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Traces of the Acrostic of the Name of Adam in Greek Literature of the Hellenistic and Roman Periods*

Ślady akrostychu imienia Adam w literaturze greckiej okresu hellenistycznego i rzymskiego

ABSTRACT

The acrostic of the name Adam (Greek: ΑΔΑΜ, Ἀδάμ) is formed from the first letters of the Greek names of the four sides of the world: Ἀνατολή (East), Δύσις (West), Ἄρκτος (North) and Μεσημβρία (South). It is commonly believed that the first traces of this acrostic in ancient sources meet in 'Oracula Sibyllina' (III 24–26), which most probably originated in the environment of the Egyptian Jewish Diaspora in the middle of the second century BC. The purpose of this article is to attempt to prove the hypothesis that the acrostic of the name Adam was known and used much earlier, because, based on the preserved sources, it can be shown that literary traces of this acrostic can be already found in earlier Greek texts dating back to the turn of the 4th and 3rd centuries BC. Philological analysis indicates that traces of this acrostic can be found already in Megasthenes (c. 350 – c. 290 BC). This source seem to prove a certain knowledge of Jewish culture in the circle of researchers associated with Aristotle (384–322 BC) and in the intellectual surroundings of Alexander of Macedon (356–323 BC). Traces of this acrostic can also be found in later authors, such as Agatharchides of Cnidus (c. 205 – c. 130 BC), Polybius (c. 200 – c. 118 BC), Apollodorus of Athens (c. 180 – c. 110 BC), Posidonius of Apamea (c. 135 – c. 50 BC), Diodorus of Sicily (c. 90 – 20 BC), Strabo (64/63 BC – c. 24 AD), Arrian of Nicomedia (c. 80 – c. 160 AD), Claudius Ptolemy (c. 100 – c. 170 AD), Dionysius Periegetes (fl. c. II century AD)

* Abbreviations used in footnotes: FGrHist – Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker (hrsg. von F. Jacoby); FHG – Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum (coll. C. Müllerus); GCS – Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller; GFE – Die geographischen Fragmente des Eratosthenes (hrsg. von H. Beger); GFH – The Geographical Fragments of Hipparchus (ed. D.R. Dicks); GGM – Geographi Graeci Minores (ed. C. Müllerus); PG – Patrologia Graeca; Sch – Sources chrétiennes.

and Marcian of Heraclea (fl. c. II century AD). However, in so far as I know, these sources have not been used in the analysis of the genesis of this acrostic. In the light of the above analyses, it seems reasonable to hypothesize that the origins of the acrostic of the name Adam should be sought not in the Egyptian Jewish Diaspora, but in the circle of Greek philosophical investigations in the field of cosmo- and anthropogenesis and the broadly understood 'ethnography' of barbarian peoples. In this context, it should be assumed that the acrostic is rather a 'product' of Greeks living in the second half of the 14th and at the beginning of the 3rd century BC, not the hellenized Jews from the middle of the second century BC. This, in turn, seems to suggest that his knowledge goes back to an earlier era, or more precisely to Greek-Jewish contacts in the territory of the Achaemenid Empire, where the official language, equal to the Persian language, was so-called *Reichsaramäisch*.

Key words: Ἀνατολή, Δύσις, Ἄρκτος, Μεσημβρία, Septuagint, 'Oracula Sibyllina', Aristotle, Megasthenes, Agatharchides of Cnidus, Polybius, Apollodorus of Athens, Posidonius of Apamea, Diodorus of Sicily, Strabo, Arrian of Nicomedia, Claudius Ptolemy, Dionysius Periegetes, Marcian of Heraclea.

The acrostic of the name of Adam (Greek: ΑΔΑΜ, Ἀδάμ), referred to in the title of this article, is formed by the first letters of the Greek names of the four cardinal directions: Ἀνατολή ('the east'), Δύσις ('the west'), Ἄρκτος ('the north') and Μεσημβρία ('the south'). Thus, from a geographical standpoint, not only was Adam the biblical forefather of mankind, but his name was also treated as a symbol of the whole earth inhabited by his descendants. In the period of Christian antiquity and in the Middle Ages, this Greek acrostic became a relatively widespread combination of letters, although its popularity never matched the acrostic created on the basis of the term ΙΧΘΥΣ (ἰχθύς) meaning 'fish' in English. The latter, as is well known, was frequently used mainly during the period of early Christianity, because it was the symbol of Jesus Christ – Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, Θεοῦ Υἱός, Σωτήρ ('Jesus Christ, Son of God, Savior'). The acrostic of the name of Adam, although not as widespread as the symbol of Christ, is, as mentioned above, relatively common in ancient and medieval sources. For this reason, at least several monographs have been devoted to it, as their authors were trying to show the genesis of this combination of letters as well as the frequency of its appearance in Greek and Latin sources¹. The studies show that the acrostic of the name of Adam was used

¹ Cf. M. Förster, *Adams Erschaffung und Namengebung. Ein lateinisches Fragment des s. g. slawischen Henoah*, 'Archiv für Religionswissenschaft' 1908, 11, pp. 477–529; E. Turdeanu, *Dieu créa l'homme de huit éléments et tira son nom des quatre coins du monde*, 'Revue des Études Roumaines' 1974, 13–14, pp. 163–194 (= idem, *Apocryphes slaves et roumaines de l'Ancien Testament*, *Studia in Veteris Testamenti Pseudepigrapha* 5, Leiden 1981, pp. 404–435); D. Cerbelaud, *Le nom d'Adam et les points cardinaux. Recherches sur un thème patristique*, 'Vigiliae Christianae' 1984, 38, pp. 285–301; Ch. Böttrich, *Adam als Mikrokosmos*.

mainly by Latin authors. Perhaps they saw it as a manifestation of scientific erudition, especially in the Middle Ages. In addition, Greek insertions provided some graphic variety to the Latin text and contributed to an increase in the market price of manuscripts. For the Byzantines, however, it seems that this acrostic was a certain philological manifestation. They probably treated it as a kind of elementary common good contained in their native language, which was most likely considered a school cliché. This acrostic also seemed to confirm the fact that Greek was rightly regarded as the second, alongside Hebrew, inspired biblical language in which the important and profound theological content could be clearly expressed.

In addition to the aforementioned monographs, a great number of occasional references to the acrostic of the name of Adam can be found in contemporary literature. As their number is so high in Western literature, it is difficult to demonstrate the above references together as authoritative bibliographical notes, for example by dividing them by context in which they occur or by specific modern languages. Alternatively, one may be tempted to use a kind of bibliographic *lineamenta* which will allow the reader to see the scope of this problem as a schematic representation. Genetically speaking, the acrostic of the name of Adam was revived *expressis verbis* in modern science probably by Giacomo Bosio (1544 – 2 February 1627) in his treatise ‘La Trionfante e Gloriosa Croce’, which appeared in Italian in 1610. A Latin version was published seven years later (1617)². Several important encyclopaedias and specialist lexicons that have undoubtedly contributed to the spread of this acrostic can also be identified³. In contemporary foreign-language literature on the subject,

Eine Untersuchung zum slavischen Henochbuch, Judentum und Umwelt 59, Frankfurt am Main–Berlin 1995; P. Kochanek, *Die Vorstellung vom Norden und der Eurozentrismus. Eine Auswertung der patristischen und mittelalterlichen Literatur*, Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Europäische Geschichte Mainz. Abteilung für Abendländische Religionsgeschichte 205, Mainz 2004, pp. 164–208; S.J. Voicu, *Adamo, acrostico del mondo*, ‘Apocrypha’ 2007, 18, pp. 205–230; P. Kochanek, *Anatole – Dysis – Arktos – Mesembria*, ‘Vox Patrum’ 2008, 28, 52, pp. 471–488; P. Marone, *L’acrostico AΔAM e la ghematria nella letteratura cristiana antica e medievale*, ‘Rivista Biblica’ 2013, 63, pp. 225–246; S.J. Voicu, *Gematria e acrostico di Adamo: nuovi testimoni*, ‘Apocrypha’ 2014, 25, pp. 181–193.

² I. Bosius, *Crux triumphans et gloriosa*, Antverpiae 1617, p. 17D.

³ Cf. K. Kohler, *Adam*, in: *The Jewish Encyclopedia*, vol. 1: *Aach–Apocalyptic Literature*, 3rd ed., New York–London 1916, p. 174; M. Guttmann, *Adam* (in *Talmud und Midrasch*), in: *Encyclopaedia Judaica. Das Judentum in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 1. Bd.: *Aach–Akademien*, Berlin 1928, szp. 762; E. Zolli, *Adamo II: Letteratura rabbinica*, in: *Enciclopedia Cattolica*, vol. I: *A–Arn*, Città del Vaticano 1948, szp. 276; Ἀδάμ, in: *A Patristic Greek Lexikon*, ed. by G.W.H. Lampe, Oxford 1961, p. 27; L. Scheffczyk, *Adam I*, in: *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, 1. Bd.: *Aachen bis Bettelordenskirchen*, München–Zürich 1980, szp. 111; G. Bonner, *Adam*, in: *Augustinus-Lexikon*, vol. I: *Aaron–Conuersio*, hrsg. von C. Mayer, Basel–Stuttgart 1986, p. 67; H. Meyer,

the acrostic appears relatively often, mainly in the context of the history of medieval cartography⁴. This is due to the close links between cartography of that period and the Biblical concept of the world. The second context in which the acrostic appears is the idea of micro- and macrocosm, well known both in antiquity and in the Middle Ages⁵. The acrostic consists of four letters of the Greek alphabet. Because of that, it is also included in the scope of gematria⁶, contemplated upon in terms of connections with other

R. Suntrup, *Lexikon der mittelalterlichen Zahlenbedeutungen*, Münstersche Mittelalter-Schriften 56, München 1987, col. 401; Adam, in: *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, ed. by F.L. Cross and E.A. Livingstone, 3rd ed., Oxford 1997, p. 15.

⁴ Cf. K. Miller, *Mappaemundi. Die ältesten Weltkarten*, III. Heft: *Die kleineren Weltkarten*, Stuttgart 1895, p. 118; G.-J. Arentzen, *Imago mundi cartographica. Studien zur Bildlichkeit mittelalterlicher Welt- und Ökumenekarten unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des Zusammenwirkens von Text und Bild*, Münstersche Mittelalter-Schriften 53, München 1984, pp. 154–155; A.-D. von den Brincken, *Gyrus und Spera – Relikte griechischer Geographie im Weltbild der Frühscholastik (Aufgezeigt an fünf lateinischen Weltkarten des beginnenden 12. Jahrhunderts)*, 'Sudhoffs Archiv' 1989, 73 Heft 2, p. 142 (= eadem, *Studien zur Universalkartographie des Mittelalters*, hrsg. von Th. Szabó, Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte 229, Göttingen 2008, p. 363); eadem, *Fines Terrae. Die Enden der Erde und der vierte Kontinent auf mittelalterlichen Weltkarten*, Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Schriften 36, Hannover 1992, p. 67; H. Herbrüggen Schulte, „Ite in mundum universum“. Beobachtungen zur „Imago mundi“ im Dom zu Hereford, in: *Reisen in reale und mythische Ferne. Reiseliteratur in Mittelalter und Renaissance*, hrsg. von P. Wunderli, Studia Humaniora 22, Düsseldorf 1993, p. 70; B. Englisch, *Ordo orbis terrae. Die Weltsicht in den Mappae mundi der frühen und hohen Mittelalters*, Orbis Mediaevalis 3, Berlin 2002, p. 105; E. Edson, E. Savage-Smith, A.-D. von den Brincken, *Der mittelalterliche Kosmos. Karten der christlichen und islamischen Welt*, Aus dem Englischen von T. Ganschow, 2. Aufl., Darmstadt 2011, p. 57; A. Scafi, *Le premier homme comme microcosme et préfiguration du Christ: la mappemonde d'Ebtorf et le nom d'Adam*, in: *Adam, le premier homme*, textes réunis par A. Paravicini Bagliani, Micrologus Library 45, Firenze 2012, pp. 183–198.

