

NOTES
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Notes to the Introduction

¹Krauss, Altertümer 149.

²A recent example would be Emil Schürer, History 2.435-436. The editors simply add to the footnotes the newly discovered inscriptions in which women bear titles, without calling into question Schürer's view that they were honorific.

³A(1f) Thomas Kraabel, Judaism in Western Asia Minor under the Roman Empire, with a Preliminary Study of the Jewish Community at Sardis, Lydia (Th.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1968) 43-50; Dorothy Irvin, "The Ministry of Women in the Early Church: The Archaeological Evidence," The Duke Divinity School Review 45 (1980) 76-86, esp. 76-79; Shaye Cohen, "Women in the Synagogues of Antiquity," Conservative Judaism 34:2 (1980) 23-29.

⁴Louis Robert, Hellenica 1 (1940) 26-27; Jeanne Robert and Louis Robert, Bulletin épigraphique, Revue des études grecques 77 (1964) no. 413.

Notes to Chapter I

¹Eusebius Hist. eccl. 7.10.4; CIG 2007f (Olynthos); 2221c (Chios) IG XII.2(1)288 (Thessalonica); Archäologisch-epigraphische Mittheilungen aus Österreich-Ungarn 19 (1896) 67.

²Salomon Reinach, "Inscription grecque de Smyrne. La Juive Rufina," REJ 7:14 (1883) 161-166 (facsimile). Reinach's dating of the inscription as not before the third century is based on the nearly cursive omega, the squared sigma and the bar through the upsilon, all of which point to a late date.

³Schürer, Gemeindeverfassung 29, cited and discussed by S. Reinach, "Inscription" 165.

⁴See CII 584, 587.

⁵"Die Organisation der jüdischen Ortsgemeinden in der talmudischen Zeit," Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums 41, n.s. 5 (1897) 658-659.

⁶Schürer, History 2.435.

⁷Juster 1.453.

⁸Krauss, Altertümer 118.

⁹Baron, Community 1.97.

¹⁰Jean-Baptiste Frey, CII 2.11.

¹¹Louis Robert, Hellenica 1 (1940) 26-27.

¹²A(lf) Thomas Kraabel, Judaism in Western Asia Minor under the Roman Empire, with a Preliminary Study of the Jewish Community at Sardis, Lydia (Th.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1968) 43, 47; Dorothy Irvin, "The Ministry of Women in the Early Church: The Archaeological Evidence," The Duke Divinity School Review 45 (1980) 76-79; Shaye Cohen, "Women in the Synagogues of Antiquity," Conservative Judaism 34:2 (1980) 25-26.

¹³Wörterbuch der griechischen Papyrusurkunden mit Einchluss der griechischen Inschriften (4 vols., ed. E. Kiesling; Berlin: By the Heirs, 1925-1944), 3 (1931) 183-203; see also Otto Hirschfeld, "Die Rangtitel der römischen Kaiserzeit," Kleine Schriften (Berlin: Weidmann, 1913) 646-681; Paul Koch, Die byzantinischen Beamtentitel (Jena: University Press, 1903); Arthur Stein, "Griechische Rangtitel in der römischen Kaiserzeit," Wiener Studien 34 (1912) 160-170.

¹⁴E.g., CIL VI 8420.

¹⁵E.g., CIL VI 1334.

¹⁶E.g., CIL VI 1421.

¹⁷E.g., CIL V 34.

¹⁸E.g., CIL VI 1334.

¹⁹See CIL XII 675. Hydria Tertulla c(larissima) f(emina) was married to Terentius Museus (no title) at the time of her death.

²⁰See PW 12 (1909) 2484-2492.

²¹Macrobius 1.16.30.

²²Quaestiones Romanae 86.

²³The elder Faustina (Scriptores Historiae Augustae, Antoninus Pius 6.6-7) and Claudia, the daughter of Nero (Tacitus, Annales 15.23) were accorded this honor. See also Otto Hirschfeld, "Zur Geschichte des römischen Kaiserkultes," in: Kleine Schriften (Berlin: Weidmann, 1913) 491. Hirschfeld believes that the flaminica was responsible for the cult of the empress, her husband being responsible for that of the emperor.

²⁴The case of the thirty-eight-year old mellarcon (CII 457) is enigmatic. Perhaps it is analogous to "president-elect."

²⁵See, for example, Harry J. Leon, JOR n.s. 44 (1953-1954) 271, n. 9.

²⁶CII 752, 757, 770, 773, 775, 776, 778, 779, 788, 791, 799, etc. A number of Phrygian inscriptions impose a curse rather than a fine: CII 760, 761, 767, 768, 769, etc.

²⁷CIG 3265, 3266, 3281, 3286, 3401, etc.

²⁸S. Reinach, "Inscription" 163-164.

²⁹CII 739 (Lifshitz, Donateurs no. 14; Smyrna, Ionia; 4th C.): Ἡρηνοποῖως πρ(εσβύτερος) κέ πατήρ τοῦ στέματος υἱὸς Εἰσακῶβ/ κέ αὐτοῦ πρ(εσβυτέρου) ὑπὲρ εὐχῆς ἑαυτοῦ κέ τῆς συνβίου μου κέ/ τοῦ γνισίου μου τέκνου ἐποίησα τὴν στροσιν τοῦ εἰσοτικῶδ/ σὺν τῷ σκαμνοκἀνέλου κἀλιεργίῃσας· νο(μίσματα) ζ'. ρλψ

"(I), Irenopoios, elder and father of the tribe, son of Jacob, himself also an elder, in fulfillment of a vow by myself and my wife and my lawfully begotten child, beautifully made the pavement of the interior together with the balustrades; seven coins. Peace."

³⁰CII 740 (Lifshitz, *Donateurs* no. 15; Smyrna, Ionia): 'Εγένετο τὸ ἔργον σπουδάζων/τος Δοσᾶ. "The work was done through the efforts of Dosas."

³¹According to the reading of Jeanne Robert and Louis Robert, *Hellenica* 11-12 (1960) 260-261 (Smyrna, Ionia): Λουκιος Λολλιος/ 'Ιουστος γραμματεὺς/ τοῦ ἐν Ζυμόρνη λαοῦ/ ἐποίησε τὸ ἐνσῶριον/ ἑαυτῷ καὶ τῷ γένει/ τῷ ἰδίῳ. "Lucius Lollius Justus, scribe of the community in Smyrna, made this tomb for himself and his own people."

³²CII 743 (Smyrna, Ionia): Θωβαρραβο/υλακασακισ/ αβρασας/ ωαση; (reverse side): Ναλη/εχεχε.

³³CII 742 (Smyrna, Ionia; 117-138 C.E.): L. 29: 'Οι ποτὲ 'Ιουδαῖοι μυ(ρίαδα) α'. "The former Judeans, 10,000 drachmas." For this interpretation of *Ioudaioi*, see Kraabel, *Judaism* 28-32. Previous to Kraabel, interpreters took the inscription as referring to former Jews.

³⁴First published by Anastasius C. Bandy, "Early Christian Inscriptions of Crete," *Hesperia* 32 (1963) 227-229, no. 1, pl. 64. See also *idem*, *The Greek Christian Inscriptions of Crete (Christianikai Epigraphai tēs Hellados 10; Athens: Christian Archaeological Society, 1970) Appendix* no. 3. The inscription was included by Lifshitz in his prolegomenon to the CII, p. 88.

³⁵*Bulletin épigraphique, Revue des études grecques* 77 (1964) no. 413. Bandy later accepted this dating (*Inscriptions ad loc.*).

³⁶CII 731b (Elyros): Σανβάθου(ς)/ 'Ερμῆ μνά/μας χάριν. "Sanbathis to Hermes for the sake of his memory." CII 731d (Arcades): 'Ιωσηφος/ Θεοδώρου/ 'Ιουδα τῷ υἱῷ αὐτοῦ/ (μ)νείας χάρι/ν, ἑτῶν α'. "Josephus, son of Theodoros, to Juda his son, for memory, (he lived) one year."

³⁷Cf. *hē diakonos* (Rom 16:1) and *hē diakonissa*, which came into use in the later period (e.g., Council of Nicaea, can. 19).

³⁸Bandy, "Inscriptions" 227-228.

³⁹Robert, no. 413.

⁴⁰First published by Théodore Reinach, "La pierre de Myndos," in: *REJ* 42 (1901) 1-6 (photograph). Reinach suggests that the lacuna in the first line be filled with *apo* or *para*, p. 4.

⁴¹T. Reinach, "La pierre" 1.

⁴²T. Reinach, "La pierre" 4.

⁴³D. Bahat, "A Synagogue Chancel-Screen from Tel Rehob," *IEJ* 23 (1973) 181-183, pl. 48.

⁴⁴Z(eev) Yeivin, "Inscribed Marble Fragments from the Khirbet Sūsiya Synagogue," *IEJ* 24 (1974) 201-29, pls. 42-44.

- ⁴⁵ CII 756a was seen but never copied down and is now lost.
- ⁴⁶ T. Reinach, "La pierre" 2.
- ⁴⁷ Goodenough 2. 79.
- ⁴⁸ On the meaning of "head of the synagogue" see esp. Schürer, Gemeindefassung 25-28; Berliner 1. 69; William M. Ramsay, "The Rulers of the Synagogue," The Expositor (April 1895) 272-277; Vogelstein and Rieger 1. 41-43; M. Weinberg, "Die Organisation der jüdischen Ortsgemeinden in der talmudischen Zeit," Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums 41, n.s. 5 (1897) 657-658; The Jewish Encyclopedia (10 vols; ed. Isidore Singer; New York: Funk and Wagnall's, 1901-1906), 2 (1902) s.v. "Archisynagogue;" Schürer, History 2.433-436; Schürer, Geschichte 3.14-15, 17, 88, 95-96; Juster 1.398, 450-453; Krauss, Altertümer 116-121; Elbogen, 483-484, 577, n. 2; Str-B 4.145-147; Frey, CII 1. pp. XCVII-XCIX; Baron, Community 1.103, 138; Enc. Jud 3. s.v. "Archisynagogos"; Applebaum, "Organization" 492-493.
- ⁴⁹ . . . ἀρχισυνάγωγοι τῶν Ἰουδαίων καὶ οἱ ἀρχόντες τῆς συναγωγῆς ἐπήγαγον αὐτοὺς διωγμὸν κατὰ τῶν δικαίων. See Bruce M. Metzger, A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament (New York: United Bible Societies, 1971) 419-420.
- ⁵⁰ See Ramsay, who argues that this variant shows that the Bezan Text cannot be pre-70 ("Rulers" 272-277).
- ⁵¹ It is also possible, of course, that when Matthew wrote archōn, he did not take it as synonymous with archisynagōgos. It could simply be a variant.
- ⁵² Discussed and quoted below, p. 24; n. 95.
- ⁵³ Emil Schürer's view (Gemeindefassung 27) that Sosthenes is not Crispus' colleague, but rather his successor, is not convincing. We cannot assume that at this early date a synagogue head who became a Christian had to be replaced.
- ⁵⁴ M. Sota 7:8 adds one more link to the chain, namely the king, who reads instead of the high priest.
- ⁵⁵ J.W. 5.5.1-6 §§ 184-227.
- ⁵⁶ Hüttenmeister 201; for further bibliography see 197-198.
- ⁵⁷ JQR 54 (1963-1964) 119.
- ⁵⁸ It is possible, particularly in light of Sidney Hoenig's considerations, that ר'ֹסֵהַ חַכְּנֵסֵת and ר'ֹסֵהַ בֵּת חַכְּנֵסֵת are not the same title, that only the latter is the equivalent of archisynagōgos.
- ⁵⁹ T. Ter. 2:13 (Zuck. 28); see Hüttenmeister 8.
- ⁶⁰ ראש הכנסת אל יקרא עד שיאמר לו אחרים שאין אדם.
- ⁶¹ A further confirmation that the head of the synagogue was only to read if necessary is found in b. Git. 60a (top), where R. Isaac the smith states that after the priest and the Levite the following are to read: "scholars who are appointed parnasim of the community, and after them scholars who are qualified to be appointed parnasim of the community, and after them the sons of

the scholars, whose fathers had been appointed parnasim of the community, and after them heads of synagogues and members of the general public." אחריהן קוראין חלמידי חכמים הממונין פרנסים על הצבור, ואחריהן חלמידי חכמים הראויין למנותם פרנסים על הצבור, ואחריהן בני חלמידי חכמים שאבוניהן ממונים פרנסים על הצבור ואחריהן ראשי כנסיות וכל אדם.

⁶²Note that this passage is a *baraitha*, i.e., from the Tannaitic period (before ca. 220).

⁶³One should note the parallel in the extra-canonical tractate Sem. 14 (end), which is very similar to y. Ber. 6a.28-29, as well as b. Ketub. 8b, which instead of ראש הכנסת has פרנסי העיר, "city administrators." This coincides with a gloss in y. Ber. 3.28-29, which interprets head of the synagogue as city administrator, cf. Str-B 4,1.146-147.

⁶⁴Ed. Theodor Mommsen, 2d ed. (2 vols.; Berlin: Weidmann, 1954), 1. 887.

⁶⁵Tr. Clyde Pharr (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1952) 467 (with minor changes).

⁶⁶See below, pp. 65-66; 91-92, for a slightly more extensive discussion of this passage. On the legislation concerning Jews in the Theodosian Code, see Amnon Lindner, "The Roman Imperial Government and the Jews under Constantine," Tarbiz 44 (1974-75) 95-143 (Hebrew), English summary, p. V; Klaus Dieter Reichardt, "Die Judengesetzgebung im Codex Theodosianus," Kairos 20 (1978) 16-39; Robert L. Wilken, "The Jews and Christian Apologetics after Theodosius I Cunctos Populos," HTR 73 (1980) 451-471, esp. 464-466. Baron sees Cod. Theod. 16.8.2-4 as the result of a battle fought by the rabbis, in which they persisted and finally won (Community 1.138). While political activity on the part of the Jewish leadership should certainly be assumed, Baron's assumption that the primary Jewish leaders were the rabbis is questionable.

⁶⁷Ed. Mommsen 1. 890.

⁶⁸Tr. Sheila Briggs, drawing partially upon Pharr 468. For a description of the development of the decurionate from a vied-for honor in the republican period to what sometimes amounted to a punishment in the late imperial period, the period with which we are dealing here, see PW 8 (1901) 2319-2352.

⁶⁹Ed. Mommsen 1. 890.

⁷⁰Tr. Pharr 468. For a discussion of this custom, see Juster 1.385-388. On the various roles of the Jewish patriarch, see Lee I. Levine, "The Jewish Patriarch (Nasi) in Third Century Palestine," ANRW 19,2.649-688.

⁷¹This law was rescinded in 404 (Cod. Theod. 16.8.17), thus allowing the practice to be resumed.

⁷²Ed. Georges Archambault (2 vols. in 1; Paris: Alphonse Picard et Fils, 1909), 2.292.

⁷³Panarion 30.18.2 (PG 41.436A); included in Klijn and Reinink 186-187. I am following the reading of Klijn and Reinink, who have "teachers" (didaskalōn), rather than that of PG ("teachings"; didaskaliōn). See also Panarion 30.11.1, in which

Epiphanius mentions heads of the synagogue, priests, elders and azanitōi (Hebrew: hazzānim), which he says should be translated as diakonoi or hypēretai (PG 41.424B).

⁷⁴Palladius, Dialogue on the Life of Saint John Chrysostom 15 (PG 47.51 mid.).

⁷⁵Juster 1.452, n. 5. Juster's theory that the synagogue heads were appointed by the patriarch, which he bases on Palladius and on Cod. Theod. 16.8.13 (397 C.E.) and 16.8.15 (404 C.E.), is also not convincing. In Cod. Theod. 16.8.13 (quoted above, p. 20), there is no reason to take "heads of the synagogues . . ." as an appositive to "those persons who are subject to the power of the Illustrious Patriarchs;" the more straightforward sense is that these are two separate groups. In Cod. Theod. 16.8.15, no specific officeholders, such as synagogue heads, are mentioned. More weighty than these arguments, however, is the silence of Jewish sources on such a practice. Silence concerning the patriarch's annual appointment of all main Jewish functionaries can only be compared to a total silence in Vatican sources about the custom of appointing bishops and cardinals.

⁷⁶Hennecke-Schneemelcher 1. 449-470.

⁷⁷Exposition on Luke 6.50 (PL 15.1767D; see also 1768C); quoted and discussed in Juster 1.452, n. 3.

