

APPENDIX

WOMEN AS DONORS IN THE ANCIENT SYNAGOGUE

A. Women as Donors of Synagogues or to Synagogues

GREECE

Delos

These two inscriptions from Delos are from what is most likely a synagogue (1st C. B.C.E.). One of the reasons for assuming that it was a synagogue is the use of the term "most high God" in the inscriptions.

1. Lifshitz, Donateurs no. 5; CII 728.

Λαωδίκη Θεῶι  
Ἐψίστωι σωθεῖ-  
σα ταῖς ὑφ' αὐτο-  
4 ὄ θ' ἑαρηπῆαις  
εὐχῆν.

Laodike to the most high God,  
having been saved by him with  
the medical treatments, in ful-  
fillment of a vow.

2. Lifshitz, Donateurs no. 7; CII 730.

Ἐψίσ-  
τω εὐ-  
χῆν M-  
4 αρκία.

To the most high (God), Marcia,  
in fulfillment of a vow.

IONIA

Phocaea

3. Lifshitz, Donateurs no. 13; CII 738. Perhaps 3rd C.

Τάτιον Στράτωνος τοῦ Ἐν-  
πέδωνος τὸν οἶκον καὶ τὸν  
περίβολον τοῦ ὑπαίθρου  
κατασκευ-  
4 ἄσασα ἐκ τῶ[ν Ἰδ]ίων  
ἐχαρίσατο τ[οῖς Ἰο]υδαίοις.  
Ἡ συναγωγὴ ἐ[τείμη]σεν τῶν  
ων Τάτιον Σ[τράτ]ωνος τοῦ  
Ἐνπέ-  
8 δωνος χρυσοῦ στεφάνου  
καὶ προεδρίας.

Tation, daughter (or wife) of  
Straton, son of E(m)pedon,  
having erected the assembly  
hall and the enclosure of the  
open courtyard with her own  
funds, gave them as a gift  
to the Jews. The synagogue of  
the Jews honored Tation, daugh-  
ter (or wife) of Straton, son  
of E(m)pedon, with a golden  
crown and the privilege of sit-  
ting in the seat of honor.

CARIA

Myndos

4. Lifshitz, Donateurs no. 29; CII 756. Chancel screen post. After 4th/5th C.

[Ἄπο Θε]ωπέμπτης  
[ἀρ]χισυν(αγώγου) καὶ τοῦ υἱ-  
οῦ αὐτῆς Εὐσεβίου.

From Theompempte, head of the  
synagogue, and her son Euse-  
bios.

CARIA

Tralles

5. Lifshitz, Donateurs no. 30; CIG 2924. Probably 3rd C.

Καπετωλίνα  
ἡ ἀξιολογ(ωτάτη) καὶ  
θεοσεβ(εστάτη) (π)οῆσα-

I, Capitolina, the most revered  
and pious one, having made the  
entire dais, made the revetment

- 4 σα τὸ πᾶμ βάρρο[ν] of the stairs, in fulfillment  
 ἔσκούτλωσα τ[ὸν] of a vow for myself and (my)  
 (ἀ)ναβασμὸν ὑπ[ὲρ] children and (my) grandchild-  
 εὐχῆς ἑαυτῆς [καί?] dren. Blessings.  
 8 πεδίωv τε καὶ ἐγ-  
 γόνων. Εὐλογία.

