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# Jewish Inscriptions in Greek and Latin<sup>1</sup>

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TO BENTLEY LAYTON

ἐὰν ἴδῃς συνετὸν ὀρθίζε πρὸς αὐτόν  
καὶ βαθμὸς θυρῶν αὐτοῦ ἐκτριβέτω  
ὁ πούς σου·

Sirach 6,36

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### *Introduction*

Over the past century, scholars have collected and studied Jewish inscriptions. These efforts culminated in the compilation of the 'Corpus Inscriptionum Iudaicarum', as well as in smaller collections. Some scholars have further undertaken the analysis of inscriptions, either individually or in smaller groups. By considering Jewish inscriptions as a whole and by referring to them individually, this monograph will attempt both to organize and to update the corpus as well as to examine important individual inscriptions. It is hoped that such an enterprise will not only lead to a more refined understanding of the categories and content of Jewish inscriptions, but will also offer to those students of Judaism and the ancient world whose field is not epigraphy greater access to this complex and confusing array of material. Of course, for a complete picture, one will have to consult the Semitic epigraphic evidence not treated here.

Abbreviations (for full information see Bibliography, below, pp. 708–713):

AE	L'Année épigraphique
ANRW	Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt
BE	Bulletin épigraphique
BS	Beth She'arim – Volume II: The Greek Inscriptions
CB	WILLIAM RAMSAY, The Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia
CIG	Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum
CII	Corpus Inscriptionum Iudaicarum, Numbers with suffixed a, etc. (e.g. 693 a) refer to B. LIFSHITZ's 'Prolegomenon' in Vol. I, 2nd ed.
CIL	Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum
IG	Inscriptiones Graecae
IGRR	Inscriptiones Graecae ad res Romanas pertinentes
LATYSHEF	Inscriptiones antiquae orae septentrionalis Ponti Euxini Graecae et Latinae
LIF	BARUCH LIFSHITZ, Donateurs et fondateurs dans les synagogues juives
MAMA	Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua
OGI	Orientalis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae
SEG	Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum
SIG	Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum

Many inscriptional texts can be dated only by century (s. = saeculum) before (a. = ante) or after (p. = post) the beginning of the Common Era; thus, e.g. "s. II a." = 200–101 B.C.E. In citations the provenance and assigned date (when known) are always specified, except in the case of Roman catacomb inscriptions (viz. from the city of Rome) in CII I, which can be dated and located by reference to the following table:

### I. Value of the Inscriptions

Most surviving Jewish inscriptions<sup>2</sup> dating from the Roman period and found in sites around the Mediterranean are written in Greek or Latin.<sup>3</sup> Even in Palestine, many are in Greek.<sup>4</sup> Biblical verses, notably Proverbs 10,7, are quoted in a Greek version.<sup>5</sup> From Thessalonica (Macedonia), a bilingual text (Samaritan Hebrew and Greek) of Numbers 6,22–27 also attests the need to translate the Bible for a Greek-speaking Samaritan audience.<sup>6</sup> According to the inscriptions, Jews preferred Greek and Latin names and sometimes even bore theophoric names of the pagan environment such as *Asklēpiodotē* (“given by Asclepius”).<sup>7</sup> Although such names had no cultic significance, they indicate participation in the surrounding Hellenic culture. In Italy there is a significant number of Jewish inscriptions in Latin.<sup>8</sup> When Hebrew phrases (*šalom*, *amen*, etc.) are added to a Greek or Latin text, they are symbols of attachment to the Semitic roots of Jewish culture rather than indicators of native language. Thus, Jewish inscriptions are important evidence of the relation of Judaism to the Greco-Roman world.<sup>9</sup>

Within that world, most documentation of Jewish religiosity is expressed in highly specialized literary genres – history (Josephus), philosophy (Philo), rabbinic exegesis (Mishnah, Talmud, Midrash), apocalyptic (I Enoch), etc. The same

Rome, CII 6–72: from Villa Torlonia Catacomb (on Via Nomentana), s. I p. – III p.

Rome, CII 81–285: Vigna Randanini Catacomb (on Via Appia), s. I p. – III p.

Rome, CII 290–493: Monteverde Catacomb (on Via Portuensis), s. I a. – III p., though most are probably from s. II p.

The bulk of these inscriptions represents the published material available through 1980.

<sup>2</sup> Here in the traditional sense of “any sort of writing on stone or metal.”

<sup>3</sup> Only Palestine, Syria, and Mesopotamia provide a large number of Jewish inscriptions in Hebrew or Aramaic.

<sup>4</sup> See CII II (section on Palestine). LIEBERMAN, Greek in Jewish Palestine, LIFSHTIZ, L'hellenization des Juifs de Palestine, and MUSSIES, Greek in Palestine and the Diaspora, study the use of Greek in Palestine. Cf. also R. SCHMIDT, Die Sprachverhältnisse in den östlichen Provinzen des Römischen Reiches, 575.

<sup>5</sup> E.g. CII 201 (Rome), Septuagint; CII 370 (Rome), Aquila. See p. 705.

<sup>6</sup> CII 693 a (Roman period).

<sup>7</sup> CII 91, 92 (Rome). Thus, the percentage of Greek or Latin names borne by Jews buried in Rome was 85% (cf. H. SOLIN, Juden und Syrer im westlichen Teil der römischen Welt etc., 655ff.); in Teuchera (Cyrenaica), 73%. In Beth She'arim (Palestine) and in Palestine generally, Semitic names were preferred.

<sup>8</sup> Latin inscriptions in the Vigna Randanini Catacomb (Rome) comprise 36% of the total (LEON, JEWS, 77; cf. H. SOLIN, Juden und Syrer im westlichen Teil der römischen Welt, 655f.).

<sup>9</sup> For an excellent, general introduction to the influence of the Greco-Roman world on Judaism, see SMITH, The Image of God.

is in a limited sense true of the Greek and Latin inscriptions, whose distinctive forms and formulae belong to traditional Hellenistic-Roman genres. Consequently, these deserve study along with Jewish literature. That inscriptions also use visual representations and are part of an archeological context gives them a character at once literary and monumental: here inscriptions can help critics to bridge the gap between written and archeological remains of the Jews in antiquity. Even more important, the inscriptions, in contrast to most other written records, reflect a broad spectrum of society – from nearly illiterate poor, who wrote many of the Roman catacomb inscriptions, to the apparently wealthy patrons of funerary poetry and from tradesmen such as shoemakers and perfume sellers to educated persons such as rabbis and disciples of sages.<sup>10</sup>

It is also striking that, unlike many written texts, the inscriptions express for us religious views that have not been filtered by a subsequent normative literary tradition. Thus, inscriptions, like other archeological discoveries, can offer a random sample that is genuinely ancient.

## II. Principles of Interpretation<sup>11</sup>

Many inscriptions are not originals, but rather public copies of prior texts. Text critically, their status is not archetype but exemplar and that is why they admit of emendation; not all interpreters of inscriptions have kept this fact clearly in mind. The prior text, usually written on wood or papyrus, did not only provide a model for the stonemason's work; if important or of public character, it would also have been filed in the archive of a city, club (*collegium*), or religious community – as in the case of five Jewish funerary inscriptions from Asia Minor.<sup>12</sup> There would probably have been no need to archive most inscriptions of a non-public nature, such as those in the catacombs. In addition, short inscriptions, jewelry inscriptions, and graffiti may have been drafted directly by the stonemason.

In using the evidence of inscriptions, the general reader should also be aware of the difficulties in assigning them a date. Because paleography helps very little (a stonemason of the third century C.E. may adopt the archaic style of the fourth century B.C.E.), many inscriptions are undatable within more than a broad span of time; indeed, some editors have been unduly precise in describing the range of possibilities. The date can sometimes be deduced from

<sup>10</sup> See pp. 690–691.

<sup>11</sup> See KLAFFENBACH, *Griechische Epigraphik*, and MEYER, *Einführung in die lateinische Epigraphik*, for fuller discussion. Both are excellent introductions to Greek and Latin epigraphy. See also GORDON, *Illustrated Introduction to Latin Epigraphy*, who has excellent analyses of individual inscriptions.

<sup>12</sup> CII 741 (Smyrna, Asia, s.III p.); CII 752 (Thyatira, Lydia, 100–125 C.E.); CII 775, 776, 778 (Hierapolis, Phrygia, s.III p.). Of these, only CII 775 states specifically that the archive (Gk. *archion*) is Jewish; the others could also be municipal.

internal evidence such as the mention of a datable political official (archon, consul, emperor)<sup>13</sup> or calendric date (very rare in funerary inscriptions);<sup>14</sup> otherwise the epigraphist relies upon facts or ideas mentioned, style, decoration (all vague criteria), archeological setting, or (best of all) the stratigraphic layer from which the inscription was extracted. Unfortunately, epigraphists have not always been able to draw upon the resources of modern stratigraphic analysis; furthermore, many inscriptions are discovered away from the original site.

It is crucial to know that certain genres, couched in formulaic language and based ultimately on the practice of the great cultural centers, helped to determine the content of inscriptions. Through the conquests of Alexander the Great, these inscriptional forms spread throughout the known world. Stonemasons may have used style manuals to ascertain correct form.<sup>15</sup> Bureaucratic officials probably played a large role here as well. Within a genre, variations in form or emphasis could result from local style, religious motivations, economic status, political considerations, or personal predilection.

### III. The Genres of Jewish Inscriptions

Modern epigraphy distinguishes the following main genres of inscriptions (especially Greek): 1. Decrees, 2. Lists and Catalogues, 3. Legal Instruments, 4. Honorific Inscriptions, 5. Dedications, 6. Funerary Inscriptions, 7. Miscellaneous Others.

All of these are used in Jewish inscriptions in Greek and Latin. No peculiarly Jewish genres exist.

#### 1. Decrees

A decree is an ordinance passed by a council (local, provincial, or imperial) or other official institution; it has the force of law. Berenice (Cyrenaica = part of modern Libya) provides three examples of Jewish decrees. Of these, two use the standard decretal verb, "have resolved" (*edoxen*), followed by the dative referring to the resolvers.<sup>16</sup> This is the formal indication of a Greek decree. These in-

<sup>13</sup> E.g. CII 972 (Kasyoun, Palestine, 193–211 C.E.) mentioning the emperor Lucius Septimius Severus.

<sup>14</sup> Many of the Jewish manumission inscriptions from Delphi and the Bosphorus Kingdom are so dated. See n. 19.

<sup>15</sup> CAGNAT, *Sur les manuels des graveurs d'inscriptions*; and ARMSTRONG, *Autobiographic Elements in Latin Inscriptions*. LIER, *Topica Carminum Sepulcralium Latinorum*, criticizes this thesis; see also LATTIMORE, *Themes*, 17–21.

<sup>16</sup> CIG III 5361 = IGRR I 1024 (24/25 C.E.) and CIG III 5362 (8–6 B.C.E.); the re-edited version of the latter may be found in SEG XVI (1959) 931. LIF 100 (56 C.E.) substitutes *ephane* for *edoxen*.

scriptions concern the honoring of individuals who have aided the community in some way. The absence of Jewish examples outside of Cyrenaica may indicate either a lack of discovered evidence or a different view of religious community than what is found in other non-civic religious *collegia* which made more frequent use of this genre.<sup>17</sup>

## 2. Lists and catalogues

The second genre was rarely used by Jews, but an unpublished inscription from Aphrodisias (Caria) lists both the members of the local synagogue and its executive board.<sup>18</sup>

## 3. Legal instruments

Of Jewish inscriptions relating to formal legal matters, manumission inscriptions (i.e. those that legally formalize the freedom of slaves) from Delphi and the Bosphorus Kingdom constitute the major examples.<sup>19</sup> Their form is taken from that of Greco-Roman manumission inscriptions in their respective localities.<sup>20</sup> In addition, a Herodian stele (originally from the temple in Jerusalem) sets death as the punishment for any non-Jew who enters the temple.<sup>21</sup>

## 4. Honorific inscriptions

Typically the fourth genre appears on the base of honorific statues, columns, arches, etc. There are at least three Jewish examples. These honor persons who have financially aided and kindly treated a Jewish community. Only one of the three honorees is Jewish, but all receive tokens of gratitude. For instance, the Jewish benefactor receives a stele, the freedom from further donations, and a public crowning at every monthly gathering.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>17</sup> It is not clear why Berenice is an exception. See also p. 701 and n. 139.

<sup>18</sup> WAYNE MEEKS, *First Urban Christians*, 207, n. 163; MELLINK (quoting K. ERIM), *Archaeology in Asia Minor*, 306. See also pp. 688–690.

<sup>19</sup> Delphi (Phocis): CII 709 (170–157/156 B.C.E.), 710 (162 B.C.E.), 711 (119 B.C.E.). Bosphorus Kingdom: Panticapaeum (Kertch), CII 683 (80 C.E.), 683 a (s. II p.), 683 b (s. II p.); Gorgippia, CII 690 (41 C.E.), 690 a (67/68 C.E.), 690 b (59 C.E.); Phanagoria, CII 691 (?16 C.E.). HENGEL, *Proseuche und Synagoge*, 173, adds another from Panticapaeum which mentions the emperors Diocletian and Maximian: CIRB 64 (286–305 C.E.). See also pp. 683–684.

<sup>20</sup> See: *Inscriptions recueillies à Delphes, and: Inscriptiones antiquae orae septentrionalis Ponti Euxini Graecae et Latinae*.

<sup>21</sup> CII 1400 (Jerusalem, s. I a.–I p.); here the term for non-Jew is *allogenēs*. For recent discussion, see BICKERMANN, *The Warning Inscriptions of Herod's Temple*.

<sup>22</sup> CIG III 5362 = SEG XVI (1959) (Berenice, Cyrenaica, 8–6 B.C.E.). Apparently the Jewish community of Berenice formally required financial contributions from its members.

## 5. Dedications

Many Jewish inscriptions concern the construction of synagogues or parts of synagogues. Whether consecrating the original building, a renovation (general repairs, erection of rooms or adjoining edifices), a pavement, the composition of a mosaic or of a painting, or of some other object, these texts exemplify the Greco-Roman practice of attaching inscriptions to both religious buildings and religious objects.<sup>23</sup> Sometimes they explicitly mention God in the dative as the one to whom the dedication is given.<sup>24</sup> Often they speak also of the dedication as the fulfillment of a prayer or vow.<sup>25</sup> Thus an inscription from Paphlagonia reads:

“To the invincible God and to the supreme community (*proseuchē*), Aurelius Protoctetus, who has made a vow and seen it come to completion, has thankfully dedicated (this).”<sup>26</sup>

Besides specifying this information, Jewish dedications may also indicate other financial sources such as the community fund or gifts consecrated to God.<sup>27</sup>

## 6. Funerary inscriptions

The most numerous class of inscriptions is funerary (this is true also of non-Jewish inscriptions). Designating the deceased in the nominative, genitive, or dative case,<sup>28</sup> Jewish funerary inscriptions may mention as well the religious office held (e.g. archon), occupation (e.g. wine-merchant), place of origin, number of years lived, excellence of character, or a combination of these.<sup>29</sup> Such features are common in Greco-Latin funerary inscriptions and typify the emphasis

<sup>23</sup> Original building, CII 722 = LIF 1 (Aegina, Saronic Gulf, Greece, s. IV p.); renovation, CII 694 = LIF 10 (Stobi, Macedonia, 250–300 C.E.); pavement, CII 781 = LIF 36 (Side, Pamphylia, s. IV p.); mosaic, CII 739 = LIF 14 (Smyrna, Asia, s. IV p.); and religious object (altar), LIF 12 (Pergamum, Mysia).

<sup>24</sup> CII 964 = LIF 70 (Ascalon, Palestine, 604 C.E.) *tō theō*.

<sup>25</sup> Especially *plērōun euchēn* or *euchomai*.

<sup>26</sup> LIF 35 (Amastris, Paphlagonia, s. III p.).

<sup>27</sup> CII 723 = LIF 2 (Aegina, Saronic Gulf, Greece, s. IV p.), Gk. [*ek tēs pr[o]s]odou tēs syna(gogēs)*; and CII 722 = LIF 1 (Aegina, Saronic Gulf, Greece, s. IV p.), *ek tōn tou th(eou) dōreōn*.

<sup>28</sup> In both Greek and Latin inscriptions, nominative indicates that the deceased lies there, e.g. CII 109 (Rome); genitive that the monument marks the tomb of the deceased (though the word “tomb” is often not mentioned and the name in the genitive stands alone), e.g. CII 654 (Agrigento, Sicily, s. V p.); and dative that the monument is set up for the deceased, e.g. CII 678 (Soclus, Pannonia).