⁵ Cf. G. Gröber, *Grundriss der romanischen Philologie*, 2. Bd., 1. Abt., Strassburg 1902, p. 834; H. Vogels, *Die Tempelreinigung und Golgota (Joh 2, 19–22)*, 'Biblische Zeitschrift' 1962, N.F. 6, p. 105; H. Urs von Balthasar, *Das Ganze im Fragment. Aspekte der Geschichtstheologie*, Einsiedeln 1963, pp. 48–49; B. Bronder, *Das Bild der Schöpfung und Neuschöpfung der Welt als „orbis quadratus“*, 'Frühmittelalterliche Studien' 1972, 6, p. 199 and footnote 48; B. Maurmann, *Die Himmelsrichtungen im Weltbild des Mittelalters: Hildegard von Bingen, Honorius Augustodunensis und andere Autoren*, Münstersche Mittelalter-Schriften 33, München 1976, pp. 34 and 67; H. Maguire, *Adam and the Animals: Allegory and the Literal Sense in Early Christian Art*, 'Dumbarton Oaks Papers' 1987, 41, p. 368; D. Lecoq, *Le temps et l'intemporel sur quelques représentations médiévales du monde au XII^e et au XIII^e siècles*, in: *Le temps, sa mesure et sa perception au Moyen Âge, Actes du colloque, Orléans 12–13 avril 1991*, sous la dir. de B. Ribémont, Caen 1992, p. 117; C. Lecouteux, *Les monstres dans la pensée médiévale européenne. Essai de présentation*, Cultures et Civilisations Médiévales 10, Paris 1993, p. 76; R. Finckh, *Minor Mundus Homo. Studien zur Mikrokosmos-Idee in der mittelalterlichen Literatur*, Palaestra. Untersuchungen zur Europäischen Literatur 306, Göttingen 1999, p. 55.

⁶ Cf. J. Sauer, *Symbolik des Kirchengebäudes und seiner Ausstattung in der Auffassung des Mittelalters. Mit Berücksichtigung von Honorius Augustodunensis, Sicardus und Durandus*, Freiburg im Breisgau 1902, pp. 56 and 64; J. Ehlers, *Arca significat ecclesiam. Ein theologisches*

elements of the *universum* incorporating the number four, e.g. the four seasons, the four elements or the four rivers of Paradise (Genesis 2:10–14). Onomastics too, in a way out of necessity, has shown some interest in the acrostic of the name of Adam⁷. The examples above should illustrate the immensity of the research field implied by the acrostic. The combination of letters in question is also mentioned occasionally in Polish literature on the subject. These references are relatively sparse, but, nevertheless, the following list is by no means complete⁸. The acrostic of the name of Adam

Weltmodell aus der ersten Hälfte des 12. Jahrhunderts, 'Frühmittelalterliche Studien' 1972, 6, pp. 173 and 178; B. Mauermann, *Die Himmelsrichtungen im Weltbild des Mittelalters*, pp. 190 and 194, footnote 28; B. Bagati, E. Testa, *Il Golgota e la Croce. Ricerche storico-archeologiche*, Studium Biblicum Franciscanum. Collectio Minor 21, Jerusalem 1978, p. 109; H. Meyer, R. Suntrup, *Lexikon der mittelalterlichen Zahlenbedeutungen*, pp. 383–384.

⁷ Cf. D. Stone, *Lexicon of Patristic Greek*, Ἀδάμ, 'Journal of Theological Studies' 1923, 24, p. 473; R. Klinck, *Die lateinische Etymologie des Mittelalters*, Medium Aevum 17, München 1970, p. 74 and footnote 14; J. Knobloch, *Namen Gottes und der Engel*, in: *Namenforschung. Ein internationales Handbuch zur Onomastik*, hrsg. von E. Eichler, G. Hilty, H. Löffler, H. Steger, L. Zgusta, 2. Teilband, Handbücher zur Sprach- und Kommunikationswissenschaft 11, Berlin–New York 1996, p. 1848.

⁸ The acrostic in studies, cf. J. Strzelczyk, *Gerwazy z Tilbury. Studium z dziejów uczoności geograficznej w średniowieczu*, Monografie z Dziejów Nauki i Techniki 66, Wrocław–Warszawa 1970, p. 119; R. Graves, R. Patai, *Mity hebrajskie. Księga Rodzaju*, transl. R. Gromacka, Warszawa 1993, p. 65; M. Lurker, *Przestanie symboli w mitach, kulturach i religiach*, transl. R. Wojnarowski, Kraków 1994, p. 195; S. Kobielus, *Geometryczny wymiar Krzyża (O jednej ze średniowiecznych koncepcji porządkowania „Universum”)*, 'Saeculum Christianum' 1995, 2, 2, pp. 92; G. Scholem, *Kabala i jej symbolika*, transl. R. Wojnarowski, Kraków 1996, p. 177; D. Forstner, *Świat symboliki chrześcijańskiej. Leksykon*, transl. W. Zakrzewska, P. Pachciarek, R. Turzyński, 2nd edn., Warszawa 2001, p. 44; W. Berschin, *Grecko-łacińskie średniowiecze. Od Hieronima do Mikołaja z Kuzy*, transl. and ed. K. Liman, Gniezno 2003, pp. 91–92. 96. 198, footnote 4. and p. 200; P. Stepien, *Z literatury religijnej polskiego średniowiecza. Studia o czterech tekstach*, Warszawa 2003, p. 73 and footnote 191; L. Wojciechowski, *Drzewo przenajszlachetniejsze. Problematyka Drzew Krzyża w chrześcijaństwie zachodnim (IV – połowa XVII wieku). Od legend do kontrowersji wyznaniowych i piśmiennictwa specjalistycznego*, Lublin 2003, p. 228 and p. 306, footnote 326; *Encyklopedia Kościoła*, vol. 1: A–K, comp. by F.L. Cross and E.A. Livingstone, transl. E. Czerwińska et al., 3rd edn., Warszawa 2004, p. 14; J. Seibert, *Leksykon sztuki chrześcijańskiej: tematy, postacie, symbole*, transl. D. Petruk, Kielce 2007, p. 139; S. Kobielus, *Krzyż Chrystusa. Od znaku i figury do symbolu i metafory*, Tyniec 2010, p. 168; J. Ratzinger, *Opera omnia*, vol. I: *Lud i Dom Boży w nauce św. Augustyna o Kościele*, transl. W. Szymona, Lublin 2014, p. 605; J. Spruita, *Mistyka katedry gotyckiej. Architektura sakralna jako obraz i symbol postawy modlitewnej*, 'Studia Gnesnensia' 2014, 28, p. 238; J. Zaborowska-Musiał, 'Sacrae litterae'. *Anagramatyczne wariacje na temat „virginis – deiparae” w „Oraculum parthenium” Józefa Stanisława Biezanowskiego (1668)*, 'Symbolae Philologorum Poznaniensium Graecae et Latinae' 2014, 24, 1, p. 176; A. Kołos, *Mapowanie monstrualności w myśli i kartografii średniowiecznej*, in: *Świat bliski i świat daleki w staropolskich przestrzeniach*, eds. M. Jarczykow, B. Mazurkow, with S.P. Dąbrowski, Prace Naukowe Uniwersytetu Śląskiego w Katowicach 3317, Katowice 2015, p. 24; W. Wołyniec, 'Christus totus' – różne drogi interpretacji, 'Roczniki Teologiczne' 2016, 63, 2, p. 59. The acrostic in commentaries

has also been mentioned several times in publications of the undersigned, mainly in the field of cartography of late antiquity and the Middle Ages, as well as in the aspect of deliberations concerning the micro- and macrocosm⁹.

Today, it is almost universally accepted that in the preserved literary legacy of antiquity the acrostic of the name of Adam appears for the first time in the third book of 'Oracula Sibyllina', in the following context¹⁰:

αὐτὸς δὴ θεὸς ἐστ' ὁ πλάσας τετραγράμματος Ἀδὰμ
τὸν πρῶτον πλασθέντα καὶ οὖνομα πληρώσαντα
ἀντολίην τε δύσιν τε μεσημβρίην τε καὶ ἄρκτον·

It is commonly believed that this inscription was written among the Egyptian Jewish diaspora in the middle of the 2nd century BC.¹¹ This version of the acrostic is considered to be, chronologically, the first one found in the preserved sources. However, it should be stressed that the

on translations, cf. Kassianus Bassus, *Geoponika. Bizantyńska encyklopedia rolnicza*, transl., introduction and commentary by I. Mikołajczyk, Toruń 2012, p. 307, footnote 1099 (= XIII 8, 4. Cf. XIV 5, 1, transl. I. Mikołajczyk, p. 317)

⁹ P. Kochanek, *Gdzie leży Raj? Biblia a średniowieczny obraz świata*, in: *Sympozja Kazimierskie*, vol. 5: *Miejsce święte w epoce późnego antyku*, eds. B. Iwaszkiewicz-Wronikowska, D. Próchniak, Towarzystwo Naukowe KUL. Prace Wydziału Historyczno-Filologicznego 121, Lublin 2005, pp. 115–116; idem, *Boska prawica a europocentryzm*, in: *Wiedza między słowem a obrazem*, eds. M. Zemła, A. Jabłoński, J. Szymczyk, *Studia nad Wiedzą* 3, Lublin 2010, pp. 160–161 and 165, fig. 1B; idem, *Schematy ekumeny w literaturze patrystycznej w kontekście klasycznych schematów zamieszkałej Ziemi*, 'Vox Patrum' 2010, 30, 55, pp. 326 and 330, fig. 3A; idem, *Kartografia antropomorficzna a europejska ideologia hierarchii narodów*, in: *Kreowanie społeczeństwa niewiedzy*, eds. A. Jabłoński, J. Szymczyk, M. Zemła, *Studia nad Wiedzą* 7, Lublin 2015, p. 108. Cf. footnote 1.

¹⁰ *Oracula Sibyllina* III 24–26, ed. J. Geffcken: *Die Oracula Sibyllina*, GCS 8, Leipzig 1902, pp. 47–48. The full quotation of this passage can be found, among others, in the following pages: M. Förster, *Adams Erschaffung und Namengebung*, p. 515, footnote 4; N. Forbes, R.H. Charles, *2 Enoch, or the Book of the Secrets of Enoch*, in: *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament in english, with Introductions and Critical and Explanatory Notes to the Several Books*, ed. by R.H. Charles, vol. II: *Pseudepigrapha*, Oxford 1913, p. 449, footnote 13; [A.-J.] Festugière, *La révélation d'Hermès Trismégistos*, vol. I: *L'Astrologie et les sciences occultés*, Avec un appendice sur l'„Hermétisme Arabe" par L. Massignon, 2^{ème} éd., Paris 1950, p. 269, footnote 2; Y.G. Lepage, *Les versions françaises médiévales du récit apocryphe de la formation d'Adam*, 'Romania' 1979, 100, p. 161; D. Cerbelaud, *Le nom d'Adam*, p. 298; Ch. Böttrich, *Adam als Mikrokosmos*, p. 23; P. Kochanek, *Die Vorstellung vom Norden*, p. 165, footnote 10; S.J. Voicu, *Adamo, acrostico del mondo*, p. 206; idem, *Boska prawica a europocentryzm*, p. 161, footnote 7; idem, *Schematy ekumeny*, p. 326.

