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THE MEANING AND FUNCTION OF *IOUDAIOS* IN GRAECO-ROMAN  
INSCRIPTIONS

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## THE MEANING AND FUNCTION OF *IOUDAIOS* IN GRAECO-ROMAN INSCRIPTIONS\*

Out of the many hundreds of Jewish inscriptions surviving from the Graeco-Roman world about forty, mostly epitaphs dated to the late 2nd century CE or later, contain the words *Ioudaios/Ioudaia* or their Latin counterparts, *Iudaeus/Iudaea*<sup>1</sup>. Their meaning and function have been the subject of much debate in recent years. For Tomson<sup>2</sup>, *Ioudaios* simply means ‘Jew’. Arguing that Jews used it only when viewing themselves from “a non-Jewish perspective” in “largely non-Jewish surroundings”, he concludes that, in contrast to the “inside” name Israel, it invariably functioned as a term of “outside identity”. Kraemer, in the first<sup>3</sup> of her two influential articles on ambiguity in Jewish epigraphy, sees *Ioudaios* quite differently: “A careful look at the occurrence of these terms in Greek and Latin Jewish inscriptions suggests that rather than sustain only one uniform translation, *Ioudaia/Ioudaios* may have a range of connotations.”<sup>4</sup> In addition to functioning as a geographic indicator (i.e. pointing up the Judaeian origin of people who may not necessarily even have been Jews), *Ioudaia/os*, she claims, may also be a sign of pagan adherence to Judaism. In still other cases, the masculine and feminine singular may represent a proper name, and where that is the case, it may provide further evidence for pagan attraction to Judaism<sup>5</sup>. For Kraemer’s novel contention is that *Ioudaia/os* may well have been used like the name Sambathion<sup>6</sup>, which, so Tcherikover argued, many non-Jewish Egyptians gave their children out of admiration for, and possibly attachment to, Jewish customs, most notably the sabbath<sup>7</sup>. The views of *Ioudaios* taken by both Tomson and Kraemer will be challenged in the first part of this paper. Close examination of the physical context in which this word occurs shows that it does not function only as a term of “outside identity”, as Tomson has argued. And from onomastic, linguistic and chronological analysis of all the surviving inscriptions we can see that it does not have as many meanings or perform quite the same functions as those proposed by Kraemer. First, it will be argued that in all but a tiny number of very early inscriptions, where it clearly *is* a personal name, *Ioudaios*, like its Byzantine successor *Hebraios*, simply means ‘Jew’. Secondly, it will be shown that it performs significantly different functions, depending upon whether its context is Jewish or predominantly non-Jewish and, if the latter, whether the evidence dates from the Hellenistic or the Roman period. Finally, we shall apply

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The following abbreviations are used throughout this paper:

HN = W. Horbury and D. Noy, *Jewish Inscriptions of Graeco-Roman Egypt*, Cambridge 1992;

Le Bohec = Y. Le Bohec, *Inscriptions Juives et Judaïques de l’Afrique Romaine*, *Antiquités Africaines* 17, 1981, 165–207;

Noy I/Noy II = D. Noy, *Jewish Inscriptions of Western Europe I/II*, Cambridge 1993 and 1995.

<sup>1</sup> In this paper, *Ioudaios* tends to be used as a generic term for all these variants.

<sup>2</sup> P. J. Tomson, *The Names Israel and Jew in Ancient Judaism and in the New Testament*, *Bijdragen, Tijdschrift voor filosofie en theologie* 47, 1986, 120–40 and 266–289.

<sup>3</sup> Ross S. Kraemer, *On the meaning of the term ‘Jew’ in Graeco-Roman Inscriptions*, *HTR* 82, 1989, 35–53. Followed, *inter al.*, by T. Rajak in: *The Jews among Pagans and Christians*, ed. J. Lieu, J. North and T. Rajak, London 1992, 21. Kraemer’s second article is: *Jewish Tuna and Christian Fish: Identifying Religious Affiliation in Epigraphic Sources*, *HTR* 84, 1991, 141–162.

<sup>4</sup> Kraemer, 1989, 35.

<sup>5</sup> Kraemer, 1989, 35–36.

<sup>6</sup> Kraemer, 1989, 49.

<sup>7</sup> CPJ III Section XIII.

the principles established in this analysis to some texts whose dates and provenance, though not certain, are very probable, and suggest their likely interpretation.

For this study, all the inscriptions in which *Ioudaios* appears – other than those where *Ioudaioi* is part of an official community title, such as *synagoge ton Ioudaion*<sup>8</sup> – have been collected and re-translated. They have been categorised according to function and provenance in an appendix (Appendix 1). References in the paper itself in the form (no. 1) . . . (no. 43) are to the documents listed in this appendix. One particular inscription, the epitaph of Aurelia Artemeis *Ioudea (sic)* from Termessos (TAM III 448), is discussed in detail in Appendix 2.

(i) The meaning of *Ioudaios*

(a) *Ioudaios* as a personal name

No one would dispute that on occasion *Ioudaios* does function as a variant of Judas<sup>9</sup> and thus as a personal name. There are two unambiguous<sup>10</sup> instances of this – in no. 1, a Delphic manumission document dating from 162 BCE, the Jewish slave receiving his freedom has the name *Ioudaios* and in no. 2, a similar document of a slightly later date (119 BCE), it is the manumitter himself, *Ioudaios*, son of Pindaros, who bears that name. In both these instances what we clearly have is a Hellenised version of the common Hebrew word *Yehudah*, which functioned sometimes as a geographical term (as in the Land of Judah) and at others as a personal name (i.e. Judah). In the first case above we may suspect a geographical derivation for *Ioudaios*: it was a common practice among the Greeks and Romans to name their slaves after their country of origin. An analogous Jewish case is probably to be found in CIJ I<sup>2</sup> 77\*, the votive dedication to the Iunones of the Brescian freedwoman, *Annia Iuda*.

But are nos. 1 and 2 the only inscriptions in which *Ioudaios* is used as somebody's personal name? Kraemer has suggested that we should see *Ioudaios* as part of a personal name in a whole range of texts – in each of the seven North African epitaphs in which *Iudaea/Iudaeus* appear (nos. 13 and 27–32), for instance, as well as several inscriptions from Rome, Greece and the Balkans<sup>11</sup>. In all these cases the word has traditionally been taken as an epithet meaning Jew/ess. Is there any reason to suppose that that view is mistaken? Not unless we assume that the normal onomastic practices of Greek and Roman society are not operating. But such an assumption is unjustified: it has long been recognised and can easily be demonstrated that the onomastic practices of Diasporan Jews were not significantly different from those of their gentile neighbours<sup>12</sup>. That being so, it is highly unlikely that in epitaphs, such as those of Iulius Ania[n]us Iudeus (no. 27), Iulia Victoria [Iu]dea (no. 29) and Septim(i)a Maria Iudaea (no. 38), *Iudaea/Iudaeus* can be part of the personal name of the deceased. What we have in each of these cases is (for the period and the place – i.e. late 2nd/early 3rd century CE Africa) a standard Roman name consisting of the family name (*gentilicium*) followed by the personal name (*cognomen*), followed by the word *Iudaea/us*. (The omission of the praenomen in funerary inscriptions was at this time

<sup>8</sup> For this, see, *inter alia*, TAM IV 1.376 (Nikomedea in Bithynia), DF 100 = CJZC 72 (Berenice in Cyrenaica) and the Bulletin of Judaeo-Greek Studies 13, 1993, 27 (Phanagoria in the Bosporan kingdom). Cf. CIJ II 718 for a *synagoge Hebraion* at Corinth.

<sup>9</sup> See M. Stern, Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism I, Jerusalem 1974, no. 150 – *comm. ad loc.* For other Hellenised forms of Judah in inscriptions, see the present author in The Book of Acts in its First Century Setting 4, ed. R. Bauckham, Grand Rapids, Michigan 1995, 89–90.

<sup>10</sup> Somewhat ambiguous is the *Iudaeus* whose medicinal preparations Celsus refers to twice in his *De Medicina*. At V.22.4, *Iudaeus* appears to be a personal name but at V.19.11 only an epithet qualifying the noun *auctor*. For discussion, see Stern, *ibid.*

<sup>11</sup> Kraemer, 1989, 48, n. 38, citing our nos. 6, 34, 38–40. Our nos. 3 and 36 are also deemed possible candidates. See Kraemer, 1989, 50 and 45.

