

## PREFACE

Hellenism in the East can be appreciated either in general syntheses or, in certain instances, as most prominently those of Alexandria and Antioch, in special studies. In either case the Greek point of view is the one generally adopted, and only relatively recently has evidence from the local cultures been given more than fleeting consideration. Graeco-Roman Palestine has been exceptional in this regard for two reasons. On the one hand there exists a large body of literature composed by people in that country who were not members of the political and social elites of the Empire,<sup>1</sup> and in literary languages other than Greek or Latin, and on the other hand one has to reckon with the special, and often personal, religious or national, interests in the points of view represented in these writings by modern scholars. Accordingly the approach to Greek civilisation in Palestine was mostly from a perspective not encountered in other parts of the Graeco-Roman world. The great interest shown in the influence of Hellenism on Judaism is readily understood against the background of students both of Christianity and of Judaism and of both Christian and Jewish scholars. The first often reveal a special engagement with the early stages of this relationship, perhaps best demonstrated in the title of that late nineteenth century classic turned into a late twentieth century classic, Emil Schürer's *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ (175 B.C.–A.D. 135)*.<sup>2</sup> The influence of Hellenic culture and of the Roman Empire on the development of Rabbinic Judaism inevitably attracted the notice of whoever wished to understand a main component of both historic and present-day Judaism. Nevertheless, less attention than would have been desirable has been paid to the immediate circumstances and surroundings of the Sages, the authors of the vast and complex body of Hebrew and Aramaic writings emanating from Roman-ruled Palestine:<sup>3</sup> to the degree it was influenced by Greek culture, it must have been in the first place by that of their time and place, not by some bygone age, however resplendent its achievements. One example will demonstrate this: the huge majority of the two and a half thousand or so Greek (and some Latin) loanwords in Rabbinic Hebrew and Aramaic (hundreds of them still in everyday use in Modern Hebrew) derive from the Greek of their

1 Even if we count the Jewish Patriarchs as in some way part of the Imperial elite, R. Judah the Patriarch, to whom the redaction (whatever this may exactly mean) of the Mishnah is credited in the first third of the third century is the only exceptional person of that class who is also a quasi-author.

2 Revised edition by G. Vermes, F. Millar, M. Black and M. Goodman: Schürer 1973–1987.

3 The by far most important and influential Rabbinic work, the *Babylonian Talmud*, was not composed or edited within the confines of the Roman Empire. However, the relationships between the Jews of Palestine and those of Babylonia were such – e.g., Babylonian Sages star in the *Palestinian Talmud* and other writings emanating from Palestine, and Palestinian Sages are likewise prominent in the *Babylonian Talmud* – that it is extremely difficult to separate the traditions of the two countries.

time and place, not from the writings of the classical canon. Yet the debate focussed on the degree of Hellenic influence with the entire variety of opinions to be expected from minimalists to maximalists, with only the slightest attention given to a couple of well-known cases of attested acquaintance of the Sages and Greek intellectuals.<sup>4</sup>

All this said it is of course clear, that the Palestinian provenance of some important Greek poets, writers and philosophers did not go unnoticed by classical scholars. From the Cynic Menippus, the poet Meleager and the poet and philosopher Philodemus, all of Gadara in the Hellenistic Age, to Marinus of Neapolis, the last Head but two of the Neoplatonic School in Athens and Procopius of Caesarea, the historian of the Age of Justinian and the last to uphold the tradition of classical historiography, the place of their birth, and in some of the cases the place of their activity, were duly noticed. Among intellectuals from Ascalon only the philosopher Antiochus, and to a lesser degree the mathematician Eutocius (and to an even lesser degree, the poet Euenus and the architect Julian) have received special attention. Nevertheless, with the sole exception of the so-called School of Gaza in the fifth and sixth centuries it has never been attempted to position a group of Greek intellectuals in their Palestinian surroundings, or of analysing the contribution to Greek cultural life of the inhabitants of one city in that country; Part II of this book will attempt to rise to this challenge.

