

# *Sefer Yosippon* and *Sefer Masa'ot*: A Reconsideration

Daniel Stein Kokin

## 1 Introduction: A Tale of Two Texts

It is a commonplace in the modern reception of Benjamin of Tudela's *Sefer Masa'ot* that *Sefer Yosippon* served as one of its major sources.<sup>1</sup> Numerous scholars over the course of the past two centuries have turned to this early medieval chronicle of Jewish history in seeking to account for some of the twelfth-century travel narrative's more puzzling statements. Most recently, Giancarlo Lacerenza has described *Yosippon* as "the direct source of the Tudelan itinerary in various passages" and, indeed, as the "Hebrew source most used"<sup>2</sup> by the presumed redactor of the *Book of Travels*.<sup>3</sup> To date, however, I am aware of no sustained examination of either the textual relationship between these two classics of medieval Jewish literature or of the scholarly context in which the claims of this relationship emerged. In what follows, I aim to address these two significant lacunae.

After first briefly reviewing the passages in *Sefer Masa'ot* that have been ascribed to, or linked with, Benjamin's Italian predecessor, I shall assess the legitimacy of these claims, arguing that while in some instances the attributions may well be correct, in certain other, more critical cases they are downright erroneous or have been greatly exaggerated. Where they do appear to be

1 My thanks to the organizers, and now editors, of *From Josephus to Yosippon and Beyond* for creating the opportunity and incentive for me to undertake this investigation, and to Saskia Dönitz for her assistance with questions pertaining to the reception of *Sefer Yosippon* (*SY*). All biblical translations are taken from the Jewish Publication Society *Tanakh*. All other translations are mine unless otherwise indicated.

2 Lacerenza, "Memorie e luoghi," 68 ("Fonte diretta dell'itinerario tudelense in svariati luoghi"); Lacerenza, "Descrizioni ed echi," 171 ("[la] fonte ebraica più utilizzata dal redattore del *Sefer massa'ot*" [*sic*]). See also *Libro di viaggi*, ed. Minervini, where Minervini writes that "si può però sicuramente identificare almeno un'opera da cui [Benjamin] trae talvolta fantasiose informazioni," namely *SY*. On *SY*, see Dönitz, *Überlieferung und Rezeption* and, most recently, *Sefer Yosippon: A Tenth-Century History of Ancient Israel*, trans. Bowman.

3 In this essay, I employ *Sefer Masa'ot*, *Book of Travels*, and *Itinerary* interchangeably as titles for Benjamin of Tudela's travel narrative. I do not address directly here the question of the text's authorship and/or redaction, though see p. 433 below. For a detailed discussion of this matter and further bibliography, see Stein Kokin, "Arch'-Enemy," especially pp. 35–42.

legitimate or at least highly plausible, I shall clarify both how *Sefer Yosippon* was employed and the significance of that use. Thereafter, in order to pinpoint the origin of the over-emphasis on *Yosippon*, I shall turn to the internal Jewish scholarly polemics of the nineteenth century, in particular the vehement critique directed against Isaak Markus Jost by Adolf Asher in his 1840–41 edition and English translation of *Sefer Masa'ot*. I shall show how the latter's commitment to defending the value and reliability of Benjamin's *Book of Travels* led him to inflate its dependence upon *Yosippon*, with important consequences for how the text has been interpreted down to the present. Indeed, through close readings of two relevant sections from the *Itinerary*, I shall demonstrate that by deflecting scholarly attention away from fascinating passages worthy of closer investigation, Asher's strategy has had the ironic consequence of actually undermining the *Itinerary* it sought to enhance.

While the relevance of this topic for a volume devoted in part to the legacy of *Sefer Yosippon* is clear, in revealing how unquestioned traditions of interpretation can unwittingly guide—or rather misguide—analysis across generations, this study should be of interest to all students and scholars concerned with the reception and analysis of foundational texts.

## 2 The Passages

From the beginning of the text it is five pages to Rome,<sup>4</sup> where Benjamin refers to the eighty palaces belonging to the eighty emperors who had reigned there, noting in particular that

the palace of Titus is [located] outside of Rome, since the consul and his three hundred senators did not receive him [back in the city]. For in taking three years to conquer Jerusalem, [Titus] did not fulfill their command to do so in two.<sup>5</sup>

In his above-mentioned edition, Asher somewhat cautiously claims that “the traditions respecting the eighty halls [and] the palace of Titus” are “*mostly*

4 For readers not directly familiar with the *Book of Travels*, this section of my essay playfully imitates the structure of that work, in which each allegedly visited locale is described in terms of its distance in days of travel or parasangs from the previously mentioned site. For example, “from [Arles] it is two days' journey to Marseilles.” My “calculations” are based on the classic edition of Marcus Nathan Adler (*The Itinerary*, ed. and trans. Adler).

5 For the original Hebrew and its textual variants, see *The Itinerary*, ed. and trans. Adler, 1. I discuss this passage in greater detail in my above-mentioned study.

copied from [Yosippon];<sup>6</sup> by contrast, in his edition, from 1907, Marcus Nathan Adler pithily asserts “this is Yosippon’s story,” referring specifically to the location of Titus’ palace and the explanation presented for it.<sup>7</sup> Giulio Busi cites Adler in his 1988 edition to make the same point;<sup>8</sup> one year later, Laura Minervini in general connects the Roman ruins encountered by Benjamin to legends taken from *Sefer Yosippon*;<sup>9</sup> in his 1998 German rendering, Stefan Schreiner was likewise convinced that “die hier überlieferte Legende hat der Autor dem ... Buch ‘Yosippon,’ ... entnommen;”<sup>10</sup> the 2015 bilingual Spanish-Basque edition of *Sefer Masa’ot* once again refers to Adler in linking this passage to *Yosippon*;<sup>11</sup> and—finally—for Lacerenza, writing in 2019, “questa parte della descrizione echeggi in più punti elementi tratti direttamente” from *Yosippon*.<sup>12</sup>

From Rome it is one page to Pozzuoli

which is called Sorrento the Great, built by Zur,<sup>13</sup> son of Hadadezer, who fled from David the king (may he rest in peace). The sea has risen and covered the city from its two sides, and unto today one can still see the markets and towers which stood in the midst of the city. And a spring there issues forth from the deep and the oil is found there which is called petroleum. People collect it from the surface of the water and use it for various creams and treatments. There are also hot-water springs to the number of about twenty, which issue from beneath the ground and are situated near the sea, and every man who has any sickness can go and bathe in them and get cured. All the afflicted of Lombardy visit it in the summertime for that purpose. From this place a man can travel

6 *The Itinerary*, ed. and trans. Asher, 2.25–26n39 (italics mine).

7 *The Itinerary*, ed. and trans. Adler, 6n5.

8 *Itinerario*, trans. Busi, 19n17.

9 *Libro di viaggi*, ed. Minervini, 101–102n25. The relevant quotation runs as follows: “Nella descrizione di Roma le impressioni provate dal viaggiatore di fronte alle rovine romane si intrecciano con le informazioni leggendarie di origine locale o di provenienza ebraica (queste ultime tratte soprattutto dal *Sefer Josefón* [sic]).”

10 *Jüdische Reisen*, ed. Schreiner, 203, n. to 15. Like Adler, Schreiner is here concerned specifically with the report concerning the palace of Titus.

11 *Vida y obra*, ed. and trans. Rodríguez Ochoa et al., 38n48 (“es una leyenda procedente del Josippon”); 127n20 (“Referencia tomada del Sefer Josippón, crónica de la historia judía desde Adán a la época del emperador Tito ... Fue una obra muy leída y respetada por los judíos medievales.”); 228n23.

12 Lacerenza, “Descrizioni ed echi,” 171.

13 Except where quoting others, I present this figure and the city of the same name (i.e. Tyre in English) as Tsur. In his translation of SY, Steven B. Bowman renders the name as Zor, i.e. Tsor. See *Sepher Yosippon*, trans. Bowman, 13. For the alternative city name Tsor and its potential significance, see 444 and 446, below.

fifteen miles along a road under the mountains, a work executed by King Romulus who built the city of Rome. He was prompted to this by fear of King David and Joab his general. He built fortifications both upon the mountains and below the mountains reaching as far as the city of Naples.<sup>14</sup>

Asher again insists that “[this whole passage] and all the mistakes which occur therein, are *copied* either by our author *or by a later scribe* from Josephus Gorionides [i.e. *Sefer Yosippon*], who also speaks of the petroleum which is gather’d [*sic*] in the Vicinity [*sic*], and of the causeway under the mountains ‘constructed by Romulus who feared David.’”<sup>15</sup> For Adler, similarly, “Yosippon gives these legends ... when speaking of Zur, whom he associates with Sorrento. Benjamin had few other sources of information.”<sup>16</sup> Likewise, for Lacerenza, in this passage *Yosippon* is “taken up” (“ripreso”) by, or served as the mold or matrix (“la matrice”) for, *Sefer Masa’ot*.<sup>17</sup>

From Naples, it is two pages to Patras, described as “the city which Antipater, King of the Greeks, built. He was one of the four successors of King Alexander.”<sup>18</sup> Here, too, many of the usual suspects are in agreement that *Yosippon* lies at the root of this historically incorrect claim.<sup>19</sup>

From Patras it is one page to Salonika, described in the *Book of Travels* as having been founded by King Seleucus, “one of the four branches of Greece that arose after Alexander.”<sup>20</sup> David Flusser suggested that Benjamin here draws upon *Sefer Yosippon* since a virtually identical Hebrew phrase (“ארבעת שריגי יון”) appears in both texts.<sup>21</sup> Finally, from Salonika it is eleven

14 *The Itinerary*, ed. and trans. Adler, 8; translation modified. For the Hebrew original, see יא-ב.

15 *The Itinerary*, ed. and trans. Asher, 2.27n41 (italics mine).

16 *The Itinerary*, ed. and trans. Adler, 8n2.

