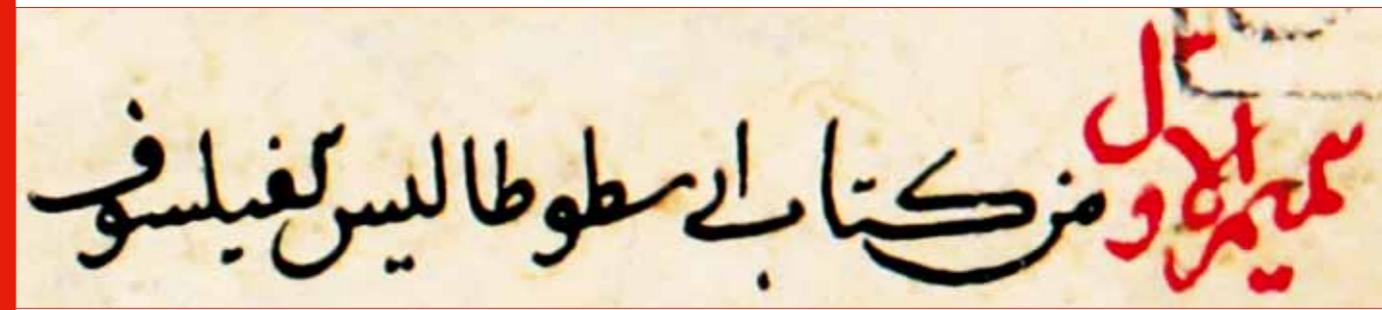
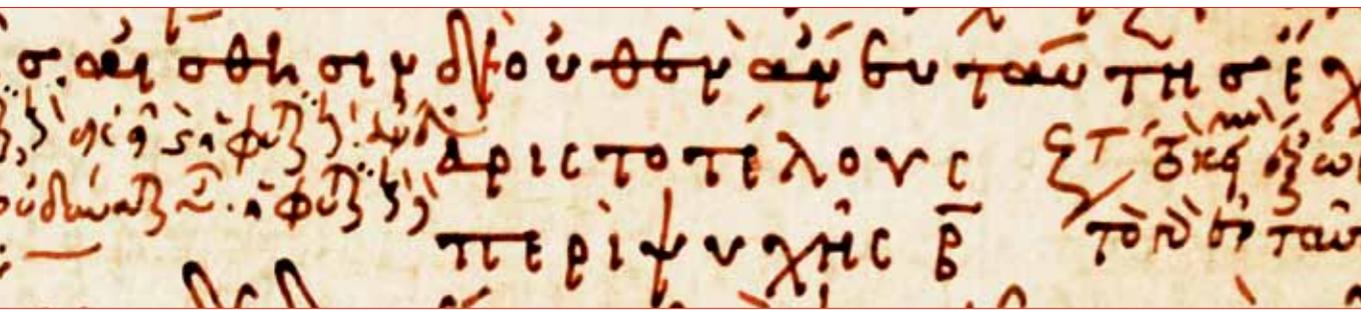


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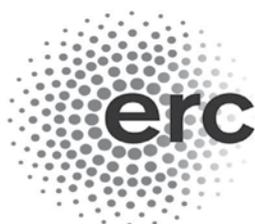
Greek into Arabic

Philosophical Concepts and Linguistic Bridges

European Research Council Advanced Grant 249431

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Published by
ERC Greek into Arabic
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ISSN 2239-012X

Online Edition:

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Registration pending at the law court of Pisa.

Editor in chief Cristina D'Ancona.

Publisher and Graphic Design



Via A. Gherardesca
56121 Ospedaletto (Pisa) - Italy

Printing

Industrie Grafiche Pacini

Cover

Mašhad, Kitābhāna-i Āsitān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 300, f. 1v
Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, grec 1853, f. 186v

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2012

Attempt of a New Etymology for the Orphic Divinity Phanes

Patrizia Marzillo

Abstract

In his own copy of Estienne's *Poiësis philosophos*, Scaliger laconically comments on fr. 241 Bernabé, inscribing Joseph's epithet of Gn 41, 45 in Hebrew. Through a reconstruction of Scaliger's original intention and of the linguistic associations he built, a new etymology for the Orphic divinity Phanes is proposed.

1. Introduction

In 1573 Henri Estienne published the *Poiësis philosophos*, a collection of fragments of 'philosophical poetry' which included, alongside fragments of 'philosopher poets',¹ verses ascribed to the mythical singer Orpheus,² already partially edited by Estienne.³ The famous humanist Joseph Justus Scaliger helped him with the compilation of this book by translating Empedocles' fragment B 100 into Latin (p. 13), and by suggesting some philological remarks (printed on p. 216-9 as an Appendix).

Scaliger worked further on the 'philosopher poets' in his manuscript Scal. 25⁴ and in his own copy of the *Poiësis philosophos*, housed in Oxford. Here Scaliger inscribed, besides *variae lectiones*, parallel texts from Greek and Latin literature.⁵ His annotations go up to p. 179, so that we also have his comments for the Orpheus section.