⁷⁸Epistles 121.10 (PL 22.1033 bot.); quoted and discussed in Juster 1.452, n. 3.

⁷⁹Vopiscus' section of the Historia Augusta is an early fourth-century work. Whether the letter is genuine or not cannot be discussed here. Assuming that it is the composition of Vopiscus, it can be counted as a fourth-century attestation of the term, which is no less valuable than a second-century attestation. On this passage, see Dieter Georgi, Die Gegner des Paulus im 2. Korintherbrief (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1964) 117; Krauss Altertümer 115; Schürer, Gemeindeverfassung 26.

⁸⁰That "Samaritan" is used alone probably just indicates that the author was not familiar with official Samaritan titles.

⁸¹Lampridius, Life of Alexander Severus 28, Scriptores Historiae Augustae 2.234-235. Since archisynagogus was not exclusively Jewish, it is possible that the jibe had nothing to do with Judaism. The title is, however, much more widely attested as a Jewish title than as a pagan one, and this interpretation therefore seems the most likely.

⁸²This number includes several, such as CII 282, 548 and 638 and Schwabe and Lifshitz, Beth She'arim 2. no. 212, in which a number of the letters of the word "head of the synagogue" are missing.

⁸³CII 265, 282, 336, 383, 504, 548, 553, 584, 587, 596, 638; Maria Floriani Squarciapino, "Plotius Fortunatus archisynagogus," La Rassegna Mensile di Israel 36 (1970) 183-191.

⁸⁴CII 722 (Lifshitz, Donateurs no. 1), 731c.

⁸⁵SEG 27 (1977) no. 267.

⁸⁶CII 681.

⁸⁷CII 731g, 741, 744 (Lifshitz, Donateurs no. 16), 756 (Lifshitz, Donateurs no. 29), 759, 766 (Lifshitz, Donateurs no. 33; cf. MAMA 6. no. 264 [a better edition of this inscription]); Lifshitz, Donateurs no. 37 (could also be archōn).

⁸⁸Lifshitz, Donateurs no. 85.

⁸⁹CII 803, 804 (Lifshitz, Donateurs nos. 38, 39).

⁹⁰CII 991 (Lifshitz, Donateurs no. 74; for a detailed discussion of this difficult inscription, see Hättenmeister 404-407), 1404 (Lifshitz, Donateurs no. 79), 1414; Lifshitz, Donateurs no. 66; SEG 20 (1964) no. 443; Schwabe and Lifshitz, Beth She'arim 2. nos. 164 (quoted below, n. 114), 203, 212. SEG 26 (1976-1977) no. 1687 includes the word archisynagōgos as reconstructed by Moshe Schwabe, but there is no basis for this reconstruction.

⁹¹CIL VIII, Suppl. 1. 12457.

⁹²CII 1404 (Lifshitz, Donateurs no. 79).

⁹³The inscriptions mentioning synagogue heads as builders are: CII 548 (Porto): [. . . .] θουσ[. . . .] / [. . . . ἐκ τῶν] δίων καὶ [. . .] / [. . . τ]ὸν παρ' αὐτ[ο]ν / [. . . ἀρχισυ]ναγωγῆ[. . .]. "...[from] (his/her) own funds and [. . .] the side door [. . . head of the synagogue [. . .]." (Obviously this inscription is heavily reconstructed.) CII 722 (Lifshitz, Donateurs no. 1; Aegina): Θεόδωρος ἀρχ[ισυ]ναγωγ(ος) φροντίσας ἔτη τέσσερα/ ἐκ θεμελίων τὴν σ[υναγωγ(ήν)] οἰκοδόμησα. Προσοδεύ(θησαν)/ χρύσιν[ο]ι πε' καὶ ἐκ τῶν τοῦ Θε(οῦ) δωρεῶν χρύσινοι ρο'[. . .]. "I, Theodoros, head of the syn[agogue], having served as phrontistēs (business manager) for four years, built the synagogue from the foundation up. 85 gold pieces were contributed, as well as 170 gold pieces from the gifts to God [. . .]." CII 744 (Teos, Ionia; 3rd C.): quoted below Appendix no. 24. CII 756 (Lifshitz, Donateurs no. 29; Myndos, Caria; 4th/5th C.): Theopempte inscription, quoted above, p. 13. CII 776 (Lifshitz, Donateurs no. 33; Akmonia, Phrygia; end of 1st C. C.E.): quoted below, Appendix no. 6. Lifshitz, Donateurs no. 37 (Side, Pamphylia; 5th C.): ['Ε]πὶ Λεοντίου πρεσβ(υτέρου) καὶ ζυγ(οστάτου) / [κ]αὶ φροντιστοῦ υειοῦ Ἰακωβ/ ἀρχ(ισυναγώγου) καὶ ζυγ(οστάτου) ἐγένετο ἡ κρήνη/ σὺν τῷ μεσαύλῳ Ἰνδ(ικτιονι) γ', μῆ(νι) ζ'. "At the time of Leontios, elder, treasurer and business manager, son of Jacob, head of the synagogue and treasurer, the fountain was installed in the courtyard, in the third year of the indiction, in the sixth month." (Note that arch could also be an abbreviation for archon.) Lifshitz, Donateurs no. 66 (Caesarea, Palestine; 6th C.): Βη[ρ]υλλος ἀρχισ(υναγώγος) / καὶ φροντιστῆς/ υος Ἰουτου, ἐποί/ησε τὴν ψηφο/θεσίαν τοῦ τρι/κλίνου τῷ Ἰδίῳ. "Beryllos, head of the synagogue and business manager, son of Juda (lit.: Ioutos), made the mosaic of the dining hall (triclinium) with his own funds." CII 803 (Lifshitz, Donateurs no. 38; Apamea, Syria; 391 C.E.): quoted below, p. 26. CII 804 (Apamea, Syria; end of the 4th C.): quoted below, Appendix no. 39. CII 991 (Lifshitz, Donateurs no. 74; Sepphoris, Palestine; first half of 5th C.): ('Επὶ) Ἰελασίου σχο(λαστικοῦ) κώ(μητός) λαμπ(ροτάτου) υειοῦ Ἀετίου τοῦ ὕ κώ(μητος) εἰσοδα (ἀ)ρχισυναγώγου Σιδονίου <ἀ)ρχισυναγ/ώγου> περιερθονταδ Συβεριανο(υ) Ἰαφρο(υ) ἀρχισυναγ/ώγου Τύρου λαμπ(ροτάτου). (Text of M. Schwabe.) "At the time of Gelasios, lawyer, most illustrious comes, son of

Aetios, comes, and of Juda, head of the synagogue of Sidon . . . (?) of S(e)verianus Apher, the most illustrious head of the synagogue of Tyre." This is just one reading of a difficult inscription. For an extensive discussion, see Hüttenmeister 404-407. CII 1404 (Lifshitz, Donateurs no. 79; Jerusalem; before the destruction of the Second Temple): quoted below, p. 24. Lifshitz, Donateurs no. 85 (Constantia-Salamine, Cyprus; 3rd C.): [. . .] / πεντ(άκις) ἀρχι(συναγώγου) / υἱοῦ Ἀνανία / δὲς ἄρχοντ(ος) (reconstruction of B. Lifshitz). "[So and so], five times head of the synagogue, son of Ananias, twice archon."

⁹⁴CII 265 (Rome: Via Appia): Stafulo arconti/ et archisynagogo/ honoribus omnibus/ fuctus. Restituta coniux/ benemerenti fecit. Ἐν εἰρήνῃ ἡ κοίμησις σου. "To Stafulus, archon and head of the synagogue, who held all honors. Restituta, his wife, set up (this stone) in grateful memory. In peace your sleep."

⁹⁵CII 553 (Capua, Italy): Alfius Iuda, / arcon arcosy/ nagogus q(ui) vi(xit)/ ann(is) LXX mesib(us) VII/ dieb(us) X, Alfia So/teris, cum q(ua) vixit) an(nis)/ XXXXVIII, coiugi / incomparabil(i)/ benemerenti fecit. "Alfius Juda, archon, head of the synagogue, who lived 70 years, 7 months, 10 days (lies here). Alfia Soteris, with whom he lived for 48 years, set up (this stone) for her incomparable husband in grateful memory."

⁹⁶CII 766 (Akmonia, Phrygia): quoted below, Appendix no. 6.

⁹⁷For recent bibliography, see Hüttenmeister 192-194.

⁹⁸A further member of the founding body was a certain Simonides, who bears no title at all, a fact which should remind us that the title-bearing officers were not the only leaders of the ancient synagogue.

⁹⁹CII 587 (Venosa, Italy): Τάφος Καλ/λίστου νεπίου/ ἀρχοσσυναγώγου, ἐτῶν γ' [μη]/νῶν γ'. Ἐν [εἰ]ρήνῃ ἡ κοιμη[σις αὐτοῦ]. "Tomb of Kallistos, infant head of the synagogue, (aged) 3 years, 3 months. In peace his sleep."

¹⁰⁰CII 584 (Venosa, Italy): Τάφος / Ἰωσηφ ἀρχησου/νάγωως υἱῶς / Ἰωσηφ ἀρχησου/ναγοῦ. [יִשְׁשַׁבְּט] לַע לְיִסְרָאֵל. "Tomb of Joseph, head of the synagogue, son of Joseph, head of the synagogue. Peace on his bed."

¹⁰¹CII 744 (Teos, Ionia): quoted below, Appendix no. 24.

¹⁰²CII 766 (Akmonia, Phrygia): quoted below, Appendix no. 6.

¹⁰³CII 416 and 417 (Rome: Via Portuensis): with their curious mention of za biou, which probably equals dia biou (see Schürer, Gemeindefassung 23-24) should also be considered in this context. CII 416 is quoted below in chap. 4, "Women as Mothers of the Synagogue," n. 18, while CII 417 is quoted in the same chapter, no. 9.

¹⁰⁴Quoted above, n. 93.

¹⁰⁵CII 504 (Rome: uncertain provenance): Ἐνθάδε/ κέϋτε Ἰου/λιανὸς ἱερευσάρχων (or: ἱερεὺς ἀρχων) Καλ/καρησιῶν υἱ/ὸς Ἰουλιανοῦ ἀρχισυν/αγώγου. "Here lies Julianus, gerusiarch (or priest, archon) of the Calcaresians, son of Julianus, head of the synagogue." See also CII 991 (Lifshitz, Donateurs no. 74)

and Lifshitz, Donateurs nos. 37, 85, all three of which are quoted above in n. 93.

¹⁰⁶Other inscriptions where father and son both bear a title, but not the same one: CII 88, 145, 146, 613, 800.

¹⁰⁷CII 681 (Sofia, Moesia): quoted below, p. 36.

¹⁰⁸CII 766 (Akmonia, Phrygia): quoted below, Appendix no. 6.

¹⁰⁹CII 804 (Apamea, Syria): quoted below, Appendix no. 39.

¹¹⁰On this inscription in the context of other inscriptions relating to Jews in Antioch see also 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) 53-57; Meeks and Wilken also discuss the internal organization of Jews in Antioch, *ibid.*, 6-9.

¹¹¹Jean-Baptiste Frey's suggestion that these synagogue heads served successively rather than simultaneously (CII, ad loc.), does not take epi, "at the time of," "under," seriously. It is most reasonable to assume that the mosaic was constructed "under" all of those named.

¹¹²See Meeks and Wilken, 7.

¹¹³CII, ad loc.

¹¹⁴The case of the gerusiarch of Antioch in a Beth She'arim inscription is rather different, for that person could have been the head of an Antiochene gerousia composed of delegates from various synagogues. The inscription reads: 'Αψίδς/ Αίδεσίου/ γερού(σ)ιάρχου/ 'Αντιοχέως. "Burial chamber of Aidesios, the gerusiarch of Antioch." (Schwabe and Lifshitz, Beth She'arim 2. no. 141; Meeks and Wilken, 55). A somewhat parallel inscription is Schwabe and Lifshitz, Beth She'arim 2. no. 164: "Ενθά κίτε/ Εύ<σ>έβις ὁ λαμ/πρότατος ἀρ/χισυνάγωγος ὦν Βηριτῶ[ν]. "Here lies Eusebi(o)s the most illustrious head of the synagogue of the people of Beirut." (For ὦν read τῶν.)

¹¹⁵Y. Meg. 74a.18 is interesting in this context: ג' מניח הכנסת כביה הכנסת. "Three (delegates) from the synagogue are like the synagogue," i.e., have the authority to represent it. It is the plural which is important here.

¹¹⁶See above, n. 93.

¹¹⁷Schürer's argument is quite similar to argument two; he says that in the later period women and children bore the title archisynagogos "just as a title," but he does not suggest that the title was honorific for men in the later period (History 2.435; see also Geschichte 3.88).

Notes to Chapter II

¹First published by G. Sotirou, Archaeologischer Anzeiger 52 (1937) 148; corrected by Louis Robert, Hellenica I (1940) 26-27.

²For photographs of kioniskoi, see Alexander Conze, Die attischen Grabreliefs (4 vols.; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1911-1922) 4. pls. CCCLXXIX-CCCLXXXVII.

³Sotirou 148.

⁴Robert 25-27.

⁵On Peristera, see Friedrich Bechtel, Die Attischen Frauennamen nach ihrem Systeme dargestellt (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1902) 88, n. 2; Friedrich Bechtel, Die historischen Personennamen des Griechischen bis zur Kaiserzeit (Halle/S.: Max Niemeyer, 1917) 591; Friedrich Bilabel, Sammelbuch griechischer Urkunden aus Ägypten 3 (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1926) no. 6783 (Zenon Papyri); Louis Robert, Hellenica I (1940) 26,71.

⁶On the ending -issa, see Edwin Mayser, Grammatik der griechischen Papyri aus der Ptolemäerzeit (2 vols. in 6 pts.; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1906-1934) 1 (1931) 54; Eduard Schwyzer, Griechische Grammatik (4 vols.; Munich: C.H. Beck, 1939-1971), 1.473-475 (includes bibliographical references).

⁷In late Latin, vivo suo is used for se vivo; on this see Veikko Väänänen, Introduction au latin vulgaire (Paris: C. Klincksieck, 1963) 179.

⁸See LSJ 252; Gerhard Delling, "Archēgos," TWNT 1 (1933) 485-486; or TDNT 1 (1964) 487-488; LPGL 236.

⁹Plato Timaeus 21E. Archēgetis/archēgetēs is used synonymously with archēgos, e.g., Artemis Leukophyrene was archēgetis of Magnesia on the river Maiandros (Asia Minor), see Wilhelm Dittenberger, Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum 1. nos. 256.22, 259.19, 261.18-19; 2. no. 552.18.

¹⁰Bacchylides 8.50-52 (ed. Richard C. Jebb [Cambridge: At the University Press, 1905] 306-309).

¹¹Aristotle, The Nicomachean Ethics 8.12.4.

¹²Eusebius De ecclesiastica theologia 2.9 (ed. Erich Klostermann: GCS 18, Eusebius 4 [1906] 109; 2nd ed., rev. Günther C. Hansen [1972] 109).

¹³Robert 25.

¹⁴Apparently members of the Corinthian community placed an emphasis on who had introduced them to Christianity that was far too great for Paul's liking (1 Cor 1:12-16; 3:4-11).

¹⁵For a discussion of women proselytes in ancient Judaism, see below, pp. 144-147.

¹⁶On Priscilla, see esp. Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza, USOR 33(1978) 156-157; idem, Women of Spirit. Female Leadership in the Jewish and Christian Traditions (ed. Rosemary Radford Ruether and Eleanor McLaughlin; New York: Simon and Schuster, 1979) 34.

¹⁷See Bernadette J. Brooten, "'Junia . . . Outstanding among the Apostles' (Romans 16:7)," Women Priests. A Catholic Commentary on the Vatican Declaration (ed. Leonard Swidler and Arlene Swidler; New York: Paulist Press, 1977) 141-144. That Junia was Jewish is indicated by syngeneis mou (Rom 16:7), which

can have either the narrower sense of "my relatives," or the extended sense of "people of my race." Since Paul was Jewish, either of these meanings would imply that Junia and Andronicus were likewise Jewish.

¹⁸Other women who were important co-workers of Paul include: Phoebe (Rom 16:1); Mariam (Rom 16:6); Tryphaina, Tryphosa and Persis (Rom 16:12); Euodia and Syntyche (Phil 4:2-3); Apphia (Phlm 2); cf. also Chloe (1 Cor 1:11) and Nympha (Col 4:15). On these women, see esp. Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza, "Women in the Pre-Pauline and Pauline Churches," *USQR* 33 (1978) 153-166.