17 Lacerenza, “Memorie e luoghi,” 68–69; Lacerenza, “Echi biblici,” 467. See also *Itinerario*, trans. Busi, 21n22–n23; *Libro di viaggi*, ed. Minervini, 102n27–n28; *Jüdische Reisen*, ed. Schreiner, 204, n. to 17–18; Jacoby, “Benjamin of Tudela and his ‘Book of Travels,’” 151–152; *Vida y obra*, ed. and trans. Rodríguez Ochoa et al., 39n51; 130n30; *Les voyageurs juifs*, ed. and trans. Harboun, 212n26 (citing Charton, *Voyageurs anciens*); and *Sefer Yosippon*, ed. Flusser, 2.88n264.

18 *The Itinerary*, ed. and trans. Adler, 10; ט.

19 *The Itinerary*, ed. and trans. Asher, 2.35–36; *The Itinerary*, ed. and trans. Adler, 10n3; *Libro di viaggi*, ed. Minervini, 103n38; *Jüdische Reisen*, ed. Schreiner, 205, n. to 22; *Vida y obra*, ed. and trans. Rodríguez Ochoa et al., 132n38. *Itinerario*, trans. Busi does not comment on this passage. In point of fact, Patras is much older than this tradition suggests.

20 *The Itinerary*, ed. and trans. Adler, 11.

21 For the passage in *SY* 10 (\*), see *Sefer Yosippon*, ed. Flusser, 1.59 and *Sepher Yosippon*, trans. Bowman, 55; in Benjamin, see *The Itinerary*, ed. and trans. Adler, ג. For Flusser’s claim concerning Benjamin’s dependence upon *SY*, see *Sefer Yosippon*, ed. Flusser, 1.60n79.

pages to Jerusalem, where—it has been suggested—the anachronistic description of the city as “fortified by three walls” was taken from *Yosippon*.<sup>22</sup>

These are the five passages known to me for which *Sefer Yosippon* has been invoked as the source for *Sefer Masa'ot*.<sup>23</sup>

Of these, direct dependence upon *Sefer Yosippon* in the cases involving Patras, Salonika, and Jerusalem seems quite likely, though by no means definite. Alternatively, it is not impossible that Benjamin encountered the traditions reported by *Yosippon* via oral intermediaries, including in the locales visited by him. These intermediaries, in turn, could certainly have received their information from *Yosippon*: indeed, in the preface to his fourteenth-century “edition” thereof, Judah ibn Mosconi refers to the “fragments and excerpts [of the work he encountered] in the libraries of Aegean Jews,” i.e. Jews in the region of Patras and Salonika.<sup>24</sup> But, by the same token, the independent exposure of these potential intermediaries to the same traditions that had made their way into *Sefer Yosippon* can also not be excluded.

Thus, like Benjamin, *Sefer Yosippon*—or, more precisely, the “Alexander Tale” included in the later recensions of *Yosippon*<sup>25</sup>—erroneously mentions Antipater as the founder of Patras. Because this statement in *Yosippon* follows directly upon Alexander’s death and introduces—alongside Antipater—Ptolomaeus, Seleucus, and an Alexander “Junior” as his other apparent heirs,<sup>26</sup>

22 Praver, “Ti'urei masa' ivriyim,” 51 and Praver, *The History of the Jews*, 200. In the second source, Praver refers to “Josephus” as the “inspiration” for “this strange piece of information,” citing in his footnotes both Josephus and SY. See also *Itinerario*, trans. Busi, 9, 36n74; *Libro di viaggi*, ed. Minervini, 107n67; Schmitz, “Benjamin von Tudela ‘Das Buch der Reisen,’” 301; *Vida y obra*, ed. and trans. Rodríguez Ochoa et al., 147n90. For Jerusalem in *Sefer Masa'ot*, see *The Itinerary*, ed. and trans. Adler, 22–25.

23 In addition, Juliette Sibon suggests that Benjamin satisfied in SY “among others, his interest in Jewish sects,” while Asher observed that both authors refer to the pope as “hegemon ha-gadol,” implying that the later work may have obtained this designation from the earlier (See Sibon, “Benjamin de Tudèle,” 218 and *The Itinerary*, ed. and trans. Asher, 2.16). Finally, in *Les voyageurs juifs*, ed. and trans. Harboun (218n135), it is suggested—by way of reference to Joachim Lelewel’s geographical investigation of the *Book of Travels*—that Benjamin’s discussion of the Rechabites is based on that of SY. However, the claim that *Sefer Masa'ot* at all refers to the Rechabites appears to be based on an error in one of the manuscripts. On this point, see *The Itinerary*, ed. and trans. Adler, 49n4 (cont.). The passage in question appears in the Adler edition on 12. Lelewel’s “examen géographique” appears in the back of Carmoly, *Notice historique*.

24 See Bowman, “Sefer Yosippon,” 281.

25 On the “Alexander Tale” interpolation and its relationship to the text of SY as a whole, see the chapter by Saskia Dönitz in this volume.

26 Ma'aseh 'Aleksandros, chapter 12, in *Sefer Yosippon*, ed. Flusser, 1.484; “Gesta Alexandros,” Chapter 12, in Bowman, *Sefer Yosippon*, 490. For Flusser, the above-mentioned Byzantine chronicle begins only with chapter 13 (13) of his “Ma'aseh 'Aleksandros.” However, according to Saskia Dönitz (personal communication with the author; Aug. 30, 2021), the

Benjamin's reference to "the Great's" four successors seems to summarize this passage as a whole.

With regard to Salonika, for all the similarity between the two texts, it should be noted that—in contrast to Patras—Flusser's edition of *Sefer Yosippon* makes no mention of the city of Salonika in connection with Seleucus. Thus, while *Sefer Masa'ot's* dependence here upon *Yosippon* appears likely, it seems not to account for his claim concerning the city's name, which perhaps reflects a local tradition encountered on site.<sup>27</sup>

As for Jerusalem, *Sefer Yosippon* does indeed refer to it as a three-walled city<sup>28</sup> and so Benjamin may well have obtained this notion from him.<sup>29</sup> Nonetheless, this attribution hardly settles matters, for while the former text mentions these walls as they are felled one after the other by Roman battering rams during the siege of the city,<sup>30</sup> the latter evokes them as still standing more than a millennium later. Benjamin's borrowing from *Yosippon*, if such is indeed the case, therefore constitutes abuse as much as use. The walls whose destruction *Yosippon* recounts in detail testify in the *Itinerary*, instead, to Jerusalem's endurance.<sup>31</sup>

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chronicle actually commences even earlier in Flusser's text, thus encompassing the passage of interest here.

- 27 In point of fact, the city took its full name, Thessaloniki, from Alexander's half-sister Thessalonike.
- 28 *Sefer Yosippon*, ed. Flusser, 1.353; Bowman, *Sepher Yosippon*, 330.
- 29 Josephus also refers to Jerusalem's three walls in *BJ* 5.2.142–155.
- 30 For the entirety of the text's treatment of the fate of these walls, see *Sefer Yosippon*, ed. Flusser, 1.353–358, 369, 373, 376, 389–390 (chapters פב, פ, ט, עה, עז); Bowman, *Sepher Yosippon*, 330–334, 341, 344–345, 348, 360–361 (chapters 77, 78, 79, 80, 82).
- 31 As for Sibon's above-mentioned association between the *Book of Travels* and *SY* with regard to Jewish sects, no specific passages are cited, neither is direct evidence presented. With regard to the phrase "hegemon ha-gadol," Asher's claim is somewhat misleading, since *SY* does not refer to the pope per se, but rather to the pagan Roman high priest, namely the pontifex maximus. It is, however, quite possible that Benjamin took the phrase from this work, in essence conceiving of the pope as the successor to the Roman high priest. Indeed, while historically speaking the Roman emperors appropriated the title of pontifex maximus for themselves, in *SY's* account the "hegemon ha-gadol" constituted a distinct office, since the holder of this title plays an essential role in the imperial coronation of Vespasian. It thus seems clear that *SY* modeled his portrait of the ancient emperor and high priest after the pope and emperor of his own age. For *SY's* use of the term "hegemon ha-gadol," see *Sefer Yosippon*, ed. Flusser, 1.450 ("Ha-nusah ha-ragil," chapter 2; it is rendered as "chief leader" in Bowman, *Sepher Yosippon*, 427); for that of Benjamin, see *The Itinerary*, ed. and trans. Adler, 1, but note that in the British Museum MS, the source of Adler's main text, only "hegemon" appears.

### 3 Blame It on Yosippon

The other two instances referenced above are both more significant with regard to our overall interpretation of *Sefer Masa'ot* and more complex as concerns their relationship with *Sefer Yosippon*. Benjamin's fascinating account of the region around Naples overlaps to a large degree with that of *Yosippon*, but also features substantial differences and therefore requires careful analysis, shortly to follow. As for Benjamin's description of Roman imperial palaces, and specifically the alleged location external to Rome of that of Titus, I am aware of no such passage in any known edition or manuscript variant of *Yosippon*. The closest parallel in that text known to me refers to Romulus' construction of

a wall encompassing all the buildings of the kings (בניני המלכים) who ruled before him, [in which] he included all the surrounding palaces (ההיכלות) and hills within the wall, and the length of the wall was forty-five miles and he called the name of the city Rome after Romulus.<sup>32</sup>

This passage does, to be sure, mention “the buildings of the kings,” i.e. presumably their palaces, but refers solely and explicitly to monarchs who ruled *prior* to Romulus.<sup>33</sup> By contrast, Benjamin makes no mention whatsoever of Romulus anywhere in his description of Rome<sup>34</sup> and writes solely of later emperors (i.e. *post*-Romulus) from the “kingship of Tarquinius down to the kingship of Nero and Tiberius ... until the kingdom of Pepin, the father of Charlemagne.”<sup>35</sup> Indeed, while Tarquinius is implicitly presented in the *Book of Travels* as the first or at least an early emperor of Rome, according to *Sefer Yosippon* it is Tarquinius' reprehensible behavior in lusting after and seizing a married woman that brought the Romans to swear “that no king will rule over them” there. Instead, they appointed “from among the city's elders a consul and three hundred and twenty senators (lit. advisors).”<sup>36</sup> A consul and three hundred senators are, to be sure, referenced by Benjamin, but from the Titus

32 *Sefer Yosippon*, ed. Flusser, 1.18–19; Bowman, *Sepher Yosippon*, 13.