PHRYGIA  
 Akmonia

6. Lifshitz, Donateurs no. 33; CII 766; MAMA VI, 264. Probably 1st C.

- Τὸν κατασκευασθέντα οἶκον ὑπὸ  
 Ἰουλίας Σεουηρας· Π(οπιλιος) Τυρρώνιος Κλα-  
 δος, ὁ διὰ βίου ἀρχισυνάγωγος καὶ  
 4 Λουκιος Λουκιου ἀρχισυνάγωγος  
 καὶ Ποπιλιος Ζωτικὸς ἄρχων ἐπεσ-  
 κεύασαν ἐκ τε τῶν ἰδίων καὶ τῶν συν-  
 καταθεμένων καὶ ἔγραψαν τοὺς τοί-  
 8 χους καὶ τὴν ὀροφήν καὶ ἐποίησαν  
 τὴν τῶν θυρίδων ἀσφάλειαν καὶ τὸν  
 λυπὸν πάντα κόσμον, οὕστινας καὶ  
 ἡ συναγωγή ἐτελείμησεν ὀπλῶ ἐπιχρύ-  
 12 σιν διὰ τὴν ἐνάρετον αὐτῶν δ[ι]ἀθ[ε]-  
 σιν καὶ τὴν πρὸς τὴν συναγωγὴν εὐνοϊάν  
 τε καὶ σπουδὴν.

The building was erected by Julia Severa; P(ublius) Tyrronios Klados, the head-for-life of the synagogue, and Lucius, son of Lucius, head of the synagogue, and Publius Zotikos, archon, restored it with their own funds and with the money which had been deposited, and they donated the murals for the walls and the ceiling, and they reinforced the windows and made all the rest of the ornamentation, and the synagogue honored them with a gilded shield on account of their virtuous behavior, solicitude and zeal for the synagogue.

SYRIA  
 Apamea

- Inscriptions 7-15 are from the mosaic floor of a synagogue; they date from ca. 391; cf. nos. 30-34, 39 and 40 below.

7. Lifshitz, Donateurs no. 41; Inscr. Syrie 1322; CII 806.

- Ἄλεξάνδρα Alexandra made 100 feet, in  
 εὐξαμένη ὑπέ- fulfillment of a vow, for the  
 ρ σωτηρίας πάν- salvation of all (her) rela-  
 4 των τῶν εἰδίων tives.  
 ἐποίησεν πό(δας) ρ'.

8. Lifshitz, Donateurs no. 42; Inscr. Syrie 1323; CII 807.

- Ἄμβροσία εὐξα- Ambrosia made 50 feet, in  
 μένη ὑπὲρ σω- fulfillment of a vow, for the  
 τηρίας πάν- salvation of all (her) rela-  
 4 των τῶν ἰδίων tives.  
 ἐποίησεν πό(δας) ν'.

9. Lifshitz, Donateurs no. 43; Inscr. Syrie 1324; CII 808.

- Δομ[νιν]α Domnina made 100 feet, in  
 εὐξαμένη fulfillment of a vow, for the  
 ὑπὲρ σωτη- salvation of all (her) rela-  
 4 ρίας πάντων tives.  
 τῶν ἰδίων  
 ἐποίησεν πό(δας) ρ'.

10. Lifshitz, Donateurs no. 44; Inscr. Syrie 1325; CII 809.  
 Εὐπιθίς  
 εὐξαμένη  
 ὑπὲρ σωτη-  
 4 ρίας πάντων  
 τῶν ἰδίων  
 ἐποίησεν πό(δας) ρ'.
- Eupithis made 100 feet, in fulfillment of a vow, for the salvation of all (her) relatives.
11. Lifshitz, Donateurs no. 45; Inscr. Syrie 1326; CII 810.  
 Διογενίς  
 εὐξαμένη  
 ὑπὲρ σωτη-  
 4 ρίας πάντων  
 τῶν ἰδίων  
 ἐποίησεν πό(δας) ρ'.
- Diogenis made 100 feet, in fulfillment of a vow, for the salvation of all (her) relatives.
12. Lifshitz, Donateurs no. 46; Inscr. Syrie 1327; CII 811.  
 Σαπρικ[ι]α  
 εὐξαμένη  
 ὑπὲρ σ[ω]τη-  
 4 ρίας π[ά]ντων  
 τῶν ἰδίων  
 ἐποίησεν πό(δας) ρν'.
- Saprikia made 150 feet, in fulfillment of a vow, for the salvation of all (her) relatives.
13. Lifshitz, Donateurs no. 51; Inscr. Syrie 1332; CII 816.  
 Κολωνίς εὐ-  
 ξαμένη ὑπ-  
 ἔρ σωτηρίας  
 4 αὐτῆς καὶ τῶν  
 τέκνων αὐτῆς  
 ἐποίησεν πό(δας) οε'.
- Colonis made 75 feet, in fulfillment of a vow, for the salvation of herself and her children.
14. Lifshitz, Donateurs no. 54; Inscr. Syrie 1335.  
 [... ὑπὲρ σωτηρί-]  
 ας αὐτῆς καὶ τῶν  
 [τέκνων αὐτῆς?]  
 καὶ τῶν ἐγγονίων ἐποίησεν... children.
- So and so made ... for the salvation of herself and her children (?) and (her) grandchildren.
15. Lifshitz, Donateurs no. 55; Inscr. Syrie 1336.  
 Εὐπιθίς εὐξαμένη  
 ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας αὐ-  
 τῆς καὶ τοῦ ἀνδρός  
 4 καὶ τῶν τέκνων  
 καὶ παντός τοῦ οἴκου  
 αὐτῆς τὸν τόπον ἐποίησεν.
- Eupithis made this place, in fulfillment of a vow, for the salvation of herself and (her) husband and (her) children and all of her household.