¹⁹See The Acts of Paul and Thecla, Hennecke-Schneemelcher 2.353-364. The work ends with the words, "Having enlightened many with the word of God, she [Thekla] slept a noble sleep."

Notes to Chapter III

¹First published by Anastasius C. Bandy, "Early Christian Inscriptions of Crete," *Hesperia* 32 (1963) 227-229, no. 1, pl. 64. See also *idem*, The Greek Christian Inscriptions of Crete (Christianikai Epigraphai tēs Hellados 10; Athens: Christian Archaeological Society, 1970) Appendix no. 3. The inscription was included by Lifshitz in his prolegomenon to the CII, p. 88.

²Pp. 11-12.

³First published by R. M. Dawkins and F. W. Hasluck, "Inscriptions from Bizye," The Annual of the British School at Athens XII, session 1905-1906, 179-180, no. 5 (facsimile).

⁴CII, ad loc.; p. LXXXVI, n. 2.

⁵Krauss, Altertümer 144.

⁶Juster 1.441, n. 8.

⁷On the Jewish catacomb in Venosa, see Otto Hirschfeld, "Le catacombe degli Ebrei a Venosa," Bulletino dell'Instituto di Corrispondenza archeologica (1897) 148-152; G. I. Ascoli, Iscrizioni inedite o mal note, greche, latine, ebraiche di antichi sepolcri quidaici del Napolitano (Estratto degli Atti IV Congresso Internazionale degli Orientalisti tenutosi in Firenze nel 1878; Turin: Ermanno Loescher, 1880) 39-64; pls. 1-2; Raffaello Garrucci, "Cimitero ebraico di Venosa in Puglia," La Civiltà Cattolica 1 (1883) 707-720; François Lenormant, "La catacombe juive de Venosa," REJ 6 (1883) 200-207; Harry J. Leon, "The Jews of Venusia," JQR n.s. 44 (1953-1954) 267-284; Gian Piero Bognetti, "Les inscriptions juives de Venosa et le problème des rapports entre les Lombards et l'Orient," Comptes-rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres (1954) 193-202; Baruch Lifshitz, "Les Juifs à Venosa," Rivista di filologia 90, n.s. 40 (1962) 367-371; Leo Levi, "Le iscrizioni della 'Catacomba nuova' di Venosa," Rassegna mensile di Israel 31 (1965) 358-364. For further literature, see CII, p. 46 of the Prolegomenon; and pp. 420-422. CIL IX 6226 is the first publication of CII 581.

⁸The transcription of the name is unclear. Frey takes it to be Beronikenes (CII, ad loc.), while Leon suggests the Latin Veronicene ("Jews," 278). Lifshitz believes it is "the feminine form of Berenicianus: Βερονικ(α)ν(η)ς." (CII, Prolegomenon 45).

⁹First published in CIL IX 6230. Cf. Ascoli 49.

¹⁰Leon suggests Mannina ("Jews" 275, n. 20).

¹¹See below, pp. 62-63.

¹²First published by Ascoli 53 no. 5.

¹³CII 595: שלום על מי/שכהברו/ טפוס סהקונדינר/ פרטוביטרן
(Menorah, Lulav, Ethrog) קי מטאירינא/ אטרן ארנדואמא.
Ll. 3-5 (Greek in Hebrew characters) = Τάφος Σεκουσσίνου
προσβυτέρου ἐκ Μαρτινα(ς) ἑτῶν ὀγδοήντα. "Peace upon his bed.
Tomb of Secundinus, elder, and of Materina, (aged) 80 years."

¹⁴First published by Pietro Romanelli, "Una piccola catacomba giudaica di Tripoli," Quaderni di Archeologia della Libia 9 (1977) 111-118 (drawing).

¹⁵Romanelli suggests this, noting that Mazauzala is unattested in both Greek and Latin (Romanelli 114-115).

¹⁶Romanelli is of the opinion that the term probably designates the wife of a presbyteros or is simply an honorific title applied to an aged and venerated woman (Romanelli 116).

¹⁷See above, pp. 11-12; 41.

¹⁸SEG 27 (1977) no. 1200: not totally legible, probably a Latin text; no. 1202: Ἔδε κατε Ῥωπ(νιός) / τῷ Ζωσίμου/
ΝΟΥΤ. . . .Y. "Here lies Ropnios, son of Zosimos. . . ."; no. 1203: Κ ΜΑΚΑΡ...ΑΝΑ/ Ν"... . . Makar[ia? ios?] . . . Ana (or Ana[nias?])."

¹⁹First published by Giorgio Schneider Graziosi, "La nuova sala giudaica nel Museo Cristiano Lateranense," Nuovo bulletino di archeologia cristiana 21 (1915) 31, no. 51.

²⁰Nikolaus Müller, Die Inschriften der jüdischen Katakombe am Monteverde zu Rom (ed. Nikos A. Bees, Leipzig: O. Harrassowitz, 1919) 55, no. 48. Rather than reading this as Our[is]a (Frey, CII ad loc.), one should probably take it as a previously unattested name. Leon 325, does not believe it is a name at all and simply writes oura.

²¹LSJ 1426.

²²Council of Laodicea, can. 11 (PG 137.1356D). See esp. Roger Gryson, The Ministry of Women in the Early Church; tr. Jean Laporte and Mary Louise Hall (Collegeville, Minn.: Liturgical, 1976) 53-54.

²³On the meaning of "elder," see esp. Schürer, Gemeindeverfassung 19; idem, History 2.184-185; 427-433; Geschichte 3.89-91,96; Juster 1.440-447; Hans Lietzmann, "Zur altchristlichen Verfassungsgeschichte," Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie 50, n.s. 20 (1914) 97-153, esp. 113-132; Krauss, Altertümer 116-117, 147-148,167,246,307,393; Elbogen 39,52,475, 484; Str-B 4.145; Jean-Baptiste Frey, RSR 21 (1931) 137-139; Hans Zucker, Studien zur jüdischen Selbstverwaltung im Altertum

(Berlin: Schocken, 1936) 173-190; Jean-Baptiste Frey, CII pp. LXXXVI-LXXXVII; Baron, Community 1.77,99-100,133-135; 3.13, n. 2; Louis Robert, Revue de philologie 32 (1958) 41-42; Günther Bornkamm, "Presbys, presbyteros etc.," TWNT 6 (1959) 651-683; or TDNT 6 (1968) 651-680; Enc Jud s.v. "Elder"; A. E. Harvey, "Elders," JTS n.s. 25 (1974) 318-332; esp. 320-326; C. H. Roberts, "Elders: A Note," JTS n.s. 26 (1975) 403-405; Shimon Applebaum, "Organization" 491-495.

²⁴On this question, cf. LXX, which usually translates zēgēnīm with presbyteroi (Num 11:16; 2 Sam 3:17; 5:3; 17:4,15, etc.), but occasionally translates it with gerousia (Exod 3:16,18; 4:29; 12:21, etc.). For a discussion of presbyteroi and gerousia in the LXX, cf. Hans Lietzmann, "Verfassungsgeschichte" 123-125.

²⁵See Cod. Iust. 1.9.15.

²⁶See Cod. Theod. 16.8.1,23; 16.9.3; CII 611.

²⁷Quoted and discussed above, pp. 24-25.

²⁸PG 41.436A. Included in Klijn and Reinink 186-187. See also Epiphanius, Panarion 30.2.6: ποτὲ γὰρ παρθενίαν ἐσεμνύοντο, δῆθεν διὰ τὸν Ἰακωβὸν τὸν ἀδελφὸν τοῦ κυρίου· <διδ> καὶ τὰ αὐτῶν συγγράμματα πρεσβυτέροις καὶ παρθένοις γράφουσι. "In the past they boasted of virginity because of James the brother of the Lord. (Therefore) they address their writings to elders and virgins," (PG 41.408B; Klijn and Reinink 176-177).

²⁹For the following, see Lietzmann, "Verfassungsgeschichte" 130-132. Lietzmann emphasizes the significance of the legal texts for understanding the term presbyteroi. In addition to the texts discussed in the following, he cites Cod. Theod. 16.8.1, where maiores are mentioned, and Cod. Theod. 16.8.8 and 16.8.29 (= Cod. Iust. 1.9.17), where primates are mentioned. Since it is not clear, however, that maiores and primates mean the same as presbyteroi, these texts will not be used here as evidence for the functions of elders.

³⁰Ed. Theodor Mommsen, 2d ed. (2 vols.; Berlin: Weidmann, 1954), 1.887.

³¹Tr. Clyde Pharr (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1952) 467 (with minor changes).

³²Quoted and discussed above, pp. 19-21.

³³On the decurionate, see PW 8 (1901) 2319-2352; on immunitas see PW 9 (1916) 1134-1136.

³⁴Ed. Mommsen 1.890.

³⁵Tr. Sheila Briggs, drawing partially upon Pharr 468.

³⁶See above, pp. 20-21.

³⁷The apostles are not functionaries within the synagogue, but rather delegates from the patriarch to the synagogue.

³⁸Ed. Paul Krueger, in: Corpus Iuris Civilis 2, 14th ed. (Berlin: Weidmann, 1968) 62.

³⁹Tr. S. P. Scott (17 vols.; Cincinnati: The Central Trust Company, 1932; reprint ed., New York: AMS Press, 1973), 12.78 (with a minor variation).

⁴⁰Archipherekitai comes from the Aramaic rešē pirqā', which means "heads of the school" (e.g., b. Qidd. 31b).

⁴¹For a discussion of the possibility that elders spoke the words of excommunication, cf. H. Zucker, Studien 188-189. This text is, however, not necessarily a definition of the title zāqēn as used in the rabbinic period. It rather defines zāqēn as used in the bible and is an attempt to assert the antiquity of the "scholar-class" and to claim special prerogatives for themselves, such as having others rise in their presence (Lev 19:32), which is the context in b. Qidd. 32b.

⁴²See also IQM 13:1, which speaks of the elders' place in the messianic battle.

⁴³The terminus ad quem for this passage would be the early third century.

⁴⁴The benches were probably installed in stage three of the building (3rd C.) and remained in use in stage four (4th C.); cf. Andrew R. Seager, in: AJA 76 (1972) 426, pl. 93, fig. 4; photo in: BASOR 199 (1970) 50, fig. 41.

⁴⁵CII 663: [. . .] ἐξ εὐ]χῆς (ἀρ)χόντων κέ πρε(σ)βυτέρων [. . .]. ". . . of the archons and the elders . . ."

⁴⁶Rachel Wischnitzer, The Architecture of the European Synagogue (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1964) 11-13 (plan); Don A. Halperin, The Ancient Synagogues of the Iberian Peninsula (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1969) 26-28.

⁴⁷E.g., y. Bik. 65d.11-15; b. Sanh. 14a; on the ordination question, see H. Zucker, Studien 174-180; Edward Lohse, Die Ordination im Spätjudentum und im Neuen Testament (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1951) 28-66; Str-B 2.647-661. The question of ordination and the Holy Land is related to the power of the patriarch; on this, cf. y. Sanh. 19a.41-48; Str-B. 2.649-650. Epiphanius's note that an apostle of the patriarch could remove an elder from office (Panarion 30.11.1, PG 41.424B) is also apropos here.

⁴⁸See CII 378 (Via Portuensis, Rome; Greek); 595 (Venosa, Apulia; Hebrew and Greek in Hebrew characters) quoted above, n. 13; 650c (Tauromenion, Sicily; Greek); 650d (Tauromenion, Sicily; Greek); 653b (Philosophiana, Sicily; Greek) 790 and 792 (Corycos, Cilicia; Greek); 801 (twice; Chrysopolis, Pontus; Greek); 931 (Jaffa, Palestine; Greek); 1277 (Jerusalem; Greek).

⁴⁹See CII 663 (Lifshitz, Donateurs no. 101; Elche, Spain; probably 4th C.); quoted above, n. 45; CII 735; Lifshitz, Donateurs no. 82; Golgoi, Cyprus; probably 4th C.): Ἰωση πρεσβ(ύτερος) (μετὰ τοῦ) υἱοῦ Συνεσίου/ ἀνεπέωσαν/ τὸ πᾶν ἔργον/ τῆς Ἑβραϊκῆς. "Jose, elder, together with his son Synesios, restored the entire structure of the synagogue;" CII 739 (Lifshitz, Donateurs no. 14; Smyrna, Ionia; 4th C.): quoted above, chap. 1, n. 29; CII 803 (Lifshitz, Donateurs no. 38; Apamea, Syria; 391 C.E.); quoted above, p. 26; CII 829 (Lifshitz, Donateurs no. 58; Dura Europos, Syria; 244 C.E.): Σαμουήλ/ Εὐδέρου/ πρεσβύτερος/ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἔκτισε. "Samuel, son of

Jaddaiou, elder of the Jews, built (it)." For the name "Jaddaiou", see CII 828a (YDYW); Lifshitz, *Donateurs* no. 32 (Hyllarima, Caria; probably 3rd C.): quoted below, *Appendix* no. 29; Lifshitz, *Donateurs* no. 37 (Side, Pamphylia, 5th C.): quoted above, chap. 1, no. 93; Lifshitz, *Donateurs* no. 84 (Lapethos, Cyprus; probably 5th C.): Θ(εός) β(οήθει). 'Εντόλιος/ πρεσβύτερος καί/ 'Ενκαίριος υἱός 'Ισα/ακ ἐπίκλην Σινδούρου/ τοῦ μακαριστάτου./ τὰ σά ἐκ τῶν σῶν/ σοι προσφέρω/μεν. μη(νός) ε', ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) ε'./ Κ(ύρι)ε σῶσον,/ ἀμήν. "God assists. We, Entolios, elder, and Enkairios, son of the late Isaak, also called Sindouros, offer to you from that which is yours, in the fifth month, the fifth indiction. Lord save. Amen."

⁵⁰Quoted and discussed above, pp. 26-27.

⁵¹CII 731f (Samos): [. . . κα]αὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι καί. . . / [τῶν] 'Ιουδαίων τῆς κατὰ [Σάμον?]/[. . . συ]ναγωγῆς ἐτίμησαν AP. . . "[. . . a]nd the elders and [. . . .] of [the] Jews of [Samos? . . . sy]nagogue honored Ar[. . . .], etc.

⁵²CII 663 (Lifshitz, *Donateurs* no. 101; Elche, Spain): quoted above, no. 45.

⁵³CII 800 (Arnaut-Keni, Bithynia): 'Ευθάδε/ κατάκητε/ Σανβατίς/ υἱός Γερω/ντιου πρ(εσβυτέρου)/ γραματεὺς/ κ(αὶ) αἰψηστ/άτις τὸν/ παλεῶν/ ἥρινη. "Here lies Sanbatis, son of Geronteos, elder, scribe and president of the elders. Peace."

⁵⁴Quoted above, p. 24.

⁵⁵H. Zucker, drawing on rabbinic sources, speaks of the "local elder" ("Ortsältester"), assuming that each elder had a sort of local jurisdiction. While one must allow for variety on this point, Zucker's interpretation must be viewed with caution, since he rather loosely interprets other terms as meaning "elder," such as *hākām* and *yāhīd*, and uncritically places passages with these terms side by side with passages referring to *zēqēnīm*, *Studien* 184-190.

⁵⁶A. E. Harvey, "Elders" 325.

Notes to Chapter IV

¹The earliest records of this inscription are given by Philippe de Winghe (died 1592) in Cod. 17872-3 of the Royal Library of Brussels, Claude Ménestrier (died 1639) in the Vatican manuscript Cod. Lat. 10545, fol. 150b, and Alonso Chacón (1540-1599), (exact location unknown). For further background and bibliography see Leon 67-68; CII *ad loc.*

²The translation is that of Leon 341, with minor variations. Note that no plausible solution has been suggested for the *f*. Frey's *filia* or *feliciter* are not satisfactory. For all of the following Roman inscriptions consult Leon 263-346 ("Appendix of Inscriptions"). The following translations of Roman inscriptions are those of Leon, with minor variations.

³The readings for this name vary considerably: Paucila, Paulina, Paullina. See CII, *ad loc.*

⁴CII 88 (Rome: Via Appia): 'Ενθά(δ)ε κείτε 'Αννιανος ἄρχων [νή]πιος/ υἱὸς 'Ιουλιανου πατρὸ[ς] συναγωγῆς Καμπη/σιων αἰτῶν η' μηνῶν β'. 'Εν εἰρήνῃ ἢ κοιμησῆς αὐτοῦ. "Here lies Annanios, infant archon, son of Julianus, father of the synagogue of the Campesians, aged 8 years, 2 months. In peace his sleep." Note that the infant archon did not receive the same title as his father.