33 The later reference in this passage to “palaces” is unclear, since the term היכל is employed in *SY* to refer to both human residences and temples for gods, including in this very section. For example, Aventinus is said to have “built a large palace for his dwelling” (“ויבן היכל גדול לשבתו”), while Romulus constructed “a giant temple to Jovis (Jupiter)” (“ויבן היכל עצום ליוביס”). See *Sepher Yosippon*, trans. Bowman, 12–13 and *Sefer Yosippon*, ed. Flusser, 1.18–19. In *Sefer Masa'ot*, the palaces of the emperors are in some manuscripts described as ארמונים, in others as היכלות. See *The Itinerary*, ed. and trans. Adler, 1.

34 In the description of Pozzuoli cited above, he does, however, briefly identify him as the man “who built the city of Rome.”

35 *The Itinerary*, ed. and trans. Adler, 6, translation modified.

36 *Sefer Yosippon*, ed. Flusser, 1.19; Bowman, *Sepher Yosippon*, 13–14.

passage cited above it is clear that he conceives of them as coexisting with, rather than replacing, the kings/emperors.<sup>37</sup> To summarize, there appears to be no sound basis for regarding *Yosippon's* treatment of Roman imperial palaces as the basis for that of *Sefer Masa'ot*. The common elements between them are restricted to the overarching subject matter and a small number of overlapping terms (e.g. Rome, palaces, Tarquinius, the consul, three hundred or three hundred and twenty advisors or senators).

But if there is no direct antecedent in *Sefer Yosippon* for Benjamin's discussion of the imperial palaces, why then have so many modern scholars been convinced otherwise? The fact that none of the above-cited scholars identify where precisely in *Yosippon* the relevant passage is to be found<sup>38</sup> or engage in any detailed discussion of the relationship between that passage and the description in *Sefer Masa'ot* strongly suggests that they have simply relied upon earlier scholarship without double-checking the attribution for themselves. This impression is strengthened by the increasing specificity with which they nonetheless reference *Yosippon* as the Tudelan's source.<sup>39</sup> When, then, was the notion of Benjamin's borrowing first raised? So far as I can tell, this occurred in Asher's above-mentioned edition. Confirmation of this assessment can be discerned in the vehemence—unrivaled since—with which Asher advances this claim in the context of his scholarly polemic against Isaak Marcus Jost, the pioneering nineteenth-century German-Jewish historian.<sup>40</sup>

In his *Geschichte der Israeliten seit der Zeit der Maccabaer*, Jost had compiled a list of Benjamin's errors, prefaced by the suggestion of his general unreliability and of his text's status as a mere compilation.<sup>41</sup> This approach perfectly

37 Benjamin does not distinguish between the Roman kings and emperors, in fact referring to "kings ... called emperors." See *The Itinerary*, ed. and trans. Adler, 6; 1. According to *Sefer Yosippon*, Julius Caesar exiled the consul and Senate, at which point they disappear from his narrative. See *Sefer Yosippon*, ed. Flusser, 1.167; Bowman, *Sefer Yosippon*, 158. Bowman, translating literally from the Hebrew, renders the consul and senators as "the Elder" and his "counselors," respectively.

38 Some scholars do, to be sure, offer general indications, but these reference the above-mentioned overlapping themes, not a specific source. For more on this front, see the next footnote.

39 While Asher offers no precise indication at all, Adler explicitly states only that "*Yosippon*, Book I, Chap, iv, speaks of 320 senators" (*The Itinerary*, ed. and trans. Adler, 6n5), as if this clinches the case. Schreiner, in contrast (*Jüdische Reisen*, 203, n. to 15), refers directly to Bk. 1, Ch. 4 of *SY* as Benjamin's source without any qualification. Consider also the excerpts from their respective editions quoted above.

40 On Jost, the first Jew—since Josephus, that is—to compose a multi-volume history of the Jews that continued down to his own times, see Michael, *Avi ha-historiografiah*; Brenner, *Prophets of the Past*; Schorsch, "From Wolfenbüttel to Wissenschaft," 109–128; Pyka, "In the Shadow of Napoleon," 185–217; and Paolin, "Lottocento e le nuove prospettive," 35–56.

41 Jost here indicates his sympathy for the view that *Sefer Masa'ot* is but "the concoction of an ignoramus ... who never traveled ... It seems that he compiled [his notes] poorly,



suiting Jost's combative stance vis-à-vis Jewish tradition, the irreverent style of his writing, and his commitment to deploying historical research in the service of emancipatory politics.<sup>42</sup> Asher and his collaborators, who included such *Wissenschaft des Judentums* luminaries as Leopold Zunz and Salomon Munk, were by contrast eager to defend Benjamin from these charges. For Asher, in particular, preparation of a modern edition of *Sefer Masa'ot* constituted a central plank of his scholarly endeavor to enhance knowledge of medieval geography.<sup>43</sup> Given his interest in enhancing the value and dependability of the *Itinerary*—at one point he even calls upon the great Gibbon of *Decline and Fall*-fame in Benjamin's defense<sup>44</sup>—it is not surprising that Asher frequently takes delight in undermining the reliability of contemporary scholars and their critiques of *Sefer Masa'ot*.<sup>45</sup> Since Jost's brief discussion had been one of the most recent and prominent such examples, it was subjected to particular ire on the part of Asher and at least part of his team.<sup>46</sup>

Thus, for example, in one passage Asher expresses his "astonishment" at Jost, concluding that a historian "guilty of such mistakes ... ought not to be taken bona fide."<sup>47</sup> Elsewhere, Asher accuses him of "expressions, rather strange in an historian,"<sup>48</sup> and, on a third occasion, while acknowledging Benjamin's occasional errors, nevertheless insists "that the learned Dr. Jost ... should have abstained from making these mistakes a point of accusation against the author, who, we contend, is comparatively more exempt from mistakes than his reviewer."<sup>49</sup> Indeed, a key element of Asher's strategy for defending Benjamin's reliability involved ascribing his occasional lapses to texts such as

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assuming that the whole wasn't simply composed later." See Jost, *Geschichte der Israeliten*, 376 ("das Nachwerk eines Unkundigen ... der nie gereist ist ... Es scheint, er habe schlecht compilirt, wofern nicht das Ganze später verfaßt ist").

42 On these tendencies, see Paolin, "L'ottocento," 45–46.

43 In the "Introduction" to his edition, he complains that while it is easy to learn about ancient and modern geography, "comparatively nothing has been done to throw light on that portion of geography, which comprises the ages, called the dark." *The Itinerary*, ed. and trans. Asher, 2.v.

44 See *The Itinerary*, ed. and trans. Asher, 2.24–25, where his comments begin as follows: "The following remarks of Gibbon will be found to plead very forcibly in excuse of our authors [*sic*] mistakes, in reference to his historical notices of the monuments he saw at Rome." Asher's aspirations to *Wissenschaft* are also on clear display in the dedication that opens his edition of the *Itinerary*: "To his excellency Baron Alexander von Humboldt this work with his kind permission is most respectfully inscribed" (*The Itinerary*, ed. and trans. Asher, 1.5).

45 See *The Itinerary*, ed. and trans. Asher, 1.10, 15–16, 17–20, 24.

46 For instances of critique leveled at Jost by Asher, see *The Itinerary*, ed. and trans. Asher, 2.18, 26, 31, 39; for criticism by the rabbi and scholar Solomon Judah Loeb Rapaport, see *The Itinerary*, ed. and trans. Asher, 2.24, 30, 38.

47 *The Itinerary*, ed. and trans. Asher, 2.18.

48 *The Itinerary*, ed. and trans. Asher, 2.39.

49 *The Itinerary*, ed. and trans. Asher, 2.26.

*Sefer Yosippon*.<sup>50</sup> This had the benefit of attesting to both Benjamin and Asher's wide learning, while at the same time undermining the likes of Jost for failing to have detected his sources.<sup>51</sup> But it also led Asher to exaggerate the *Book of Travels*' dependence upon *Yosippon* in passages that, for a nineteenth-century historian, risked casting the author of the *Book of Travels* in an especially unfavorable light. Subsequent scholars, unaware of the context that had conditioned Asher's linkage between the two books, uncritically repeated—and indeed intensified—his conclusions, such that *Yosippon* today can be described as an “open text,” not only in terms of what was actually added to its folios, but also with regard to what was believed (or at least alleged) to be found therein.<sup>52</sup>

Of course, if the report concerning Titus and his palace is simply “Yosippon's story,” then there is little need or inducement for scholars to examine it in detail; indeed, I am aware of no careful analysis thereof prior to a recent study of mine.<sup>53</sup> But if, as appears virtually certain, this is not at all the case, then the claim that Titus was punished upon his return to Rome for having conquered Jerusalem too slowly becomes quite interesting, especially as this notion—to the best of my knowledge—is not found in any other known source.

In my study, I argued that this passage reflects a unique Roman-Jewish response to the increasing challenge posed by the Arch of Titus. For this monument that celebrated Titus's defeat of the Jewish revolt and destruction of

50 Alternatively, as seen above, he blamed them on a later copyist of the *Book of Travels*. For his part, here is Zunz's apologetic approach to defending Benjamin: “As we find ... the historical and geographical data [in *Sefer Masa'ot*] to be fully authenticated, and as the fables must be charged, not to [Benjamin's] own account, but to that of his time, a sound critique has rejected with justice all those suspicions and attempts at derogation, which have been directed against this, our [the Jewish people's] first traveler.” See Zunz, “An Essay,” 252, cited in Jacobs, “A Day's Journey,” 204 (the bracketed additions to the text are from Jacobs). Thus we see how central the defense of Benjamin's account was for both Zunz and Asher's scholarly project and their pursuit of Jewish honor. It is worth noting that precisely in this same decade, European nations financed archaeological expeditions in the Near East “as opportunities to enhance national prestige.” See Tugendhaft, *The Idols*, 41.