But there is another lesson to be learned from concentrating on Greek intellectual life in one particular country. Great Greek cultural centres, like Antioch or Alexandria, or Roman Imperial Athens have been the subjects of particular studies with noteworthy conclusions concerning their achievements. Investigations of the Second Sophistic enabled a wider view of the easy movements of Greek intellectuals and of the unity of the Greek world. The prospect of surveying one part of that world by collecting the available evidence on intellectuals active there will provide a point of observation at the transfer of some of the most successful ones to greater centres of learning, but also at the visits of well known persons in their cities. From a more general point of view the survey of a city of the second rank may illuminate our image of Hellenism from a different angle than the study of the great centres of learning. Moreover, there is a more wide-ranging question to be asked. Had Greek civilisation in a well defined country (though not necessarily during the entire time coterminous with a province) with some particular characteristics (viz., the well defined distinct civilisation of its Jewish inhabitants) a distinctive character of its own or was that section of the Greek world part and parcel of it without any distin-

4 A good representative of a maximalist approach is Lieberman 1942 and 1950 (these two works have been united and updated in a Hebrew edition as Lieberman 1962); of the minimalist the criticism of that book by Alon 1976, I, 248–277. For the earlier part of our period the extensive work by Hengel 1969 (1974) is on the maximalist side, while Feldman 1993 insists on the uniqueness of the Jews. The only safe case of a relationship between a Jewish Sage and a Hellenic intellectual is of course that of Oenomaus of Gadara and his alleged friendship with R. Meir and acquaintance with other Sages. A more problematic one is the identification of the Greek ‘philosopher’ in the Bath of Aphrodite in Acre bathing with Rabban Gamliel with Proclus of Naucratis: see for both in detail their respective entries in the Part I.

guishing features? The approach here chosen was collecting the available evidence in its entirety. Even a cursory review of the Prosopography (Part I) will leave no doubt that the second of these alternatives is the correct one, and that the Greek writers, poets, philosophers and scientists originating in Palestine or active there were in no way distinct from their counterparts in the rest of the Greek world. This conclusion is by no means obvious or self-evident, though possibly more investigations into particular cases may yield similar results.<sup>5</sup>

A special study is devoted to Latin in Palestine (Part III). Again, it was thought helpful to investigate the vexed question of Latin in the Greek speaking half of the Empire in a specific case study.

All the dates, unless otherwise indicated, are CE.

The problems here under consideration have been one of my main interests for some time, and I have extensively published on these questions, much of it in Hebrew: as will be seen from the bibliography, much in this book had Hebrew precursors. My Hebrew book *The Tents of Japheth: Greek Intellectuals in Ancient Palestine* (Jerusalem 2012) contained, as Part II, a Prosopography that appears, in a somewhat different and updated format, as Part I of the present book.<sup>6</sup> I am most grateful to the publishers, Yad Ben Zvi, for their kind permission. I am most grateful for permissions to reprint papers to *Scripta Classica Israelica* for Part II, chapters 4 and Appendix to Part II, to the Hellenic Society to reprint from *Journal of Hellenic Studies* Part II, chapter 6, and to *Mnemosyne* to reprint Part II, chapter 7a: all these papers have been reset, and their bibliographical references have been unified and in some cases updated.

My debts are too numerous to specify: in a lifetime of study one never ceases to learn from teachers, colleagues and students. Among those most helpful, directly or indirectly, in the preparation of this book I would like to single out Hannah Cotton, Daniela Dueck, Deborah Gera, John Glucker, Howard Jacobson, Avshalom Laniado, Ra'anana Meridor, Hannah Rosén, Israel Shatzman, Nurit Shoval, Yoram Tsafrir and Nigel Wilson. None of them is to be held responsible for any mistakes, infelicities or other shortcomings of this book. I am also most grateful to the Editors of *Historia Einzelschriften* to have accepted once again a manuscript of mine for publication. To say that Kai Brodersen went far beyond the call of duty in helping me with the editorial work on this book would be a gross understatement.

Last but not least: there is an abundance of books on intellectual life in Jewish Palestine in the classical world: it is my hope that the present one on intellectuals in Greek Palestine will be only the first on a deserving subject.

5 Cf., e.g., Bowie 2011 on the 'regionally unmarked Hellenism' of Potamon and Crinagoras, and on the seemingly little importance Theophanes attached to his Greek identity.

6 That book was dedicated to my teacher, friend and colleague Ra'anana Meridor; it has received the 2013 Ben Zvi Prize for Land of Israel Studies.