⁵CII 319 (Rome: Via Portuensis): 'Ενθάδε κίτε 'Ειρήνα/ παρθενική σύμβιος/ Κλωδίου ἀδελφοῦ/ Κουντου Κλαυδίου/ Συνεσίου πατρὸς/ συναγωγῆς Καμπη/σιων 'Ρώμης. ΔΙ>Ω "Here lies Eirene, virgin wife of Clodios, brother of Quintus Claudius Synesios, father of the synagogue of the Campesians of Rome. Peace."

⁶On the synagogue of the Campesians, see Leon 144-145; CII 433 may also contain a reference to the Campesians, but only the Ka- is extant.

⁷CII 343 (Rome: Via Portuensis): 'Ενθάδε κίτε 'Ιλαρος/ ἄρχων ἀπὸ συναγωγῆς Βολουμνησιων/ ζήσας ἔτη λε'. 'Εν εἰρήνῃ ἢ κοιμησῆς/ αὐτοῦ. μνί[α] αὐτοῦ. "Here lies Hilaros, archon from the synagogue of the Volumnesians, who lived 35 years. In peace his sleep. His memory (for a blessing?)."

⁸CII 402 (Rome: Via Portuensis): 'Ενθάδε κίτε Σικκου/λος Σαβεινος μελ/λάρχων Βολουμνη/σιων ἑτῶν β' μηνῶν ι'. "Here lies Siculus Sabinus, archon-to-be of the Volumnesians, aged 2 years, 10 months."

⁹CII 417 (Rome: Via Portuensis): 'Ενθάδε κίτε/ Φλαβίος Σαβεινος/ ζαβίου συναγωγῆς/ τῶν Βολουμνη <ν>/σων. 'Εν εἰρήνῃ/ ἢ κοιμησῆς αὐτ(ου). "Here lies Flavius Sabinus, (archon?)-for-life of the synagogue of the Volumnesians. In peace their sleep." On this interpretation of ζαβίου as ἄρχων διὰ βίου see Schürer, *Gemeindeverfassung* 23.

¹⁰Leon 66, 157-159.

¹¹CII 508 (Rome: uncertain provenance): 'Ενθάδε κίτε Μνι/ασεας μαθητῆς/ σοφῶν καὶ πατῆρ/ συναγωγῶν. "Here lies Mniaseas, disciple of the sages (= *talmid ḥakām*) and father of synagogues."

¹²First published by Giuseppe Gatti, "Nuove scoperte nella città e nel suburbio," *Notizie degli Scavi, Atti della R. Accademia dei Lincei*, anno CCXCVII, series 5, Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche 8 (1900) 88. See also *idem*, "Notizie di recenti trovamenti di antichità," *Bullettino della Commissione archeologica comunale di Roma* (1900) 223-225.

¹³Leon 142.

¹⁴CII 284 (Rome: Via Appia Pignatelli): Marcus Cuynt/us Alexus gra/mmatus ego t/on Augusthsio/n mellarcon / eccion Augu/stesion an(norum) XII. "Marcus Quintus Alexus, scribe of the Augustesians (= ἐκ τῶν Αὐγουστησιων), archon-to-be of the Augustesians (= μελλάρχων ἐκ τῶν Αὐγουστησιων), (aged) 12 years."

¹⁵CII 301 (Rome: Via Portuensis): 'Ενθάδε κίτε 'Αννις/ γερουσάρχης (sic) συναγωγῆς 'Αγουσσεσιων. 'Εν/ εἰρήνῃ ἢ κοιμησῆς/ αὐτοῦ. "Here lies Annis, gerusiarch of the synagogue of the Augustesians. In peace his sleep."

(Pages 59-62)

¹⁶CII 338 (Rome: Via Portuensis): 'Εν[θάδε κεί]τε/ Ζωτ[ικὸς? ἀρ]χων/ Αὐγ[ουστησιων]. 'Εν εἰρή[ν]ῃ [ἡ κοίμησις αὐτοῦ]. "Here lies Zot[ikos, ar]chon of the Aug[ustesians]. In peace [his sleep]."

¹⁷CII 368 (Rome: Via Portuensis): 'Ενθάδε κεί]τε/ Κυντιανὸς γεροῦ/σιδάρχης συναγωγ/ῆς Αὐγουστησιων/ ὅς ἐζήσεν ἔτη 54'./ 'Εν εἰρήνῃ ἡ κοίμησις αὐτοῦ. "Here lies Quintianus, gerusiarch of the synagogue of the Augustesians, who lived 54 years. In peace his sleep."

¹⁸CII 416 (Rome: Via Portuensis): 'Ενθάδε χεῖ]θε Φλα/βια 'Αντωνίνα γυνή/ Δατιβου τοῦ ζαβίου/ ἀπὸ τῆς συναγωγ/ῆς τῶν Αὐγουστησιων. "Here lies Flavia Antonina, wife of Dativus, (archon?)-for-life of the synagogue of the Augustesians."

¹⁹Cf. CII 417, quoted above, n. 9.

²⁰Leon 142.

²¹First published by Raffaello Garrucci, Cimitero degli antichi Ebrei scoperto recentemente in vigna Randanini (Rome: Coi tipi della Civiltà cattolica, 1862) 52.

²²Leon 66.

²³For references to the manuscripts which quote the inscription, see CIL V 4411 (ad loc.), and for previous editions of the inscription, see CII 639 (ad loc.).

²⁴Brix. B 4; see CIL V 4411 (ad loc.).

²⁵Frey's Caelia seems to be a simple printing error. Lifshitz corrects it in his prolegomenon to the 1975 edition, 49.

²⁶For literature on the Jewish catacomb in Venosa, see above, chap. 3, n. 7.

²⁷First published by G. I. Ascoli, Iscrizioni inedite o mal note, greche, latine, ebraiche di antichi sepolcri guidaici del Napolitano (Estratto degli Atti IV Congresso Internazionale degli Orientalisti tenutosi in Firenze nel 1878; Turin: Ermanno Loescher, 1880) 53, no. 6.

²⁸Ascoli, Iscrizioni 45, suggests this date for the catacomb. Leon, JQR n.s. 44 (1953-1954) 284, dates it to the fourth or perhaps early fifth century, and he also refers to further attempts to date the catacomb.

²⁹REJ 6 (1883) 203.

³⁰Ms. de Rossi 16356, no. 36, as reported by Frey, CII, ad loc. For further variants, see CIL IX ad loc.

³¹JQR n.s. 44 (1953-1954) 271-272; see also Leon 188. For a further possible example of the title pateressa, see below, pp. 128-129.

³²See W. Frenkel, Nella patria di O. Orazio Flacco, guida di Venosa (referred to by Lifshitz, CII, Prolegomenon, p. 46, but unavailable to me); G. P. Bognetti, Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres (1954) 194; Jeanne Robert and

Louis Robert, Bulletin Épigraphique, Revue des études grecques 68 (1955) no. 301; Baruch Lifshitz, Rivista di filologia n.s. 40 (1962) 368.

³³CII 619b (Venosa): Ἔδε κεῖτε Μάρκελλος/ πατὴρ πατέρων καὶ πά/τρων τῆς πόλεως. "Here lies Marcellus, father and patron of the city."

³⁴CII 590: quoted and discussed above, p. 43. CII 599: Τάφος/ Φαοστίνυ/ πατέρως./ יְשׁוּעָה/ לְיִשְׂרָאֵל עַל מְלוֹחַ. "Tomb of Faustinus, father. Peace upon Israel. Amen." CII 611: Hic ciscued Fausthna/ filia Faustin(i) pat(eri)s annorum/ quattuordecim(m) mhnsurum/ quinque que fuet unica paren/turum quei dixerunt trhnus (= θρήνους)/ duo apostuli et duo rebbites et/ satis grandem dolorem fecet pa/rentibus et lagremas cibita/ti/ . שלום. נפשו של פרוסטטניה/ נרה נפש שלום. pat(eri)s nepus Biti et Aselle/ qui fuerunt maiures cibi/tatis. "Here lies Faustina, daughter of Faustinus, father, (aged) 14 years, 5 months, who was the only child of her parents, for whom two apostles and two rabbis said the funeral elegy, and (her death) brought great sorrow to her parents and tears to the city. (Funeral) bed of Faustina. May (her) soul rest. Peace! She was the great-granddaughter of Faustinus, father, (and) grand-daughter of Vitus and Asella, who were the leading people of the city." CII 612: Absida (= ἄψις) ubi/ cesquit Faus/tinus pater. "Tomb where Faustinus, father, lies." CII 613: Hic pa[us]ad Fausti/nus pat[er] nepus Fas/tini pat(ri)s filius Viti/ ierusiarcotis / . שלום על משכהבר/ ירא ירושה "Here lies Faustinus, father, grandson of Fastinus, father, son of Vitus, gerusiarch. Peace upon his bed. . . (?)." CII 619b: See above, n. 33. CII 619c: See above, p. 62.

³⁵JQR n.s. 44 (1953-1954) 271.

³⁶PL 42.1131-1140. This work is not to be confused with the twelfth-century work which has gone under the title Altercatio Synagogae et Ecclesiae, but which Bernhard Blumenkranz believes is a Christian catechism, and not a pseudo-dialogue at all (Les auteurs chrétiens latins du moyen âge sur les juifs et le judaïsme [Paris: Mouton & Co., 1963] 207-208).

³⁷PL 42.1134.

³⁸Juster 1.74, n. 1. Bernhard Blumenkranz accepts this dating (TZ 4 [1948] 126; Altercatio Aecclesie Contra Synagomam [Strasbourg: Palais de l'Université, 1954] 27). The work was incorrectly attributed to Augustine, which explains its present location in PL 42.

³⁹TZ 4 (1948) 126; see PL 42.1131.

⁴⁰Krauss, Altertömer 166.

⁴¹Berliner 1.69.

⁴²Berliner 2,2.57.

⁴³Berliner's description is rather clear in this regard: "Für kranke und sterbende Frauen, wie für die Versorgung armer Bräute sorgte die mater Synagogae (No. 27 [= CII 523]), die auch unter dem Titel Pateressa bekannt ist und noch im 16. Jahrhundert als Parnessessa (somit Femininum von Parness) ihre Würde

behauptete. Als ehrwürdige Matrona erschien sie überall, wo dem weiblichen Theil der Gemeinde Hilfe, Beistand und Trost zu bringen war" (Berliner 1.69).

⁴⁴Leon 186-187.

⁴⁵Leon 188, n. 2.

⁴⁶Leon 194.

⁴⁷Frey, CII 1. p. XCVI.

⁴⁸Frey, CII 1. p. XCVI.

⁴⁹Juster 1.448-449; Baron, History 2.413, n. 22 (see also 2.186-188, 194); Applebaum, "Organization" 497-498. For further discussion of this title, see: Schürer, Gemeindeverfassung 29-30; Vogelstein/Rieger 1.43-44; Schürer, Geschichte 3.88-89,96; Krauss, Altertümer 118,156,166-167; Elbogen 484; George La Piana, "Foreign Groups in Rome in the First Centuries of the Empire," HTB 20 (1927) 361; Frey, CII 1. pp. LXXXIV, XCV-XCVI; Baron, Community 1.96-97,101; Baruch Lifshitz, Prolegomenon to the 2d ed. of Frey, CII 1.48.

⁵⁰The following example is representative rather than exceptional: "Schon der Umstand, dass eben auch der letztere Titel [mater synagogae] vorkommt, macht es wahrscheinlich, dass damit nicht ein eigentliches Gemeindeamt bezeichnet wird" (Schürer, Geschichte 3.88-89).

⁵¹Ed. Theodor Mommsen, 2d ed. (2 vols.; Berlin: Weidmann, 1954), 1.887.

⁵²Tr. Clyde Pharr (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1952) 467 (with minor changes).

⁵³On immunitas see PW 9 (1916) 1134-1136.

⁵⁴See especially Gottlob Schrenk, "Patēr", TWNT 5(1954) 946-1016; or TDNT 5 (1968) 945-1014.

⁵⁵See Str-B 1.916-917; Schürer, History 2.325-326.

⁵⁶See Gustaf Dalman, The Words of Jesus, tr. D. McKay (Edinburgh; T. & T. Clark, 1902) 338-339; K. Kohler, "Abba, father, title of spiritual leader and saint," JQR 13 (1901) 567-80; Str-B 1.918-919; Schürer, History 2.326-327.

⁵⁷See Encyclopedia Talmudica (ed. Meyer Berlin and Shlomo Josef Zevin; Jerusalem: Talmudic Encyclopedia, 1969-), 1(tr. Isidore Epstein and Harry Friedman; 1969) s.v. 'ab bēt dīn.

⁵⁸CII 537 (Porto, Italy): Καττία Ἀμμίας θυγάτηρ Μηνοφίλου πατὴρ συναγωγῆς τῶν Καρκαρησιῶν. Καλῶς βιώσα/σα ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαϊσμῶ ἔτη ζήσασα/ τριάκοντα καὶ τέσσαρα μετὰ τοῦ συμβίου. εἶδεν ἐκ τῶν τέκνων αὐτῆς ἕγγονα. ὤδε μετὰ Καττία/ Ἀμμίας. "Cattia Ammias, daughter of Menophilos, father of the synagogue of the Carcaresians. She lived a good life in Judaism, having lived 34 years with her husband. From her children she saw grandchildren. Here lies Cattia Ammias."

⁵⁹CII 88 (Rome: Via Appia): quoted above, n. 4.

- ⁶⁰CII 319 (Rome: Via Portuensis): quoted above, n. 5.
- ⁶¹CII 510 (Rome: probably from the Monteverde catacomb): Ἦδε κεί/τε Σαλω/ θυγάτηρ Γα/δια πατρός/ συναγωγῆς/ Αἰβρώων. ἔβ(ωσεν λ(υκ)άβαντας) μα'./ ἐν εἰρήνῃ ἢ κοιμη/σεις αὐτῆς. "Here lies Salo, daughter of Gadias, father of the synagogue of the Hebrews. She lived 41 years. In peace her sleep." CII 535 (Porto): Ἐντάδε κῆτε/ τυγατέρες δύο/ πατρός τῶν/ Ἐβρώων Γα/δια Τοσκα/ρα. ἐν ἰ/ρήνῃ. "Here lie two daughters of the father of the Hebrews, Gadias Toskara. In peace."
- ⁶²CII 509 (Rome: uncertain provenance): Ἐνθάδε κεύται Παν/χάριος πατὲρ συνα/γωγῆς Ἐλαίας ἐτῶν/ν ἑκατῶν δέκα φιλό/λαος φιλέντολος/ καλῶς βιώσας. ἦν εἰρ/ήνῃ ἢ κοιμησις/ αὐτοῦ. "Here lies Pancharios, father of the synagogue of Elaia, (aged) 110 years, lover of his people, lover of the commandments. He lived well. In peace his sleep."
- ⁶³CII 494 (Rome: Region of the Via Portuensis): Ἐν[θά]δε κ/εῖ[τε] Διομνο/ς π[α]τὴρ συνα/γωγ[ῆς] Βερνακλω/ν τρίς δ[ι]ρχ[ω]ν κὲ δὺς [φ]/ροντ[ιστῆ]ς. ἐν εἰρῆ/ν[ῃ] ἢ κ[ο]ιμ[η]σις αὐ[τοῦ]. "Here lies Domnus, father of the synagogue of the Vernacilians, thrice archon and twice phrontistes. In peace his sleep."
- ⁶⁴CII 508 (Rome: uncertain provenance): Ἐνθάδε κεύται Μνι/ασεας μαθητῆς/ σοφῶν καὶ πατῆρ/ συναγωγῶν. "Here lies Mniaseas, disciple of the sages and father of synagogues."
- ⁶⁵CII 93 (Rome: Via Appia): [Ἐν]θάδε κῆτε Ἄσπερ[ί]α/[ς] πατὴρ συναγωγῆς ὄσι/[ος] ἀμειπτος ἦς. αἰν ἰρήνῃ ἢ/ κοιμησίς σου. "Here lies Assterias. You were father of the synagogue, holy, irreproachable. In peace your sleep."
- ⁶⁶See above, n. 60.
- ⁶⁷CII 694 (Stobi, Macedonia): quoted below, chap. 6, n. 135.
- ⁶⁸See above, n. 34.
- ⁶⁹Quoted and discussed above, p. 43.
- ⁷⁰See above, n. 34.
- ⁷¹See above, p. 62.
- ⁷²See above, p. 62.
- ⁷³CII 619b (Venosa): Ἦδε κεύτε Μαρκελλος/ πατὴρ πατέρων καὶ πά/τρων τῆς πόλεως. "Here lies Marcellus, father of fathers and patron of the city."
- ⁷⁴Cf. the maiores cibitatis (a woman and a man) in CII 611, quoted above in n. 34.
- ⁷⁵CII 533 (Castel Porziano; probably from the first half of the 2nd C. C.E.): [Universitas] Iudeorum/ [in col. Ost. commor]antium qui compara/[verunt ex conlat]ione locum C. Iulio Iusto/ [gerusiarchae ad m]unimentum struendum/ [donavit rogantib]us Livio Dionisio patre et/ [.....]no gerusiarche et Antonio/ [.....]diab]iu anno ipsorum consent. ger /[us.C. Iulius Iu]stus gerusiarchus fecit sibi/ [et coniugi] suae lib.lib.posterisque eorum/ [in fro]nte p. XVIII in agro p. XVII. "The community of Jews living in the colony of Ostia, who by

means of a collection acquired a plot of land for G(aius) Julius Justus, gerusiarch, so that he might construct a (grave) monument, gave it to him at the request of Livius Dionysius, father, and of [.....]us, gerusiarch, and of Antonius [archon-for-life?], in the year of (their office?), by consent of the ge[rou]sia. G(aius) Julius Jus]tus, gerusiarch, made (the monument) for himself [and] his [wife], for his freedmen and freedwomen and their descendants. [W]idth, 18 feet, length 17 feet."