51 To be sure, Jost is hardly above criticism, even by nineteenth century standards. For example, he woefully misreads Benjamin's brief excursus on the palace of Titus, summarizing it as follows: “Titus was condemned by the Senate to live two years outside of Rome, because he conquered Jerusalem too slowly.” See Jost, *Geschichte der Israeliten*, 376 (“Titus sei vom Senat verurtheilt worden, zwei Jahre außerhalb Roms zu wohnen, weil er Jerusalem so langsam erobert habe.”). Just prior to this he had complained that Benjamin describes a R. Jehiel as a confidant of the pope without specifying the pontiff's name. But Benjamin does in fact identify him as Pope Alexander. See *The Itinerary*, ed. and trans. Adler, 5.

52 On the notion of the “open text,” see Bowman, “Sefer Yosippon,” 284 and, more generally, Ta-Shma, “The ‘Open’ Book,” 17–24.

53 Stein Kokin, “Arch'-Enemy.”

Jerusalem on behalf of *Senatus Populusque Romanus* (“the Senate and people of Rome,” as its famous inscription proclaims) assumed unprecedented textual and liturgical prominence in the life of twelfth-century Rome.<sup>54</sup> In thus instead highlighting a Titus who was not welcomed back to the Eternal City, this source presents a Jewish counter-history to a central plank of medieval Roman-Christian identity. Along the same lines, it is noteworthy that the arch itself goes unmentioned in Benjamin’s otherwise detailed description of sites of Jewish interest in Rome.

In addition, in the placement of Titus’ palace outside of the city, I detect an echo of the tensions that prevailed in Rome at the time between the papacy and commune (which refounded the Senate), as a result of which numerous popes were in fact obliged to reside for substantial periods of time beyond its walls. In short, this tradition inscribes the turmoil of twelfth-century Rome onto the ancient story of Titus, its political and spatial specificity testifying, in my estimation, to its emergence in a Roman environment.

If my argument concerning this tradition holds, then the false ascription to *Sefer Yosippon* originating with Asher has actually had quite ironic implications. Far from enhancing the value and dependability of the *Itinerary*, Asher here undermined it, providing unwitting support for those contemporary scholars who wish to de-emphasize the extent or significance of what Benjamin actually encountered en route and instead present his *Book of Travels* as substantially a redacted compilation from other sources—in essence what Jost had argued and the dominant approach today in scholarship on this text.<sup>55</sup> Thus, the uncritical acceptance of long-standing scholarly claims concerning the *Itinerary’s* sources has paradoxically fed skepticism as to its overarching uniqueness and reliability as a window into its time.<sup>56</sup> By contrast, I claim that by liberating *Sefer Masa’ot* from its alleged dependence upon *Yosippon*, we are better positioned to tap into its riches, including rare and invaluable insight into the perspective of mid twelfth-century Roman Jews.

54 After centuries of silence, the arch was mentioned in numerous writings in this period and from ca. 1140, at the latest, passage directly through the arch was a feature of the papal *adventus*, which marked the coronation of a new pope or his return to Rome after a period of absence, as well as of similar processions held on special occasions such as Easter Monday. On this, see Marie-Thérèse Champagne, “Pagan Rome,” 67; *Mirabilia*, ed. Nichols, 165–171, esp. 171; and Stein Kokin, “Arch'-Enemy,” where extensive further bibliography is provided.

55 See Lacerenza, “Struttura letteraria;” Lacerenza, “Descrizioni ed echi;” Sibon, “Benjamin de Tudèle;” and Jacobs, “A Day’s Journey;” for prominent recent examples.

56 To be clear, although I do not regard the *Itinerary* as simply a straightforward, positivistic account of actual events or circumstances, I do believe it offers invaluable testimony concerning various legends and traditions, some of which are not known from any other source.

#### 4 The Submersion of Sorrento

If the passage concerning Titus' palace presents us with a rather clear instance of erroneous ascription to *Sefer Yosippon*, that involving Benjamin's report regarding the region around Naples is far more ambiguous and complex. While there is no doubt, as has long been known,<sup>57</sup> that *Yosippon* and *Sefer Masa'ot* overlap to a substantial degree on this front, it is insufficient simply to allege, as has typically been the case, that the latter source is merely dependent upon the former. Instead, I shall argue both that Benjamin arrived at his account largely, if not entirely, independently of *Yosippon*, and that appreciation of this fact better positions to appreciate the author of *Yosippon's* literary artistry. What follows is admittedly speculative; if my readers are left unpersuaded, I at least hope that they find the discussion engaging and suggestive.

Let us begin by comparing the two sources' respective reports.

Romulus reigned ... thirty-eight years. In his days, David smote Aram and Edom, and Hadarezer and his sons fled and came to the land of the Kittim [i.e. Italy]. Romulus gave them a place on the sea and a place in the mountains, and they built there a city and called its name Tsorrento [i.e. Sorrento], after the name of the man who escaped from David, namely Tsur, from the family of Hadarezer. They built for themselves the city of ancient Albano and they have resided there unto today. But in the midst of the city of Sorrento a spring of oil emerged and over the course of many years the city sank beneath it and the sea has covered the city, now between Naples and New Sorrento. Nonetheless, the spring has not ceased [its flow], for until now oil flows forth and rises atop the sea water, and the residents of Naples continually collect it. Romulus greatly feared David and built a wall encompassing all the buildings of the kings who ruled before him, and he included all the surrounding palaces and hills within the wall, and the length of the wall was forty-five miles, and he called the name of the city Rome after Romulus. They were greatly afraid all the days of David. [Romulus] magnified the name of the sons of Kittim and they were called Romans after the name of the city until today ... Romulus carried out many wars and there was a treaty between him and David.<sup>58</sup>

*Sefer Yosippon*

57 This was, to the best of my knowledge, first noted in Toaff, "Sorrento e Pozzuoli," 313–317.

58 *SY 2* (2); see *Sefer Yosippon*, ed. Flusser, 118–19; and Bowman, *Sefer Yosippon*, 13 (to which the translation offered here is greatly indebted).

From [Capua] one goes to Pozzuoli which is called Sorrento the Great, built by Zur,<sup>59</sup> son of Hadadezer, who fled from David the king (may he rest in peace). The sea has risen and covered the city from its two sides, and unto today one can still see the markets and towers that stood in the midst of the city. And a spring there issues forth from the deep and the oil is found there which is called petroleum. People collect it from the surface of the water and use it for various creams and treatments. There are also hot-water baths to the number of about twenty, which issue from beneath the ground and are situated near the sea, and every man who has any sickness can go and bathe in them and get cured. All the afflicted of Lombardy visit it in the summertime for that purpose. From this place a man can travel fifteen miles along a road under the mountains, a work executed by King Romulus who built the city of Rome. He was prompted to this by fear of King David and Joab his general. He built fortifications both upon the mountains and below the mountains reaching as far as the city of Naples.<sup>60</sup>

BENJAMIN OF TUDELA, *Sefer Masa'ot*

The similarities between these accounts are of course obvious and striking. The two passages share a common geographical focus on the Italian city of Sorrento, located near Naples, and agree in associating the name of this city with a certain Tsur (or some variant thereof) from the family of Hadadezer, who fled in fear of King David.<sup>61</sup> Both texts report a strange, if not downright miraculous, oil well that emerged in the midst of the city—and that city's ultimate fate of ending up at least in part submerged by the sea. They also feature Romulus, identify him as the founder or builder of Rome, and likewise link an important building project of his to fear of David. Here it is perhaps worth briefly observing, in light of our earlier discussion, that Jost was particularly disturbed by Benjamin's notion of the founder of Rome in flight from the Israelite king: "Romulus feared David!" he exclaims in utter disbelief, adding

59 That is, צור (Tsur). To be sure, two of the three manuscripts read ציר, with the Epstein ms, followed by the Asher edition, featuring צניצן or צניצן—a likely scribal corruption of ציר בן (i.e. Tsur, son of ...). However, given the clear linkage between this figure and Sorrento, including their similar initial sibilants (צורִינֶטוּ), Tsur (צור) seems almost certainly to have been the original name and Adler, for his part, uses it in his translation. It is further noteworthy in this regard that some editions of *SY* also feature ציר instead of צור, a likely indication of the ease with which vav (ו) was confused for yod (י) in the course of the copying of manuscripts. For ציר in *SY*, see Toaff, "Sorrento e Pozzuoli," 313. In his translation, Bowman renders Sorrento as Zorrento (Bowman, *Sepher Yosippon*, 13).

60 *The Itinerary*, ed. and trans. Adler, 8; translation modified.

61 On whom and concerning the Hadadezer/Hadarezer contrast, see below.

that “a man (i.e. Benjamin) who claims to have undertaken such a journey, cannot write such nonsense, alone owing to the geography.”<sup>62</sup>

Notwithstanding these similarities, the differences between *Sefer Yosippon* and Benjamin are also not insubstantial:

1. While each text mentions Sorrento, the precise terminology used with regard to the city varies. Benjamin refers to “Sorrento the Great,” which he also identifies as Pozzuoli, whereas *Yosippon* distinguishes between Sorrento and what it calls “New Sorrento.”