<sup>12</sup> For a succinct analysis of the naming practices of the Roman Diaspora, see now L. V. Rutgers, The Jews in Late Ancient Rome: Evidence of Cultural Interaction in the Roman Diaspora, Leiden 1995, 158–163.

common practice<sup>13</sup>.) The only problematical aspect of inscriptions such as these is the precise meaning of the epithet *Iudaeus/a*. Does it merely denote a Judaeian origin and, if so, perhaps not Jewishness at all?

(b) *Ioudaios* as a geographical indicator?

In one of the inscriptions under consideration in this paper *Ioudaios* cannot be a geographical indicator. The Laodicean Jewess, Ammias Ioudea, who ended up in the Monteverde catacomb at Rome (see no. 6), cannot have been a native of Judaea, as no city bearing the name Laodicea ever existed there<sup>14</sup>. And in those texts in Appendix 1 which are dated to the second half of the 2nd century or later *Ioudaios* is unlikely to indicate a Judaeian origin: by that time the name Judaea had been replaced by that of Syria Palestina<sup>15</sup>. Cases such as these aside, are there any inscriptions where *Ioudaios* may be functioning as a geographic indicator? Kraemer proposes that as a possibility for, among others, all the *Ioudaios* inscriptions from Asia Minor<sup>16</sup>. Specific evidence, however, to back these claims is nowhere given. Instead there is repeated reference to “Kraabel’s interpretation”<sup>17</sup>, by which is meant that scholar’s novel explanation of the unique phrase, *hoi pote Ioudaioi*, found in a pagan donor inscription from Smyrna of Hadrianic date<sup>18</sup> and usually understood as “people who were formerly Jews” – i.e. apostates<sup>19</sup>. Kraabel, however, preferred to take the words to mean “people formerly of Judaea” and thus was able, at a stroke, to dispose of the apostates and replace them with immigrants from Judaea who need not even have been Jewish<sup>20</sup>. Although this interpretation has commanded wide acceptance<sup>21</sup>, it is no more than an opinion, not a shred of evidence having been offered in its support. How likely is it to be right? The argument, sometimes adduced on Kraabel’s behalf, that no Jew would go out of his way to advertise his apostasy in the manner alleged of these Smyrnaean donors, is weak. Conspicuous apostasy, though exceedingly rare among Diasporan Jews, did occur<sup>22</sup>. One need only think how the Antiochene apostate Antiochus behaved at the beginning of the Jewish War: he publicly sacrificed “in the Greek manner” precisely to demonstrate to the local Greeks the genuineness of his conversion (*metabole*)<sup>23</sup>. Also against Kraabel a number of powerful historical and linguistic arguments can be brought to bear. After the imposition of the Jewish tax in 70 CE<sup>24</sup>, *Ioudaios* can hardly have been, if it ever was, a term of self-definition that non-Jews would eagerly seek to use, and by the time of the Smyrnaean donor list (i.e. the period following the Diasporan revolts of Trajan’s reign) it is surely one

<sup>13</sup> Rutgers (n. 12) 159.

<sup>14</sup> Noy II 183 speculates that she may have come from either Syrian Laodicea or Laodicea Combusta in Phrygia.

<sup>15</sup> From 135 CE, in fact. See E. M. Smallwood, *The Jews under Roman Rule from Pompey to Diocletian*, Leiden 1976, 463.

<sup>16</sup> Kraemer, 1989, 43, by which are meant our nos. 12; 19–23; 33; 36 and 37. Not all the inscriptions cited by Kraemer actually contain the epithet *Ioudaios*. In CIJ II 750 and 793 *Hebraios* is found instead.

<sup>17</sup> Kraemer, 1989, 35, 43, 52.

<sup>18</sup> IGRR IV 1431, line 29 = CIJ II 742.

<sup>19</sup> As, for example, by W. H. C. Frend, *Martyrdom and Persecution in the Early Church*, Oxford 1965, 148, n. 47 and Smallwood 507.

<sup>20</sup> A. T. Kraabel, *The Roman Diaspora: Six Questionable Assumptions*, JJS 33, 1982, 455.

<sup>21</sup> E.g. by B. Broton, *Women Leaders in the Ancient Synagogues*, Chico California 1982, 225, n. 33; R. Lane Fox, *Pagans and Christians*, Harmondsworth 1988, 481; P. Trebilco, *Jewish Communities in Asia Minor*, Cambridge 1991, 175. For a rather more cautious acceptance, see J. Ashton, *The Identity and Function of the Ἰουδαῖοι in the Fourth Gospel*, *Novum Testamentum* 27, 1985, 46, n. 18.

<sup>22</sup> See L. Feldman, *Jew and Gentile in the Ancient World*, Princeton 1993, 79–83 for a survey of the evidence.

<sup>23</sup> Josephus BJ 7.47.

<sup>24</sup> Josephus BJ 7.218; Cassius Dio 66.7.2.

they would have avoided<sup>25</sup>. Even more seriously, there seems to be no linguistic support for Kraabel's interpretation. In inscriptions from Smyrna and other Anatolian cities, foreign residents are never described as "formerly of such and such a region". The place of origin tends to be given in one of three forms: an ethnicon in the nominative (this is the most common<sup>26</sup>), the preposition *apo* followed by the city-name or the city-name on its own in the genitive<sup>27</sup>. Jews moving around the Mediterranean followed Graeco-Roman conventions in this matter. Judaeans metics (usually assumed to be Jewish) at Iasos and Rhodes, for instance, are described/describe themselves as Jerusalemites<sup>28</sup>. Settlers from Galilee routinely describe themselves as *Tiberieus*<sup>29</sup> or *Sephorenos*<sup>30</sup> (i.e. from Tiberias or Sepphoris) and at Rome, among the many immigrants from other parts of the Jewish world, we find Jews "from Aquileia"<sup>31</sup> and "from Laodicea" (no. 6). So far, in the epigraphic evidence, I have been unable to find a single instance of *pote* being used in the manner Kraabel proposes. If IGRR IV 1431, as interpreted by Kraabel, offers so little support for the thesis that *Ioudaios* frequently operates as a geographic indicator, is there any other inscriptional evidence that may be invoked instead? Solin suggested<sup>32</sup> that CIL XIV 4624 and CIJ I<sup>2</sup> 643 provided further examples of the usage. However, in the most recent edition of CIL XIV 4624, a text regarded by Solin himself as a bit doubtful, the epithet no longer figures, *Iuda[eus]* having been replaced by the name *Iuda*<sup>33</sup>. With regard to the second (no. 24), which runs *L(ucius) Aiadius P(ublili) l(ibertus) Dama Iudaeus portor v. s. f.*, Solin's argument that *Iudaeus* here must have a "rein geographische Funktion" because "v. s. f. weist auf heidnische Dedication hin"<sup>34</sup> is unsound. Even if v. s. f. had to be interpreted as *votum solvit feliciter* (which it does not<sup>35</sup>), there is no reason why a Jew should not have made such a dedication, as our discussion below of no. 9, a Jewish inscription from the shrine of Amphiaraios at Oropos, will show. Thus we are left with no hard epigraphic examples of *Ioudaios* meaning 'person (not necessarily Jewish) from Judaea'<sup>36</sup>. So what does *Ioudaios* signify?

(c) *Ioudaios* as an indicator of status within the Jewish community

Josephus almost invariably uses the term *Ioudaios* to designate post-exilic Jews, whether those of Judaea itself or those domiciled in Mesopotamia and the Mediterranean world<sup>37</sup>. He also applies it to proselytes, as his account of the conversion of the Adiabenean king, Izates, for instance, shows: with circumcision, the latter "genuinely" became "*Ioudaios*"<sup>38</sup>. In the Roman History of Cassius Dio, a work dating roughly from the same period as many of the *Ioudaios* inscriptions under consideration here (i.e. 2nd-3rd century CE), the usage is the same: "They (*sc.* the Jews) have also another name that they have

<sup>25</sup> Especially if it belonged to the period of the Bar Kochba revolt (132–5 CE) or the closing years of Hadrian's reign. However, although this document is definitely Hadrianic, it cannot be dated any more precisely than that. See Smallwood 507, n. 3.

<sup>26</sup> See, for instance, the Smyrnaean inscriptions, IGRR 1446 (*Beithynos Nikaieus* – from Nikaia in Bithynia) and 1460 (*Beithynieus kai Neikomedeus* – a Bithynian and a Nikomedeian) and IK Smyrna 689 (multiple examples from all over the eastern Mediterranean).

<sup>27</sup> See, for instance, MAMA III 442 (*Ephesios*); 176 (*apo Ephesou*); 742 (*Ephesou*).