⁷⁶CII 739 (4th C.): quoted above, chap. 1, n. 29.

⁷⁷CII 720 (Mantineia, Arcadia): 'Αύρ(ηλιος) 'Ελπιδους/ πατήρ λαοῦ/ διὰ βίου δωρον/ το(ῦ) προναοῦ/ τῆ συναγωγῆ. "Aur(elius) Elpidys, father-for-life of the people, (made) a gift of the forecourt to the synagogue."

⁷⁸See Krauss, Altertömer 243.

⁷⁹This title was bestowed, for example, upon the emperor Antoninus Pius in the mid-second century by the senate (Scriptores Historiae Augustae, Antoninus Pius 6.6-7).

⁸⁰Plautus, Rudens 1.5.

⁸¹Egg., CIL III 7505; VI 8796, 10234; IX 2687, 5450; XIV 37, 2408.

⁸²Wilhelm Liebenam posits this in Zur Geschichte und Organisation des römischen Vereinswesens (Leipzig: Teubner, 1890) 218. See also: J(ean)-P(ierre) Waltzing, Étude historique sur les corporations professionnelles chez les Romains (4 vols.; Louvain: Charles Peeters, 1895-1900), 1 (1845) 425-449.

⁸³Waltzing, Étude, 1.446-447; PW 4 (1901) 425.

⁸⁴See M. J. Vermaseren, Corpus inscriptionum et monumentorum religionis Mithraicae (2 vols.; The Hague: Marinus Nijhoff, 1956-1960), 1. nos. 688, 803; Waltzing, Étude 1.446.

⁸⁵Vermaseren, Corpus, indices to vols. 1, 2 under "List of Mithraic Grades"; Waltzing, Étude 1.446-447.

⁸⁶CIL III 882 (Ladislaus Vidmann, Sylloge inscriptionum religionis Isiacae et Sarapicae [Berlin: De Gruyter, 1969], no. 698), CIL VI 406,408,413 (the patronus is distinguished from the pater); see also CIL III 8147; VI 377; XIV 37,69,707; IG XIV 1084 (Vidmann no. 384).

⁸⁷Since women were probably not admitted to the cult of Mithras, the question of mater is an irrelevant one. There is, however, one case of a woman in Leptis Magna, Africa, who bore the title lea, a Mithraic grade (Vermaseren l. no. 115).

By pointing out the similarity between Mithraism and Judaism with respect to this one title, I do not mean to imply a structural similarity between the two. Mithraism is a cult, whereas Judaism in the Roman Diaspora is a community, albeit a cultic community.

Notes to Chapter V

¹Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte 22 (1922) 13, no. 25.

²ZNW 22 (1923) 284; reprinted in: Hans Lietzmann, Kleine Schriften, (ed. Kurt Aland; 3 vols.; Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur 67,68,74; Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1958-1962), 1.442; see also SEG 1 (1923) no. 574 (also corrects to hierisa).

³See Jeanne Robert and Louis Robert, Bulletin épigraphique, Revue des études grecques 61 (1948) no. 259.

⁴E.g., SEG 17 (1960) 818 (Cyrenaica). The name Marion occurs in an inscription from the same site, SEG 17 (1960) 819.

⁵On the excavations in Tell el-Yahudiyeh, see Edouard Naville, The Mound of the Jew and the City of Onias. Seventh Memoir of the Egyptian Exploration Fund (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co., 1890); W. M. Flinders Petrie, Hyksos and Israelite Cities (London: University College and Bernard Quaritch, 1906). For a list of the principal epigraphical publications on Tell-el-Yahudiyeh, see CII 2. pp. 380-381, as well as Jeanne Robert and Louis Robert, Bulletin épigraphique, Revue des études grecques 72 (1959) no. 503.

⁶CII ad loc.

⁷On the temple of Onias, see Schürer, Geschichte 3.144-148; PW 12,2 (1925) 2055-2056; M. Delcor, "Le temple d'Onias en Égypte," RB 75 (1968) 188-203 ("Post-Scriptum" by Roland de Vaux, 204-205).

⁸For a brief survey of these, see Michael Stone, Scriptures, Sects and Visions. A Profile of Judaism from Ezra to the Jewish Revolts (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1980) 77-82. Stone mentions the temples at Arad, Elephantine, Araq el-Emir and Leontopolis, as well as the evidence for animal sacrifice at Qumran and at Sardis.

⁹First published by Giorgio Schneider Graziosi, "La nuovo sala giudaica nel Museo Cristiano Lateranense," Nuovo bulletino di archeologia cristiana 21 (1915) 31, no. 49; see also Nikolaus Müller, Die Inschriften der jüdischen Katakomba am Monteverde zu Rom (ed. Nikos A. Bees; Leipzig: O. Harrassowitz, 1919) 43-44, no. 35 (photograph in CII).

¹⁰On this name, see Müller and Bees, Inschriften 43-44.

¹¹Discussed below, pp. 95-97.

¹²Leon 193.

¹³CII ad loc.

¹⁴First published by Moshe Schwabe, Yediot 5 (1937-1938) 91; see also Mazar, Beth She'arim 1.102; pl. 15, no. 5; Schwabe and Lifshitz, Beth She'arim 2.42-43, no. 66. There is a contradiction between 1.102, which refers to our inscription as "a three-line Greek inscription painted in red, with the addition of a word in Hebrew: 'Shalom,'" and locates it above and to the

right of arcosolium 3, and 2.42-43, which locates the five-line Greek inscription above and to the right of arcosolium 2. An arcosolium is a grave niche with an arched ceiling.

¹⁵ Schwabe and Lifshitz, Beth She'arim 2.39-40.

¹⁶ Schwabe and Lifshitz, Beth She'arim 2.39-40; see also Mazar, Beth She'arim 1.102.

¹⁷ See CII 1050, 1067, 1088; Schwabe and Lifshitz, Beth She'arim 2. nos. 151, 165, 191, 219. The use of the nominative kyra may be due to Aramaic influence, as the Greek loan word OYR², indeclinable in Aramaic, is not unusual in Palestinian Aramaic inscriptions.

¹⁸ For a discussion of this name, see Schwabe and Lifshitz, Beth She'arim 2.42.

¹⁹ He was buried next to Sara in arcosolium 1 (CII 1081; Schwabe and Lifshitz, Beth She'arim 2.42, no. 65). His own epitaph also does not call him a priest, although perhaps one should nevertheless not exclude the possibility that he was one.

²⁰ Beth She'arim 2.43; see also Baruch Lifshitz, RB 74 (1967) 52.

²¹ pp. 78-83.

²² There are certain minor inconsistencies between Frey's uncial and minuscule transcriptions. Whether this is due to Schwabe's communication to Frey or to Frey himself, I cannot judge.

²³ Schwabe and Lifshitz, Beth She'arim 2.43.

²⁴ The literature on the ancient Israelite priesthood is voluminous. For a survey of recent literature and a summary of the issues of greatest importance in the current discussion, see Schürer, History 2.237-308. See also Enc Jud, s.v. "Priests and Priesthood;" Gottlob Schrenk, "Hiereus," TWNT 3 (1938) 257-265; or TDNT 3 (1965) 257-265; Juster 1.453-454; and for the nineteenth century, see esp. Wolf Wilhelm Baudissin, Die Geschichte des alttestamentlichen Priestertums (Leipzig: S. Hirzel, 1889). Also important here is the rabbinic extension of what can be seen as priestly purity to the laity. On this see Jacob Neusner, A History of the Mishnaic Law of Purities (22 vols.; Leiden: Brill, 1974-1977) and A History of the Mishnaic Law of Holy Things (6 vols.; Leiden: Brill, 1978-1979).

²⁵ On the rights and duties of the kōhenet, see Talmudic Encyclopedia (ed. Meyer Berlin and Shlomo Josef Zevin; Jerusalem: Talmudic Encyclopedia, 1951-), 4 (1952) s.v. bat kōhen (Hebrew); Encyclopedia Talmudica (ed. Meyer Berlin and Shlomo Josef Zevin; Jerusalem: Talmudic Encyclopedia, 1969-), 3 (tr. David B. Klein; 1978) s.v. ʿešet kōhen.

²⁶ These and the following references represent only a selection of the rabbinic passages on each question.

²⁷ This text, which is unattributed, cannot be dated precisely. Jacob Neusner believes that the tractate Sota is the work of Ushans, i.e., from the period of 140 to 170 (A History of the Mishnaic Law of Women [5 vols.; Leiden: Brill, 1980], 5.147; for commentary on this passage, see 4.36-37).

²⁸On the heave-offering, see Num 18:8,12,24,26; Deut 18:4. See also Terumot, the tractate on heave-offerings in the Mishnah, Tosefta and Jerusalem Talmud. On the question of whether Babylonia was seen as subject to agricultural taxes, see Jacob Neusner, A History of the Jews in Babylonia (5 vols.; Leiden: Brill, 1966-1970), 2 (1966) 260.

²⁹The difficulties in dating this text are related to the difficulties in dating any Talmud text. It is unclear which 'Ulla is referred to here; Mordechai Margolioth (Encyclopedia of Talmudic and Geonic Literature [2 vols.; Tel Aviv: "Yavneh," 1976], 2.716 [Hebrew]) believes that the text is speaking of an 'Ulla who was a contemporary of Rava (died 352). With the exception of R. Idi bar Avin (ca. 310), it is impossible to know precisely which rabbis are referred to as having eaten priestly dues on account of their wives, as there was more than one rabbi by the name of Kahana, Papa and Yemar. They were in any case Babylonian Amoraim. Even if one knew precisely which rabbis were meant, we have no guarantee of the accuracy of the ascription. In light of the lack of critical studies of the biographies and sayings of the rabbis in question, we can only say that the theories and sayings found in the text are Amoraic.

³⁰One might ask whether R. Kahana was not in fact a priest, as his name would indicate. First, it must be noted that having the name Kahana or Kohen does not necessarily imply priestly descent. Secondly, the text would make no sense if he were a priest, for then he would eat the priestly dues on account of himself and not on account of his wife.

³¹A text strongly expressing the fragility and derivative nature of a woman's priestliness is m. Yebam. 9:5-6, which describes under which circumstances a common Israelite woman who is the widow of a priest and a priest's daughter who is the widow of a common Israelite may eat of the priest's due.

³²Ismar J. Peritz, "Woman in the Ancient Hebrew Cult," JBL 17 (1898) 111-148; Ditlef Nielson, Die altarabische Mondreligion und die mosaische Überlieferung (Strassbourg: Karl J. Trubner, 1904) 192; Alfred Jeremias, Das Alte Testament im Lichte des alten Orients, 4th ed., rev. and enl. (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1930) 425 (cf. 1st ed. [1904] 271); Theod. Engert, Ehe- und Familienrecht der Hebräer (Munich: J. J. Lentner, 1905) 11; Max Löhr, Die Stellung des Weibes zu Jahwe-Religion und -Kult (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1908) 49-54; Frank Moore Cross, Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1973) 200-201; Benjamin Mazar, "The Sanctuary of Arad and the Family of Hobab the Kenite," JNES 24 (1965) 301-2.

³³For the position that there were no female priests in ancient Israel, see esp. A. Eberharter, "Gab es im Yahwekult Priesterinnen?" (Tübinger) Theologische Quartalschrift 94 (1912) 183-190. His position has remained the majority one.

³⁴Some scholars consider 1 Sam 2:22b to be a later interpolation; see the commentaries by Otto Thenius and Max Löhr, 3rd ed. (Leipzig: S. Hirzel, 1898) 17; Henry Preserved Smith (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1899) 20; S. R. Driver, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1913) 33; and others. The reasons for this theory are:

1. The LXX and Qumran do not include 1 Sam 2:22b;
2. 1 Sam 2:22b is linguistically very similar to Exod 38:8 (P):
הַצִּבְאוֹת פָּתַח אֶהְיֶה מוֹעֵד; הַצִּבְאוֹת אֲשֶׁר צִבְאוֹ פָּתַח אֶהְיֶה מוֹעֵד.
3. 1 Sam 2:22b speaks of a "tent of meeting," whereas 1 Sam 1:9 presupposes an established building (*hēkāl*). While it is impossible to discuss this question at any length here, one should simply note the possibility that the LXX and Qumran could have censored their *Vorlage* and that the phrase "women who served at the door of the tent of meeting" was a standard phrase. If it was a standard phrase still in use at the time of the writing of 1 Sam 2:22b, this would explain how "tent of meeting" could occur with reference to Shiloh, which had a building rather than a tent.

³⁵Driver, Books of Samuel 33.

³⁶" . . . jene Arbeiten am Tempel zu verrichten, welche weiblichen Fleiss und Kunstsinn erheischten . . ." (Eberharter, "Priesterinnen" 190).

³⁷"Die hier (und 2. Mose 38,8) genannten Frauen haben die Aufgabe, den für das Geschehen am Heiligtum besonders wichtigen Eingang sauberzuhalten" (Die Samuelbücher [Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1956] 23).

³⁸Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1973) 200.

³⁹"The Sanctuary of Arad and the Family of Hobab the Kenite," JNES 24 (1965) 302. Frank Moore Cross concurs with Mazar: "Mazar is no doubt correct in seeing Heber and his wife Jael as persisting in their priestly functions at a *temenos* related to the terebinth" (Cross, Canaanite Myth 201).

⁴⁰"It should be especially noted that the term *terebinth* (תְּרֵבִינִי) appended with a surname always refers to a holy tree; and it is a recurring theme in the Bible that a Patriarch pitched his tent by such a tree and sanctified the spot by erecting an altar or *massebah*" (Mazar, "Sanctuary" 301). See Gen 12:6-7; 26:23-25; etc.

⁴¹Migra'ot Gedolot. Prophets and Writings (Tel Aviv: Pardes, 1958) *ad loc.*

⁴²Alexander Sperber (ed.), The Bible in Aramaic, vols. 1- (Leiden: Brill, 1959-), 2 (1959): The Former Prophets According to Targum Jonathan 57. On the date of this targum, see Samson H. Levey, "The Date of Targum Jonathan to the Prophets," VT 21 (1971) 186-196; Levey suggests as *terminus ad quem* the Arab conquest of Babylonia (640-641).

⁴³Sperber, Bible 94.

⁴⁴The same is also true for the Jael, Zipporah and "women who minister at the door of the tent of meeting" texts. On the Miriam traditions, see Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza, The Liberating Word, (ed. Letty M. Russell; Philadelphia: Westminster, 1976) 49-52.

⁴⁵Philo himself was also very interested in the story of Miriam leading the Israelite women in song; see De Agricultura 80-83; De vita Mosis 1.180; 2.256.

⁴⁶An excellent survey of female priests in Graeco-Roman Egypt is given by Lea Pringmann, Die Frau im ptolemäisch-kaiserlichen Aegypten (Bonn: Bonner Universitäts-Buchdruckerei, 1939) 75-86, 123-125. See also her discussion of women in cultic clubs, 86-90.

⁴⁷Apud Josephus, Aq. Ap. 1.209.

