ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like first to express my deep gratitude to Prof. John Strugnell, who, from inception to completion, supervised this study, which was accepted as a Ph.D. Thesis by the Committee on the Study of Religion of Harvard University in 1982. never hesitated to set aside large blocks of time to discuss each detail with me and to debate each point; his selfless contribution to scholarship through the training of students will Special appreciation is also due to Prof. long be remembered. Dieter Georgi, my second thesis advisor, for his long years of help and encouragement and for challenging me again and again to reconsider the material from a new perspective and to rethink my I would also like to take this opportunity to thank assumptions. Prof. Dr. Martin Hengel, who was the first to suggest that I work on these inscriptions, which he himself had already begun collecting.

A large number of further scholars, both members of my thesis committee and scholars at other universities, have devoted time to reading all or portions of this dissertation, to comment upon it, and to help and encourage me in other ways. I would especially like to thank Prof. Krister Stendahl, Prof. Helmut Koester, Dr. Marc Saperstein, Prof. David Gordon Mitten, Prof. George MacRae, Dr. Karl-Josef Kuschel, Prof. Shmuel Safrai, Hanna Safrai, Prof. Eric Meyers, Sheila Briggs, Dr. Marilyn J. S. Chiat, Dr. Frowald Hüttenmeister, Prof. A. Thomas Kraabel, Prof. Dr. Reinhold Merkelbach, Prof. Shimon Applebaum, Prof. Dr. Bernhard Lang, Catherine Kroeger, Prof. Horst Moehring, Dr. Ross Kraemer and Dr. David Levenson.

Research on women in antiquity cannot be accomplished without excellent library resources and skilled librarians. I have been fortunate to study in the following libraries and to benefit from the expertise and patience of their librarians: Andover-Harvard, Widener, Fogg Art Museum, University Library of the University of Tübingen, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Library of the Department of Antiquities of Israel, École Biblique, School of Theology of Claremont. A special note of thanks is also due to the Institute for Antiquity and Christianity for its ongoing support of my research.

Women Leaders in the Synagogue

Scholarship is not possible without financial support. For their financial support over the past years, I would like to thank: The Danforth Foundation; Harvard University, especially for awarding me the Sinclair Kennedy Traveling Fellowship for the 1977-1978 academic year, during which time, spent in Jerusalem, I was able to visit most of the synagogue sites discussed in Chapter VI; the Roothbert Foundation; Dr. Karl-Josef Kuschel.

I am also deeply grateful to those who, in a very short period of time, prepared, with skill and humor, the plates and final copy of a manuscript that was exceedingly complicated:

Lenore Brashler, who bore the main responsibility for typing the manuscript; Peter Pettit, who typed the foreign alphabet material and the Appendix; Christina Bucher, who prepared the Indices, proofread and assisted in other ways; Elizabeth Castelli, who devoted many hours to typing, proofreading and other tasks;

Anneliese Wenschkewitz and George Whipple, who prepared the plates; as well as to Deborah DeGolyer, Jutta Flatters, Gabriele Hokenmaier, Deborah Ellens, Katherine Evans, Bill Yarchin and Vicky Julian, who helped in a variety of ways.

Appreciation is also due to the publishers, editors and authors who granted me permission to reproduce photographs for the plates.

Finally, I would like to thank Prof. Jacob Neusner for accepting the manuscript into the Brown Judaic Studies.

INTRODUCTION

It is my thesis that women served as leaders in a number of synagogues during the Roman and Byzantine periods. The evidence for this consists of nineteen Greek and Latin inscriptions in which women bear the titles "head of the synagogue," "leader," "elder," "mother of the synagogue" and "priestess." These inscriptions range in date from 27 B.C.E. to perhaps the sixth century C.E. and in provenance from Italy to Asia Minor, Egypt and Palestine. While new discoveries make this a growing corpus of material, a number of the inscriptions have been known to scholars for some time. The purpose of this dissertation, therefore, is not to present a hitherto unknown body of evidence, but rather to suggest a new interpretation of known material.

According to previous scholarly consensus, Jewish women did not assume positions of leadership in the ancient synagogue. Scholars have therefore interpreted the titles borne by women in these inscriptions as honorific. Samuel Krauss, for example, made the gender of the office holder a criterion for the functionality of the title: "The office of archon does not occur for women, and this is the best proof that we must regard archons as genuine, practicing officials of the gerousia or synagogue, in a way that one certainly could not have taken them from the ranks of the women." This tradition of interpreting the titles borne by Jewish women as honorific has continued until the present day, 2 although in recent years several scholars have begun to question it, among them A. Thomas Kraabel, Dorothy Irvin and Shaye Cohen. 3 Jeanne and Louis Robert also seem to view the titles as functional. 4 In order to decide if the titles were functional or honorific it is necessary to examine each title and each inscription.