<sup>28</sup> CIJ II 749; IG XII.i.11.

<sup>29</sup> Le Bohec 28 – epitaph found in the necropolis of Gamart at Carthage. Cf. Appendix 1 no. 34.

<sup>30</sup> CIJ I<sup>2</sup> 362 = Noy II 60.

<sup>31</sup> CIJ I<sup>2</sup> 147 = Noy II 238.

<sup>32</sup> H. Solin, *Juden und Syrer im westlichen Teil der römischen Welt*, ANRW II.29.2, 1983, 649.

<sup>33</sup> Noy I 15.

<sup>34</sup> Solin, *ibid.*

<sup>35</sup> Noy I 7 reads here *vivus sibi fecit*.

<sup>36</sup> For other criticisms of Kraemer on this point, see P. W. van der Horst, *Ancient Jewish Epitaphs*, Kampen 1991, 69–70.

<sup>37</sup> Josephus AJ 11.169–73. For discussion, see Tomson (n. 2) 123–124.

<sup>38</sup> AJ 20.38ff. cf. AJ 13.258, for the use of similar language in regard to the conversion of the Idumaeans.

acquired (*sc.* besides Palestine). The country has been named Judaea (*Ioudaia*) and the people themselves Jews (*Ioudaioi*). I do not know how this title came to be given them but it applies also to others, although of a different race (*alloethneis*), who zealously adhere to their customs. This people (*genos*) is found even among the Romans and, although many times repressed, has increased mightily and won the right of freedom in its observances.”<sup>39</sup> Is the epigraphic use of the term any different from that found in these (and other) literary sources?<sup>40</sup> Kraemer argues that it may also have been adopted by pagans merely sympathetic to Judaism. Her principal reason for making this claim is the presence in two of the epitaphs alluded to above, namely those of Iulia Victoria Iudaea from Cirta in Numidia (no. 29) and Septim(i)a Maria Iudaea of Pannonia (no. 38), of the “heathen” formula *D(is) M(anibus)* – to the Divine Spirits (of the departed). This, she suggests, indicates, at the very least, broad sympathy towards Judaism on the part of pagan persons, either the deceased themselves or the parents who gave them “the name Iudea”<sup>41</sup>. Kraemer’s hypothesis here is both implausible and unnecessary: *Iudaea*, as was demonstrated above, is unlikely to be a name in either of these inscriptions. Further, there is no reason to suppose that the *Dis Manibus* formula cannot have been used by Jews: although predominantly a pagan usage, it has also been found not only on several Christian tombstones<sup>42</sup> but also occasionally in Jewish contexts<sup>43</sup>. While many of these cases are simply pagan tombstones in secondary use (several of those found in the Jewish catacombs at Rome, for instance, demonstrably were used for helping to seal up burial cavities<sup>44</sup>), there is one from Segermes in Africa Proconsularis<sup>45</sup> and another from the Monteverde catacomb at Rome<sup>46</sup> that cannot easily be explained away.

What then are we to conclude about the meaning of *Ioudaios* in inscriptions? I myself can see no reason for not assuming that, nos. 1 and 2 apart, it is the same as in other types of contemporary source material – i.e. it refers mostly to people who had been born as Jews whether in Judaea/Palestine or elsewhere and in a few cases those who had converted outright to Judaism. *Hebreos*, the word which largely superseded *Ioudaios* in Byzantine times, the latter having acquired pejorative overtones, largely confirms this. It never denotes mere sympathisers. Nor is it somebody’s personal name. It simply refers to Jews wherever found and whatever their geographical origin<sup>47</sup>.

## (ii) The function of *Ioudaios*

### (a) *Ioudaios* in a Jewish context

Instances of *Ioudaios* in a wholly Jewish context are, unsurprisingly, rare. In Judaea/Palestine there is only one and in the synagogal inscriptions of Diasporan Jewry, the official use of *Ioudaioi* in

<sup>39</sup> Cassius Dio 37.16.5–17.1. Usually interpreted as referring to proselytism. See, for instance, M. Stern, *Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism II*, Jerusalem 1980, no. 406, comm. on 37.17.1 and, more recently, M. Goodman, *Nerva, the Fiscus Judaicus and Jewish Identity*, JRS 79, 1989, 43.

<sup>40</sup> In papyrological sources from Egypt too, *Ioudaios* normally functions as a status indicator. See, for instance, CPJ I 30; 38; 43; 46 etc.

<sup>41</sup> Kraemer, 1989, 49.

<sup>42</sup> Some from the same region as the Iulia Victoria Iudaea epitaph – i.e. Cirta. See P. Monceaux, *Enquête sur l'épigraphie chrétienne d'Afrique*, Revue Archéologique 1, 1904, 359.

<sup>43</sup> See van der Horst 43.

<sup>44</sup> Rutgers (n. 12) 269–272.

<sup>45</sup> Le Bohec 12.

<sup>46</sup> CIJ I<sup>2</sup> 464 = Noy II 608 (listed with “possibly Jewish” inscriptions). Noy concedes, however, that this epitaph ends with a formula “which has usually been regarded as almost exclusively Jewish.”

<sup>47</sup> In inscriptions and papyri at any rate. Compare, for instance, CPJ 512 an Arsinoite Hebrew with CIJ I<sup>2</sup> 370 = Noy II 112, a Palestinian one at Rome. To claim that it refers only to Palestinian or Aramaic-speaking Jews is to go beyond the evidence. So, correctly, N. de Lange, *Origen and the Jews*, Cambridge 1976, 30. For the altogether more nuanced uses of *Hebraios/Ioudaios* in literary sources, especially those of 4th century Christian writers, see the perceptive remarks of D. T. Runia, *The Studia Philonica Annual* 6, 1994, 14–20.

community titles apart<sup>48</sup>, none at all. Given the absence of any need for a Jew to define him or herself as Jewish when among Jews, where the word does occur in a Jewish context, there must be a special reason for it. In the Jewish catacombs of Rome, *Ioudaios/a* is securely attested five times (nos. 3–7). In all but one of these cases (no. 7) the people so described were in some sense on the margin of the Roman Jewish community. For they were of either proselyte or (no. 6 only) immigrant status. That the term is being used in these cases to stress group-membership comes out particularly clearly in the epitaph of the three-year-old proselyte, Irene, from the Lower Nomentana catacomb (no. 4). However we choose to interpret this peculiar, much discussed text (I follow Frey in CIJ), there can be no doubt that the people who were responsible for its composition<sup>49</sup> were determined to emphasise Irene’s Jewish credentials. Hence (to the bafflement of Tomson) their simultaneous description of her as both a Jew and an Israelite (*Ioudea Israelites*)<sup>50</sup>.

But what does *Ioudaios/a* mean when the person so described apparently is neither a proselyte nor an immigrant? There are only two certain<sup>51</sup> instances of this usage, both funerary, one of them from Rome (no. 7) and the other from Beth She’arim in Galilee (no. 8). In the first, a text decorated with the menorah and other ritual objects, the deceased is described as *bona Iudea* and in the second as *Ioudea hosiā*. Does *Ioudea* here have the same clear laudatory function as the adjacent epithets, *bona* and *hosiā*? Avigad thought so, as his commentary on the Beth She’arim text (the epitaph of Sara, wife of Bariose) makes clear: “the purpose . . . is . . . to praise her in idiomatic terms in use even today, for example, ‘a wise Jew’, ‘a good Jew’, etc.”<sup>52</sup>. This interpretation seems the right one: *Jewishness*, in the sense of living an upright life in accordance with Jewish values, is a quality singled out for celebration in contemporary inscriptions. Sometimes, as in the *laudatio* of Regina, the Roman Jewess, the handling of this topic is very elaborate<sup>53</sup>. Closest to the economical treatment of it in our two inscriptions (supposing that the *Ioudaia* in each case is laudatory) is the phrase *kalos biosasa en to ioudaismo* in CIJ I<sup>2</sup> 537 (Noy II 584)<sup>54</sup>. It is pertinent in this context to note that *Hebraios* too sometimes functions in a laudatory manner, as, for instance, in CIJ I<sup>2</sup> 551 (Noy II no. 108), where the deceased, a young boy, is described as *Hebraios kai glukus*.

#### (b) *Ioudaios* in a non-Jewish context

Rather more numerous, unsurprisingly, are the instances of *Ioudaios* in non-Jewish contexts. Examples have been found all over the Graeco-Roman world from periods as far apart as the 3rd century BCE and the 5th century CE and at sites as diverse as the Temple of Pan near Edfu in Egypt, the pagan necropolis at Termessos in Pisidia and the mainly Christian cemetery at Korykos in Cilicia<sup>55</sup>. Despite this

<sup>48</sup> See n. 8 above.

