

Inscriptiones Judaicae Orientis

I
Eastern Europe

Edited by
DAVID NOY
ALEXANDER PANAYOTOV
HANSWULF BLOEDHORN

*Texts and Studies in
Ancient Judaism*
101

Mohr Siebeck

Texts and Studies in Ancient Judaism

Texte und Studien zum Antiken Judentum

Edited by

Martin Hengel and Peter Schäfer

101



Inscriptiones Judaicae Orientis

Volume I Eastern Europe

edited by
David Noy, Alexander Panayotov,
and Hanswulf Bloedhorn

Mohr Siebeck

DAVID NOY, born 1959; 1987 Ph.D. from University of Reading; since 1993 Lecturer in Department of Classics, University of Wales Lampeter.

ALEXANDER PANAYOTOV, born 1971; 2002 Ph.D. in Jewish Studies, School of Divinity, University of St. Andrews; 2002–03 Golda Meir Research Fellow in Jewish Studies, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Israel.

HANSWULF BLOEDHORN; born 1950; 1986 Ph.D. from the Free University Berlin; Director of the German Protestant Institute of Archaeology in Jerusalem.

978-3-16-158701-6 Unveränderte eBook-Ausgabe 2019

ISBN 3-16-148189-5

ISSN 0721-8753 (Texts and Studies in Ancient Judaism)

Die Deutsche Bibliothek lists this publication in the Deutsche Nationalbibliographie; detailed bibliographic data is available in the Internet at <http://dnb.ddb.de>.

© 2004 by Mohr Siebeck, Tübingen, Germany.

This book may not be reproduced, in whole or in part, in any form (beyond that permitted by copyright law) without the publisher's written permission. This applies particularly to reproductions, translations, microfilms and storage and processing in electronic systems.

The book was printed by Gulde-Druck in Tübingen on non-aging paper and bound by Buchbinderei Spinner in Ottersweier.

Printed in Germany.

Preface

The work for this project was begun by Hanswulf Bloedhorn for the production of *Karte B VI 18* of the Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients. At the request of Prof. Martin Hengel, it was taken over by David Noy in Jan. 2002, with the help of a term's study leave funded by the Arts and Humanities Research Board. At the same time Alexander Panayotov was working independently on a parallel project for a Ph.D. thesis at the University of St Andrews. After a chance meeting between DN and AP at a conference in Rome in 2001, it was agreed to pool resources and produce a joint book. DN is largely responsible for the entries for Pannonia and the Black Sea, and AP is largely responsible for the other sections with additions by DN, but there has been considerable overlap. It is hoped that the disparate origins of the project will not lead to serious inconsistencies in the presentation of the final work. The resulting book is the first in the *Inscriptiones Judaicae Orientis* series; vol.2 on Asia Minor (Walter Ameling – an independent project) and vol.3 on Syria and Cyprus (David Noy & Hanswulf Bloedhorn) complete it.

Since there is no satisfactory definition of a “Jewish inscription”, the principle which has been followed here is to include all inscriptions which come from or refer to Eastern Europe (including the eastern European provinces of the Roman Empire and the north coast of the Black Sea, but excluding the islands of Samos, Chios, Rhodes and Cos which will be covered in IJudO ii) and include one of the following (basically the same criteria that were used for JIWE):

- i. The use of Hebrew.
- ii. The use of specifically Jewish symbols.
- iii. The use of Jewish terminology or designations.
- iv. The use of distinctively Jewish names, in contexts where their use does not seem more likely to be Christian than Jewish.
- v. Provenance from a synagogue.
- vi. Reference to famous Jews such as Herod the Great.
- vii. Some Bosporan manumissions (e.g. #BS8) have been included because of their similarity to Jewish manumissions and the lack of any indication that they are not Jewish.
- viii. Reference to Samaritans.

The intention has been, as with JIWE, to include all inscriptions which are likely to date from before c.700 CE. Jewish inscriptions which have been thought to be earlier than 700 but are more likely to be later are in Appendix 1. Inscriptions for whose Jewishness a serious case has been

made, but which do not meet the criteria above, are included in Appendix 2 or discussed in the text.

The inscriptions have been numbered according to the Roman provinces in existence c.100 CE (Pannonia, Dalmatia, Moesia, Thrace, Macedonia, Achaëa, Crete), with the addition of the north coast of the Black Sea ("BS"). Achaëa is divided into sections for Thessaly, Athens, the rest of the Greek mainland and the islands, but all the inscriptions are numbered "Ach#". There are brief introductions to individual towns where appropriate, references are given to the TAVO map, and approximate locations are shown on the maps on pp.394–5. The entry for each inscription consists of a bibliography (divided into editions, illustrations and other discussions), details of the inscription, text and apparatus criticus, literal translation and commentary. Where possible a drawing or photograph of the inscription is provided. Many new photographs have been included, most of them taken by AP. In other cases details of Greek letter forms are given, particularly the most variable letters (*alpha*, *epsilon*, *mu*, *sigma*, *omega*). Out of the 142 inscriptions in the main part of the book, 54 were not included in the original or revised CIJ.

Names have usually been given in an anglicized or latinized form. Unfortunately Ilan (2002) was not available in time to be consulted by DN (and only briefly by AP) on the names. Where there are different interpretations of an inscription, we have tried to give all serious views, even if we have preferred one. Bibliographies have been made as comprehensive as possible to enable readers to make their own investigations. The indexes largely follow the pattern established in JIWE, but with some adjustment of categories. Where a word is restored or the reading is uncertain, this is indicated in the index either with brackets or ? by the number. For cross-references in the text, # followed by a number (e.g. #Dall) indicates another inscription in this volume.

Thanks are due to many people who provided advice and information. Margaret Williams and Walter Ameling commented on several sections of the work. Martin Hengel provided help and guidance at all stages of the project. We are also grateful for help, advice and information from: Norman Ashton, Zrinka Buljevic, John Camp, Helen Clark, Nicholas de Lange, Frowald Hüttenmeister, Olga Karagiorgou, Chara Karapa-Molisani, Betty Kitching, Doug Lee, Gert Lüderitz, John Lupia, Andrey Melamed, Stephen Mitchell, Andrew Overman, Mirjam Plantinga, Jonathan Price, Leonard Rutgers, Susan Sorek, A. Tziaphalias, Frank Trombley, Susan Weingarten, James Wiseman; members of the Ioudaios and Late Antiquity mailing lists; the State Hermitage Museum; the British School at Athens; the Epigraphic Museum, Athens; Henning Ziebritzki and Matthias Spitzner of Mohr-Siebeck. Most of the Black Sea section is heavily indebted to the published work of Irina Levinskaya.

Table of Contents

Preface	V
List of illustrations	IX
List of abbreviations	XI
Diacritical system	XVI
 Section 1: Pannonia	 1
Solva	1
Aquincum	4
Intercisa	7
Siklós	14
Mursa	16
 Section 2: Dalmatia	 20
Peratovci	20
Senia	22
Salonae	24
 Section 3: Moesia	 30
Oescus	30
 Section 4: Thrace	 37
Philippopolis	38
Bizye	48
Perinthus-Heraclea	51
Assenovgrad	53
 Section 5: Macedonia	 56
Stobi	56
Beroea	76
Philippi	88
Thessaloniki	91
 Section 6: Achaea: Thessaly	 107
Larissa	107
Phthiotic Thebes	126
Almyros	141
Pherae	143
 Section 7: Achaea: Athens & Piraeus	 144
Athens	144
Piraeus	164

Section 8: Achaea: Greek mainland	168
Delphi	168
Oropus	177
Plataea	180
Corinth	181
Argos	189
Arcadia	193
Coronea	194
Mantineia	196
Taenarum	197
Section 9: Achaea: Greek islands	201
Euboea	201
Aegina	202
Delos	210
Rheneia	235
Sytos	242
Achaea: uncertain origin	248
Section 10: Crete	249
Arcades	249
Kastelli Kissamou	251
Section 11: North Coast of the Black Sea	254
Olbia	254
Chersonesus	260
Panticapaeum	264
Phanagoria	294
Hermonassa	302
Gorgippia	303
Tanais	323
Appendix 1: Probably medieval inscriptions	325
Appendix 2: Inscriptions not considered Jewish	331
Bibliography	345
Concordance	374
Indexes	376
Maps	397

List of illustrations and acknowledgments

Number	Source
Pan1	Scheiber 1983, no.1, by permission of Akadémiai Kiadó
Pan2	Scheiber 1983, no.2, by permission of Akadémiai Kiadó
Pan3	Hampel 1906, táb.III.7
Pan5	Scheiber 1983, no.8, by permission of Akadémiai Kiadó
Dal2	Patsch 1900, fig.44
Dal3	By permission of the Archaeological Museum, Split
Moes1	By permission of the Archaeological Museum, Sofia
Moes2	By permission of the Archaeological Museum, Sofia
Plan (p.39)	Philippopolis synagogue, after Kesjakova 1989
Thr1	By permission of the National Institute for the Monuments of Culture
Thr2	By permission of the National Institute for the Monuments of Culture
Thr3	Dawkins & Hasluck 1905/6, no.5
Thr4	Kalinka 1926, no.146
Thr5	By permission of the National Institute for the Monuments of Culture
Plan (p.58)	Central Basilica and synagogues at Stobi, after Wiseman 1975
Mac1	Vulić 1932
Mac6	RICM, pl. 65 no.294, by permission of the École Française d'Athènes, cliché no.L3145,20 (auteur: D. Feissel)
Mac7	RICM, pl. 65 no.295, by permission of the École Française d'Athènes, cliché no.L3145,32 (auteur: D. Feissel)
Mac13	CIJ i ² , pl.2 no.693b
Mac15	Nigdelis 1994, taf.VII, by permission of Verlag Dr Rudolf Habelt GmbH
Mac16	Reinach 1885, 77–8, no.6
Mac17	RICM, pl.64 no.291, by permission of the École Française d'Athènes, cliché no.40888 (auteur: J-M. Spieser)
Ach2	By permission of the Archaeological Museum, Larissa
Ach5	By permission of the Archaeological Museum, Larissa
Ach16	Spyridakis 1901, no.2
Ach17	Soteriou 1936, fig.9
Ach18	Soteriou 1936, fig.10
Ach23	CIJ i ² , pl.2 no.708c
Ach24	Giannopoulos 1912, no.22
Ach27	By permission of the Epigraphic Museum, Athens
Ach28	By permission of the Epigraphic Museum, Athens
Ach29	By permission of the Epigraphic Museum, Athens
Ach30	By permission of the Epigraphic Museum, Athens
Ach32	By permission of the Epigraphic Museum, Athens
Ach33	By permission of the Epigraphic Museum, Athens
Ach34	By permission of the Epigraphic Museum, Athens
Ach35	By permission of the Epigraphic Museum, Athens
Ach41	By permission of the Epigraphic Museum, Athens