⁴⁸Historiae 5.5.

⁴⁹De ieiuno 16.6 (Tertulliani Opera 2, CChr, SL [1954] 1275).

⁵⁰See Paul-Eugène Dion, Science et esprit 29 (1977) 49-55.

⁵¹See Martin Hengel, "Proseuche und Synagoge. Jüdische Gemeinde, Gotteshaus und Gottesdienst in der Diaspora und in Palästina," Festschrift Karl Georg Kuhn. Tradition und Glaube (ed. Gert Jeremias, Heinz-Wolfgang Kuhn and Hartmut Stegemann; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1971) 157-184.

⁵²See above, n. 8.

⁵³On the priestly blessing, see m. Ber. 5:4; m. Meg. 4:5,6,7; m. Soṭa 7:6; m. Tamid 7:2; b. Roš. Haš. 31b; b. Soṭa 40a; y. Ber. 9d.2-5; Num. Rab. 11.1-8 (on Num 6:23-27).

⁵⁴Ed. Theodor Mommsen 2nd ed. (2 vols.; Berlin: Weidmann, 1954), 1.887.

⁵⁵Tr. Clyde Pharr (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1952) 467, with minor changes.

⁵⁶Pp. 65-66.

⁵⁷Pp. 19-21.

⁵⁸LPGL 670.

⁵⁹Mark 5:22,35,36,38; Luke 8:49; 13:14; Acts 13:15; 18:8,17.

⁶⁰On priestly leadership at Qumran, see John Strugnell, JBL 77 (1958) 110-111.

⁶¹See also Scriptores Historiae Augustae, Alexander Severus 45.7 (Lampridius), who describes how Alexander Severus used to announce publicly the name of a governor, military officer, procurator, etc. before appointing him, noting that "Christians and Jews observed this custom in announcing the names of those who were to be ordained priests" (sacerdotibus, qui ordinandi sunt), but this may be due to a misapprehension, cf. Juster 1.445, no. 1.

⁶²One passage which illustrates this very well is the gemara on m. Soṭa 3:7 (b. Soṭa 23b), the mishnaic passage defining the differences between a kōhen and a kōhenet, as well as between a man and a woman. The reason given for a number of these differences is the male language used by scripture. For example, Lev 21:1 is taken as referring only to sons of priests and not to daughters of priests, because it says "the sons of Aaron," but not "the daughters of Aaron." Another of the many examples of this phenomenon would be b. Qidd. 29b, in which Deut 11:19 (וְלַמְדָּם אִתָּם אֶחָד-בְּנֵיהֶם) is taken to mean that one is required

to teach one's sons the Torah, but not one's daughters, a regulation which has had enormous consequences for Jewish women for centuries.

⁶³Or: ḥerabbim, see Tosefta, ed. Lieberman 356, no. 34 (second apparatus).

⁶⁴Elbogen 170. Elbogen thus takes this text to be a "defensive" text, that is, one which is required to defend the innovation of not allowing women to read.

⁶⁵Krauss, Altertümer 174, also believes that the issue is one of male illiteracy.

⁶⁶For further discussion of this question, see Salo Wittmayer Baron, A Social and Religious History of the Jews, 2nd ed., rev. and enl. (vol. 1- ; New York: Columbia University Press, 1952-), 2.413, n. 23.

⁶⁷Leon 66.

⁶⁸This transcription and interpretation follow Leon, rather than Frey, who according to Leon, misread the letters because minium had been carelessly applied (Leon 192, n. 3; 316-317).

⁶⁹CII 379 is carved on the other side of the marble plate, which causes Leon to suggest that CII 375 is incomplete, perhaps because the stonemason had omitted gyne (wife) in l. 2 (Leon 320-321).

⁷⁰Leon believes that this may be due to the general conservatism of the Monteverde catacomb (Leon 192).

⁷¹The transcription given here does not actually follow either of the ones given by Frey, but rather that in Schwabe and Lifshitz, Beth She'arim 2.28.

⁷²For the dating, see Schwabe and Lifshitz, Beth She'arim 2.29.

⁷³CII 746 (Ephesus; end of 2nd C.): Τὸ μνημεῖόν ἐστὶ Μ(αρκου) Ἀ(υ)ρ(ηλιου) Μουσσίου ιατροῦ (=ιερέως). Ζῆ./ Κήδονται οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι. (Reading according to Louis Robert, Hellenica 11-12 (1960) 381-384, and not according to Frey.) "The Tomb of Marcus Aurelius Moussios, priest. May he live! The Jews mourn." CII 785 (Corycos, Cilicia): Σωματοθήκη Ἀβᾶ (or ἄβᾶ) Συμωνος/ τοῦ μακαρίου ἐιρέων. "Funerary urn of Aba (or father?) Symon, the blessed one (= deceased one) of the priests." CII 930 (Jaffa): Ἰσα υἱοῦ Λαζαρου/ ἱερέος ΓΙΠΟ (Ἐγυπτίου?)/ Εἰρήνη./ Ἰσακ? "Isa (Isak?), son of Lazaros, priest of Egypt (?). Peace! Lazar." CII 1404 (Lifshitz, Donateurs no. 79; Jerusalem): the Theodotos inscription, quoted above, p. 24. Lifshitz, Donateurs no. 100 (Berenike, Cyrenaica; dated to 77 C.E.): a long dedicatory inscription, l. 17. Καρτισθένης Ἀρχιά ἱερέως (δρ) ι'. "Kartisthenes, son of Archias, priest, 10 (drachmas). Baruch Lifshitz, RB 74 (1967) 50-52 (Caesarea): Θῆκη Μα[. . .]/ κε Ἐλέου κε [. . .]/[. . .]εμα εἰερή[ων]. "Tomb of Ma[. . .] and of Eleas and of [. . .] the priests." Also important are the lists of priestly courses found in Ashkalon (CII 962) and Caesarea (Michael Avi-Yonah, IEJ 12 [1962] 137-139), as well as Hebrew and Aramaic occurrences of "priest," e.g., CII 828a, 1197, 1221, 1317, 1411.

⁷⁴A number of those buried at Beth She'arim were from abroad, e.g., the kōhēn from Beirut (Schwabe and Lifschitz, Beth She'arim 2. no. 148). Therefore, one should not overemphasize the interest of the town of Beth She'arim in the priesthood.

⁷⁵Juster 1.453, n. 8 (" . . . les femmes ne pouvaient pas être prêtresses chez les Juifs.").

Notes to Chapter VI

¹Literally "women's synagogue," "Weiberschul" denotes a totally separate prayer room for women in the synagogue, be it a gallery or a separate room on the same level.

²Die galiläischen Synagogenruinen (Gesellschaft für Palästina Forschung. 3. Veröffentlichung) 15.

³Synagogenruinen 15-16; Altertümer 355-357.

⁴Kohl and Watzinger 140 and passim; Sukenik, Synagogues 47-48 and passim; Goodenough 1.226 and passim. The two latest, most complete and extremely useful works on Palestinian synagogues, Hüttenmeister pp. VIII-IX and passim, and Chiat passim, report on others having reconstructed a gallery and are cautious in their evaluations of these reports, but do not call the existence of such a gallery into question.

⁵Quoted above, p. 24.

⁶Marilyn J. Chiat, in a paper given on November 18, 1979 in New York at the annual meeting of the American Academy of Religion and the Society of Biblical Literature, questioned the identification of buildings at Masada, Herodion, Gamla, Migdal and Korazim (all discussed below) as synagogues. Chiat makes a good case for questioning the identification of these buildings as synagogues in the narrow sense, but one must then ask if what seem in any case to be public meeting halls might not have been used for worship services. Synagogues are attested literarily for the 1st C.: Matt 4:23; Mark 1:23; John 6:59; Acts 6:9 and passim; Josephus, J.W. 2.14.4 § 285; Life 277, 280, 293; Ant. 19.6.3 § 300.

⁷Yigael Yadin, Masada. Herod's Fortress and the Zealots' Last Stand, tr. Moshe Pearlman (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1966; Sphere, 1973) 180-189; EAE 3.809-810 (Yigael Yadin); Hüttenmeister 314-315; Chiat 561-567, 904, 1008, 1021-1022. It is not possible to quote all of the bibliography for this and other sites. The reader desiring further bibliography is referred to Hüttenmeister and Chiat for the ancient synagogues in Israel and to Kraabel, "Synagogue" for the Diaspora synagogues. Also worthy of special mention are: Rachel Wischnitzer, The Architecture of the European Synagogue (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1964); Hershel Shanks, Judaism in Stone. The Archaeology of Ancient Synagogues (New York: Harper and Row, 1979); Levine, Synagogues Revealed. For a survey of various issues relating to the ancient synagogue, including the architecture, see Wolfgang Schrage, "Synagoge," TWNT 7 (1964) 798-839; or TDNT 7 (1971) 798-852. For Masada and the following sites discussed here, see the plates at the back of this volume. The plates follow the order of the discussion.

⁸Gideon Foerster, Eretz-Israel 11 (1973) 224-228; English summary, 30*; pl. XLIV, 2; EAE 2.503-505, 509 (Gideon Foerster); Hättenmeister 173-174; Chiat 467-471, 899, 1009; Doron Chen, BASOR 239 (1980) 37-40.

⁹HA 59/60 (1976) 6; Shmaryahu Gutman, Gamla (Department for the Knowledge of the Land in the Kibbutz Movement, 1977), (Hebrew); BAR 5:1 (1979) 15-19, cover photograph; Chiat 640-643, 1030-1033; S(hmaryahu) Gutman, "The Synagogue at Gamla," in: Levine, Synagogues Revealed 30-34; Z. Ma'oz, "The Synagogue of Gamla and the Typology of Second Temple Synagogues," in: Levine, Synagogues Revealed 35-41.

¹⁰A photograph of these steps is printed in Gutman, Gamla 27.

¹¹BAR 5:1 (1979) 18-19.

¹²HA 57-58 (1976) 8-9; Hättenmeister 316-318; Chiat 244-247, 887-888.

¹³Gideon Foerster (citing J. Ory), Eretz-Israel 11 (1973) 227; English summary, 30*; Hättenmeister 277, 280-281.

¹⁴Further excavation has shown that those remains identified as a synagogue at Migdal are actually part of an urban villa, thus excluding it from the discussion; see Virgilio Corbo, "Piazza e villa urbana a Magdala," Studi Biblici Franciscani 28 (1978) 232-240, pls. 71-76. As to the supposed synagogue at Korazim, there are no extant remains and it therefore seems imprudent to discuss it in the same context as Masada, Herodion and Gamla.

¹⁵L. A. Mayer and A. Reifenberg, JOPES 19 (1939) 314-326; pls. 23-30; Goodenough 1.232-236; 3. figs. 605-616; EAE 2.386-389 (Dan Barag); Hättenmeister 117-121; Chiat 518-523, 1013-1016; Z(eev) Yeivin, "The Synagogue of Eshtemoa," in: Levine, Synagogues Revealed 120-122.

¹⁶Nehemiah Tzori, IEJ 16 (1966) 123-134; pls. X-XIII; Dan Bahat, Qadmoniot 5 (1972) 55-58; pl. IV; EAE 1.226-228 (Nehemiah Tzori and Dan Bahat); Hättenmeister 58-67; Chiat 288-292, 889, 985.

¹⁷It is also quite possible that the court was actually the synagogue itself, a synagogue in the form of a basilica; see HA 48/49 (1974) 44. The remains are too sparse to ascertain whether or not there was a gallery.

¹⁸Goodenough 1.208-211; 3. figs. 535, 545; Mazar, Beth She'arim 1.14-20; fig. 3; EAE 1.233-237 (Nahman Avigad and Benjamin Mazar); Hättenmeister 68-72; Chiat 155-161, 879, 947.

¹⁹Goodenough 1.263-264; EAE 1.258 (Ruth Hestrin); Hättenmeister 72-73; Chiat 713-716, 913.

²⁰HA 39 (1971) 8; HA 56 (1975) 2-3; EAE 2.460-462 (Dan Urman); Hättenmeister 357-358; Chiat 611-614, 1024-1028.

²¹J. W. Crowfoot, in: Gerasa (ed. Carl H. Kraeling; New Haven: Yale University Press, 1938) 234-239; pls. XLIII-XLV; plan I.XXXVI; Goodenough 1.180, 259-260; 3. figs. 450, 656; EAE 2.420, 426, 428 (Shimon Applebaum); Hättenmeister 126-130; Chiat 739-744, 914, 1036-1038.

²²N. Makhoully and Michael Avi-Yonah, QDAP 3 (1934) 118-131; pls. XLI-XLIV; Goodenough 1.257-259; 3. figs. 648-654, 658; Hüttenmeister 181-184; Chiat 377-381, 896, and 992-994.

²³D. C. Baramki and Michael Avi-Yonah, QDAP 6 (1938) 73-77; pls. XVIII-XXIII; Goodenough 1.260-262; 3. figs. 655, 657, 659, 666; EAE 2.571, 573 (Gideon Foerster); Hüttenmeister 189-191; Chiat 579-582, 907, 1022.

²⁴L. H. Vincent, RB 16 (1919) 532-563; L. H. Vincent and Pierre Benoit, RB 68 (1961) 161-177; pls. III-XXIII; Goodenough 1.253-257; 3. figs. 642-647; Hüttenmeister 320-334; EAE 3.891-894 (Michael Avi-Yonah); Chiat 583-590, 908, 1023.

²⁵Kohl and Watzinger 135-137; Goodenough 1.208; 3. figs. 529, 536; Hüttenmeister 419-420; EAE 4.1136 (Michael Avi-Yonah); Chiat 382-384, 994.

²⁶Hüttenmeister 435-436; Chiat 293-295, 892, 986.

²⁷Goodenough 1.223; 3. figs. 583-584; EAE 2.410-417 (Asher Ovadiah); Hüttenmeister 130-137; Chiat 414-419, 898, 999, 1001-1003.

²⁸Hüttenmeister 369-376; Chiat 300-307, 894, 988-989; Fanny Vitto, "The Synagogue at Rehob," in: Levine, Synagogues Revealed 90-94.

²⁹Vasilios Tzaferis, Qadmoniot 7 (1974) 111-113; Hüttenmeister 307-308; Chiat 296-299, 893, 987; V(asilios) Tzaferis, "The Synagogue at Ma'oz Hayim," in: Levine, Synagogues Revealed 86-89.

³⁰N. Slouschz, Proceedings of the Jewish Palestine Exploration Society 1,1 (1921) 3-39; Goodenough 1.214-216; 3. figs. 561-568; Hüttenmeister 159-163; EAE 4.1178-1180 (Moshe Dothan); Chiat 222-227, 884, 965-967.

³¹Kohl and Watzinger 26-27, 33, 35; pls. II-V.

³²Goodenough 3. fig. 452.

³³A Visit to Capharnaum, 2nd ed. (Jerusalem: Franciscan Printing Press, 1973) fig. 31. Since the text of this booklet states that there was probably no women's gallery (p. 52), the use of this reconstruction model is even more noteworthy.

³⁴The Guide to Israel, 19th ed. (Jerusalem: "Hamakor" Press, 1977) 496. Baruch Sapir and Dov Ne-eman also follow the Kohl and Watzinger model in their booklet, Capernaum (Tel Aviv, 1967) cover and 57.

³⁵On the gallery see, Kohl and Watzinger 26-27, 33, 35; frontispiece; pls. IV-VI; Sukenik, Synagogues 8; Goodenough 1.182; 3. figs. 452, 457.

³⁶See below, C. Further Considerations.

³⁷Virgilio Corbo, Stanislao Loffreda, Augusto Spijkerman, La sinagoga di Cafarnaò, dopo gli scavi del 1969 (Jerusalem: Franciscan Printing Press, 1970) 56-58; Cafarnaò (Publicazioni dello Studium Biblicum Franciscanum 19; Jerusalem: Franciscan Printing Press, 1972-75) vol. 1: Virgilio Corbo, Gli edifici

della città; vol. 2: Stanislao Loffreda, La ceramica; vol. 3: Augusto Spijkerman, Catalogo della monete della città; vol. 4: E. Testa, I graffiti della casa di S. Pietro; 1 (1975) 145; pls. 66-67. See also the review by James F. Strange of the latter book, where Strange takes the view that the stairs led to a gallery (BASOR 226 [1977] 71).