¹¹ Cf. D. Cerbelaud, *Le nom d'Adam et les points cardinaux*, p. 298; Ch. Böttrich, *Adam als Mikrokosmos*, p. 23 and footnote 80; P. Kochanek, *Die Vorstellung vom Norden und der Eurozentrismus*, pp. 165–166; idem, *Anatole – Dysis – Arktos – Mesembria*, p. 472. Cf. footnote 1 and 10.

Greek names of the four cardinal directions are arranged in such an order that the word they form is in fact ἀδμά and not ἀδάμ, which is due to the fact that the south (μεσημβρία) was placed before the north (ἄρκτος). The priority given to the south here is explained by the fact that Egyptian maps were oriented towards the south, because that was the location of the source of the Nile, the main geographical axis of the country of Pharaohs, also called the gift of the Nile¹².

If we accept the statement above, we must also acknowledge that the acrostic of the name of Adam appears relatively late in the preserved sources. Meanwhile, as it is commonly known, the Jewish diaspora in Egypt probably existed already circa 700 BC, and the Persian and Hellenistic periods opened up new opportunities for Jewish settlers on the Nile. In Egypt, Jews, Persians and Greeks were all newcomers, not necessarily welcome by the indigenous peoples. It can therefore be assumed that this fact alone may have constituted a certain background for agreement and convergence between the two nations. However, the meeting of Greek and Jewish culture in Egypt must have taken place much earlier. Greek mercenaries were stationed in Egypt already in the times of Psamtik I (664–610 BC), while in the Achaemenid period Greek garrisons were also installed in Palestine. Greek merchants as well as communication between both groups and the Palestinian administration where Jews were employed should be mentioned alongside the military. Consequently, it can be assumed that there had already been stable and long-lasting Jewish-Greek relations¹³. It should also be noted that the language of the Persian administration was Imperial Aramaic (German: *Reichsaramäisch*, French: *Araméen d'Empire*)¹⁴, which was only replaced by

¹² Cf. G. Posener, *Sur l'orientation et l'ordre des points cardinaux chez les Égyptiens*, in: *Nachrichten von der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen. Philologisch-historische Klasse*, 1965, no. 2, pp. 69–78; Ch. Böttrich, *Adam als Mikrokosmos*, p. 24 and footnote 84; P. Kochanek, *Die Vorstellung vom Norden und der Eurozentrismus*, p. 165, footnote 10; idem, *Anatole – Dysis – Arktos – Mesembria*, p. 472, footnote 3; N.B. Hansen, *Egypt Embodied: Anatomy as Geographical Referent in Ancient Egypt and Egyptian Arabic*, in: *Thebes and Beyond: Studies in Honour of Kent R. Weeks*, eds. by Z. Hawass and S. Ikram, *Supplément aux Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte* 41, Le Cairo 2010, pp. 42–43.

¹³ Cf. J.M.G. Barclay, *Jews in the Mediterranean Diaspora: From Alexander to Trajan (323 BCE – 117 CE)*, *Hellenistic Culture and Society* 33, Berkeley–Los Angeles 1996, p. 20; P. Schäfer, *The History of the Jews in the Greco-Roman World*, [trl. by D. Chowcat], London–New York 2005, p. 1; G. Stemberger, *Jews and Graeco-Roman Culture: From Alexander to Theodosius II*, in: *The Jewish-Greek Tradition in Antiquity and the Byzantine Empire*, eds. by J.K. Aitken and J.C. Paget, Cambridge 2014, p. 15.

¹⁴ The term *Reichsaramäisch* was introduced as a technical term by Joseph Markwart (9 December 1864–4 February 1930), cf. J. Markwart, *Ádina 'Freitag'*, *Ungarische Jahrbücher* 1927, 7, p. 91, footnote 1. However, Charles Clermont-Ganneau (19 February 1846 – 15

Greek in the Hellenistic period. It seems likely that apart from the official administrative and commercial contacts, Greeks, who were especially curious about the world, tried to better understand their neighbours also from the point of view of their culture and religion. Since the Jewish religion was based on the Book, it can be assumed that Greeks already had some idea about its contents long before the Septuagint. The normative texts were probably particularly interesting from the political point of view. However, looking at the preserved Greek literary legacy, one should also bear in mind the potential interest of the Hellenes in texts concerning cosmo- and anthropogenesis. It is known that Aristotle (384–322 BC) and his students, mainly Theophrastus (c. 370–287 BC), analysed the so-called νόμιμα βαρβαρικά¹⁵, and one of the elements of this collection could be

February 1923) was probably the first to write about the use of the Aramaic language in the Persian administration, cf. Ch. Clermont-Ganneau, *Origine perse des monuments araméens d'Égypte (Notes d'archéologie orientale)*, 'Revue Archéologique' 1878, N.S. 36, pp. 93–107; 1879, 37, pp. 21–39. Cf. F. Altheim, R. Stiehl, *Die Aramäische Sprache unter den Achemeniden*, 1. Bd.: *Geschichtliche Untersuchungen*, Frankfurt am Main 1963, p. 1. 55. 75 and 109; J.A. Delaunay, *L'araméen d'empire et les débuts de l'écriture en Asie centrale*, in: *Commémoration Cyrus – Hommage universel*, Acta Iranica 2, Leiden 1974, vol. 2, pp. 219–236; idem, *Genèse de l'araméen d'empire*, vol. 1: *Texte et illustrations*, Paris 1985; K. Beyer, *The Aramaic Language. Its Distribution and Subdivisions*, trl. from German by J.F. Healey, Göttingen 1986; E. Lipiński, *Araméen d'empire*, in: *Le langage dans l'Antiquité*, sous la dir. de P. Swiggers et A. Wouters, La Pensée Linguistique 3, Leuven–Paris 1990, pp. 94–133; J. Margain, *L'araméen d'empire*, in: *La Palestine à l'époque perse*, sous la dir. de E.–M. Laperrousaz et A. Lemaire, Paris 1994, pp. 227–229; A. Serandour, *Hébreu et araméen dans la Bible*, 'Source' 2000, 159, 3–4, pp. 345–355; Ch. Bae, 'Aramaic as a Lingua Franca during the Persian Empire (538–333 B.C.E.)', *Journal of Universal Language*, 2004, 5, pp. 1–20.

¹⁵ Cf. Varro, *De lingua latina* VII 70, ed. R.G. Kent: Varro, *On the Latin Language*, vol. I: *Books V–VII*, Loeb Classical Library 333, London–Cambridge (Mass.) 1938, p. 328 (= *Aristotelis qui ferebantur librorum fragmenta*, coll. V. Rose, Lipsiae 1886, pp. 367, 8–10: F 604): 'Hoc factitatum Aristoteles scribit in libro qui in-scribitur Νόμιμα βαρβαρικά'; Cicero, *De finibus bonorum et malorum* V 4, 11, ed. H. Rackham: Cicero, *De finibus bonorum et malorum*, Loeb Classical Library 40, London–New York 1914, pp. 402: 'Omnium fere civitatum non Graeciae solum, sed etiam barbariae ab Aristotele mores, instituta, disciplinas, a Theophrasto leges etiam cognovimus'; Apollonius, *Historiae mirabiles* XI, rev. O. Keller: Apollonius, *Historiae mirabiles*, in: *Rerum Naturalium Scriptores Graeci Minores*, vol. I: *Paradoxographi: Antigonus, Apollonius, Phlegon, Anonymus Vaticanus*, Lipsiae 1877, pp. 47, 16 (= *Aristotelis qui ferebantur librorum fragmenta*, pp. 367, 14–15: F 605): 'Ἀριστοτέλης (...) ἐν νομίμοις βαρβαροῖς (...)'; Athenaeus Naucratis, *Dipnosophistae* I 42, 23d, rev. G. Kaibel: Athenaeus Naucratis, *Dipnosophistae*, vol. I: *Libri I–V*, Lipsiae 1887, pp. 52, 19 (= *Aristotelis qui ferebantur librorum fragmenta*, pp. 368, 5–6: F 607): 'Ἀριστοτέλης ἐν Τυρρηγῶν Νομίμοις'. Cf. also E. Heitz, *Die verlorenen Schriften des Aristoteles*, Leipzig 1865, pp. 252–253; E. Zeller, *Die Philosophie der Griechen in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung*, 2. Theil/2. Abtheilung: *Aristoteles und die Alten Peripatetiker*, 3. Aufl., Leipzig 1879, pp. 105–106, footnote 3; P. Moraux, *Les listes anciennes des ouvrages d'Aristote*, préface par A. Mansion, Louvain 1951, p. 130, footnote 44.

a selection of provisions of the Jewish religious law¹⁶. In a noteworthy preserved text of Clearchus of Soli (c. 350 – c. 290 BC), also a student of Aristotle, he claimed that his master had met a Jewish sage in Asia Minor, and that he had greatly valued his knowledge, comparing it with the knowledge of Indian philosophers¹⁷. The analyses¹⁸ that this excerpt has been subjected to do not question the potential authenticity of the described event. In the time of Aristotle and his direct students communication between Greeks and Jews had to be an ordinary phenomenon already, and Clearchus of Soli's mention may be vital for today's researchers, whereas for the ancient people the situation described was relatively common and Clearchus himself wanted to simply draw attention to the wide intellectual contacts of his master. Some, at least, fragmentary knowledge about the monotheistic Jewish culture was probably not foreign among the milieu of Alexander the Great (20/21 July 356 – 10/11 June 323 BC), a student of Aristotle, all the more so because during his campaign against Persia both

¹⁶ D. Barthélemy, *Études d'histoire du texte de l'Ancien Testament*, Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 21, Göttingen 1978, p. 330.

¹⁷ This passage by Clearchus of Soli has been preserved in the treatise 'Against Apion' by Flavius Josephus (c. 37 – c. 100): Flavius Iosephus, *De Iudaeorum vetustate sive Contra Apionem* I 176–183, ed. B. Niese, in: Flavius Iosephus *Opera*, vol. V, Berolini 1889, pp. 32, 15–34, 1. The passage, in a slightly shorter version, was also given by Eusebius of Caesarea (c. 264 – c. 340): Eusebius Caesariensis, *Praeparatio Evangelica* IX 5, 1–7, ed. K. Mras, É. des Places: Eusebius Caesariensis, *Werke*, 8. Bd.: *Die Praeparatio Evangelica*, 1. Teil: *Einleitung, die Bücher I bis X*, GCS 43/1, 2. Aufl., Berlin 1982, pp. 491, 13–492, 12. One short sentence referring to Clearchus' text can be found in Clement of Alexandria's work (c. 150 – c. 215): Clemens Alexandrinus, *Stromata* I 15, 70, 2, eds. O. Stählin, L. Früchtel: Clemens Alexandrinus, [Werke], 2. Bd.: *Stromata. Buch I–VI*, GCS 52(15), 3. Aufl., Berlin 1960, pp. 44, 11–12. A fragment of Flavius' treatise can be found in two collections of Clearchus' legacy: Clearchus Solensis, *De Somno* F 69, coll. C. Müllerus, in: *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*, vol. II, Parisiis 1878, pp. 323–324; Clearchus, *Περὶ ὕπνου* F 6, ed. F. Wehrli, in: *Die Schule des Aristoteles. Texte und Kommentar*, 3. Heft: *Klearchos*, Basel 1948, pp. 10, 20–11, 14 (and pp. 47–48: note). It was also included in the monumental anthology by Menahem Stern (5 March 1925 – 22 June 1989): *Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism*, vol. I: *From Herodotus to Plutarch*, ed. with Introductions, Translations and Commentary by M. Stern, *Fontes ad Res Judaicas Spectantes*, 2nd ed., Jerusalem 1976, pp. 49–50 (F 15). Cf. also *Jewish Life and Thought among Greeks and Romance: Primary Readings*, eds. and introd. by L.H. Feldman and M. Reinhold, Edinburgh 1996, p. 6.