Ach47	Powell 1903, no.40
Ach50	Kaplan 1980, fig.1, by permission of the Israel Exploration Society, Jerusalem
Ach56	CIJ i ² , pl.3 no.721b
Plan (p.203)	Aegina, Synagogue, after Mazur 1933
Ach58	Sukenik 1934, pl.11
Plan (p.213)	Delos, Building GD 80, after Bruneau 1970, pl.B
Ach70	Wilhelm 1901, fig.3
Ach71	Deissmann 1923, fig.75
Ach72	IG xii 5.1, 1903, no. 712, 99-Syros
BS2	By permission of Macalester College Black Sea Project
BS4	Levinskaya 1996a, no.3.I.1 = CIRB 64, with agreement of Eerdmans
BS5	Levinskaya 1996a, no.3.II.1 = CIRB 70, with agreement of Eerdmans
BS6	By permission of Macalester College Black Sea Project
BS7	Levinskaya 1996a, no.3.II.2 = CIRB 71, with agreement of Eerdmans
BS8	Škorpil 1896, no.1
BS9	Levinskaya 1996a, no.3.II.3 = CIRB 72, with agreement of Eerdmans
BS16	Lutsenko 1869, tab.9 (orientation corrected)
BS17	Levinskaya 1996a, no.3.II.5 = CIRB 985, with agreement of Eerdmans
BS18	Levinskaya 1996a, no.3.II.6, with agreement of Eerdmans
BS20	Levinskaya 1996a, no.3.II.7 = CIRB 1123, with agreement of Eerdmans
BS21	By permission of the State Hermitage Museum, St Petersburg
BS23	Levinskaya 1996a, no.3.II.8 = CIRB 1124, with agreement of Eerdmans
BS24	Latyšev 1910, no.8
BS25	Latyšev 1910, no.9
BS26	Minns 1913, fig.351
App3	By permission of the Archaeological Museum, Larissa

List of abbreviations

Cross-references are to the Bibliography

AA	Archäologischer Anzeiger
AAssJewsBulg	Annual of the Social, Cultural and Educational Association of the Jews in the People's Republic of Bulgaria
ABD	Anchor Bible Dictionary
ABSA	The Annual of the British School at Athens
ACMI	Anuarul comisiunii monumentelor istorice
Acta Antiqua	Acta antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae
ActaArchHung	Acta archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae
ADelt	Ἀρχαιολογικὸν Δελτίον
AE	L'Année Épigraphique
AEM	Archäologisch-epigraphische Mitteilungen aus Österreich
AEph	Ἀρχαιολογικὴ Ἐφημερίς
AIPh	Annuaire de l'Institut de philologie et d'histoire orientales et slaves
AJA	American Journal of Archaeology
AJAH	American Journal of Ancient History
AJPh	American Journal of Philology
AM	Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung
AMNAPlovdiv	Annuaire Musée National Archéologique Plovdiv
AncCivScySib	Ancient Civilisations from Scythia to Siberia
ANRW	Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt
AntCl	L'antiquité classique
AntW	Antike Welt. Zeitschrift für Archäologie und Urgeschichte
AnzWien	Anzeiger Wien
APreg	Arheoloski pregled
Archeion Euboikon Meleton	Ἀρχεῖον Εὐβοϊκῶν Μελετῶν
Arkeologiya	Археология
ArchÉrt	Archaeologiai Értesítő
Ariadne	Ἀριάδνη
ASAthene	Annuario della Scuola Archeologica di Atene e delle Missioni Italiane in Oriente
Athena	Ἀθήνα
Athenaion	Ἀθηναίων. Σύγγραμμα περιοδικόν
BA	Biblical Archaeologist
BACSerbe	Bulletin de l'Académie des lettres royales Serbe
BAIEMA	Bulletin d'Information, Association Internationale pour l'Étude de la Mosaïque antique
BAISfP	Bulletin de l'Académie impériale de St-Petersbourg
BalkSt	Balkan Studies
BAMusParent	Bulletin archéologique du Musée Parent

BAncSyn	Bulletin of the Louis M. Rabinowitz Fund for the Exploration of Ancient Synagogues
BAR	Biblical Archaeology Review
BASOR	Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research
BCH	Bulletin de correspondance hellénique
BCMI	Buletinul comisiunii monumentelor istorice
BE	Bulletin épigraphique
BIABulg	Bulletin de l'institut archéologique bulgare [Известия на Българския Археологически Институтъ]
BICA	Bullettino dell'Istituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica
BJGS	Bulletin of Judaeo-Greek Studies
BJPES	Bulletin of the Jewish Palestine Exploration Society
BJS	Brown Judaic Studies
BN	Beiträge zur Namenforschung
BS i-iii	Beth She'arim
BSABulg	Bulletin de la société archéologique bulgare [Известия на Българското Археологическо Дружество]
BulgHistR	Bulgarian Historical Review
BullDal	Bullettino di Archeologia e Storia Dalmata [=VAHD]
ByZ	Byzantinische Zeitschrift
ByzJb	Byzantinisch-neugriechische Jahrbücher
CBET	Contributions to Biblical Exegesis and Theology
CBQ	Catholic Biblical Quarterly
CCSL	Corpus Christianorum, series latina
CIG	Corpus inscriptionum Graecarum
CIH	– see Chwolson
CIJ	Corpus inscriptionum Judaicarum
CIJ i ²	– see Lifshitz
CIL	Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum
CIRB	Corpus inscriptionum regni Bosporani
CIS	Corpus inscriptionum Semiticarum
CJZC	– see Lüderitz
CPJ	Corpus papyrorum Judaicarum
CRAI	Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres
CRStP	Compte-rendu de la commission impériale archéologique, Saint-Pétersbourg = Отчетъ Императорской Археологической Коммисіи
DACL	Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie
DAN	Доклады Академии Наук СССР = Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Sciences de l'Union des Républiques Soviétiques Socialistes
DLZ	Deutsche Literaturzeitung
DÖAW	Denkschriften der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophisch-historische Klasse
DOP	Dumbarton Oaks Papers
EAD	Exploration Archéologique de Délos
EE	Ephemeris epigraphica. Corporis inscriptionum Latinarum supplementum
EEBS	Ἑπετηρίς ἐταιρείας βυζαντινῶν σπουδῶν
EJ	Encyclopaedia Judaica

EMC	Echos du Monde Classique
Epig	Epigraphica
EtTr	Études et travaux. Studia i prace. Travaux du Centre d'archéologie méditerranéenne de l'Académie des sciences polonaise
Evreiska Tribuna	Еврейска трибуна
FD	Fouilles de Delphes
GlasMuz	Glasnik hrvatskih zemaljskih muzeja u Sarajevu
GlasSKA	Glasnik Srpska kraljevska akademija
GPnam	Годишник на Пловдивската народна библиотека и музей
GZM	Glaznik Zemaljskog Muzeja Bosne i Hercegovine u Sarajevu
HTR	Harvard Theological Review
HUCA	Hebrew Union College Annual
HZ	Historische Zeitschrift
IAK	Известия (Императорской) Археологической Комиссии
ICret	Inscriptiones Creticae
IEJ	Israel Exploration Journal
IG	Inscriptiones Graecae
IGAIMK	Известия Государственной Академии Истории Материальной Культуры
IGBulg	Inscriptiones Graecae in Bulgaria repertae
IGCVO	Inscriptiones Graecae Christianae veteres occidentis
IGRR	Inscriptiones Graecae ad res Romanas pertinentes
IJudO	Inscriptiones Judaicae Orientis
IK	Inscripfen griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien
ILBulg	Inscriptiones Latinae in Bulgaria repertae
ILCV	Inscriptiones Latinae christianae veteres
ILJug	Inscriptiones Latinae quae in Iugoslavia inter annos MCMLX et MCMLXX repertae et editae sunt; ed. A. & J. Šašel
ILS	Inscriptiones Latinae selectae
IMAO	Известия Московскаго Археологическаго Общества
IMITÉ	Izraelita Magyar Irodalmi Társulat Évkönyve
IPE	Inscriptiones antiquae orae septentrionalis Ponti Euxini Graecae et Latinae
IRAIK	Известия Русскаго Археологическаго Института в Константинополе
IRAIMK	Известия Российской Академии Истории Материальной Культуры
ISM	Inscriptiones Scythiae Minoris
JAs	Journal asiatique
JbAC	Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum
JbGJJ	Jahrbuch für die Geschichte der Juden und des Judenthums
JbJüdLitGes	Jahrbuch der jüdisch-literarischen Gesellschaft
JFA	Journal of Field Archaeology
JHS	Journal of Hellenic Studies
JIGRE	– see Horbury & Noy
JIWE	– see Noy
JJewArt	Journal of Jewish Art
JJS	Journal of Jewish Studies
JMS	Journal of Mediterranean Studies
JÖB	Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik

JPOS	Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society
JQR	Jewish Quarterly Review
JRS	Journal of Roman Studies
JSJ	Journal for the Study of Judaism
JSNT	Journal for the Study of the New Testament
JSQ	Jewish Studies Quarterly
JSS	Journal of Semitic Studies
JThS	Journal of Theological Studies
Kretika Chronika	Κρητικά Χρονικά
L&S	Lewis & Short
LA	Studii Biblici Franciscani Liber Annuus
LGPN	Lexicon of Greek Personal Names
LIMC	Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae
LSJ	Liddell, Scott & Jones
Makedonika	Μακεδονικά
MAMA	Monumenta Asiae Minoris antiqua
MAR	Материалы по Археологии России
MEFR	Mélanges de l'École française de Rome
MélGR	Mélanges gréco-romains
MémAISTP	Mémoires de l'Académie impériale des sciences de St-Petersbourg
MemPontAcc	Memorie della Pontificia Accademia
MGWJ	Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums
MKDAI,RA	Mittheilungen des (kaiserlichen) deutschen archaeologischen Instituts. Römische Abt.
MonAnt	Monumenti Antichi
NAMSL	Nouvelles archives des missions scientifiques et littéraires
NDIEC	New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity
NE	Нумизматика и Эпиграфика
NedThT	Nederlands theologisch tijdschrift
NJbKIAIt	Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum
NJbPhPaed	Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie und Paedagogik
NTS	New Testament Studies
OCP	Orientalia Christiana Periodica
ÖJh	Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes in Wien
OGIS	Orientis Graeci inscriptiones selectae
OV	Одесский Вестник
PAAJR	Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research
PAE	Πρακτικά της ἐν Ἀθηναῖς Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας
PEQ	Palestine Exploration (Fund) Quarterly (Statement)
PG	Patrologia Graeca
PIR	Prosopographia Imperii Romani
PL	Patrologia Latina
PLRE	Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire
Polemon	Πολέμων
POxy	Oxyrhynchus Papyri
PSBF	Pubblicazioni dello Studium Biblicum Franciscanum
RA	Revue archéologique
RAC	Rivista di Archeologia Cristiana
RB	Revue biblique