2. Hadadezer and Tsur appear in both works, but whereas Benjamin seems to present only the latter as having fled to Italy and identifies him clearly as the son of Hadadezer,<sup>63</sup> according to *Yosippon* Hadadezer and his sons all came to

62 Jost, *Geschichte der Israeliten*, 6,377 (“Romulus hat den David gefürchtet! Ein Mensch, der eine solche Reise gemacht haben will, kann, schon der geographischen Lage wegen, solchen Unsinn nicht schreiben.”). In his rejection of this claim, Jost was in fact in good company: the distinguished Dutch theologian and orientalist Constantine L’Empereur (1591–1648) similarly ridiculed the notion of Romulus cowering before David: “Who is not astounded by such stupidity? [Benjamin] makes David and Romulus contemporaries, although the latter began his reign some three hundred years after David—a fact that cannot be called into doubt, but is rather evident from diverse historians and was repeatedly observed by chroniclers, whose words amid such clarity there is no need to repeat. Parallel to this is when he imagines that Romulus betook himself like moles underground and into extremely long caves or writes that he had hollowed these out from fear of David, who had died centuries before. Who would not be irritated by [nonsense] of this sort? Had we gone so astray, how arrogantly would the Jews have insulted us. Matters of this sort are to be collected by readers and thrown right back at the Jews—when they boast of their teachers—in the face.” (*Quis ad tantum stuporem non obstupescat? Coaetaneos facit Davidem et Romulum, quum Romulus trecentis circiter annis post Davidem regnare coeperit, quod in dubium vocari non potest: sed ex diversis historicis constat, et passim a Chronologicis observatum, quorum verba repetere necesse non est in tanta luce. Huic parallelum est, quum Romulum talparum more in terram ac longissimas specus se recepisse fingit, sive eas metu Davidis, qui ante aliquot secula mortem obierat, excavasse scribit. Quis ad huiusmodi non stomachetur? Si nos ita aberraremus, quam superbe nobis Iudaei insultarent. Huiusmodi a lectoribus colligenda, et Iudaeis, quum suos magistros crepant, in os regeenda.*) See Constantine L’Empereur, “Notae in Beniaminam,” xxxii–xxiii. Constantine’s objection was, as the close of the above passage attests, rooted firmly in the larger context of traditional Christian-Jewish polemic, a prime motivator for his studies of Hebrew and Rabbinics. On this, see van Rooden, *Theology, Biblical Scholarship, and Rabbinical Studies*. By contrast, the motive for Jost’s outrage was a scholarly mindset eager to rid Jewish culture of spurious traditions and erroneous beliefs. His extreme rhetoric notwithstanding, Constantine did have a point: there is no way that David and Romulus, if they at all existed, could have lived at the same time: the former’s conquest of Jerusalem would surely have preceded the latter’s founding of Rome by at least two hundred years.

63 Admittedly, there is some ambiguity in the *Book of Travels* as to whether it was Tsur or Hadadezer, “who fled from David the king,” though Benjamin appears to be specifically interested only in Tsur.

the peninsula, and the exact familial relationship of Tsur to Hadadezer is left ambiguous.

3. Romulus is depicted quite differently in the two texts. According to Benjamin, in addition to fortifications above and below mountains, Romulus constructed a fifteen-mile-long subterranean road near *Naples*. By contrast, *Yosippon* focuses on Romulus as the founder of *Rome* through the construction of a vast wall encompassing the palaces of his predecessors. In addition, whereas for Benjamin the report concerning Romulus is parallel to—and juxtaposed with—that involving Tsur, in *Yosippon* the tale of Hadarezer and his sons is located within—and thus subordinate to—the overarching Romulus narrative. Finally, while *Yosippon* explains Romulus' actions by recourse to his fear of David—which ultimately led him to enter into a treaty with the Israelite monarch, Benjamin references his fear of both David and “Joab his general,” and does not mention any such accord between the Roman and Israelite kings.<sup>64</sup>

4. When subjected to careful examination, the accounts of Sorrento's submersion beneath oil and water also reveal striking differences. In the case of *Yosippon*, oil represents the primary element: the well (or spring) emerged in the midst of the city and was initially responsible for covering it, followed thereafter by the sea. For *Sefer Masa'ot*, instead, it was the sea that on its own covered up the city, of which remnants remain visible in his time (*Yosippon*, for its part, makes no explicit mention of the enduring visibility of the submerged city). Here the well, supplemented by hot baths, bears no clear relation to the fate of the city. And while, according to *Yosippon*, the residents of Naples continually collect the oil for an unspecified purpose, in Benjamin's account undisclosed individuals employ it on medicinal grounds; in addition, people come from as far away as Lombardy to enjoy the benefits of the baths.

The cumulative weight of all these contrasts is to raise serious questions as to what degree, if at all, Benjamin drew from or depended upon *Sefer Yosippon* in his description of Sorrento and environs. Alone the mention of Joab and reference to Romulus' tunnel near Naples as opposed to his wall surrounding Rome demonstrate the insufficiency of *Yosippon* on its own to account for this section of the *Book of Travels*. And the various other differences in detail and emphasis render it entirely plausible that Benjamin independently encountered the same general set of traditions. The addition of Pozzuoli as the equivalent of Sorrento is particularly significant, as it strongly suggests an actual visit

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64 For another instance in which Benjamin forbears mention of an alleged ancient Roman-Jewish alliance, see “Appendix 7: Musings on Missing Maccabees” in Stein Kokin, “Arch'-Enemy,” 99–104.

to the site by Benjamin or his source.<sup>65</sup> For nearby to this town are both the fumaroles and mud pools of the now dormant volcano Solfatara (which last erupted in 1198) and Bagnoli,<sup>66</sup> site of numerous hot springs, not to mention structures that are at times (or now always) underwater, owing to the phenomenon known as bradyseism, namely “the gradual uplift (positive bradyseism) or descent (negative bradyseism) of part of the Earth’s surface caused by the filling or emptying of an underground magma chamber.”<sup>67</sup> Indeed, the lower half of adjacent Baiae—where entire Roman villas have been discovered underwater—“[sank] beneath the sea between the third and sixteenth centuries.”<sup>68</sup>

Furthermore, from an examination and comparison of our sources it appears that two independent, albeit related, traditions lie at the root of these accounts: one concerning how the family of Hadadezer, or some portion thereof, fled from King David in the Levant region to Italy in the West, and attempted to reconstitute itself through the founding of one or more new cities; the other involving Romulus and reporting how his fear of David led him to engage in the construction of defensive fortifications. In *Sefer Yosippon*, these two legends are woven rather elegantly into a single narrative strand, which both opens and closes with, and is therefore dominated by, Romulus.<sup>69</sup> Note how the author provides his Middle Eastern refugees with a “location on the sea and a location in the mountains” and how Romulus’ fear of David directly follows and is thus implicitly motivated by the demise of [Old] Sorrento. In the *Itinerary*, by contrast, though juxtaposed to one another and similar in theme, the two stories retain their fundamental independence.<sup>70</sup> And thus a

65 *Sefer Yosippon*, ed. Flusser, 2.88n264.

66 *The Itinerary*, ed. and trans. Adler, 8n2; Toaff, “Sorrento e Pozzuoli,” 316; [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Solfatara\\_\(volcano\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Solfatara_(volcano)); [https://it.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bagnoli\\_\(Napoli\)](https://it.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bagnoli_(Napoli)) (accessed March 3, 2022).

67 <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bradyseism> (accessed March 3, 2022). This entry actually features Pozzuoli as a prime example of the phenomenon.

68 On these villas, see Nathan Falde, “Stunning Roman Villas.” For more on the unique underwater archaeology of this region, see Cassani and Sapio, *Naples and Campi Flegrei*, 79–82, 86 and *I Campi Flegrei*, ed. Zevi et al. Fascinating discoveries continue here down to the present. Just as I was completing this piece in the spring of 2023, news emerged of the discovery of an underwater Nabatean temple just off the coast of Pozzuoli. On this, see n96 below.

69 In other words, the Hadadezer narrative in *SY* is framed by Romulus’s reign and founding of Rome. On the “critical care” with which the author of *SY* engaged his sources and his literary skill, see Bowman, “Sefer Yosippon,” 288.

70 To be sure, it is not impossible to understand the tunnel and mountain fortifications reported in *Sefer Masa’ot* as Romulus’ response to the flooding of Sorrento. But both the fact that Romulus had not been previously introduced in the account and the substantial



final difference between the *Yosippon* and *Sefer Masa'ot* accounts concerns the overarching shape of their respective narrations of this episode, whether as one or two stories.

My suggestion of two originally “independent” traditions and my description of *Sefer Yosippon*'s crafting of them into one as only “rather elegant” are of a piece. For the notion that it was Romulus who offered Hadarezer land to build Sorrento strikes me as somewhat forced, especially considering that, according to this narrative, Rome itself had yet to be founded! And I also deem it significant that the *Book of Travels* account bears no trace of the united narrative. It thus appears far more likely that (1) there were initially two strands that *Yosippon* wove into one, rather than one strand that Benjamin separated into two and (2) that *Yosippon* and Benjamin encountered these strands independently rather than that Benjamin is here dependent upon *Yosippon*. Had the *Itinerary* account really been based on that of *Yosippon*, one would have expected to encounter some lingering trace of the latter's interweaving of the two strands.<sup>71</sup>

But how likely is it, the reader may now wish to interject, that such local legends persisted for hundreds of years—*Sefer Yosippon* dating to the late ninth or early tenth centuries,<sup>72</sup> *Sefer Masa'ot* to the twelfth? While I possess no independent evidence proving that they did, I am able to demonstrate from three distinct sources the endurance of a Roman-Jewish legend across a substantially longer time span, in this case from at least the twelfth through nineteenth centuries. For in the course of his description of Rome, Benjamin

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excursus as to the oil and hot springs militate against this. There is thus geographical propinquity but no clear causal relationship binding the two narratives.

