in his works. Particularly in this regard is the library at Delphi, whose construction was in the commission of Flavius Soclarus.¹⁵¹¹ Soclarus, or his son, was a friend of Plutarch; he is a character in the *De sollertia animalium*. It may seem surprising that Plutarch is silent on this project, given his friendship with the family, and his connection with Delphi. Equally though it is known that Plutarch mentions a return from Alexandria,¹⁵¹² we learn nothing of his relationship to the Library. A passage, which may throw some light on Plutarch's relationship to libraries, is that from the proem to *Demosthenes* which describes the needs and concerns of a writer of

¹⁵⁰⁸ The same may well be true, *mutatis mutandis*, of Athenaeus, Aulus Gellius, and Clement.

¹⁵⁰⁹ This lack of references to contemporary libraries is highlighted by Zadorojnyi (2013).

¹⁵¹⁰ *An seni respublica gerenda sit* 792F 6; καὶ μὴν οἴσθα με τῷ Πυθίῳ λειτουργοῦντα πολλὰς Πυθιάδας.

¹⁵¹¹ *Syll.* 823 B. –the construction of the library dates to the closing years of the 1st century CE.

¹⁵¹² *Quaest. Conviv.* 678 C.

history.¹⁵¹³ Τῷ μέντοι σύνταξιν ὑποβεβλημένῳ καὶ ἱστορίαν, ἐξ οὐ προχείρων οὐδ' οἰκείων, ἀλλὰ ξένων τε τῶν πολλῶν καὶ διεσπαρμένων ἐν ἑτέροις συνιοῦσαν ἀναγνωσμάτων, τῷ ὄντι χρῆν πρῶτον ὑπάρχειν καὶ μάλιστα “τὰν πόλιν εὐδόκιμον” καὶ φιλόκαλον καὶ πολυάνθρωπον, ὡς βιβλίων τε παντοδαπῶν ἀφθονίαν ἔχων, καὶ ὅσα τοὺς γράφοντας διαφυγόντα σωτηρίᾳ μνήμης ἐπιφανεστέραν εἴληφε πίστιν, ὑπολαμβάνων ἀκοῇ καὶ διαπυνθανόμενος. Plutarch seems to turn his back on such an abundance – he prefers to live and work in a smaller town: ἡμεῖς δὲ μικρὰν μὲν οἰκοῦντες πόλιν, καὶ ἵνα μὴ μικροτέρα γένηται φιλοχωροῦντες. It may also be noteworthy that the libraries Plutarch does mention are all to be found in the Roman Lives and none are contemporaneous. The most impressive passage, in this regard, is the panegyric on Lucullus' library. Here is a library that is seemingly open to all, but in fact, only Greeks living in Rome are mentioned, and the chief object of the library seems to be philosophical discussion, rather than reading the scrolls. It is not impossible to wonder if there is a certain degree of intellectual snobbery lurking in the background. The real scholar does not need to stoop to anything so commonplace as reading to obtain hard facts.¹⁵¹⁴ A library is rather the milieu for intellectual discussion among the elite, or, as in Aulus Gellius, the tracking down of rare or *recherché* manuscripts, and the down to earth task of acquiring information is passed over. (Equally reading in libraries might be an occupation for those who cannot afford the possession of many books.) As Clement does not mention libraries either in the context of the last two uses and purposes, it is tempting to imagine that this might have been a common prejudice amongst 2nd century CE writers who

¹⁵¹³ *Demosthenes*; proem 2 1.

¹⁵¹⁴ Zodorjnyi (op. cit.) notes the vagueness of the allusion to libraries in *On the Delphic E* 384E; ἅτε δὴ καὶ πόλει χρωμένων μεγάλη καὶ σχολῆς μᾶλλον ἐν βιβλίοις πολλοῖς καὶ παντοδαπαῖς διατριβαῖς εὐπορούντων. The city coyly referred to as μεγάλη must be Athens, the home of the dedicatee, Sarapio, and the use of books is left unwritten.

used quotations as part of their literary technique, a prejudice that might have been shared in different ways by Aulus Gellius, Athenaeus, and Galen.

For, in some ways, it is Athenaeus who raises most acutely the problem of libraries as the source of his material. His work also challenges the hypothetical use of florilegia, for the subject of his work, the *Deipnosophistae*, is far removed from the philosophical, scientific, ethical and moral subjects that preoccupy Stobaeus. Towards the end of the work,¹⁵¹⁵ one of the guests calls for a torch; what follows is a mosaic of quotations from diverse authors¹⁵¹⁶ illustrating the different words and usage for torches. It is a passage that is entirely typical of Athenaeus – it is duplicated countless times throughout the *Deipnosophistae* - and must be his own creation. It only exists in relationship to the nature of his work, and there is no obvious motive for an earlier florilegist to assemble such a passage of arcane references and allusions unless they were writing a work that duplicated Athenaeus' own. The implication seems clear, that Athenaeus was assembling his own passages on such abstruse themes, rather than inheriting pre-existent florilegia. (Whether Athenaeus' sources were the originals of the passages quoted, or secondary sources, does not matter; what is important is the fact that it is Athenaeus who is assembling the references through his own reading and scholarship.)

Athenaeus is also celebrated for preserving the great majority of fragments of Middle Comedy; no other 2nd century CE author displays anything resembling this same interest and preoccupation. Of those whose work is literary, Plutarch quotes or alludes to Alexis,¹⁵¹⁷ Antiphanes¹⁵¹⁸ and Philemon.¹⁵¹⁹ Clement quotes Antiphanes once, Cratinus junior once,

¹⁵¹⁵ Athenaeus XV 699D ff.

¹⁵¹⁶ Amongst the writers named are Neanthes, Silenus, Timachidas of Rhodes, Amerias, Seleucus, Theodridas of Syracuse, Strattis, Aristophanes, Plato comicus, Pherecrates, Alexis, Eumedes, Epicrates, Menander - a mélange of the well-known and the obscure.

¹⁵¹⁷ One fragment and two allusions.

¹⁵¹⁸ One allusion.

¹⁵¹⁹ Two quotes and one allusion.