<sup>29</sup> *Archōn*, CII 4 (Rome); *oinemporos* (“wine-merchant”), CII 681b (Tomis, Lower Moesia); Lat. *Alexandrinus* (“from Alexandria”), CII 644 (Mediolanum = Milan, Cisalpine Gaul); for origin, see p. 692; *etōn hekatondeka* (“110 years”); and *philentolos* (“loving of commandments”), CII 132 (Rome).



on biographical detail found in the Roman period.<sup>30</sup> Jewish inscriptions refer to the tomb itself with terms commonly found in Greek and Latin pagan inscriptions.<sup>31</sup> In Phrygia and nearby parts of Asia Minor, they follow local pagan models by cursing or by threatening with a fine anyone who desecrates the tomb.<sup>32</sup>

In Larissa (Thessaly) and in Leontopolis (Lower Egypt), where Onias built a temple rival to that of Jerusalem,<sup>33</sup> funerary inscriptions are extremely close in form to pagan inscriptions, often saying "farewell".<sup>34</sup> Thus the Larissa epitaphs usually end with the valediction "farewell to the people",<sup>35</sup> while the ones from Leontopolis say "farewell" at various places in the text.<sup>36</sup> Making use of another standard pagan lament,<sup>37</sup> the Leontopolis inscriptions often mention that the deceased died before his or her time and without children,<sup>38</sup> as in the following example:

"O Josephus son of Phonoumis untimely dead, childless, excellent one, farewell. About 23 years old. In the . . . the year . . . 22."<sup>39</sup>

Following yet another pagan model, several Leontopolis inscriptions ask the passer-by to mourn or weep for the deceased:<sup>40</sup>

"For little Pappion, stand by and weep. O mother who mourns for me, weep for me, dead at 27 years. Everyone, weep for me."<sup>41</sup>

Finally at Leontopolis, we also find the frequent pagan formula, "may the earth be light upon you",<sup>42</sup> as well as references to Hades and to the river Lethe in the underworld.<sup>43</sup>

In other cities such as Rome, the inscriptions sometimes give only the names, possibly with their epithets;<sup>44</sup> but very often also introductory and valedictory expressions are used. For example, Jewish inscriptions are introduced

<sup>30</sup> See LATTIMORE, *Themes*, 266–300.

<sup>31</sup> Some frequent Greek and Latin terms are Gk. *taphos*, *mnēma*, *thēkē*, *hērōon*, *sēma*; Lat. *memoria* and *sepulcrum*.

<sup>32</sup> See p. 705.

<sup>33</sup> Josephus, *AJ* 12, 386–388; 13, 62–73.

<sup>34</sup> The pagan examples have Gk. *chaire* (IG VII 203 [Megara, Greece]) and Lat. *salve* (CIL V 6693 [Vercellae, Transalpine Gaul]).

<sup>35</sup> CII 699–708, 708 b, c, d: *tō laō chairein*.

<sup>36</sup> CII 1452, 1454, 1456, 1458–60, 1464, 1467–71, 1476, 1480–88, 1490, 1493–97, 1499–1501, 1503–04, 1514, 1519, 1521, 1523, 1524–27 (s. II a. – I p.).

<sup>37</sup> See LATTIMORE, *Themes*, 184–191.

<sup>38</sup> "Untimely", Gk. *aōros*; "childless", Gk. *ateknos*.

<sup>39</sup> CII 1485, trans. by LEWIS, *Jewish Inscriptions of Egypt*, 151.

<sup>40</sup> CII 1475, 1490, 1498, 1507–12, 1522, 1528 (s. II a. – I p.). See LATTIMORE, *Themes*, 177–182.

<sup>41</sup> CII 1522 (s. II a. – I p.).

<sup>42</sup> CII 1484 (s. II a. – I p.), Gk. *gēs elaphrās tychois* or similarly in 1530a (CPJ III, 162). This is a reflection of the more common Latin formula, *sit tibi terra levis*. See LATTIMORE, *Themes*, 65–74.

<sup>43</sup> CII 1508, 1530, 1530a (CPJ III, 162): s. II a. – I p. See pp. 680, 685, 703.

<sup>44</sup> E.g. CII 460 (Rome), "Tomb of Vesula, dead at 25".

by phrases such as "here lies", commonly found in the Greek inscriptions of the Roman catacombs, or "here rests", commonly found in the Latin inscriptions of the Venusia catacomb.<sup>45</sup> These often appear in pagan inscriptions.<sup>46</sup> In their valedictory formulas, however, Jewish inscriptions from Rome and Venusia (Italy) deviate from the classical funerary model and add language that appears to express more or less distinctive Jewishness. Thus, at the end of Jewish inscriptions, we very often find the valediction, "in peace be your sleep", particularly popular in the Roman catacombs, as in the following from the Vigna Randanini Catacomb (Rome):

"Here lies Marcia, wife of Zortas . . . 33 years old. In peace be her sleep."<sup>47</sup>

Often accompanying this phrase are the Hebrew words *šalom* ("peace") and *amen*.<sup>48</sup> Greek and Latin Jewish inscriptions may also conclude with the Hebrew phrase "peace be upon his/her/your couch", most frequently found in Venusia (Apulia in Italy) catacomb inscriptions like the following:

Gk.: "Tomb of Joseph, a  
head of the synagogue,  
(who was) son of Joseph,  
a head of the synagogue."

Heb.: "Peace be upon his couch."<sup>49</sup>

Or putting the same sentiment in communal terms, they may end with another Hebrew phrase "peace be upon Israel", as in the following from the Monteverde Catacomb (Rome):

Gk.: "Here lies Sabbatis. Twice an archon, he lived 35 years. In peace be his sleep."

Heb.: "Peace be upon Israel."<sup>50</sup>

Funerary inscriptions from tombs in Teucheira (Cyrenaica) contain less information than these and often have only the names of the deceased.<sup>51</sup> This is

<sup>45</sup> "Here lies": *enthade keitai*, *enthade katakeitai*, *hōde keitai*, and variations (though *hōde keitai* or *hōde keimai* occurs in CII 37, 55, 120, 167, 357, Roman inscriptions generally prefer to use *enthade keitai*); "here rests": *hic requiescit*, *hic quiescit*, *hic pausat* (especially CII 606–619 [Venusia, Apulia, s. IV p. – V p.]).

<sup>46</sup> *Enthade keitai*, e.g. IG XIV, 1475 (Rome), *hic requiescit*, CIL XII 2113, 2130 (Vienna, Gallia Narbonensis).

<sup>47</sup> CII 44, *en eirēnē hē koimēsis autēs*.

<sup>48</sup> E.G. BS 178 (Roman period); and e.g. CII 599 (Venusia, Apulia, s. IV – V p.). Significantly, the word *šalom* not only means "peace", but probably also means "farewell". For example, according to Meleager, Greek Anthology 7,419, the Syrians say *salam* when bidding good-bye. This corresponds to typical Greco-Roman usage (*chaire* and *salve*) as stated on p. 678 and in n. 34.

<sup>49</sup> CII 584 (s. IV – V p.), Heb. *šalom 'al miškabo*. <sup>50</sup> CII 397, Heb. *šalom 'al yisra'el*.

<sup>51</sup> For Teucheira, see SEG IX (1938) 559–567, 569, 572–574; SEG XVI (1959) 876–930; SEG XX (1964) 769–771. APPLEBAUM, *Jews and Greeks*, provides other inscriptions and further analysis.

also true of ossuaries in Jerusalem.<sup>52</sup> Yet such simplicity is not characteristic of many other Jewish funerary inscriptions from Palestine. Especially noteworthy are the declarations of the Beth She'arim tombs, often wishing the deceased "to have a good lot"<sup>53</sup> or advising the deceased "to have courage; no one is immortal."<sup>54</sup> The former primarily appears to suggest a Jewish context, while the latter was originally a pagan theme.

In addition to the relatively short inscriptions cited above, some Jewish funerary inscriptions contain rather longer meditations on death written in meter.<sup>55</sup> Two from Beth She'arim use Homeric vocabulary.<sup>56</sup> Because of the preference for pagan forms in Leontopolis, it should not be surprising that a large number come from there.<sup>57</sup>

## 7. Miscellaneous others

Miscellaneous other types of inscriptions incidentally illustrate that Jews, like non-Jews, wrote on materials other than stone, thus rings and bronze seals sometimes bear the Greek or Latin name of a Jewish owner with a depiction of a menorah to indicate Jewishness.<sup>58</sup> Also found on gold, silver, or lead fillet and on gems are magical inscriptions possibly containing Jewish elements;<sup>59</sup> whether these inscriptions were written by Jews is a matter of some debate. Yet some

<sup>52</sup> For the Jerusalem ossuaries (s. II a. – II p.), see CII 1210–1387. Others are published in scattered journals, but many remain unpublished.

<sup>53</sup> Gk. *eumyri*. LIEBERMAN, Greek in Jewish Palestine, 72–74, equates this with Heb. *helek tob* found in the Mishnah and Talmud. This occurs at least nineteen times in Beth She'arim: CII 993, 999, 1000, 1004, 1013–1014, 1016–1018, 1021, 1044, 1063, 1067, 1086 (= BS 13, 26, 27, 56, 2–3, 5–7, 9, 33, 52, 57, 69); BS 129–130, 171, 173, 187. Beth She'arim (2f.) connects it with afterlife.

<sup>54</sup> Gk. *tharsei oudeis athanatos*; some inscriptions replace *tharsei* with *eupsychei*. Roman epitaphs usually contain the full formula: CII 110, 123, 303, 314, 335, 380, 401, 450, 544. Beth She'arim provides the most examples, though frequently without the second half (*oudeis athanatos*): CII 997, 1005, 1039, 1050–1052, 1054–1055, 1106, 1109, 1110, 1125 (= BS 22, 59, 29, 39–41, 43, 84, 87, 89, 102); BS 127, 136, 187, 193. This formula may be consonant with afterlife belief (see SIMON below), but it is not necessarily either an affirmation or denial of it. CII 303 (Rome) does, however, perhaps affirm afterlife by the addition of *euphronei* ("be of good cheer"). LATTIMORE, Themes, 253, provides pagan examples. For a study of the formula, see SIMON, Tharsei Oudeis Athanatos.

<sup>55</sup> E.g. CII 476 (Rome).

<sup>56</sup> BS 183, and 127 which speaks of Hades and Fate (Gk. *moira*). See pp. 678, 685, 703. BS 127 also uses the mournful language characteristic of some of the Leontopolis epitaphs.

<sup>57</sup> CII 1489–90, 1508–13, 1530, 1530a (CPJ III, 162): s. II a. – I. p.

<sup>58</sup> E.g. CII 557 (Naples, Campania); CII 657 (Sulcis, Sardinia); CII 667 (Avignon, Gallia Narbonensis).

<sup>59</sup> Some important examples are: CII 673 (Ratisbon, Raetia, s. III p.); CII 674 (Badenweiler, Upper Germany); CII 717 (Achaia, Phthiotis, Late Roman period); CII 724 (Aegina, Saronic Gulf, Greece); CII 849 (Damascus, Syria, s. IV p. – VI p.); CII 850–851 (Syria); CII 875 (Sidon, Phoenicia).

are quite probably Jewish.<sup>60</sup> From Rome, Jewish gilt drinking vessels bear the imprint of Jewish symbols including the temple, along with the inscriptions advising the reader to live, drink, and eat;<sup>61</sup> there are Christian vessels of the same type.<sup>62</sup>

Palestine provides two inscriptions that fall into this group. Containing the earliest contemporary reference to the Maccabees, a Greek graffito from Gezer expresses hostility toward the palace that Simon Maccabee had built there (142 B.C.E.).<sup>63</sup> Halfway between Usha and Sheferam in the Galilee, two rocks (called "sabbath rocks" by the fellahs) bear the Greek letters *s a b*, perhaps meaning sabbath, and may have indicated the point beyond which one was prohibited from going on the sabbath.<sup>64</sup>

#### IV. Collections and Publications of Jewish Inscriptions

Like other Greek and Latin inscriptions, the Jewish ones have been discovered throughout the ancient world, from Spain to Mesopotamia, from Germany to Upper Egypt. As one might expect, these objects are now distributed somewhat randomly among the various museums and collections. A significant portion (especially in Israel) remains unedited and with few exceptions is not taken into account here. In general Italy (owing to the presence of the Jewish catacombs in Rome) and Palestine (because of the density of Jewish population) contain the largest number. For this reason, the Rockefeller Museum in Jerusalem and the Sezione Lapidaria Ebraica of the Museo Pio Cristiano in the Vatican Museums in Rome have especially large collections.

Conveniently, Greek and Latin Jewish inscriptions have been reedited by JEAN-BAPTISTE FREY in a single corpus entitled 'Corpus Inscriptionum Judaicarum' (CII, vols. I and II). Useful for comprehensiveness rather than editorial accuracy, the corpus should be utilized with caution.<sup>65</sup> Volume I, which covers Europe until 1936, should be read in conjunction with an invaluable 'Prolegomenon' by the late BARUCH LIFSHITZ included in a reissue of the volume (New York, Ktav, 1975). Here will be found inscriptions discovered since 1936 or missed by FREY, editorial correction of FREY's texts, extensive commentary (based on LIFSHITZ's own work as well as that of ANTONIO FERRUA, HARRY LEON, J. and L. ROBERT, and MOSHE SCHWABE),<sup>66</sup> and complete bibliog-

<sup>60</sup> E.g. CII 679 (Sarajevo, Dalmatia); and CII 743 (Smyrna, Asia) with menorahs.

<sup>61</sup> CII 515-522, 732a (Rome, s. III - IV p.).

<sup>62</sup> See R. GARRUCCI, Vetri ornati, and VOPEL, Die altchristlichen Goldgläser.

<sup>63</sup> CII 1184: "May fire fall upon the palace of Simon".

<sup>64</sup> CII 992.

<sup>65</sup> For the correct editing method, see Dow, Conventions in Editing.

<sup>66</sup> FERRUA, Addenda e corrigenda al Corpus Inscriptionum Judaicarum; LEON, The Jews of Ancient Rome; ROBERT, Un corpus des inscriptions juives; and SCHWABE, Review of CII I (in Hebrew).

raphies for the individual inscriptions. Unfortunately, Vol. II, which covers Asia and Africa before 1939 (and even then is still incomplete), has not been reedited in this way. For new inscriptions, criticism, and bibliography pertinent to Vol. II, as well as developments since 1975, scholars of Jewish inscriptions must therefore consult 'Bulletin épigraphique' (by JEANNE and LOUIS ROBERT, annually in 'Revue des études grecques') for Greek inscriptions. 'L'année épigraphique' (annually in 'Revue archéologique' and separately) provides Latin inscriptions. Also noteworthy is BARUCH LIFSHITZ's corpus of Jewish inscriptions relative to the construction of synagogues ('Donateurs et fondateurs dans les synagogues juives'). Important new discoveries have also been made at Sardis: L. ROBERT, 'Nouvelles inscriptions de Sardes', and ANDREW SEAGER and A. T. KRAABEL, 'The Synagogue and the Jewish Community', 171, 184 ff. (final report by J. KROLL forthcoming); so also at Aphrodisias (Caria).<sup>67</sup> For substantial collections and/or discussions of Jewish inscriptions of a specific area or city, see especially the following: 'Beth She'arim' (B. LIFSHITZ and MOSHE SCHWABE); 'The Jewish Inscriptions of Egypt' (DAVID LEWIS); 'Jews and Greeks of Ancient Cyrene' (SHIMON APPLEBAUM); 'The Jews of Ancient Rome' (HARRY LEON); and 'Judaism in Western Asia Minor' (A. T. KRAABEL).

### V. Cultural Identity

In the inscriptions discussed here, Jewishness has been identified by symbolism (e.g. menorah, loulab, ethrog, ark, shofar),<sup>68</sup> self-identification ("Lucius . . . a Jew"),<sup>69</sup> typical Jewish names (Benjamin, Ananias);<sup>70</sup> reference to Jewish religious customs (e.g. one who follows the law),<sup>71</sup> presence in a Jewish catacomb or cemetery,<sup>72</sup> and the mention of a synagogue or Jewish office (e.g. head of the synagogue).<sup>73</sup> These criteria express characteristics traditionally associated with ancient Jews of the Hellenistic and Roman periods. For example, the depiction of the Torah and/or an ark<sup>74</sup> suggests a community for whom the Torah is relevant. On funerary inscriptions, the adjectives used to describe the dead person

<sup>67</sup> See especially p. 688 and nn. 109, 121–122.

<sup>68</sup> See pp. 705–706.

<sup>69</sup> CII 643 (Aquilaia, Italy).

<sup>70</sup> This is the least clear of the categories, though both LIFSHITZ, Prolegomenon, CII 660b (Sassari, Sardinia, s. IV p.) and ROBERT, BE (1955) 88, use it, for example, in the case of Ananias.

<sup>71</sup> *Observantia legis*, CII 476 (l. 10, Rome).

<sup>72</sup> In addition to Rome, there are catacombs in Beth She'arim (Palestine), Noto Vecchio (Sicily), Sant' Antioco (Sardinia), Syracuse (Sicily) and Venusia (Italy).