¹⁸ Cf. E. Silberschlag, *The Earliest Record of the Jews in Asia Minor*, 'Journal of Biblical Literature' 1933, 52, pp. 66–77; H. Lewy, *Aristotle and the Jewish Sage According to Clearchus of Soli*, 'Harvard Theological Review' 1938, 31, 3, pp. 205–235; M. Stern, O. Murray, *Hecataeus of Abdera and Theophrastus on Jews and Egyptians*, 'Journal of Egyptian Archaeology' 1973, 59, pp. 159–168; G. Dietze-Mager, *Die „Politeiai“ des Aristoteles und ihre Beziehung zu den „Nomima Barbarika“*, 'Mediterranea' 2017, 2, pp. 35–72. Cf. also I.P. Leyra, *Reconstructing the First Steps of Hellenistic Ethnography. The Nomima Barbarika of P.Lond. Lit 112 Reconsidered*, 'Archiv für Papyrusforschung und verwandte Gebiete' 2015, 61, 2, pp. 235–275.

the chief himself and those around him without a doubt benefited profusely from earlier Greek contacts in Phoenicia, Palestine and Egypt, moving constantly in the circle of *Reichsaramäisch*. The planned organisation of the Macedonian empire after the period of conquest obviously remains conjectural. Alexander's death in fact prevented the stabilisation of his work. However, it can be assumed that the plan was based on profoundly understood universalism, based on, inter alia, the research on νόμιμα βαρβαρικά (or even inspired by it), which is strongly reflected in certain Diadochi activities. From this perspective, we should probably consider the fact that the Jewish Bible was translated into Greek in the wealthy Egypt of the Ptolemies. The first indirect step in this direction, taken by Ptolemy I Soter (323–283 BC), as suggested by Erich Bayer, was an attempt to attract Theophrastus to Alexandria. This was to be a prelude to the transfer of the entire school of Aristotle to the metropolis on the Nile¹⁹. In this way, Alexandria would become New Athens of some sort, which should probably also be treated as a reflection of the universalistic concept of the young king of Macedonia. However, the only one who came to Alexandria was a student of Aristotle and Theophrastus, Demetrius of Phalerum (c. 350 – c. 280 BC), who, as one can guess, was familiar with the studies of the Peripatetics on the abovementioned νόμιμα βαρβαρικά. As described by Plutarch (c. 50 – c. 125 AD), he is said to have advised Ptolemy II Philadelphus (283–246 BC) to collect prominent works on the exercise of power, which included normative provisions²⁰. Following this idea of Demetrius, Ptolemy II ordered, among other things, the Pentateuch to be translated into Greek, thus probably fulfilling a postulate present in the minds of Greek intellectuals already during Aristotle's lifetime, or perhaps much earlier. It is also possible that this was the wish of Alexander and the Jewish diaspora in Egypt²¹.

However, both the Pentateuch and the entire Bible in the Septuagint version do not contain the acrostic of the name of Adam²². The word

¹⁹ E. Bayer, *Demetrius Phalereus der Athener*, Tübinger Beiträge zur Altertumswissenschaft 36, Stuttgart 1942, p. 97. Cf. D. Barthélemy, *Études d'histoire du texte de l'Ancien Testament*, p. 330, footnote 21.

²⁰ Plutarchus, *Regum apophthegmata* 189D, rev. W. Nachstädt, W. Sieveking, J.B. Titchener: Plutarchus, *Moralia*, vol. II, Leipzig 1971, pp. 54, 13–16. Cf. D. Barthélemy, *Études d'histoire du texte de l'Ancien Testament*, p. 330 and footnote 21.

²¹ Cf. D. Barthélemy, *Études d'histoire du texte de l'Ancien Testament*, p. 330; B. Botte – P.M. Bogaert, *Septante et versions grecques*, A: *La Septante*, in: *Supplément au Dictionnaire de la Bible*, fasc. 68: *Sens de l'Écriture – Sermon sur la Montagne*, sous la dir. de J. Briand et É. Cothenet, Paris 1993, p. 538.

²² The edition used here: *Septuaginta. Id est est Vetus Testamentum graece iuxta LXX interpretes*, ed. A. Rahlfs, verkleinerte Ausgabe in einem Band, Stuttgart 1979.

ἀνατολή ('the east') was used 186 times²³. The term δύσις ('the west') appears in the Greek translation only once (Ps 103 in LXX (= 104):19), while the word δυση appears as many as 59 times²⁴. The term ἄρκτος ('the north') was not used in the Greek text at all. βορρᾶ was used instead. Finally, the term μεσημβρία ('the south') was used 26 times, but it occurs in the geographical sense only in the Book of Daniel (Dn 8:4), while in other cases it means 'noon'²⁵. Two terms, νότος and λίψ, denote the south in Septuagint. For the sake of good order, it is worth mentioning that so far much attention has been paid to the analysis of terminology referring to the four cardinal directions in the Hebrew Bible²⁶ and the Semitic languages as such²⁷.

From the point of view of these analyses, it is also important that the Pentateuch translated in the times of Ptolemy II Philadelphus contained another element, which was important for the mentality of ancient Greek researchers, in addition to the normative regulations. It was the above-mentioned description of cosmo- and anthropogenesis (Genesis 1–3). Although quite short, the text seems to be extremely important, because it could have been a great, though only hypothetical, inspiration for the creation of the acrostic of the name of Adam. It is easy to imagine that this acrostic was created in the Greek-Jewish philological environment of Alexandria of that time, because the first three chapters of Genesis in the

²³ E. Hatch, H.A. Redpath, *Concordance to the Septuagint and the other Greek Versions of the Old Testament (Including the Apocryphal Books)*, vol. I: A–I, Graz 1975, pp. 83–84. Cf. F. Rehkopf, *Septuaginta-Vokabular*, Göttingen 1989, p. 22; T. Muraoka, *A Greek-English Lexikon of the Septuagint. Twelve Prophets*, Leuven 1993, p. 16; *Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint*, compiled by J. Lust, E. Eynikel, K. Hauspie, Stuttgart 2003, p. 44. Cf. also G.R. Lanier, *The Curious Case of ארץ and ἀνατολή: An Inquiry into Septuagint Translation Pattern*, 'Journal of Biblical Literature' 2015, 134, 3, pp. 505–527.

²⁴ E. Hatch, H.A. Redpath, *Concordance to the Septuagint*, p. 357. Cf. F. Rehkopf, *Septuaginta-Vokabular*, p. 82; T. Muraoka, *A Greek-English Lexikon of the Septuagint*, p. 58; *Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint*, pp. 163 and 164.

²⁵ E. Hatch, H.A. Redpath, *Concordance to the Septuagint*, p. 912. Cf. F. Rehkopf, *Septuaginta-Vokabular*, p. 189; T. Muraoka, *A Greek-English Lexikon of the Septuagint*, p. 152; *Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint*, p. 394. Cf. also G.B. Bruzzone, *Mesembria nella Bibbia*, 'Bibbia e Oriente' 1984, 26, pp. 115–123.

²⁶ Cf. M. O'Connor, *Cardinal-Direction Terms in Biblical Hebrew*, in: *Semitic Studies in Honor of Wolf Leslau on the Occasion of his Eighty-Fifth Birthday, November 14th, 1991*, ed. by A.S. Kaye, vol. 2, Wiesbaden 1991, pp. 1140–1157. Cf. *Lexicon in Veteris Testamenti libros*, ed. L. Koehler, W. Baumgarner, Leiden 1958.

²⁷ Cf. C.H. Brown, *Where Do Cardinal Direction Terms Come From?*, 'Anthropological Linguistics' 1983, 25, pp. 121–161; H.B. Rosén, *Some Thoughts on the System of Designation of the Cardinal Points in Ancient Semitic Languages*, in: *Semitic Studies in Honor of Wolf Leslau*, vol. 2, pp. 1337–1344; D. Talshir, 'The Relativity of Geographic Terms: A Re-Investigation of the Problem of Upper and Lower Aram', 'Journal of Semitic Studies' 2003, 48, 2, pp. 259–273.

Hebrew version contain many suggestive premises. After all, the word אֲדָמָה ²⁸ is used there 26 times and is juxtaposed with the term הַאֲדָמָה , which means 'cultivated land' and appears in Genesis 1–3 nine times²⁹. As a consequence of this Hebrew play on words, Adam appears as a being closely connected with the earth, or even as an integral part of it³⁰, all the more so because he was made of it (Genesis 2:7). After his fall, Adam is condemned to obtain food through farm work (Genesis 3:17–18), and to return to the dust of the earth after his death (Genesis 3:19). The motif of the God's order to cultivate the earth from which man was created returns in this pericope once again during the banishment from Eden (Genesis 3:23). The term הַאֲדָמָה is used in the Hebrew text in all these contexts. Then, there is the blessing given by God to the first couple shortly after they were created: 'Be fruitful and multiply and fill the earth [...] (Genesis 1:28)³¹. This verse is almost a formula for sending out the first people, and at the same time serves as a task assigned to them and their descendants, i.e. humanity as such. The sending of the Adamites, in turn, brings to mind the formula of the sending of the Apostles (Matt. 2:19; Mark 16:15; John 20:21; cf. Acts 1:8. Cf. also John 17:18 and Acts 2:1–11)³². Consequently, we can see that the first three chapters of Genesis in the original Hebrew version may have been a very strong source of inspiration for the creation of the Greek acrostic. However, the above mentioned word play between אֲדָמָה and הַאֲדָמָה was not preserved in the Septuagint. There, the term אֲדָמָה is expressed in two ways: through transliteration, i.e. the word Ἀδάμ , which appears in Genesis 1–3 19 times in total; and by the word ἄνθρωπος , which appears 9 times in this pericope. The first term was understood by the translator as a name and the second as a general term.

²⁸ Hebrew text after: *Liber Genesis*, praep. O. Eißfeldt, *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia* 1, 4. Aufl., Stuttgart 1990.

²⁹ Cf. G. Anderlini, *L'uomo, la terra (e Dio) nell' Antico Testamento*, 'Bibbia e Oriente' 1990, 32, p. 163; F.A. Spina, *The „Ground” for Cain's Rejection (Gen 4): "dâmâh in the Context of Gen 1–11*, 'Zeitschrift für Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft' 1992, 104, pp. 324–332; T. Stordalen, *Man, Soil, Garden: Basic Plot in Genesis 2–3 reconsidered*, 'Journal of the Study of the Old Testament' 1992, 53, pp. 3–25.

³⁰ Cf. S. Amsler, *Adam le terreux, dans Genèse 2–4*, 'Revue de Théologie et de Philosophie' 1958, 8, pp. 107–112 (= idem, *Le dernier et l'avant-dernier – Études sur l'Ancien Testament*, LeMonde de la Bible 28, Genève 1993, pp. 276–281); L. Neveu, *Le paradis perdu (?) – Recherches sur la structure littéraire de Genèse 2, 4b – 3, 24*, 'Impact' 1982, N.S. 16, p. 29; idem, *Avant Abraham (Genèse I – XI)*, Angers 1984, p. 41.

³¹ However, this verse uses the term רָאָה instead of הַאֲדָמָה . Citation after: English Standard Version

³² Cf. P. Kochanek, *„Rozesłanie Apostołów” na mapie Beatusa z Burgo de Osma*, in: *Fructus Spiritus est Caritas, Księga Jubileuszowa ofiarowana Księdzu Profesorowi Franciszkowi Drączkowskiemu z okazji siedemdziesiątej rocznicy urodzin, czterdziestolecia święceń kapłańskich i trzydziestopięciolecia pracy naukowej*, ed. by Fr. M. Wysocki, Lublin 2011, pp. 703–704.