Eubulus twice, Nicostratus once, Philemon six times, and Timocles once.¹⁵²⁰ (The other main sources of Middle comedy in the 2nd century are in the works of Julius Pollux and the Anti-atticist; both are more concerned with linguistic and lexical issues, working as they are in the revival of interest in Atticism during the Second Sophistic.) Given this predominance, it is a legitimate question to ask where Athenaeus may have garnered this knowledge. As, at one stage, Athenaeus lived in Rome¹⁵²¹ and dedicated the work to his patron, Publius Livius Larensis, it has been often assumed that he may have created the work in Rome, a position espoused by Braund¹⁵²² and Papachrysostomou,¹⁵²³ both of whom take Athenaeus' flattering words¹⁵²⁴ to Larensis' library¹⁵²⁵ more literally than perhaps they deserve. It may well be doubted whether Roman libraries contained the eight hundred Middle Comedies that one character, Democritus,¹⁵²⁶ in the *Deipnosophistae* claimed to have read. The quotations by Aulus Gellius of Greek writers may strike a note of caution; Gellius has thirty-three quotations from eighteen authors,¹⁵²⁷ and in total Gellius alludes to seventy-five Greek writers. It is difficult to know how many of these quotations may derive from Gellius' stay in Athens.¹⁵²⁸ What is perhaps more surprising, if Roman libraries were supposed to contain texts as recondite as Middle comedies, is the relative paucity of quotation by Gellius from central

¹⁵²⁰ The two authors who quote Middle Comedy the most after Athenaeus are Julius Pollux and the Anti-atticist, both of whose interests were lexicographical.

¹⁵²¹ He was born in Naucratis in Egypt, and only later emigrated to Rome.

¹⁵²² Braund (2000).

¹⁵²³ Papachrysostomou (2008).

¹⁵²⁴ Athenaeus would have been no stranger to the flattering tone adopted by French tragedians in the 17th century to their dedicatees.

¹⁵²⁵ Book I 4; ἦν δέ, φησί, καὶ βιβλίων κτήσις αὐτῷ ἀρχαίων Ἑλληνικῶν τοσαύτη ὡς ὑπερβάλλειν πάντας τοὺς ἐπὶ συναγωγῇ τεθουμασμένους, Πολυκράτην τε τὸν Σάμιον καὶ Πεισίστρατον τὸν Ἀθηναίων τυραννήσαντα Εὐκλείδην τε τὸν καὶ αὐτὸν Ἀθηναῖον καὶ Νικοκράτην τὸν Κύπριον ἔτι τε τοὺς Περγᾶμου βασιλέας Εὐριπίδην τε τὸν ποιητὴν Ἀριστοτέλην τε τὸν φιλόσοφον <καὶ Θεόφραστον> καὶ τὸν τὰ τούτων διατηρήσαντα βιβλία Νηλέα.

¹⁵²⁶ *Deipnosophistae* 8. 336D – it may be tempting to make the assumption that behind Democritus lies Athenaeus himself.

¹⁵²⁷ These figures exclude quotations from the ubiquitous Homeric poems, quoted forty-three times.

¹⁵²⁸ It was this stay that generated the title to his work *Noctes Atticae*.

texts. Aulus Gellius delights in rare early Roman texts, but there is nothing comparable in his treatment of Greek texts.

It may well be that we should look elsewhere for Athenaeus' interest in such texts, and the obvious candidate is the Library of Alexandria.¹⁵²⁹ Both Athenaeus and Julius Pollux came from Naucratis, fifty miles away from Alexandria, and Clement himself lived in Alexandria. Galen¹⁵³⁰ recounts a story of Ptolemy II requesting, as a loan, the manuscripts of Aeschylus, Sophocles and Euripides from Athens on a deposit of fifteen talents so that they could be copied. The original manuscripts were retained, the copies sent back to Athens and the deposit forfeited. How historically accurate the story may be, is open to doubt. What it may indicate is an interest in the work of Athenian dramatists, and, given the Egyptian background of Athenaeus and Pollux, it may be a fair presumption that the library of Alexandria still contained scrolls of Middle Comedy, and that is where they gathered their information. Middle comedies would have been literary texts in the 2nd century CE; unlike Euripides and Menander whose works were still performed in whole or part, there is no evidence that Middle comedies led a theatrical life as late as the 2nd century CE.

What is also noteworthy in some of Athenaeus' quotations of Middle Comedy is the length of some of the passages. For example, Athenaeus quotes: Athenion – forty-six iambic

¹⁵²⁹ The survival of the library at Alexandria is a matter of some debate, whether it was destroyed in 48/7BCE during Julius Caesar's campaign in Alexandria or survived till later. (The reference in Athenaeus to one of the characters in the *Deipnosophistae* reading eight hundred Middle comedies might indicate that in some form the Library had survived to the end of the 2nd century CE. Athenaeus was a native of Naucratis some fifty miles from Alexandria, and other possible libraries such as Pergamum or Athens would have been much more inaccessible.) Canforo (1989) argues that the major destruction occurred during the reign of Aurelian (273CE) when the quarter of Bruchion, where the Mouseion was situated, was lost (*amisit*) according to Ammianus Marcellinus (XXII 16. 15). Butler (1902) in his discussion (pp. 406 – 426) argues that there was no library left to be destroyed at the Arab Conquest and that the destruction of the Serapeum in 391CE may also have involved the final loss of the Library.

¹⁵³⁰ In *Hippocratis librum iii epidemiarum commentarii* iii Kühn volume 17a page 607 line 9.

trimeters,¹⁵³¹ Damoxenus sixty-eight iambic trimeters,¹⁵³² Sosipater fifty-seven iambic trimeters,¹⁵³³ and Straton forty-seven iambic trimeters.¹⁵³⁴ The length of such passages is not a necessary proof that Athenaeus read the originals, but it does contrast starkly with the length of quotations in Stobaeus which are rarely more than ten lines, and probably reflects the length of Stobaeus' sources. This may well point to the fact that even if Athenaeus gained his material from secondary sources, it differs in subject matter and length from that which was the source of Stobaeus' *Anthologion*.

There appears little *prima facie* evidence that the miscellanists of the 2nd century CE were dependent on florilegia, and the size of the *Anthologion* may be something of an *ignis fatuus*. What is apparent from the works of Plutarch, Aulus Gellius, Clement and Athenaeus is the aptness with which they quote and the skilful and appropriate manner in which quotations are dovetailed into the argument or tenor of the passage. This seems to suggest that they were drawing on material over which they had control, and with which they were familiar. Given the ubiquity of note taking in antiquity, and the references to such practices in three of the miscellanists, it seems more preferable to argue that such 2nd century authors indeed were their own florilegists. The increase of quotations from the 5th century BCE dramatists in the 2nd century CE described above, compared with those of the 1st and 3rd centuries, may well indicate that there were still original sources in plenty to be drawn on, and which may have been available in some libraries.