REA	Revue des études anciennes
REB	Revue des études byzantines
REG	Revue des études grecques
REJ	Revue des études juives
REL	Revue des études latines
RhMus	Rheinische Museum für Philologie
RICM	Recueil des inscriptions chrétiennes de Macédoine du III ^e au VI ^e siècle; ed. D Feissel
RIJurG	Recueil des inscriptions juridiques grecques
RIL	Rendiconti di Reale Istituto Lombardo di Scienze e Lettere
RIU	Die Römische Inschriften aus Ungarns
RivFil	Rivista di filologia e d'istruzione classica
RPh	Revue de philologie, de littérature et d'histoire anciennes
SB	Sammelbuch griechischer Urkunden aus Ägypten
SbBerlin	Sitzungsberichte der (Königlichen / Preussischen) Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin
SCI	Scripta classica Israelica
SDHI	Studia et documenta historiae et iuris
SEG	Supplementum epigraphicum Graecum
SGDI	Sammlung griechischer Dialekt-Inschriften
SIG	Sylloge inscriptionum Graecarum; ed. W. Dittenberger
SovA	Советская Археология
SSAC	Sussidi allo studio dell'antichità cristiana
StCIstor	Studii și cercetări de istorie veche
StCl	Studii clasice
SymbOsl	Symbolae Osloenses
TAM	Tituli Asiae Minoris
TAPhA	Transactions of the American Philological Association
TAVO	Tübingen Atlas des Vorderen Orients
TDNT	Theological Dictionary of the New Testament
Tekmeria	Τεκμήρια
TIB	Tabula Imperii Byzantini
TitCal	Tituli Calymnii
TM	Travaux et mémoires. Centre de recherche d'histoire et civilisation byzantine
TWNT	Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament
TynBul	Tyndale Bulletin
VAHD	Vjesnik za Arheologiju i Historiju Dalmatinsku [=BullDal]
VDI	Вестник Древней Истории
VigChr	Vigiliae Christianae
VT	Vetus Testamentum
WJA	Würzburger Jahrbücher für die Altertumswissenschaft
ZIRAO	Записки Императорского Русского Археологического Общества
ZMNP	Журнал Министерства Народного Просвещения
ZNW	Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche
ZOO	Записки (Императорского) Одесского Общества Истории и Древностей
ZPE	Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik
ZsSz	Magyar-Zsidó Szemle

Diacritical system

The following diacritical system has been used, following the usual epigraphic conventions:

- () for the resolution of an abbreviation
- [] for the restoration of lost text
- < > for the correction of a mistake or omission in the inscription (details are given in the app.crit.)
- { } for superfluous text which should be ignored
- ⌌ ⌌ for text which was deliberately erased in antiquity
- [...] for lost text where the number of letters is fairly certain
- [- -] for lost text where the number of letters is uncertain (^{c.10} indicates an estimate of the number of letters in a large lacuna)
- ^{v. / vac.} (vacat) indicates a gap deliberately left in the text
- + for an individual letter of which traces remain but which cannot be identified
- | indicates a line division
- A dot beneath a letter, e.g. α̣, indicates that the reading is uncertain.
- l. in the app.crit. stands for “lege”, i.e. “to be read as”, indicating a deviation from normal spelling in the inscription.

Section 1

Pannonia

The province of Pannonia was established in 9 CE, and divided into Pannonia Inferior and Superior in 106. Evidence for a Jewish presence there in Roman and medieval times was thoroughly surveyed by Scheiber (1983). Most of the province's main cities were along the Danube frontier, and that is where most, although not all, of the Jewish evidence comes from. See also #App1, #App7. CIJ 679, a ring with various magical words including the divine name 'Iαώ, is clearly not a Jewish object.

Solva (Esztergom) = TAVO-Karte B VI 18: C16

Pan1. Epitaph of Judah and Cassia

Editions: Fröhlich 1891, 236 no.26 (from the stone); CIL iii.Supp.1 1902, no.10599 (from the stone); Krausz 1904, 172–3 (from Fröhlich); ILCV ii 1927, no.4896a (from CIL); CIJ i 1936, no.676 (from CIL); Scheiber 1960, 26–9 no.3 (from the stone); Kádár 1962, 42 (majusc. text from Scheiber); Radan 1973, 272–3; CIJ i² 1975, Prol. p.59; Thomas 1977, nos.3–4, 23; Bilkei 1979, 27 no.8 (from the stone?); RIU iii 1981, no.787 (from the stone); Scheiber 1983, 16–19 no.1 (from the stone).

Illustrations: Krausz 1904 (photo with inscription barely visible); *Ararat Évkönyv...az 1939...évre* (Ararat yearbook for 1939), 33;¹ *General Encyclopedia in Yiddish* 1950, iv 555 (photo); Scheiber 1960 (photo); Radan, fig.7 (photo); Thomas 1977 (photo); Bilkei (drawing); RIU iii, Abb.CIX (drawing and photo); Thomas 1982, Abb.2 (photo); Scheiber 1983 (photo).

Other bibliography: Grünwald 1894, nos.12–13 [not seen]; S. Krausz, *IMITÉ* 1904, 24 n.1 [not seen]; A. Gráf, *IMITÉ* 1939, 245 [not seen]; Barkóczi 1964, 301, 308, 315, 342 no.98/9; Thomas 1980, 193 (English tr.); Thomas 1982, 258; I. Benoschofsky, *Új Élet* 38 1983, no.1 [not seen]; Revised Schürer iii.1 1986, 73.

Found near Esztergom. Now: Budapest, Jewish Religious and Historical Collection, inv.no.2500 (104.1965 according to RIU).

¹ Not seen; this and other references are from Scheiber 1983.



Details: Limestone plaque broken in two. 148 x 76 x 11.5 cm. (Krausz, Scheiber²) or 150 x 80 x 14 cm. (RIU) or 184 x 76 x 1.5 cm. (Bilkei). Letters: 5.1–3.5 cm.

Language: Latin (some in Greek characters) and Greek. Date: 3rd century CE (Scheiber).

Text (follows RIU and photo):

	μεμορια Ιудати πατρι
et	μεμορια Κασσιε.
	εὖλ(ογία).
	(<i>menorah</i>)

1. Point inscribed after T.

1. Krausz: *memoria Judat patr[is]*

1. Fröhlich, CIL, CIJ, Radan: *patir*

2. Fröhlich: *memoria Kasete*; Krausz: *memoria Kasete matr(is)*

2. All eds. before Scheiber omit *et*

2. Scheiber: *Cassi(a)e*

3. Krausz; Gráf (ap. Scheiber 1983): *Eva*; ILCV: Εὖλ(ογιε)

Memorial for Judah, father, and memorial for Cassia. A blessing.

This stone was found in 1890, together with RIU 783, in the River Bánom, near the brickyard of Kisléva, on the property of the Bishop of Esztergom,

² Fröhlich gives almost the same dimensions: 148 x 78 x 12 cm.

and it was recorded for CIL in the Bishop's Palace. It had been taken to the Jewish Museum at Budapest by the time Kádár studied it.

The inscription is on a large limestone plaque, but is crammed into the top: l.1 is written on the top of the raised frame, *et* of l.2 (which was missed by most editors) is on the left side of the frame, and the rest of ll.2–3 is right at the top of the recessed field, above an elaborate menorah with tripod, crossbar and flames. It appears that the epitaph of Cassia was written first, and the epitaph of Judah added afterwards. RIU notes dowel holes on the corners and a groove chiselled later. Radan suggests that the stone is part of a base with its original inscription removed.

It is unclear whether most of the letters are in the Greek or Roman alphabet. Greek *rho* is used in *memoria* in ll.1–2 but Roman *r* is used in *patiri*. Lunate *sigma* is used twice in *Kassie*, and the first letter is presumably Greek *kappa*. l.3 is clearly in the Greek alphabet and language. It seems likely that when the epitaph of Juda was added, the stone-cutter copied the letters which were already on the stone as far as possible, but used the alphabet which was natural to him for *Iudati patiri*, for which he had no model.

Iudati patiri appears to be a dative, as assumed in the translation above, but could be an incorrectly formed genitive. *Kassie*, assuming that it has a Latin case ending, could be genitive or dative. “Father” could represent Juda's relationship to Cassia, or be a Jewish title. Cassia is probably the normal Roman *gentilicium*, but other origins have been suggested: the name of one of Job's daughters (קַצִּיעָה, Job 42.14), or a derivative of the Greek *κασία* (cinnamon). RIU 543, from Brigetio, reads: *D.M. memorie C|ass. q. Fabie | quae vix. an. | XXX Aur. Valen|tinus coiugi incompar|abili*, which RIU expands to *Cass(iae) q(uondam) Fabie*.³ Cassius was the *nomen* of a civic magistrate at Moguntiacum (RIU 657).

The use of Greek in an epitaph is extremely unusual in Pannonia. Bilkei has only four other certain examples of the epigraphic use of Greek in the province, three of which use Greek formulae which had no Latin equivalent (εὐψύχει; χρήστε χαῖρε; θάρσι οὐδεις ἄθνατος). Εὐλογία can perhaps be put into the same category. The mixture of alphabets and languages may indicate a Greek-speaking family in a Latin environment, perhaps recent immigrants. See also #Pan2.

Scheiber dates the inscription to the 3rd century. According to Radan, secondary use of monuments in Pannonia, as may be the case here, became common in the second half of the 3rd and during the 4th centuries. The date may be reasonably close to that of #Pan2.

³ *q(uae et) Fabie* is a more likely expansion.

Aquincum (Óbuda) (?) = TAVO-Karte B VI 18: C16

Pan2. Epitaph of Anastasius and family

Editions: EE ii 1875, no.1060 (from copy by Wolff supplied by Conzius; pagan text only), iv 1881, no.442; Wolff 1878a, 53 [not seen]; Wolff 1878b, 208–9 no.II (pagan text only); Fröhlich 1891, 232–3 no.18 (from EE and Wolff); CIL iii.Supp.1 1902, no.10611 (from Fröhlich); Krausz 1904, 170–2; Krausz, *IMITÉ* 1904, 31 [not seen]; Kuzsinsky 1908, 98–9 [not seen]; Oehler 1909, no.211 (from CIL?); IGRR i 1911, no.536 (follows CIL); Peterson 1926, 277–9 (from CIL); ILCV ii 1927, no.4958 (from CIL); CIJ i 1936, no.675 (follows Fröhlich and Krausz); A. Gráf, *IMITÉ* 1939, 242 [not seen]; Goodenough, *Symbols* ii 1953, 59–60; Scheiber 1960, 16–22 no.1 (from the stone); Kádár 1962, 42 (majusc. text from Wolf and Scheiber); Radan 1973, 270–2 (from the stone); CIJ i² 1975, Prol. p.59; Thomas 1977, 23; Bilkei 1979, 27 no.9 (from the stone); Scheiber 1983, 19–25, no.2 (photos).

Illustrations: Fröhlich (facsimile); Krausz 1904 (photo); Kuzsinsky 1908 (photo); Goodenough, *Symbols* iii 1954, fig.857 (photo); Scheiber 1960 (photos); Kanael 1960, Abb.57 (photo); Radan 1973, figs.3–5 (photos and drawing); Thomas 1977 (photo); Bilkei, Taf.I.3 (photo and drawing); Thomas 1980, pls.CXXXIV, CXXXV.1 (photos); Thomas 1982, Abb.3a–b (photos); Scheiber 1983 (photos).

Other bibliography: Hampel 1878, 75 (summary of Wolff); Goodenough 1950/1, 467; Szilágyi 1956, 55, 112; Kanael 1960, 70 (German tr.); Barkóczi 1964, 305, 306, 310, 353 no.177/11; Thomas 1980, 193 (English tr.); Thomas 1982, 258–60; Revised Schürer iii.1 1986, 73; de Segni 1994, 114.