PALESTINE  
 Ashkalon

16. Lifshitz, Donateurs no. 70; Hüttenmeister 24-25, no. 2; CII 964. Three marble fragments. 604.

Θ(εός) Β(οήθει)· κυρά Δομνα Ἰου[λιανου? καὶ κυρ(ᾶ) Μάρι(ν)  
 Νόννου εὐχαρ[ιστοῦσαι]  
 προσφέρωμεν. Κύρ[ος] . . . ἐγ[γόνιν] Ἐλικίου [εὐχαριστῶν]  
 τῷ Θ(ε)ῷ καὶ τῷ ἀγ[ίῳ] τόπῳ προσήνεγα ὑπὲρ σωτερ(ίας)·  
 Κύρ(ος) Κομ[μοδος] προσήνε-]  
 4 εγκα ὑπὲρ σωτερ(ίας) [καὶ] ζοήν. εἶτους θψ'.

God help. We, lady Domna, the daughter (or wife) of Julianos  
 (?) and lady\* Marin (?), the daughter (or wife)\* of Nonnos,  
 donate in thanksgiving. I, lord (or lady) so and so, the

grandchild of Helikios, donate in thanksgiving to God and to this holy place, for my salvation. I, lord (or lady) Kom... donate for my salvation and my life. In the year 709 (604).

\*Lifshitz and others read: ... $\Phi$  ΜΑΡΙ ΝΟΝΝΥ as, "lord Mari(n), son of Nonnou;  $\mu\theta\iota\rho(\sigma\varsigma)$  Μάρυ(ν) Νόννου.

## PALESTINE

Ḥuldah

17. Lifshitz, *Donateurs* no. 81b; Hüttenmeister 177-178, no. 2. Mosaic. Probably late 5th C.

Εὐτοχῶς	Blessings to Eustochios (or
Εὐστοχίῳ	Eustochion, f.) and Hesychion
καὶ Ἑσυχίῳ	(f.)* and Evagrius, the
4 καὶ Εὐαγρίῳ	founders.
τοῖς ἀτίσ-	
τεῖς.	

\*Lifshitz and others read Eustochios (m.) and Hesychios (m.).

## PALESTINE

Isfiyah

18. Hüttenmeister 183-184, no. 2. Mosaic. Mid-5th/early 6th C.

[...] וברוכה [חלי] פר [א]חיה דברבי [...] .  
 2 דכיר לטב כל מן דפ]סק ויהב פסקתה חתי [להיה ברכתח [...] .  
 [...] דכיר לטב דכיר לטב ירשיה די]הב [...] .  
 ... and blessed be Ḥalifo, the wife of Rabbi ....  
 Let every one who promised and gave his (or her)  
 donation be of good memory. Blessed be that one ....  
 Be of good memory. Be of good memory Josiah who gave ....

## PALESTINE

Na'aran

19. Hüttenmeister 324, no. 2. Mosaic. 6th C.

רבקה	דכירה	May Rivqa, the wife of Pinḥas,
אחיה	2 לטב	be of good memory.
פינחס.		