<sup>73</sup> Gk. *archisynagōgos*, e.g. CII 383 (Rome).

<sup>74</sup> See the index at the end of CII I.

often stress piety and love of law, learning, community, and family.<sup>75</sup> Thus, from Rome one inscription describes a certain Regina as a woman known for her "piety", "observance of the law", "love of family" (or "love of her people"), "kindness as a wife", and "chaste life".<sup>76</sup>

This way of determining Jewishness, however, by no means points to a perfectly clear boundary between Jews and non-Jews in the ancient Mediterranean world. Thus, within the corpus of Jewish inscriptions in Greek and Latin, several funerary inscriptions are headed with *DM* (*diis manibus*),<sup>77</sup> a typical funerary address to Roman ancestral Gods.<sup>78</sup> One addresses itself to the Spirit Gods and another to the Junonian Spirits.<sup>79</sup> Manumissions from Delphi (Phocis) mention Jewish slaves being sold to Apollo and one Jew selling his slave to Apollo;<sup>80</sup> two other manumissions from Gorgippia (Bosphorus Kingdom) indicate that Jews signed oaths to Jupiter, Gaia (Earth), and Helius (Sun) and at

<sup>75</sup> E.g. *Hosios*, CII 1045 = BS 34 (s. III–IV p.); *philentolos*, CII 132 (Rome); *philosyna[gōgos]*, CII 321 (Rome); *philopatōr*, CII 505 (Rome, Roman period). It is interesting that such epithets, traditionally associated with ancient Jews, often come from Rome; Leontopolis, for example, rarely uses them.

<sup>76</sup> CII 476 (Rome): Latin *pietas* (l. 9), *observantia legis* (l. 10), *amor generis* (l. 10), *conjugii meritum* (l. 11), and *vita pudica* (l. 9). According to LIEBERMAN (Greek in Jewish Palestine, 72) *observantia legis* is equivalent to Ar. *rahem mitswota* ("one who loves charity") and *amor generis* is equivalent to Ar. *rahem 'ama* ("one who loves the people", that is Israel).

<sup>77</sup> Literally "to the divine shades or spirits". The following instances are definitely Jewish: CII 464 (Rome) and 678 (Soclus, Pannonia). *DM* inscriptions (since 1975) have also been found in the Via Nomentana Catacomb (AE [1976] 85) among a series of Latin inscriptions published by FASOLA, *Le due catacombe ebraiche*, and in Utica (Proconsular Africa, AE [1978] 834). FREY believes the following inscriptions to be probably Pagan: CII 10\*, 26\*–29\*, 34\*, 37–38\*. All of these, however, were found in clearly identifiable Jewish catacombs in Rome; there is no solid evidence that they were reused stones. It seems more prudent to assume that inscriptions found in Jewish catacombs should be considered Jewish until proven otherwise; the use of *DM* is not enough to prove an inscription Pagan, as CII 464 and 678 above show. Reused stones with *DM* on one side, such as CII 9\* and 36\*, may or may not be Jewish. FREY and LEON treat these as Pagan, but at the same time consider both sides of some inscriptions to be Jewish (e.g. CII 320 and 362). This is faulty methodology since it is certain that Jews sometimes use *DM*. CII 524 is a *DM* inscription that probably belongs to a Godfearer (Lat. *deae metuenti*); see n. 10. Probably Jewish are CII 75\*, 76\* (Puteoli, Campania) since the commissioner of the funeral monuments was named Lat. *Aciba* corresponding to Heb. *Aquiba*.

<sup>78</sup> Found very frequently on Latin funerary inscriptions (LATTIMORE, *Themes*, 90–95). See also pp. 699, 704.

<sup>79</sup> The Spirit Gods are Gk. *th(eoi) d(aimones)*, CII 6\*; for its Jewish identification, see n. 77 on CII 10\*. LATTIMORE, *Themes*, 95–96, indicates that the *theoi daimones*, in addition to the *theoi katachthonioi*, are a Greek translation of the *manes*. The Junonian Spirits are Lat. *Imones*, CII 77\* (Brescia, Venetia); the woman is called Iuda (thus CII 77\* is clearly Jewish). *Iuno* is the feminine equivalent of *genius* in Latin; thus a woman (Annia) has set up the monument and the *imones* probably refer to the *genii* or spirits of the dead who watch over her and her family.

<sup>80</sup> CII 709 (170–157/56 B.C.E.), CII 710 (162 B.C.E.), and CII 711 (119 B.C.E.).

the same time dedicated the inscription to the Highest God (here evidently the God of the Jews).<sup>81</sup> Yet another from Oropus (Boeotia) mentions the manumission of a Jew who set up the monument beside an altar having been so commanded in a dream by the Greek gods Amphiaraus and Hygeia.<sup>82</sup> Perhaps it is also significant that a Judaizing inscription (from Chalcis, Euboea), honoring either the Sophist Amphilochos (a pupil of Herodes Atticus) or more probably his son, similarly mentions Hygeia, while simultaneously referring to God (*theos*) and quoting the Septuagint as a protective curse on behalf of the statue.<sup>83</sup> Two Cilician inscriptions apparently refer to God as "the Sabbath God" and his worshippers as "Sabbath worshippers".<sup>84</sup> A temple to Pan (in Apollinopolis

<sup>81</sup> CII 690 (41 C.E.) and CII 690a (67/68 C.E.). The Jewishness of CII 690 is demonstrated by reference therein to a *proseuchē* (synagogue); so also NOCK, *The Guild of Zeus Hypsistos*, 424–425, ROBERT, *Inscriptions grecques de Sidē*, 44, n. 7, LIFSHTZ, *Donateurs et fondateurs*, 16, and HENGEL, *Proseuche und Synagoge*, 179. It is further confirmed by occurrence of the epithets "almighty" (*pantokratōr*) and "blessed" (*eulogētos*); so also NOCK and LIFSHTZ (above). In addition, these latter epithets make likely the Jewish origin of CII 690a. Not all mentions of *theos hypsistos*, however, need refer to the God of the Jews (SCHÜRER, *Die Juden im bosporianischen Reiche*, 209–218; NOCK, *The Guild of Zeus Hypsistos*; and KRAABEL, *Hypsistos and the Synagogue at Sardis*).

From the Bosphorus Kingdom (Tanais, s. II–III p.), LATYSCHEF lists a number of inscriptions (II:437–467) most of which contain the formula *agathē tychē* (see n. 100). GOODENOUGH thinks these Jewish in: *The Bosphorus Inscriptions*. Yet the phrase "newly initiated brethren worshipping the highest God" (*eispoiētoi adelphoi sebomenoi ton hypsiston* (see n. 100) and the mention of typically Greco-Roman offices such as the "father of the association" (*patēr synodou*, nos. 437, 445, 451, 455), "youth director" (*neaniskarchēs*, nos. 441, 442, 445–448, 451, 454), and "athletic director" (*gymnasiarchēs*, nos. 441, 442, 445–448, 451, 454) point in the direction of God-fearers (see n. 100) or Judaizing pagans; so also SCHÜRER, *Die Juden im bosporianischen Reiche*. It is possible that *agathē tychē* is a divinity, but it is also plausible that it simply constitutes a common Greco-Roman talismanic formula meaning "good luck" (GOODENOUGH above).

<sup>82</sup> CII 711b (300–250 B.C.E.).

<sup>83</sup> s. II p. = IG XII 9, 955 and 1179 = SIG III 1240; for complete bibliography and analysis, see ROBERT, *Malédiction funéraire*, 245–252. Here are also mentioned the Erinyes (spirits of avenging punishment) and "Grace" (*Charis*). ROBERT believes that these are concepts, not deities. Yet CII 711b (n. 82) has already shown that Jews can think of Hygeia ("Health") as a goddess. Thus, the same is also true when IG XII 9, 1179 speaks of Hygeia, as well as of the Erinyes and of *Charis*.

<sup>84</sup> *Ho theos ho Sabbatistēs* (l. 21) and *hoi Sabbatistai* (l. 22) in OGI 573 (Elaussa, Cilicia, s. I a. – I p.). For bibliography, see SOKOLOWSKI, *Lois sacrées*, 181–182, no. 80. Among the members of the group are *hetairoi* ("companions") and *Sabbatistai*; DITTENBERGER (in OGI) associates them respectively with proselytes and hereditary Jews, while NILSSON, *Geschichte* II, 638–639, calls them novices and regular members. This division, however, remains uncertain. On the other hand, SCHULZE, *Samstag*, 381–382, views *Sabbatistēs* as an Asiatic deity; yet, though this word is similar to the name of the deity Sabathikos or Sambathikos, the precise word *Sabbatistēs* never clearly applies to a pagan deity (cf. V. NIKIPROWETZKY, *La Sibylle juive et le 'Troisième Livre' des 'Pseudo-Oracles Sibyllins' depuis Charles Alexandre*, above in this same volume [ANRW II 20.1], 467f.). Thus the connection to Sabbath seems plainer and simpler. Interesting also is the phrase *apoteisatō eis ton theon Sabbatistēn* . . . ("let them pay their debt to the Sabbath God . . .") which is very reminiscent of the Jewish formula in Eumeneia (*estai autō pros ton theon*); see n. 229.

Magna = Edfou, Upper Egypt) contains two Jewish dedications to God, one of which expresses the dedicator Theodotus' thanks for his safe return from a dangerous sea voyage.<sup>85</sup> One Leontopolis inscription speaks of the divine personification of fate (Gk. *Moirai*).<sup>86</sup>

Other inscriptions manifest positive attitudes toward Greco-Roman religion or toward Greco-Roman religious terminology. Thus, in Asia Minor, an epitaph refers to the pagan funeral festival known as the Rosalia.<sup>87</sup> One inscription from Leontopolis (Lower Egypt) speaks of the deceased as crossing the river Lethe in the underworld, and this as well as several others speak of Hades as the final destination of the dead.<sup>88</sup>

An inscription has been found with a menorah in a Christian cemetery.<sup>89</sup> One epitaph apparently has both the menorah and the Christian Chi-Rho.<sup>90</sup> Several dedications from Syros (Greece) have both crosses and menorahs;<sup>91</sup> and, finally, a bread stamp from Egypt has both crosses and menorahs.<sup>92</sup> Likewise, Christian catacombs contain lamps with menorahs depicted upon them.<sup>93</sup> Two facts of epigraphic usage also attest to close relations between Christians and Jews continuing throughout antiquity: 1) the burial of Christians and Jews side by side in Cilicia (Corycus and Seleucia);<sup>94</sup> and 2) the use of the same curse

<sup>85</sup> CII 1537–1538 (late Ptolemaic). See the commentary in BERNAND, *Le Panneion*, no. 34 and no. 42. With ROBERT, *BE* (1973) 530, I find BERNAND's interpretations strained since he tries to deemphasize the relationship between the Jewish inscriptions and the Pan temple. No. 73 of 'Le Panneion' is also Jewish; the dedicator Lazarus indicates that he has returned to the temple for the third time.

<sup>86</sup> CII 1510 (s. II a. – I p.).

<sup>87</sup> CB 455–457 (Acmonia, Phrygia, s. III p.). RAMSAY thought it Christian; ROBERT, however, proves that it is Jewish (*Épigraphes juives*, 409–412). The Rosalia originally was an Italian festival in which torches were lit and roses were strewn on graves; see LATTIMORE, *Themes*, 137–141 (with relevant bibliography and inscriptions). The reference to decorating the grave in CII 777 (Hierapolis, Phrygia, s. III p.) may also be related to this festival; KRAABEL comments on it in *Judaism in Western Asia Minor*, 113.

<sup>88</sup> See n. 43.

<sup>89</sup> CII 693b found in the Paleochristian necropolis to the east of Thessalonica; this (along with another sarcophagus) bears the menorah as well as the phrase, "God be with us" (*Kyrio smeth' hēmōn*); this is a phrase common in Christian inscriptions (cf. *Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie* 1453, 1559, 1705) and a paraphrase of Psalms 46, 8. 12.

<sup>90</sup> CII 84\* (Italy). By denying that the object is a menorah, FREY seems to avoid the most obvious interpretation.

<sup>91</sup> See SANDBERG, *Εὑπλοία*, 31.

<sup>92</sup> GOODENOUGH, *Notes and Observations*. An Early Christian Bread Stamp, date of inscription unknown. He also cites examples where the menorah is actually integrated with the cross: GOODENOUGH, *Symbols*, II, 102, n. 15; CANOVA, *Iscrizioni e monumenti proto-cristiani del paese di Moab*, plate III at p. CXXVI; GOODENOUGH, *Symbols* III, fig. 587 (cf. I. 222).

<sup>93</sup> See DELATTRE, *Lampes chrétiennes de Carthage*. For more on the use of the menorah by Christians, see SIMON, *Le chandelier à sept branches – symbole chrétien?*

<sup>94</sup> See KEIL and WILHELM, *MAMA* III. The Jewish epitaphs are CII 782–794 (Roman period). In the Christian necropolis of Tyre (Phoenicia), we find an epitaph of a certain Sara; cited in REY-COQUAIS, *Inscriptions de la nécropole*, 92–93, no. 164. ROBERT thinks



formula (the so-called Eumeneian formula) – “he/she shall have to reckon with God” – by both Jews and Christians. These facts render it difficult, often impossible, to distinguish Jewish inscriptions from Christian ones of this type.<sup>95</sup>

It is further significant that there is not one clear mention of circumcision or dietary laws;<sup>96</sup> hence inscriptions do not cite these as the distinguishing marks of Jews.

The ancient Jews of these inscriptions and artifacts had an understanding of Jewishness that differs strikingly from some modern conceptions of ancient Judaism. Yet since the inscriptions had deep roots in Greco-Roman tradition and were a medium of communication in a world of religious syncretism, this should not be surprising. To some who saw themselves as Jews, accepting the presence of Greco-Roman deities in their world, whether or not worshipped (as two probably were in the Oropus inscription), was not necessarily dissonant with their identity as pious and Torah-centered Jews.<sup>96a</sup> Likewise, the menorah, among other symbols, could convey Jewish identity whether the user be Jew by birth, by conversion, or by sympathy.

Indeed, the Jewish and Christian communities, in some places until late antiquity, had such close affinities that it is often difficult and artificial to make distinctions between them. Thus, the boundary between Christians, Jews, and (as we have seen above) pagans is often hazy. This does not mean that all Jews were equally syncretistic. Indeed, most inscriptions give no clear indication of the degree of syncretism. Rather it suggests that a great diversity of expression and self-understanding was open to Jews in the Greco-Roman world.

As well as partaking of other religious traditions, Jews also were successful in converting non-Jews to the Jewish religion – a practice that Roman (and later Christian) authorities found troublesome.<sup>97</sup> Called proselytes, these converts

it could be Jewish (BE [1978] 522). This remains uncertain, however, since Christians could have appropriated this name; so also that of Abraham.

<sup>95</sup> Gk. *estai autō pros ton theon*: see p. 705. RAMSAY, *Cities and Bishoprics*, p. 653; ROBERT, *Épigraphes juives*, 413, and KRAABEL, *Judaism in Western Asia Minor*, 67, agree that the formula probably arose simultaneously among Christians and Jews in the third century C.E. Whether Jewish or Christian, many of the Eumeneian formula inscriptions show a Jewish self-understanding: e.g. MAMA VI 231 (Apamea, Phrygia, 240–250 C.E.) speaks of the “hand of God” (a phrase found frequently in the Hebrew Bible). Other inscriptions describe God in terms as easily Jewish as Christian (listed by KRAABEL in *Judaism in Western Asia Minor*, 64): MAMA VI 225 (“God the judge”, *ho kritēs theos*); CB II, 355ff. (“the living God”, *ho zōn theos*), CB II, 388 (“the immortal God”, *ho athanatos theos*), SEG VI (1932) 447 (“the holy God”, *ho hagios theos*).

<sup>96</sup> A possible exception is Lat. *verpus* (? “circumcised”); see CII 55\* referring to two inscriptions (CIL IV 793 and 1375) from Pompei (Campania). These are, however, most unclear (FREY, *Les Juifs à Pompei*). For, in the former, *verpus* is a cognomen; in the latter, it could apply to circumcised nations other than Jews.

<sup>96a</sup> For comparable examples of syncretism in Christianity, see among others FRIEND, *Rise*, 363–365.