Bought at Pest. Now: Budapest, National Historical Museum, inv.no.62.70.1.

Details: Reused funerary stele, 181 x 76 x 28 cm.

Language: Latin in Greek characters and Greek. Date: late 4th century CE (Scheiber).

Text (follows Radan's drawing):

(*menorah*)

μνημορια Ανεστασιο ετ Δηκουσανι

ετ Βηνειαμι ετ φειλειω

νοστρω.

εἰς Θεώς

(*female figure*) εἰς (*menorah*) Θεώς (*male figure*)

5

(*figure of child*)

εἰς (*menorah*) Θεώς

1. CIJ: Δεκουσαν, l. *Decusan*(ae?); Kádár: Δεκουσανι



2. CIL: Βηνειμ; CIJ, Bilkei, Scheiber: I. {et} filiō
3. CIL: νοστρω; Kádár: νοστρω φειλειω
4. Fröhlich: Εισθεως (Istheos)
- 5ff. omitted by all eds. before Scheiber 1960. I. Θεός

*Memorial for Anastasius and Decusanis(?) and Benjamin and our son.
One God. One God. One God.*

The stone was bought at an auction in Pest in the 1830s or 40s by the family of Count Szapary, on whose estate at Alberti-Irsa near Czepléd it was recorded by Karl Wolff, the family tutor. It was in a chapel in the park. It has been assumed that its ‘origin’ at Pest indicates that it comes from Aquincum, but in view of the lack of information about the previous ownership, the connection seems rather tenuous. The Jewish inscription was first noticed by Fröhlich.

The original stele has a gabled top with acroteria, and a rosette (Goodenough calls it a vase with vine growing from it) in the centre of the pediment. Below this, between two Corinthian columns, are depicted a man (on the right) and woman facing the viewer. The woman has her hand on the child’s shoulder (she is not “holding” him as stated in some descriptions), and the child holds something identified by Goodenough as a bird. Below them is a narrow register showing what Radan described as

a sacrificial scene. Below that is the field for the original inscription, inside a frame decorated with ivy tendrils. It reads:⁴ *bone memoriae / Cl(audiae) Maximillae / q(uae) vixit ann(os) XXV / et Dom. Domnio/ni qui d(e)ff(unctus) est in / Retia coniugi ei/us q(ui) v(ixit) ann(os) XXXVII / Aur(eliae) Urbana et In/genua sorori bene / merenti.* (“To the good memory of Claudia Maximilla, who lived 25 years, and to Dom(itius?) Domnio who died in Raetia, her spouse, who lived 37 years. Aurelia Urbana and Aurelia Ingenua for their well-deserving sister.”)

Much confusion has been caused by Frey’s suggestion, elevated to fact by Goodenough, that the Jewish inscription is contemporary with the original figures on the stone. Hence Goodenough’s claim that “it is the only assured Jewish ‘portrait’ group on a tombstone”⁵ (repeated by Kanael). Most recently, de Segni writes that it is “adorned with sculptured portraits of the deceased: an un-kosher mixture if ever there was one.” In fact, it is very clear that the Jewish inscription has been added later, using whatever space was available. The first menorah is inscribed on the rosette in the pediment. The text begins (l.1) on the moulding at the base of the pediment, and then uses the empty space between the heads of the figures. The last lines and the second menorah are fitted between the figures, and the final menorah has been inscribed on the object which the child is holding. The reuse does at least indicate, as Frey notes, that these Jews had no qualms about using a stone with human figures on it.

One of the arguments used by Frey and Goodenough is that the three figures match the family commemorated in the Jewish epitaph. This is only the case if the second *et* is deleted, to make Benjamin the same person as “our son”.

The Greek formula at the end, εἰς θεός, can be regarded as one which was felt to be appropriate only in Greek. De Segni shows that it is not a distinctly Jewish (as opposed to Gnostic, Samaritan – see #Mac17 – or Christian) expression, with only one other occurrence in the Diaspora, and it is not usually used in a funerary context; according to her, Jews preferred θεὸς βοηθός. This may explain the use of the Greek alphabet for an otherwise normal Latin inscription: *memoria Anastasio et Decusani et Beniami et filio nostro* (εἰ is used to transliterate long *i*). It seems to be the only Pannonian example of an extensive Latin inscription in Greek characters (cf. #Pan1 for a much shorter one; also #Dal2). The phenomenon is fairly common in Jewish inscriptions from Rome.⁶

The forms of the names are rather odd. As in #Pan1, *memoria* is followed by the dative rather than the genitive. The first name is evidently a misspelling of Anastasius. Krausz suggested that the second name could

⁴ CIJ i 64*.

⁵ *Symbols* ii, 60.

⁶ Noy 1997, 307–9.

be Dikaiosyne. Other writers have treated it as Decusana. The third name is the dative form of Βενιαμῖς. If four people are involved, “our son” is nameless.

Memoria (also found in #Pan1) is used in the sense of ‘memorial’ and corresponds to the Greek μνήμα. It is found in another inscription from Aquincum, CIL iii 10538, where the parents *pos(uerunt) memoria(m)* for their son. Cf. iii 5059 from Noricum: *m[fe]moriā fec.* It occurs in Jewish inscriptions from Sardinia, Spain and Catania,⁷ as well as #Dal1. Cf. Index VIIc for comparable terms.

Szilágyi, followed by Bilkei and Scheiber, dates the Jewish reuse to the end of the 4th century. Radan suggests that the original use is from the late 3rd or early 4th century.

Intercisa (Dunaújváros-Dunapentele) = TAVO-Karte B VI 18: C16

The presence of Jews at Intercisa may be due to the stationing there by Marcus Aurelius of an Emesene military unit, after the destruction of the fort in the Marcomannic War: *Cohors I. Milliaria Hemesenorum*. Applebaum even argues that Jewish veterans at Intercisa were recruited to form the Emesene-Jewish military unit recorded at Concordia,⁸ but Radan regards the argument as very tenuous. Three epitaphs from Intercisa are claimed to show Jewish names by Scheiber, but, as Solin (1983) points out, the names are in fact Syrian rather than Jewish:

RIU v 1161: *D(is) M(anibus) | Aureliae Barachae vixit | ann(os) XXXV et Aur<e>l(iae) Ger|manillae vixit | ann(os) IIII et altera | filia Aurelia Ger|manilla vi[xi]t ann(os) | II et Immostae matri su(a)|e vixit ann(os) XL German|ius Valens mil(es) coh(ortis) (milliariae) Hem|es(enorum) uxori et matri et filiis posuit et sibi {V} vi(v)us fe|cit.* (“To the Di Manes of Aurelia Baracha (who) lived 35 years and Aurelia Germanilla (who) lived 4 years and another daughter Aurelia Germanilla (who) lived 2 years and Immosta his(?) mother (who) lived 40 years. Germanius Valens, soldier of the milliarian cohort of Emesenes placed (this) for his wife and mother and children, and made it for himself while alive.”)

RIU v 1189: *M(arcus) Aur(elius) Malci[h]ia[. mil(es)] | leg(ionis) II Adi(utricis) strat(or) off(icii) [co(n)s(ularis) et] | Mocur signifer [coh(ortis) (milliariae)] | Hemes(enorum) q(ui) vixit ann(os) LV[II? Aur(elia)?] | Pulchra uxo[r] ip[sius] | faventissim[is] posuit].* (“Marcus Aurelius Malchia..., soldier of Legion II Adiutrix, groom of the consular office, and Mocur, standard-bearer of the milliarian cohort of Emesenes,

⁷ JIWE i 174, 176; 183, 187; 145.

⁸ JIWE i 6 = IJudO iii Syr43.

who lived 57(?) years. Aurelia(?) Pulchra his wife placed (this) for the most well-disposed men.”)

RIU v 1202: *D(is) [M(anibus)] | M(arcus) Aur(elius) Sallumas vet(eranus) | ex tess(e)r(ar)io coh(ortis) (milliariae) Hemes(enorum) domo | Hemesa annorum LXXXII vivo | sibi et Aureliae Mat[.....] | quondam coni[ugi...] | [- - -] | [- - -]*. (“To the *Di Manes*. Marcus Aurelius Sallumas, veteran *ex tesserario* of the milliarian cohort of Emesenes, his home at Emesa, aged 82, while alive [made this] for himself and Aurelia Mat... his late spouse.”)

Pan3. Synagogue inscription

Editions: Römer 1864, 60–1 no.XXVIII (majusc. text); CIL iii.1 1873, no.3327 (from Römer’s ms. and article), iii.Supp.1 1902, no.10301 (follows EE); EE ii 1875, no.593 (from the stone); Cagnat 1882, 34 (follows EE); Cumont 1888, 192 no.7 (follows EE); Patsch 1893, 194 (follows EE); S. Krausz, *IMITÉ* 1902, 298–303 [not seen]; Hirschfeld 1905, 89 n.1 (from CIL); Hampel 1906, 229–30, 238–9; ILS ii.1 1906, no.3981 (from CIL); Thiele 1909, 15, 113 no.9 (follows CIL); Oehler 1909, 449 no.209; Bihlmeyer 1916, 99–101 n.2 (from CIL; no brackets); Krauss 1922, 260 (follows EE); CIJ i 1936, no.677 (minusc. text follows EE); Dobó 1940b, 176, no.58 (from CIL 10310 and Hampel); de Laet 1949, 195 n.5, 413 n.2 (follows ILS); Erdélyi & Fülep 1954, 323 no.329 (from the stone); Scheiber 1954/5, 19–44 (new interpretation of Erdélyi & Fülep); Alon 1955, ii 104; Alföldy 1958, 193 no.12 (from Erdélyi & Fülep); Scheiber 1960, 29–37 no.4 (from the stone); Barkóczi 1964, 281–2, 309, 350 no.144/85 (from Scheiber); Fülep 1966, 93–8 (scientific study of the stone); AE 1966, no.302 (follows Fülep 1966); Fitz 1972, 110–11, 175–6 no.99, 187 no.47 (follows Erdélyi & Fülep); Radan 1973, 265, 268–9; CIJ i² 1975, Prol. pp.59–60 (from Fülep 1966); Thomas 1977, 22; Scheiber 1983, 25–31 no.3 (from the stone); Revised Schürer iii.1 1986, 73 (from Fülep and other eds); Solin 1989, 233–6 (from Scheiber; new reading); AE 1990, no.823 (follows Solin); RIU v 1991, no.1051 (from the stone; restoration of l.7 follows Solin); Rajak & Noy 1993, 91–2 no.27 (follows Scheiber); Noy 2001, 79–80 (from CIJ i² and Solin).

Illustrations: Krausz 1902 (photo); Hampel 1906, *táb.III.7* (photo); Erdélyi & Fülep, *Taf.LXXX.2* (photo); Scheiber 1954/5, *fig.1* (photo); Scheiber 1960 (photo); Fülep 1966, *pls.LXXXV–LXXXVI* (photos); Radan, *fig.2* (photo); Thomas 1977 (photo); Thomas 1980, *pl.XCVII* (photo); Thomas 1982, *Abb.1* (photo); Scheiber 1983 (photo); RIU v (drawing and photo).