20. Hüttenmeister 325, no. 3. Mosaic. 6th C.

דכירה לטב חליפר ברה רבי ספרה  
 2 דאחחזקת בהדין אחרה [קדי]שה. אמן.  
 May Ḥalipho, daughter of Rabbi Saphra, who has gained  
 much merit in this holy place, be of good memory. Amen.

## PALESTINE

Ḥamat Gader (al-Ḥamma)

21. Hüttenmeister 157-158, no. 3; CII 858. Mosaic. Probably early 5th C. \*See p. 165.

<ו>[כ]י) ר לטב קיריס ליאנטיס וקירה קלניק ד>ה[בו]ן.....  
 .לי]קרה דכנישחה.  
 2 מלך עלמה י>תן ב>רכתה בעמלה. אמן. אמן. סלה.< .ש[ל]ן. >[נ]כירה  
 לטב הדה אחתה  
 אנטוליה >ד[יהב]ה< חד דינר ליקרה דכנישחה.< .מלך ע>למה  
 יתן ברכתה בעמלה.<  
 4 אמן. אמן. >[סלה]< .שלום ודכירין לטב עיריא >דהבו]ן חד  
 .טר(ים) יסי]ן.<

May lord Leontis and lady Qaliniq, who have donated ... for the honor of the synagogue, be of good memory. May the King of the universe give his blessing on their work. Amen. Amen. Selah. Peace. And may the woman Anatolia, who donated one denar for the honor of the synagogue, be of good memory. May the King of the universe give his blessing on her work. Amen. Amen. Selah. Peace. May the people of the city, who donated one trimissis, be of good memory.

AFRICA  
Ḥammam Lif

22. Goodenough 3. fig. 894; cf. 2.91-100. Mosaic.

Sancta sinagoga Naron pro sa-	Your servant, Juliana,
lutem suam ancilla tua Iulia-	P (?), paved with mosaic,
na P de suo proprium teselavit.	from her own funds, the
<u>Menorah</u>	holy synagogue of Naro for
	her salvation.

CYRENAICA  
Berenice

23. Lifshitz, Donateurs no. 100. Twenty-line dedicatory inscription (16 men; 2 women). 55 C.E.

Column 2, lines 8-12:

8 Εἰσιδώρα	Isidora, daughter (or wife) of
Σεραπῶνος (δρ.) ε'.	Serapon, 5 drachmas. Zosime,
10 Ζωσίμη Τερ-	daughter (or wife) of Ter-
πολίω (δρ.) ε'.	polius, 5 drachmas.

Cf. also above, no. 21.

B. Women Donating Together with Their Husbands

IONIA  
Teos

24. Lifshitz, Donateurs no. 16; CII 744. 3rd C.

Π(οπλιος) ῥου(ιλιος) Ἰωσης ὁ ἀξιολογώτατος ὁ διὰ βίου ἀρχισυνά-  
 γω[γος] σὺν Βισιννίᾳ Δημῶ τῇ συνβίῳ αὐτοῦ ἐκ θεμελίῳ ἐκ  
 τῶν ἰ[δίων].

The most excellent P(ublius) Rut(ilius) Ioses, head-for-life of the synagogue, together with his wife Bisinnia Demo, (rebuilt this edifice) from the foundations, with their own funds.

LYDIA  
Sardis

25. Lifshitz, Donateurs no. 19. Mosaic.

Αὐρ(ηλιος) Ὀλύμ- πιος, φυλῆς Λεοντίων	I, Aur(elios) Olympios, from the tribe of the Leontioi, together with (my) wife and children, fulfilled a vow.
4 μετὰ τῆς συμβίου καὶ τῶν παιδίων εὐχὴν ἐτέ- λεσα.	

26. Lifshitz, Donateurs no. 20. Four marble slabs.

[.....]ς μετὰ τῆς συμβίου μου Ῥηγεινης καὶ τῶν τέκνων  
 μ[ου]

(ca 7 11?)