<sup>49</sup> Quite possibly they were Irene’s proselyte parents. So, attractively, G. Horsley as cited by van der Horst 111, n. 39.

<sup>50</sup> Tomson, 131, n. 31 – “this clumsy emphasis remains enigmatic”. Simon interpreted it, correctly in my opinion, as an attempt to reinforce Irene’s proselyte status. See M. Simon, *Verus Israel: a study of the relations between Christians and Jews in the Roman Empire (AD 135–425)*, trans. by H. McKeating, Oxford 1986, 485, n. 65.

<sup>51</sup> Another may be *Μαρά Ἰουδαία?* from the Lower Nomentana catacomb at Rome. See CIJ I<sup>2</sup> 41, followed by H. J. Leon, *The Jews of Ancient Rome*, Philadelphia 1960, 270 and Appendix 1 no. 43 below. J. M. Reynolds has suggested reading here “Mara the daughter of Judas”. See CR 13, 1963, 332 (review of Leon). Though that is possible, there are no parallels among the other epitaphs in the catacomb for citing the patronymic in this way. Generally a fuller style, *X thugater/huios Y*, is employed. See, for instance, CIJ I<sup>2</sup> 30 and 67 = Noy II 454 and 452 (*thugater*) and CIJ I<sup>2</sup> 27; 31; 55 and 56 = Noy II 453, 457, 463 and 475 (*huios*).

<sup>52</sup> N. Avigad, *Beth She’arim III – Catacombs 12–23*, New Brunswick, N. J. 1976, 31. For her husband, see BS II no. 161.

<sup>53</sup> CIJ I<sup>2</sup> 476 = Noy II 103. For translation and discussion, see van der Horst, 112.

<sup>54</sup> Cf. *politeusamenos pasan poleiteian kata ton ioudaismōn* in the famous donor inscription from Stobi in Macedonia (CIJ I<sup>2</sup> 694).

<sup>55</sup> Also of note is the ‘*Ioudaios*’ inscription, dated 42 CE, from the façade of one of the mainly pagan rock-cut tombs at Egra (Medain Saleh) in the northern Hedjaz. (For these, F. Millar, *The Roman Near East 31 BC – AD 337*, Cambridge,



diversity, the basic function of *Ioudaios* is always the same – to draw an explicit distinction between Jews and non-Jews. But what exactly was the epithet meant to convey?

In the three earliest texts, one certainly dating from the Hellenistic period (no. 9) and the other two (nos. 10–11) very probably so<sup>56</sup>, it is hard to believe that the epithet, in each case used self-definitively, is doing any more than reflecting an awareness of ethnic difference. Traditional Jewish *Frömmigkeit* is certainly not in evidence nor “much communal Jewish feeling”<sup>57</sup>. In two of them, graffiti produced by Jewish devotees at the temple of Pan at Edfu (nos. 10 and 11), the deity is praised in language so ambiguous that to this day the identity of the god towards whom they were directing their devotion and thanks is disputed, some claiming it was the Jewish God and others Pan himself. From the third text (no. 9), a long inscription from the shrine of Amphiaraios at Oropos in central Greece, we can deduce that the slave, Moschos, son of Moschion *Ioudaios*, had been engaging in what were (from a Jewish viewpoint) decidedly impious practices. For he had been sacrificing a ram to the resident deity, incubating in his sanctuary<sup>58</sup> and then, “as a result of a dream”, setting up a stele near the altar “at the command of the god Amphiaraios and Hygeia”.

In the later inscriptions, however, all of which come from public cemeteries, located mostly in Asia Minor, *Ioudaios*, either on its own or accompanied by symbols such as the menorah, is consistently used to emphasise membership of the Jewish community and simultaneously suggest apartness from the rest of local society, whether predominantly pagan or Christian.

In 3rd century Hierapolis, for instance, where there was a *katoikia/laos Ioudaion* with roots going back to the Seleucid period<sup>59</sup>, it would appear that the function of the term *Ioudaios* primarily was to stress involvement in the life of this ancient community. This we can deduce from clues on each of the three ‘*Ioudaios*’ tombs: on one, we find a depiction of the *shofar*, *lulab* and *menorah* (no. 17), on another, the *menorah* alone (no. 18) and, on the third, an elaborate statement of ownership in which the *laos Ioudaion* is made the sole guarantor of the tomb’s inviolability (no. 16). (In the pagan epitaphs of Hierapolis, by contrast, fines for violating the tomb generally are payable to the local *gerousia* and/or ‘the most holy treasury’<sup>60</sup>.)

At 3rd century Termessos, this same desire to emphasise social and religious differences can also be observed. Here the evidence occurs on a tomb specially set up by a pagan father for a Jewish (possibly proselyte) daughter (see Appendix 2 below) – a phenomenon nowhere else attested in the Graeco-Roman world. Aurelia Artemeis’ desire to be treated differently from the rest of her family can be seen first of all in her burial apart from them (its solitariness is stressed in her epitaph). Her different religious values can be deduced from the unusual character of the arrangements for the protection of her tomb: the customary (for Termessos) reference to Zeus Solymeis, an example of which is to be found on the adjacent tomb of her uncle, Markos Aurelios Moles<sup>61</sup>, is omitted. The description of Aurelia Artemeis as *Ioudea* was not casual: hers was an expensive tomb, the long epitaph is carefully inscribed and the fact that she was a Jewess the one piece of information we are given about her. The desire to make clear to the passer-by in this overwhelmingly pagan necropolis the distinctive character of her religiosity and piety is patent.

Mass. 1993, 389 and 403.) Written in Nabataean, it begins “This is the tomb which Shubaytu, son of ‘Eli’u, Jew (יהודי), has made for himself, his children and for his posterity”. See A. Negev, *The Nabataean Necropolis at Egra*, Rev. Bib. 83, 1976, 216. For the remainder of the text, which includes a ban on illicit use, see CIJ II 1422.

<sup>56</sup> All modern scholars regard them as Ptolemaic, W. Schwartz (1806) alone suggesting a possible Roman date. See P. M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria II*, Oxford 1972, 302, n. 353.

<sup>57</sup> So D. M. Lewis, *The First Greek Jew*, JSS 2, 1957, 266.

<sup>58</sup> On the well-attested rituals at the Amphiareion, see “Oropus” in OCD and Lewis (previous note), 265.

<sup>59</sup> CIJ II 775 and 776. cf. Josephus AJ 12.148–153.

<sup>60</sup> For a comprehensive list, see C. Humann, C. Cichorius, W. Judeich and F. Winter, *Altertümer von Hierapolis*, Berlin 1898, 184.

<sup>61</sup> TAM III no. 612. For other examples, see TAM III p. 354.

In early Byzantine Korykos too we see the epithet being used to advertise communal and religious differences (nos. 21–23). In this largely Christian necropolis<sup>62</sup> characterisation of the deceased as *Ioudaios* (and later *Hebraios*<sup>63</sup>) was but one of several devices used to distinguish the graves of members of the Jewish community from those of the town's Christian majority<sup>64</sup>. On the tomb of Damianos (no. 21), it occurs on its own. (cf. nos. 19 and 20) In nos. 22 and 23 it is given added force by being accompanied by depictions of the menorah.

(iii) The interpretation of *Ioudaios* on some stones whose original context is unknown

In all the cases so far analysed, the general physical context has been the prime factor in determining the broad function of *Ioudaios*. With inscriptions from non-Jewish contexts, chronology, too, has emerged as being important: *Ioudaios* in inscriptions from the Hellenistic period clearly lacks the religious and communal character that it consistently has in texts from the early Roman imperial and Byzantine eras<sup>65</sup>. Given this pattern in the evidence, it becomes feasible to try and identify the likely function of *Ioudaios* in inscriptions whose date and context can be established with a fair degree, only, of probability.

Take, for instance, the north African inscriptions from Cirta, Sitifis and Auzia (nos. 27–32), whose original context is unknown. All, as we have seen, have been the subject of much speculation by Kraemer. On palaeographic and onomastic grounds, these epitaphs are generally dated to the 2nd–3rd centuries CE<sup>66</sup>. In all probability they came from communal city-cemeteries: while *Iudaeus* has never been securely attested in north Africa in a wholly Jewish context<sup>67</sup>, it is found in a non-Jewish one – namely the Roman necropolis of Sala (Rabat) in Mauretania<sup>68</sup>. Given this, the balance of probability must be that in each of these texts *Iudaeus* is functioning as a term of social and religious differentiation.