<sup>97</sup> For discussions of Jewish proselytism, consult BAMBERGER, *Proselytism in the Talmudic Period*, and BRAUDE, *Jewish Proselytism in the First Five Centuries*. For a Jew who converted to Christianity, see CII 643a (Aquileia, Italy, late Roman period) referring to the

apparently were considered fully Jewish. Greek and Latin inscriptions give ample evidence of their existence.<sup>98</sup>

In addition, Jewish inscriptions attest a group of marginal converts called "God-fearers" (Gk. *theosebēs* and Lat. *metuentes* or *metuentes deum*), known in rabbinic sources as "fearers of heaven" (Heb. *yire'e šamayim*).<sup>99</sup> Thus, inscriptions confirm the historicity of references in Luke-Acts to such a group (e.g. the centurion Cornelius in Acts 10,1ff.).<sup>100</sup> Several scholars dispute this but the epigraphic evidence seems to contradict them.<sup>101</sup>

For some of the same scholars, the terms *theosebēs* and *metuens* in the Jewish inscriptions really refer to observant Jews and simply mean "pious" or "religious".<sup>102</sup> More likely, however, is another possibility, that they are terms

Jewish convert Peter who "deserved to attain to the grace of Christ". CII 742 (Smyrna, Asia, 125 C.E.) mentions *hoi pote Ioudaioi* among those who made donations toward the cost of public buildings. This possibly refers to Jews who left the faith (i.e. "the former Jews"). KRAABEL, *Judaism in Western Asia Minor*, 28–32, disputes this and interprets the phrase to mean immigrants from Judaea. Yet this geographical usage is not common; *Ioudaioi* much more frequently means "Jew". Thus the translation "the former Jews" is more probable. See Addenda, no. 8.

<sup>98</sup> Especially from Rome (CII 21, 68, 202, 222, 256, 462, 523); these confirm the spread of Judaism in Rome found in literary sources (LEON, *Jews*, 1–45).

<sup>99</sup> SIEGERT, *Gottesfürchtige und Sympathisanten*, 110–119, most recently summarizes and analyzes the rabbinic references; for further bibliography, see STERN, *The Jews in Greek and Latin Literature*, 1158, n. 1, and *Id.*, *Greek and Latin Authors on Jews*, 102–106.

<sup>100</sup> According to Acts, he was the first non-Jew to convert to Christianity. See also Acts 13, 26, 43(?), 50; 16, 14; 17, 4, 17; 18, 7 for God-fearers. The NT does not use *theosebēs*, but *sebomenoi* or *phoboumenoi ton theon*; sometimes it appears that *sebomenoi* alone may refer to God-fearers (Acts 13, 50; 17, 4, 17), although not in every case. As Jews in antiquity may be called "Jews", "Hebrews", or "Israelites", so also the God-fearers have a variety of designations. These designations are closely related in meaning and vocabulary and thus refer to members of the same group.

WILCOX, *The 'God-fearers' in Acts*, 118, considers the phrases *sebomenoi* and *phoboumenoi ton theon* to be Lukanisms (so also KRAABEL, *The Disappearance of the God-fearers*). Yet four inscriptions from Tanais in the Bosphorus Kingdom (LATYSCHF 449, 450, 452, 456, s. II–III p.) mention groups of "newly initiated brethren" (*eispoētoi adelphoi*) "who worship the most high God" (*sebomenoi theon hypsiston*). Whether these refer to God-fearers or more generally to Judaizing pagans (see n. 81), in any event, the phrase, *sebomenoi theon hypsiston*, is strikingly analogous to *sebomenoi* and *phoboumenoi ton theon* (i.e. God-fearers) in Acts. Significantly, both in Acts and in the Tanais inscriptions, these phrases are applied to groups of persons who combine both Jewish and pagan elements.

<sup>101</sup> ROMANIUK, *Die Gottesfürchtigen im Neuen Testament*, positively affirms the evidence in Acts for God-fearers; in contrast, WILCOX, *The 'God-fearers' in Acts*, who follows LAKE, *Proselytes and God-fearers*, concludes that the phrases *sebomenoi* and *phoboumenoi ton theon* can be applied both to God-fearers and to pious Jews. In light of the epigraphic evidence, I prefer to follow ROMANIUK. For the same reason, KRAABEL's hypothesis in *The Disappearance of the God-fearers* that Luke invented the God-fearers as a literary device, seems unlikely.

<sup>102</sup> See especially LAKE, *Proselytes and God-fearers*; FELDMAN, *Jewish 'Sympathizers' in Classical Literature and Inscriptions*; ROBERT, *Nouvelles inscriptions de Sardes*, 39–45; SIEGERT, *Gottesfürchtige und Sympathisanten*, 151–161; KRAABEL, *The Disappearance*

referring to persons so strongly sympathetic with Judaism that they adopt some of its practices (such as Sabbath observance, but not circumcision) and attend synagogue.<sup>103</sup> Thus two Latin inscriptions merely transcribe the Greek word into Roman letters, showing that it was a special term and referred to a particular kind of Jew.<sup>104</sup> If LIFSHITZ's and BELLEN's reconstruction is correct, a manumission inscription from Panticapaeum (Bosphorus Kingdom) would suggest a synagogue of Jews and God-fearers.<sup>105</sup> An unpublished inscription from Aphrodisias (Caria) provides the most definitive proof that *theosebēs* means something more than "pious" or "religious". Listing the members of the Jewish community, along with their occupations, the inscription clearly designates certain persons as *theosebēs* and separates these *theosebēs* from other Jews: some of the God-fearers mentioned in this inscription were members of the town council of Aphrodisias. Josephus' explicit reference to God-fearers supports this interpretation.<sup>106</sup>

of the 'God-fearers'; and WILCOX, The 'God-fearers' in Acts. According to BERTHOLET, Stellung, 328ff., they refer to regular proselytes.

<sup>103</sup> See especially MARCUS, The Sebomenoi in Josephus; ROMANIUK, Die Gottesfürchtigen im Neuen Testament; LIFSHITZ, Donateurs et fondateurs, 25–26 and ID., Du nouveau sur les 'sympathisants'; HOMMEL, Juden und Christen im kaiserzeitlichen Milet; and STERN, The Jews in Greek and Latin Literature, 1158, n. 1 and ID., Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism, 102–107. BERNAYS, Die Gottesfürchtigen bei Juvenal, finds them in the Hebrew Bible (e.g. II Kings 17, 28ff.; Psalms 115, 11–13; 118, 4; 135, 20). I would contend that Juvenal provides a paradigmatic description of a God-fearer (14, 96–106); the above-mentioned authors would agree with me here, while those in n. 102 would not. Cf. also Acts 10, 1ff.

<sup>104</sup> CII 228 (Rome), Lat. *theosebēs*; and CII 619a (Venusia, Apulia, s. IV p. – V p.), Lat. *teuseues*. The latter shows that God-fearers could be buried with 'normal' Jews (contra LEON, Jews, 74, n. 1).

<sup>105</sup> CII 683a (s. II p.); so LIFSHITZ, Prolegomenon, 65–66 and BELLEN, Συναγωγή (contra NADEL, Actes d'affranchissement, 276–277, who here refers to an earlier article in Russian). Also HENGEL, Proseuche und Synagoge, 174, supports BELLEN.

<sup>106</sup> AJ 14, 110. LAKE, Proselytes and God-fearers, 85, and FELDMAN, Jewish 'Sympathizers', 206, n. 31, claim to refute the argument that Josephus here refers to God-fearers. In MARCUS' translation, the sentence reads as follows:

"But no one need wonder that there was so much wealth in our temple, for all the Jews throughout the habitable world and those who worshipped God (*pantōn tōn kata tēn oikoumenēn Ioudaiōn kai sebomenōn ton theon*), even those from Asia and Europe, had been contributing to it for a very long time."

LAKE believes that if Josephus meant to say, "those who worshipped God", he would have written an additional article, thus writing: . . . *kai tōn sebomenōn ton theon*. Yet he did not, and the correct translation is instead "all the Jews worshipping God throughout the world".

In a short, yet seminal, article, "The Sebomenoi in Josephus", MARCUS shows, however, that it is perfectly good Greek not to include an article. Hence he quotes Xenophon, Anabasis 1, 7, 2, so commonly thought of as a model Greek writer:

"Cyrus called together the generals and the company commanders (*Kyros de synkalesas tous stratēgous kai lochagous*)."

Clearly Cyrus meant two different groups – generals and company commanders. SMYTH, Greek Grammar, 291, who uses (among others) the same example from a different part

Yet, while somehow separate, the God-fearers are so clearly associated with Jews that they are listed as part of the Jewish community in the Aphrodisias inscription.<sup>107</sup> In addition, the New Testament (Acts 17,17) and the Panticapaeum inscription refer to the synagogues as containing both Jews and God-fearers. A theatre inscription from Miletus indicates that God-fearers could even be called Jews.<sup>108</sup> Likewise, another inscription refers to them as members of the Jewish religion.<sup>109</sup> Thus, the evidence suggests that there was not a sharp distinction

of the 'Anabasis' points out that "a single article used with the first of two or more nouns connected by *and*, produce the effect of a single notion". Yet as shown in his translation, the words themselves remain grammatically distinct. Because of the close connection between Jews and God-fearers, this is a particularly appropriate grammatical formation for Josephus to use. Though MARCUS' other argument, that LAKE's translation makes no logical sense, is probably incorrect, MARCUS' grammatical one remains accurate. Thus, it is probable that Josephus is speaking of God-fearers.

In AJ 20,34–48, Josephus' description of the Judaizing practices of Izates and the royal household of Adiabene may be related to practices of God-fearers. Whether the Empress and wife of Nero, Poppaea Sabina, was a God-fearer or Judaizer (see AJ 20,195) is debated. Josephus calls her *theosebēs*. FELDMAN, *ibid.* 206, n. 30, SMALLWOOD, *The Alleged Jewish Tendencies of Poppaea Sabina*, and SIEGERT, *Gottesfürchtige und Sympathisanten*, 160–161, interpret this word to mean simply "religious" or "pious"; LIFSHITZ, *Du nouveau sur les sympathisants*, 79, interprets it to mean God-fearers. Cf. L. H. FELDMAN, *Josephus and Modern Scholarship (1937–1980)*, Berlin–New York: De Gruyter, 1984, 732–734.

<sup>107</sup> Another unpublished inscription from an Odeum in Aphrodisias speaks of the *topos Hebreōn tōn teleiōn*, i.e. "the complete Jews" or "the perfect Jews"; CAMERON apparently mentions part of this inscription in: *Circus Factions*, 79. Since *theosebēs* refers to Judaizing pagans who are partially observant, it is tempting to suggest that *teleios* (because it means "complete" or "perfect") refers to fully observant Jews. Thus *theosebēs* means a God-fearer and *Ioudaios teleios* means a fully observant Jew. This conjecture, however, remains speculative.

<sup>108</sup> CII 748 (Miletus, Asia) does not prove, as ROBERT, *Nouvelles inscriptions de Sardes*, 41–43, and FELDMAN, *Jewish 'Sympathizers'*, 204, n. 20, claim, that *theosebēs* merely means "religious" or "pious": *topos eioudeōn tōn kai theosebio(ō)n*. HOMMEL, *Juden und Christen*, 178, correctly observes that *tōn kai* is the equivalent of *tōn kaloumenōn* and that the first part of the phrase should be translated "place of those who are called . . ." (my English translation). Thus he refutes the correction of SCHÜRER, *Geschichte*, III, 174, n. 70, who emended the text from *tōn kai* to *kai tōn* because he wished to preserve the technical meaning, "God-fearers". Yet *theosebēs* can still mean "God-fearer" without such an emendation. That it is an adjective modifying *Ioudaioi* merely shows that some God-fearers were perceived and/or perceived themselves to be in some sense Jewish. Thus the correct translation is "place of those Jews who are called God-fearers". This translation follows HOMMEL, *Juden und Christen*, though he (184–185) does not draw all my conclusions.

<sup>109</sup> CII 642 (Pola, Istria, Italy, s.III p.): *religio Iudeica*. Other God-fearer inscriptions are: CII 5, *metuens* (Rome, Roman period); CII 285, *metuens* (Rome); CII 500, *theosebēs* (Rome, Roman period); CII 524, *Dae(um) maetuens* (Rome, Roman period); CII 529, *[de]sum metuens* (Rome, Roman period); CII 731 e, *theosebēs* (Rhodes, Greece); CII 754 = LIF 28, *theosebēs* (Philadelphia, Lydia, s.III–IV p.); and LIF 17–18, *theosebēs* (Sardis, Lydia, s.III p.). SIEGERT, *Gottesfürchtige und Sympathisanten*, 158, identifies an inscription from Lorium, Italy (CIG IV 9852 = IG XIV 2259 = CIL XI 3758) with the word

between Jews and God-fearers and that God-fearers were often members of Jewish synagogues.<sup>110</sup>

### VI. Socio-Economic Status and Mobility

From the scant inscriptional evidence, it is hard to determine the overall socio-economic status of the Jews.<sup>111</sup> In his epigraphic study of the Jews of ancient Rome, H. LEON showed that the large number of scrawled and poorly-written inscriptions indicates that most Jews were relatively poor.<sup>112</sup> There are, however, also some very elegant and well-written Roman Jewish inscriptions.<sup>113</sup> One of these mentions a God-fearer who was a Roman knight.<sup>114</sup> Apart from Rome, generalization is difficult, although many Jews seem to have been merchants or traders. Jews throughout the ancient world sold spices, perfume, wine, linen, cloth, and silk;<sup>115</sup> there were bakers, manufacturers of hobnail boots, doctors, and a banker.<sup>116</sup> They participated in or had their own guilds of purple dyers, carpet weavers, goldsmiths, and fishermen.<sup>117</sup>

*theosebēs*; he does not identify this as a God-fearer inscription, since he does not believe that any one of the above inscriptions refer to God-fearers. I would of course include it. WHITE, A note on Three Coan Inscriptions, 186, draws attention to a *theosebēs* inscription of a certain *Eirēnē*, included in PATON and HICKS, Inscriptions of Cos, no. 278. CII 202 (Rome) is uncertain.

<sup>110</sup> Contra traditional scholarship which treats the God-fearers as outside the Jewish synagogue, e.g. SIEGERT, Gottesfürchtige und Sympathisanten, 163; BELLEN, Συναγωγή, 171–172, however, agrees with the position presented here and considers them to be members of the synagogue.

<sup>111</sup> APPLEBAUM, who uses all types of sources, provides an introduction to this subject; see his Economic Life in Palestine and The Social and Economic Status of the Jews in the Diaspora.

<sup>112</sup> LEON, Jews, 235.

<sup>113</sup> Ibid., 235–236; e.g. CII 476 (Rome).

<sup>114</sup> *Eques Romanus*, CII 5 (Rome, Roman period). Cf. SOLIN, Juden und Syrer im westlichen Teil der römischen Welt, 655.

<sup>115</sup> Cumin, CII 929 (Joppa, Palestine, Roman period); perfumer: *myrepsos*, *myrapsos*, CII 790, 792 (Corycus, Cilicia, Roman period), CII 1098 = BS 79 (Roman period) and BS 168 (s. III–IV p.); wine-merchant: *oinemporos*, CII 681b (Tomis, Lower Moesia); linen-merchant: *linopōlos*, CII 931 (Joppa, Palestine, Roman period); cloth-merchant: *othoniakos*, BS 189 (s. III–IV p.); and silk-merchant: *siriakos*, CII 873 (Beirut, Lebanon).

<sup>116</sup> Baker: *artokopos*, CII 902, 940 (Joppa, Palestine, Roman period); manufacturers of hobnail boots: *kaligarioi* (= Lat. *caligarius*), CII 787 (Corycus, Cilicia, Roman period); banker: *trapezitēs*, CII 1010 = BS 92 (s. II–III p.); doctor: *iatros*, *archiatros*, CII 1100 = BS 81 (s. III–IV p.); CII 5\* (Rome, Vigna Randanini), CII 600 (Venusia, Apulia, s. IV–V p.); and CII 745 (Ephesus, Asia).

<sup>117</sup> Purple dyer and carpet weaver: *porphyrobaphos* and *kairodapistēs*, CII 777 (Hierapolis, Phrygia, s. III p.); chief of the goldsmiths: *protaurarios*, CII 793 (Corycus, Cilicia, Roman period); and fishing association: *es ton bolon syngenikē*, CII 945 (Joppa, Palestine, Roman

Inscriptions in both Ptolemaic and Roman times testify to the presence of Jews in the military. In Lower Egypt there are mentions of a Jewish commander and an officer.<sup>118</sup> In Palestine there is a reference to a Jewish centurion, while inscriptions from Italy provide evidence of Jews serving as soldiers in the Roman army.<sup>119</sup> In fact, one of these describes a Jewish division. Another inscription possibly suggests that a Jew was a member of the Roman navy.<sup>120</sup>

Three catalogues of Gk. *ephēboi* (boys between the ages of fifteen and twenty who were enrolled in the gymnasium of their *polis* i.e. "city") mention Jewish names. Such mentions suggest that these Jews (according to standard procedure with *ephēboi*) were to become full citizens of their respective cities.<sup>121</sup> Sardis boasts Jewish members (*bouleutai*) of the city council (*boulē*);<sup>122</sup> such was also perhaps the case in Acmonia (Phrygia), Corcyrus (Cilicia), and El-Hamman (Palestine).<sup>123</sup> Also in Sardis, Jews held the provincial offices of procurator and assistant in the state archives.<sup>124</sup> In Cyrene, there was a Jewish city magistrate with the title "preserver of the law"; he evidently shared responsibility for recording and drafting the city laws.<sup>125</sup>

period). On the political role of the guilds in Alexandria, see APPLEBAUM, *Organization*, 476–483.