³⁸Conversation with Stanislao Loffreda, Jerusalem, June 1978. For further information on the synagogue at Capharnaum, see Kohl and Watzinger 4-40, 193-195; pls. I-VI; frontispiece; Gaudenzio Orfali, Capharnaüm et ses ruines d'après les fouilles accomplies à Tell-Houm par la Custodie Franciscaine de Terre Sainte (1905-1921) (Paris: Picard, 1922) 9-101; pls. I, III-X; Goodenough 1.181-192; 3. figs. 451-452, 457-479, 660, 662, 664; EAE 1.286-290 (Nahman Avigad); Hüttenmeister 260-270; Chiat 200-212, 882.

³⁹Kohl and Watzinger 41-58; pl. VII; Goodenough 1.193-199; 3. figs. 484-502, 544; EAE 1.299-303 (Zeev Yeivin and Nahman Avigad); Hüttenmeister 275-281; Chiat 213-221, 883, 960-965.

⁴⁰EAE 1.301.

⁴¹EAE 1.302.

⁴²Kohl and Watzinger 101-106; pl. XIV; Goodenough 1.203-204; 3. figs. 504, 523; Hüttenmeister 343-346; EAE 3.710-711; Chiat 94-98, 877, 939-941.

⁴³Eric M. Meyers, "Excavations at En-Nabratein, Upper Galilee: The 1980 Season," American Schools of Oriental Research Newsletter no. 2 (September 1980) 3-7, 10-11; E(ric) M. Meyers, J(ames) F. Strange and Carol L. Meyers, "Nabratein, 1980," IEJ 31 (1981) 108-110. One of the more important aspects of the Duke University excavation is that the latest level of the synagogue can now be dated to between 650-700 on the basis of twenty-three coins found beneath the latest floor of the building (Meyers, "Excavations" 4).

⁴⁴Meyers, "Excavations" 6.

⁴⁵Meyers, "Excavations" 6.

⁴⁶Kohl and Watzinger 104-105; fig. 197.

⁴⁷Kohl and Watzinger 106.

⁴⁸Goodenough 1.204.

⁴⁹Kohl and Watzinger 89-100; pls. XII-XIII; Goodenough 1.201-203; 3. figs. 505, 510-515; Hüttenmeister 31-34; EAE 3.704-707 (Nahman Avigad); Chiat 70-76, 874, 942.

⁵⁰Kohl and Watzinger 97, 100.

⁵¹Kohl and Watzinger pl. XII.

⁵²Goodenough 1.202; see 3. fig. 505.

⁵³Goodenough 1.202.

⁵⁴EAE 3.705.

⁵⁵EAE 3.707.

⁵⁶C. W. M. van de Velde, Reise durch Syrien und Palästina in den Jahren 1851 und 1852, tr. (from the Dutch) K. Göbel (2 vols.; Leipzig: T. O. Weigel, 1855-1861), 1.134.

⁵⁷See the very complete and well-done excavation report: Eric M. Meyers, A. Thomas Kraabel and James F. Strange, Ancient Synagogue Excavations at Khirbet Shema', Upper Galilee, Israel 1970-1972 (AASOR 42; Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1976); Hüttenmeister 387-390; EAE 4.1094-1097 (E[ric] M. Meyers); Chiat 77-85, 875, 931-936.

⁵⁸Meyers et al., Khirbet Shema' 56-59, 80-83; see esp. figs. 3.3, 3.4, 3.10, and 3.14.

⁵⁹Meyers et al., Khirbet Shema' 80.

⁶⁰Meyers et al., Khirbet Shema' 58, cf. fig. 3.2.

⁶¹Meyers et al., Khirbet Shema' 57.

⁶²Meyers et al., Khirbet Shema' 81.

⁶³In their preliminary reconstruction the excavators posited that the western wall extended much further to the north and slanted slightly to the west; see Eric M. Meyers, Thomas Kraabel and James F. Strange, BA 35:1 (1972) 10, fig. 5. In their final excavation report they alter their earlier reconstruction, making the gallery considerably smaller in size; see Meyers et al., Khirbet Shema' 56, n. 25.

⁶⁴In a letter to me of November 20, 1979, Eric M. Meyers writes that he is "not inclined to call the gallery a 'women's gallery.'"

⁶⁵Kohl and Watzinger 80-88; pl. XI; Goodenough 1.200-201; 3. figs. 506, 543; Hüttenmeister 311-314; EAE 3.856-860 (Dan Barag); Chiat 86-93, 876, 937-939.

⁶⁶Kohl and Watzinger 88, figs. 173, 188.

⁶⁷On the narthex, see the literature on Bar'am cited above in n. 49; on the aedicula, see the photograph of the synagogue in Ostia in Maria Floriani Squarciapino, Archaeology 16 (1963) 196, and of that in the synagogue in Dura Europos in The Excavations at Dura-Europos. Final Report (vols. 1- ; New Haven: Yale University Press, 1943-), 8,1: Carl H. Kraeling, The Synagogue (1956) pl. V; on the forecourt, see the literature for Capharnaum cited above, notes 33,34,37,38.

⁶⁸Kohl and Watzinger 107-111; pl. XV; Goodenough 1.205; 3. figs. 519, 522; Hüttenmeister 144-146; EAE 4.1135 (Michael Avi-Yonah); Eric Meyers, Carol Meyers, "Gush Ḥalav (el-Jish), 1978," IEJ 28 (1978) 276-279; Eric M. Meyers, James F. Strange, Carol L. Meyers and Richard S. Hanson, "Preliminary Report on the 1977 and 1978 Seasons at Gush Ḥalav (el-Jish)," BASOR 233 (1979) 33-58; Chiat 60-69, 873, 922; Eric M. Meyers, "Excavations at Gush Ḥalav in Upper Galilee," in: Levine, Synagogues Revealed 75-77.

⁶⁹Kohl and Watzinger 111, fig. 216.

- 70 Meyers and Meyers, "Gush Ḥalav" 278.
- 71 Meyers, Strange, Meyers and Hanson, "Report" 46; see also Meyers and Meyers, "Gush Ḥalav" 277.
- 72 Meyers and Meyers, "Gush Ḥalav" 278.
- 73 Kohl and Watzinger 59-70; pls. VIII-IX; Goodenough 1.199; 3. figs. 503, 508; Hüttenmeister 15-17; EAE 4.1133-1134 (Michael Avi-Yonah); Chiat 240-243, 886, 973-974.
- 74 Kohl and Watzinger 68, fig. 128.
- 75 Kohl and Watzinger 68.
- 76 Kohl and Watzinger pl. VIII.
- 77 Synagogenruinen 16. On the modern discussion among Orthodox Jews concerning the separation of the sexes and the historical arguments for it, see Baruch Litvin (ed.), The Sanctity of the Synagogue: the case for mechitzah, separation between men and women in the synagogue, based on Jewish law, history, and philosophy, from sources old and new (New York: Spero Foundation, 1959).
- 78 Kohl and Watzinger 71-79; pl. X; Goodenough 1.199-200; 3. figs. 507, 509; Hüttenmeister 12-15; EAE 4.1137 (Michael Avi-Yonah); Chiat 150-154, 878, 945-946; Lee I. Levine, "Excavations at Ḥorvat ha-'Amudim," in: Levine, Synagogues Revealed 78-81.
- 79 Kohl and Watzinger 76-77.
- 80 Goodenough 12.45, 185-186; Moshe Dothan, Qadmoniot 1 (1968) 116-123; Hüttenmeister 163-172; EAE 4.1178-1184 (Moshe Dothan); Chiat 228-234, 885, 968-972; Moshe Dothan, "The Synagogue at Ḥammath-Tiberias," in: Levine, Synagogues Revealed 63-69.
- 81 In: Levine, Synagogues Revealed 65; see also Dothan, Qadmoniot 119.
- 82 Hüttenmeister 166.
- 83 Hüttenmeister 166.
- 84 Eliezer Sukenik, JPOS 15 (1935) 101-180; Goodenough 1.239-241; 3. figs. 626-630; EAE 2.469-473 (Michael Avi-Yonah); Hüttenmeister 152-159; Chiat 717-724, 912, 1035.
- 85 Goodenough 1.239; see also Asher Hiram, Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte 19 (1962) 46.
- 86 Sukenik, JPOS 162.
- 87 Kohl and Watzinger 125-134; pl. XVII; Goodenough 1.206-207; 3. figs. 530-534; Hüttenmeister 465-468; EAE 4.1137-1138 (Michael Avi-Yonah); Chiat 688-690, 1035.
- 88 Kohl and Watzinger 133.
- 89 Goodenough 1.207.

- ⁹⁰Kohl and Watzinger 112-124; pl. XVI; Goodenough 1.205-206; 3. figs. 520-521, 524-528; Hüttenmeister 103-105; EAE 4.1134-1135 (Michael Avi-Yonah); Chiat 636-639, 909; Z. Ma'oz, in: Levine, Synagogues Revealed 102-103.
- ⁹¹Kohl and Watzinger 124; cf. Goodenough 1.205.
- ⁹²Kohl and Watzinger 124, fig. 251; reprinted in Goodenough 3. fig. 521 and by Ma'oz, in: Levine: Synagogues Revealed 102.
- ⁹³Eliezer Sukenik, The Ancient Synagogue of Beth Alpha. An Account of the Excavations Conducted on Behalf of the Hebrew University, Jerusalem (Jerusalem: The University Press, 1932); Goodenough 1.241-253; 3. figs. 631-635, 638-641; EAE 1.187-190 (Nahman Avigad); Hüttenmeister 44-50; Chiat 271-280, 890, 979-980, 982-983.
- ⁹⁴Sukenik, Beth Alpha 16-17; pl. III; fig. 17.
- ⁹⁵Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte 19 (1962) 12.
- ⁹⁶Michael Avi-Yonah, IEJ 6 (1956) 260-261; EAE 1.277-279; Hüttenmeister 79-90; Chiat 369-376, 991-992.
- ⁹⁷IEJ 6 (1956) 261.
- ⁹⁸Dan Barag and Josef Porat, Qadmoniot 3 (1970) 97-100; HA 41/42 (1972) 36-37; Dan Barag, Joseph Porat, Ehud Netzer, Qadmoniot 5 (1972) 52-54; pl. 3; EAE 2.378-380, 396, 448 (Dan Barag); Hüttenmeister 108-114; Chiat 510-517, 900, 1011-1013; D(an) Barag, Y(osef) Porat and E(hud) Netzer, "The Synagogue at 'En-Gedi," in: Levine, Synagogues Revealed 116-119.
- ⁹⁹HA 41/42 (1972) 36; Barag, Porat and Netzer, "Synagogue" 119.
- ¹⁰⁰EAE 2.379.
- ¹⁰¹Tarbiz 40 (1970-1971) 21; English summary, p. IV.
- ¹⁰²Mazar, Tarbiz 20.
- ¹⁰³Barag, Porat and Netzer, "Synagogue" 119.
- ¹⁰⁴Shmaryahu Gutman, Zeev Yeivin and Ehud Netzer, Qadmoniot 5 (1972) 47-52; pl. 1; cover; Hüttenmeister 422-432; EAE 4.1124-1128 (Shmaryahu Gutman, Ehud Netzer and Zeev Yeivin); Chiat 524-530, 902, 1016-1019; S(hmaryahu) Gutman, Z(eev) Yeivin and E(hud) Netzer, "Excavations in the Synagogue at Horvat Susiya," in: Levine, Synagogues Revealed 123-128.
- ¹⁰⁵Gutman, Yeivin and Netzer, Qadmoniot 48, EAE 4.1124-1125, Levine, Synagogues Revealed 124; Chiat 525.
- ¹⁰⁶Dan Urman, Tarbiz 40 (1970-71) 399-408; English summary, pp. I-III; Dan Urman, IEJ 22 (1972) 17-19, no.1; EAE 2.464 (Dan Urman); Hüttenmeister 91-95; Joseph Naveh, On Mosaic and Stone (Jerusalem: Ma'ariv, 1978), (Hebrew) 26-27, no. *7; Dan Urman, in: Levine, Synagogues Revealed 155.
- ¹⁰⁷IEJ 17, no. 1.
- ¹⁰⁸IEJ 18.

- 109 E.g., b. Erub. 11b; b. Yoma 11b.
- 110 E.g., b. Menah. 33b, 34a, b. B. Bat. 12a.
- 111 I have not seen the stone itself, but only pictures of it, so this can be taken as nothing more than a suggestion. However, the length (110 cm) would fit in well with this hypothesis.
- 112 At Gush Halav a raised platform does seem to be a plausible reconstruction, although here again no traces of an entrance to it were found.
- 113 In Umm al-'Amad, for example, the extant capitals vary from 43 to 48 cm under the capital and 50 to 56.5 cm at the base; see Kohl and Watzinger 77. The extant columns vary in diameter from 40 to 58 cm, there being no clear cut-off point between the hypothetical gallery and the main story; see Kohl and Watzinger 76. A further example would be the column of the porch at Bar'am, which is 49 cm in diameter under the capital, narrower than some, if not all, of the interior columns, which range up to 70 cm in diameter at the base; see Kohl and Watzinger 92-100.
- 114 Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte 19 (1962) 12.
- 115 Goodenough 1.239-240.
- 116 JPOS 15 (1935) 162-163; 167.
- 117 Moshe Dothan, Qadmoniot 1 (1968) 119; in: Levine, Synagogues Revealed 65.
- 118 Moshe Dothan, EAE 4.1182; in: Levine, Synagogues Revealed 69.
- 119 André Plassart, in: Mélanges Holleaux. Recueil de mémoires concernant l'antiquité grecque (Paris: Auguste Picard, 1913) 201-215; pls. V, XII; reprinted in: RB 11 (1914) 523-534 (missing one plan; contains substitute by the editors of RB); Sukenik, Synagogues 37-40; pl. X; Goodenough 2.71-75; 3. figs. 874-876. For the reasons against this being a synagogue, see Belle D. Mazur, Studies of Jewry in Greece (vol. 1- ; Athens: Hestia, 1935-), 1.15-24. The most recent extensive study of the question is Philippe Bruneau, Recherches sur les cultes de Délos à l'époque hellénistique et à l'époque impériale (Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome 217; Paris: E. de Boccard, 1970) 480-493. See also Kraabel, "Synagogue" 491-494, who accepts Bruneau's identification of the building as a synagogue.
- 120 Plassart, in: Mélanges Holleaux 210; he notes that the separation of the sexes is certain, even though it is "not explicitly attested in the ancient sources."
- 121 Goodenough 2.74.
- 122 Mazur, Studies 25-33; pls. IV-V; Sukenik, Synagogues 44-45; pl. XI; Goodenough 2.75-76; 3. fig. 881.
- 123 Mazur, Studies 28-29.
- 124 Mazur, Studies 32, n. 4; cf. Goodenough 2.75.