The four *Ioudaios* inscriptions from Asia Minor (nos. 26, 33, 36 and 37), none of which has ever been dated earlier than the 2nd–3rd centuries CE, must be similarly interpreted, for in their case it is even more likely that they emanated from communal city cemeteries. To date, no separate Jewish burial grounds have been identified in Asia Minor in the Graeco-Roman period<sup>69</sup>. There is, however, indisputable evidence for the burial of Jews in a number of urban necropoleis there, most notably those of Hierapolis and Korykos<sup>70</sup>. Thus in the case of that great Smyrnaean lady, Rufina *Ioudaia*

<sup>62</sup> See index to MAMA III under “Religion”.

<sup>63</sup> CIJ II 793 = MAMA III 607.

<sup>64</sup> For the Jewish evidence from Korykos, see the present writer in JSJ 25, 1994, 274–286.

<sup>65</sup> Goodman (n. 39) would see the Nervan reforms of the *fiscus Iudaicus* in 96 CE as seminal in the transformation of *Ioudaios* from an ethnic indicator into a religious one.

<sup>66</sup> Le Bohec, pp. 201–203.

<sup>67</sup> A perfectly plausible alternative reading to [ἰο]υδέ[ος, -α?] on a marble fragment in the Jewish necropolis of Gamart at Carthage is [ο]υδέ[ις ἀθάνατος]. See Le Bohec 33.

<sup>68</sup> See H. Hirschberg, *A History of the Jews of North Africa I*<sup>2</sup>, Leiden 1974, 52, citing H. Basset, *La nécropole romaine de Chellah*, 1919, 131 (*non vidi*).

<sup>69</sup> The arguments to the contrary put forward by J. H. M. Strubbe in J. W. van Henten & P. W. van der Horst (eds.), *Studies in Early Jewish Epigraphy*, Leiden 1994, 101 are weak: (i) Calder's claim that “in Akmonia, as in Rome and elsewhere in the West, the Jewish community had its own cemetery” proves to be unsupported by any evidence; (ii) the discovery at Nikomedeia in Bithynia of the three stray epigraphic finds in roughly the same quarter of the modern city do not prove the presence there of an ancient Jewish cemetery; (iii) TAM II 2. 612 (from 1st cent. Tlos) merely shows an individual Jewish tomb (*heroon*) in the ownership of the Jewish community; (iv) the Jewish identity of the Aurelios Aristeas inscription from Akmonia (for a detailed discussion of which see Trebilco, 78–81) is uncertain. Even if it is Jewish, as has been inferred from the name Mathias, it provides no evidence for a separate Jewish cemetery.

<sup>70</sup> For the location of Jewish tombs on both the east and west sides of the main *Gräberstraße* of Hierapolis' northern necropolis, see Humann, Cichorius et al., (n. 60), 96–7 and 138; for information about the location of the Jewish tombs at

*archisynagogos* (no. 36), there is no need to suppose that she was a Judaeen immigrant or named Rufina Ioudaia. Most likely she is using *Ioudaia* in the same way as her (broad) contemporaries at Hierapolis, Termessos and elsewhere – i.e. she is publicising, in her case in an official notice<sup>71</sup>, her pride in her membership of the local Jewish community – *ho en Smyrne laos*, as it is called in another inscription<sup>72</sup>. Several features of the text combine to confirm this interpretation: e.g. the prominence she gives to the word *Ioudaia* (it occupies virtually half of the first line of the inscription) and the mention she makes of her high status within the community – she was *archisynagogos*.

Not all the inscriptions of uncertain provenance, however, are so readily susceptible of interpretation. Where date and ancient context are wholly unknown, as, for instance, with the stone from the museum of Larisa in Thessaly mentioning Pontiana, the Jewess (no. 40), it is generally best avoided. In this text, the epitaph of her son, Boukolion, son of Hermias, we have the epigraphic equivalent of Timothy's family in the Acts of the Apostles 16.1–2 – Boukolion, like Timothy, had a Greek father and a Jewish mother. But how to interpret *Ioudaia* in this case is not clear, for we do not know whether Pontiana was a Jewess by birth and thus possibly using the epithet in an ethnic sense or through conversion and thus using it in a religious one.

### Conclusion

The purpose of this paper has been to challenge Tomson's and Kraemer's views of the meaning and significance of *Ioudaios* and to make some contribution to the ongoing debate about the problems of interpreting Jewish epigraphic material from the Graeco-Roman world<sup>73</sup>. Both of these scholars are to a certain degree correct in their analyses of the evidence but both overstate their case. Although, as Tomson's massive bi-partite study shows, *Ioudaios* very frequently does function as a term of "outside identity", there are times when it does not. Besides the epigraphic exceptions noted above, there is numismatic and papyrological evidence that does not fit into his schema<sup>74</sup>. Equally, Kraemer is correct in observing that many of the words, phrases and symbols often taken as unquestionably Jewish are ambiguous. But, while there are indeed huge grey areas in the epigraphic field (of many inscriptions it is impossible to know if they are Jewish, pagan or Christian<sup>75</sup>), the *Ioudaios* inscriptions do not constitute one of them. Both the meaning and the function of the epithet seem to me to be remarkably clear: used with pride by both those born as Jews and those converted to Judaism, it might, depending on place and time, serve either to stress similarities or to emphasise differences.

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Korykos (i.e. whether in Zone A, B or C of the necropolis), see details at, for instance, MAMA III 222; 237; 262; 295; 344; 440; 607; 679. Also from communal cemeteries are the two Cilician inscriptions – CIJ II 784 (Seleukeia on the Kalykadnos) and 795. On the exact findspot of the latter, see E. L. Hicks, JHS 12, 1891, 269. It came from Diokaisareia, not Olba, as stated by Frey in CIJ. So correctly H. Bloedhorn, JSS 35, 1990, 68.

<sup>71</sup> "*un avis au public*". So S. Reinach, REJ 7 (1883) 166.

<sup>72</sup> IK Smyrna I 296.

<sup>73</sup> Most recently treated by J. W. van Henten with A. Bij de Vaate in: Jewish or Non-Jewish? Some Remarks on the Identification of Jewish Inscriptions from Asia Minor, Bibliotheca Orientalis 53, 1996, 16–28.

<sup>74</sup> E.g. the coins of Alexander Jannaeus which bear the legend: *Hever ha-Yehudim* (Society of the Jews) and the letter of Bar Kokhba's commanders about the *kitreiaholen Ioudaion* (citron-celebration of the Jews). Tomson's attempts (129–130) to explain these away are not convincing.

<sup>75</sup> Amply demonstrated in Kraemer, 1991 (n. 3).

## Appendix 1

(i) *Ioudaios* as a personal name

1. [ἄρ]χοντο[ς Ἐμμενίδα τοῦ] Καλλία [μ]ηνὸς Ἀπελλαίου, ἐπὶ τοῖσδε ἀπέδοτο Κλέων Κλευδάμου, συνεπαινούσας Ξενοφανείας τὰς [μα]τρὸς Κλευδάμου, τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι τῷ Πυθίῳ σῶμα ἀνδρεῖον ὅτι ὄνομα Ἰουδαῖος τὸ γένος Ἰουδαῖον, τιμᾶς ἀργυρίου μνᾶν τεσσάρων . . . (CIJ I<sup>2</sup> 710 – Delphi; 162 BCE) = In the archonship of Emmenidas, the son of Kallias, in the month of Apellaios, Kleon, son of Kleudamos, with the consent of Xenophaneia, the mother of Kleudamos, has sold to Apollo Pythios a male person, by name Ioudaios, a Jew by race, for the sum of four silver minas on these conditions . . .
2. ἄρχοντος Ἡρακλείδα, μηνὸς Ποιτροπίου, ἀπέδοτο Ἰο[υδ]α[ί]ου Πινδάρου, συνευδοκούντος τοῦ υἱοῦ Πινδάρου, τῷ [Ἀ]πόλλωνι σῶμα ἀνδρεῖον, ὅτι ὄνομα [Ἀμ]ύντας . . . (CIJ I<sup>2</sup> 711 – Delphi; 119 BCE) = During the archonship of Herakleidas, in the month of Poitropios, Ioudaios, son of Pindaros, has, with the agreement of his son Pindaros, sold to Apollo a male slave, Amyntas by name . . .