71 Minervini offers an alternative explanation, suggesting that when faced with contradictions between *SY*'s account and his own empirical observations, Benjamin simply juxtaposed the two pieces of information, with the gloss of Pozzuoli as Sorrento the Great as his prime (and also sole) piece of evidence for this *modus operandi*. See *Libro di viaggi*, ed. Minervini, 24 (“In genere Benjamin vi [*SY*—*DSK*] attinge notizie storiche che non è in grado di verificare, ma quando queste risultano in contraddizione con quel che l'esperienza gli mostra, non osando smentire la sua prestigiosa *auctoritas* ma non volendole sacrificare le sue personali osservazioni, si risolve per giustapporre le due informazioni: così durante la visita al litorale flegreo, resosi conto che la città chiamata Sorrento nel *Sefer Josefson* [*sic*] sembra corrispondere invece a Pozzuoli, affianca i due toponimi e fonde la sua descrizione del luogo con il racconto storico-leggendario della sua fonte”). In response, I would argue that in glossing Pozzuoli as “Sorrento the Great” (“*ha-gedolah*”), Benjamin departs from his predecessor's report, such that one cannot truly speak here of juxtaposition. Furthermore, what of the other aspects of *SY*'s account that simply go unmentioned in Benjamin?

72 Concerning *SY*'s date of composition, see Dönitz, “Historiography among Byzantine Jews,” 954–955; Dönitz, *Überlieferung und Rezeption*, 9–11; and Bowman, *Sepher Yosippon*, xxi.

writes of “a cave in a hill on one bank of the River Tiber where the ten righteous men killed by the Empire are buried.”<sup>73</sup> While some scholars have questioned whether by this report we are meant to understand *the* famous ten martyrs of rabbinic legend, I see no reason whatsoever to doubt that they are in fact intended here.<sup>74</sup> Indeed, in his early sixteenth-century *Meshare' qitrin*, the Kabbalist Abraham ben Eliezer ha-Levi rejects as nonsense “what the sages of the Great Rome that is in Italy say ... [namely that] this [here] is the cave of the Ten Martyrs,” and proceeds to insist that they “are buried in the Land of Israel.”<sup>75</sup> In addition, a nineteenth-century handwritten list of special practices from the Roman-Jewish rite included a prayer recited at the conclusion of the Friday Ma'ariv service “beseeching rest for all ‘the pious and just’ buried in this city,” further commenting that this formula refers to the “ten Hebrew martyrs killed during the Roman Empire.”<sup>76</sup> If the legend concerning the burial cave of the ten martyrs of Rome endured from the twelfth across the sixteenth and down to the nineteenth century, it seems not unreasonable that that of Tsur, founder of Sorrento, survived between the ninth or tenth, and twelfth. This is especially the case in light of the presence of submerged, but visible structures that cried out for explanation.

Also relevant for our examination of the respective accounts of *Sefer Yosippon* and *Sefer Masa'ot* is the fact that there is clearly more to the legend of Sorrento than either text explicitly reveals. As noted, both indicate that the city founded by—or at least named after—Tsur ended up submerged under oil and sea; hence *Yosippon's* reference to New Sorrento, in implicit contrast with its “Old” counterpart, and Benjamin’s identification of Sorrento with Pozzuoli. The linkage between these two cities is particularly striking, for when one considers their respective locations on a map, one observes something quite interesting, namely that they are located directly opposite from one another in the Gulf of Naples, approximately twenty miles or twenty-six kilometers as the crow flies.

In thus directly associating Pozzuoli with Sorrento, is Benjamin implying that the original Sorrento occupied the entirety of the land between the two (still) extant locales? This would nicely explain the otherwise strange

73 *The Itinerary*, ed. and trans. Adler, 7.

74 For a comprehensive discussion of the legend of the burial of the ten martyrs in Rome, both in the *Book of Travels* and the other sources mentioned in this section, see “Appendix 5: Will the *Real* Ten Martyrs Please Stay Buried?” in Stein Kokin, “Arch'-Enemy,” 94–96.

75 Abraham ben Eliezer ha-Levi, *Meshare' qitrin*, 32.

76 This list was inserted into a maḥzor used by the rite’s cantors. Della Rocca, “Tradizioni liturgiche e folkloristiche particolari,” 8.

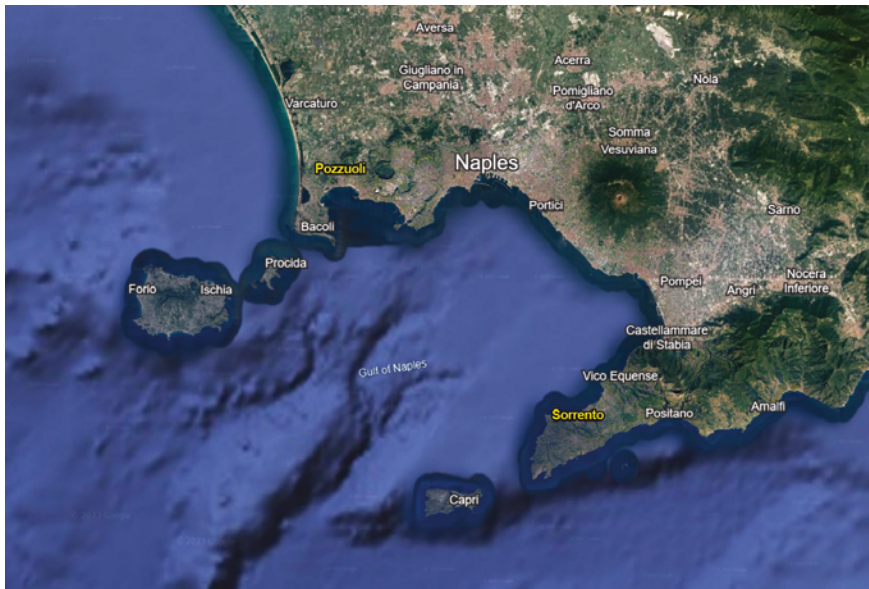


FIGURE 14.1 The Gulf of Naples  
IMAGE: GOOGLE EARTH

designation “Great Sorrento” (“סוריינטו הגדולה”) and perhaps also the suggestion that “the sea has risen and covered the city from its two sides” (“ויצא הים וכסה אותה בשני חלקים מן העיר”).<sup>77</sup> It seems likely that this is also the conception of *Sefer Yosippon* from its statement that “the sea has covered the city, here between Naples and New Sorrento” (הנה בין נאפולי) “ויכס עליה הים, הנה בין נאפולי) (ובין צוריינטו החדשה”).<sup>78</sup> Indeed, when one looks at a map of the region as a whole, it appears as if a huge chunk of land has been removed, and this can be discerned at ground level as well, as one gazes across the gulf. So it appears that both of our texts, in attempting to explain the unusual shape of the coastline, present what we might style a “geographical midrash.” The implication is that a tremendous destruction of land, and presumably also life, took place there, perhaps not dissimilar in extent to that meted out upon the biblical Sodom and Gomorrah.<sup>79</sup> But why? Apart from the suggestiveness of the region’s geography, how might we explain the genesis and significance of such a tradition?

77 *The Itinerary*, ed. and trans. Adler, 8, ט.

78 *SY* 2 (ב); see *Sefer Yosippon*, ed. Flusser, 1.18; and Bowman, *Sefer Yosippon*, 13.

79 It is striking that such a dramatic incident is said to have transpired in such close proximity to the famed and destructive Mount Vesuvius. The well and water of the Gulf of

## 5 From Sorrento to Tyre (and Tanakh) and Back

In seeking to answer this question, it behooves us first to examine an additional passage from *Sefer Masa'ot* that bears striking similarities to this one. For ten pages from Pozzuoli one reaches

New Tyre ... which is a very fine city, with a harbor in its midst. At night-time those that levy dues throw iron chains from tower to tower, so that no man can go forth by boat or in any other way to rob the ships by night. There is no harbor like this in the whole world. Tyre is a beautiful city. It contains about 500 Jews, some of them scholars of the Talmud, at their head being R. Ephraim of Tyre, the Dayan; R. Meir from Carcassonne; and R. Abraham, head of the congregation. The Jews own sea-going vessels, and there are glassmakers amongst them who make that fine Tyrian glass-ware which is prized in all countries. In the vicinity is found sugar of a high class, for men plant it here, and people come from all lands to buy it. A man can ascend the walls of New Tyre and see Ancient Tyre, which the sea has now covered, lying at a stone's throw from the new city. And should one care to go forth by boat, one can see the towers, markets, streets, and palaces in the bed of the sea. New Tyre is a busy place of commerce, to which merchants flock from all quarters.<sup>80</sup>

Of particular interest in this passage is the contrast drawn between New Tyre and Ancient Tyre, especially the fact that the latter has been covered by the sea and that its remains are allegedly still visible in Benjamin's day. Sound familiar? Indeed, the description of Tyre is quite similar to, and in some respects more expansive than, that of ancient Sorrento,<sup>81</sup> involving not just towers and markets, but also streets and palaces. And, of course, the Hebrew name of Tyre, Tsur, is identical with—or at least, as in some manuscripts, quite similar to—that of the alleged founder or namesake of Sorrento.<sup>82</sup> Finally, also of note

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Naples thus appears as a kind of aquatic counterpart to the adjacent volcano. As for Sodom and Gomorrah, in his commentary on Ezek 26:20 (“בחרבות מעולם”), Rashi compares the destruction of Tyre promised there to that of “Sodom and her fellow cities” (“כסדום וחברותיה”). In the next section, I explore indications that such prophecies concerning Tyre were understood as extending to Sorrento as well.

80 *The Itinerary*, ed. and trans. Adler, 18–19; translation modified.

81 For a very different explanation of the similarities between the descriptions of Tyre and Pozzuoli in the *Book of Travels* than what follows here, see Lacerenza, “Echi biblici,” 466–470.