## PART I: A PROSOPOGRAPHY OF GREEK INTELLECTUALS IN PALESTINE

The study of persons carries with it many hazards, even when it operates by selection. An attempt to establish any kind of complete catalogue incurs the added risk of omissions. For the Roman Empire, the material is vast and forbidding: an editor can hardly fail to miss some names and facts, even within restricted categories, whatever his sagacity and industry. (Syme 1955, 52)

The following Prosopography aims at listing all the known intellectuals from Palestine. Since it prefers to sin by commission rather than by omission none of the definitions is taken very strictly: intellectuals include not only known authors and rhetors, but also *pepaideumenoi*; and though the geographical limits (not implying any modern political stance) are those of Palestine west of the Jordan, Gadara is included. While it was the aim to collect and present all relevant information it was thought right to forego this in the case of such known figures as, e.g., Meleager, Philodemus, Procopius (of Caesarea and of Gaza) etc., about whom one may find abundant information elsewhere, and to dwell mainly on their local connections: these persons have been marked with an asterisk \*. The approach to Christian authors has been variegated. Authors on purely Christian subjects, such as Eusebius of Caesarea or Jerome, have been excluded – these receive ample attention elsewhere; authors whose work is divided between Christian and Hellenic subject matters, such as Procopius of Gaza, have been considered for the latter part of their writings, and of course Christians, whose work does not concern Church matters, but belong to the Hellenic tradition, have been included. Also writers of the so-called Jewish-Hellenistic literature have been excluded, since there is no need to add to the already formidable literature on them, but Appendix C lists some Jews (and Samaritans) whose subject matter was not specifically Jewish.

### **Acacius**

Rhetor, native of Caesarea and contemporary of Libanius; he died young. According to his biography in Eun. *VP* 497 he imitated the style of the classics and surpassed Libanius himself, who acknowledged (in a lost work devoted to him) the superiority of his rival's talent though he insisted on his own supremacy in applying his art. He is often referred to in Libanius' letters, perhaps already in the 350s, though the identities of the men with that name are not safe – he is no. 2 in Seeck's list (1906, 39–43). He taught rhetoric in Phoenicia, and later (until 361) in Antioch and finally in Caesarea.

He was certainly an adherent of the Old Religion. Was he also a poet? Libanius (*ep.* 1380 from 364) refers to an Ὠκύππος and to epics (*ep.* 127), but it is neither safe to credit these to our man nor to ascribe to him the pseudo-Lucianic Ὠκύππος.

He was the teacher and uncle of Eutropius and the teacher of Eutropius' translator Paeanius.

*RE* I, 1140–1141, s. v. Akakios, no. 3 (O. Seeck); *RE Suppl.* VIII, 734, no. 8 (K. Gerth); Seeck 1906, no. 2, pp. 36–47 (esp. 39–43); *PLRE* I, no. 6

### **Achillius**

Doctor from Ancyra, active in Palestine, 4th c., in 362 returned to his homeland.

*PLRE* I, no. 2, Seeck 1906, no. 3, p. 48

### **Aedesius**

Sophist, late 4th c. Libanius (*or.* 4.9) refers to a sophist of that name who died in old age; some would identify him with the Ascalonite mentioned in *or.* 36.10 of 386, though probably this refers to Ulpianus 1.

*PLRE* I, no. 1; *RE Suppl.* VIII, 734, no. 6 (K. Gerth)

### **Aelianus**

Christian scholasticus, late 5th c.

*Acta S. Theognii* 18 = *Anal. Boll.* 10 (1891), p. 100; *PLRE* II, no. 3

### **\*Aeneas 1**

The well-known sophist and Christian Neoplatonic of Gaza, author of the *Theophrastus* and of twenty-five letters. Only the facts pertinent to his provenance will be discussed.

Beside the letters the main source for his life is the *Ammonius* of Zacharias 1, who may have been his pupil and who certainly admired and imitated him. Aeneas 1 was born about 430, studied in Alexandria with Hierocles in about 450, and is attested in 488; the fact that Zacharias 1 referred to him in 514 without a formula confirming his death should not be taken as proof. He visited Constantinople and had connections in Antioch and other cities. Among his Palestinian correspondents were Iohannes 3 (not sure, see s. v.), Zonaeus, Diodorus, Zosimus 2, Epiphanius 2, the iatrosophist Gessius of Petra, and Julianus 1, as well as the sophist Diogenes of Antioch, who corresponded also with Hierius and with Eutocius 1. The absence of any correspondence between him and Procopius 1 must be due to both of them residing in the same city and should not be construed even as an *argumentum e silentio* against their acquaintance.