(ii) *Ioudaios* in a Jewish context

3. *Cresce(n)s Sinicerius Iudeus proselitus vixit ann(is) XXXV dormitione(m) accepit. mat(er) dul(cis-simo) f(i)l<io> suo fec(it) qu(o)d ips(e) mihi deb(uit) facere. VIII K(a)l(endas) Ian(uarias)* (CIJ I<sup>2</sup> 68 = Noy II 491 – Rome, 3rd–4th cent. C.E.) = Cresce(n)s Sinicerius, a Jew (and) a proselyte, (who) lived for 35 years, has fallen asleep. His mother has done for her sweet son what he should have done for me. 8 days before the Kalends of January (i.e. 25th December).
4. Εἰρήνη τρεζπτὴ προσήλυτος πατρὸς καὶ μητρὸς Εἰουδέα Ἰσδραηλίτης ἔζησεν ἥ(τ)η γ' μ(ή)νας ζ' ἡμ(έ)ρ(αν) ἀ' (CIJ I<sup>2</sup> 21 = Noy II 489 – Rome, 3rd–4th cent. CE (?)) = Eirene, a foster-child, a convert to Judaism through her father and mother, a Jewess (and) an Israelite, has lived for 3 years and 1 day.
5. [. . . Ἰο]υδέα προσή[λυτος . . .]εος ἐβί[ωσε βίον κοι?]νόν[. . .]ν MENORAH (Leon, Jews of Rome, 292, no. 202. The readings of Frey (CIJ I<sup>2</sup> 202) and Noy (II 392) are not accepted here. Rome, 3rd–4th cent. CE (?)) = . . . Jewess, proselyte . . . She lived [her life together with? . . .]
6. ἔνθα κίτε Ἀμμιάς Ἰουδέα ἀπὸ Λαδικίας ἥτις ἔζησεν ἔτη πε' Ϸ MENORAH (CIJ I<sup>2</sup> 296 = Noy II 183 – Rome, 3rd–4th cent. CE (?)) = Here lies Ammias, a Jewess from Laodicea, who lived for 85 years. Peace.
7. *Marcia bona Iudea. dormi<tio> tua {ua} i(n) bonis* WICK-SNUFFER (?) MENORAH AMPHORA (Reading of Frey in CIJ I<sup>2</sup> 250 followed here rather than Noy II 233 – Rome, 3rd–4th cent. CE (?)) = Marcia, a good Jewess. Your sleep among the good.
8. ὧδε κίτε Σάρα Ἰουδέα ὀσία (BS II 158 – Beth She'arim, 3rd cent. CE) = Here lies Sara, a pious Jewess.

(iii) *Ioudaios* in a non-Jewish context

9. Μόσχος Μοσχίωνος Ἰουδαῖος ἐνύπνιον ἰδὼν προστάξαντος τοῦ θεοῦ Ἀμφιαράου καὶ τῆς Ὑγιείας, καθὰ συνέταξε ὁ Ἀμφιάραιος καὶ ἡ Ὑγιεία ἐν στήλῃ γράψαντα ἀναθεῖναι πρὸς τῷ βωμῷ (CIJ I<sup>2</sup> 711b, lines 10–14 – shrine of Amphiaraios at Oropos, circa 300–250 BCE) = Moschos, son of Moschion, a Jew, as a result of a dream (has set up this stele) at the command of the god Amphiaraios and Hygeia, in accordance with the orders of Amphiaraios and Hygeia to write these things on a stele and set (it) up by the altar.
10. θεοῦ εὐλογία. Θεύ[ο]δοτος Δωρίωνος Ἰουδαῖος σωθεὶς ἐκ πελ(άγ)ου (CIJ II 1537 = HN 121 – temple Pan near Edfu in Upper Egypt, 2nd–1st cent. BCE (?)) = Praise to God! Theudotos, son of Dorion, a Jew, safe from the sea.

11. εὐλόγει τὸν θεόν. Πτολεμαῖος Διονυσίου Ἰουδαῖος (CIJ II 1538 = HN 122 – same provenance and date as the previous entry) = Praise God! Ptolemy, son of Dionysios, a Jew.
12. μνημῖον (*sic!*) Μ. Αὐρηλίων Ζοΐλου καὶ Διογένους Ἰουδέων (CIJ 795 – Diokaisareia in Cilicia, 1st half of 3rd cent. CE (?)) = Tomb of M(arkos) Aurelios Zoilos and M(arkos) Aurelios Diogenes, Jews.
13. Μαρεῖνος Πτολεμαῖος Ἰουδέος (Le Bohec 78 = AE 1949, 142 – Sala (Rabat) in Mauretania Tingitana, late 2nd cent. CE (?)) = Mareinos Ptolemaios, a Jew.
14. [τ]οῦτο τὸ ἠρώϊ[ο]ν (Σ)ε(λ)εύκου Ἰζά[τ]ου καὶ Ἰαμίας Ἀ[. . . καὶ] Σαμουήλου Γορ[δι?]ανοῦ Ἰουδέων (CIJ II 1417 – Edessa, early 3rd cent. CE, according to Schürer, revised by Vermes, Millar, Goodman III 9) = This is the tomb of Seleukos, son of Izates and Iamias, son of A[. . .] and Samouelos, son of Gordianos (?), Jews.
15. For the text and translation of the 3rd cent. epitaph of Aur(elia) Artemeis *Ioudea (sic)* from Termessos in Pisidia, see Appendix 2 below.
16. ἡ σορὸς καὶ τὸ ὑπὸ αὐτῆ[ν θέ]μα σὺν τῷ βαθρικῷ [καὶ] ὁ τόπος Αὐρηλίας Γλυκωνίδος Ἀμμιανοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς αὐτῆς Μ(άρκου) Αὐρ(ηλίου) Ἀλεξάνδρου Θεοφίλου ἐπίκλι[ην . . .]αφ[. . .]ου Ἰουδαίων ἐν ἧ [κ]ηδευθ[ή]σοντα[ι] αὐτοί. ἐτέρῳ δὲ οὐδενὶ ἐξέσται κηδεῦσαι ἐν αὐτῇ τινα· [εἰ] δὲ μὴ ἀποτεῖσει τῷ λαῷ τῶν Ἰουδαίων προστε(ί)μου ὄν[ό]ματι δηνάρια χεῖλια. ταύτης τῆς ἐπιγραφῆς ἀπλοῦν ἀ[ν]τίγραφον ἀπετέθη εἰς τὰ ἀρχία (CIJ II 776, as emended by Robert, *Hellenica* 11–12, 1960, 261, n. 1 – Hierapolis, 3rd cent. CE = Judeich p. 96, no. 69) = This tomb and the base on which it rests [and] the site (belong to) Aurelia Glykones, daughter of Ammianos, and her husband, M(arkos) Aur(elios) Alexander, son of Theophilos, also called [. . .]aph[. . .]os, Jews. It is for their burial. No one else shall be allowed to bury anyone else in it. Otherwise, he shall pay to the community of the Jews by way of a fine one thousand denarii. A copy of this inscription has been deposited in the record office.
17. ἡ σορὸς καὶ ὁ βωμὸς καθ' οὗ ἐπέικεται Μάρ(κου) Αὐρ(ηλίου) Φιλουμένου Στρηνείωνος Ἰουδαίου ΜΕΝΟΡΑΗ ΣΗΟΦΑΡ ΛΟΥΛΑΒ (BE 84, 1971, 645 – Hierapolis, “*époque impériale*”) = The tomb and the altar on which it stands (belong to) Mar(kos) Aur(elios) Philoumenes, son of Streneion, a Jew.
18. Sarcophagus front inscribed with a ΜΕΝΟΡΑΗ and the word Ἰουδέων (BE 84, 1971, 645 – Hierapolis, “*époque impériale*”) = (belonging to) Jews.
19. ἐνθάδε κεῖται Ἀλέξανδρος Ἀνεμουριεύς Ἰουδαῖος σὺν τῇ συνβίῳ αὐτοῦ. ἐὰν οὖν τις παρενοχλήσει ἡμεῖν, δώσει τῷ ἱερωτάτῳ ταμείῳ (δηνάρια) ,βφ' (CIJ II 786 = MAMA III 222 – Korykos, 3rd cent. CE (?)) = Here lies Alexander, citizen of Anemurion, a Jew, together with his wife. If anyone disturbs us, he shall pay to the most sacred treasury 2.500 denarii.
20. ἐνθάδε κεῖτε Ἰούδας καὶ Ἀλεξᾶς Νισαίου [υἱ]εῖς Ἰουδαῖοι. ἐὰν οὖν τις παρενοχλήσῃ ἡμεῖν, δώσει τῷ ἱερωτάτῳ ταμείῳ (δηνάρια) ,βφ' (CIJ II 791 = MAMA III 440 – Korykos, 3rd cent. CE (?)) = Here lie Ioudas and Alexas, sons of Nisaios, Jews. If anyone disturbs us, he shall pay to the most sacred treasury 2.500 denarii.
21. [θήκη Δ]αμια[ν]ο[υ] Ἰουδέου (CIJ II 789 = MAMA III 295 - Korykos, 4th cent. CE or later) = [Tomb of D]amia[n]o[s], a Jew.
22. θήκη Εὐσαμβατίου Ἰουδέου πρεσβυτέρου μυρεψοῦ 2 ΜΕΝΟΡΟΤ (CIJ II 790 = MAMA III 344 – Korykos, 4th–5th cent. CE) = Tomb of Eusambatios, a Jew, an Elder, a perfumer.
23. Σαμοῆ Κοπᾶ κ(αὶ) Αὐξέντιος Εἰουδέων ΜΕΝΟΡΑΗ (CIJ II 794 = MAMA III 679 - Korykos, 4th–5th cent. CE (?)) = (Tomb of) Samoēs, Kopas and Auxentios, Jews.