Other bibliography: T. Ortway, *Archaeologiai Közlemények* 10, 123 no.19 [not seen]; S. Klein, *Múlt és Jövő* 25 1935, 141–2 [not seen]; S. Klein, *BJPES* 3 1935, 63–5 [not seen]; I. Löw, *BJPES* 3 1935, 107; Fülep



1954, 258–9; Applebaum 1971, 182–3; Thomas 1980, 193 (English tr.); Fitz 1980, 130; Thomas 1982, 257; Kant 1987, 696–7, 700; Williams 1998, no.IV.42 (English tr.).

Formerly at Dunapentele. Now: Budapest, Hungarian National Museum, inv.no.154/1874,2.

Details: Limestone plaque, 58 x 82 x 22.5 cm., with inscription in a recessed *tabula ansata*. Letters 5.2–3.1 cm. Word-dividers.

Language: Latin. Date: 233–5 CE.⁹

Text (follows RIU):

Deo Aeter-
no pro sal(ute) d(omini)
n(ostri) Sev(eri) A[[le]xan-]]
[[dri]] P(ii) F(elicis) Aug(usti) [[et Iul(iae)]]
[[Mamae]]ae Aug(ustae) mat(ris) Aug(usti) vot(um) 5
red(dit) l(ibens) Cosm(ius) pr(ae)positus?)
sta(tionis) Spondill(---) a synag(oga)
(outside frame of *tabula ansata*):
I[u]de[or]um).

Ligatures: 1 ER; 2 AL; 3 AN; 4 AV, ET, VL; 5 MA, MAE, AE, AV, MAT, AVG, VOT; 7 ND. 6: I written above M.

3. CIL 3327: *Seve[ri] Alexan-]*

4. AE 1966, 1990: *[[-dr]]i*

4. CIL 3327; Alföldy (ap. RIU): *Au[g(usti) et Iuliae]*; AE 1990: *Aug(usti) e[[t Iul(iae)]]*

5. EE, ILS, Radan: *[Mamae]ae*; AE 1966: *[Mammae]ae*

5. CIL 3327: *mat(ri) Au[g(usti) n(ostri)]*; EE, ILS, Scheiber 1960, Scheiber 1983: *Au(gusti)*

5. Radan: *v(otum)*

6. AE 1966: *red(dit)*; Römer: REIDL¹SMVSPR

6. CIL 3327: *[.....]mus*; EE, ILS, CIJ i: *Cosmus*

⁹ The dating follows Williams 1998.

7. EE, ILS, CIJ i: *Spondilla synag.*; Hirschfeld: *Spondilla synag(ogae mater)*; Erdélyi & Fülep (ap. IRU), AE 1966, Radan, CIJ i²: *spondilla synag(ogae) Iudeor(um)*; Scheiber, Kadar (ap. CIJ i²): *Spondill. a(rchi)synag(ogus)*; Römer: SNAC
Text outside tabula ansata omitted by all eds. before Erdélyi & Fülep.

To the Eternal God, for the welfare of our lord Severus Alexander Pius Felix Augustus, and of Julia Mamaea Augusta, mother of the Augustus, Cosmius willingly repaid his vow, superintendent(?) of the guard-post at Spondill..., from [i.e. a member of] the synagogue of the Jews.

The inscription was first recorded in 1864, when Römer saw it in the wall of an outbuilding at the Post Office of Dunapentele near the site of Intercisa. According to his description (quoted by Scheiber) there was a relief of the emperor with it, but this is not mentioned by anyone else. It had been taken to Budapest by the time Mommsen saw it. The word *Iudeor(um)*, written outside the *tabula ansata* below the right *ansa*, was only discovered by Fülep when the stone was cleaned for exhibition (there is no sign of it in Hampel's photograph); it disproved earlier suggestions (e.g. by Bihlmeyer) that the "synagogue" might not be a Jewish one. The ordinator or stone-cutter clearly misjudged the size of the text, and the lettering becomes compressed after l.5 before spilling out of the *tabula* altogether.

The inscription is a dedication to *Deus Aeternus*, in honour of Severus Alexander and his mother Julia Mamaea. Their names have largely been erased due to their posthumous *damnatio memoriae*. This seems to have been taken seriously in Pannonia, and is found in virtually all relevant inscriptions: RIU 413, 745, 868, 1056, 1084. Alexander Severus was evidently popular at Intercisa, since there were also dedications made there for his welfare to Jupiter Optimus Maximus Conservator, Jupiter Optimus Maximus Heros, Azizus, Diana Augusta and Fortuna.¹⁰

Deus Aeternus is not a normal appellation of the Jewish God, although it might be a natural term to borrow for a Latin inscription in the same way that *Theos Hypsistos* was sometimes used in Greek Jewish inscriptions. Cumont argues that *Deus Aeternus* was a Syrian astral god associated with the taurobolium; he lists 21 occurrences, mainly from the 2nd–3rd centuries, including six from Dacia. The one which is geographically nearest to this one is RIU 440 from Brigetio, a fragmentary dedication to *Deo M[agno] Aeter[no]*.¹¹ There are also *Deo Aeterno* dedications at Aquileia¹² and Mursa.¹³

¹⁰ Fitz 1972, 110–11.

¹¹ See now AE 1995.1257.

¹² CIL v 769, 770.

¹³ ILJug 285.

Concordance

CIJ no.	No. in this vol.		
675	Pan2	697	Ach6
676	Pan1	698	Ach7
677	Pan3	699–701	Ach1
678	Pan4	702	Ach8
678a	Pan5	703–5	Ach3
679	p.1	706	Ach10
680	Dal2	707	Ach12
680a	Dal3	708	Ach13
681	Moes1	708a	Ach9
681a	Thr5	708b	Ach2
681b	App7	708c	Ach23
682	BS1	708d	Ach25
683	BS5	709	Ach43
683a	BS7	710	Ach42
683b	BS9	711	Ach44
684	BS4	711a	Ach46
685	BS10	711b	Ach45
686	BS12	712	Ach28
687	BS11	713	Ach30
688	BS13	714	App10
689	BS15	715	Ach34
689a	BS14	715a	Ach26
690	BS20	715b	Ach27
690a	BS22	715c	Ach33
690b	BS23	715d	Ach31
691	BS17	715e	App12
691a	BS16	715f	Ach32
691b	BS19	715g	App13
692	Thr3	715h	Ach29
692a	Thr4	715i	Ach40
693	Mac16	716	App2
693a	Mac17	717	App21
693b	Mac13	718	Ach47
693c	Mac14	718a	Ach48
693d	App9	719	Ach51
694	Mac1	720	Ach54
694a	Mac6	721	Ach52
694b	Mac7	721a	Ach55
695	Ach24	721b	Ach56
696	Ach16	721c	Ach53
696a	Ach17	722	Ach58
696b	Ach18	723	Ach59
696c	Ach19	724	Aegina
		725a	Ach70

725b	Ach71	731a	Delos
726	Ach65	731b	App20
727	Ach60	731c	Cre3
728	Ach62	731d	Cre1
729	Ach63	78*	BS21
730	Ach61		
731	Ach64		

Indexes

* indicates that the occurrence appears to be non-Jewish.

ⁿ indicates that the occurrence is in an inscription quoted in the notes.

Inscriptions from the Appendixes are not included in the indexes, except in Xe–f.

Place names in Vf refer to discussions of those places in the main text.

<i>I.</i>	<i>Details of inscriptions</i>	page
a	Nature of inscription	377
b	Language	377
c	Provenance	378
<i>II.</i>	<i>Personal names</i>	
a	Names	378
b	Notable features of the names	382
<i>III.</i>	<i>Personal details</i>	
a	Vocabulary of relationships	382
b	Joint epitaphs / dedications	383
c	Commemorator identified	383
d	Age at death	383
e	Epithets and qualities	384
f	Occupations, ranks and secular titles	384
<i>IV.</i>	<i>Place-names and ethnics</i>	384
<i>V.</i>	<i>Religion</i>	
a	Terms indicating 'Jew' etc., and Jewish institutions	385
b	Jewish titles	385
c	Synagogues and parts of synagogues	385
d	Prayers, blessings, thanksgivings, invocations	386
e	Biblical quotations	387
f	Symbols	387
<i>VI.</i>	<i>Dates and rulers</i>	
a	Years given by era	387
b	Dating formulae	388
c	Day of the week / month	388
d	Rulers and their families	388
<i>VII.</i>	<i>Funerary formulae</i>	
a	Life and death of the deceased	389
b	Provision of the tomb	389
c	Terms for tomb	389
d	Curses and fines against tomb violation	389
e	The deceased in the tomb	390
f	Wishes for / addressed to the deceased	390

g	Addressed to the reader	390
VIII.	<i>Formulae of benefactions</i>	
a	Verbs used for benefactions	390
b	Circumstances, source and nature of benefaction	391
c	Votive formulae	391
IX.	<i>Manumissions</i>	
a	Verbs of manumission	391
b	Words for ex-slave	392
c	Terms and conditions of manumission	392
d	Consent to and endorsement of manumission	394
X.	<i>Other words</i>	
a	Greek words not indexed elsewhere	394
b	Latin words not indexed elsewhere	395
c	Hebrew words not indexed elsewhere	395
d	Unidentified words	395
e	Names from Appendix 1	396
f	Names from Appendix 2	396

I. Details of inscriptions

a. Nature of inscription

Acclamation	Mac13	Prayer	Ach72
Amphorae	BS28	Samaritan amulet	Ach50
Building dedication	Ach74	Samaritan dedication	Mac17
Ephobic list	Ach53	Samaritan honorific inscription	Ach66–67
Epitaph	Pan1–2, Pan4, Dal1–4, Moes1, Thr3–4, Mac6–8, Mac10–12, Mac14–16, Mac18?, Ach3–36, Ach36bis, Ach37, Ach40, Ach46, Ach48–49, Ach51–52, Ach55, Ach56?, Ach57, Ach75 Cre1–3, BS10–16, BS19, – (partly) metrical – with curse Graffito List of names Manumission	Seal Statue base Synagogue inscription – mosaic Thiasos inscription Tile fragment Votive / thanksgiving Uncertain	Mac2 Ach38–39, Ach69 Pan3, Pan5, Mac1, Mac1 ⁿ , Ach47, Ach54, Ach56?, BS1, BS4 Thr1–2, Mac1 ⁿ , Ach58–59 Ach41 Dal5 Thr5, Mac3–5, Ach60–63, Ach64?, Ach65?, Ach73, BS27 Moes2
	BS17–18, BS20– 24, BS25?		

b. Language

Greek	Dal4, Moes2, Thr1–5, Mac1–16,	Mac18, Ach1–48, Ach51–75, Cre1–
-------	----------------------------------	------------------------------------