Colonna 1958, Massa Positano 1962; Legier 1907; Wacht 1969, Aujolat 1986.

*RE* I, 1021–1022, no. 7 (J. Freudenthal); *RE Suppl.* VIII, 734, no. 7 (K. Gerth); *PLRE* II, no. 3; Szabat 2007, no. 7; *DPhA* I, no. 64

### **Aeneas 2**

Correspondent of Procopius 1 (5th–6th c.), studied law, *defensor civitatis* of a number of towns.

*PLRE* II, no. 4

**Agapetus**

Rhetor of Elusa, returned from Alexandria to his city; correspondent of Procopius 1 (5th–6th c.).

*PLRE* II, no. 1; *RE* I, 734, no. 4 (W. Schmid)

**M. Flavius Agrippa**

Latin orator, priest and *duumvir* of the colony Caesarea, c. 100 CE. The suggestion by Zangemeister 1890 that he was a son of the historian Josephus seems to be of low probability.

*CIL* III, Suppl. 12082; *ILS* 7206; *InscrCaes* no. 3; *CIIP* II, no. 2095

**Alexander 1**

Christian scholasticus of Ascalon, 5th–6th c.

*Acta S. Theognii* 17 = *Anal. Boll.* 10 (1891), pp. 97–8; *PLRE* II, no. 13

**Alexander 2**

Doctor from Caesarea, 2nd–3rd c.

*InscrCaes* no. 152; *CIIP* II, no. 1446

**Alypius**

Grammaticus of Gaza, 5th–6th c., correspondent of Procopius 1 together with Hierius and Stephanus 3.

*PLRE* II, no. 6; Kaster 1988, no. 7; Szabat 2007, no. 13

**Anastasius**

Bishop of Eleutheropolis; he had a Hellenic education; brother of Marcianus, Anonymus 1 and Anonymus 2, 6th c.

Choricus 7, title, 7–8; *PLRE* III, no. 2

**Anaxertus**

Pupil of Libanius from Caesarea, *or.* 45

**Andromachus 1**

Sophist from Neapolis, son of Zonas or Sabinus, active in Nicomedia under Diocletian and one of the two best known teachers of rhetoric in Athens; teacher of Siricius (*Suda*).

*PLRE* I, no. 2; *RE* I, 2154, no. 20 (L. Cohn)

**Antibius**

‘Famous Stoic’ philosopher from Ascalon; under Augustus or Tiberius? See discussion in Part II, ch. 3 below.

Steph. Byz. s. v. Ascalon; *DPhA* I, no. 190

### \***Antiochus 1**

The famous philosopher from Ascalon, c. 130 – after 69 BCE. Here only his provenance and his social ties, rather than his philosophy, will be surveyed.

As quite usual in such cases, we know nothing of his youth and education in his place of birth, though he must have been sufficiently well prepared when he started studying in Athens with Dardanus and Mnesarchus. Cicero lists him among those philosophers, who never returned to their native city – which does not necessarily rule out short visits. Indications of ties to Ascalon are his studies with the Stoic Sosus of that city, later the main speaker in the dialogue named after him, and his being succeeded in his School by his brother Aristus.

His first attested ties with members of the Roman aristocracy are his being in the company of L. Licinius Lucullus in Alexandria in 87–86 BCE – he may have arrived there from Athens, from where Rome's friends fled, via Rome. He returned to Athens some time after Sulla's reconquest in 86, and was teaching there certainly by 79 in the Ptolemaeum, when Cicero, his brother Quintus and their cousin Lucius were among those attending his lectures. Another pupil of his was the Roman statesman and polymath Varro, and M. Pupius Piso, cos. 61 was among his close acquaintances. He joined Lucullus in or after 74 in the Mithridatic war and died some time after the victory of Tigranocerta in 69.