Yet, at the same time, there are indications and hints of the beginning of the loss of so much of classical literature. It is well known that Aulus Gellius delighted in rare and

¹⁵³¹ Kassel/Austin frg. 1 – the sole surviving fragment.

¹⁵³² K/A frg. 2.

¹⁵³³ K/A frg. 1 – again the sole surviving fragment

¹⁵³⁴ K/A frg. 1 – a papyrus version of this fragment is more concise – being only thirty-seven lines long.

recherché books; one might cite the well-known story¹⁵³⁵ of Gellius sitting “*in bibliotheca templi Traiani*”, and, in searching for another book, came across the “*edicta veterum praetorum*.” Within the scroll, Gellius came across a strange expression and “*quispiam nobiscum sedens amicus*” recalled to mind a passage from *de origine vocabulorum* by Gavius. On another occasion¹⁵³⁶ a *reprehensor audaculus verborum* raised the issue of using *plura* instead of *pluria*. He was quashed by a string of quotations from Cato, Quintus Claudius, Valerius Antias, Lucius Aelius, Pubilius Nigidius, and Marcus Varro, that Gellius had committed to memory.¹⁵³⁷ His source was Sennius Capito, whose letters, a friend remembered, were to be collected in a book, of which a copy was to be found *in templo Pacis*. More pertinently Gellius¹⁵³⁸ writes of seeing some old, rare Greek books (Aristeas of Proconnesis, Isigonus of Nicaea, Ctesias, and Oneicritus) exposed for sale in Brindisium – cheap but in filthy condition. He bought a large number of them: *omnis duabus proximis noctibus cursim transeo; atque in legebo carpsi exinde quaedam et notavi mirabilia et scriptoribus fere nostris intemptata eaque his commentariis aspersi, ut quo eos lectitarit ne rudis omnino et ἀνήκοος inter istiusmodi rerum auditiones reperiatur*. Not only does this passage attest to Gellius’ practice of note taking, but it also speaks of rare books being discarded. What it does not tell us, is whether these books were copied again for future use or simply thrown aside. We may well assume that they were not.¹⁵³⁹ A further example may be found in Plutarch¹⁵⁴⁰ writing of a Greek historian, Acesander,¹⁵⁴¹ “καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ἔφην ‘τὸ ἀνάγνωσμα τῶν οὐκ ἐν μέσῳ ἐστίν.’”

¹⁵³⁵ *Noctes Atticae* 11 17 1.

¹⁵³⁶ *Noctes Atticae* 5 21 9 – 17.

¹⁵³⁷ Note once again the power of memory.

¹⁵³⁸ *Noctes Atticae* 9 4 4.

¹⁵³⁹ It would have been fascinating to know the source of these discarded scrolls – whether from a public library or that of a private individual, but sadly Gellius does not tell us.

¹⁵⁴⁰ *Quaestiones convivales* 675B.

¹⁵⁴¹ Jacoby *FGH* 469 frg. 7.

This was an uncommon book, Plutarch implies; the tradition of the fragments, mostly quoted in the *scholia* to Pindar and Apollonius Rhodius, is an indication of scanty circulation, possibly in the milieu of the grammarians. Already in the 2nd century books were under threat of disappearing; this will only have escalated over the coming centuries, with the narrowing of the school syllabus, the neglect of libraries, the ascendancy of Christianity in the 4th century, and the transfer of books from scroll to codex. It has been assumed, as (for instance, in Chadwick's article) that florilegia were common from Hellenistic times onward. Certainly, the papyri bear witness to primitive florilegia, possibly inspired by the practice of the schoolroom and *paideia enkyklios*. Yet there is little physical evidence for florilegia in the period before those of Orion and Stobaeus. Florilegia may well have been ephemeral if they were gathering popular texts from well-known originals, and thus there was no compelling reason for their survival.¹⁵⁴² We have argued that the generation of the miscellanists did not rely upon florilegia; in creating their own ὑπομνήματα they were acting as their own florilegists.¹⁵⁴³ From the lack of reference to libraries in Plutarch, Athenaeus and Clement,¹⁵⁴⁴ it is difficult to argue what role they may have played in the construction of their works, nor should it be too readily assumed that scrolls of florilegia were to be found on the shelves of libraries.

Clement as quoter

If the views outlined above have any plausibility, it may be possible to value Clement as a writer standing in the tradition of other 2nd century miscellanists, where quotations play an important part. In some ways he may stand closer to Plutarch, in that both weave

¹⁵⁴² This difficulty may be compounded by the fact that if florilegia contained the most popular texts or passages (those which were most frequently quoted) their existence would be difficult to detect. As a parallel, one might note the remark of Palgrave in the preface to *The Golden Treasury* that the ideal reader is one to whom none of the poems would be unfamiliar. (I am grateful to Mark Edwards for this suggestion.)

¹⁵⁴³ This is particularly true of the work of historians, whose works, it is argued above, were unlikely to feature in florilegia.

¹⁵⁴⁴ Plutarch 4 times, Athenaeus 7 times and Clement once.

quotations into the structure of their works to strengthen the argument.¹⁵⁴⁵ Clement writes as a Christian, but this technique (which he inherited from his pagan past and some of the writers who had gone before him) serves him in his endeavour to explore the meaning and purpose of the Logos; drawing on the biblical texts he discovered and learnt in his new life as the servant of the Logos, but also those writings which had enriched his pagan past, and drawing them into a mutual and enriching relationship, which will have no parallel in Christian thought until the work of some of the great writers of the 4th century CE.

Examples of Clement's interweaving of classical and biblical texts.

Of Euripides, Clement notes : καί πως οὐ μάτην Εὐρυπίδης ποικίλως γράφει· ποτὲ μὲν πᾶσα γὰρ ἀνδρὸς κακίων ἄλοχος, κἂν ὁ κάκιστος γήμη τὴν εὐδοκιμοῦσαν. ¹⁵⁴⁶ This is linked to verses from 1 Corinthians 11:3 and 7, on a not dissimilar theme. Clement seems to have appreciated the pre-Socratic philosopher, Heraclitus of Ephesus, who was often referred to as the “obscure” and in one passage¹⁵⁴⁷ he calls him κατὰ τὸν γενναῖον Ἡράκλειτον. In several passages,¹⁵⁴⁸ Clement interweaves passages of scripture and a fragment of Heraclitus. At *Stromateis* II 4. 17 3- 4, a passage from Isaiah, ἐὰν μὴ πιστεύσητε, οὐδὲ μὴ συνῆτε ¹⁵⁴⁹ is described as being paraphrased by Heraclitus: ἐὰν μὴ ἔλπηται ἀνέλπιστον, οὐκ ἐξευρήσει, ἀνεξερεύνητον ἐὼν καὶ ἄπορον.¹⁵⁵⁰ This interweaving may equally be illustrated in a further passage of the *Stromateis*¹⁵⁵¹ in which Clement refers to the sobriquet of Empedocles –

¹⁵⁴⁵ In this respect Clement differs from his great successor, Origen, in that Origen makes commentating on the quotations or passages he quotes much more central to his work and purpose.