- <sup>118</sup> Commander: *stratēgos*, CII 1450 (Heliopolite Nome, Ptolemaic period); officer: *hegēmōn*, CII 1531 (Fayum, Ptolemaic period).
- <sup>119</sup> Centurion of Parembolē: *kentēnarios tēs Parembolēs* (a legion located in Upper Egypt on the left bank of the Nile between Syene and Taphis), CII 920 (Joppa, Palestine, Roman period); "... who campaigned in the ranks" (... *strateusamenos apo taxeōn* = LEON translation); CII 79 (Rome): "... who served in the division of the royal Jewish troops of Emesa" (... *milit[is] de num[ero] regi[orum], Emes[enorum] Iudeoru[m]*), CII 640 (Concordia, Venetia). Emesa is located in Syria.
- <sup>120</sup> Matthaius, son of Polaus, CIL III, 2, Dip. 5 = CIL XVI, Dip. 8 (Verona, Cisalpine Gaul, 68 C.E.); cited by APPLEBAUM in: *Social and Economic Status*, 714.
- <sup>121</sup> CII 721c (Corone, Messenia, s. III p.): Aurelios Ioses (twice); one cited by ROBERT in: *Un corpus*, 1937, 85–86 (Iasos, Asia, Roman period); Ioudas; and no. 7 in OLIVERIO, *Iscrizioni Cirenaiche*, 20–21 (Cyrene, Cyrenaica, 3–4 C.E.): Bar Tubas son of Bar Tubas (twice), Elaszar son of Elazar, Julius son of Jesus, and (?) Simion son of Pothion. APPLEBAUM, *Legal Status*, 446–447, cites some names on a Jewish wall in SEG IX (1938) 424, 439, 440, 441 (Teucheira, Cyrenaica, s. Ia.–II p.); the names, however, are not definitely Jewish. In *Jews and Greeks* (167–168), he refers to a certain Ithalammon son of Apellas who appears in an unpublished ephebic list from Ptolemais (Cyrenaica); this same person is mentioned in CIL XIV 2109 (Lanuvium, Latium, s. Ia.). CII 755 (Hypaepa, Lydia, s. II–III p.); which speaks of *Ioudaioi neōteroi* ("young Jews"), could allude to a group of young Jews who are members of the gymnasium; so APPLEBAUM, *Legal Status*, 447. It is also particularly interesting to note that the synagogue in Sardis is part of a larger complex which includes a gymnasium (SEAGER and KRAABEL, *The Synagogue*). Yet this does not mean that Jews were offered citizenship as a group (APPLEBAUM, *Legal Status*).
- <sup>122</sup> LIF 22–25 (Sardis, Lydia, s. II–III p.). There are at least five more to be published; SEAGER and KRAABEL, *The Synagogue*, 171.
- <sup>123</sup> CII 770 (243–244 C.E.); CII 788 (Roman period); CII 985 (s. III–IV p.).
- <sup>124</sup> Not yet published, but so described in SEAGER and KRAABEL, *The Synagogue*, 184.
- <sup>125</sup> *Nomophylax*, Elazar son of Jason; n. 2 (60–61 C.E.) in OLIVERIO, *Iscrizioni Cirenaiche*, 16; discussed in APPLEBAUM, *Jews and Greeks*, 186–190.

Thus Greek and Latin inscriptions show that Jews actively participated in the economic, military, and political institutions of the Greco-Roman world. In particular, Jewish involvement in Greco-Roman political and civic life hints at the power and prestige of many Jews and Jewish communities.<sup>126</sup>

One can see from the inscriptions that Jews were a mobile group. In Rome, they hailed from Aquileia (Italy), Laodicea (probably in Syria), and Lebanon as well as Palestine.<sup>127</sup> Two of the Roman synagogues were probably named for foreign cities: the Synagogue of the Tripolitans (from Tripolis either in Proconsular Africa or Phoenicia) and the Synagogue of Elaea (probably from Elaea in Asia Minor).<sup>128</sup> In Athens, Jews originated from Miletus (Asia), Antioch (probably in Syria), Sidon (Tyre), Caesarea (Palestine), and Jerusalem.<sup>129</sup> Especially interesting is the evidence of a bilingual inscription of Thessalonica that testifies to the presence of a Samaritan community in Macedonia.<sup>129a</sup> On the other hand several epitaphs from Joppa (= Tel-Aviv) attest that Jews also emigrated eastward to Eretz-Israel from Cappadocia (= the name of the synagogue), Tarsus (Cilicia), Chios (Greece), Babylon = Cairo (Egypt), the Pentapolis (Cyrenaica), Diospolis (uncertain), Neapolis (uncertain), and Ptolemais (uncertain).<sup>130</sup>

### VII. The Community

To describe the synagogue and the synagogue community, the Jewish inscriptions generally use the following words (by order of frequency): (1) Gk. *synagōgē*, -os (Lat. *synagoga*): either the actual building or the entire Jewish community of which the synagogue building is one part;<sup>131</sup> (2) Gk. *proseuchē*:

<sup>126</sup> In his recent articles, KRAABEL rightly emphasizes the prestige and power of the Jewish community of Sardis: Paganism and Judaism: The Sardis Evidence and Id., *The Synagogue and the Jewish Community*, 178–190.

<sup>127</sup> Aquileia, CII 147; Laodicea, CII 296; Lebanon, CII 501 (Roman period); Caesarea, CII 25, 370; Sepphoris, CII 362; Tiberias, CII 502 (Roman period); Phaena, Trachonitis, CII 500 (Roman period). Cf. SOLIN, *Juden und Syrer im westlichen Teil der römischen Welt*, 655 ff., 713 ff.

<sup>128</sup> Elaea, CII 281, 509 (Roman period); Tripolis, CII 390, 408. See LEON, *Jews*, 145–147 and 153–154.

<sup>129</sup> Miletus, CII 715 g (s.I p.); Antioch, CII 715 d, e (Roman period); Sidon, CII 715 f (s.I p.); Caesarea, CII 715; and Jerusalem, CII 715 a (s.I p.).

<sup>129a</sup> See p. 673.

<sup>130</sup> Cappadocia, CII 931; Tarsus, CII 925; Chios, CII 954; Cairo, CII 902; Alexandria, CII 918 and 934; Pentapolis, CII 950; Diospolis, CII 956; Neapolis, CII 957; and Ptolemais, CII 915. All these date from the Roman period.

<sup>131</sup> Literally means "gathering together"; e.g. building, CII 861 = LIF 63 (Tafas, Syria, s.IV p.) and CII 1404 = LIF 79 (Jerusalem, s.I p.); community, LIF 100 (Berenice, Cyrenaica, 56 C.E.). In Rome *synagōgē* refers to particular communities. Important is CII 718 (Corinth, Argolis, Roman period) which mentions the [*Syna*]gōgē *Hebraiōn*

— usually the building, but in one case the community;<sup>132</sup> (3) Gk. *oikos* or *oikodomē*: — the physical synagogue complex or part of it;<sup>133</sup> and (4) *hagios topos*: the synagogue building.<sup>134</sup> In Greek literature, *synagōgē*, *-os* refers to various types of associations and/or their meeting places.<sup>135</sup> But *proseuchē* in this sense is not found outside the Jewish context.<sup>136</sup> *Oikos* can refer also to buildings associated with synagogues; those at Stobi (Macedonia) apparently housed guests.<sup>137</sup> The ambiguity of community versus physical house of worship, especially in regard to *synagōgē*, *-os* (but also at least once in regard to *proseuchē*) suggests a close and overlapping relationship between Jewish persons and the sacred buildings in which they worshipped.<sup>138</sup> As a result both may be considered parts of the Jewish community.<sup>139</sup>

(“Synagogue of the Hebrews”), thus confirming the existence of a Jewish community in Corinth.

<sup>132</sup> Literally means “place of prayer”: e.g. building, CII 662 (Elche, Spain, s. VI p.) and CII 678 a (Mursa = Osijek, Pannonia, 193–211 C.E.); community, LIF 35 (Amastris, Paphlagonia, s. III p.). It is especially popular in Lower Egypt in the Ptolemaic period; see those inscriptions listed in n. 181 plus CII 1449 (Lower Egypt). So also in the Bosphorus Kingdom: CII 683, 683 a, 684, 690 (listed in n. 19). HENGEL, *Proseuche und Synagoge*, 162–165, uses the literal meaning of *proseuchē* to show that the synagogue was not only a place for halakik interpretation, but also a place for prayer.

<sup>133</sup> Literally means “house” or “building”: *oikodomē*, LIF 61 (Dmer, Syria, s. V–VI p.); *oikos*, CII 738 = LIF 13 (Phocaea, Asia, s. III p.), CII 766 = LIF 33 (Acmonia, Phrygia, s. I p.), and LIF 20–21 (Sardis, Lydia, s. II–III p.). See also n. 137.

<sup>134</sup> Literally means “holy place”, CII 867 = LIF 78 (Gerasa, Palestine, s. V p.), CII 964 = LIF 70 (Ascalon, Palestine), CII 966 = LIF 72 (between Joppa and Gaza, s. VI p.), CII 1435 = LIF 88 (Alexandria, Lower Egypt).

<sup>135</sup> SCHRAGE, *Συναγωγὴ*, 799–801; e.g. SIG III 1106.93f. (Cos, Greece, ca. 300 B.C.E.) for a guild of Diomedes.

<sup>136</sup> See n. 81.

<sup>137</sup> CII 694 = LIF 10 (250–300 C.E.).

<sup>138</sup> In HENGEL’s chronological schema (“Proseuche und Synagoge”), the *proseuchē* originally referred to the synagogue structure, while *synagōgē* originally referred to the community belonging to the synagogue.

<sup>139</sup> The following words are used less frequently in Greek and Latin inscriptions to indicate community: 1) Gk. *politeuma* (“government”, “body of citizens”), CIG III 5361–5362 = IGRR I 1024 and SEG XVI (1959) 931 (Berenice, Cyrenaica, 24/25 C.E. and 8–6 B.C.E.); here, with the mention of *archontes*, it may connote the members of the synagogue as represented by their leaders (see n. 16). The switch from *politeuma* in the previous two inscriptions to *synagōgē* in LIF 100 (Berenice, Cyrenaica, 56 C.E.) may suggest the development from a military cleruchy (APPLEBAUM, *Jews*, 130–138) to a religious club or association; so HENGEL, *Proseuche und Synagoge*, pp. 182–183; 2) Gk. *katoikia* (“colony”, “village”) and *katoikountes*, CII 775 (Hierapolis, Phrygia, s. III p.); see KRAABEL, *Judaism in Western Asia Minor*, 130–134; 3) *hē hebraikē*, CII 735 = LIF 82 (Golgoi, Cyprus s. IV p.); 4) *ethnos*, *ethnikē* (“nation”), CII 741 (Smyrna, Asia, s. III p.), CII 1530a (Leontopolis, Lower Egypt, s. I p.); 5) *synodos* (the typical Greek term for “association”), LIF 31 (Nyssa, Caria, s. III–IV p.), ?CII 682 (Olbia, Scythia), and frequently in LATYSCHF, 437–467 (see nn. 78, 97 of this monograph); 6) *laos* (“people”), e.g. CII 776 (Hierapolis, Phrygia, s. III p.); see also the inscriptions from Larissa, Thessaly (CII 699–708, 708b, c, d); 7) Gk. *stemma* (“tribe”), CII 739 = LIF 14 (Smyrna, Asia, s. IV p.); 8) Gk. *patris* (“homeland”), CII 771 = LIF 34 (Acmonia,



The synagogue was an important and universal religious center and consequently was a focus of the diverse activities of Jewish life; within it the Jews established organizational positions of various kinds. Although Greek and Latin inscriptions (especially funerary and dedicatory) abound in references to these offices, they give little indication of the actual duties involved. Many scholars have read too much into such data, and a conservative approach is preferable.<sup>140</sup> It is not really clear from the inscriptions whether Jews in Rome (where there were apparently eleven synagogues) or in other cities had a central board or council (*gerousia*, *dekania*) that served somehow to unify the diverse synagogues within each respective city.<sup>141</sup> It is equally possible that individual synagogues had their own such board or council. In Rome, the frequent linking of an office to the name of a synagogue points toward a decentralized organization. This is, however, far from definitive. In any case communities and/or congregations throughout Europe, Asia, and Africa had the following positions, many of which correspond to positions in Greco-Roman clubs or political units: The head of the synagogue probably combined the function of head or chief representative with that of financial patron.<sup>142</sup> The archon (the most frequently mentioned post) is still unclear.<sup>143</sup> A number of inscriptions in Rome add the words "twice"

Phrygia); 9) *plēthos* ("number" or "multitude"), CII 804 = LIF 39 (Apamea, Syria, 391 C.E.); and 10) Lat. *universitas* which is the proposed emendation in CII 533 (Castel Porziano, near Ostia, Italy, s. II p.).

<sup>140</sup> In this regard, LEON, *Jews*, 167–194, is very useful. See also APPLEBAUM, *Organization of the Jewish Communities in the Diaspora*; LIFSHITZ, *Fonctions et titres honorifiques*; and BROOTEN, *Women Leaders in the Ancient Synagogue*, which provides thorough discussion of both epigraphic and literary sources for head of the synagogue, leader, elder, mother and father of the synagogue, and priest.

<sup>141</sup> Alexandria provides the clearest model of a central Jewish government presided over by such a council (*gerousia*); see Philo, *Flaccus* 74 and 80 and Josephus, *BJ* 7, 412. MEEKS, *The First Urban Christians*, 35, argues for a similar model in Antioch. Rome is another story; scholars are divided over interpretation of the evidence for Rome. For the debate, see references in LEON, *Jews*, 167–170.

<sup>142</sup> *Archisynagōgos* (Heb. *r'ōš ha-knesset*): CII 336 (Rome), CII 756 = LIF 29 (Myndus, Caria, s. VI p.), CII 1404 = LIF 79 (Jerusalem, s. I p.), etc.; LEON, *Jews*, 171–173. For the financial aspect of the position, see CIL 722 = LIF 1 (Aegina, Saronic Gulf, Greece, s. IV p.), CII 744 = LIF 16 (Teos, Asia, s. III p.), CII 766 = LIF 33 (Acmonia, Phrygia, s. I p.), CII 803–804 = LIF 38–39 (Apamea, Syria, 391 C.E.), and LIF 66 (Caesarea, Palestine, s. VI p.). It is also the office most familiar to the Greco-Roman world; see BROOTEN, *Women*, 23. In non-Jewish inscriptions, this title may refer to the master of a guild or company, e.g. IGRR I 782 (Perinthus, Thrace, Roman period). The translation, "head of the synagogue" used by BROOTEN in *Women*, seems superior to "ruler of the synagogue" (used in the RSV New Testament translation), which evokes the image of a political ruler or king.

<sup>143</sup> CII 118 (Rome), CII 766 = LIF 33 (Acmonia, Phrygia, s. I p.), LIF 85 (Constantia-Salamine, Cyprus, s. III p.), LIF 100 (Cyrene, Cyrenaica, 56 C.E.), etc. Archons seem also to have headed the politeuma of Berenice, Cyrenaica: CIG III 5361–5362 = IGRR I 1024 and SEG XVI (1959) 931 (24/25 C.E. and 8–6 B.C.E.) and LIF 100 (56 C.E.). In Rome, we find also *mellarchōn* (also in Latin), or "archon-elect", CII 85, 284, 325, 402, 457, 483; "archon-emeritus", *exarchōn* (also in Latin). CII 317, 465. Who the Gk. *archōn passēs timēs*/Lat. *passes tessimen* (CII 85, 324, 216) and Lat. *archon alti ordinis*

or "thrice" to this office, while others add "for life"; this suggests that persons sometimes obtained their office through election or appointment and that at other times they obtained it as a hereditary right.<sup>144</sup> Likewise the references to child archons indicate a hereditary office in these cases.<sup>145</sup> The gerousiarch ("chairperson") probably presided over the synagogue's *gerousia* ("executive board"), which may have dealt with both religious and secular matters.<sup>146</sup> Presbyters ("elders") probably constituted the members of a *dekania* or *gerousia*.<sup>147</sup> The secretary probably took minutes at synagogue meetings and kept the archives.<sup>148</sup> The father of the synagogue and mother of the synagogue may

(CII 470) are, is completely uncertain. In Lower Egypt, CII 1530a mentions a *polytarchōn* (l. 7); on this see ROBERT, *Épigrammes d'Égypte*, 21. In general, see LEON, *Jews*, 173–180. In Greek sources *archōn* may mean chief magistrate especially at Athens (e.g. IG II 163), governor of a province (e.g. IG I 62<sup>b</sup>19, Athens, 408/407 B.C.E.), or president of a club (e.g. PLond III 1778.6).