A special case is on p. 86. Here Estienne reports fr. 241.1-4 Bernabé together with its context (Procl., *In Tim.*, I, p. 324.19-325.3 Diehl):

Ἔστι γὰρ (εἰ χρὴ διαῤῥήδην τὰ τοῦ καθηγεμόνος λέγειν) ὁ παρὰ τῷ Ὀρφεῖ πρωτόγονος θεός, κατὰ τὸ πέρασ τῶν νοητῶν ἰδρυμένος παρὰ τῷ Πλάτῳ τῷ αὐτοζῳφ. διὸ καὶ αἰώνιον ἔστι καὶ τῶν νοουμένων κάλλιστον· καὶ τοῦτό ἐστιν ἐν νοητοῖς, ὅπερ ὁ Ζεὺς ἐν νοεροῖς. πέρασ δὲ ἐκάτερος τῶνδε τῶν τάξεων. καὶ ὁ μὲν, τῶν παραδειγματικῶν αἰτίων τὸ πρότιστον, ὁ δὲ, τῶν δημιουργικῶν τὸ μοναδικώτατον. διὸ καὶ ἐνοῦται πρὸς ἐκεῖνον ὁ Ζεὺς διὰ μέσης τῆς νυκτός, καὶ πληρωθεὶς ἐκεῖθεν, γίγνεται κόσμος νοητός, ὡς ἐν νοεροῖς.

¹ Empedocles, Xenophanes, Parmenides, Cleanthes, Epicharmus, Timon, Critias, Orpheus, Musaeus, Linus, Pythagoras, and, although they wrote in prose, Heraclitus and Democritus and their collected letters.

² See P. Marzillo, "Heraklits Stellung in Henri Estiennes Sammlung von Dichterphilosophen", *Mitteilungen des Sonderforschungsbereichs 573 1* (2009), p. 18.

³ See H. Estienne, *Poetae Graeci principes heroici carminis et alii nonnulli (...)*, Stephanus, Geneva 1566, p. 481-3. Here there are only six fragments: 378, 691, 540, 777, 775, 759 Bernabé.

⁴ This manuscript is preserved at the University Library of Leiden. It contains on the foll. 97-120 fragments from Hesiod, Empedocles, Parmenides, and Orpheus; see P. Marzillo "Scaliger als Gräzist und Forscher antiker Philosophie", *Mitteilungen des Sonderforschungsbereichs 573 2* (2010), p. 38.

⁵ Examples can be found in P. Marzillo, "Would you check my edition please?' Scaliger's annotations to some poetical/philosophical texts", in B. Huss - P. Marzillo - T. Ricklin (eds.), *Para/Textuelle Verhandlungen zwischen Dichtung und Philosophie in der Frühen Neuzeit*, De Gruyter, Berlin - New York 2011, p. 401-23.

᾽Ως τότε πρωτογόνοιον χανὸν μένος ἤρικε παιον.
 Τῶν πάντων δὲ δέμας εἶχεν ἐνὶ γαστέρι κοίλῃ,
 Μῦξε δὲ οἷς μελέεσσι θεοῦ δύναιμι τε καὶ ἀλκίῃ,
 Τοῦνεκα σὺν τῷ παρὰ Διὸς πάλιν ἐντὸς ἐτύχθη.

Scaliger wrote a quotation in Hebrew on the left-hand margin of the first line of this text, precisely Gn 41, 45 פִּנְנָא פִּנְנָא, ‘Zaphenat-Phaneach’, the epithet given to Joseph by the Pharaoh. In this essay I would like to show how Scaliger’s remark can lead us to discover a new etymology, deriving from ancient Egyptian, for the name of the Orphic divinity Phanes. Of course, it is not my intention to provide a definitive answer to the question, but to begin a discussion on the subject. In order to support my thesis, let us first further analyze both Orpheus’ fragment quoted by Proclus (both in Estienne’s and in modern editions), and the biblical epithet.

2. Orpheus

This fragment belongs to a series of texts which describe the beginning of Zeus’ realm in Orphic (rhapsodic) theogony.⁶ According to Proclus, we have six realms: Phanes, Night, Uranos, Kronos, Zeus, and Dionysus.⁷ Advised by Night to do so, Zeus incorporated Phanes Prôtogonos in order to firmly establish his kingdom.

Proclus here quotes only the first four verses. The rest of the fragment (5-11) lists all parts of the universe incorporated by Zeus, and is transmitted by Proclus elsewhere.⁸ Phanes is identified with the All, although there is no clear suggestion for that.⁹ He/she (Phanes is a bisexual divinity) is called Prôtogonos, ‘first-born’ (LSJ), because it firstly was born from the cosmic egg. Proclus’ intention is easy to see: he wants to harmonize Plato and Orpheus.¹⁰ The fragment itself, by contrast, presents a number of philological problems. Interesting for us are the issues concerning the first line (and for this reason, we will only deal with them),¹¹ since this is the line which Scaliger presumably commented on.

⁶ There are different Orphic theogonies, see M.L. West, *The Orphic Poems*, Clarendon Press, Oxford 1983, p. 68.

⁷ See L. Brisson, “Proclus et l’orphisme”, in J. Pépin - H.D. Saffrey (eds.), *Proclus lecteur et interprète des anciens*, actes du colloque international du CNRS Paris, 2-4 octobre 1985, CNRS-Éditions, Paris 1987 (Colloques internationaux du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique), p. 43-104, especially p. 55-69.

⁸ Procl., *In Tim.*, I, p. 313.9 ss. Diehl: “The broad air and the lofty splendour of heaven, the undraining sea and earth’s glorious seat, great Oceanus and the lowest Tartara of the earth, rivers and boundless sea and everything else, and all the immortal blessed gods and goddesses, all that had existed and all that was to exist afterwards became one and grew together in the belly of Zeus” (transl. by West, *The Orphic Poems*, p. 89). H. Estienne, *Poïësis philosophos(...)*, Stephanus, Geneva 1573 quotes vv. 4-11 p. 80-1. Scal. 25, fol. 114r, quotes all verses together.