	3, BS1, BS3–12, BS14–28	Latin	Pan3–5, Dal1, Dal3, Moes1
Hebrew	Dal5, Ach50, BS2, BS16a, BS Phanagoria	Latin and Greek	Pan1–2
		Latin in Greek characters	Pan1–2, Dal2
Hebrew and Greek	Mac17, Ach36bis, Ach49, BS13		

c. Provenance

Aegina	Ach58–59	Olbia	BS1
Almyros	Ach24	Oropus	Ach45
Aquincum	Pan2	Panticapaeum	BS4–16
Arcades	Cre1–2	Peratovci	Dal1
Arcadia	Ach52	Perinthus	Thr4
Argos	Ach51	Phanagoria	BS17–18
Assenovgrad	Thr5	Pherae	Ach25
Athens	Ach26–39	Philippi	Mac12
Beroea	Mac6–11	Philippopolis	Thr1–2
Byzie	Thr3	Phthiotic Thebes	Ach15–23
Chalcis (Euboea)	Ach57	Piraeus	Ach40–41
Chersonesus	BS2–3	Plataea	Ach46
Corinth	Ach47–50	Rheneia	Ach70–71
Coronea	Ach53	Rome	Ach75
Delos	Ach60–69	Salonae	Dal3–4
Delphi	Ach42–44	Senia	Dal2
Gorgippia	BS20–27	Siklós	Pan4
Hermonassa	BS19	Solva	Pan1
Intercisa	Pan3	Stobi	Mac1–5
Kastelli Kissamou	Cre3	Syros	Ach72–74
Larissa	Ach1–14	Taenarum	Ach55–56
Mantineia	Ach54	Tanais	BS28
Mursa	Pan5	Thessaloniki	Mac13–18
Oescus	Moes1–2	Uncertain	Dal5

II. Personal names

a. Names (in Latin alphabetical order; see VId for names of rulers)

Abraham: Ἀβραμῆου	Mac16	Ammia: Ἀμμία	Ach26, Ach35
Achilles: Ἀχιλλεύς	BS1*	Amyntas: Ἀμύντας	Ach42*, Ach43*
Achyrius: Ἀχύριος	Mac1	Ἀμύντα	Ach43*
Actia	Pan4	Ananias: Ἀνανίου	Ach33
Aeschylus: Αἰσχύλου	Ach45*	Anastasius: Ἀνεστασιο	Pan2
Agath...: Ἀγαθ[- -]	BS10	Andromache: Ἀνδρομάχης	Ach55
Agathocles: Ἀγαθοκλῆς	Ach65	Anna: Ἀννα	Mac15
Agon: Ἀγωνος	Ach42*	Ἀννας	Ach17
Alexander: Ἀλέξανδρος	Mac7	Ἀννα[ς?]	Ach49
Ἀλεξάνδρου	Ach5, Ach16?	Anos: Ἀνος	BS18

Anticharmus: Ἀντιχάρμου	Ach45*	Cleon: Κλέων	Ach42*, Ach43*, Ach44
Antigone: Ἀντιγόνα	Ach43	Cleopo: Κλεουπώ	Ach7
Antiochus: Ἀντιόχου]	Ach31	Cosmianus: Κοσμιανός	Thr1
Apollonius: Ἀπολλωνίου	Mac18	Cosmius	Pan3
Archon: Ἀρχων	Ach43*	Cyria: Κυρία	Moes1
Aruscita: Ἀρέσκουσα	Ach25	Dates: Δάτου	Ach41*
Arist...: Ἀριστ[- -]	BS10	Decimus: Δέ[κ]μου	Ach25
Aristion: Ἀριστίων	Ach42*	Decusanis(?): Δηκουσανί	Pan2
Aristomachus: Ἀριστόμαχος	Ach42*	Demetrius: Δημήτριος	Ach40
Ariston: Ἀρίστων	BS26*	Δημητρίου	Ach40, BS1*?
Arsa: Arsa[e]	Dal1	Demo: Δημώ	Ach1
Artemidorus: Ἀρτεμιδώρου	Ach66, BS1*?	Demosthenes: Δημοσθένης	Ach43*
Asandrus: Ἀσανδρος	Ach42*	Diomedes: Διομήδους	Ach25
Asteria: Ἀστερίας	Ach24	Dionysius: Διονυσίου	Dal2
Asyncriton: Ἀσυνκριτίω	Mac15	Διονύσιον	BS17
Athenades: Ἀθηνάδης	Ach45*	Dionysodorus: Διονυσιόδωρος	BS1*
Athenaeus: Ἀθ<ην>α[ίου]	BS22	Domitius: Δομέτιος	Mac13
Ἀθηνέου	Ach28	Dorea: [Δ]ωρέαν	BS21
Athenodorus: Ἀθηνόδωρος	Ach45*	Dorothea: Δωροθέα	Ach43
Ἀθηνωδῶρου	BS22	Δωροθέαν	Ach43
Atisides: Ἀτισίδας	Ach43*	Drusus: Δρούσου	BS5
Aurelius: Αὐρ(ήλιος)	Mac11, Mac15, Ach53-54, BS4	Ecephylus: Ἐκεφύλου	Ach43*
Αὐρήλιος	Ach51	Elis: Ἠλιδος	BS21
Αὐρη<λ>ιους	Dal2	Ell.....: Ελλ[- -]	Thr2
Bagias: Βαγίου	BS26*	Elpidis: Ἐλπίδης	Ach54
Benjamin: Βηνειαμι	Pan2	Elpis(?): Ἐλπί<δ>α	BS7
Βενιαμῆς	Mac14, Ach27	Epigonus: Ἐπιγόνου	Ach45*
Berenice: Β[ερε?]νείκη	Cre2	Ergasion: Ἐ[ρ]γασίων	Ach41
Biottus: Βίωτος	Ach45*	Eros: Ἐρ[ωτος]	BS1*
Bothyllis: Βοθύλι	BS19	Eucrata: Εὐκράτα	Ach4
Boukolios(?): Βουκολίου	Ach6	Eucrates: Εὐκράτος	Ach4
Callias: Καλλί[ας]	Ach3	Eudicus: Εὐδίκου	Ach45*
Callisthenia: [?]Καλλισθ[ε]νείας	BS23	Eudocus: Εὐδοκος	Ach43*
Cassia: Κασσιε	Pan1	Eudorus: Εὐδωρος	Ach43*
Charinus: Χαρίνος	Ach45*	Eugenius: Εὐγένις	Thr4
Chreste: Χρήστη	BS5	Euglossius: Εὐγλω[σσίου]	Dal4
Chrestion: Χρηστίων(ος?)	BS11	Eunomios: Εὐνομῖο	Ach72
Χρηστίωνος	BS26	Euperses: Εὐπέρσ[ο]υ	Ach41*
Chrysa: Χρύσα	BS20	Euphranor: Ευφράνορ	Ach57
Claudius: Κλ(αυδῖος)	Mac1	Euremon: Εὐρήμονος	Ach35
Cleodamus: Κλευδάμου	Ach42*, Ach44	Eusebius: Ε[ὐ]σεβίου	Ach16
		Eustathius: Εὐσταθίου	Mac2
		Eutychia: Εὐτυχία	Ach21
		Εὐτυχίας	Ach28
		Eutychius: Εὐτόχιος	Mac15
		Ezra: Ἔσδρας	Ach15
		Flavius: Φ(λάβιο)ς?	Mac12

Gadeis: Γάδειος	BS23	Kale: Καλήν	BS25 ⁿ
Gera(?): Γέρας	Mac9	Karagos: Καραγος	BS18
Glaucus: Γλαῦκος	Ach42*	Karsandos: Καρσανδανος	BS18
Γλαύκου	Ach42*	Lachares: Λαχάρους	Ach27
Gorgonius: Γωγώρνι	Mac11	Laodice: Λαωδίκη	Ach62
Gynaika: Γυναῖκα	Ach4	Lazarus: [Λ]άζαρος	Ach9
Hagion: Ἁγίων	Ach43*	Leontia: Λεωντήας	Ach20
Hananiah: ΠῚΠ[Π]	BS2	Leontiscus: Λεοντίσκου	Ach1
Hecat....: Ἑκατ[- -]	Ach37	Leontius: Λεόντιος	Ach34
Hedeia: [Ἡ]δεῖα	BS8	Λεοντίου	Mac7
Helene: Ἑλένη	Thr5	Leptines: Λεπτίνης	Ach41*
Heliconias: Ἑλικωνιάδος	BS5	Leukios / Lucius: Λεύκιος	Ach2,
Heortylis: Εἰωρτύλις	Ach73		Ach10
Heracles: Ἡρακλᾶν	BS5	Λευκίῳ]	Ach2
Heraclea: Ἡράκλειαν	Ach70	Longion: Λογγ[γ]ίωνα	BS17
Heracleides: Ἡρακλείδου	Ach46, BS5	Lysimachus: Λυσίμαχος	Ach63,
Hermaphilus: Ἑρμαφίλου	Ach41*		Ach65
Hermas: Ἑρμᾶν	BS6	Macarius: Μακάριος	BS26*
Hermias: Ἑρμίου	Ach6	Μακαρίου	BS21
Hermogenes: Ἑρμογένη[ς]	Ach23	Marcia: Μαρκία	Ach61
Ἑρμογένην	Ach41*	Marcus: Μ(ᾱρκος)	Mac15
Hippion: Ἴππων	Ach45*	Maria: Μαρία	Ach1
Hipponikis: Ἴππονικίς	Ach2	Mariae	Pan4
Ior....: Ιορ[.....]	BS8	Μαρίας	Mac7
Ioudaios: Ἰουδαῖος	Ach42,	Maronius: Μαρωνίου	Ach52
	Ach44	Martina: Μαρθίνην]	Ach71
Isaac: [Ἰ]σαάκ	Thr2	Matthaia: Μαθθαία	Ach31–32
[Ἰσα?]ακίου	BS13	Maximinus: Maximini	Moes1
Issachar: Ἰσσηαχάρα	Ach46	Maximus: Μάξιμος	Ach4
Jacob: Ἰακώβ	Mac15,	Μάξιμου	Ach4
	Ach34?	Menander: Μένανδρος	Ach3,
[Ἰ]ακώβο[υ]	Ach34		Ach11
Jason: Ἰάσονος	Ach67	Μενάνδρου	Ach3
Jonathan: Ἰωνάθου	Ach15	Menes: Μένης	Ach42*
Ἰωνάθαν	Ach56	Menestratus: [Μενέ]στρατος	BS25 ⁿ
Joses / Joseph: Iose	Dal1	Menippus: Μένιππον	Ach66
Ioses	Moes1	Metrotimus: Μετρότειμος	BS18,
Ἰωσης	Mac6,		BS27?
	Ach51,	Mnasikon: Μνασικῶντος	Ach45*
	Ach53	Moschion: Μοσχίωνος	Ach45
Ἰωσήφ	Thr1	Moschus: Μόσχος	Ach45
Ἰώσηφος	Cre1	Μόσχον	Ach45
Εἰώσηφος	Cre2	Moses: Μωσ[έως?]	Ach30
Judah / Judas: Iudati	Pan1	Nanobalamyrus: Νανοβαλαμύρου	BS21
Ἰούδα	BS28		
Ἰούδα	Ach1,	Neocles: Νεοκλῆς	BS22
	Ach7,	Nicarchus: Νικάρχος	Ach43*
	Ach24	Nicobulus: Νικοβούλου	Ach43*
Ἰούδα	Cre1	Nicolaus: Νεικόλαος	Ach12
Justinus: Ἰουστίνου	Mac11	Nicon: Νίκων	Ach41*
Justus: Ἰουδοτος	Ach55	Nicophon: Νικοφῶντος	Ach41*