Closely related to the archon is the *pronooumenos*, LIF 76 (Tiberias, Palestine, s. IV p.); so also the *archigos*, CII 731g (unknown provenance) and *archēgissa*, CII 696b (Almyra, Thessaly). Cf. the Gk. *mizotera* mentioned in BS 200 (Roman period) and the Lat. *principalis* in CII 681 (Oescus, Lower Moesia).

<sup>144</sup> Twice: *dis*, CII 13, 125, 289, 316, 337, 384, 391, 397, 505; thrice: *tris*, 494. For life: *dia biou* or *zabion*, CII 266, 398, 416, 417, 480, 503. The transliteration into Latin (*diabio* = CII 266, *iabius* = CII 480) suggests a technical term. Cf. CII 561 (Puteoli, Campania), Lat. *dia viv*.

<sup>145</sup> *Archōn nēpios*: CII 88, 120 (Rome). CII 587 (Venusia, Apulia, s. IV–V p.) refers to a child (*nēpios*) head of the synagogue.

<sup>146</sup> CII 106 (Rome), CII 803 = LIF 38 (Apamea, Syria, 391 C.E.); LEON, *Jews*, 181–184. An *archigerousiarchēs* is found in a Roman inscription (Villa Torlonia Catacomb, AE [1976] 83). In CII 800 (Chalcedon, Bithynia, s. IV p.), the phrase *aipēstatis tōn paleōn* (= *epistatēs tōn palaiōn*, "chairman of the ancients") possibly refers to a gerousiarch; but this is still uncertain since it could also mean supervisor of the elderly.

CII 533 (Castel Porziano, near Ostia, s. II p.) provides an epigraphic reference to a gerousia (Lat.). The Greek word *gerousia* can refer to the Sanhedrin in Jerusalem (Acts 5, 21), but in non-Jewish sources it more regularly refers to a city council in Greek cities (e.g. IG V (2) 345, 10 [Orchomenus, Boeotia]). The new inscription from Aphrodisias (see pp. 676, 688) speaks of a Gk. *dekania* or "ruling council"; so also perhaps CII 11 (LIFSHITZ, *Prolegomenon*, 25).

<sup>147</sup> Gk. (and Lat.) *presbytēs* and *prēsbyteros*: CII 400 (Rome), CII 739 = LIF 14 (Smyrna, Asia, s. IV p.), and CII 931 (Joppa, Palestine, Roman period), etc.; LEON, *Jews*, 181. In addition, at least five inscriptions use the plural: CII 663 = LIF 101 (Elche, Spain), CII 731f (Samos, Greece, s. II–III p.), CII 803 = LIF 38 (Apamea, Syria, 391 C.E.), CII 1404 = LIF 79 (Jerusalem, s. I p.), and one cited by ENGELMANN and KNIBBE, no. 94, *Aus ephesischen Skizzenbüchern*, 50 (Ephesus, Asia). This suggests a council; so BROOTEN, *Women*, 53. "Elders" could also refer to Jewish leaders (probably members of the Sanhedrin) in Jerusalem (e.g. I Macc 12, 35) or to officials in the Christian church (e.g. Acts 11, 30). In non-Jewish sources, "elders" could be administrators of a number of political and social organizations.

<sup>148</sup> *Grammateus*: CII 122 (Rome), CII 800 (Arnaut-Keni, Chalcedon, Bithynia, s. IV p.), etc. In Rome, there is a "secretary-elect": *mellogrammateus*, CII 279. In Greek political units (IG I<sup>2</sup> 15, etc. Athens) and in the Sanhedrin (BJ 5, 532), it denotes the secretary. It is also possible that the *grammateus* equals Heb. *soper*, the man learned in scripture; LEON, *Jews*, 185, with bibliography, thinks this unlikely in Rome, but it cannot be ruled out in all cases.

have been among the highest positions of honor and authority.<sup>149</sup> The patriarchs were important ruling dignitaries;<sup>150</sup> perhaps similar to these is the ethnarch.<sup>151</sup> The attendants possibly brought out the Torah scroll to be read during the liturgy.<sup>152</sup> The reader probably read from the Torah or translated it.<sup>153</sup> The priest, although his or her duties are difficult to ascertain, possibly spoke the priestly blessing and perhaps was the first to read the Torah during the Synagogue service.<sup>154</sup> Gk. *Levitēs* apparently refers to a Levite.<sup>155</sup> Lat. *super orans* seems to refer to a chief cantor of the synagogue.<sup>156</sup> Lat. *spondilla* may mean Gk. *spondaulēs* ("flute-player") who played during the religious service as Greek flute

<sup>149</sup> Gk. (also Lat.) *patēr synagōgēs* and *mētēr synagōgēs*: CII 494 (Rome), CII 533 (Castel Porziano, near Ostia, Italy, s. II p.), CII 639 (Brescia, Venetia), CII 694 = LIF 10 (Stobi, Macedonia, 250–300 C.E.), etc.; for *mētēr synagōgēs* citations, see n. 170; BROOTEN, Women, 57–72, and LEON, Jews, 186–188, provide useful discussions of this office. In religious associations, Lat. *pater* and *mater sacrorum* could designate the highest levels of initiation, while Lat. *pater* and *mater collegii* could designate the president of a collegium (WALTZING, Étude, I, 524, no. 3); BROOTEN, Women, 71, has more extensive analysis.

In addition, BROOTEN, Women, 69–70, observes that several Jewish inscriptions from Venusia (Apulia, s. IV–V p.) use *pater* (CII 611 twice, 612, 613 twice), *patēr* (CII 590 twice, 599, 619c, d), *mētēr* (CII 619d), and *pateressa* (CII 606) "with no genitival addition". These may or may not correspond to the mother and father of the synagogue. In any case, they are probably connected to the father of fathers (Lat. *pater patrum*, CII 607 twice, 610, 614 twice); Gk. *patēr paterōn*, CII 619b) who perhaps constitutes the head of a synagogue council of elders (composed of fathers and mothers?). The office father of the people (*patēr laou*) in CII 720 = LIF 9 (Mantineia, Arcadia, s. III p.) and the father of the tribe (*patēr tou stemmatos*) in CII 739 = LIF 14 (Smyrna, Asia, s. III p.) also seem related to the title *patēr*. *Patēr* occurs alone in at least one inscription outside of Venusia: CII 676 (Soclus, Pannonia).

<sup>150</sup> *Patriarchēs*, -ai (also Lat.): CII 694 = LIF 10 (Stobi, Macedonia, 250–300 C.E.) shows that a contemporary person is meant here. This person could receive fines owed to the community. Whether the patriarch was a local official or the Palestinian Nasi is unclear; see HENGEL, Die Synagogeninschrift von Stobi, 152–156. Cf. also CII 650 (Catania, Sicily, 383 C.E.), CII 719 (Argos, Argolis, s. III p.), and LIF 76 (Tiberias, Palestine, s. IV p.). Since the latter three inscriptions refer to more than one patriarch, in these the title probably refers to local officials rather than to the Palestinian Nasi. CII 650 may also be referring to biblical patriarchs. In Christian tradition, the Bishops of Rome, Constantinople, Antioch, and Jerusalem were called patriarchs (Justinian, Novellae, 3.2, etc.).

<sup>151</sup> *Ethnarchai*, CII 719 (Argos, Argolis, s. III p.).

<sup>152</sup> *Anagnostēs*, CII 798 (Nicomedia, Bithynia, s. III p.).

<sup>153</sup> *Hypēretēs*: CII 172 (Rome). See Luke 4, 20 for the attendant who brings out the Torah scroll. APPLEBAUM, Organization, 496, associates this office with the Heb. *hazzan* also mentioned as Gk. *azzan* in CII 805 = LIF 40 (Apamea, Syria, 391 C.E.). This official was responsible for order in the synagogue and for making announcements. The term *hypēretēs* designates minor officials in Greek associations (POLAND, Geschichte der griechischen Vereinswesens, 391).

<sup>154</sup> Gk. (also Lat.) *hierous*, *hierous*, (Heb. *kohen*): CII 347 (Rome), CII 785 (Corycus, Cilicia, Roman period), CII 930 (Joppa, Palestine, Roman period), LIF 100 (Berenice, Cyrenaica, 56 C.E.), etc. Of course, Greek religious groups frequently used this title.

<sup>155</sup> CII 902 (Joppa, Palestine, Roman period).

<sup>156</sup> CII 665 a (Emerita, Lusitania, Spain [s. V–VI p.]).

players did in pagan ceremonies.<sup>157</sup> Beth She'arim (Palestine) boasts two inscriptions of persons who dealt with the interment of the dead, one apparently with the preparation of the corpse for burial and the other with the laying out of the corpse.<sup>158</sup> The disciple of the sages, teacher, teacher of the law, rabbi, schoolmaster, and assistant schoolmaster apparently acted as religious teachers and students.<sup>159</sup> Reference to the Jewish apostles ("emissaries"), along with two rabbis, at a funeral service, suggests the possibility of liturgical roles for both of them.<sup>160</sup> The manager likely cared for financial administration.<sup>161</sup> There was a controller of money weights.<sup>162</sup> The guardian may have been a protector or legal patron who defended the interests of the community before the non-Jewish world.<sup>163</sup> The patron of the city and the elders of the city probably had some kind of municipal functions in Venusia (Italy), perhaps having something to do with the construction and maintenance of buildings.<sup>164</sup> The first citizens were most probably eminent Jewish citizens of a particular city.<sup>165</sup> Colleague corresponds both to political positions in Roman government and to ruling functions in associations, but has unclear meaning with regard to the Jewish context.<sup>166</sup>

<sup>157</sup> CII 677 (Intercisa, Pannonia). In his Prolegomenon, LIFSHITZ has up-dated bibliography and an improved transcription.

<sup>158</sup> BS 202 (Roman period). "Preparation" is Gk. *systemein* (cf. Acts 5,5-6); "laying out" is Gk. *koiman*.

<sup>159</sup> *Mathētēs sophōn*, CII 508 (Rome, Roman period); *didaskalos*, CII 333 (Rome) and CII 1158 = BS 124 (s. III p.), etc.; *nomodidaskalos*, CII 201 (Rome); *hrabbi*, *hribbi*, or *brebbe* (= rabbi), CII 1041 = BS 31 (250-300 C.E.), etc.; *scholastikos*, CII 991 (Sephoris, Palestine); *proscholos*, CII 715b (Athens, Greece, s. II-III p.).

<sup>160</sup> Lat. *apostuli* and *rebbites*, CII 611 (Venusia, Italy, s. IV p.-V p.).

<sup>161</sup> *Phrontistēs*: CII 737 (Rome), CII 781 = LIF 36 (Side, Pamphylia, s. IV p.), LIF 66 (Caesarea, Palestine, s. VI p.), etc. Also LEON, *Jews*, 191, and ROBERT, *Inscriptions grecques de Sidé*, 38-40, and Pierres, 35-36. In non-Jewish inscriptions, *phrontistēs* sometimes translates Lat. *procurator* (e.g. IGRR IV 219 = CIG 3612 [Ilium, Asia, s. I p.]), an imperial legate who could act as governor and collect imperial revenues.

<sup>162</sup> *Zugotatēs*, LIF 37 (Side, Pamphylia, s. V p.); see Theodosian Code 12.7.2 (also Code of Justinian 10.73.2) and ROBERT, *Inscriptions grecques de Sidé*, 37-38.

<sup>163</sup> *Prostatēs*: CII 100, 365 (Rome), CII 1447 (Alexandria, Lower Egypt); LEON, *Jews*, 191-192. In other sources the term can mean patron (e.g. Aristotle, *Politics* 1275<sup>a</sup>13) or protector (e.g. Plato, *Gorgias* 519b). In inscriptions it translates Lat. *patronus* e.g. IG XIV 1078 = JGRR I 138 (Rome, s. III p.).

<sup>164</sup> *Patrōn tēs poleōs*, CII 619b, c, d (Venusia, Apulia, s. IV p.-V p.); Lat. *maiores civitatis*, CII 611 (Venusia). On a closely related term, *patēr poleōs*, see ROBERT, *Épigrammes d'Aphrodisias*, 130-132.

<sup>165</sup> *Prōtopoleitēs*: AE (1969-1970) 748 (BE [1971] 726) (Volubilis, Mauretania) and another published by RAHMANI, *Bilingual Ossuary-Inscription* (Hebron, Palestine, ca. 200 C.E.) and later discussed in LIFSHITZ, *Varia Epigraphica*, 44-46. VATTIONI, *A proposito di πρωτοπολιτης*, 29, (referring to CB 455-457) incorrectly (see BE [1978] 469) emends *prōtopuleitōn* to *prōtopoleitōn* ("the quarter" or "association of first citizens").

<sup>166</sup> Gk. *kolaēga*, CII 207 (Rome) and *kolēga*, CII 5\* (Villa Torlonia, Rome) = Lat. *collega*, meaning in Roman government an associate in office (e.g. Cicero, *De Amicitia* 11,39). Lat. *eterus* = Gk. *hetairos* in CII 229 (Rome) seems to be the Gk. translation of Lat. *collega*. Perhaps related to this office is the Gk. *komēs* = Lat. *comes* ("companion"), CII 883 (near Haifa, Palestine, s. IV-V p.), CII 991 (Sephoris, Palestine), and one to be

The *palatinus* was either an official of the imperial treasury (*fiscus*) or of the state treasury (*aerarium*).<sup>167</sup> Finally one Roman inscription mentions a certain Stafylus "who completed all honors".<sup>168</sup> This reminds one of the *cursus honorum* which was the foundation of Roman political hierarchy. The correspondence of many of these offices to the same offices in Greco-Roman clubs and political units suggests that Jews modelled their institutions on Greco-Roman patterns of organization.

In addition, these positions were not infrequently held by women.<sup>169</sup> Thus there are references to female elders, to female heads of the synagogue, to mothers of the synagogue, and to priests.<sup>170</sup> Clearly, these were all positions of substance and dignity. While most commentators have argued that such positions were purely honorific or consisted of less important duties,<sup>171</sup> it seems dubious and highly subjective to argue, for example, that a head of the synagogue when male, did substantive things, but when female, was powerless to do anything of significance. Indeed, there is simply no evidence to support such a view. It might be added that a significant portion of proselytes mentioned in the inscriptions are women<sup>172</sup> and that in the city of Apamea alone, at least seven women are mentioned in dedications of renovations of the synagogue.<sup>173</sup> In Asia Minor, two women were important members of synagogues in Phocaea (Asia) and Acmonia (Phrygia).<sup>174</sup>

published from Sardis (SEAGER and KRAABEL, *The Synagogue*, 184). This, however, could also refer to an office of the provincial administration, in which case see p. 691.

<sup>167</sup> CII 1006 = BS 61 (350–400 C.E.); Beth She'arim, 40–41.

<sup>168</sup> *Honoribus omnibus fu(n)ctus*, CII 265 (Rome).

<sup>169</sup> See especially BROOTEN, *Women*.

<sup>170</sup> Elder: *presbyter*(ē)s or *presbytera*, CII 581, 590, 597 (Venusia, Apulia, s. IV–V p.), CII 692 (Bizye, Thrace, late Roman period), CII 731c (Ciasmus, Greece, s. IV–V p.); *presbytēs*, CII 400 (Rome). BROOTEN, *Women*, 44–45, adds SEG XXVII (1977) 1201 (Oea, Proconsular Africa, s. IV–V p.). Head of the Synagogue: *archisynagōgissa*, CII 731c (Ciasmus, Greece, s. IV–V p.); *archisynagōgos*, CII 741 (Smyrna, Asia, s. III p.), CII 756 = LIF 29 (Myndus, Caria, s. VI p.). Mother of the synagogue: *mētēr synagōgēs* (also Lat.), (3) CII 166, 496 (Rome), CII 523 (Rome, Roman period), CII 639 (Brescia, Venetia). Relevant also are the Gk. *mētēr* (= male *patēr*), CII 619d (Venusia, Apulia, s. IV–V p.); the Lat. *pateressa* (= male *pater*), CII 606 (Venusia, s. IV–V p.); and Gk. *archēgissa* (= male *archēgos*, leader), CII 696b (Almyra, Thessaly). Finally there is the female priest (Heb. *kohenet*): Gk. *hierēia*, CII 1007 = BS 66, (?) 1085 = BS 68 (both s. IV p.); *hierisa*, CII 315 (Rome), CII 1514 (Leontopolis, Lower Egypt, 27 B.C.E.). Only in this latter case, do we find an office which many rabbinic texts state is honorific, that is, one obtains it by being the child of, or by marrying, a priest. Yet other rabbinic texts are ambiguous; it is also questionable to what extent rabbinic texts from Palestine have any bearing upon the two diaspora inscriptions. See BROOTEN, *Women*, 73–99.