⁹ See West, *The Orphic Poems*, p. 89.

¹⁰ “In fact, if I am to be explicit about the views of my teacher [i.e. Syrianus], the god called Protogonos in Orpheus, who is established at the limit of the Intelligibles, is the Living-Thing-itself in Plato. For this reason it is eternal and the ‘fairest of the intelligized entities’ (30 D 2). It is in the Intelligible realm what Zeus is in the Intellectual realm, for each is the limit of their respective orders, the one as the very first of the Paradigmatic causes, the other as the most monadic of the Demiurgic causes. For this reason too Zeus is united with him [i.e. Protogonos] through the mediation of Night, and when he has been filled from that source he becomes the Intelligible cosmos inasmuch as is possible in the Intellectual realm” (trans. by D.T. Runia - M. Share, *Commentary on Plato’s Timaeus*, II, Cambridge U. P., Cambridge et al. 2008, p. 179).

¹¹ Other questions concern l. 2: δὲ δέμας εἶχεν ἐνὶ which is now printed as δέμας εἶχεν ἐῆ ἐνὶ; l. 3: δὲ οἷς now correctly divided δ’ οἷς; l. 4: παρὰ now corrected in πάντῃα by A.E.J. Holwerda, “De theogonia orphica”, *Mnemosyne* 22 (1894), p.286-329, in part. p. 320.

I cannot explain why Estienne printed *χωνόν*, since there is – according to Diehl and Kern – no manuscript which hands it down. It is likely that he thought of the difficulty of *χάσκω* used transitively. *Consensus codicum* has, at any rate, *χωνών* which refers to Zeus (the implied subject of the entire fragment). All editors up to Hermann followed Estienne, until Abel first printed *χωνόν* in 1885. This latter *lectio*, however, presented some grammatical concerns, so that Rohde corrected it to *χαδών*,¹² accepted by both Kern and Bernabé, which does not substantially alter the meaning of the passage (“after Zeus took in Prôtogonos’ might”). Estienne’s oversight ostensibly cost him a second mistake. He perhaps found in the manuscript (or manuscripts)¹³ that he used the correct version *ἤρικεπαίου* which he wrongly separated and changed in *ἤρικε παιον*, although the meaning was not totally clear, as the fact that he did not use any accent for *παιον* shows.¹⁴ In fact, whereas *ἤρικε* could be the aor. 2 of *ἐρείκω*, ‘to rend’ or ‘to shatter’, *παιον* seems to have no meaning.¹⁵

Scaliger proposed a correction both in Estienne’s appendix p. 86¹⁶ and in Scal. 25, fol. 114r. He wrote *ἤριπε καῶν*. Scaliger’s somehow genial correction repairs the meaningless *παιον*, and provides a possible reading of the text: “Then after Protogonos’ might fell down with open mouth burning (...)”. However, it does not fit to the rest.

The correct text *ἤρικεπαίου* was reinstated by Gesner.¹⁷ In the *Orphic hymn* 5.4 (= 6.4) there was a similar problem concerning a misunderstood *ἤρικεπαῶν*.¹⁸ First Leopardus¹⁹ (*ἤρικαπαῶς*) and Canter²⁰ (*ἤρικαπαῶν-ἤρικεπαῶν*) defended the right text and, on this basis, Gesner reinstated *ἤρικεπαίου* in our passage. And so it is printed from then onwards:

So when he had taken in the might of Erikepaios Protogonos, he possessed the form of all things in his capacious belly, he mixed in his own limbs the power and the force of god, and on this account with him [i.e. the god] all things were again formed inside Zeus.²¹

Scaliger also worked on the hymn 6.4, but we have to assume that neither in this case was he able to reinstate the correct text. He translated Estienne’s edition of the hymns²² in his manuscript

¹² See E. Rohde, *Seelencult und Unsterblichkeitsglaube der Griechen*, I-II, Mohr, Freiburg - Leipzig - Tübingen 1898, II, p. 114, n. 1.

¹³ According to O. Kern (ed.), *Orphicorum fragmenta*, Weidmann, Berlin 1922 (*ad loc.* fr. 167), the manuscripts have: *ἤρικαιεπαίου* P, *ἤρισκεπαίου* C, *ἤρισκεπαῶς* schol. C bis, *ἤρικαπαίου* N.

¹⁴ Estienne and Scaliger do not usually use any accent or spirit when they are not sure about the correctness of the *lectio*, see P. Marzillo, *Altgriechische Philosophie in der Frühen Neuzeit*, De Gruyter, Berlin - New York (forthcoming).

¹⁵ According to the lexica, *παῶν* is a dialectic form of *πάγιος* ‘solid’, ‘firm’, ‘steadfast’, as Hesychius reports: *παῶν· ἀσφαλές, βέβαιον*. Another possibility could be to understand *παῶν* as participle of *παίω* ‘to strike’, ‘to smite’, ‘to drive away’ but also ‘to devour’, ‘to gobble’, as in Aristoph., *Ach.*, 835. Hesychius says: *παίει· τύπτει, πλήττει, ρούει, δέρει, ἢ ἐσθίει*. At any rate, the meaning (“Then he shattered the might of Prôtogonos which opened its mouth wide and devoured”?) and, above all, the Greek syntax are not satisfying.

¹⁶ ‘Ὡς τότε] lego, pro ἤρικε παῶν, ἤριπε καῶν.