- 125 BASOR 170 (1963) 38-48; 174 (1964) 30-44; 177 (1965) 17-21; 182 (1966) 34-45; 187 (1967) 9-50, 60-62; 191 (1968) 26-32; 199 (1970) 45-53; 206 (1972) 20-23; 215 (1974) 49, 52; Goodenough 12.191-195; Andrew R. Seager, AJA 76 (1972) 425-435; pls. 91-94; *idem*, Oadmoniot 7 (1974) 123-128; *idem*, in: Levine, Synagogues Revealed 178-184; Kraabel, "Synagogue" 483-488.
- 126 Seager, AJA 433.
- 127 BASOR 170 (1963) 41.
- 128 BASOR 191 (1968) 24, fig. 24.
- 129 AJA 426.
- 130 Theodor Wiegand and Hans Schrader, Priene (Berlin: Georg Riemer, 1904) 480-481.
- 131 Sukenik, Synagogues 42-43; Goodenough 2.77; 3. fig. 882; Kraabel, "Synagogue" 489-491.
- 132 A. von Gerkan, "Eine Synagoge in Milet," ZNW 20 (1921) 177-181; Sukenik, Synagogues 40-42; Goodenough 2.78; 3. fig. 880; Kraabel, "Synagogue" 488-489. Goodenough believes that it is "at best only a possibility" that this is a synagogue, and Kraabel, due to lack of Jewish evidence, disputes it entirely.
- 133 Gerkan, "Synagogue" 179.
- 134 Ernst Kitzinger, "A Survey of the Early Christian Town of Stobi," Dumbarton Oaks Papers 3 (1946) 81-161; Martin Hengel, "Die Synagogeninschrift von Stobi," ZNW 57 (1956) 145-182; James Wiseman, Stobi. A Guide to the Excavations (Belgrade: National Museum of Tito Veles and University of Texas at Austin, 1973); *idem* and Djordje Mano-Zissi, "Excavations at Stobi, 1970," AJA 75 (1971) 393-411; *idem*, "Excavations at Stobi, 1971," AJA 76 (1972) 407-424; *idem*, "Excavations at Stobi, 1972," AJA 77 (1973) 391-403; *idem*, "Excavations at Stobi, 1973-1974," Journal of Field Archaeology 1 (1974) 117-148; *idem*, "Excavations at Stobi, 1975-1976," Journal of Field Archaeology 3 (1976) 269-302; Dean L. Moe, "The Cross and the Menorah," Archaeology 30 (1977) 148-157; Kraabel, "Synagogue" 494-497.
- 135 CII 694 (Stobi, Macedonia): ["Ετους ΤΙΑ?"] [Κλ.]
 Τιβεριοσ Πολύ/χαρμοσ, ὃ καὶ Ἀχύρι/οσ, ὃ πατήρ τῆσ ἐν/
 Ἐτόβοισ συναγωγῆσ/ ὃσ πολειτευσάμε/νοσ πᾶσαν πολειτεῖ/αν
 κατὰ τὸν Ἰουδαί/σμιὸν εὐχῆσ ἔνεκεν/ τοὺσ μὲν οἰκοὺσ τῶ/ ἀγίῶ
 τόπῳ καὶ τὸ/ τρίκλεινον σὺν τῶ/ τετραστόῳ ἐκ τῶν/ οἰκείων
 χρημάτων/ μηδὲν ὄλωσ παραψά/μενοσ τῶν ἀγίων, τὴν/ δὲ
 ἔξουσίαν τῶν ὑπε/ρώων πάντων πᾶσαν/ καὶ τὴν (δ)εσποτεῖαν/
 ἔχειν ἐμὲ τὸν Κλ. Τιβεριο/ον Πολύχαρμον καὶ τοὺσ/ <καὶ τοὺσ>
 κληρονόμοσ/ τοὺσ ἐμοὺσ διὰ παντόσ/ βίου, ὃσ ἂν δὲ βουληθῆ/
 τι καινοτομῆσαι παρὰ τὰ ὕ/π' ἐμοῦ δοχθέντα, δώσει τῶ/
 πατριάρχη δηναριῶν (μ)υριά/δασ εἰκοσι πέντε· οὕτω γάρ/
 μοι συνέδοξεν, τὴν δὲ ἐπι/σκευὴν τῆσ κεράμου τῶν/
 ὑπερώων ποιεῖσθ(α)ι ἐμὲ/ καὶ κληρονόμοσ/ ἐμοὺσ. (I)
 Claudius Tiberius Polycharmos, also named Achyrios, father of the
 synagogue at Stobi, who conducted my whole life according to
 Judaism, (have), in fulfillment of vow, (erected) the buildings
 for the holy place and the triclinium together with the
tetrastoon with my own means without in the least touching the
 sacred (funds). Howbeit, the right of disposal of all the upper
 chambers and the proprietorship (thereof) shall be vested in me,
 Claudius Tiberius Polycharmos, and my heirs for life; and whoso-

ever shall seek in any way to alter any of these dispositions of mine shall pay unto the patriarch 250,000 denarii. For thus have I resolved. But the repair of the tile-roof of the upper chambers shall be carried out by me and my heirs." (The translation is according to Sukenik, Synagogues 80, with minor changes.)

¹³⁶Maria Floriani Squarciapino, "The Synagogue at Ostia," Archaeology 16 (1963) 194-203; *idem*, "La Sinagoga di Ostia. Secunda campagna di scavo," Atti del Congresso Internazionale di Archeologia Classica 6 (1962 [1965]) 299-315; Fausto Zevi, "La Sinagoga di Ostia," Rassegna mensile di Israel 38 (1972) 131-145; Kraabel, "Synagogue" 497-500.

¹³⁷The Excavations at Dura-Europos. Final Report (vols. 1- ; New Haven: Yale University Press, 1943-), vol. 8, pt. 1: Carl H. Kraeling, The Synagogue (1956); Goodenough 9-11 (1964); Joseph Gutman (ed.), The Dura-Europos Synagogue. A Re-Evaluation (1932-1972) (Religion and the Arts 1; Missoula, Mont.: Scholars Press, 1973); Kraabel, "Synagogue" 481-483.

¹³⁸Kraeling, Synagogue 31.

¹³⁹Goodenough 9.31.

¹⁴⁰Kohl and Watzinger pl. XVIII.

¹⁴¹Kraeling, Synagogue 16-17.

¹⁴²Kraeling, Synagogue 147, n. 537.

¹⁴³Kraeling, Synagogue 23, specifically notes, "At Dura the women shared equally with the men in the use of the House of Assembly, though they entered by a special doorway and sat on benches reserved especially for them."

¹⁴⁴E. Renan, Revue archéologique ser. 3, 2 (1883) 157-163; 3 (1884) 273-275; pls. VII-XI; Krauss, Altertümer 266, 309, 341, 347-348, fig. 7; Goodenough 2.89-100; 3. figs. 886-888, 890-892, 894-895, 897-906, 913-921.

¹⁴⁵Photograph, Goodenough 3. fig. 894; see also 2.91. Samuel Krauss suggests that the P could be puella or p(ateressa), (Altertümer 266). The abbreviation is difficult to decipher, but puella ("girl") seems a rather unlikely title for the person who has donated the most expensive mosaic of the synagogue. Pateressa can by no means be taken as a certain reading, but the abbreviation PP, which seems to be pater patrum (cf. pater pateron; on these terms see above, p. 71) increases the likelihood that pateressa is the solution of the abbreviation. On the title pateressa, see the discussion of CII 606 above, pp. 61-62. Goodenough does not mention Krauss's suggestions in his discussions of the inscription.

¹⁴⁶Goodenough 2.100.

¹⁴⁷Goodenough 2.90.

¹⁴⁸Sukenik, Synagogues 47.

¹⁴⁹M. Sukk. 5:4; m. Mid. 2:5; etc; Josephus, J.W. 5.5.2 § 199; 5.5.3 § 204. See also Adolf Büchler, "The Forecourt of Women and the Brass Gate in the Temple of Jerusalem," JQR 10 (1898) 678-718.

¹⁵⁰ See, however, Shmuel Safrai, "Was There a Women's Gallery in the Synagogue of Antiquity?" *Tarbiz* 33 (1963-1964) 329-338, esp. 332 (Hebrew); English summary, p. II, who argues that women sometimes did enter the forecourt of Israel.

¹⁵¹ Cf. m. Mid. 2:5; t. Sukk. 4.1 (Zuck. 198); y. Sukk. 55b.30-38.

¹⁵² M. Mid. 2:5 reads: וחלקה היחה בראשונה והקיפורה כצוצטרה, שהנשים רואות מלמעלן והאנשים מלמטן כדי שלא יהו מעורבלין. "Originally [the walls of the women's forecourt] were smooth, but [later the court] was surrounded with a gallery so that the women should look on from above and the men from below, in order that they should not intermingle."

¹⁵³ On this passage, see Safrai, "Gallery" 331.

¹⁵⁴ See t. Sukk. 4.6 (Zuck. 198); y. Sukk. 55a.62-55b.7; b. Sukk. 51b. Note that the spelling of Diplostoon varies. The building was probably a synagogue, although the description of it is a highly extravagant one (e.g., that it held twice the number of those who left Egypt or 1,200,000). Krauss, *Altertümer* 261-263, believes that it was a market hall, used also for judicial purposes (on the model of the Roman basilica) and as a prayer hall.

¹⁵⁵ Note that Salomon Buber, *Midrash Echa Rabbati* (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1967; reprint of the Wilna, 1899 edition) 83, has simply replaced these terms by "men" and "women". A. Cohen's translation ([London: Soncino, 1951] 127, 232), does not make this emendation, but rather translates "inferiors" (i.e., women) and "superiors" (i.e., men). See also the parallel account of the story in the proem to *Esth. Rab.* (3), which does not include the passage on the women.

¹⁵⁶ Sukenik, *Synagogues* 48, n. 1.

¹⁵⁷ *A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature* (New York: Pardes, 1950) 125.

¹⁵⁸ Safrai, "Gallery" 333.

¹⁵⁹ See Safrai, "Gallery" 334.

¹⁶⁰ Or: אנכי. Mention should also be made here of the enigmatic term andron, which occurs four times in Josephus (*J.W.* 2.18.9 § 503; 5.4.4 § 177; *Ant.* 15.6.7 § 199; 16.6.2 § 164). Only *Ant.* 16.6.2 § 164 describes what may be a synagogue context, and here the meaning is unclear. Could it be aaron (= Hebrew אַרֹן?)?

¹⁶¹ See Asher Ovadiah, *Corpus of the Byzantine Churches in the Holy Land* (Bonn: Hanstein, 1970).

¹⁶² See Richard Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture* (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1965) 78, pl. 22.

¹⁶³ Krautheimer, *Architecture* 74; fig. 25.

¹⁶⁴ Krautheimer, *Architecture* 108; fig. 41.

- 165 Krautheimer, Architecture 153-162; pl. 71.
- 166 Krautheimer, Architecture 138; pls. 60-61.
- 167 Krautheimer, Architecture 64; pls. 15-16.
- 168 Cf., however, the sixth-century rhetor Choricus of Gaza, Laudatio Marciani 2 (ed. Boissonade [Paris: Dumont, 1846] 117); ET: R. W. Hamilton, Palestine Exploration Fund. Quarterly Statement (1930) 190. Choricus describes a church at Gaza with a women's gallery. The Hagia Sophia in Constantinople (dedicated in 537) also apparently had a women's gallery, cf. Procopius of Gaza, Monodia in Sanctam Sophiam (PG 87.2836A). Evagrius Scholasticus, Ecclesiastical History 4.31 (ed. J. Bidez and L. Parmentier [London: Methuen, 1898] 180), notes that the empress sat there when she attended the church feasts.
- 169 Apostolic Tradition of Hippolytus 18 (ET: Burton Scott Easton [Cambridge: The University Press, 1934] 43); Didascalia Apostolorum 2.57 (ET: R. Hugh Connolly [Oxford: Clarendon, 1929] 119-120); Apostolic Constitutions 2.57 (ET: James Donaldson [ANF 7; Buffalo, 1886] 421).
- 170 E.g., Testamentum Domini 1.19, 23; cf. also 1.41, 43; 2.4, 8 (ET: James Cooper and Arthur Maclean [Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1902] 64, 76, 108, 111, 120, 127). Widows, who are here part of the clergy, sit within the veil and are called "those who sit in front" (Syriac: deqadman yatban, ed. Ignatius Ephraem II Rahmani [Mainz: F. Kirchheim, 1899] 26, etc.). The laity, however, are divided into two aisles according to sex.
- 171 John Chrysostom's Homilia in Matthaeeum 73 (PG 58.677; ET: George Prevost [Cambridge, 1939] 443) is a good example of this. Chrysostom describes a wooden divider separating the sexes and then berates his congregation for making such a thing necessary, saying that the elders had told him that a divider did not exist in former times and referring to Gal 3:28; Acts 1:13-14; 16:15 and to such women as Priscilla (Acts 18:2, 18:26; Rom 16:3; 1 Cor 16:19; 2 Tim 4:19) and Persis (Rom 16:12) to prove his point that the earliest Christians did not have a separation of the sexes.
- 172 Robert Amy, "Temples à Escaliers," Syria 27 (1950) 82-136; pls. I-II.
- 173 Gesammelte Schriften (vols. 1-5; ed. Immanuel Löw; Szegedin: Alexander Baba, 1889-1900), 4 (1898) 55-71.
- 174 Elbogen 466-468.
- 175 Mittelalterliche Synagogen (Berlin: Frankfurter Verlagsanstalt, 1927) 54.
- 176 "Die Entwicklung der antiken Synagogen und altchristlichen Kirchenbauten im Heiligen Lande," Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte 19 (1962) 7-63, esp. 45-46.
- 177 Safrai, "Gallery" 329-338; English summary, p.II. See also the response by S. D. Goitein, Tarbiz 33 (1963-1964) 314. Goitein gives an eleventh-century example. Perhaps this is the earliest example to be found.

Notes to Chapter VII

¹On the following sources, see esp. Shmuel Safrai, Tarbiz 32 (1962-1963) 329-330; English summary p. II; *idem*, in: Compendia Rerum Iudaicarum ad Novum Testamentum (ed. Shmuel Safrai and Menachem Stern; vols. 1- ; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1974), 1,2 (1976) 919-920.

²See Hans Conzelmann, Die Apostelgeschichte, 2d ed. (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1972) 99; cf. Ernst Haenchen, The Acts of the Apostles. A Commentary, tr. (from the 14th ed.) B. Noble, G. Shinn, H. Anderson and R. McL. Wilson (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1971) 494.

³See Martin Hengel, "Proseuche und Synagoge. Jüdische Gemeinde, Gotteshaus und Gottesdienst in der Diaspora und in Palästina," in: Festschrift Karl George Kuhn. Tradition und Glaube (ed. Gert Jeremias, Heinz-Wolfgang Kuhn and Hartmut Stegemann; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1971) 157-184.

⁴Another text which simply presupposes women's presence is the Midrash ha-Gadol on Deut 29:10. It states, "your wives, even though they do not understand, are to come and listen and receive their reward." A further later text, found in the extra-canonical tractate Soperim 18:6, speaks of the necessity of reading the translation after every passage from the Torah and the prophets on the sabbath, for the benefit of the people, including the women and children. The same passage goes on to say that people come late to the service on feast days because the food has to be prepared. If it is the women who prepare the food, then the coming late must refer at least also to them.

⁵Goodenough 2.100.

⁶Mohler, The Classical Weekly 25:15 (1932) 114.

⁷Mohler, Classical Weekly 115.

⁸On guardianship, see Max Kaser, Das römische Privatrecht (Rechtsgeschichte des Altertums III,3,1; Munich: C. H. Beck, 1971) 367-369; Adolf Berger, Encyclopedic Dictionary of Roman Law (Transactions of the American Philosophical Society n.s. 43, pt. 2; Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society, 1953) 393, 469, 530, 610, 748; see also 577, 621. There is no mention of the tutela mulierum in the Theodosian Code (312-438).

⁹Quoted above, p. 26.

¹⁰See Appendix no. 39 and Lifshitz, Donateurs no. 38 (quoted above, p. 26).

¹¹See Salomon Reinach, "Une nouvelle synagogue grecque à Phocée," REJ 12(1886) 236-243; H(enri) Leclerq, Manuel d'Archéologie chrétienne (2 vols.; Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1907), 1.347-349.

¹²For illustrations of the thrones at Delos, 'En-Gedi and Korazim respectively, see Goodenough 3. fig. 876 (drawing); Levine, Synagogues Revealed 116 (photograph; seat can be seen in the northern wall of the synagogue, to the right); EAE 1.302 (photograph) and Goodenough 3. fig. 544.

¹³Reinach, "Synagogue" 240.

¹⁴Tation may also have been non-Jewish, but this is not certain. A hint in that direction would be the way in which the term "Jews" is used in the inscription, almost as if she were not included in that group.

¹⁵On Julia Severa, see A(lf) Thomas Kraabel, Judaism in Western Asia Minor under the Roman Empire, with a Preliminary Study of the Jewish Community at Sardis, Lydia (Th.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1968) 71-80.

¹⁶E.g., Karl G. Kuhn and Hartmut Stegemann, "wohl zumeist als 'Gottesfürchtige'" (PW Sup 9 [1962] 1263).

¹⁷J.W. 5.2.2 § 55; 5.3.3 § 119; 5.4.2 § 147; Ant. 20.2.3-5 §§ 35-53; 20.4.3 §§ 94-95; 20.5.2 § 101; m. Nazir 3:6; etc.

¹⁸In her article, "The Alleged Jewish Tendencies of Poppaea Sabina," JTS n.s. 10 (1959) 329-335, Mary Smallwood has argued that there is no basis for this assumption.

¹⁹PWSup 9 (1962) 1266-1267.

²⁰A(lf) T(homas) Kraabel, "The Disappearance of the 'God Fearers,'" Numen 28 (1981) 113-126.

²¹Ed. Theodor Mommsen, 2nd ed. (2 vols.; Berlin: Weidmann, 1954), 1.888.

²²Tr. Clyde Pharr (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1952) 467.

²³PG 48.860-861, 881; tr. Paul W. Harkins, Saint John Chrysostom. Discourses against Judaizing Christians (The Fathers of the Church 68; Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 1979) 44-45, 92. Jerome also mentions women who were attracted to Judaism (In Matt. 23.5 [PL 26.175]).

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Compiled by Christina Bucher

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