Both terms were used 28 times in total. However, the term אָדָם and the term אָרֶץ, which appears next to it in Hebrew, are rendered with the word γῆ, which is used 44 times in the discussed text. For the sake of completeness of these considerations, it should be added that, as is well known, the later Latin text of the Vulgate is similar in this regard to the Septuagint, i.e. the term אָדָם is translated in two ways: as the word 'Adam' (17 times), which refers to the first man, and the term 'homo' (9 times), which means man as such. The terms אָדָם and אָרֶץ are, in turn, represented here by the word 'terra', which is used 42 times in the analysed pericope. As a result, the essence of the subtleties from Hebrew was lost. However, the meaning of the translated text, which emphasises the close connection between man and the earth as the material from which he was created, was not obscured. The command to populate the earth as such remained unambiguous too. These translations thus reinforced the idea of the obligation imposed by God on the descendants of Adam to settle all the earth. The acrostic of the name of Adam, created, as already mentioned, from the first letters of the Greek names of the four cardinal directions, was conveniently embedded in this command given by God himself. The acrostic also had a mnemonic value and was a kind of philological school aid. In a sense, it could be seen as a proof of a deeper relationship between Hebrew and Greek, which stemmed from the very essence of these languages, from their spirit, and was therefore, as it were, God's plan. This could help strengthen the Jewish-Greek 'alliance' in the ethnically foreign Egypt, where the holy language of the Bible found its Greek interpreter.

All things considered, this acrostic does not appear anywhere in the Septuagint, as mentioned above. Several reasons for this can be enumerated. The main one was undoubtedly philological fidelity to the Hebrew original. It is also highly probable that in Jewish orthodox circles it was considered to be a trivial Greek joke that offended the seriousness of the Hebrew Bible. In this context, Jewish orthodoxy would stand in clear opposition to the political propaganda of the philological affinity of both languages, because in fact Jewish monotheism could not accept Greek polytheism in any way. As a consequence, the acrostic remained a sort of Alexandrian folk wisdom and its origin cannot be dated precisely. It is nonetheless possible to identify its earliest occurrences in sources preserved to this day. As mentioned above, it is now widely accepted that the earliest literary evidence of the existence of the acrostic can be found in the third book of 'Oracula Sybillina' (III 24–26), dating back to the middle of the 2nd BC, written within the Jewish diaspora of Egypt.

Looking at the period of Greek rule in Egypt, however, we should not forget that Alexander occupied this economically important area of the Persian

Empire already in 332 BC, and Alexandria was founded in 331 BC. The new Greek rulers of Egypt had therefore much time to contact the Egyptian Jewish diaspora and to satisfy the cognitive curiosity of Greeks in terms of the Jewish cosmo- and anthropogenic aspects of Genesis 1–3 even before the beginning of the reign of Ptolemy I Soter. It was, thus, hypothetically, a good place for the possible creation of the acrostic in question.

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Still, the focus on the Jewish diaspora in Egypt undoubtedly, as mentioned above, narrows down the area of analysis concerning the origins of the acrostic of the name of Adam. This acrostic could be reated much earlier after all, at the indicated above commercial and intellectual junction of Greek and Jewish culture in Palestine under Persian rule or even in pre-Persian Egypt, where, as we know, both of these ethnic minorities functioned. It should not be forgotten that the two nations (next to Phoenicians) should be treated as the most dynamic merchant and commercial cultures of the Mediterranean world of the time. Following this assumption, we should also extend the chronological field of research beyond the Egypt of the Ptolemies and the Jewish diaspora of Egypt (or Alexandria) in the second half of the 2nd century BC, and take into consideration the eastern part of the Mediterranean basin in the Persian period, where the *lingua franca* was the so-called *Reichsaramäisch*, as a potential place for the creation of the acrostic. The environment in which it was created might be religious or part of Jewish culture, but it could be related to the Greek investigations in the field of anthropogenesis of individual peoples and to νόμιμα βαρβαρικά, analysed at Aristotle's school, or perhaps much earlier. Research on anthropogenesis stands close to the idea of micro- and macrocosm³³, while the biblical description of the creation of the first couple and the acrostic fit well into this perspective of Greek philosophical considerations of the classical period. Thus, one can hypothetically assume that the origins of the acrostic of the name of Adam are not to be found in the Hellenised environment of the Egyptian Jewish diaspora, but in the Greek philosophical research on cosmo- and anthropogenesis and in the broadly understood ethnography of barbarian

³³ Cf. M. Kurdziałek, *Koncepcja człowieka jako mikrokosmosu*, in: *O Bogu i o człowieku*, ed. by B. Bejze, vol. 2, Warszawa 1969, pp. 109–125; idem, *Der Mensch als Abbild des Kosmos*, in: *Der Begriff des Repraesentatio im Mittelalter. Stellvertretung, Symbol, Zeichen, Bild*, hrsg. von A. Zimmermann, *Miscellanea Mediaevalia* 8, Berlin–New York 1971, pp. 35–75; idem, *Średniowieczne doktryny o człowieku jako obrazie świata*, 'Roczniki Filozoficzne' 1971, 19, pp. 5–39 (= idem, *Średniowiecze w poszukiwaniu równowagi między arystotelizmem a platonizmem. Studia i artykuły*, Lublin 1996, pp. 271–310).

peoples. Unfortunately, no traces of evidence supporting this statement can be found in the preserved sources. On the other hand, there is evidence that the acrostic could have been coined by Hellenes living circa 300 BC, and not by Hellenised Jews from the middle of the 2nd century BC.

In this context, it is worth noting that the cases of the acrostic, confirmed in much earlier sources which so far have escaped the attention of researchers. The first two of them can be found in excerpts from a treatise on India written by Megasthenes (c. 350 – c. 290 BC). One of these texts contains the acrostic in incomplete form worded in the following manner: Μεγασθένει δὲ τὸ ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν ἐς ἑσπέραν πλατός ἐστὶ τῆς Ἰνδῶν γῆς (...). τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ ἄρκτου πρὸς μεσημβρίην, τοῦτο δὲ αὐτῶ μῆκος γίνεταί (...)³⁴. The incompleteness of this construct stems from the fact that the west is defined here as ἑσπέρα and not δύσις, which has broken the logic of this play on words. It is worth mentioning here that in the official opinion of Greeks of that time India was the easternmost part of the oecumene. This idea is reflected in the map of the then-known land, attributed to Ephorus of Cyme (c. 400 – c. 330 BC), which went down in the history of cartography under the name of the Ephorus' Parallelogram³⁵. Specific peoples were shown on the edges of this parallelogrammatic (or, more precisely, rectangular) map: the longer sides of the rectangle, i.e. the southern and northern borders, were to be inhabited by Ethiopians and

³⁴ Megasthenes, 715 F 6, in: FGrHist III/C2, pp. 611, 15–18 = idem, F 6, in: FHG, vol. II, p. 409 = Arrianus, *Indica* 3, 7–8, ed. G. Wirth: Arrianus, *Quae exstant omnia*, vol. II: *Scripta minora et fragmenta*, Lipsiae 1968, pp. 5, 9–10. 12–14). Cf. Nearchus Cretensis, 133 F 5, in: FGrHist II/B, pp. 708, 17–20. Cf. also Strabo, *Geographica* XV 1, 12. C. 689–690, rev. A. Meineke: Strabo, *Geographica*, vol. III, Lipsiae 1898, pp. 961, 7–9.

³⁵ Cf. J. Lelewel, *Historia geografii i odkryć*, in: idem, *Pisma pomniejszych geograficzno-historyczne*, Warszawa 1814, p. 19; W.A. Heidel, *The Frame of the Ancient Greek Maps*, American Geographical Society. Research Series 20, New York 1937 [reprint: New York 1976], p. 17. 47 and 50. The Ephorus' Parallelogram is also found in: Cosmas Indicopleustes, *Topographia Christiana* II 79, PG 88, 115C–116C; Ephorus, F 38, in: FHG, vol. I, p. 244 [col. A]; Ephorus von Kyme, in: FGrHist II/A, pp. 51, 26–36; Cosmas Indicopleustès, *Topographie chrétienne* II 79, ed. W. Wolska-Conus: Cosmas Indicopleustès, *Topographie chrétienne*, vol. 1: *Livres I–IV*, SCh 141, Paris 1968, p. 397. Medieval sketches of the Ephorus' Parallelogram can be found in three codes (Codex Vaticanus Graecus 699, fol. 40^v (9th century) – Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana; Laurentianus Plut. IX. 28, fol. 92^v (11th century) – Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurentiana; Sinaiticus Graecus 1186, fol. 66^v (11th century) – Library of the Monastery of St Catherine on Mount Sinai) containing the work of Cosmas Indicopleustes (6th century A.D.) titled 'Topographia Christiana', cf. Cosmas Indicopleustès, *Topographie chrétienne*, SCh 141, pp. 396–397, footnote 80¹. Cf. also W. Wolska-Conus, *La Topographie Chrétienne de Cosmas Indicopleustès: hypothèses sur quelques thèmes de son illustration*, *Revue des Études Byzantines* 1990, 48, p. 162, fig. 5 (note under the figure); P. Kochanek, *Schematy ekumeny w literaturze patrystycznej w kontekście klasycznych schematów zamieszkałej Ziemi*, 'Vox Patrum', 2010, 30, 55, pp. 313–314 and footnote 23.

Scythians respectively, while the shorter ones, i.e. the western and eastern borders, were to be inhabited by the Celts and Indians³⁶. This link between India and the farthest corners of the east corresponds well to the location of the biblical Paradise (Genesis 2:8), where God placed the first man, Adam (Genesis 2:15). On the other hand, it should be emphasised that the area of India itself was thought by ancient people to be a quadrilateral. This included the aforementioned Megasthenes, who used the adjective τετραπλευρος, and then Diodorus of Sicily (c. 90 – c. 20 BC)³⁷. Eratosthenes (c. 275 – c. 195 BC) adopted this idea from Megasthenes, but he was most likely the one who specified the concept of the quadrilateral defined as a rhombus³⁸.

The second text originating from the same geographical-ethnographic treatise by Megasthenes contains the full acrostic: τὸ δὲ μέγεθος τῆς ὅλης Ἰνδικῆς φασιν ὑπάρχειν ἀπὸ μὲν ἀνατολῶν πρὸς δύσιν δισμυρίων ὀκτακισχιλίων σταδίων, ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν ἄρκτων πρὸς μεσημβρίαν τρισμυρίων δισχιλίων³⁹. This piece of Megasthenes' work was preserved

³⁶ Ephorus Cumaeus, 70 F 30a, in: FGrHist II/A, pp. 50, 31–51, 3 (= idem, F 38, in: FHG, vol. I, p. 244 [col. A] = Anhang (Aethiopen), 673 F 18a, in: FGrHist III/C1, pp. 292, 1–5 = Strabo, *Geographica*, I 2, 28. C. 34, rev. A. Meineke: Strabo, *Geographica*, vol. I, Lipsiae 1895, pp. 43, 29–44, 2); Ephorus Cumaeus, 70 F 30b, FGrH II/A, pp. 51, 8–12 (= idem, F 38, in: FHG, vol. I, p. 243 [col. B] = Cosmas Indicopleustes, *Topographia Christiana* II 79, 1–5, SCh 141, p. 395 = PG 88, 116B); Ephorus Cumaeus, 70 F 30c, FGrHist II A, pp. 52, 1–9 (= idem, F 43, in: FHG, vol. I, p. 245 [col. A] = Pseudo-Scymnus Chius, *Orbis descriptio* 170–182, in: GGM, vol. I, pp. 201–202). Cf. P. Kochanek, *Schematy ekumeny w literaturze patrystycznej*, p. 314 footnote 24.