¹⁷ Apud G. Hermann, *Orphica*, Fritsch, Leipzig 1835, p. 469: *De famoso hoc Orphicorum Ericapaeo vid. ad Hymn. 5.4. Nemphe pro ἤρικε παῶν, rescripsi ἤρικεπαίου* Gesner.

¹⁸ Hermann, *Orphica*, p. 260-2 reports Gesner’s long discussion about Erikepaios in reference to the *Orphic hymn* 5.4.

¹⁹ See P. Leopardus, *Emendationum et miscellaneorum libri viginti. Tomus prior, decem libros continens. P. Nannii ad Leopardum epistolae*, Plantin, Antwerp 1568, p. 237 ss.

²⁰ See D. Canter, *Variarum lectionum libri duo*, Plantin, Antwerp 1574, 1.26, p. 58-61. He also quotes our fragment to support his thesis.

²¹ Transl. by Runia - Share, *Commentary on Plato’s Timaeus*, p. 179.

²² See Estienne, *Poetae Graeci principes*, p. 98-129.

Scal. 62, 1r - 24v. His translation was printed posthumously.²³ Canter first reported that Scaliger apparently preferred εὐρὺν ἐπ' αἶαν for this passage. And this is what one could think by comparing Estienne's text with Scaliger's translation:

Estienne 1566, p. 101

Scaliger, *Opuscula* 1610, p. 159

ὅς τε πολὺμνηστον, πολυόργιον, εὐρηκε παῖαν

Antidea *in terra celebre* et memorabile numen

Elsewhere (Scal. 25 f. 118r) we have a similar situation. By quoting fr. 51 Bernabé, Scaliger writes the meaningless ηρουκε προς.²⁴

In each of these three cases, Scaliger did not notice that the incomprehensible words actually built one of Phanes' epithets: Erikepaios.²⁵

2.1 Erikepaios Phanes

John Malalas, *Chron.*, 4.89 Thurn, offers the most detailed explanation of Phanes' epithet in Christian terms. Speaking of the triune God (identified with the Orphic Phanes), Malalas explains:

οὗ ὄνομα ὁ αὐτός Ὀρφεὺς ἀκούσας ἐκ τῆς μαντείας ἐξεῖπε, Μῆτιν, Φάνητα, Ἐρικεπαῖον· ὅπερ ἐρμηνεύεται τῇ κοινῇ γλώσση βουλή, φῶς, ζωοδοτήρ.

According to him, Erikepaios therefore means 'life-giver'.

Two later texts depend on Malalas: *Suda* ο 660.12 Adler, t. III, p.565-6 and Georgius Cedrenus I, p.102 Bekker. Both report a shortened version of Malalas. The *Suda* ο 660, t. III, p.566.3 Adler simply says ὅπερ ὠνόμασε Βουλὴν, Φῶς, Ζωήν. Cedrenus writes οὗ ὄνομα αὐτός Ὀρφεὺς ἀκούσας ἐκ τῆς μαντείας ἐξεῖπε· μῆτις, ὅπερ/ ἐρμηνεύεται βουλή, φῶς, ζωοδοτήρ. Of these three texts, Scaliger surely read Cedrenus' passage, since it is inscribed in its entirety in his own copy of Estienne 1573, p. 103²⁶ and partially (only Orpheus' verses without context) in Scal. 25, fol. 119r. Thus we can suppose that Phanes' epithet Erikepaios²⁷ was unknown to him. So in fr. 241 he was not attempting to solve a philological problem by adding the corresponding Hebrew expression, but he wanted to contribute to the interpretation by adding a *locus parallelus* from the Hebrew literature. In my opinion, he understood that Prôtogonos referred to Phanes, and wanted to give an explanation of the passage based on the correct etymology of the divinity's name.

Phanes is traditionally explained according to the Greek verb φαίνω. Phanes is either "the one who first appeared" (see fr. 126 Bernabé and Orph., *Arg.*, 15 ss.) or "the one who made all things appear" (fr. 127 Bernabé). Although the name seems to be ancient, the popular etymology is not the

²³ See J.J. Scaliger, *Opuscula varia ante hac non edita* (...), Drovard, Parisiis 1610, p. 155-204.

²⁴ This passage is not in Estienne, *Poësis philosophos*.

²⁵ Although the Greek word is mostly written with *beta*, I will write Erikepaios as commonly in English, see West, *The Orphic Poems*, and Runia - Share, *Commentary on Plato's Timaeus*.

²⁶ See Marzillo, "Would you check my edition please?" p. 421.

²⁷ The etymology of the epithet is obscure. West, *The Orphic Poems*, p. 205 mentions a derivation from Aramaic *'erekh 'appayin / Hebrew 'erekh 'appayim, literally 'long of nostrils', hence 'long of anger, long-suffering' (of Yahweh in Ex 34, 6, al.) which is in his opinion far-fetched: "Apart from the semantic agreement, Semitic *kap* would normally be represented in Greek by *χ*, not *κ*".

correct one.²⁸ So we can try, following Scaliger, to propose a new etymology based on Hebrew, but in fact going back to the Egyptian language.

3. Judaism and Orphism in the sixteenth century

To connect Judaism and Orphism was not a new phenomenon in Scaliger's time. In fact, from the Hellenistic period onwards, there were different efforts to Jewisize Greek literature.²⁹ For example, Orpheus was regarded as Moses' disciple.³⁰ In particular, fragments 377-8 Bernabé seem to have a Jewish origin.³¹ They are quoted in Eusebius as deriving from Aristobulus of Alexandria, a Jewish philosopher of religions of the second century BC.