¹⁵⁴⁶ *Stromateis* IV 63 2 (*Oedipus* frg. 546).

¹⁵⁴⁷ *Stromateis* II 2 8 2 – the noble Heraclitus. It is a possibility that this is a stock epithet of Heraclitus since Proclus *In Alcibiadem* I p. 117 employs the same epithet.

¹⁵⁴⁸ Some of these are conveniently gathered together by Laks/Most in their reception history of Heraclitus; R 79 – R 85.

¹⁵⁴⁹ Isaiah 7:9 (LXX) – if you do not believe, you may not understand.

¹⁵⁵⁰ frg. 37/ frg. 18. – the double numeration refers to Laks/Most and Diels/Kranz' editions of the pre-Socratic fragments.

¹⁵⁵¹ VI 30. 1- 4.

Κωλυσανέμας; a reference to a story found in Diogenes Laertius¹⁵⁵² whereby Empedocles stopped a violent and unhealthy wind that was blowing on Agrigentum, and, as a result, people followed him. In support of this Clement quotes two fragments of Empedocles, frg. 43/ frg. 111 lines 3 – 5¹⁵⁵³ and frg. 4 / 112 lines 10 and 12.¹⁵⁵⁴ Clement comments on this story: ἄντικρυς γοῦν ἰάσεις τε καὶ σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα ἐπιτελεῖν τοὺς δικαίους ἐκ τῶν ἡμετέρων πεπιστεύκασι γραφῶν. It is the biblical texts that underpin the veracity of this story. This is a further example of the close interweaving of biblical text and Greek *paideia* that is characteristic of Clement. Two other examples may illustrate this intertwining, so characteristic of Clement. The first is taken from *Paedagogus* III:¹⁵⁵⁵ Κεῖνος μὲν πανάριστος, ὃς αὐτῷ πάντα νοήσῃ· οὗτός ἐστιν Ἀβραάμ ὁ ζητήσας τὸν θεόν· ἐσθλὸς δ' αὖ καὶ κεῖνος, ὃς εὖ εἰπόντι πίθηται. Clement quotes two lines from Hesiod's *Works and Days*. He omits the intervening line and replaces it with his own words: οὗτός ἐστιν Ἀβραάμ ὁ ζητήσας τὸν θεόν. Though Clement gives an idiosyncratic interpretation of Hesiod's lines, it is the blending and interaction of Hellenic and religious language that is so striking. Near the opening of the first book of the *Paedagogus*, Clement quotes two texts side by side: αὐτὸς δὲ ἡμᾶς ὁ "κύριος ποιμαίνει" εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας, ἀμήν. "Ἄνευ δὲ ποιμένος οὔτε πρόβατα οὔτε ἄλλο οὐδέν πω βιωτέον, οὐδὲ δὴ παῖδας ἄνευ τοῦ παιδαγωγοῦ, οὐδὲ μὴν οἰκέτας ἄνευ τοῦ δεσπότου". The first is the opening of psalm twenty-two (LXX); the second is from Plato's *Laws*.¹⁵⁵⁶ Both texts are linked by the common theme of sheep, as well as testimony to Clement's power of

¹⁵⁵² VIII 59 – 62; Diogenes gives as his source a passage in the eighteenth book of Timaeus – *FGH* 566 frg. 30.

¹⁵⁵³ Given the habits of ancient biographers, it is quite plausible that these lines may have formed the origin of the story quoted in Diogenes Laertius.

¹⁵⁵⁴ The lines are not quoted quite accurately as the sense of Clement's passage forces him to turn Empedocles' nominatives into accusatives.

¹⁵⁵⁵ *Paedagogus* III 8 42. 2 citing Hesiod *Works and Days* – 293 and 295.

¹⁵⁵⁶ *Laws* VII 808D.

memory.¹⁵⁵⁷ Even more striking is a passage at the close of the *Protrepticus*.¹⁵⁵⁸ Clement puts these words into the mouth of Jesus, the Word, the Λόγος: Ἰδίος οὗτος Ἰησοῦς, εἷς ὁ μέγας ἀρχιερεὺς θεοῦ τε ἐνὸς τοῦ αὐτοῦ καὶ πατρός, ὑπὲρ ἀνθρώπων εὔχεται καὶ ἀνθρώποις ἐγκελεύεται “κέκλυτε, μυρία φύλα” The last three words are quoted from *Iliad* xvii 220, and whether it was unconscious or deliberate, the quotation seems to affirm at one level Clement’s belief in the worth of the cultural heritage of the Greeks. Le Boulluec¹⁵⁵⁹ argues that “*Le protreptique*, exhortant les Grecs à la conversion, mêle le langage de Paul à celui d’Homère pour unir tous les hommes dans l’appel du Logos de Dieu.” But this passage, surely, witnesses to something more. Clement places in the mouth of the eternal Λόγος words drawn from the Homeric poems, the “bible” of the ancient Greeks. Even if Clement is quoting at a subconscious level, this passage attests to a fusion of two passages drawn from two religious traditions. For Clement, biblical texts will always trump those from a literary provenance because the former witness to the living Λόγος, and the latter to δαιμόνια (the gods of Greek religion) who have been superseded by Jesus. Yet this does not mean that the latter, Greek texts, cannot witness to the eternal truths, which Clement believes are at the heart of his faith, and which can be linked in a way that illumines both

Quotations in the *Paedagogus*

Of the books of the *Paedagogus*; the first is chiefly concerned with the paedagogic role of the Logos; the second and third with practical and moral advice on living a life worthy of the Logos. The setting may be assumed as Alexandria, though Clement never explicitly mentions any geographical setting. The triple division goes back to Clement himself.¹⁵⁶⁰ Yet

¹⁵⁵⁷ It is unlikely that both these texts come from a shared florilegium. At this relatively early date, it is highly improbable that biblical and pagan texts would be united in the same florilegium.