Nicostratus: Νικόστρατο(ς)	Mac12	Σεκούνδου	Ach13
No..... (fem.): Νο[- -]	Dal4	Seleucus: Σελεύκου	Ach3,
Nymphagoras: Νυμφαγόρας	BS26		Ach12
Νυμφαγόρου	BS21	Septimia(?): Septimae	Pan4
N...stes: Ν[...]στε[ους]	BS8	Serapion: Σαραπίωνα	Ach67
Olympianus: Ὀλυμπιανός	BS4	Severus: Σεβέρο	BS14
Olympus: Ὀλύμπου	BS4	Shabbetai: שַׁבֵּתַי	BS16a
Onias: Ὠνία	BS19	Simeon: Σιμ[εώ?]ν	Ach33
Orthaios: Ὀρθαίου	Ach43*	Συμεών	BS16
Oxycholius: Ὀξυχόλιος	Mac12	Simon: Σείμων	BS15
Panto: Παντώ	Ach52	Siricius: Σιρικήω	Mac17
Paregorius: Παριγορίου	Mac6	Socrates: Σωκράτου	Ach32
Παριγορίω	Ach21	Sodamidas: Σωδαμίδας	Ach42
Pausanias: Πανσανία	Ach9	Sogo(u)s: Σόγους	BS4
Peristeria: Περιστερίας	Ach18	Σόγος	BS4
Pharnakion: Φαρνακίω[v]	BS25	Sophia: Σοφία	Cre3
Φαρνακίωνος	BS26*	Sostratus: Σώστρατος	Ach44
Philip: Φίλιππ	Ach8	Strabo: Στράβωνος	BS20
Philo: Φίλωνος	Ach32,	Symmachus: Σύμμαχος	Ach41*
	Ach35	Tarantinus: Ταράντινος	Ach42*,
Philocrates: Φιλ[ι]οκράτης	Ach44		Ach44
Philotimus(?): [?]Φιλότ[ι]μος	BS23	Teison: Τείσων	Ach42*
Phodacus: [Φ]όδακος	BS17	Tertia: Τερτίας	Mac7
Phrynidias: Φρύνιδαι	Ach46*	Themison: Θεμίσωνος	Ach36
Pindarus: Πινδάρου	Ach44	Theoctistes: Θεοκτίστην	Ach28
Polycharmus: Πολύχαρμος	Mac1,	Theodora: Θεοδώρα	Ach36,
	Mac3-4		Ach43
Πολύχαρμον	Mac1	Θεο[?]δώρας	Ach16
Pontiana: Ποντιανής	Ach6	Θεοδώραν	Ach43
Posidonia: Ποσιδονία	Mac5	Theodorus: Θεόδωρος	Ach58
Pothon: Πόθωνος	BS17	Θεοδώραν	Cre1
Pothos: Πόθος	BS20	Θεοδώραν νεω(τέ)ρ(ου)	Ach59
Pourthaius: Πουρθαΐος]	BS1*	Theodosius: Θεοδοσίου	Mac8
Praulus: Πραύλος	Ach68	Theodote: Θεωδότης	Mac16
Praxias: Πραξία	Ach43*	Theodotus: Θεοδότω	Ach20
Psycharion: Ψυχαρίων	BS18	Theodula: Θεοδούλα[ς]	Ach30
Publius: Ποπλίου	Ach57?	Theophila: Θεοφίλα	Ach3
Quintus / Quintas: Κοιντᾶ	Ach7	Theophrastus: Θεόφραστος	Ach42*
Κοίντου	Ach10	Thras...: Θρασ[- -]	Ach37
Rebecca: Ρεβέκα[ς]	Thr3	Tiberius: Τιβέριος	Mac1
Sabinilla	Pan4	Τιβέριον	Mac1
Sambion: [Σ]αμβίων<α>	BS25 ⁿ	Timocles: Τιμοκλῆς	Ach44
Σαμβίω[νος]	BS26	Timotheus: Τειμόθεος	BS21
Samuel: Σαμοήλ	BS14	Titianus: Τιτιανού	Ach1
Σαμουή[λ]ου	BS12	Valerius: Ουαλέριος	BS4
Saphasas: Σαφάσας	BS26	Xenocritus: Ξενοκρίτος	Ach44
Sarah: Σάρας	Ach48	Xenon: Ξένων	Ach42*
Satyrus: Σ[ά]τυρον]	BS1*	Ξένωνος	Ach42*
Saul: Σαούλ	Ach17	Xenophania: Ξενοφανείας	Ach42*
Secundus(?): [?]Secu[ndus]	Pan5	Zobeis: Ζώβεις	BS1*
Σεκούνδος	Ach13	Ζώβει	BS1*

Zosas: Ζωσᾶς	Ach60
Zosimus: Ζώσιμος	Ach8
....etē: [- -]ετης	Ach22
....mus: [- -]μου	Ach21
....nome: [- -]νόμη	BS24

....olia: [- -]ολιας	Ach48
....ōn: [- -]νος	Ach22
....onius: [- -]όνιος	Ach41*
....ter: [- -]τηρ	Ach14

b. Notable features of the names

Double name (ὁ καί) Mac1, Mac15,
BS4

(ὁ κέ) Thr1, Thr2?

(ὦ καί) Mac14

([τ]ὸν καί) BS17

(τῇ καί) Mac15

(κληθείς) BS4

Name introduced by ἡ ὄνομα

BS20, BS24

ὦι ὄνομα Ach42, Ach44

αῖς ὀνόματα Ach43

Roman citizen name (duo/tria nomina)

Pan4, Dal2, Thr5?,

Mac1, Mac12,

Mac15, Ach51,

Ach53–54, BS4

Patronymic (father's name in gen.)

Mac11, Ach1,

Ach3–4, Ach7–8,

Ach9?, Ach10,

Ach12–13, Ach15,

Ach16?, Ach21?,

Ach25, Ach27,

Ach31–33,

Ach35–36,

Ach37?, Ach40,

Ach41*, Ach42*,

Ach43*, Ach44,

Ach45*, Ach46,

Ach57, Ach66–67,

Cre1, BS1*, BS4,

BS8, BS17, BS19–

21, BS22?, BS23,

BS26

Patronymic ("son/daughter of")

Dal4, Moes1,

Mac6–7, Ach6,

Ach52, BS14

β' for patronymic

BS1*

Papponymic

BS21

Metronymic

Mac7, Ach55

Homonymous parent and child

Mac18, Ach3–4,

Ach13, Ach40

Deceased's name in nom. without verb

Dal2, Mac18,

Ach1, Ach3–4,

Ach7–13, Ach14?,

Ach15, Ach25–27,

Ach31–36,

Ach37?, Ach40,

Ach52, Ach55,

Cre3

Deceased's name in gen. without noun

Ach5, Ach6?

Deceased's name in vocative

Ach57?, BS19?

III. Personal details

a. Vocabulary of relationships

Father: patiri Pan1?

φι<λ>ιωρουν τριουν πατερ

Dal2

πατρός ἡμῶν

BS21

τοῦ πατρός μου

BS22

Mother: mater

Pan4

τῇ μητρί μου?

BS6

τῆς μητρός

Ach28,

Ach68?

τᾶς [μα]τρὸς Ach42*

Brother: [τῶ]ν ἀδελφῶν αὐτοῦ

Ach48

τῶν ἀδελφῶν

Ach68

Sister: [s]orori

Dal1

ἀδελφῆς

BS21

Son: filius

Moes1

φειλiew νοστρω

Pan2

φι<λ>ιωρουν

Dal2

υιώς	BS14		Ach35,
ιοιώς	Mac6		BS8, BS11
τοῦ υιοῦ	Ach6,	γυνή αὐτοῦ	Ach4
	Ach44	γυναικός	BS21, BS23
τῷ υἱῷ	Cre1	γυ[ναικός] αὐ[τοῦ]	Ach16
[ο]ῖ τοῦτο<υ> υἱοί	BS18	γυν[αικὶ αὐτοῦ]	BS25
Daughter: θυγάτηρ	Dal4?,	γυνή πρότερον	BS5
	Mac7,	τῇ εἰ[δίᾳ] [γυναι]κί]	Cre2
	Ach52	τῆς αὐτοῦ γαμετῆς	Ach17
τὰς θυγατέρας αὐτὰς	Ach43	συνβίῳ	Mac17
Children: τέκνοι<ς>	Mac17	τῇ συμβίῳ αὐτοῦ	Mac15
τοῖς τέκνοις αὐτῶν	Ach70–71	τῆς συνβίου αὐτοῦ	Mac16
Son-in-law: ὁ γαμβρός	Mac7	Bride / groom: μνηστῆρες	Ach2
Grandson: ἐγγό[νο]ι	Ach34	νόμφας	Ach2
τοὺς ἐγγόνους αὐτοῦ	Ach66	Marriage: γάμων	Ach2
Spouse: co[n]iugi	Moes1	Jewish/non-Jewish marriage?	Ach6
γυνή	Ach1,	Heirs: τοὺς κληρονόμους τοὺς ἐμούς	Mac1
	Ach3,		Mac1
	Ach7,	κληρονόμους ἐμούς	Mac1
	Ach25,	Crew: πάση τῇ συνπλοίᾳ αὐτοῦ	Ach72
	Ach32,		

b. Joint epitaphs / dedications

Joint epitaph (husband and wife)	
	Mac16, Ach4,
	Ach6?, Ach16–17
Joint epitaph (man and woman)	
	Pan1, Ach20–21,
	Ach22?, Ach24,
	Ach30?