At fr. 378.36-37 Moses is alluded to. We have a correction by Scaliger precisely on these verses: he changed ὕλογενής of the manuscripts into ὕδογενής which allows, as Riedweg³² says, a better understanding of the allusion to Moses rescued from the water of the Nilus (Ex 2, 10). This fragment must have been very popular in the sixteenth century if Scaliger worked on it three times³³ and both Estienne and himself put it to the beginning of their Orpheus sections.³⁴ The verses 22-24 and 35-37 are also quoted in *Notae ad Fragmenta Selecta* printed as an appendix at the end of the 1629 edition of Scaliger's *De Emendatione temporum*, p. 8.³⁵

Another reference to Orpheus and Judaism is found in a letter written by Scaliger to François Vertunien on 27 July 1592.³⁶ Here Scaliger expresses his joy for identifying the meaning of a talisman (written in Hebrew) by means of another talisman in Greek fonts:

Vous vous pouvez assurer que j'ay tres bien deviné le talisman du Sieur Vazet, d'autant que j'en ay trouvé la confirmation dans un autre talisman, duquel le fils de Monsieur Turquet m'a donné le poutraict. La figure est telle que celle du Sieur Vazet, mais l'escriture autre toutesfois tendant à mesme fin. Elle est telle: ABPA. KAM. IAΩ. Λ. K. Λ. Ω. K. Θ. Combien que les lettres singulieres se peuvent interpreter diversement, toutesfois il les faut accommoder au sens des trois premiers mots, qui sont entiers, sans aucune ambiguité. Soit donc telle la suite et teneur de la sentence:

²⁸ See W.K.C. Guthrie, *Orpheus and Greek Religion*, Princeton U. P., Princeton 1952, p. 96.

²⁹ See for instance J. van Amersfoort, "An Alexandrian Orphic Theogony", in R. van den Broek - M.J. Vermaseren (eds.), *Studies in Gnosticism and Hellenistic Religions*, Brill, Leiden 1981, p. 13-30.

³⁰ Numenius (fr. 9) identified Moses with Musaeus, and Moses - Musaeus became Orpheus' teacher (Eus., *Praep. Evang.*, IX 27, 4), whereas other sources saw Musaeus as a disciple of Orpheus. See R. Bloch, "Orpheus als Lehrer des Musaios, Moses als Lehrer des Orpheus", in U. Dill - Ch. Walde (eds.), *Antike Mythen. Medien, Transformationen und Konstruktionen*, De Gruyter, Berlin - New York 2009, p. 471-5.

³¹ See C. Riedweg, *Jüdisch-hellenistische Imitation eines orphischen Hieros Logos. Beobachtungen zu OF 245 und 247 (sog. Testament des Orpheus)*, Narr, Tübingen 1993, p. 55-62.

³² See Riedweg, *Jüdisch-hellenistische Imitation*, p. 41.

³³ In Estienne, *Poiësis philosophos*, Appendix, p. 218; in Scal. 25 fol. 113v with ὕδογενής in the main text; in Scaliger's *Notae ad Fragmenta Selecta veterum Graecorum* printed as an appendix in *Iosephi Scaligeri (...) De Emendatione temporum (...)*, Roverius, Geneva 1629, p. 48-9.

³⁴ See Estienne, *Poetae Graeci principes*, p. 481-2, and Id., *Poiësis philosophos*, p. 78-80; Scal. 25, 113r-v.

³⁵ ΕΚ ΤΩΝ ΟΡΦΙΚΩΝ ΟΝΟΜΑΚΡΙΤΟΥ | Οὐ γὰρ κεν τις ἴδοι θνητῶν μερόπων κραίνοντα, | εἰ μὴ μουνογενής τις ἀπορρώξ φύλου ἀνωθεν, | Χαλδαίων. Ἰδρις γὰρ ἔην ἄστροιο πορείης. | ΚΑΙ ΕΤΙ | Ἀρχὴν αὐτὸς ἔχων ἅμα καὶ μέσον, ἡδὲ τελευτήν, | Ὡς λόγος ἀρχαίων, ὡς ὕδογενής διέταξεν | Ἐκ θεόθεν γνῶμασι λαβῶν κάτα δίπλακα θεσμόν.

³⁶ Printed in Scaliger, *Opuscula*, p. 573, and in P. Botley - D. van Miert (eds.), *The Correspondence of Joseph Scaliger*, Geneva, Droz (forthcoming).

חַבְרָה שֵׁם יְהוָה לְוַחֲצִים כָּלֵם לְוַחֲצִינֵנוּ וְשִׁוְנָאֵי טוֹבְתֵינֵנוּ

‘Fuga nomen Dei afflictores omnes affligentes nos, et osores boni nostri’, id est, invidentes utilitati nostrae. Je ne me peine pas beaucoup des lettres singuliers, car c’est folie. Mais vous voyez que $\iota\omega$ est le nom de יהוה, et ainsi le trouverez dans les vers d’Orphée, cité par Eusebe et autres anciens, comme sçavent ceux qui ont leu les auteurs grecs. Tant y a que $\iota\omega$ icy c’est H dans le talisman du dict Sieur Vazet, à sçavoir ”, duplex jod. Là le fait s’adresse à un ange, et icy au nom de Dieu mesmes. Et que direz-vous donques de si belle rencontre?