¹⁵⁵⁸ 120 2.

¹⁵⁵⁹ Le Boulluec (2012) – pg. 94.

¹⁵⁶⁰ *Stromateus* VI 1 3.

it has often been observed that the division between the last two books is somewhat arbitrary. Marrou notes:¹⁵⁶¹ “mais la coupure entre II et III paraît bien artificielle et due au seul besoin d’équilibrer les deux parties.” The opening chapter of Book III on “spiritual beauty” interrupts the theme of luxury in clothing begun at the end of Book II¹⁵⁶² and resumed a little further on.¹⁵⁶³ As to the contrast between the first and the last two books, Marrou writes:¹⁵⁶⁴ “au contraire et tout lecteur ne peut manquer d’en être frappé dès le premier contact, la coupure est très nette entre I et II – III.”

This may be underlined by the number of quotations. Book 1 contains two hundred and forty-nine quotations/allusions to biblical literature but only about forty¹⁵⁶⁵ from classical sources. This may well suggest that the nature and the role of the Λόγος was uppermost in Clement’s mind in writing the work. There may be a parallel with *Quis dives salvetur*, a work exploring a specific Christian theme. The *Quis dives* contains forty-eight quotations of biblical texts, alongside one hundred and eleven allusions, contrasting with two possible quotations from classical literature as well as nine allusions. This may reflect the interests of the intended audience – a Christian congregation - where Clement might have felt a wider quotation from classical literature was inappropriate, given the varied educational background of such a group. Equally it may have been the case that Clement thought that in a work wrestling with a specific Christian issue, the salvific role of the Λόγος, quotations from classical literature had a lesser role to play.

Book II, on the other hand contains one hundred and seventy-one quotations/allusions from classical literature, while the biblical texts amount to one hundred

¹⁵⁶¹ *Le Pédagogue* pg. 22.

¹⁵⁶² II 102. 3.

¹⁵⁶³ III 4. 1.

¹⁵⁶⁴ *Le Pédagogue* (op. cit.) pg. 22.

¹⁵⁶⁵ It is hard to give a precise figure as some of the allusions may be disputed.

and sixty-eight. Given biblical quotations outnumber those from a classical background in Clement's works, this virtual parity may offer a point of some interest. Book III offers sixty-four classical references and one hundred and forty-four biblical quotations/allusions in eighty-nine pages of Greek text. This might seem to redress that balance, except for the fact that fifty-six of the biblical texts, just over a third, occur in the last fourteen pages of the Greek text. In Book II, the texts are distributed oddly. There are extensive passages where there are no or few biblical quotations. Such are: *Paedagogus* II 20.2 to 26. 1 (two quotations from Sirach); 65.1 to 73. 3 (three quotations – two from Sirach and one from Proverbs); 80. 1 to 86. 3 (an allusion to Genesis 1:26); 113. 4 – 120. 2 (allusions to John the Baptist and Revelation 21). There are also passages which contain several biblical texts in a group: 8. 4 – 9. 1: six; 10. 3 – 11. 1: seven; 41. 4 – 42. 1: quotation (split up) of much of psalm 150; 52. 4 – 55. 1: seven passages from Proverbs and Sirach; 61. 3 – 63.3: seven passages; 101. 1 – 103.4: ten biblical texts, half from Luke chapter 12. (There are also several smaller groups of biblical texts.) It is not difficult to believe that such groups may have been inserted into a pre-existent text. Clement's usual practice is to alternate classical and biblical texts, rarely more than three in a group. The imbalance of biblical texts in the first book of the *Paedagogus* compared with that of the other two books may possibly indicate the bringing together of texts which originated at different times.

Another feature of Book II is the quotations from Musonius Rufus. Clement does not mention Musonius by name, and it is only the utilisation by Stobaeus of passages derived from the *Discourses* that confirms Clement's utilisation of Musonius. There are seemingly twenty-one quotations and four allusions to Musonius in *Paedagogus* II. The quotations are not always exact – Clement reorders words, uses different cases or tenses according to the grammar of his own writing. Whether Clement was deliberately quoting Musonius or utilising

jottings made earlier in his note books, it is difficult now to say, but the inclination to paraphrase might indicate that he was using his own notes, particularly if he made the copies without attribution. Of later philosophical figures, Musonius is the one most quoted by Clement.¹⁵⁶⁶

Towards the end of *Paedagogus* II, there is a curious passage, preceded by quotations/allusions from 2 Kingdoms,¹⁵⁶⁷ Isaiah,¹⁵⁶⁸ and Jeremiah,¹⁵⁶⁹ which refer to loincloths or in the case of Isaiah nakedness – πορευόμενος γυμνός καὶ ἀνυπόδετος.¹⁵⁷⁰ This passage seems to take a positive view of nudity, an attitude that is very unusual among Christian writers.¹⁵⁷¹ It might be a possibility that such a viewpoint was a relic of a work which had an earlier *sitz-im-leben*.

Three writers are only mentioned in *Paedagogus* II: Nikostratos, Cephisodorus and Sappho. The first two are relatively obscure comic poets: Cephisodorus, victor at the Lenaea in 402 BCE, and Nikostratos, a son of Aristophanes. But the unique quotation of a fragment of Sappho¹⁵⁷² by Clement is perhaps more worthy of comment. Of the so-called nine lyric poets, Clement quotes Pindar, Bacchylides, Anacreon, Simonides, Sappho, and alludes to Alcman and Stesichorus. He does not name or quote Alcaeus and Ibycus. Ibycus had a reputation for pederastic verse, and Alcaeus, though writing on diverse subjects, composed

¹⁵⁶⁶ It may be worth noting that Clement never refers to Musonius or Epictetus by name; equally Plutarch is never mentioned though Clement seems to show knowledge of his works, or their common sources. Philo also is hardly named by him – seemingly four times *in toto*. It may be no coincidence that all these writers worked in the first two centuries CE – was there no antiquity to their work to ensure that they merited being named?

¹⁵⁶⁷ 2 Kingdoms 1:8.

¹⁵⁶⁸ Isaiah 20:2.

¹⁵⁶⁹ cf. Jeremiah 13:1.

¹⁵⁷⁰ This is a faithful translation of the Masoretic text. The nudity here is probably not meant to be taken literally, but to be seen as a prophetic sign.