[.....ἔδ]ωκα ἐκ τῶν δωρεῶν τοῦ παντοκράτορας θε(εο)ῦ τὴν  
 σκουτλωσιν πᾶσαν vac.  
 [τοῦ οἴκου] καὶ τὴν ζωγραφίαν.

[So and so] with my wife Regina and my children ...  
 I gave, from the gifts of the omnipotent God, the entire  
 marble revetment (...?) of the hall and the painting.

27. Lifshitz, Donateurs no. 22.

[Ὁ δεῖνα β]ουλ(ευτῆς) [So and so,] member of the  
 χρυσο[χόος] council, goldsmith, with my  
 [μετὰ τῆ]ς συνβείου Εὐ- wife, Eu..., gave.  
 [... ἔδ]ωκα.

## LYDIA

## Philadelphia of Lydia

28. Lifshitz, Donateurs no. 28; CII 754. 3rd C.

[Τ]ῆ ἁγιοτ[άτη] To the most holy synagogue of  
 [σ]υναγωγῆ the Hebrews, I, Eustathios,  
 τῶν Ἑβραίων the pious one, have dedicated,  
 4 Εὐστάθιος together with my bride  
 ὁ θεοσεβῆς (sister-in-law?), Athanasia,  
 ὑπὲρ μνίας the purification basin, in  
 τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ memory of my brother Hermo-  
 8 Ἑρμοφίλου philos.  
 τὸν μασκαύ-  
 λην ἀνέθη-  
 κα ἄμα τῆ νύμ-  
 12 φι μου Ἄθα-  
 νασίᾳ.

## CARIA

## Hyllarima

29. Lifshitz, Donateurs no. 32. 3rd C.

Ἐπὲρ ὑγίας NO[...] IAI  
 Βασιλέως[...]  
 Αὐρ(ηλιος) Εὐσανβάτιος πρεσβύτερος καὶ Αὐρ(ηλια) Ἐπιτυν-  
 χ(άν)ουσα ὑπὲρ τῆς ἑατῶν σωτηρίας καὶ παίδων αὐτῶν καὶ  
 4 ΚΙΦΙΙ[...] ΟΥ  
 τῆ ἁγιωτάτη συναγωγῆ τὰ πρα[...] ἀπὸ τῶν [ιδίων χρημ]άτων.  
 Α[...].

For the health ... of the king ... Aurelius Eusanbatio,  
 elder, and Aurelia Epitynchanousa, for their own salvation  
 and that of their children and ... to the most holy syna-  
 gogue the ... from their own funds.

## SYRIA

## Apamea

Inscriptions 30-34 are from the mosaic floor of a synagogue; 31-  
 34 date from ca. 391; cf. nos. 7-15 above and nos. 39-40 below.

30. Lifshitz, Donateurs no. 40; Inscr. Syrie 1321; CII 805. March 9, 391. Note that the reference to a wife is reconstructed, but relatively certain in view of the parallels.



universe give his blessing on  
their work. Amen. Amen. Selah.

## PALESTINE

Between Jaffa and Gaza

37. Hüttenmeister 135-137, no. 5; Lifshitz, *Donateurs* no. 72; CII 966. Fragment of a marble plaque. Byzantine period.

Ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας Ἰακω(βου) Λαζαρ-  
2 ος καὶ ...] σινα εὐχαριστο(ῶ)ν-  
τες τῷ θεῷ ἐπὶ] τοῦ ἁγίου τόπου ἀνεπέ-  
4 ωσεν τὸ κτίσμα (?) τῆς κώνχης σὺν  
τῷ καγέλλφ ἀπὸ θεμελί(ων)· μ(ηνὸς) Μαρτίου ἰν(δικτιῶνος).

For the salvation of Iakobos, Lazaros and ...sina, in  
gratefulness to God in (this) holy place (i.e., synagogue),  
renovated the construction of the conch together with the  
chancel screen from the foundations. In the month of March,  
Indiction ....