‘Iao’ is the Greek trigrammaton for the Hebrew tetragrammaton YHWH, expressing the name of the God of Israel (s.v. Lampe).³⁷ In late Antiquity, ‘Iao’ was pretty frequent also among non-Jews in accordance with the syncretistic tendency of the period. The name of the Jewish God gradually disappeared from ‘official’ documents and abbreviations were preferred, especially in magical papyri, amulets, amatory spells, etc.³⁸ Interesting for us is that Scaliger refers to Orpheus’ verses, reported by Eusebius, in which we can also find the name ‘Iao’. He says the same in his *Notae*, p. 38:

ergo nomen tetragrammatum illis [scil. Samaritanis] notum, quod quidem alii $\iota\acute{\alpha}\omega$, ut Orpheus; & Diodorus li.ii $\pi\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}$ δὲ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις Μωσῆν τὸν $\text{IA}\Omega$ ἐπικαλούμενον Θεόν. Alii $\iota\alpha\upsilon$, alii aliter enunciabant.

Diodorus’ passage is *Bibliotheca Historica* 1.94.2 ($\pi\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}$ δὲ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις Μωσῆν τὸν Ἰαὼ ἐπικαλούμενον Θεόν). By contrast, there is no Orphic fragment mentioning ‘Iao’.

The key, however, is offered by Macrobius (*Saturn.*, 1.18.18-21) who wants to state the identity of Dionysus and the Sun by quoting fr. 542 and 543.1 Bernabé. In fr. 543, Macrobius sees a total identification among Zeus, Hades, Helios and Dionysus:³⁹

<p>[18] Solem Liberum esse manifeste pronuntiat Orpheus hoc versu: $\text{Ἥλιος, ὃν Διόνυσον ἐπίκλησιν καλέουσιν}$ et is quidem versus absolutior, ille vero eiusdem vatis operosior: $\epsilonἷς Ζεὺς, εἷς Ἄϊδης, εἷς Ἥλιος, εἷς Διόνυσος.$</p>	<p>That Liber is the sun, Orpheus clearly proclaims in the line: The Sun that is called by name of Dionysus And this verse certainly makes perfect sense, but another line by the same poet is rather more elaborate: One Zeus, one Hades, one Sun, one Dionysus</p>
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³⁷ All the passages in which ‘Iao’ appears are listed in G.H. van Kooten, “Moses/Musaeus/Mochos and His God Yahweh, Iao, and Sabaoth, Seen From a Graeco-Roman Perspective”, in G.H. van Kooten (ed.), *The Revelation of the Name YHWH to Moses*, Brill, Leiden - Boston 2006, p. 126-32. See M. Goodmann, “Jews, Greeks and Romans”, in M. Goodmann (ed.), *Jews in a Graeco-Roman World*, Clarendon, Oxford 1998, p. 10, where ‘Iao’ is identified with the sky.

³⁸ See P. Schäfer, *Judeophobia. Attitudes toward the Jews in the Ancient World*, Harvard U.P., Cambridge MA - London 1997, p. 232 n. 128; see also S. Pulleyn, “The Power of Names in Classical Greek Religion”, *The Classical Quarterly* 44 (1994), p. 23.

³⁹ Translation by M. Stern, *Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism II*, The Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, Jerusalem 1980, p. 411-2.

<p>[19] Huius versus auctoritas fundatur oraculo Apollinis Clarii, in quo aliud quoque nomen soli adicitur, qui in isdem sacris versibus inter cetera vocatur Ἴαώ. Nam consultus Apollo Clarius quis deorum habendus sit qui vocatur Ἴαώ, ita effatus est:</p> <p>[20] ὄργια μὲν δεδαῶτας ἐχρῆν νηπευθέα κεύθειν, εἰ δ' ἄρα τοι παύρη σύνεσις καὶ νοῦς ἀλαπαδνός, φράζεο τὸν πάντων ὕπατον θεὸν ἔμμεν Ἴαώ, χεῖματι μὲν τ' Αἴδην, Δία δ' εἴαρος ἀρχομένιοι, Ἥελιον δὲ θέρους, μετοπώρου δ' ἄβρον Ἴαώ.</p> <p>[21] Huius oraculi vim, numinis nominisque interpretationem, qua Liber pater et sol Ἴαώ significatur, exsecutus est Cornelius Labeo in libro cui titulus est de oraculo Apollinis Clarii.</p>	<p>The authority of this last line is supported by an oracle of Apollo of Clarus, in which yet another name is attached to the sun, which is called in the same sacred verses, among other names, by the name of Iao. For when Apollo of Clarus was asked who among the gods should be identified with him that is called Iao, he declared as follows:</p> <p>Those who have learned the <i>Orgia</i> should keep them in secrecy, / but if the understanding is little and the mind feeble, then ponder that Iao is the supreme god among all, / in winter he is Hades, at the beginning of the spring he is Zeus, / in summer he is Helios, while in autumn he is the graceful Iao.</p> <p>The meaning of this oracle, and the explanation of the deity and the name by which Iao is denoted <i>Liber pater</i> and the sun, are expounded by Cornelius Labeo in a book entitled “On the Oracle of Apollo of Claros”.⁴⁰</p>
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To the Ἴαώ in § 21, Nilsson⁴¹ proposed the correction Ἰακχον. Ἰακχος was the name by which Dionysus was invoked during the Eleusinian mysteries.⁴² From Iakchos to Yahweh/Iao the step is short and self-evident.⁴³

Scaliger therefore refers to fr. 395.2 Bernabé quoted by Eusebius, *Praep. Evang.* II 3, 34 where Ἰακχος is mentioned:

ὡς εἰποῦσα πέπλους ἀνεσύρατο, δεῦξε δὲ πάντα / σώματος οὐδὲ πρέποντα τύπον· παῖς δ' ἦεν Ἰακχος / χειρὶ τέ μιν ῥίπτασκε γελῶν Βαυβοῦς ὑπὸ κόλποις. / ἡ δ' ἐπεὶ οὖν μείδησε θεά, μείδης ἐνὶ θυμῷ, / δέξατο δ' αἰόλον ἄγγος, ἐν ᾧ κυκεῶν ἐνέκειτο.