¹⁵⁷¹ Book 2 chapter 10bis subchapter 113 section 1 line 2 - ὥς δὲ τὰ εὐτραφή τῶν σωμάτων γυμνούμενα φανερωτέραν δείκνυσι τὴν ἀκμήν, οὕτως καὶ τῶν ἡθῶν τὸ κάλλος, μὴ ἐνείλουμένον ἀπειροκάλοις φλυαρίαις, τὸ μεγαλοπρεπὲς ἐνδείκνυται.

¹⁵⁷² Frg. 55 - Lobel and Page (1968).

love poetry which earned the disapproval of Quintilian.¹⁵⁷³ This may account for the absence of Alcaeus, Ibycus and Sappho from the body of Clement's work; their subject matter seemingly not suitable for works written for Christians. If there was an earlier version of *Paedagogus* II, written in Clement's pagan days, that might explain the unique quotation of Sappho. This cannot be proved, but it is a fascinating suggestion.

These might suggest the possibility that Clement was adapting a pre-existent text, written in his pagan days. The greater use of classical quotations in Book II, and even in Book III the major part of the text has a greater proportion of classical quotations than is normal in Clement, suggest a difference, already noted from Book I. The themes of the last two books, though now embedded in a Christian context, are also ones that would equally make sense in a pagan context: such are the first six chapters of Book 2. Given his knowledge of classical literature, it is not an impossibility that earlier in his life, while still a pagan, he may have drafted an *opusculum* on social mores, or else collected material which might have formed the basis for such a work, passages which he retained with his notebooks, and which he may have revised or reworked as the surviving *Paedagogus*.

Clement - Coda

Because of his importance as one of the creative theologians of the early church, it is probably inevitable that those who have written on Clement have focussed on his theology, and its role in the development of Christian doctrine and thought. As an example, in their books on Clement, Osborn¹⁵⁷⁴ and Henne,¹⁵⁷⁵ though they give attention to the background of Clement's philosophical sources, virtually ignore the quotation of classical texts and the part that they play in his writings. Clement seems to have felt no incongruity in drawing on

¹⁵⁷³ *Institutes* X I. 63 – he approved of his poems written against tyrants, but deplored the amorous verse.

¹⁵⁷⁴ Osborn (op. cit.).

¹⁵⁷⁵ Henne (2016).

literature, much, if not all, he had gathered in the days before his conversion, and using it in the service of the Logos. (It is time to affirm that Clement's knowledge of classical texts is not dependent on florilegia, hypothetical or otherwise, but rather reflects his education and later interests.) He is also, whether deliberately or not, asserting his place, and that of his fellow Christians, to be considered among the literary "elite", and that the Christian faith has a worthy and valued place in such a context.

We know so little about Clement's early life that we can only speculate as to how he acquired his excellent acquaintance with Greek literature.¹⁵⁷⁶ It is also evident that he has a great love for this literature; indeed, there are passages in his writings where one might almost imagine that one is reading Plutarch. Clement indeed stands at the opposite end of the spectrum to Tertullian and Tatian. It is perhaps inevitable that in writing about Clement, most authors have concentrated on his theological and philosophical views and have rather ignored his use of classical literature. It was the mark of a cultivated man that he had knowledge of literature, perhaps even more so than philosophy. Clement is drawing on the treasure house of the past, both biblical and pagan, and though the biblical will self-evidently trump the pagan because the former attests to God and his Λόγος, it is as if Clement is seeking to draw the two into a fusion. The schooling of Christian children in the first centuries of the Christian era often seems a subject that has fallen beneath the radar; the only surviving text of this period that deals with this, even in part, is Tertullian's *De idololatria*, and that expresses Tertullian's experience in Roman Carthage, rather than the Greek East. Unlike the provision made for Jewish schoolchildren, Christian children would seemingly have gone to pagan schools, and if the church was to succeed in permeating the upper reaches of society in the

¹⁵⁷⁶ In the East of the Empire at this period, literature is Greek; even Plutarch only quotes from Roman authors in the *Parallel Lives* and other works where the subject is Roman.

Roman Empire, then it would require men who would acquire those skills and knowledge, not just for the church's own ordering, but also who would have the ability to speak to and be accepted in that society. Clement's fusion of biblical and pagan writings is a bold and radical solution to the challenge, a writer who stands equally in the tradition of writers like Plutarch, Athenaeus and Gellius, and others whose writings have not survived. Clement can explore the significance of the Λόγος, yet at the same time write: Καὶ σοῦ, ὦ Ὅμηρε, τεθαύμακα τὰ ποιήματα.¹⁵⁷⁷ Is this an appeal that the educated "elite" can feel equally at home in the doctrines and teachings of the church? If so, it is a radical solution that may have been too daring for his great successor, Origen. Except in the *Contra Celsum*, Origen hardly, if ever, refers to classical authors, and even Plato is not mentioned by name but rather disguised under the tag "philosophers". This may have been because of the nature of Origen's writings; most were commentaries and homilies, or it may simply be that Origen felt Clement's solution was too daring and radical. It is noteworthy that he never mentions Clement by name. Yet Clement's solution is a bold and challenging one – Jerusalem can speak to Athens and Athens can speak to Jerusalem – and one which has not always been granted its full acknowledgment

¹⁵⁷⁷ *Protrepticus* 2 33 1 – though at the same time deploring the subject matter of the poems.

Chapter 9 - Conclusion

This study has adopted a linear approach, invited by the increase in classical quotations and allusions in the authors studied; the divide occurs in the work of Justin. He is the first to name classical authors in the context of quotations and allusions and, however tentative his approach, it seemed to give a licence to subsequent writers, climaxing in the writings of Clement of Alexandria. The one factor that unites all the writers is the presumption that in one form or another they will have experienced the *paideia enkyklios*,¹⁵⁷⁸ and in a sense it constitutes a back history to their use of classical literature.

The NT and the Apostolic fathers only afford three certain quotations: the Euripides/Menander iambus, the hemistich from Aratus, and the Epimenidean hexameter. The first two were not taken from their original context, and though it is uncertain how the author of Titus may have obtained his knowledge of the hexameter, it is improbable that it came from the writings of Epimenides directly. As school papyri from Egypt demonstrate, literary skills were learnt by copying lines from Homer, and other authors, chiefly Euripides and Menander. Such lines are preserved in the *Sententiae Menandri*, a gathering together of diverse collections, and given the conservative nature of the *paideia enkyklios*, may well have provided for the schooling covered by the period of this study. This is almost certainly the source of Paul's knowledge of the trimeter quoted in 1 Corinthians,¹⁵⁷⁹ and such lines, though drawn from classical literature, were also torn from their context, and in that sense "anonymous". The line to Paul would have had no literary background, nor does he quote it in that context.