(iv) *Ioudaios* where the original context is unknown

24. *L. Aiacius P. l(ibertus) Dama Iudaeus portor v(ivus) s(ibi) f(ecit)* (CIJ P 643 = Noy I 7 – Aquileia, 1st cent. BCE (?)) = L(ucius) Aiacius Dama, freedman of Publius, a Jew (and) a customs official (?) has erected (this tomb) during his lifetime or has willingly fulfilled his vow.

25. *Alucius Roscius C(ai) l(ibertus) h(ic) s(itus) e(st) Iudeus . . .* (rest of text unintelligible). (Noy I 188 – vicinity of Mérida, Spain; 1st–3rd cent. (?)) = Alucius (?) Roscius, freedman of Caius, a Jew, lies here

...

26.	[τοῦτο τὸ ἥμι]-	τοῦτο τ[ὸ ἥμι]-
	[μόριόν ἐστι]ν	μόριόν ἐ[στιν]
	[. . .]ίου	Αὐρ. Σαμ[βαθίου]
	[. . .] Ἐφε-	Ἰούδα Ἐφ[εσίου]
	[σίου Ἰουδ]έου	Ἰουδέου

(Final fragmentary line omitted) (SEG 39, 1989, 1222 – Ephesos, 2nd-3rd cents. CE) = (Left part of marble plaque) – [This half of the tomb] belongs to . . . ios, son of . . ., an Ephesian (and) a Jew. (Right part) – This half of the tomb belongs to Aur(elios) Sam[bathios], son of Ioudas, an Ephesian (and) a Jew.

27. *Iulius Ania[n]us Iudeus fi[li]us patri suo karissimo posuit; v(ixit) an(nis) (septuaginta quinque)* (Le Bohec 69 = CIL VIII.I 7150 – Cirta in Numidia, no earlier than 2nd–3rd cents. CE) = Iulius Anianus, a Jew, son, has set up (this monument) for his dearest father, (who) lived for 75 years.

28. *Pompeio Restuto Iudeo Pompeia Cara patri rarissimo fecit* (Le Bohec 70 – CIL VIII.I 7155 – Cirta, same location and date as previous entry) = To Pompeius Restutus (*sic*), a Jew. Pompeia Cara has set (this monument) up for her most remarkable father.

29. *D(is) M(anibus) Iuliae Victoriae [Iu]deae . . .* (remaining letters unintelligible) (Le Bohec 71 = CIL VIII Supp. I–II 19468 – Cirta, 2nd–3rd cent. CE) = To the Departed Spirits of Iulia Victoria, a Jewess

...

30. *Caelia Thalassa Iudaea vixit ann(is) (viginti) m(ensibus) (quattuor); M(arcus) Avilius Ianuarius coniugi karissimae* (Le Bohec 73 = CIL VIII.2 8423 – near Sitifis in Mauretania, 2nd–3rd cents. CE) = Caelia Thalassa, a Jewess, has lived for 20 years (and) 4 months. M(arcus) Avilius Ianuarius (has set this up) for his dearest wife.

31. *Avilia Aster Iudaea. M(arcus) Avilius Ianuarius pater sinagogae, fil(iae) dulcissimae* (Le Bohec 74 = CIL VIII.2 8499 – Sitifis, 2nd–3rd cents. CE) = Avilia Aster, a Jewess. Marcus Avilius Ianuarius, Father of the Community, to his sweetest daughter.

32. *Furfanius Honoratus Iudeus vix(it) pl(us) m(inus) ??* (incomprehensible sign) *an(nis) (quadraginta quinque) . . . Cl(audia) Honorata [mat]er fecit* (Le Bohec 76 = CIL VIII Supp. III–IV 20759 – Auzia in Mauretania Caesariensis; 2nd–3rd cents. CE) = Furfanius Honoratus, a Jew, has lived for forty-five years more or less. His mother, Claudia Honorata, has set (this) up.

33. ἔτους τμβ'. Αὐ[ρ](ήλιος) Ἀλέξανδ[ρος] Ἰουδαῖος ζ[ὼν] κατεσκεύ[ασε] τὸ μνη[μεῖον] (CIJ II 764 – Diokleia in Phrygia, not Akmonia, as stated in CIJ; 257/8 CE) = Year 342. Aur(elios) Alexander, a Jew, has built this tomb during his lifetime.

34. Αὐρή(λ)ις Διονύσις Ἰουδαῖος Τιβε(ρ)ιήνσις ἀν(νόρου) XXXXX φι(λ)ιώρου τριούν πάτερ (CIL III 10055 = CIJ I<sup>2</sup> 680 – Senia in Dalmatia, 3rd cent. CE (?)) = Aurelius Dionysius, a Jew from Tiberias, aged 50, father of three children – i.e. possessor of *ius trium liberorum*.

35. *[An?]nia Salo[molni?]nula an(no) I mens(ibus) III die I Iudaea* (CIJ P 665 = Noy I 179 – Abdera in Spain, 3rd cent. CE (?)) = Annia (?) Salomonula (or perhaps Saloninula), 1 year, 4 months (and) 1 day. A Jewess.

36. Ῥουφεῖνα Ἰουδαία ἀρχισυνάγωγος κατεσκεύασεν τὸ ἐνσόριον τοῖς ἀπελευθέροις καὶ θρέμ[μ]ασιν· μηδενὸς ἄλλου ἐξουσίαν ἔχοντος θάψαι τινά. εἰ δέ τις τολμήσει, δώσει τῷ ἱερωτάτῳ ταμείῳ δηνάρια ἀφ' καὶ τῷ ἔθνει τῶν Ἰουδαίων δηνάρια α'. ταύτης τῆς ἐπιγραφῆς τὸ ἀντίγραφον

ἀπόκειται εἰς τὸ ἄρχεῖον (CIJ II 741 = IK Smyrna I 295 – Smyrna, no earlier than the 3rd cent. CE) = Rufina, a Jewess, *archisynagogos*, has built the tomb for her freedmen and house-born slaves. No one else has the right to bury anyone else (in it). If anyone dares to do so, he shall give to the most holy treasury 1500 denarii and 1000 to the *ethnos* of the Jews. A copy of this inscription has been deposited in the record office.

37. Στράτων Τυράννου Ἰουδαῖος ζῶν τὸ μνημεῖον κατεσκε[ύ]ασε ἑαυτῷ καὶ γυναικὶ καὶ τέκνοις (CIJ II 753 = IK Magnesia am Sipylos 27 – Magnesia, undated) = Straton, son of Tyrannos, a Jew, has erected this tomb during his lifetime for himself and his wife and his children.

38. *D(is) M(anibus) Septim(i)ae Mariae Iudeae quae vixit annis XVIII. Actia Sabinilla mater* (CIL III 3688 = CIJ I<sup>2</sup> 678 = Scheiber 7 – Soklos, Pannonia, undated) = To the Departed Spirits of Septim(i)ae Maria, a Jewess, who lived for 18 years, Actia Sabinilla, her mother (has set up this memorial.)

39. Δημήτριος Δημητρίου Εἰουδαῖος (Arch. Deltion 17.B, 1961–62, Chronika, 36 and BE 77, 1964, 152 = CIJ I<sup>2</sup> 715i – Piraeus, undated) = Demetrios, son of Demetrios, a Jew.