Luck 1953, J. Glucker 1978, Mette 1986/87, J. Barnes 1989, Fladerer 1996 with the caveats of J. Glucker 2002, Bonazzi 2009, *DPhA* I, no. 200.

The important recent volume edited by Sedley 2012 contains most comprehensive discussions of the philosopher. Among these Hatzimichali 2012, though containing precise analyses, by the nature of the evidence cannot contribute to the known facts. Most important is Sedley 2012, 334–346 (Appendix: A guide to the testimonies for Antiochus), with the text and a translation of the non-Ciceronian testimonies; it includes a new reading by D. Blank of *Index Academicorum* 34.34–35.16. Blank 2012 discovers Antiochean influences in a variety of Varro's writings. Lévy 2012 extends to pupils' pupils, such as Brutus and Horace.

### **Antiochus 2**

Correspondent and compatriot of Procopius 1 of Gaza (5th–6th c.), studied medicine in Alexandria.

*PLRE* II, no. 16

### **Antonius**

'Pagan' rhetor from Alexandria who tried to advance the case of his religion in Gaza in the mid-5th c.; the case of his sister, whom he assisted, got as far as Constantinople. Szabat 2007 guesses that he may have played host to Damascius and to Isidorus 3 in Gaza.

Dam. fr. 133 = *Suda* A 2763; *PLRE* II, no. 3; Szabat 2007, no. 22

### **Apelles**

The tragic actor from Ascalon and favourite of Caligula must have attained at least the basics of his art in his native city. According to Philo he was, like all his fellow-

citizens, a Judaeophobe, and thus advised the emperor, together with Helicon, to put up his statue in the Temple of Jerusalem. He lost favour with the emperor and was tortured; according to Petr. *Sat.* 64 he was the greatest actor; the MS tradition is not beyond doubt whether he was the actor who received from Vespasian 400,000 sesterces at the reopening of the theatre of Marcellus (Suet., *Vesp.* 19.1).

*RE* I, 2688, no. 8 (P. v. Rohden) ; *RE Suppl* X, 23 (M. Bonaria); *PIR*<sup>2</sup> I A 907, 908; Smallwood 1970<sup>2</sup>, 264–266; O’Connor 1908, 79–80, no. 38; Leppin 1992, 203–204, Stephanis 1988, no. 232

### ?Apollonides

Apoll. Ty. *ep.* 11 recommends him in a letter to Caesarea, but it is not clear from the text whether he was a citizen of the city; the recommendation vouches for his intellectual standing.

*DPhA* I, no. 258

### Apollonius 1

Stoic philosopher from Ptolemais (Acre); like Antiochus 1 (though no acquaintance is attested) pupil of Dardanus and Mnesarchus in Athens, thus likely that he received prior philosophical education in his city.

*RE* II, 146, no. 96 (H. v. Arnim); *DPhA* I, no. 282; Merkelbach 1985.

### Apollonius 2

Historian from Ascalon; under Augustus or Tiberius? See discussion in Part II, ch. 3 below.

Steph. Byz. s. v. Ascalon; *RE* II, 135, no. 74 (E. Schwartz); *FHG* IV, 312

### \*Apsines

Rhetor and writer on rhetoric from Gadara, mid-3rd c.

His identity, his family relationships as well as his connection to Gadara are to be elucidated from the conflicting and confusing data in *Suda* A, nos. 4734, 4735, 4736, and see also Oliver 1941, 260–261, Oliver 1950, 78–81; cf. Millar 1969, 16 (= 2004, 273); Avotins 1971.

Philostr. *VS* ad fin. lists Apsines ‘the Phoenician’ among the sophists he refrains from discussing because of their friendship. Apsines and Nicagoras attended a party honouring Plato’s birthday at the beginning of the second half of the third century (Eus. *PE* 10.3) and the *Suda* must be corrected accordingly – his consular honours were due to Maximinus rather than to Maximianus. His teachers were Heraclides in Smyrna and Basilicus in Nicomedia and eventually he may have occupied an official chair in Athens.