¹⁵⁷⁸ Tertullian's schooling followed the Roman version.

¹⁵⁷⁹ Also the two reminiscences in Romans and the possible echo of a *sententia* in the *Epistle to Diognetus*.

It might be argued that two factors may have inhibited the use of further *sententiae* or quotations: the nature of the NT writings recording the impact of the “Jesus event” and its relationship to the Jewish texts, and the background of the intended recipients of the writings. Given the high levels of illiteracy in the 1st century CE, it is likely that knowledge of these texts for most would have been gained orally,¹⁵⁸⁰ and the back history of the texts does not suggest a more sophisticated literary culture where the art of quotation would be appreciated. There is a contrast here with the writings of Philo and Josephus; all of them treat religious themes in their different ways, but the first two adorn their text with classical quotations and allusions, almost certainly indicating they were writing for a different audience. Further it would probably be fair to describe the NT as “utilitarian” literature, marked on the whole by no great sense of literary style.¹⁵⁸¹ Other literature of a similar nature will have vanished because there was no reason to copy it, unlike the NT as the emerging canon of the church. Equally the tendency from the 16th century onwards to look at the NT through the lens of 5th and 4th BCE literature¹⁵⁸² may, by giving it a more “exalted” literary status, have helped to downplay the “utilitarian” nature of the NT. The same may be said of the writings of the Apostolic Fathers; the lack of quotations and allusions¹⁵⁸³ and the generally prosaic style of the texts.¹⁵⁸⁴ They also probably presuppose the same audience; some of whom had been through the *paideia enkyklios*, but the majority of whom were illiterate. Doubtless there will have been those who belonged to the literary “elite” but they have left little if any trace in the surviving Christian literature of this period. In this aspect there is a uniformity about the

¹⁵⁸⁰ Note Colossians 4:16 on the reading of Colossians itself and the letter to the Laodiceans.

¹⁵⁸¹ There may be exceptions such as the gospel of Luke and Acts.

¹⁵⁸² A similar parallel in this country might be looking at contemporary literature in the context of 16th and 17th century writings.

¹⁵⁸³ An exception may be made for the references to pagan deities in Aristides.

¹⁵⁸⁴ Again exceptions may be made such the *Epistle to Diognetus*.

first hundred years of the Christian communities, until the middle of the 2nd century CE there occurs a sudden change.

Justin Martyr is the first Christian writer to name and quote from classical writers; it is true his approach seems tentative as if uncertain of the potential reception. Much classical literature, particularly the Homeric poems, was predicated on the Olympian pantheon, which many Christians would have regarded as δαιμόνια. If this might have caused a certain hesitancy in Justin, it was not one embraced by his successors who quoted classical literature with increasing fluency and scope until Clement. It was not a necessary development; earlier Christian literature had flourished without resorting to quotation of classical authors and Origen in his surviving Greek commentaries seems to avoid naming classical authors and quoting them¹⁵⁸⁵; the only use of them is in the *Contra Celsum*. It is thus a legitimate question to ask what might have given rise to this development.

One of the features of the second half of the 2nd century CE church is a greater freedom of movement, not just of persons,¹⁵⁸⁶ but also of literature. A papyrus fragment¹⁵⁸⁷ containing a fragment of Irenaeus' *Adversus Haereses* was dated by its first editors *circa* 200CE, about twenty or thirty years after Irenaeus penned his work. Tatian is mentioned by three contemporaries: Irenaeus in Lyon,¹⁵⁸⁸ Tertullian in Carthage,¹⁵⁸⁹ and Clement in Alexandria.¹⁵⁹⁰ Clement had certainly read Tatian,¹⁵⁹¹ and though this may be more uncertain

¹⁵⁸⁵ Equally the dissemination of heterodox works – such as those of the Gnostics – may reflect this confidence.

¹⁵⁸⁶ The career of Irenaeus is an obvious example.

¹⁵⁸⁷ Papyrus *Oxyrhynchus* 405 – ed. Grenfell and Hunt (1904)

¹⁵⁸⁸ *Adversus haereses* I 26, 1 7.

¹⁵⁸⁹ *De ieiunio* CSEL : 293, line: 12.

¹⁵⁹⁰ *Stromateus* I 21 102 and two other references. The former occurs in the passage in which Clement refers to his teachers. Several have tried to identify them with known contemporaries: the ὁ τῆς τῶν Ἀσσυρίων has been identified with Tatian but as Caster (*Stromate* 1 pg.51) noted: “Rien ne permet d'identifier avec une chance de probabilité ces maîtres de Clément”. (One might have expected that Clement, if he had been Tatian's pupil, might have mentioned it.)

¹⁵⁹¹ Tatian is quoted twice in the 3rd *Stromateus*.

in the case of Tertullian and Irenaeus, they may well have heard of him by reputation. The swifter dissemination of Christian works throughout the Roman empire may be viewed perhaps as a sign of increasing confidence. This may equally be reflected in the size of some of the surviving Christian works; the writings of the Apostolic Fathers, with the partial exception of the *Shepherd of Hermas* are relatively modest in size. There is nothing to compare with the five volumes of Irenaeus' *Adversus Haereses* or the seven of Clement's *Stromateis*.

Paradoxically the use of classical literature in Christian writings may yet be another sign of growing confidence or assertion. For most of these writers their knowledge of classical literature will have been acquired in their youth, but it transcends the rather utilitarian level of the *paideia enkyklios* displayed in the writings of the NT and the Apostolic Fathers. It implies a deeper or more prolonged study. Unlike earlier Christian writers, the authors of the last half of the 2nd century CE leave a back history in their acquisition of their knowledge of Classical literature, a back history varying from author to author. Theophilus is not to be compared with Clement or even Athenagoras. With one probable exception in Irenaeus, all these writers came to faith in their adult years, and their knowledge of classical literature was an inheritance from their pagan past.¹⁵⁹² Though some like Tatian and Tertullian may have been more negative in their estimation of classical literature than Clement or Athenagoras, the fact remains it played a part in all their works, and that they seemingly had no hesitation in employing this heritage from their pagan past in their new life in Christ.