<sup>171</sup> E.g. LEON, *Jews*, 188 and 193.

<sup>172</sup> E.g. in Rome, five out of seven proselytes are women (CII 21, 202, 222, 462, 523 = women; CII 68, 256 = men).

<sup>173</sup> CII 806–811 = LIF 41–46, CII 816 = LIF 51 (Apamea, Syria, Roman period). From other sources, we know that women were especially attracted to Judaism, e.g. John Chrysostom, *Hom. in Jud.* 2,3; 4,7.

<sup>174</sup> See p. 701 and n. 188.

## VIII. God of the Jews

We have seen that ancient Jews sometimes dedicate their synagogues to God, and we shall now see that, although they use Greco-Roman dedicatory style, they portray this God in a characteristically Jewish way: as ever-existent, as one, and as the most supreme of all the forces of the universe. They do this through the use of phrases like "Lord God who always is" and "one God who helps";<sup>175</sup> through the description of God with exalted adjectives such as "great", "unconquered", "almighty", "most high", and "Lord";<sup>176</sup> and, finally, through the phrase "one God" used throughout all genres of inscriptions.<sup>177</sup> Other religious or philosophical groups, such as Stoics, might have assented to such a view, but the specific terminology is characteristically Jewish.

Jewish mention in inscriptions of Roman ancestral Gods (*manes*), of underworld divinities, or of Greek deities such as Amphiaraus and Hygeia, however, does not contradict such a view of God. A Jewish believer like Philo can speak of hypostatized divinities, such as Logos or Wisdom, and Jewish apocalyptic writers (e.g. the author of I Enoch) join in speaking of angels; so of course do the rabbis. Philo, the rabbis, and the author of I Enoch, however, would not have spoken of pagan divinities in this context. In contrast, the inscriptions show that other Jews, perhaps less philosophically inclined than Philo and more in contact with the institutions and personal lives of Greeks and Romans than the authors of I Enoch or the rabbis, did speak in this way. It is only natural that Jews who encountered their neighbors on a day-to-day basis should incorporate and transform their religious symbols. For all of these Jews, the omnipotent and one God apparently could contain a multitude of divine beings.<sup>178</sup> Possibly

<sup>175</sup> *Th(eos) b(oēthei)*, CII 964 = LIF 70 (Ascalon, Palestine, 604 C.E.), CII 1436–1437 = LIF 89–90 (Alexandria, Lower Egypt), LIF 84 (Lapethos, Cyprus, s. V p.).

<sup>176</sup> *Megalos*, CII 1432 = LIF 86 (Alexandria, Lower Egypt, 37 B.C.E.); *aneikētos*, LIF 35 (Amastris, Paphlagonia, s. III p.); *pantokratōr*, LIF 20 (Sardis, Lydia, s. III p.); see also the enfranchisement inscriptions CII 690, 690a (Gorgippia, Bosphorus Kingdom, 41 C.E. and 67/68 C.E.); *hypsistos*, CII 727–730 = LIF 4–7 (Delos, Greece, s. I a.) where the use of *proseuchē* in CII 726 = LIF 3 shows these to be Jewish (see n. 78), CII 1433 = LIF 87 (Alexandria, Lower Egypt, s. II p.); see also the Bosphorus inscriptions CII 690, 690a, LATYSCHF 437–467 (nn. 81, 100 in this monograph); *kyrios*, e.g. LIF 12 (Pergamum, Mysia); LIF 84 (Lapethos, Cyprus, s. V p.).

<sup>177</sup> *Heis Theos*: e.g. LIF 61 (Dmer, Syria, s. V p.–VI p.) and CII 693a (Thessalonica, Macedonia, s. IV p.), both dedicatory inscriptions; CII 675 (Alberti-Irsa, Pannonia), CII 848 (Abmedera, Syria: "One God who helps"), CII 1135 = BS 109, (s. III p.: "One helping God"), all epitaphs.

<sup>178</sup> This is similar to pagan, especially Stoic, religiosity, i.e. henotheism. While affirming the governance of the universe by one singular and divine spirit, many Stoics also maintain the presence of other divine entities (e.g. Cicero, *De Natura Deorum*, Book 2). Cf. Xenophanes (6th cent. B.C.E.), "one God is the highest among Gods and Men" (Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* 5. 109); NILSSON, *History*, 290–91. Philo himself terms God "the Supreme father of the gods . . ." (*De spec. leg.* 2,165). On connections between

the very phrase "the highest God" (*hypsistos theos*), so common in Jewish inscriptions, implies the existence of lower divine beings.<sup>179</sup> To Jews of Greece and the Bosphorus Kingdom, pagan deities perhaps seemed appropriate descriptions of such beings, and for the Jews of Rome, the local Italian *manes* were more apt for such a purpose.

Of course, it is evident that the Jewish inscriptions focus less upon God's diversity than upon God's oneness, and one may call this particular focus of attention the more characteristic feature of Jews as they expressed themselves in their inscriptions. It is not, however, an exclusive or radical doctrine of monotheism.

Jewish synagogue inscriptions also portray a God who benefits humanity, as suggested by the recurring phrase "God helps".<sup>180</sup> Accordingly Jewish inscriptions from Lower Egypt honor non-Jewish kings;<sup>181</sup> one of these dedicates a synagogue to the "highest God" in honor of Cleopatra and Ptolemy V Philometor.<sup>182</sup> In the Roman period, a votive inscription from Intercisa (Pannonia) is dedicated "to eternal God on behalf of the well-being" of the emperor Severus Alexander and his mother Julia Mamaea;<sup>183</sup> likewise, one from Mursa (Pannonia) is dedicated "on behalf of the well-being" of the emperor Septimius Severus,<sup>184</sup> and another from Palestine is dedicated "on behalf of the well-being of our emperors, Septimius Severus and his sons".<sup>185</sup> In inscriptions dedicated to Egyptian kings, Jews see the well-being of their synagogues as dependent upon the good disposition of their non-Jewish benefactors.<sup>186</sup> In the latter three instances they see God as one who can bring about the well-being of emperors who were sympathetically disposed toward them; indeed, the Severi were well known for their favorable treatment of the Jews. While Jews wrote these dedications at different times, the content of each nevertheless suggests a willingness to come to terms with non-Jewish authority and reveals a desire to bring God's beneficence to non-Jews. One might add that the synagogue of the Augustesians in Rome was probably named after the emperor Augustus.<sup>187</sup>

Jewish and pagan henotheism, see the incisive and daring discussion of SIMON, Jupiter-Yahvé.

<sup>179</sup> So also SIMON, *Theos Hypsistos*, 375–376.

<sup>180</sup> See n. 175.

<sup>181</sup> CII 1440 = LIF 92 (Schedia = Kafred Daouar, s. IV a.–III a., probably Ptolemy I or Ptolemy III Euergetes), CII 1441 = LIF 93 (Xenephyris near Damanhur, 143–116 B.C.E., probably Ptolemy VII Physcon and Cleopatra III), CII 1442 = LIF 94 (Nitria = Wadi Natrun, 143–116 B.C.E., probably Ptolemy VII), CII 1443, 1444 = LIF 95–96 (Athribis = Benha, 181–145 B.C.E., probably Ptolemy V Philometor), LIF 99 (Arsinoe-Crocodilopolis, 246–221 B.C.E., probably Ptolemy III Euergetes).

<sup>182</sup> *Theō hypsistō*, CII 1443 (Athribis, 181–145 B.C.E.).

<sup>183</sup> Lat. *Deo aeterno pro salute . . .*, CII 677 (222–235 C.E.).

<sup>184</sup> = Osijek, *pro salute . . .*, CII 678a (193–211 C.E.).

<sup>185</sup> *hyper sotērias . . .*, CII 972 (193–211 C.E.).

<sup>186</sup> Cf. in NT Rom 13,1–7 and 1 Tim 2,1–7 for similar early Christian sentiments.

<sup>187</sup> CII 282, 301, 338, 368, 416, 496.

Likewise, three dedications speak of non-Jews as being synagogal benefactors. For this, one received a gold crown along with the right of sitting in the front row (Gk. *prohedria*) of the synagogue (Phocaea, Asia), another obtained a gold shield (Acmonia, Phrygia), and the third was honored with the erection of a crowned stele as well as the pronouncement of annual praises on Sabbaths and the New Year (Berenice, Cyrenaica).<sup>188</sup>

### IX. Jewish Traditions

Several inscriptions provide evidence for Jewish religious traditions. From Tauromenium (Sicily), one refers to the Sabbath as a "good day", a formula common in Semitic cultures.<sup>189</sup> We have already discussed Jewish boundary stones for the Sabbath.<sup>190</sup> In Cyrene, the dedication on behalf of M. Tittius takes place on Sukkot.<sup>191</sup> Near Delos, another inscription calls upon God to avenge the death of a murdered woman — apparently on Yom Kippur, the day when "all are humbled . . . with supplications".<sup>192</sup> One epitaph from Hierapolis (Phrygia) mentions Passover.<sup>193</sup>

In Venusia (Italy), yet another refers to a funeral service over which two rabbis and two apostles preside and which uses the Greek word for a funeral dirge *thrēnos* to describe that service.<sup>194</sup> That a Latin inscription should employ the Greek word *thrēnos* suggests that it had become a technical term.<sup>195</sup> Another inscription, with words "in the name of God", may employ a ritual invocation;<sup>196</sup>

<sup>188</sup> CII 738 = LIF 13 (s. III p.), *chrysos stephanos* and *prohedria*; CII 766 = LIF 33 (s. I p.), *hoplos epichrysos*; and CIG III 5361 = IGRR I 1024 (24/25 C.E.). The first two examples speak of two women, Tation and Julia Severa. Julia was also a priest of the imperial cult (see MAMA VI 263); KRAABEL, *Judaism in Western Asia Minor*, 74–79, makes it more probable that she was not Jewish. The latter example speaks of a Roman official, Marcus Tittius.

<sup>189</sup> CII 649a (s. IV p.–V p.), *hēmera sab(a)t agathē*.

<sup>190</sup> See p. 681.

<sup>191</sup> "The Festival of 'Tabernacles': *epi syllogou tēs skēnopēgias*, CIG 5361 (Cyrene, Cyrenaica, 24/25 C.E.).

<sup>192</sup> CII 725 (s. II a.–I a.), *tapeinoun meth' hiketeias*. Above the inscription is a pair of hands (palms forward), a common symbol of a request for divine aid on pagan monuments (WILHELM, *Zwei Fluchinschriften*, col. 16f.). The inscription contains many biblical allusions and DEISSMANN terms it a "mosaic from the Septuagint Bible" (Light, 415). Actually CII 725 refers to two inscriptions (one now in Bucharest and the other in Athens) which are very closely related in language and content; see COULLOUD, *Les monuments funéraires de Rhénée*, 214–215, no. 485.

<sup>193</sup> CII 777 (s. III p.): "the feast of unleavened bread" (*heortē tōn azymōn*).

<sup>194</sup> CII 611 (s. IV–V p.): two Lat. *rebbites* and *apostuli*. See also p. 697.

<sup>195</sup> It may also be significant that the Gk. translation of the biblical book of Lamentations is *Thrēnoi*.

<sup>196</sup> CII 661 (Tortosa, Hispania Tarraconensis, s. VI p.): *in nomine domini*.



similarly, an inscription from Spain begins more explicitly, "Blessed be the name of the Lord who gives life and brings death".<sup>197</sup>

### X. Death and Afterlife

As we have seen, Jewish funerary inscriptions follow Greco-Roman models,<sup>197a</sup> but in Venusia and Rome, the valedictory formulas emphasize peace and sleep and see death as an entry into a state of tranquil rest. A study of the ancient idea of death as sleep has shown that it is fundamentally Jewish in origin.<sup>198</sup> Common in the Bible and in Jewish apocalyptic literature,<sup>199</sup> this idea comes to refer to the dead before their resurrection. Christians (Paul and the school of Paul) take it over in a similar sense.<sup>200</sup> Here the word "sleep" evidently indicates a transitional state between life and afterlife. Hence, it may be that its frequent appearance, in Roman inscriptions especially, implies a widespread belief among Roman Jews in some kind of resurrected life after "awakening" from the sleep of death.<sup>201</sup>

Perhaps akin to the metaphor of peaceful sleep, inscriptions also suggest that God bathes such sleep in divine light. The menorah — the most frequent symbol on the inscriptions<sup>202</sup> — indicates the Jewishness of the deceased, but as a lamp it also suggests light.<sup>203</sup> From the Bible, a menorah was known to reside in the Holy of Holies in God's presence.<sup>204</sup> Yet also, an inscription from

<sup>197</sup> CII 665a (Emerita, Lusitania, Spain, s. IV–V p.): *sit nomen [domini benedictum qui] vivif(i)cat et mortificat*—].

<sup>197a</sup> See pp. 677–680.

<sup>198</sup> OGLE, The Sleep of Death.

<sup>199</sup> E.g. II Macc 12,43–45; Daniel 12,2–3, 13. On II Macc. l. c. see CAVALLIN, *Leben nach dem Tode im Spätjudentum* etc., 281f.

<sup>200</sup> E.g. Ephesians 5,14, 1 Thess 4,13ff.

<sup>201</sup> See CAVALLIN, *Life After Death*, 201.

<sup>202</sup> The menorah appears in at least 144 out of 534 inscriptions in Rome (LEON, *Jews*, 196).

<sup>203</sup> In addition to this, Jewish use of the menorah may also indicate its associations with the temple after 70 C.E. and the need for expressing that association in a world that no longer had a temple. On amulets and rings, it probably had an apotropaic or magical function. GOODENOUGH adduces planetary symbolism in: *Jewish Symbols* IV, 82–92; for only a limited number of Jews, however, would such associations have been likely. MEYERS shows its relationship (especially in the biblical period) to the sacred tree of Near-Eastern symbolism in: *The Tabernacle Menorah*; SMITH traces the development from tree to menorah in Hellenistic Judaism in: *The Image of God*. Thus the menorah may suggest Jewishness, (divine) light, God, magical power, the tree of life, the solar system, and/or the temple. These are not mutually exclusive. Use of lamps (as opposed to light from windows) is also thought to have been one of the most notable characteristics of ancient synagogues (MEYERS, *Finders of the Real Lost Ark*, 32) and menorahs may have illumined the Torah shrine (GOODENOUGH, *Jewish Symbols* III, 74–77).

<sup>204</sup> E.g. Exodus 25,31ff.

Thessaly shows that the menorah was associated with the "seeing God".<sup>205</sup> Hence, in a metaphorical sense, the menorah becomes the symbol of divine light and of God. To illustrate this, it is useful to refer to another Roman inscription where light, clearly in association with God, not only envelops those mortals temporarily dwelling in an earthly realm, but also immortal souls who live in eternity.<sup>206</sup>

Several other inscriptions show even more clearly that Greek- and Latin-speaking Jews had unambiguous conceptions of an afterlife. The same above-mentioned epitaph from Rome describes eternal existence (eternal life) as taking place in a realm whose features are described in earthly terms ("the countryside made holy").<sup>207</sup> This inscription, as well as one other, expects such an existence in the future.<sup>208</sup> One inscription from Beth She'arim (Palestine) threatens to deprive tomb desecrators of a "share in eternal life";<sup>209</sup> another predicts that God, who promises to give life (*zōpoiein*) to the dead, will judge any desecrator;<sup>210</sup> still another wishes the soul of the deceased a share of "immortal life";<sup>211</sup> and finally one epitaph says, "Good luck for the resurrection of you all".<sup>212</sup> Among the Beth She'arim inscriptions, therefore, there is explicit reference twice to resurrection and twice more to afterlife. None of these terms is dissonant with traditional Jewish phraseology.

On the other hand, the Leontopolis (Lower Egypt) inscriptions describe this afterlife in pagan terms, with mention of Hades and the river Lethe.<sup>213</sup> In good pagan style, another speaks of a certain Arsinoe whose body remains in the grave, but whose soul flies to heaven.<sup>214</sup> Generally, these inscriptions sound a mournful note, since they speak of tears, grief, laments, and the swiftness of death; all these are characteristic pagan expressions.<sup>215</sup>

<sup>205</sup> CII 696 (Thebes, Phthiotis), *enorōntos theou*; cf. CII 725, ll. 9–10: *kyrie ho panta ephorōn*. The phrase probably has a biblical context (DEISSMANN, Light, 418); cf. Zechariah 4, 10.

<sup>206</sup> CII 476.

<sup>207</sup> CII 476, Lat. *venerandum rus* (l. 8).