She spoke, and quick her flowing robes withdrawn / showed all the secret beauty of her form. The child Iacchus, laughing, stretched his hand / to touch her tender breasts, and Baubo smiled; / then, too, the goddess smiled with cheerful thought, / and took the shining bowl which held the draught.⁴⁴

Eusebius reports not only the connections between Orphism and Judaism, but also the relationship between Orpheus and Egypt. There are numerous passages in which Orpheus is said to have taken his doctrine from the Egyptians.⁴⁵ This brings us back to Genesis and Joseph.

⁴⁰ See also Schäfer, *Judeophobia*, p. 52–3 with notes 124–30 on p. 232.

⁴¹ M.P. Nilsson, *Geschichte der griechischen Religion II*, Beck, Munich 1950, p. 457 n. 9.

⁴² M.P. Nilsson, *Geschichte der griechischen Religion I*, Beck, Munich 1967³, p. 664.

⁴³ That Dionysus was identified with Jews' God is also said by Tac., *Hist.* V.5 and Plut., *Quaest. Conv.* IV 5-6.671 C.

⁴⁴ Translation adapted from E.H. Gifford, *Eusebii Pamphili Evangelicae Praeparationis*, Oxford U.P., Clarendon 1903, III, p. 72.

⁴⁵ Eus., *Praep. Evang.* I 6, 4; I 9,3; II 1,23; III 9,12; X 8,4.

4. *Genesis 41, 45*

We are in a key-moment of the story: Joseph's integration into the Egyptian community through the bestowal of a new name. This was a widely spread praxis in Egypt.⁴⁶ In particular, Joseph's Egyptianization is pivotal to the story which will be developed later. Israelites must settle in Egypt so that the 'exodus' can take place.⁴⁷ The epithet 'Zaphenat-Phaneach' appears only here and nowhere else.⁴⁸ There is a Hebrew exegesis of the word going back to Flavius Joseph, *Ant. Iud.*, II.91 Niese, I p. 101:

καὶ προσηγόρευσεν αὐτὸν Ψονθονφάνηχον ἀπιδὼν αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸ παράδοξον τῆς συνέσεως· σημαίνει γὰρ τὸ ὄνομα κρυπτῶν εὐρετήν.⁴⁹

The name would therefore mean 'revealer of hidden things', alluding to Joseph's ability for interpreting dreams. Here Flavius Joseph quotes the name in its Greek transcription, but the explanation he gives is manifestly based on the Hebrew expression זַפְנַת פְּנַח 'Zaphenat-Phaneach', since the root *šāphan* means 'to hide'. St. Jerome noticed this incongruence and commented on it:⁵⁰

Licet Hebraice hoc nomen, *absconditorum repertorem* sonet, tamen quia ab Ægyptio ponitur, ipsius linguæ debet habere rationem. Interpretatur ergo sermone Ægyptio SAPHANET PHANEE (זַפְנַת פְּנַח), sive ut Septuaginta transferre voluerunt, *Psonthom-Phanech*, *Salvator mundi*, eo quod orbem terræ ab imminente famis excidio liberavit.

Migne mentions in footnote 2 a remark by Bernardus according to which two ancient codices confirm Jerome's interpretation: the first explains our expression with the Arabic words meaning *servator mundi*; in the second manuscript, from Oxford, Ψονθομφανήχ is explained in Greek and Latin: ὁ ἐστὶ σωτὴρ τοῦ κόσμου, *Psonthom-Phanec*, *id est*, *Servator mundi*.

St. Jerome mentions Joseph's epithet also in his *Liber de nominibus Hebraicis*, PL 23, col. 829 Migne:

Somthonphanech, corrupte dicitur: nam in Hebræo legimus; saphneth (זַפְנַת) phanee (פְּנַח), quod interpretatur, absconditorum repertor. Porro ab Ægyptiis didicimus, quod in lingua eorum resonet, salvator mundi.

Jean Martianay *apud* Migne, footnote 2, states that the people who study Coptic, the Ancient Egyptian language, agree with Jerome since *salvatorem sæculi* or *mundi* is *ssotem pane* in Coptic which the Septuaginta wrongly read Ψονθομφανήχ, *psontomphanech*. Scholars, at any rate, do not agree with Jerome. Unanimously they refute the explanations of both Jerome and Flavius Joseph.

St. Jerome's mistake – and that of Flavius Joseph – was to want to explain both the Hebrew expression and the Greek transliteration in the same way. It is, by contrast, necessary to distinguish between the two words. The former goes back to Egyptian and is the one which we will deal with in the following lines.⁵¹ It seems to be an artificial name, constructed in the same way as other Egyptian names in which

⁴⁶ C. Westermann, *Genesis 3*, Teilband, Biblischer Kommentar, Neukirchener Verlag, Neukirchen - Vluyn 1982, p. 99.