Though nothing straightforward Palestinian is to be found in his text, a suggestion may cautiously be put forward here. A subject of declamations was the story of Scythians, the archetypal nomads, having settled in a city but forced to leave it because of an epidemic or other cause; now they are advised to return to their original way of life. It is mentioned by Philostratus as a common subject twice (572–573, ‘Clay-Plato’; 620, Hippodromus of Thessaly); in Apsines it appears no less than

five times: 1.48, 1.54, 1.72, 2.15, 3.8. Could it be that Scythopolis (whose name has never been satisfactorily explained), adjacent to the territory of Gadara, made Apsines especially interested in the subject?

Dilts/Kennedy 1977; Heath 1998; Patillon 2001; Heath 2002.

### **Argyrius**

Rhetor famous in Antioch in the mid-4th c., where he was a rival of Zenobius 1. He was councillor in an unnamed city, a relative of Zenobius 1, and accordingly also of Zenobius 2, thus almost certainly from Elusa. An adherent of the Old Religion, Libanius tried to make him a member of the Antioch council; Libanius' correspondents Obodianus and probably Eubulus were his sons; they were already Antiocheans and thus are not included in the present list.

Mayerson 1983.

### **Aristus**

Younger brother, pupil and successor in his School of Antiochus 1 of Ascalon, see bibl. there: we know nothing definite about his ties with his native city. J. Glucker believes that he studied with his brother already at the time of the 'Sosus affair', and accordingly may have met then Lucullus. Among his pupils were Aristo, Dio of Alexandria and Cratippus of Pergamum. He was a friend of Cicero and was his host in Athens when Cicero was on his way to Cilicia in 51, and perhaps also on his return in 50. Cicero also mentions a number of times that Brutus attended his lectures and Aristus may have played for him a role comparable to that of his brother for Lucullus, whom he may have joined on their Eastern journeys.

*RE* I, 1010, no. 9 (H. v. Arnim); Mette 1986/87, 56; J. Glucker 1978 in Index; *DPhA* I, no. 406

### **Artemidorus**

Historian from Ascalon, mentioned by Stephanus of Byzantium together with Apollonius 2. He wrote a history of Bithynia, certainly after 63 BCE, perhaps under Augustus or Tiberius and certainly before Herennius Philo, Stephanus' source. There is no knowing what made him display an interest in Bithynia.<sup>1</sup> See discussion in Part II, ch. 3 below.

Steph. Byz. s. v. Ascalon; *FGrH* 698

### **Basilides**

Stoic philosopher from Scythopolis. Hieron. a. Abr. 2163 (CE 149) refers to him as a teacher of Marcus Aurelius, he is however not named by the emperor himself. He may, or may not, be identical with a person mentioned by Sextus Empiricus 8.256.

*RE* III, 46, no. 8 (H. v. Arnim); *GLAJJ* II, p. 219; *PIR*<sup>2</sup> B 62; *DPhA* II, no. 14

1 Diller 1955, 278, compares him with Pausanias of Damascus, who may have written on Bithynia c. 100 BCE.

**Bassus**

Poor Phoenician rhetor who came to Palestine to make money.

Lib. *ep.* 175, 605; Seeck 1906, no. 2

**Flavius Boethus**

From Ptolemais, interested in Peripatetic philosophy and medicine, known only from Galen and the inscription quoted below, according to which he may have been consul in 161 or 162 and governor not before 164 or 165: he is the only person from Palestine in the Early Empire to become governor of the province. It may be conjectured that Galen's visit to Palestine (see *GLAJJ* II, nos. 382, 384, 385, 390) was connected with their relationship: Galen restored to health Boethus' wife and one of his sons, and was handsomely rewarded and introduced to Mark Aurel; Galen eventually dedicated to him not less than nine of his works.

His intellectual connections were probably much wider than those known to us: his studies of Peripatetic philosophy started with Alexander of Damascus, and it was the philosopher Eudemus who introduced him to Galen; he was host to the famous sophist Hadrian of Tyre in Rome, who was also the teacher of Proclus 1, so that it is perhaps not too bold to connect Boethus with the visit of Proclus 1 in Acre.

The name Boethus and the proximity to Sidon do not vouch for any family connections with the Stoic Boethus of the 2nd c. BCE (*RE* no. 4) nor with the Augustan Peripatetic (no. 9) of that city.

*RE* III, 604, no. 10 (A. Gercke); *DPhA* II, no. 49; *PIR*<sup>2</sup> F 229; Geiger 1994b; Eck/Isac/Piso 1994.