Clement, as the most prolific quoter of classical literature, may offer the best insight into this viewpoint. Clement evidently had a great love for classical literature. He speaks of

¹⁵⁹² That is not to deny that this knowledge may have been added to later in their lives as Christians.

his admiration for the works of Homer, while deploring the immoral stories used in the Homeric epics – a trope that went back to the pre-Socratic philosopher, Xenophanes - and elsewhere he expresses his admiration for Euripides and Menander. Though Clement speaks of Paul, by his use of classical literature, sanctifying its use,¹⁵⁹³ he himself seemingly never needs to justify his use of classical quotations and allusions, something he shares with his contemporaries. It may well be, as Marksches observes in the context of school children, that it was simply taken as a given. If a justification was to be sought, it might well have been on the grounds suggested by Paul in his discussion of meat offered to idols, an argument for those whose faith was “strong.”¹⁵⁹⁴ It may also be noted that Irenaeus – the one writer who was almost certainly a cradle Christian - makes no apology for his use of the Homeric cento; indeed he assumes that his readership will be experienced in their knowledge of the Homeric epics. Even Tatian, who affects to despise the wisdom of the Greeks over that of the “barbarians” (a trope already familiar from the works of Lucian) sees no need to justify his use of classical literature.

This group of writers share several traits in common. They have obviously undergone a more comprehensive form of the *paideia enkyklios* than that experienced by earlier generations of Christian writers and their knowledge of classical literature cannot be partly attributed, indeed if at all, to the use of *florilegia*.¹⁵⁹⁵ For this reason they deserve to be mentioned in the same breath as some of their contemporaries, such as Lucian and his fellow sophists, Aulus Gellius, and Athenaeus, all of them writers who are to be included in the literary “elite”. Undoubtedly there will have been those from the “elite” who will have been numbered among earlier Christian congregations, but they have left little or no trace. The

¹⁵⁹³ As do also Tertullian and Origen.

¹⁵⁹⁴ Paul also urges those who adopt this view to respect the scruples of their weaker co-religionists.

¹⁵⁹⁵ I have sought to argue earlier in this study that this has been much overrated.

Christian writers of the 2nd half of the second century have been valued for their theological insights in the development of Christian doctrine and theology, but their use of classical literature has been virtually ignored, their writings isolated, as it were, in the patristic section of libraries.

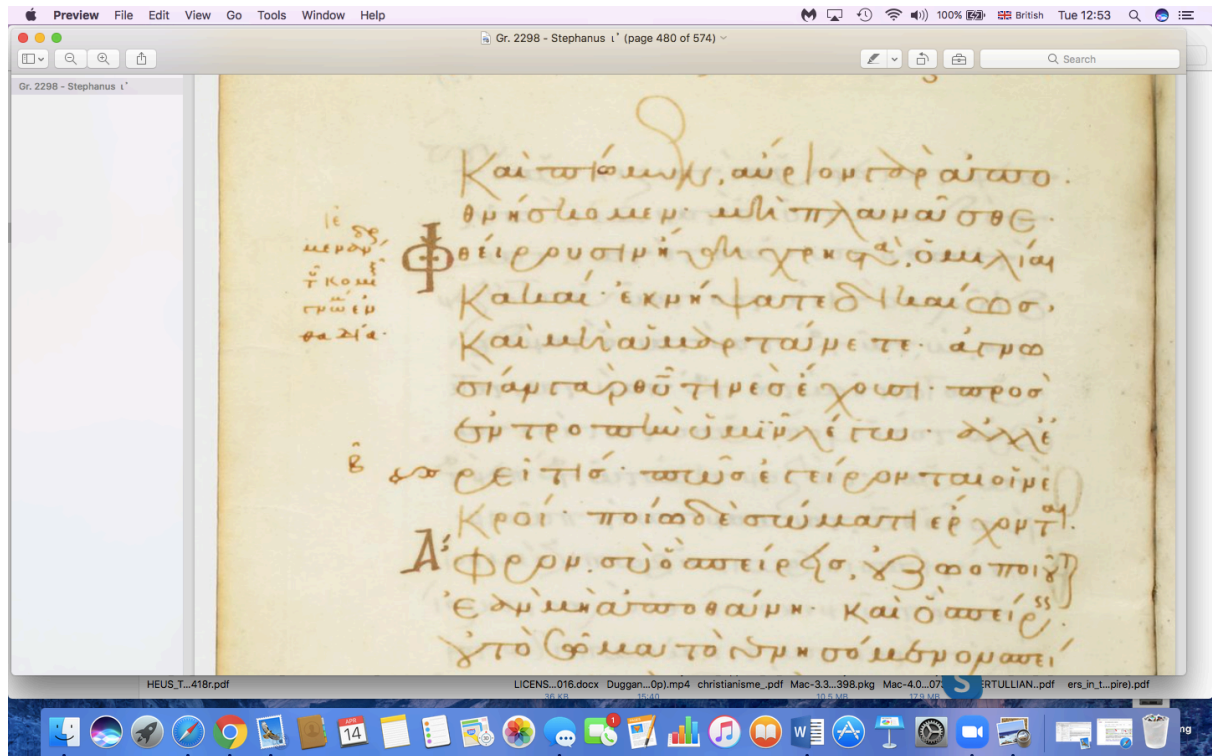
Yet to these writers it was an important part of their heritage which they did not abandon on their conversion but sought to use in the service of God and his Λόγος. Much attention has been paid, and rightly so, to the role of Greek philosophy in the thought of this group of writers. Yet quotation and allusion to classical literature were equally the mark of an educated and cultivated person, perhaps even more so. Perhaps more attention needs to be paid to their use of the classical heritage; they were taking something significant from their past and re-inventing it in their Christian present. Perhaps it has too readily been assumed that the act of conversion marked a radical change from the past, and what may be discerned in these writers is a willingness to present and commend their faith through a shared heritage, but also a growth in confidence in affirming their role and presence amongst their contemporaries. It is equally probable that these writers, whether consciously or not, were seeking to counter the rebuffs of writers like Celsus who sought to depict Christians as unlearned and cultivated.¹⁵⁹⁶ They were addressing Christians and pagans,¹⁵⁹⁷ particularly those from their own background, to show that the classical heritage was not to be ignored in the exposition and commendation of the Christian faith. The purpose of this study was thereby to examine in depth the role of classical quotation and allusion in early Christian writings, to explore the growth in confidence in quotation and allusion, but also to act as a

¹⁵⁹⁶ It was not necessary for them to have read Celsus – but he cannot have been alone in expressing such views.

¹⁵⁹⁷ It may be doubted, as noted in the section on Justin, how many pagans might actually have had access to these writings.

prolegomenon and to provide steppingstones and points of departure for further scholarly investigation.

Stephanus ι'



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