³⁷ Megasthenes, 714 F 4, in: FGrHist III C/2, pp. 606, 2 (= idem, F 1, in: FHG, vol. II, p. 402 [col. A] = Diodorus, *Bibliotheca historica* II 35, 1, rev. F. Vogel, vol. I, Lipsiae 1888, pp. 227, 19). Cf. P. Kochanek, *Iluzja schematów choro- i topograficznych jako baza mmemotechnicznej „portolany” w starożytności*, in: *Tworzenie iluzji społecznej – wiedza w sferze publicznej*, eds. by J. Szymczyk, M. Zemła, A. Jabłoński, Studia nad Wiedzą 5, Lublin 2012, p. 92 and footnote 82.

³⁸ Megasthenes, 715 F 6c, in: FGrHist III C/2, pp. 611, 24–25 (= idem, F 3, in: FHG, vol. II, p. 408 [col. A] = Eratosthenes, F III B, 6, in: GFE, p. 225 = Strabo, *Geographica*, XV 1, 11. C. 689, rev. A. Meineke, vol. III, pp. 960, 4). Cf. Eratosthenes, F III B, 5, in: GFE, p. 224 (= Strabo, *Geographica*, II 1, 22. C. 78, rev. A. Meineke, vol. I, pp. 103, 2); Eratosthenes, F III B, 7, in: GFE, p. 226 (= Strabo, *Geographica*, II 1, 31. C. 84, rev. A. Meineke, vol. I, pp. 110, 24–25); Eratosthenes, F III B, 11, in: GFE, p. 228 (= Hipparchus, II F 25, in: GFH, p. 76 = Strabo, *Geographica* II 1, 34. C. 87, rev. A. Meineke, vol. I, pp. 115, 2). Cf. Dionysius Periegetes, *Orbis descriptio* 1130–1131, in: GGM, vol. II, p. 173; Avienus, *Descriptio orbis terrae* 1337, in: GGM, vol. II, p. 189; Eustathius Thessalonicensis, *Commentarii* 1134, in: GGM, vol. II, pp. 401, 18–20 i 28–35; Anonymus, *Paraphrasis* 1128–1140, in: GGM, vol. II, p. 424; Nicephorus Blemmides, *Geographia synoptica* 1128, in: GGM, vol. II, p. 468 (col. A), 41; *Chrestomathia Straboniana* XV 1, in: GGM, vol. II, p. 619. Cf. also *Scholia ad Dionysium* 1131, in: GGM, vol. II, p. 456 (col. B), 4–11. Cf. P. Kochanek, *Iluzja schematów choro- i topograficznych*, p. 93 and footnote 89.

³⁹ Megasthenes, 714 F 4, FGrHist III C/2, pp. 606, 7–9 (= idem, F 1, in: FHG, vol. II, p. 402 [col. A] = Diodorus, *Bibliotheca historica* II 35, 2, rev. F. Vogel, vol. I, pp. 228, 1–4)

in the 'Library of History' of Diodorus of Sicily. As a result, one may argue that the acrostic of the name of Adam was woven into the text by the latter. After all, Diodorus, based on his erudite and encyclopaedic interests, had a certain knowledge of Jewish culture⁴⁰. It is known, however, that Megasthenes himself also had contacts with the Jewish community⁴¹, as he lived in the transitional period between the Persian and Hellenistic periods, when Greek was not yet a universal language and the role of the *lingua franca* of the Persian Empire was played by the aforementioned Aramaic language, the so-called *Reichsaramäisch*⁴², which was also used by Jewish communities. It is therefore an argument in favour of the statement that the acrostic might not necessarily be originated in Alexandria in the 2nd century BC. Instead, it is possible that it could be conceived the Eastern Mediterranean area circa 300 BC. The acrostic passed on by Megasthenes may also have a much more chronologically distant date of origin, although not confirmed by any source today, and its place of origin might be an environment where intensive Greek-Jewish contacts took place – Athens or Egyptian Naucratis would be good points of contact in this context. Finally, as mentioned before, the idea of learning about foreign cultures and their rights was alive in the Athenian circle of Aristotle and his students, and the ethnographic interests in the earlier period are evidenced by the preserved fragments of the legacy of Hecataeus of Miletus (c. 560 – c. 480 BC) and the work of Herodotus (c. 485 – c. 425 BC) and Hippocratic writings (c. 460 – c. 370 BC)⁴³. In this situation, it seems that we can accept that Diodorus of Sicily adopted the said acrostic from Megasthenes, to whom this play on words had been known either from a much earlier Greek tradition or, more likely, owing to Aristotle's school or his personal contacts with the Jewish community, which can be dated back to the period of the conquests of Alexander the Great.

Another example of the full acrostic of the name of Adam is found in excerpts from the geographical dissertation of Agatharchides of Cnidus (c. 205 – c. 130 BC) on the Red Sea, which have been preserved in Photios' 'Library' (c. 820 – c. 893). One passage refers to the oecumene as such and reads as follows: 'Ὅτι, φησί, τῆς ὅλης οἰκουμένης ἐν τέτταρσι κυκλιζομένης μέρεσιν, ἀνατολῆς λέγω, δύσεως, ἄρκτου καὶ μεσημβρίας

⁴⁰ Cf. *Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism*, vol. I, pp. 167–189.

⁴¹ Cf. *ibidem*, pp. 45–46. Cf. also *Jewish Life and Thought among Greeks and Romance*, p. 12.

⁴² Cf. footnote 14.

⁴³ This mainly refers to Hippocrates' treatise 'On Airs, Waters and Places.' Cf. P. Kochanek, *Etnomedycyna hippokratejska a geopolityczna myśl grecka w V w. p.n.e., in: Kontrowersje dyskursywne. Między wiedzą specjalistyczną a praktyką społeczną*, eds. by A. Jabłoński, J. Szymczyk, M. Zemła, *Studia nad Wiedzą* 4, Lublin 2012, pp. 27–56.

(...)⁴⁴. Here, again, there is a certain shadow of doubt whether the Greek names of the four cardinal directions, whose first letters form the acrostic, come from Agatharchides himself, or whether it was a later and purely erudite endeavour of Photios. However, as in the case of Megasthenes, Agatharchides' authorship of this fragment seems to be supported by his personal interest in the Jewish community, the traces of which remain in preserved fragments of the Cnidian's literary legacy⁴⁵.

The full acrostic has also been preserved in Polybius' work (c. 200 – c. 118 BC) in the context of defining the four cardinal directions, although in the same order as in 'Oracula Sibyllina': ἀνατολαί, δύσεις, μεσημβρία and ἄρκτος⁴⁶. This may suggest that this cryptographic method of marking the cardinal directions was an attractive erudition and stylistics procedure for authors at that time. The evidence of Polybius' direct knowledge of Jewish culture should not be underestimated in this case either⁴⁷.

An incomplete acrostic, in turn, can be found in the fragmented legacy of Apollodorus of Athens (c. 180 – c. 110 BC). The passage below describes the location of Ethiopia and is preserved in Strabo's 'Geography' (64/63 BC – c. 23 AD): (...), ὥστε εἶναι δύο Αἰθιοπίας, τὴν μὲν πρὸς ἀνατολὴν τὴν δὲ πρὸς δύσιν, ἀλλὰ μίαν μόνην τὴν πρὸς μεσημβρίαν κειμένην τοῖς Ἑλλησιν, ἰδρυμένην δὲ κατ' Αἴγυπτον⁴⁸. Analysing the passage above, on the one hand one can clearly see that the citation contains only the part of the acrostic made up of ἀνατολή, δύσις and μεσημβρία. On the other hand, however, it should be noted that the first letters of these words are, in fact, the core of the acrostic which corresponds exactly to the three letters of the Hebrew alphabet which make up the name 'Adam' (אָדָם). One may therefore wonder whether this acrostic is really incomplete or whether the author wanted to remain faithful to the Hebrew original. Another issue is the ever recurring question of who should be considered its author: Apollodorus of Athens or Strabo. Seemingly, this

⁴⁴ Agatharchides Cnidius, *De Mari Erythraeo libris excerpta* 64, in: GGM, vol. I, pp. 156, 9–11 (= Photius, *Bibliotheca* 250, 64 [454b], 30–32, ed. R. Henry: Photius, *Bibliothèque*, vol. VII: («Codices» 246–256), Collection Byzantine, Paris 1974, p. 172). Cf. Hecataeus Milesius, 1 T 14, in: FGrHist I/A, pp. 3, 30–35. The incomplete acrostic can be found in: Agatharchides Cnidius, *De Mari Erythraeo libris excerpta* 84, in: GGM, vol. I, pp. 174, 4–6 (= Photius, *Bibliotheca* 250, 84 [457a], 13–16, ed. R. Henry, vol. VII, p. 179). Cf. Hecataeus Abderita, 264 F 9, in: FGrHist III/A, pp. 12, 23–27.

⁴⁵ Cf. *Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism*, vol. I, pp. 104–109.

⁴⁶ Polybius, *Historiae* III 36, 6, rev. Th. Büttner-Wobst: Polybius, *Historiae*, vol. I, editio altera, Lipsiae 1905, pp. 254, 22.

⁴⁷ Cf. *Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism*, vol. I, pp. 110–116.

⁴⁸ Apollodorus Atheniensis, 244 F 157e, in: FGrHist II/B, pp. 1090, 19–21 (= Strabo, *Geographica* I 2, 24. C. 31, rev. A. Meineke, vol. I, pp. 40, 25–28)

issue is almost impossible to resolve, but as in the cases outlined above, there is also source evidence here showing that Apollodorus of Athens had some knowledge of Jewish culture⁴⁹. This fact allows us to presume that Strabo is only an emissary, faithfully conveying this fragment of Apollodorus' work.

An incomplete acrostic appears also in the preserved excerpts from Posidonius of Apamea's works (c. 135 – c. 50 BC) but its form differs significantly from that present in the passages of Apollodorus of Athens. The order of the terms is as follows: ἀνατολή, δύσις, ἄρκτος and νότος⁵⁰. This means that the south is not referred to as μεσημβρία but as νότος. This resembles to some extent the incomplete acrostic preserved in the passages by Megasthenes, where, in turn, the word ἐσπέρα rather than δύσις is used to denote the west⁵¹. Still, as is plainly visible, the 'imperfection' of the Posidonius' acrostic is, so to speak, less significant than that of the Megasthenes' acrostic, because it is more legible thanks to the correct sequencing of the first three terms. On the other hand, one might think that Posidonius did not necessarily have to take into account the acrostic of the name of Adam as a synonym of the oecumene, which was based on the shape of a catapult (σφενδόνη)⁵², but used such instead of the other names of the four cardinal directions due to, for example, his predilection for using these geographical terms. The case remains open, but due to his Syrian birthplace (a Greek from Apamea on the Orontes), studies in Athens, teaching activities in Rhodes, mobility (and

⁴⁹ Cf. *Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism*, vol. I, pp. 117–118.

⁵⁰ Posidonius Apameus, 87 F 98b, in: FGrHist II/A, pp. 281, 13–18.

⁵¹ Cf. footnote 34.