82 See n. 58 above.

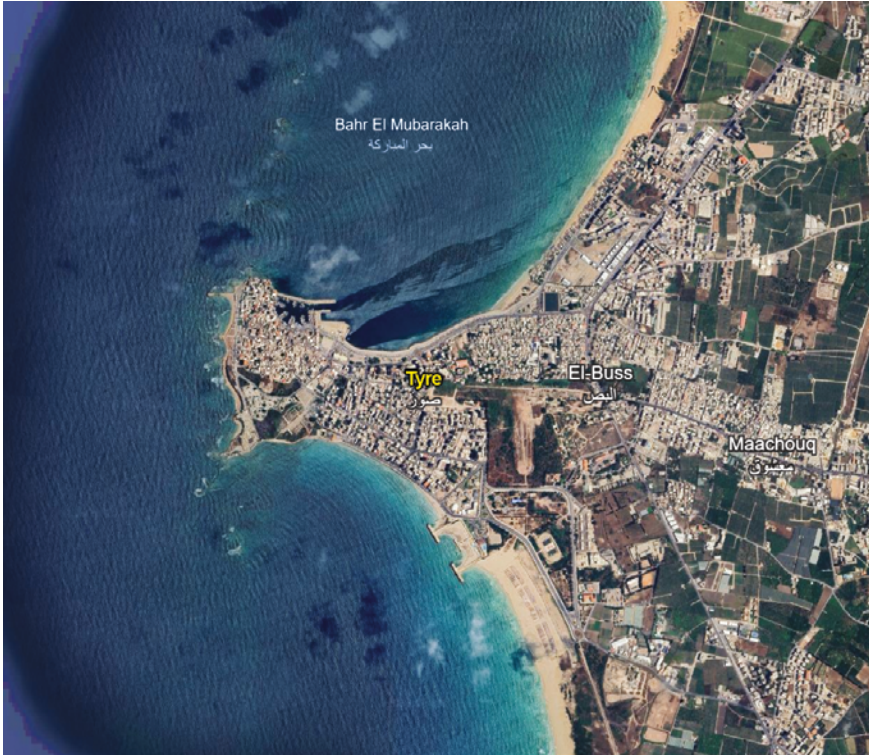


FIGURE 14.2 Tyre  
IMAGE: GOOGLE EARTH

is the geography of Tyre, the historic core of which sticks out like a hitchhiker's thumb into the Mediterranean Sea.

How to make sense of this unexpected correspondence between the city of Tsur and the city founded by, or in memory of, Tsur? Compounding the difficulty is the fact that whereas Pozzuoli, as noted, does actually feature submerged structures, such is not at all the case with regard to Tyre. Indeed, as Lacerenza has emphasized, aside from the *Book of Travels*, no medieval description of Tyre refers to an ancient counterpart visible under the sea.<sup>83</sup> Lacerenza has therefore argued that Benjamin's description of Tyre is based directly upon that of "Sorrento" and was first formulated during the redaction of the work, prompted by the "easy confusion" ("facile confusione") between the two locales' respective names.<sup>84</sup> While I do agree that the *Itinerary's* account of

83 Lacerenza, "Echi biblici," 465.

84 Lacerenza, "Echi biblici," 467.

Tyre was influenced by that of Sorrento, I am not convinced by Lacerenza's explanation for why this transpired, as it presumes that a high degree of carelessness characterized the creation of *Sefer Masa'ot*.

More helpful, I argue, is to consider the likely significance, from the perspective of Benjamin and his readership, of a submerged, ancient Tyre. As it happens, numerous passages from the biblical prophets anticipate or call for the city's destruction. Amos (1:9–10) reports God's intention not to revoke punishment for the three or four transgressions of Tyre, threatening "fire upon the wall of [the city]," whereas Jeremiah (47:1–5) warns of "waters... rising from the north" that "shall flood the land and its creatures," including, it seems, Tyre. But most vocal and vivid concerning the fate of Tsur or Tsor (the Bible refers to the city in both manners) are the prophets Isaiah and Ezekiel. Isaiah 23 features "The Tyre Pronouncement" ("מַסַּע צָר") and is concerned in its entirety with the coming destruction of both Tyre and neighboring Sidon. Sidon (Isa 23:12), in particular, is advised to "cross over to Kittim" though "even there you shall have no rest." Of Tyre it is predicted (Isa 23:15, 17–18) that following its destruction and a lapse of seventy years, she shall enjoy a revival, only that henceforth "her profits ... shall be consecrated to the Lord. They shall not be treasured or sorted; rather shall her profits go to those who abide before the Lord." For his part, Ezekiel refers to Tyre broken and in ruins (26:2), quoting God's intention to (26:19) "bring the deep over you, and [let] its mighty waters cover you" ("בְּהֵעֱלוֹת עֲלֶיךָ אֶת־תְּהוֹמוֹ וּבְסוּךְ הַמַּיִם הַרְבִּיִּים"). Likewise, the prophet anticipates Tyre's downfall via the metaphor of a fully-laden ship that sinks (Ezek 27:27) "into the depths of the sea" and imagines others lamenting in the future (Ezek 27:32): "Who was like Tyre when she was silenced in the midst of the sea?"<sup>85</sup>

My argument, therefore, is that for all its fantasy, the *Itinerary's* description of "Ancient Tyre" intentionally represents, or at least evokes, the fulfillment of these biblical prophecies.<sup>86</sup> Along the same lines, in Benjamin's rather glowing

85 Along similar lines, there is the suggestive, albeit murky passage pronounced by the prophet Joel (4:4–8): "What is this you are doing to Me, O Tyre, Sidon, and all the districts of Philistia? ... Quick as a flash, I will pay you back; for you have taken My gold and My silver, and have carried off My precious treasures to your palaces; and you have sold the people of Judah and the people of Jerusalem to the Ionians, so that you have removed them far away from their homeland. Behold, I will rouse them to leave the place you have sold them to, and I will pay you back. I will deliver your sons and daughters into the hands of the people of Judah, and they will sell them into captivity to a distant nation—for the Lord has spoken." Finally, see also Psalm 83, which reports an anti-Israel alliance of Tyre and the other Levantine peoples against which God is called upon to act.

86 To be sure, Lacerenza does refer to a number of these passages, but only to suggest that the notion of Tyre's ancient destruction would not have been foreign to the redactor of *Sefer Masa'ot*. See Lacerenza, "Echi biblici," 468–469.

depiction of the new city, especially of the prominent role played by Jews in its trade as both owners of ships and makers of glass,<sup>87</sup> I see a reflection of Isaiah's anticipation of a revived and now redeemed Tyre.

Furthermore, I assert that the biblical prophecies concerning Tsur or Tsor came to be applied to Sorrento (or Surrentum, in Latin),<sup>88</sup> as reflected in both *Sefer Yosippon* and the *Book of Travels*. The similarity in name between the two locales, in conjunction with the actual presence of submerged structures in the latter, would have suggested the transfer, and subsequently led Benjamin (or perhaps a later redactor) to model his account of Tyre after that of Pozzuoli/Sorrento. After all, if the biblical prophecy had been fulfilled in the *Italian* Tsur, then that should presumably have also been the case in the original locale. Thus, against Lacerenza's recourse to "easy confusion" between two similar-sounding locations, I submit that the dependency of the description of Tyre upon that of Sorrento reflects a conscious strategy to maximize prophetic plausibility.

Along the same lines, I see in the quasi-biblical figure of Tsur an implicit metaphor for the passage of the notion of a punished, submerged city from the eastern Mediterranean to Italy, and consider that he may even have been invented for precisely this purpose. Reference to the submersion of both Sorrento and Tyre's towers in *Sefer Masa'ot* recalls Ezekiel's anticipation of the destruction of those of the latter (26:4, "מגדליה"); and the respective accounts in *Yosippon* and the *Itinerary* of the collection of oil from the site once occupied by Sorrento may further evoke his prediction (26:5) that Tyre shall become spoil for the nations. It is perhaps not surprising that these Levantine and Italian ports would come to be associated with one another in this manner, as both Tyre and Rome were powers that while once allied with Israel, thereafter became her enemy.

Pushing even further, I argue that Tyre implicitly functions for Benjamin as a foil for Jerusalem, with the former's destruction and subsequent revival a sign that the latter's restoration will yet transpire. Indeed, there are indications that, for the prophet Isaiah, Tyre served as a kind of stand-in for its holy counterpart;<sup>89</sup> in addition, these two cities are alone in Scripture described

87 Minervini's description of Tyre in Benjamin's day is entirely to the point: "centro commerciale di primo piano degli stati latini, sede di una delle comunità ebraiche più importanti del Medio Oriente." See *Libro di viaggi*, ed. Minervini, 106.

88 *Sefer Yosippon*, ed. Flusser, 1.18n110. It is noteworthy that the very same syllabic variability (i.e. u, o) found in the Hebrew renderings of Tyre is echoed in the contrasting Latin and Italian names for Surrentum/Sorrento.

89 Sommer, "Isaiah," 827–828, comments on Isa 23:1–18 ("Isaiah may have viewed Tyre as parallel to inviolable Zion and Tyre's experience as especially instructive to the Judeans") and 15–18 ("After a period of subjugation, Tyre will be both religiously purified and politically

as “perfect in beauty” (“כלילת יפי” or “כליל יפי”).<sup>90</sup> An alternative possibility attested in rabbinic literature is of Tyre as a stand-in for the Eternal City, with the midrashic compilations *Genesis Rabbah* and *Pesikta de-Rav Kahana* both ascribing to R. Eliezer the teaching that wherever in Tanakh Tyre “is written without all of its letters [and so appears identical to the word for enemy, צר, as opposed to צור], the reference of Scripture is to Rome.”<sup>91</sup> While it is impossible to determine to what degree Benjamin or a later redactor might have been familiar with this tradition, it is worth noting that with the exception of *Ezekiel 27*—in which both spellings of Tyre are employed—all the other biblical sources cited above only use the two-letter variant.<sup>92</sup> The *Itinerary’s* similar descriptions of both Tyre and Sorrento may thus reflect the imagined fulfillment of biblical prophecies directed against both the Levantine city and (a portion of) Rome. At the very least, we see that the rabbinic tradition definitely applied the biblical prophecies directed against Tyre to Rome.<sup>93</sup>

Given his prominence in the accounts of *Yosippon* and Benjamin, close attention to Hadadezer as he appears in the Bible also assists us in making sense of the story of Sorrento.<sup>94</sup> Both 2 Sam 8 and 10 and 1 Chr 18–19 recount

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restored ... God treats the Phoenicians precisely as God treats the Israelites: They are severely punished, then saved”).