**Bur(r)ichius**

Scholasticus from Ascalon who visited the royal tombs of Egyptian Thebes in the 4th c. The three inscriptions he left display an interest, not easy to interpret, in Platonic philosophy. In one of the inscriptions he is described as a friend of Besas, a scholasticus from Panopolis, perhaps attesting to having studied together in Alexandria,<sup>2</sup> and in another he mentions his brother Sapricius, also a scholasticus. The name is attested since Hellenistic times, so that there is no need to connect it with the Semitic root BRKh ('to bless'). Indeed, a Barochius of Caesarea (inscr. 1292) also visited the tombs; other visitors from Ascalon included a Demetrius (204, 305) and Theotecnus Himerius (1460).

Baillet 1926, II, nos. 1266, 1279, 1405; *DPhA* II, no. 57

**Castor**

Correspondent of Procopius 1 (5th–6th c.), lawyer; possibly the case mentioned was conducted in the capital of the province, so that he may have been a resident of Caesarea.

*PLRE* II, no. 3

2 *DPhA* II, B 29 (Bèsas de Panopolis), pp. 106–107.

**\*Choricus**

The famous orator from Gaza.

Though he spent all his life in his city teaching rhetoric, we know the names of only a handful of his students, partly also because, unlike Aeneas 1 and Procopius 1, he left behind no correspondence. His funeral oration for his teacher Procopius 1 is not only a fitting memorial, but also a vivid picture of rhetorical education in Gaza. Orations 1 and 2 are eulogies on bishop Marcianus and include the valuable ekphraseis on two churches in the city; for important information on his city and the province in his time in his speeches see the Hebrew paper by Rabinowitz 1949, and Saliou 2005b; Mayerson 1986; Abel 1931, Hamilton 1930, Mango 1972, 60–72; Maguier 1978; Thümmel 1997; Litsas 1982. Mime: Cresci 1986; Morfakidis 1988; Albini 1997. Text: Foerster-Richtsteig (Teubner 1929); new edition with French translation and commentary by Eugenio Amato is to be expected, and a German translation of all the speeches is promised by P. Grossardt, see *Gnomon* 82 (2010), 271. Translations not mentioned above: Caffiaux 1862; funeral speech for Procopius 1: Amato 2010, 507–527 (A. Corcella); Stephanis 1990, 19–23, 27–30; Stephanis 1983; contra Laniado 2005. Papers in Amato 2006; Saliou 2005b.

Webb 2002; Webb 2006. New text: Sideras 1990; Litsas 1980.

*RE* III, 2124–2131 (W. Schmid); *PLRE* III, s. v.; Szabat 2007, no. 45

**Chromatius**

Palestinian, studied with Libanius in Athens, helped him in Antioch, died 355 in Cilicia.

Lib., *ep.* 393; Seeck 1906, no. 1, p. 107

**Clematius**

(Lematius?), Palestinian, studied with Libanius in Athens, High Priest of the province under Julian, later acquitted of persecuting Christians.

His identity: Seeck 1906, no. 3, pp. 111–2 sees in him and in his no. 2, the governor of the province, two different persons.

*PLRE* I, nos. 1, 2.

**Cosmas**

Author of *Homerocentones* from Jerusalem, thus perhaps belonging to the circle of Eudocia; perhaps also author of *AP* 16.114<sup>3</sup>. Most probably not to be identified with the ecclesiastical poet of the 8th c. (see Krumbacher 1897, 674–676).

*PLRE* I no. 1 = *PLRE* III no. 7

**Craterus**

The ‘first’ (ὁ τότε πρωτεύων)<sup>4</sup> among the people of Ascalon, he appeared as orator in court (ὑπεραγωνίζετα), probably in the 3rd–4th centuries; see discussion in Part II, ch. 5 below.

*Suda* E 3770

3 Cf. Holum 2002, 220, n. 10.

4 See Laniado 2002, 201–211.

**?Danaus**

Grammaticus, father of Diphilus, attested 390, his activity in Palestine is conjectured from that of his son in 388. He is known from Libanius only, except if we identify him – the name is quite rare – with the addressee of an epitome of a work on prosody by Herodian, see *Suda* A 3915.