⁵² Posidonius Apameus, F 68a, hrsg. von W. Theiler: Poseidonios, *Die Fragmente, Texte und Kommentare* 10/1, Berlin–New York 1982, [Bd.] I, 71–72 (= Agathemerus, *Geographiae informatio* I 2, in: GGM, vol. II, pp. 471, 18–21); Posidonius Apameus, F 68b, hrsg. von W. Theiler, [Bd.] I, p. 72 (= Eustathius Thessalonicensis, *Commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem*, VII 446, 690, 44–45, [ed. J.G. Stallbaum]: Eustathius Thessalonicensis, *Commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem*, vol. II, Lipsiae 1828, pp. 177, 38–39); Posidonius Apameus, F 68c, hrsg. von W. Theiler, [Bd.] I, p. 72 (= Eustathius Thessalonicensis, *Commentarii* [1], in: GGM, vol. II, pp. 217, 32–34. 38–41). Cf. Democritus, 55 F A 94, hrsg. von H. Diels: *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*, Berlin 1903, pp. 385, 17–18; Dionysius Periegetes, *Orbis descriptio* 3–7, in: GGM, vol. II, pp. 104–105; Eustathius Thessalonicensis, *Commentarii* 39, in: GGM, vol. II, pp. 225, 28–31; *ibidem* 620. 623, in: GGM, vol. II, pp. 334, 4–6. 24–31; *ibidem* 718, in: GGM, vol. II, pp. 344, 18–19; Anonymus, *Paraphrasis* 18, in: GGM, vol. II, p. 409; *Scholia ad Dionysium* 1, in: GGM, vol. II, pp. 430 (col. A), 4–12; *ibidem* 3. 7, in: GGM, vol. II, pp. 430 (col. B), 22. 24–35 and 36; Nicephorus Blemmides, *Geographia synoptica* 1–7, in: GGM, vol. II, pp. 458 (col. A), 7. Cf. also GFE, p. 220; K.-H. Abel, *Poseidonios und Senecas Trostschrift an Marcia* (*dial.* 6,24,5ff), 'Rheinisches Museum' 1964, 107, p. 244; G. Maurach, *Africanus Maior und die Glaubwürdigkeit des „Somnium Scipionis“*, 'Hermes' 1964, 92, p. 311, footnote 1. Cf. P. Kochanek, *Schematy ekumeny w literaturze patrystycznej*, p. 319 and footnote 48.

the resulting broad intellectual contacts) in the Mediterranean and his position of an eminent Stoic philosopher of his time, it can be assumed that the choice of the geographical terms is not a coincidence. This argument is reinforced by the fact that texts concerning Jewish culture have survived in the preserved remains of his legacy⁵³.

Another classic author whose works feature the acrostic is Diodorus of Sicily. As already indicated above, he probably adopted the full and correct form of this verbal construct from Megasthenes in the context of India⁵⁴. As he assigns the shape of a quadrilateral (τετράπλευρος) to India in the same geographical context⁵⁵, he at the same time describes the country by resorting to the names of the four cardinal directions, which usually form the acrostic of the name of Adam. Still, in this case, the word order (ἀνατολή, μεσημβρία, ἄρκτος and δύσις) is far from creating the said figure of speech⁵⁶. This fact seems to confirm the assumption that the acrostic quoted correctly earlier was adopted from the Megasthenes' treatise, while the second, 'careless' use of the same geographical terms is the work of Diodorus himself. However, one cannot overlook the fact that the Sicilian left much evidence of his knowledge of Jewish culture⁵⁷. In this situation, the question of the latter 'careless' use of the terms comprising the acrostic of the name of Adam should be left open.

In the above-mentioned 'Geography' by Strabo, the incomplete acrostic of the name of Adam is mentioned twice: as a copy of the idea by Apollodorus of Athens in the context of Ethiopia⁵⁸ and as his own passage of a description of the oecumena. The latter *passus* reads: διὸ καὶ τῆς οἰκουμένης ἀπ' ἀνατολῆς ἐπὶ δύσιν μηκνομένης, ἀπὸ δὲ ἄρκτων ἐπὶ νότον πλατυνομένης, καὶ τοῦ μὲν μήκους ἐπὶ παραλλήλου τινὸς τῶ ἰσημερινῷ γραφομένου, τοῦ δὲ πλάτους ἐπὶ μεσημβρινοῦ, (...) ⁵⁹. In this simple 'Adamic' description of the oecumene employing the four cardinal directions, the order of the terms used by the Amaseian geographer is especially worth noting: ἀνατολή, δύσις, ἄρκτος, νότος/μεσημβρία. The south is defined here by two different terms, namely, νότος and μεσημβρία. This resembles to a certain extent the aforementioned incomplete acrostic used for the description of the oecumene by Posidonius of Apamea⁶⁰.

⁵³ Cf. *Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism*, vol. I, pp. 141–47.

⁵⁴ Cf. footnote 39.

⁵⁵ Cf. P. Kochanek, *Iluzja schematów choro- i topograficznych*, p. 92 and footnote 82.

⁵⁶ Diodorus, *Bibliotheca historica* II 35, 1, rev. F. Vogel, vol. I, pp. 227, 19–26.

⁵⁷ Cf. footnote 40.

⁵⁸ Cf. footnote 48.

⁵⁹ Strabo, *Geographica* II 1, 32. C. 85, rev. A. Meineke, vol. I, pp. 112, 22–25.

⁶⁰ Cf. footnote 50.

Nonetheless, the large number of references to Jewish culture in the said treatise of Strabo⁶¹ clearly means that the Amaseian did not have to use the knowledge of his literary predecessors in this regard, but also suggests that in the times of Strabo the acrostic was probably already a sort of *bonum commune* of the geographical culture of the Greco-Roman Mediterranean.

Arrian of Nicomedia (c. 85 – c. 160 AD), who composed his works in the 2nd century AD, adopted, as indicated above, the incomplete acrostic which Megasthenes had used to delineate the location of India⁶². But perhaps the very idea of this geographical *scherzo* was in his times something commonly known already at the school level, hence the author's carelessness in referring to this play on words. Moreover, the writer's preserved output features passages revealing his interest in Judaism⁶³.

One of the authors close to Arrian in terms of chronological proximity was Claudius Ptolemy (c. 100 – c. 170 AD), who, as is known, not only came from Egypt, but also conducted his scientific activity in Alexandria. Therefore, Ptolemy's references to the Jewish tradition are not surprising⁶⁴. His 'Geography' contains many fragments, in which the full acrostic of the name of Adam appears. In addition to the classical names of the four cardinal directions (ἀνατολή, δύσις, ἄρκτος, μεσημβρία), Ptolemy uses some subtle variations to create the acrostic, for example ἀνατολαί, δυσμαί, ἄρκτοι or (seldom) ἀνατολικά, δυσμικά, ἄρκτικά (also in comparative and superlative) and (very seldom) δυτικά and μεσημβρινά. The acrostic of the name of Adam in Ptolemy's work most often consists of ἀνατολαί, δυσμαί, ἄρκτοι and μεσημβρία. It refers either to the oecumene as such or to a specific province of the empire. Interestingly, the order of the above cardinal directions is not always the same. The combinations: ἀνατολαί, δυσμαί, ἄρκτοι and μεσημβρία⁶⁵; ἀνατολικώτερα, δυσμικά, μεσημβρινά and ἄρκτικά⁶⁶ or ἀνατολαί, δυτικά and μεσημβρινά appear quite rarely⁶⁷. The latter sequence of names resembles the one in the work

⁶¹ Cf. *Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism*, vol. I, pp. 261–315.

⁶² Cf. footnote 34.

⁶³ Cf. *Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism*, vol. II: *From Tacitus to Simplicius*, ed. with Introductions, Translations and Commentary by M. Stern, *Fontes ad Res Judaicas Spectantes*, 2nd ed., Jerusalem 1992, pp. 150–156.

⁶⁴ Cf. *ibidem*, pp. 162–172.

⁶⁵ Cf. Ptolemaeus, *Geographia* I 6, 4, ed. C.F.A. Nobbe: Ptolemaeus, *Geographia*, vol. 1, Lipsiae 1843 [reprint: Hildesheim 1990], pp. 13, 23–25 (oecumene); *ibidem* I 16, ed. C.F.A. Nobbe, vol. 1, pp. 35, 4–10 (European provinces of the empire).

⁶⁶ Cf. *ibidem* V 13, 5, ed. C.F.A. Nobbe: Ptolemaeus, *Geographia*, vol. 2, Lipsiae 1845 [reprint: Hildesheim 1990], pp. 57, 6–11 (location of the main cities of Cyprus).

⁶⁷ Cf. *ibidem* VIII 27, 12, ed. C.F.A. Nobbe, vol. 2, pp. 253, 18–20 (location of the *Sinai* or *Thinai* people – East Asia).

of Apollodorus of Athens, as it refers directly to the three Hebrew letters of the word Adam (אָדָם)⁶⁸. Configurations in which the east is replaced by the south are also rather infrequent: ἄρκτοι, δυσμικώτερα, ἀνατολικώτερα, μεσημβρινά⁶⁹; ἄρκτοι, δυσμαί, ἀνατολαί, μεσημβρία⁷⁰; ἀρκτικώτατα, δυσμαί, ἀνατολαί, μεσημβρινώτατα⁷¹; ἄρκτοι, δυτικά, ἀνατολαί, μεσημβρινά⁷². ἄρκτοι, δύσις, ἀνατολαί and μεσημβρία are used much more often in this shifted configuration⁷³. The north is placed first also in the following version of the acrostic: ἄρκτοι, δύσις, μεσημβρία, ἀνατολαί⁷⁴. In the latter case, the acrostic of the name of Adam resembles to some extent the acrostic found in the third book of 'Oracula Sybillina'⁷⁵, but differs from this one because of the dissonance introduced by the dominant role of the north. The following sequences are certain minimally modified variants of the above arrangement and form of the terms used: ἄρκτοι, δυσμαί, μεσημβρία, ἀνατολαί⁷⁶ or ἀρκτικά, δυσμικά, μεσημβρινά, ἀνατολικά⁷⁷. In Ptolemy's work, therefore, the acrostic appears very often and in most cases begins with ἄρκτος, not ἀνατολή. The high frequency of its use is not surprising. In Alexandria, in the times of Ptolemy, it was probably already a cliché. It is also possible that the astronomer and geographer was of Jewish descent. The use of the acrostic in his 'Geography' was probably to emphasise the 'Adamic' nature of mankind and its close relationship to

⁶⁸ Cf. footnote 48.

⁶⁹ Cf. Ptolemaeus, *Geographia* II 14, 2, ed. C.F.A. Nobbe, vol. 1, pp. 128, 17–20 (location of the peoples of Upper Pannonia).

⁷⁰ Cf. *ibidem* V 19, 1, ed. C.F.A. Nobbe, vol. 2, pp. 74, 13–26 (Desert Arabia).

⁷¹ Cf. *ibidem* VII 4, 9, ed. C.F.A. Nobbe, vol. 2, pp. 174, 21. 29 and pp. 175, 3. 5 (India and Taprobane).

⁷² Cf. *ibidem* VIII 1, 3–4, ed. C.F.A. Nobbe, vol. 2, pp. 193, 12–18 (oecumene).

⁷³ Cf. *ibidem* II 16, 1, ed. C.F.A. Nobbe, vol. 1, pp. 132, 17–133, 1 (Ilyria); *ibidem* V 13, 1–4, ed. C.F.A. Nobbe, vol. 2, pp. 48, 24–49, 14 (Greater Armenia); *ibidem* V 18, 1, ed. C.F.A. Nobbe, vol. 2, pp. 70, 12–20 (Mesopotamia); *ibidem* V 20, 1, ed. C.F.A. Nobbe, vol. 2, pp. 77, 6–13 (Babylonia); *ibidem* VI 3, 1, ed. C.F.A. Nobbe, vol. 2, pp. 89, 26–90, 5 (Susiana); *ibidem* VI 4, 1, ed. C.F.A. Nobbe, vol. 2, pp. 92, 4–12 (Persia).