⁴⁷ N.M. Sarna, *Genesis*, Jewish Publication Society, Philadelphia 1989 (The JPS Torah Commentary), p. 287.

⁴⁸ A list of all given explanations is in J. Vergote, *Joseph en Égypte*, Publications Universitaires, Louvain, 1959, p. 1512.

⁴⁹ Sarna, *Genesis*, p. 288 connects this explanation to Joseph's ability for interpreting dreams.

⁵⁰ Hier., *Liber Hebr. Quaest. in Genesim*, PL 23, col. 1049 Migne.

⁵¹ An interpretation of Ψονθομφανήχ is based on the Late Egyptian word meaning 'the creator (or sustainer) of life'.

the first part commonly mentioned the name of a god and the second expressed the wish 'he lives' or 'may he live!'. In Genesis' case, we do not have the name of a god, but a general reference to 'god'. Instead of 'Anubis speaks', 'Amun speaks' or 'Osiris speaks', we have here in the first part of the epithet simply 'God speaks'.⁵² The second part of the epithet, Phaneach/Phaneach – which is the more interesting one for us – was used as a proper name. Phaneach (Φανεαχ), however, did not suit the Greek language, so we can imagine that he became Φάνης at same point and settled in Greece. Phanes was, in fact, attested as a proper name in the seventh and sixth centuries BC in Greek documents from Egypt.⁵³ It is possible that Orphism used this name. Besides Eusebius' account, connections between Orphism and Egypt cannot be denied.⁵⁴ In Orphic cosmogonies it is possible to encounter Middle Eastern names.⁵⁵ Phanes can thus be interpreted as the Egyptian name Phaneach, which was later Hellenised in the name Phanes bestowed with a Greek etymology. The 'real' Egyptian etymology of Phanes could have switched to his/her epithet 'Erikepaios' traditionally interpreted as 'life-giver'. Orphism concerns 'life' and 'death', so it is easy to imagine that the first-born deity's name was 'Life', Phanes. And indeed Phanes contains in himself/herself the seeds of all gods (fr. 140 Bernabé).

5. Conclusion

As we have seen, Scaliger was interested in the connection between Orphism and Judaism. This results from his letters (the only one reference to Orpheus mentions the fact that Orpheus called god by the trigrammaton indicating Israel's God), from his philological activity (his correction to fr. 378 Bernabé firmly established a parallelism to Moses), and from the texts he dealt with both in his *Notae* and in Scal. 25.

Through Judaism he was able to see a further connection between Orphism and Egypt following Eusebius of Caesarea. In his personal copy of Estienne's *Poiësis philosophos*, he even added to the margin of the first line of Proclus' text reporting fr. 241 Bernabé Joseph's Egyptian name Zaphenat-Phaneach. According to his praxis to comment on philosopher poets, we can assume that this remark was either philological or exegetical. The first case seems to be very unlikely: the heaviest philological problem concerns here 'Erikepaios', which Scaliger gives no impression to have understood. It is more likely that he wanted to add his contribution to the interpretation of the fragment.

Scaliger mastered not only Greek and Hebrew, but also Arabic and Egyptian.⁵⁶ Therefore we can assume that he trusted neither Flavius Joseph nor Jerome,⁵⁷ but that he was aware of the correct meaning 'God speaks: he lives' (or: 'may he live!'), and of the fact that the second part of Joseph's Egyptian name was used as a proper name.

See W.F. Albright, "New Light on Early Recensions of the Hebrew Bible", *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 140 (1955), p. 27-33, in part. p. 31.

⁵² See M. Görg - B. Lang (eds.), *Neues Bibel-Lexikon III (O-Z)*, Benziger, Zurich 2001, III, p. 1154-5.

⁵³ F. Preisigke, *Sammelbuch griechischer Urkunden aus Ägypte I*, Trübner, Strasbourg 1915, p. 2285 and p. 2376; see also M. Radnoti-Alföldi, "Phanes: Einige Gedanken zur Person", in S. Scheers (ed.), *Studia Paulo Naster Oblata I. Numismatica Antiqua*, Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta, Leuven 1982, p. 1-6.

⁵⁴ See W. Burkert, *Die Griechen und der Orient*, Beck, Munich 2003, p. 79-106.

⁵⁵ See M. Marcovich, "Phanes, Phicola, and the Sethians", *The Journal of Theological Studies* 25 (1974), p. 447-51, in part. p. 450.

⁵⁶ It can be seen in the numerous exercise-books which belonged to him and he bequeathed to the University Library of Leiden.

⁵⁷ On Jerome's poor skills as translator and interpreter see J.J. Scaliger, *Scaligerana, editio altera ad verum exemplar restituta(...)*, Scagen, Coloniae Agrippinae 1667 [ed. I. Vossius - J. Dupuy - P. Dupuy], p. 109.

Usually Phanes' name is explained on the basis of the Greek verb φαίνω. We can however argue, following Scaliger, that the name of the Orphic divinity derives from Egyptian, from the same common root used to name Joseph in Gn 41, 45. Phaneach became Phanes in Greek.

The exegetical problem in Proclus' text was to understand on which basis Proclus harmonized Orpheus and Plato. Speaking of Prôtogonos, Scaliger seemed to have understood what he could not find out philologically. Phanes is ζωοδοτήρ (= Erikepaios) since he/she is the Platonic Living-Thing-itself. Scaliger's intuition can be useful if we want to give an alternative etymology for the Orphic divinity Phanes.