40. Βουκολίουν τοῦ (υ)ἱοῦ Ἑρμίου καὶ Ποντιανῆς τῆς Ἰουδέας (IG IX.2 834 = CIJ I<sup>2</sup> 697 – Larisa, undated) = Boukolion, son of Hermias and of Pontiana, the Jewess.

(v) Uncertain instances of *Ioudaios*

41. ἡ σορὸς καὶ ὁ τόπος Αὐρηλίου Ἀννίου Εἰνόσιος Ἰουδέ[ου(?)] ἐν ἧ κηδευθήσεται αὐτὸς καὶ ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ Αὐρη(λία) Μεν[ανδρ]ῆς Παπίου, κηδευθήσονται δὲ καὶ τὰ τέκνα αὐτῶν· ἐτέρω δ[ὲ] οὐκ ἐ[ξ]έ[σ]ται κηδεύειν. εἰ δέ τις παρὰ τὴν ἐπιγραφὴν ἐπεν[α]ντίον πυήσει, ἀποτίσει τῷ εἰεροτάτῳ ταμίῳ δηνάρια πεντεκόσια. ταύτης τῆς ἐπιγραφῆς τὸ ἀντίγραφον κεῖτε ἐν τῷ ἀρχίῳ (Judeich p. 97, no. 72 = CIJ II 778 – Hierapolis, 3rd cent. CE) = The tomb and the site are the property of Aurelios Annios Einon (= Simon?), a Jew (?), in which he will be buried and his wife Aure(lia) Men[andr]is, daughter of Papios, and their children will be buried. No one else shall be buried (in it). If anyone acts against this inscription, he shall pay to the most sacred treasury five hundred denarii. A copy of this inscription is to be found in the archive office.

42. ἐνθάδε κεῖται Κυριανὸς Ἰουανός (= Ἰουδαῖος?) ἡ[σ]των μᾶ'. ἐν (εἰ)ρεῖνῃ εἰ κύμησις(ς) αὐτοῦ ΜΕΝΟΡΑΗ (Reading here substantially follows Frey in CIJ I<sup>2</sup> 367 and Leon, *Jews of Rome*, 319 rather than Noy II 567 – Rome, 3rd–4th cent. CE (?)) = Here lies Quirinus (?) a Jew (?), 41 years. In peace his sleep.

43. [ἐνθάδ]ε κῆτε Μαρά Ἰο[υδαία?]. ἐν ἰρή(νῃ) ἢ κοίμ[ησις] αὐτῆς (Reading here substantially follows Frey in CIJ I<sup>2</sup> 41 rather than Noy II 458 – Rome, 3rd–4th cent. CE) = Here lies Mapa, a Jewess (?). In peace her sleep.

Appendix 2 – Aurelia Artemeis *Ioudea* (*sic*) of Termessos

Kraemer's welcome attempt to give Aurelia Artemeis of Termessos a sharper profile unfortunately is marred by her complete mistranslation of one of the two inscriptions relating to her – namely the epitaph of her uncle, Markos Aurelios Moles, in TAM III 612. This has led to not only the misrepresentation of relationships within her family but even the invention of a non-existent person<sup>76</sup>. To clarify the situation, I present here (a) the two relevant inscriptions accompanied by translations, (b) a stemma and (c) a brief discussion of the likely meaning of Aurelia's epithet, *Ioudea*.

(a) The evidence for Aurelia Artemeis and her family

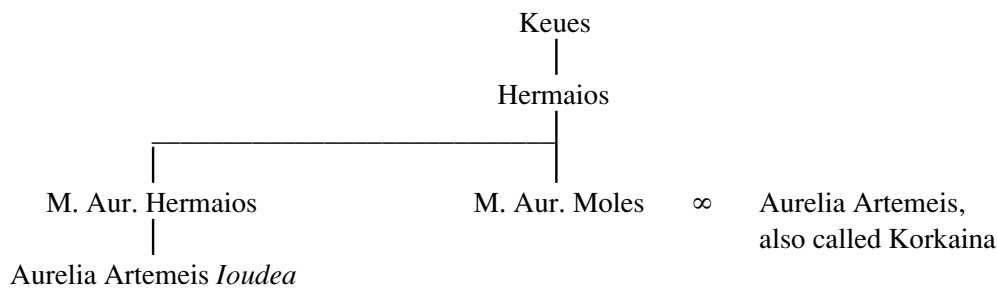
(i) Μ(ἄρκος) Αὐρ(ήλιος) Ἑρμαῖο(ς) δις Κενη τὴν σωματοθήκην τῇ θυγατρὶ αὐτοῦ Αὐρ(ηλία) Ἀρτεμει Ἰουδέα μόνῃ· ἄλλω δὲ μ(η)δενὶ ἐξὸν εἶναι ἐπειθάσῃ τινά, ἐπὶ ὃ πειράσας ἐκτίσ[ει]

<sup>76</sup> Kraemer, 1989, 44.

τῷ ἱερωτάτῳ ταμίῳ \* μύρια καὶ ἔνοχος ἔσται ἐνκλήματι [τυμβωρυχίας] (TAM III 448 – from area E 10 of the necropolis of Termessos in Pisidia – 3rd cent. CE) = M(arkos) Aur(elios) Hermaio(s), son of Hermaios, son of Keues, (has set up) the sarcophagus for his daughter Aur(elia) Artemeis, a Jewess, alone. No one else has the right to bury anyone else (in it). He who attempts (to do so) shall pay 10.000 (denarii) to the most sacred treasury and be liable to a charge of [tomb-violation].

(ii) Μᾶρ(κος) Αὐρ(ήλιος) Μολῆς Ἑρμαίου Κευῆ τὴν σωματοθήκην ἑαυτῷ καὶ τῇ γυναικὶ αὐτοῦ Αὐρ(ηλία) Ἀρτεμει τῇ καὶ Κορκαινα· ἐτέρῳ δὲ οὐκ ἐξέσται ἐπιθάψαι, ἐπεὶ ὁ πειράσας ἐκτεῖσει Διὶ Σολυμεῖ \* ,αφ' καὶ τῷ ἱερωτάτῳ ταμίῳ \* ,β (TAM III 612 – from area E 10 of the necropolis of Termessos in Pisidia – 3rd cent. CE) = M(arkos) Aur(elios) Moles, son of Hermaios, son of Keues, (has set up) the sarcophagus for himself and for his wife, Aur(elia) Artemeis, also called Korkaina. No one else has the right to bury (anyone else in it). He who attempts (to do so) shall pay to Zeus Solymeis 1.500 (denarii) and to the most sacred treasury 2.000 (denarii).

(b) Stemma of the family of Aurelia Artemeis



(c) The meaning of *Ioudea* in TAM III 448

It will have been observed that the wife and the niece of Markos Aurelios Moles both had the same name – an extremely common one at Termessos (Heberdey, in the index of TAM III, lists over fifty women called Aurelia Artemeis!). It was doubtless for this reason that Moles' wife bore an additional identifier, namely the signum Korkaina<sup>77</sup>. But what is the significance of the epithet borne by his niece? Heberdey suggested that the younger Aurelia Artemeis was called *Ioudea* simply because her mother was Jewish<sup>78</sup>. While that cannot be ruled out, Aurelia Artemeis' pronounced fastidiousness with regard to paganism, revealed by both the separateness of her burial<sup>79</sup>, as well as the omission from her epitaph of the customary reference to Zeus Solymeis, points more strongly towards her having been a proselyte<sup>80</sup>. If I am right in this, then Aurelia Artemeis joins the very select band of upper class Graeco-Roman women who, instead of flirting with Judaism, fully embraced its tenets<sup>81</sup>.

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<sup>77</sup> Another nine of the women called Artemeis listed by Heberdey, also resorted to this onomastic device. See TAM III, p. 317.

<sup>78</sup> See TAM III 448, *comm ad loc.*

<sup>79</sup> On this point, see L. Robert, *Hellenica* 11–12, 1960, 386.

<sup>80</sup> Although Kraemer, *ibid.*, notes this as a possibility, she fails to pursue the point, becoming diverted instead by speculation about the possible reasons (e.g. death, divorce) for the absence of any mention of Aurelia Artemeis' mother in TAM III 448.

<sup>81</sup> E.g. Fulvia, wife of Saturninus (Josephus AJ 18.82); Beturia Paulla (CIJ I<sup>2</sup> 523 = Noy II 577).