⁷⁴ Cf. *ibidem* IV 7, 1–4, ed. C.F.A. Nobbe, vol. 1, pp. 274, 20–275, 5 (Etiopia); *ibidem* V 10, 1–4, ed. C.F.A. Nobbe, vol. 2, pp. 44, 4–45, 1 (Colchis); *ibidem* V 11, 1, ed. C.F.A. Nobbe, vol. 2, pp. 45, 17–23 (Asian Iberia); *ibidem* V 15, 1–7, ed. C.F.A. Nobbe, vol. 2, pp. 57, 23–59, 7 (Celesyria); *ibidem* VI 1, 1, ed. C.F.A. Nobbe, vol. 2, pp. 81, 14–21 (Assyria); *ibidem* VI 2, 1–3, ed. C.F.A. Nobbe, vol. 2, pp. 84, 7–85, 16 (Media); VI 6, 1, ed. C.F.A. Nobbe, vol. 2, pp. 97, 49 (Arabia Felix); *ibidem* VI 9, 1–4, ed. C.F.A. Nobbe, vol. 2, pp. 112, 11–27 (Hyrcania); VI 17, 1, ed. C.F.A. Nobbe, vol. 2, pp. 131, 4–16 (Areia).

⁷⁵ Cf. footnote 10.

⁷⁶ Cf. Ptolemaeus, *Geographia* IV 8, 1, ed. C.F.A. Nobbe, vol. 1, pp. 283, 4–13 (Etiopia Interior).

⁷⁷ Cf. *ibidem* VI 18, 3, ed. C.F.A. Nobbe, vol. 2, pp. 134, 14–18 (distribution of Paropanisadae inhabitants).

the God of Israel. In this way, Ptolemy could express his pride of belonging to the Alexandrian community. It should be noted, however, that Ptolemy does not attempt to highlight the acrostic as such, but always incorporates it into the geographical context, which means that the individual terms are sometimes far apart from each other. In spite of this, anyone who knows the function of these terms even superficially will recognise them easily. Ptolemy's work is probably the only preserved ancient treatise in which the said play on words resounds with such frequency. One could even say that this Alexandrian geographer made every effort to make the acrostic of the name of Adam the leitmotif of his description of the world. Thus, Ptolemy made a kind of a breakthrough step towards making the acrostic an undisputed school mnemonic serving to preserve the geographical knowledge of late antiquity. His 'Geography' also rendered the subject of the acrostic almost a canonical key to understanding the idea of the four cardinal directions in the spirit of the Old Testament anthropology, which probably did not escape the attention of the members of the Alexandrian Christian elites, although the preserved sources, especially the surviving writings of Origen (c. 185 – 254), do not mention anything about it. In contrast, it may be repeated once again that the acrostic was probably already so well known at that time that, being common knowledge or Alexandrian folk wisdom, it was ignored in silence or even treated as a banality which was unworthy of mention.

It is believed that one of the eminent continuators and popularisers of Ptolemy's geographical concepts in ancient times was Marcian of Heraclea Pontica, who most probably lived in the 4th century AD. His legacy has survived only in part. However, one can easily find the acrostic of the name of Adam in the characteristic version attributed to Ptolemy, which gives precedence to the north (ἄρκτος) over the east (ἀνατολή), even in Marcian of Heraclea's truncated output. While Ptolemy sometimes puts the east first⁷⁸, Marcian's acrostic always begins with the name of the north. He uses the following configurations: ἄρκτοι, δύσις, ἀνατολή, μεσημβρία⁷⁹; ἄρκτοι, δύσις, ἀνατολαί, μεσημβρία⁸⁰; ἄρκτοι, δυσμαί,

⁷⁸ Cf. footnote 65–67.

⁷⁹ Marcianus Heracleensis, *Periplus maris externi* I 20, in: GGM, vol. I, pp. 529, 5–9 (Susiana), cf. Ptolemaeus, *Geographia* VI 3, 1, ed. C.F.A. Nobbe, vol. 2, pp. 89, 26–90, 5 (Susiana): ἄρκτοι, δύσις, ἀνατολαί and μεσημβρία (footnote 73).

⁸⁰ Marcianus Heracleensis, *Periplus maris externi* I 23, in: GGM, vol. I, pp. 530, 9–13 (Persia), cf. Ptolemaeus, *Geographia* VI 4, 1, ed. C.F.A. Nobbe, vol. 2, pp. 92, 4–12: ἄρκτοι, δύσις, ἀνατολαί and μεσημβρία (footnote 73); Marcianus Heracleensis, *Periplus maris externi* I 26, in: GGM, vol. I, pp. 531, 1–7 (Carmania); *ibidem* I 31, in: GGM, vol. I, pp. 533, 21–26 (Gedrosia); *ibidem* I 34, in: GGM, vol. I, pp. 534, 19–25 (India *intra* Gangem); *ibidem* I 40, in: GGM, vol. I, pp. 536, 25–30 (Indie *extra* Gangem); *ibidem* I 43, in: GGM, vol. I, pp.

ἀνατολαί, μεσημβρία⁸¹. In the preserved parts of Marcian's work, the acrostic appears even in places in which Ptolemy did not use it, for example in relation to Carmania, Gedrosia, India *intra Gangem*, India *extra Gangem*⁸² or Baetica⁸³. Additionally, all of the preserved acrostics of Marcian are complete. The author undoubtedly wanted the population of the oecumene by Adam's descendants to be indisputable. Moreover, he lived and created in the period when such a vision of the world was already a cultural paradigm.

Another acrostic forgotten by researchers appears in a late 5th-century scholia to 'Orbis descriptio' by Dionysius Periegetes (2nd century AD), where it is used in the context of the wind rose: Ἰστέον δὲ ὅτι ἄνεμοι εἰσὶ δώδεκα· ἐγείρονται δὲ ἐκ τῶν τεσσαρῶν περάτων, ἀνατολῶν, δυσμῶν, ἄρκτου καὶ μεσημβρίας⁸⁴. In this case the acrostic is also complete, and its first point of reference is the east.

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The above examination leads to several conclusions that may enrich the existing findings on the origin of the acrostic of the name of Adam. Today, it is commonly believed that the first source to contain this acrostic was the third book of 'Oracula Sibyllina' (III 24–26), dating back to the middle of the 2nd century BC, composed by the intellectual elite of the Egyptian Jewish diaspora. The next early traces of the acrostic, confirmed in sources, are dated back to the Common Era and always occur in a strictly Christian context⁸⁵. Hence, there is a certain unwritten conviction among researchers that the acrostic of the name of Adam is a Judeo-Christian construct, used only in texts on broadly understood theology.

Meanwhile, the analyses presented here prove that the first traces of the said acrostic confirmed by sources come from circa 300 BC, which is borne out by the preserved fragments of Megasthenes' legacy. The acrostic is also present in treatises of Greek writers, *grosso modo* contemporary to the period when the third book of 'Oracula Sibyllina' (III 24–26) was written. These authors are: Agatharchides of Cnidus, Polybius and Apollodorus of Athens. On the other hand, the traces of the acrostic in the literary output

537, 6–11 (location of the *Sinai* people – East Asia), cf. Ptolemaeus, *Geographia* VIII 27, 12, ed. C.F.A. Nobbe, vol. 2, pp. 253, 18–20: ἀνατολαί, δυτικά and μεσημβρινά (footnote 67).

⁸¹ Marcianus Heracleensis, *Periplus maris externi* II 8, in: GGM, vol. I, pp. 544, 25–30 (Baetica).

⁸² Cf. footnote 80.

⁸³ Cf. footnote 81.

⁸⁴ *Scholia ad Dionysium* 1165, in: GGM, vol. II, pp. 457 (col. A), 12–14.

⁸⁵ Cf. footnote 1.

of Posidonius of Apamea, Diodorus of Sicily, Strabo, Arrian of Nicomedia and Claudius Ptolemy are a kind of bridge that fills the source gap between 'Oracula Sibyllina' and the use of the acrostic in patristic writings. The above mentioned excerpts from Marcian of Heraclea and the scholia to 'Orbis descriptio' by Dionysus Periegeta further complete the source base. A total of 11 sources containing several dozen variants of the acrostic which have not been considered by the researchers have been identified here – and yet, this list is by no means complete. It is worth noting that these sources are not religious in nature, but constitute a segment of the geographical and ethnographic legacy of the Greek-Roman antiquity.

Thus, one could claim that the origins of the acrostic of the name of Adam are not to be found in the Hellenised environment of the Egyptian Jewish diaspora, but in the Greek philosophical research on cosmo- and anthropogenesis and in the broadly understood ethnography of barbarian peoples. In this context, it should be assumed today that the acrostic was rather a product of Hellenes living in the second half of the 4th and at the beginning of the 3rd century BC, not Hellenised Jews from the middle of the 2nd century BC. The analysis of the sources proves that the acrostic of the name of Adam has been used in Greek literature at least since the period of the conquests of Alexander the Great. This seems to suggest that it dates back to an earlier period, more precisely to Greek-Jewish contacts in the territory of the Achaemenid Empire, where the second official language next to Persian was the so-called *Reichsaramäisch*. Hypothetically, it may even have been the pre-Persian period in Egypt. It seems that the origin of the acrostic of the name of Adam should not be associated with Hellenistic Alexandria, but with Naucratis, a Greek colony in Egypt, or Persian Palestine, or, taking into account the latest possible date, with Aristotle and his students' research on the so-called rights of barbarians (νόμιμα βαρβαρικά). Still, one should bear in mind that the state of the preserved sources enables going back only to the latter period, and, more precisely, to the end of the 4th century BC. The origin of the acrostic suggested earlier remains therefore only a hypothesis. It seems, however, that there is no doubt that the intellectual basis for the origin of the acrostic was the Greek inquisitiveness in the sphere of cosmo- and anthropogenesis within the tradition of the neighbouring peoples. Genesis provides a very suggestive description of the work of creation in this matter (Genesis 1–3), which also contains the name of the first man, Adam, whom God ordered to populate the earth. This simple and short piece of information could easily suggest the appropriate choice of Greek names for the four cardinal directions, and this could lead, within the framework of Greek

political philosophy supported by the idea of a relationship between the micro- and macrocosm, to the creation of the acrostic of the name of Adam, which has survived in European culture to this day.

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STRESZCZENIE

Powszechnie uważa się, że pierwsze uchwytne w źródłach antycznych ślady akrostychu imienia Adam przekazują 'Oracula Sibyllina' (III 24–26), które powstały najprawdopodobniej w środowisku egipskiej diaspory żydowskiej w poł. II w. p.n.e. Tymczasem na podstawie zachowanych źródeł można wykazać, że literackie ślady rzeczonoego akrostychu znajdują się już w znacznie wcześniejszych tekstach greckich sięgających przełomu IV i III w. p.n.e. Celem niniejszego artykułu jest przedstawienie tych właśnie źródeł. Teksty te zdają się dowodzić pewnej znajomości kultury żydowskiej w kręgu badaczy związanych z Arystotelesem oraz w intelektualnym otoczeniu Aleksandra Macedońskiego.

Słowa kluczowe: Ἀνατολή, Δύσις, Ἄρκτος, Μεσημβρία, Septuaginta, 'Oracula Sibyllina', Arystoteles, Megastenes, Agatarchides z Knidos, Polibiusz, Apollodor z Aten, Posejdoniusz z Apamei, Diodor Sycylijski, Strabon, Arrian, Klaudiusz Ptolemeusz, Dionizjusz Periegetes i Marcjusz z Heraklei.

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