Kaster 1988, no. 43 (following Kaster 1983, 157–158), corrects *PLRE* I s. v.

**Dio**

Academic philosopher from Gaza, pupil of Carneades. He is probably identical with the philosopher mentioned by Cic., *Luc.* 12 (cf. J. Glucker 1978, 94–97), where it may be conjectured that he was a pupil of Antiochus 1. Probably not identical with the Alexandrian envoy murdered in Rome in 57 BCE (cf. *DNP* s. v. no. 2 [W. Ameling]). Dio and Olympiodorus of Gaza are mentioned together in the papyrus, Olympicus of Gaza and another Dio, perhaps the Alexandrian, each on his own.

Dorandi 1991, 161; *DPhA* II, no. 165

**Diodorus**

Scholasticus from Gaza, active in Caesarea, the addressee of letters by Aeneas 1 and Procopius 1 (5th–6th c.).

*PLRE* II, no. 3

**?Diogenes**

Stoic philosopher from Ptolemais, though there is no certainty that this is the town in Palestine and not one of the other towns by that name.

Diog.La. 7.41; *RE* V, 777, no. 48 (H. v. Arnim); *DPhA* II, no. 144

**Dionysius 1**

Monophysite scholasticus from Gaza, mid to second half of 5th c. (Petrus the Iberian p. 95; Zach., *Vis* p. 6).

*PLRE* II. no. 9

**Dionysius 2**

Scholasticus from Gaza.

Zach. *KG* II, Anhang II, p. 268

**Diphilus**

Grammaticus and poet, son of Danaus, attested in Palestine 388. In that year he started an unsuccessful tour of reading his poetry in Cilicia and in Antioch (see Kaster 1983).

Kaster 1988, no. 49

**\*Dorotheus 1**

Grammatical writer from Ascalon; detailed discussion in Part II, ch. 3 below.

*RE* V, 1571, no. 20 (L. Cohn)

**Dorotheus 2**

Pupil of Procopius 1 and the iatrosophist Gessius of Petra, lawyer, 5th–6th c.; not to be identified with the ‘Great Old Man’ from Egypt (Brown 1988, 232–5).

*RE* V, 1571–2, no. 17 (W. Schmid)

**Elasius**

or Gelasius, known from a fifth century synagogue inscription in Diocaesarea (Sephphoris), *CIJ* 991: comes, scholasticus, vir clarissimus. If he was the donor he was probably a Jew, but he may have been the official at the time of the donation; after 438 Jews were not allowed to carry titles like those in the inscription, see *CIC Nov.* 3.2.

*PLRE* II s. v.

**Elias**

Pupil of Choricus, 6th c., addressee, with Procopius 3 and Iohannes 6, of his *or.* 6.

*PLRE* III, no. 1

**Epiphanius 1**

Pupil of Procopius 1, lawyer, governor, perhaps identical with Epiphanius 2 (cf. also Amato 2010, 451 n. 119), 5th–6th c.

*PLRE* II no. 4; *RE* VI, 196, no. 9 (W. Schmid)

**Epiphanius 2**

Sophist, correspondent of Aeneas 1, 5th c, perhaps identical with Epiphanius 1 (cf. also Amato 2010, 451 n. 119).

*PLRE* II, no. 5

**Euangelus**

Rich rhetor from Caesarea, 6th c.

*Proc. Anecd.* 30.17–19; *PLRE* III, s. v.

**Eubius**

‘Famous Stoic’ philosopher from Ascalon (under Augustus or Tiberius?), mentioned together with Antibijs by Steph. Byz. s. v. Ascalon; see discussion in Part II, ch. 3 below.

*DPhA* III, no. 68

**Eudaemon**

Poet and lawyer from Pelusium, active in Elusa, where he had relatives, as lawyer, sophist and rhetor, writer on language and rhetoric. A coeval of Libanius (he was already a rhetor in 357 and is last attested in 392) he also taught for some time in Antioch; some time after 360 he travelled in the same year to Constantinople, Egypt and Antioch; his place of activity in the last thirty years or so of his life is unknown, and it may well have been Elusa. According to the *Suda* (E 3407) he wrote ὀνομαστικὴ ὀρθογραφία, τέχνη γραμματικὴ as well as ‘various poems’.