<sup>208</sup> CII 476, "the hoped for future" (l. 12 *speranda futura*); and CII 652 (Syracuse, Sicily), "in the future" (*kata tou mellētikou*). For this interpretation, cf. FERRUA, Addenda e corrigenda, 44, and ROBERT, Un corpus des inscriptions juives, 1946, 98.

<sup>209</sup> BS 129 (s. III p.), *meros eis ton [bion] aōnio[n]*.

<sup>210</sup> BS 162 (s. III–IV p.), *ho epangilamenos zōpoiēse tous nekrous autos krine* (ROBERT, BE [1956] 340, *ho* = *hos*; *epangilamenos* = *epantilamenos*; *zōpoiēse* = *zōpoiēsei*; *krine* = *krinei*). Cf. John 5, 21: "Just as the father will raise (*egeirein*) and give life (*zōpoiein*) to the dead (*nekroi*), so also the Son will give life to whom he wishes."

<sup>211</sup> BS 130 (s. III p.); Gk. *echomenē athanaton biou*. MILIK, Le couvercle, 89, n. 1., reads *echomenē anastasion biou*. Cf. CAVALLIN, Leben nach dem Tode im Spätjudentum etc., 322.

<sup>212</sup> BS 194 (Roman period), *eutychos te hymōn anastasi*.

<sup>213</sup> See pp. 678, 680, 685.

<sup>214</sup> CII 1510 (s. II a. –I p.).

<sup>215</sup> See p. 678.

The Roman inscriptions make reference to persons who are pious and just as among those occupying the world of the dead.<sup>216</sup> Moreover, these and other Jewish inscriptions locate the presence of the sleeping dead specifically in and around the grave.<sup>217</sup> Jews of this period may also have conceived of the grave in domestic terms. For example, using Greco-Roman language,<sup>218</sup> one Jewish epitaph from Rome describes the grave as "an eternal home".<sup>219</sup>

In addition to visualizing the grave domestically,<sup>220</sup> mirroring the perspective of the deceased, some inscriptions view the grave sacerdotally, reflecting the point of view of the living. There are, for instance, several Jewish inscriptions beginning with *diis manibus*.<sup>221</sup> Apparently purely Italian in origin, these entities imbued the grave with divine power and were subjects of propitiation;<sup>222</sup> they were sometimes even identified with the dead themselves, as in one inscription from Solin (Dalmatia), which implies that many Jews, Christians, and pagans worshipped their dead.<sup>223</sup> This inscription, as well as four others, describes the grave as an altar — a further indication of the presence and worship of the dead.<sup>224</sup>

All of these inscriptions emphasize the grave either as a habitation or as a shrine of the dead. Thus, they lend weight to the literary and archeological evidence that testifies to the presence of funerary meals among Jews.<sup>225</sup>

<sup>216</sup> "May his/your sleep be with the just" (Gk. *meta tōn dikaiōn hē koimēsis autou/sou*), CII 78, 110, 118, 150, 193, 281; "May his sleep be with the pious" (*meta tōn hosiōn*), CII 55, 340.

<sup>217</sup> Cf. CII 1512 (Leontopolis, Lower Egypt, s. II a.—I p.) which indicates that the body (*sōma*) lies in the place of the pious (Gk. *kitai choron eis eusebeia*), clearly meaning a graveyard; similarly the Roman epitaphs referred to in n. 216, as well as those which say simply "in peace be your sleep" (see p. 679). Such inscriptions are speaking not yet of resurrected or eternal life, but of that sleep which precedes it in the grave.

<sup>218</sup> Cf. LATTIMORE, *Themes*, 165–167.

<sup>219</sup> CII 523 (Roman period) *domus aeterna*.

<sup>220</sup> One might also mention BS 183 (250–300 C.E.), which perceives the grave as a kind of treasure trove, calling it "a source of new and indestructible riches", Gk. *neon ēd' askey-leuton authis echoite plouton*.

<sup>221</sup> See p. 683.

<sup>222</sup> On the *manes*, see LATTIMORE, *Themes*, 90–95. The *theoi daimones* and the *iumones* (see p. 683) also suggest the presence of the dead.

<sup>223</sup> CII 680a (ll. 1–4): "If anyone, whether Jew, Christian, or Pagan who worships their dead (*manes*) should wish to efface (the inscription on) the altar (or tombstone), may they make the spirits angry" (*numina irata*). Here *manes* = *numina*.

<sup>224</sup> CII 680a uses Lat. *ara*, "altar"; ROBERT, *Épitaphes juives*, 386ff. publishes an inscription (Hierapolis, Phrygia, s. III p.), which uses Gk. *bōmos*, "altar", as does another published by PENNACCHIETTI, *Nuove iscrizioni di Hierapolis Frigia*, 319, no. 46; BS 142 (s. III p.—IV p.) and CII 1062 = BS 50 (s. III–IV p.) use *krepis*, originally meaning the base of an altar (see: Beth She'arim, p. 31 and p. 53, n. 91).

<sup>225</sup> See Jer 16,7, Psalm 106,28. Tobit 4,17 says, "place your bread on the grave of the righteous, but give none to sinners". Cups, benches, and cisterns found in Jewish tombs add further evidence of these practices (GOODENOUGH, *Symbols I*, 103–110). For parallel pagan meals, see PAULY-WISSOWA, s. vv. Novemdiale, Perideipnon, and Sili-cernium; GRAVES, *The Burial Customs of the Ancient Greeks*. For Christian meals, see Tertullian, *De Cor.*, 3; Augustine, *De Morib. Eccl.*, 34; and *Confessiones VI*, 2 (Augustine

Illustrating the sacredness of these abodes of the dead, Jewish gravestones sometimes call upon intruders not to desecrate the graves. Based on Greco-Roman models,<sup>226</sup> they often threaten a fine to be paid to the Jewish community. Sometimes they lay a curse upon the desecrator.<sup>227</sup> Illustrating the latter possibility are three especially interesting inscriptions citing the curses of the Jewish law (Deut. 27–30).<sup>228</sup> As mentioned earlier, inscriptions using the famous Eumeneian formula, may also say that the desecrator will have to reckon with God;<sup>229</sup> sometimes they threaten the desecrator's physical well-being as well as his/her family's.<sup>230</sup> While these inscriptions exude the perilous manifestations of the power of the grave site, other inscriptions also manifest this power through the promise of more beneficial results. Quoting Proverbs 10,7, they assert that the memory of the dead will serve as a blessing – apparently for those who are still alive.<sup>231</sup>

In addition to these characteristics, Jewish funerary inscriptions depict a variety of visual symbols. Besides the menorah, one finds frequent depiction of the loulab, ethrog, shofar, oil vase, and Torah ark<sup>232</sup> (Josephus states that study and understanding of the law will lead to eternal life, thus showing the appropriateness of this last symbol on a funerary inscription).<sup>233</sup> In addition,

describes his mother Monica bringing offerings of food and drink to the tombs of the saints until Ambrose forbade such practices).

<sup>226</sup> See LATTIMORE, *Themes*, 106–118.

<sup>227</sup> Such inscriptions are especially frequent in Phrygia during the third century C.E., e.g. CII 776 (Hierapolis, s. III p.) in which the desecrator will pay 1000 denarii to the community (*laos*) of the Jews; for more, see CII II on western Asia Minor and KRAABEL, *Judaism in Western Asia Minor*. Of the same type, but from a different area, are CII 799 (Nicomedia, Bithynia, s. III p.) and no. 104 in SAHIN, *Neue Inschriften*, 35 (Nicomedia, Bithynia, s. III p.); so also one cited by ROBERT, *Un corpus*, 1937, 84–85 (Beroea, Macedonia) and two from Beth She'arim (see n. 228 of this monograph).

<sup>228</sup> CII 760 (Blaundos, Phrygia, 248/49 C.E.) and MAMA VI 335 (Acmonia, Phrygia, s. III p.): "the curses written in Deuteronomy" (Gk. CII 760 = *hai arai* [*hai*] *gegrammenai en tō Deuteronomiō*); CII 770 (Acmonia, Phrygia, s. III p.): "there will fall upon him/her (the desecrator) the written curses" (*katarai hai ean gegrammen[ai ei]sin*); CII 774 (Apamea, Phrygia, s. III p.): "he/she knows the law (*nomos*) of the Jews"; BS 134 (s. III p. – IV p.) calls upon the protection of the divine law (Gk. *kata tēn hosian*, i.e. the Torah) and the state law (*kata prostag(m)a*; see: Beth She'arim, 123 and 132, n. 11).

<sup>229</sup> Gk. *estai autō pros ton theon*, e.g. CII 773 (Apamea, Phrygia, 253/254 C.E.). ROBERT, *Épitaphes juives*, 387–394, publishes two inscriptions from Nicomedia (Bithynia, s. III p.) with a different version of the formula: *heksei pros t[ēn] krisin* and *hekse (= heksei) krisin pros ton theon*. The original form comes from Eumeneia (Phrygia); for these, see KRAABEL, *Judaism in Western Asia Minor*, 61–69; and ROBERT, *Épitaphes d'Eumeneia*. See also pp. 685–686 above.

<sup>230</sup> E.g. CII 768 (Acmonia, Phrygia, s. III p.).

<sup>231</sup> With variations, the Greek formula speaks of *mneia* (or *mnēma*) *dikaion eis eulogian* (or *syn enkōmiō*); from Rome: CII 76, 86, 119, 201, 343, 370. Also found in funerary and dedicatory inscriptions is Gk. *eulogia pasin*, e.g. CII 173 (Rome) and CII 723 = LIF 2 (Aegina, Saronic Gulf, Greece, s. IV p.).

<sup>232</sup> See FREY's index in CII II, 663–64.

<sup>233</sup> Josephus, *Apion* II. 217–219. Cf. CAVALLIN, *Leben nach dem Tode im Spätjudentum* etc., 307.

one finds pigeons, doves, fish, cocks, rams, bulls, a swan, and lions.<sup>234</sup> Particularly interesting for the history of Jewish iconography are CII 281a which depicts a lion guarding various Jewish sacred objects and CII 653a depicting a rustic scene.<sup>235</sup> Like their fellow-citizens, ancient Jews saw the communicative value of both the verbal and the visual and on their graves sought to communicate a religious perspective through these dual means.<sup>236</sup>

Thus, while Jews in the Greco-Roman world, as they present themselves in the inscriptions, always understood themselves to be Jews, they nevertheless wore in varying degrees the cultural, linguistic, literary, and religious habit of Greeks and Romans and came to view many aspects of this habit as an integral part of what it meant to be a Jew.

#### *Addenda*

1. A. T. KRAABEL publishes an article which presents a rather different view of the relations between Jews and non-Jews in the Greco-Roman world than that presented here on pp. 682–690, 699–700: *The Roman Diaspora: Six Questionable Assumptions*, *JJS* 33 (1982) 445–464. I agree with many of his conclusions such as his polemic against those who see ancient Jews as almost entirely poverty-stricken (p. 453). His argument, however, for seeing ancient Jews simply as an ethnic group rather than as a religious one seems mistaken. Both ethnicity and religiosity constitute parts of what it meant and has always meant to be Jewish. To eliminate *religio* is also to eliminate much of the epigraphic evidence: Does not the mere reference to God indicate religiousness?

2. Prior to 1962, 'L'année épigraphique' is referred to simply as 'Revue des publications épigraphiques relatives à l'antiquité romaine'. See p. 682 above.

3. DENIS FEISSEL is alert to the usage of *mystērion* on at least two Jewish inscriptions: CII 651 (Syracuse, Sicily) and CII 871 (Byblos, Phoenicia). ROBERT (BE [1982] 113) believes that the epitaph of Doxasia (Neapolis, Palestine, s. III–IV p. on pp. 484–486 of FEISSEL) is Jewish as well. See his 'Notes d'épigraphie chrétienne (V\*): XII: Μυστήριον dans les épitaphes juives et chrétiennes', *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique* 105 (1981) 483–488.

4. YANN LE BOHEC establishes the corpus of Jewish inscriptions in Roman Africa: 'Inscriptions juives et judaïsantes de l'Afrique romaine' and '. . . remarques onomastiques', *Antiquités africaines* 17 (1981) 165–207 and 209–229. He

<sup>234</sup> See FREY's index in CII II, 663–64.

<sup>235</sup> CII 281a (Rome), CII 653a (Syracuse, Sicily); suffixed *a* in both is FREY's number, not the 'Prolegomenon' of LIFSHITZ.

<sup>236</sup> Despite the ancient biblical prohibition against image-making (Ex 20,4; Deut 4,16–18; 5,8), Jews evidently continued to draw, carve, and sculpt images, as so many synagogue paintings and mosaics have shown. See, for example, J. GUTMANN, *Early Synagogue and Jewish Catacomb Art and its Relation to Christian Art*, ANRW II 21.2, ed. by W. HAASE, Berlin–New York: De Gruyter, 1984, 1313–1342.

draws a distinction between Jewish und Judaizing inscriptions. The latter often contain the name Sabat- (e.g. Sabatius, Sabbatis); see the end of n. 77 in this monograph. In my opinion, this name still remains somewhat of an enigma. For instance, it would seem that Sabbatiolus in no. 66 (in BOHEC) is Christian. Yet he could also be a Judaizing Christian or a Christian conscious of his Jewish roots. In any case, BOHEC's distinction suggests that the boundaries between Jews and non-Jews were not always sharply drawn; see pp. 682–690 of this monograph.

5. To BOHEC's corpus, I would add AE (1978) 834 (Utica, Proconsular Africa); see n. 77 of this monograph. I would eliminate nos. 9–11. As stated above, the origin of the Sabbat-inscriptions is uncertain.

6. BOHEC draws attention to an important social indicator, the *tria nomina* ("three names", p. 216ff.). As the traditional Latin onomastic designation of Roman citizens, its usage suggests wealth and normally citizenship. Its relative infrequency on Jewish epitaphs in Africa and Rome suggests that most Jews were not upper-class.

7. No. 68 in BOHEC contains some menorahs and the inscription: "God of Abraham, God of Isaac", *D[eus Abr]jaham Deus Isa(a)c*. Thus it makes an association between God and the menorah. This adds support to the interpretation of CII 696 on pp. 702–703 above.

8. No. 75 in BOHEC refers to a certain . . . *Mossates, de Iude[i]s* ("Mossates, from the Jews"?). This may refer to a Christian convert from Judaism such as Peter in CII 643a in n. 97 above. Lat. *de Iudeis* also recalls the Gk. phrase *hoi pote Ioudaioi* in CII 742 in n. 97 above. To my argument there on behalf of the translation "Jews" (rather than "Judaean"), I might add that, when indicating place of origin, it is more common to mention one's city than one's geographical area or province. For example, see above nos. 127–130 where inscriptions mention twenty-five cities, but only three geographical areas.

9. PHILIPPE BRUNEAU has published two Samaritan inscriptions from Delos showing further epigraphic evidence of the Samaritan diaspora, hitherto found mainly in CII 693a (see pp. 673, 692 above): *Les Israélites de Délos et la juiverie délienne*, Bulletin de correspondance hellénique 106 (1982) 465–504. For paleographic reasons, the first is dated to 150–50 B.C.E. and the second to 250–175 B.C.E. Both mention Mt. Gerizim and the latter mentions the financial contribution regularly made for worship at the mountain.

These inscriptions are found in an area near to the so-called Jewish synagogue. BRUNEAU uses the following convincing criteria for its identification as a synagogue: the use of three doors, the easy access to a basin below, and the mention of Gk. *proseuchē* in an inscription found nearby. The latter word has appeared only in a Jewish context (see nn. 81 and 176 above). STEVEN MITCHELL has published another Jewish inscription which confirms this by its mention of "to the great God who is highest and above the heavens and to his holy angels" (Gk. *τὸ megalō Theō hypsistō kai epouraniō kai tois agiois autou angelois*). See

'Regional Epigraphic Catalogues of Asia Minor II: The Ankara District: The Inscriptions of North Galatia' (British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara Monograph No. 4, B.A.R. International Series 135, Oxford: British Archaeological Reports, 1982) no. 209B (Kalecik, Galatia, s. III p. ?) 177-178.

The Samaritan and Jewish places of worship were separate, but, according to BRUNEAU (pp. 495-499), it is uncertain whether they were used at the same time.

10. LOUIS ROBERT discusses several Greek magical inscriptions which contain Jewish elements: God who is seated (*kathēmenos*) upon (*epanō*) the bush (*batos*), . . . upon the Cherubim (*cheroubi*). One amulet (pp. 16-18) has a pictorial representation of the sacrifice of Isaac accompanied by the request: "Lord of Abraham, heal (my) stomach" (*Kyrios tou Abraam, therapeuson ton stomachon*). The connection between the sacrifice and the stomach problem is not clear. In any case, these inscriptions show the influence of Judaism on Greco-Roman magic, though the bearers of the amulets may not themselves have been Jewish. See pp. 680-681 of this monograph on other magical inscriptions.

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