## AFRICA

Hammam Lif

38. Goodenough 3. fig. 895; cf. 2.90. CIL VIII 12457b. Mosaic.

Asterius, filius Rus-  
tici arcosinagogi, (et)  
Margarita Riddei par-  
tem portici tesselavit.

Asterius, son of the head of  
the synagogue, Rusticus, (and)  
Margarita, (daughter) of  
Riddeus, paved with mosaic  
(this) part of the portico.

C. Donations on Behalf of Women

## SYRIA

Apamea

From the mosaic floor of a synagogue; 39-40 date from ca. 391;  
cf. nos. 7-15, 30-34 above.

39. Lifshitz, *Donateurs* no. 39; CII 804. Wayne A. Meeks and Robert L. Wilken, *Jews and Christians in Antioch in the First Four Centuries of the Common Era* (SBL Sources for Biblical Study 13; Missoula, Mont.: Scholars Press, 1978) 54, no. 2.

Ἰλάσιος Εἰσακίου ἀρχισυνάγωγος Ἀντιοχέ-  
ων, ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας Φωτίου συμβίου καὶ τέκνων  
καὶ ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας Εὐσταθίας πενθερᾶς  
4 καὶ ὑπὲρ μνίας Εἰσακίου καὶ Ἐδεσίου καὶ Ἡσυχί-  
ου προγόνων, ἐποίησεν τὴν ψήφωσιν  
τῆς ἰσόδου. Εἰρήνη καὶ ἔλεος ἐπὶ πᾶν  
τὸ ἡγιασμένον ὑμῶν πληθός.

Ilasios, son of Eisakios, head of the synagogue of the  
Antiochenes, for the salvation of Photion his wife and  
his children, and for the salvation of Eustathia his  
mother-in-law, and in memory of Eisakios and Edesios  
and Hesychios, his ancestors, donated the mosaic entry-  
way. Peace and mercy on all your holy people.

40. Lifshitz, *Donateurs* no. 56; *Inscr. Syrie* 1337.

Θαυμάσις Νόν[νου ὑπὲρ σω]-  
τηρίας Ἡσυχί[ου συνβίου]  
αὐτοῦ εὐξάμ[ενος ...].

Thaumasias, son of Nonnos, for  
the salvation of his wife  
Hesychion, in fulfillment of a  
vow...



PALESTINE  
Caesarea

41. Lifshitz, Donateurs no. 67. Marble column. 4th/5th C.  
 Προ(σφορά) Θεωδώρο(υ) Donation of Theodoros, son of  
 υιοῦ Ὀλύμπου Olympos, for the salvation of  
 ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας his daughter Matrōna.  
 4 Ματρῶνας  
 θυγατρὸς.

PALESTINE  
Ashkalon

42. Lifshitz, Donateurs no. 71; CII 965. Hüttenmeister 26, no. 3.  
 (Reading according to Hüttenmeister.)  
 ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας Μενά- For the salvation of Menamos  
 μο(υ) καὶ Μα(τ)ρῶνας (=Menaḥem) and Matrōna, his  
 (σ)ηβίου αὐ- wife, and Samoulos (=Samuel)  
 τοῦ καὶ Σαμούλου υιοῦ their son.  
 4 αὐτῶν

EGYPT  
Alexandria

43. Lifshitz, Donateurs no. 91; CII 1438. Base of a column.  
 Probably Byzantine period.  
 [Υπ]ὲρ σωτηρίας κυρᾶς Ῥουας θυγατρὸς [τοῦ μα]-  
 καριστάτου Ἐντολίου Βοροῦχ Βαραχία. Πῆϗ  
 For the salvation of lady Roua, daughter of the most  
 blessed Entolios, Borouch, son of Barachias (dedicated  
 this column?). Peace.

\*The Ḥammad Gader inscriptions (nos. 21 and 36) are much more fragmentary today than when discovered by Sukenik. To indicate this, the following sigla are used (following Hüttenmeister):

- [ ] = lacuna at the time of discovery;  
 . = partially legible letter at the time of discovery;  
 < > = lacuna today;  
 \_ = partially legible letter today.



PLATES

Plates follow the order of the discussion.