90 Tyre: *Ezek* 27:3; 28:11; Jerusalem: *Lam* 2:15.

91 Midrash *Genesis Rabbah* 61.7; *Pesikta de-Rav Kahana* 7.11. Both are cited from Neusner, *Persia and Rome*, 41, 63–64. Neusner glosses R. Eliezer here as follows: “So the sense of the verse is that Rome will receive its appropriate reward.” The bracketed passage in the above quotation is also Neusner’s supplement.

92 This includes *Joel* 4:4–8, but not *Ps* 83.

93 Though a comprehensive examination of post-biblical Jewish lore concerning Tyre lies beyond the purview of the present discussion, a few additional instances can be presented here. Consider, for example, Abraham Ibn Ezra’s interpretation of *Amos* 1:9, where Tyre is presented as an accomplice to Edom in the latter’s enmity against Israel. According to the Tudela-born twelfth-century commentator and philosopher, when the metaphorical brother Tyre saw Israel’s treatment at the hands of his literal brother Edom, he forgot the covenant of brotherhood that had been sealed between them and handed Israel over to him. On *Isa* 23:18 (“But her profits and hire shall be consecrated to the Lord”), Rashi comments that “The righteous are destined to plunder [Tyre] when the king Messiah comes” (“עתידיים צדיקים לבזו אותה כשיבא מלך המשיח”), an indication of the eschatological import that was ascribed to this Mediterranean port city. See also Radak (the late twelfth- and early thirteenth-century exegete R. David Kimḥi), who similarly applies this verse to the messianic era. These examples from Rashi, Ibn Ezra, and Radak demonstrate that speculation as to Tyre’s role in the eschatological economy was widespread in the era in which *Sefer Masa’ot* was composed.

94 Technically “Hadarezer” in Flusser’s edition of *SY*, but one can well understand how the second *dalet* in the name could have been misread or miscopied as a *resh*. Indeed, some biblical manuscripts of both 2 Sam 10 and of 1 Chr 18 read “Hadarezer” as well. See Berlin



the decisive defeat of Hadadezer, son of Reḥov, the king of the Aramean Zobah, at the hands of David and Joab. In 2 Sam 8 (repeated in 1 Chr 18), David captures and neutralizes many of his troops and weapons; then, in chapter 10 (and again in 1 Chr 19), Israel routs a united force of Arameans under Hadadezer's command. Since at the close of 10 (19) we learn of the death of his army commander Shobakh as well as of the submission to Israel of all of his erstwhile vassal kings, but of what befell Hadadezer there is nary a word, the notion of his flight to Italy appears likely to have emerged midrashically to fill this lacuna. This outcome seems especially apropos in light of the reference in both 2 Sam 7:23 and 1 Chr 17:21 to God's driving out of nations before Israel.<sup>95</sup>

Seen against the backdrop of biblical literature, there is also great irony in cities named Tsur, or after Tsur, succumbing to water and oil. The Hebrew term *tsur* means "large rock,"<sup>96</sup> the kind upon which one should typically be able to depend, hence the frequent associations of the term with refuge, salvation, and—indeed—God Himself.<sup>97</sup> In addition, in Tanakh it is frequently at or by striking the *tsur* that one encounters water in otherwise barren regions.<sup>98</sup> Also present is the notion that oil can be obtained from the *tsur*.<sup>99</sup> So it is a striking inversion to find the "large rock" of Sorrento the site of—or associated with—divinely ordained undoing, submerged under or amid water and/or oil instead of releasing it.<sup>100</sup>

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and Brettler, eds., *The Jewish Study Bible*, 636, n. b. and Even-Shoshan, *Konkordantsiah*, 280, ad loc. In any event, there can be no doubt that the biblical Hadadezer is intended by this figure.

- 95 While the notion of the Syrian Hadadezer taking refuge in Italy might appear far-fetched, the above-mentioned discovery of a Nabatean temple sunken off the coast of Pozzuoli confirms the existence of a community of the Arab Nabatean people, and thus a Middle Eastern presence, in this region in Roman times. See Nathan Falde, "Submerged Secrets" and *Jerusalem Post*, "Ancient underwater temple."
- 96 It is hardly surprising that the city of Tsur acquired this name, as it was originally constructed on a rocky formation located one half-mile off the coast. In the course of his ultimately successful siege of Tyre in 332 BCE, Alexander the Great constructed a causeway, thus uniting island to mainland. Since that time, Tyre has been a peninsula.
- 97 For some examples, see Deut 32:15; Ps 62:3, 8; 89:27—stated, according to the text, by David himself—as well as 94:22 and 95:1.
- 98 Examples include Exod 17:6, Deut 8:15, Isa 48:21, Ps 78:20, and Ps 105:41. Ps 114:8 is especially apropos in its reference to God "who turned the *tsur* into a pool of water." The discussion here casts this verse in quite a dramatic new light. Ps 114 is included in its entirety in the collection of Psalms traditionally recited on select joyous occasions and referred to collectively as Hallel ("Praise").
- 99 See Deut 32:13.
- 100 Seen against this backdrop, the continuous, medicinally-beneficial flow of this "petroleum" testifies to the continuation, however modest, of God's miraculous intervention in the world.

To be sure, in proposing this reconstruction of the Tyre/Sorrento legend upon which the descriptions of both *Sefer Yosippon* and *Sefer Masa'ot* draw, I fully acknowledge that both texts only hint at it obliquely. Why that might be the case is difficult to determine. Did their authors presume that their audiences were already familiar with its general contours? Or did they rather refrain from overtly emphasizing what is truly a far-fetched tale? (Both works tend to reduce the sphere of the fantastic or miraculous to a minimum.) Whatever the reason, the two texts evoke the legend just enough to serve their overarching purposes, namely to salve Jewish insecurities, enhance Jewish honor, and buttress Jewish hopes of ultimate redemption.

Specifically concerning Sorrento, we are witness to a striking instance of Jewish counter-geography, physical as well as symbolic: the Gulf of Naples is revealed as water that had previously been land and Italy—responsible through Rome for Judea's conquest and the Temple's destruction—recast as both fearful of Israel's strength and testimony to God's punishing power. As for Tyre, it is interesting to observe that the chronicler William of Tyre (*ca.* 1130–1186) opens his account of the crusader conquest of the city with a panegyric that highlights Isaiah and Ezekiel's celebratory statements about the city; by contrast, their prophecies of its destruction are elided.<sup>101</sup> Might Benjamin's nearly contemporary description reflect a subtle Jewish counter-history to the triumphalist crusader narrative, alluding for this reason both to its past destruction and prominent contemporary Jewish presence? Certainly, the successful reconstruction of the punished ancient city would have anticipated the ultimate rebuilding of a site far more resonant for Benjamin and his readership, namely Jerusalem.<sup>102</sup>

## 6 Conclusion: Texts in Tandem

In this reconsideration of *Sefer Yosippon* and *Sefer Masa'ot*, I have presented, for the first time so far as I am aware, a sustained discussion of the textual relationship between these two texts. While not disputing that the author and/or redactor of Benjamin of Tudela's *Book of Travels* may well at times have drawn upon or consulted *Yosippon*, I have shown that it is insufficient merely to argue in general terms for the *Itinerary's* reliance upon *Yosippon*; rather, the

101 See William, Archbishop of Tyre, *A History* 13:1, 2–3.

102 In this regard, it is particularly interesting that both Tyre and Jerusalem are threatened in the Hebrew Bible with seventy years of punishment. Regarding Tyre, as anticipated above, see Isa 23:14–17; concerning Jerusalem, see Jer 25:12; Zech 1:12; Dan 9:2; 2 Chr 36:21.

precise relationship between the texts requires clarification in each individual episode. And I have furthermore indicated that in each such case, of ultimate significance is not merely the use of *Yosippon*—if such there was—but the nature and significance of that use. In particular, I have demonstrated with regard to two especially interesting and insufficiently studied passages that *Sefer Yosippon* played only a minimal role (if that at all) in the composition of the *Book of Travels*.<sup>103</sup>

Concerning *Sefer Masa'ot's* description of the imperial palaces of Rome—including that of Titus located outside the city—I have shown that generations of previous scholars erred in ascribing this passage to *Sefer Yosippon*, offering an explanation as to the origin of this misconception—a classic instance of the unwitting propagation of falsehood—rooted in nineteenth-century intra-Jewish scholarly polemic. I have further suggested that this error contributed to neglect on the part of researchers of a particularly fascinating aspect of Benjamin's text, one that I claim reflects an authentic twelfth century Roman-Jewish tradition. By thus clarifying the Benjamin-*Yosippon* relationship in the negative, I was able to open a new perspective on *Sefer Masa'ot*, one that resists recent scholarly denigrations of its originality in favor of renewed emphasis on its value as source of local lore.

In addition, in the case of Pozzuoli/Sorrento, I have tried to show that the significant differences between *Sefer Yosippon* and *Sefer Masa'ot* point to each work's likely independent engagement with the same pair of legends. In then trying to determine how and why the tradition of a submerged Sorrento might have arisen, I noted the striking parallels between Benjamin's descriptions of Sorrento and Tyre. This led me to the extensive biblical prophecies concerning the destruction of the latter and, in turn, to the suggestion that they had inspired similar expectations with regard to the former; these then needed to have been realized in Tyre as they seemingly had been in Sorrento. Finally, given that only in *Sefer Masa'ot* are both Sorrento and Tyre described as having been submerged under water, I have suggested that far from *Yosippon* having influenced the *Book of Travels*, careful attention to the latter rather proves essential in clarifying an otherwise murky passage in the former. Thus, engagement with each text in the light of the other contributes to our understanding and appreciation of two of the most important—and at times, puzzling—medieval Jewish texts.

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103 While my minimization of *Yosippon's* influence on Benjamin of Tudela departs from previous scholarship, it should not *prima facie* be surprising: the eleventh-century, southern Italian *Scroll of Ahimaaz* nowhere mentions the work.

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