Joint epitaph (brothers/cousins)	
	Ach34
Joint epitaph (family)	Pan2
Joint dedication (two men)	
	Ach65

c. Commemorator identified

Father for son	Cre1
Mother for daughter	Pan4
Brother for sister	Dal1
Husband for wife	Mac15,
	Cre2
Son-in-law for mother-in-law	Mac7

Self	Moes1,
	Mac12,
	Ach51
Self (ζῶν)	Mac15
Relationship not specified	Ach2

d. Age at death

1 year	Cre1	18 years	Pan4
3 years	Mac8?	27 years	Dal4
10 years	Ach9?	50 years	Dal2

e. Epithets and qualities

infelix: enfili	Dal1	[ἀ]ρετῆς ἔνεκα καὶ εὐεργεσίας	
ἄγαμος]:	BS16		Ach39
ἄξιος μνήμης: ὁ μνήμις ἄξιος		κυρά	Ach52
	Thr4	μακάριος: τοῦ μακαριωτάτου	BS13
ἀρετή: ἀρετῆς [ἔνεκεν καὶ εὐνοί]ας		μνησκόμενος: μησκόμενος	Mac7
τῆς εἰς ἑαυτοῦ[ς]	Ach69	ὅσιος: τῆς ὁσίας]	Mac7
[ἀ]ρετῆς ἔνεκα καὶ εὐεργεσίας	Ach39	προφερής: [πρ]οφερέ<σ>τατος ὕμνοις	Mac9
ἄωρος: ἄωρον	Ach70–71	σωφροσύνη: σω[φροσ]ύνης οὐνεκα	BS41*
δούλος: τῷ δούλῳ σου	Ach72	ταλαίπωρος: τὴν ταλαίπωρον	Ach70–71
εὐεργεσία: τῆς εὐεργεσίας	Mac7	תַּיָּכָּ:	BS13
εὐεργεσίας ἔνεκα καὶ εὐνοίας	Ach38		
εὐεργεσίας ἔνεκεν τῆς εἰς ἑαυτοῦς	Ach67		

f. Occupations, ranks and secular titles

(see also Vlb)

Archon (cf. Vb): [οἱ] περὶ Σ[άτυρον]...		Honorific titles: σεβαστόγνωστο<ς>	
ἄρχοντες]	BS1*		BS4
Archon for 2 nd time: τὸ β΄	BS1*	τειμηθεῖς	BS4
Customs officer(?): pr(aepositus?)		Ius liberorum: φι<λ>ιωρουν τριουν	
sta(tionis)	Pan3	πατερ	Dal2
Epimeletes: [τὸ]ν ἐπι]μελητὴν	Ach41*	Military title(?): principales	Moes1
Government official: ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς		Proscholus: πρόσχολος	Ach27
Θεοδοσίας	BS4	Scholasticus: σχολαστικοῦ	Ach5
Grammateus: γραμματεία	Ach41*		

IV. Place-names and ethnics

Achaea: Ἀχαΐας	Ach75	Kissamus: Κισάμου	Cre3
Alexandria: Ἀλεξία<ν>δρέου(ς)	Mac6	Knossos: Κνώσιον	Ach67
Antioch (cf. Ach31): Ἀντιοχέας		Naxos: Ναξίους	Ach72
	Ach35	Oropus: Ὠρώπιος	Ach45*
Arad: Ἀραδία	Ach32	Pannonia: Pannoni	Moes1
Athens: Ἀθηναῖος	Ach45*	Paros: Πάριος	Ach60
Athenians on Delos: ὁ δῆμος ὁ		Pito...: [ἀπὸ] κώμης Πιτο[...]	Dal4
Ἀθ[η]ν[αίων καὶ οἱ] κατοικοῦν[τε]ς]		Roman: [Rom]ani	Dal3*
τῇ[ν νήσον]	Ach69	Sidon: Σιδωνίου	Ach32
Bosporus: [Ὶ]תְּרַבְּרָבָּ	BS2	Spondill(---)	Pan3
Caesarea: [τοῦ] Κεσαρέως	Ach34	Stobi: ἐν Στόβοις	Mac1
Delphi: Δελφός	Ach43*	Theodosia: τῆς Θεοδοσίας	BS4
Gortyn: Γορτυνία	Cre3	Tiberias: Τιβε<ρ>ιηνσις	Dal2
Heraklion: Ἡράκλειον	Ach66	Τιβεριεύς	Ach55

Province: ἐν τῷ ἐπαρχείῳ BS4

V. Religion

a. Terms indicating 'Jew' etc., and Jewish institutions

Jew: Iudeor(um)	Pan3	Σαμαρίτις	Ach36
τῆς Ἰουδέας	Ach6	Σαμαρῖτ - -]	Ach37
Iudei	Dal3	Σαμαρεὺς	Ach68
Ἰουδαῖος	Ach46, Ach73?	[?οἱ ἐν Δήλῳ] Ἰσραηλῖται	Ach66
Ἰουδεους	Dal2	οἱ ἐν Δήλῳ Ἰσραελεῖται	Ach67
Εἰσοδαῖος	Ach40	Jerusalem: יְרוּשָׁלַיִם	BS2
τῶν Ἰουδαίων	BS5-7, BS9, BS18	Ἱεροσολυμίτις	Ach41
[?τὸ γένος] Ἰουδαίου[ς]	BS23	Garizim: οἱ ἀπαρχόμενοι εἰς ἱερὸν ἅγιον Ἀργαριεῖν	Ach66
τὸ γένος Ἰουδαῖον	Ach42	οἱ ἀπαρχόμενοι εἰς ἱερὸν Ἀργαριεῖν	Ach67
τὸ γένος Ἰουδαῖαν	Ach43	Neapolis: Νεάπολις	Mac17
Hebrew: Ἑβρέου	Mac8	Judaism: πολειτευσάμενος πᾶσαν πολειτείαν κατὰ τὸν Ἰουδαϊσμόν	Mac1
Ἑβραίων]	Ach47	The wise: τῶν σοφῶν	Ach51
Ἑβρέων	Mac9	Day of Atonement?: ᾧ πᾶσα ψυχὴ ἐν τῇ σήμερον ἡμέραι ταπεινοῦνται μεθ' ἱκετείας	Ach70-71
God-fearers?: θεὸν σεβῶν	BS7	Christian: Crissi(ani)	Dal3*
Samaritan: [Σαμαρεῖτις]	Dal4		
Σαμαρεῖτις	Ach35		
Σαμαρίτης	Ach41		

b. Jewish titles

Archegissa(?): ἀρχηγίσις	Ach18	πατὴρ λαοῦ διὰ βίου	Ach54
Archisynagogos: arcsina(gogos ?)	Moes1	Patriarch: τῷ πατριαρχῇ	Mac1
ἀρχι(συναγωγ(ος))	Ach58	τῶν πατριαρχῶν	Ach51
ἀρχισυναγωγίσσα	Cre3	Phrontistes: [φ]ροντίσας ἔτη τέσσερα	Ach58
Archon: ἄρχοντα	Ach56	φροντίζοντ(ος)	Ach59
Ethnarch: τῶν ἐθν(ι)αρχῶν	Ach51	Presbyter/a: <π>ρεσβύτερος	Mac18
Pater: patiri	Pan1	τῆς πρεσβυτέρας	Thr3
ὁ πατήρ	Mac3?, Mac4?	πρεσβυτέρα	Cre3
ὁ πατήρ τῆς ... συναγωγῆς	Mac1	μελοπρεσβυτέρου	Mac8
		Prostates: προστάτου	Ach5

c. Synagogues and parts of synagogues

Synagogue = community: τῆς συναγωγῆς τῶν Ἰουδαίων	BS5-7, BS9, BS18	τῇ ἀγιοτάτῃ συν<α>γωγ(ῇ)	Mac7
τῇ συναγωγῇ	Mac12, Ach54	τῇ ἀγιοτάτῃ συναγωγῇ	Ach23
ταῖς συναγωγαῖς	Mac15	a synag(oga) Iudeor(um)	Pan3
		Synagogue = building:	
		[συνα]γωγῇ Ἑβραίων	Ach47
		τὴν σ[υναγωγ(ῇ)]	Ach58

τὴν προσευχήν	BS1, BS4–6, BS18	ἐν τῇ προσευχῇ	BS6?, BS20?
[pro]seucham	Pan5	τῷ ἁγίῳ τόπῳ	Mac1
ἐπὶ τῆς προσευχῆς	BS5, BS7, BS17?, BS25?	Decoration: τὴν κοσμ[ήσιν]	Thr2
		Dining-room: τὸ τρίκλεινον	Mac1
		Pronaos: τό<υ> πρόναου	Ach54
		Roof: τὴν δὲ ἐπισκευὴν τῆς κεράμου	Mac1
τῇ προσευχῇ	BS7, BS18	Rooms: τοὺς οἴκους	Mac1
		Tetrapylon: τῷ τετραστόῳ	Mac1
		Upper rooms: τῶν ὑπερώων	Mac1

d. Prayers, blessings, thanksgivings, invocations

Blessing: εὐλ(ογία)	Pan1	εὐλογητῷ	Thr5
εὐλογία	Mac17, BS3	Invocation of God: ἐπικαλοῦμαι καὶ	
εὐλογία πᾶσιν	Thr1, Thr4?	ἄξιῳ τὸν Θεὸν τὸν Ὑψίστον	Ach70–71
εὐλογία πᾶσιν τοῖς		Κ(ύρι)ε βοήθη	Ach72
εἰς[ε]ρ[χ]ο[ι]μένοις	Ach59	ἐπὶ ὀνόματος Θε(ο)ῦ ζῶν[τος]	Ach73
εὐλογήσθῃ	BS3	One God: εἷς Θεός	Pan2
[יְיָ]	BS2	εἷς Θεός	Mac17
Farewell to the people: τῷ λαῷ χαίρειν	Ach1–4, Ach10, Ach13– 14, Ach16	God's peace: ἐν [εἰρήνῃ] Θε[ο]ῦ	Dal4
λαῷ χαίρειν	Ach4, Ach8, Ach11–12	God's power: τὰς θείας καὶ μεγάλ[ας]	
λαῶι χαίρειν	Ach25	δύναμις τὰς τοῦ Θεοῦ	Ach51
[χ]αίρειν	Ach9, Ach16?	τὸν Κύριον τῶν πνευμάτων καὶ	
Mercy to the people: ἔλεως τῷ λαῷ	Ach57	πάσης σαρκὸς	Ach70–71
Honouring of an individual:		God with us: Κύριος μεθ' ἡμῶν	Mac13
ἐτίμησαν αὐτόν	Ach66	God watching: ἐνωρῶ[ντος] Θεοῦ	Ach16
[ἐστεφάνωσαν] χρυσῷ στε[φά]νῳ	Ach66	Κύριε ὁ πάντα ἐφορῶν	Ach70–71
στεφανοῦσιν χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ	Ach67	Blessing on God: בְּרוּךְ אֱלֹהֵינוּ לְעוֹלָם	Mac17
Dedication to God: Deo aeterno	Pan3	בְּרוּךְ שְׁמוֹ לְעוֹלָם	Mac17
Θεῷ Ἀγιῷ	Mac5	Worship of God: τὴν τιμὴν τῆς	
Θεῷ Ὑψίστῳ	Ach60, Ach63	λατρίας τῆς γιγνομένης ἐφ' ἐκάστης	
Θεῷ Ὑψίστῳ	Ach62	ἡμέρας τῷ Θεῷ	Ach51
Ὑψίστῳ	Ach61	Blessing on Neapolis: αὖξι Νεάπολις	
Θεῷ Ὑψίστῳ ἐπηκόῳ	BS4	μετὰ τῶν φιλοῦντων	Mac17
Θεῷ Ὑψίστῳ παντοκράτορι	BS20, BS21?, BS22, BS27?	Law: τὰ[ς] δύναμις τοῦ νόμου	Ach51
εὐλογητῷ		Angels: οἱ ἄγγελοι Θεοῦ	Ach70–71
		Amen: אָמֵן אָמֵן אָמֵן	BS2
		ἀμήν	Cre3

e. Biblical quotations

(Words from biblical quotations are not indexed separately)

Ex 15.3	Ach50	Dt 19.10	Ach70 ⁿ
Ex 15.26	Ach50	Dt 27.24	Ach70 ⁿ
Ex 21.14	Ach70 ⁿ	Ps 45.8, 45.12	Mac13 ⁿ
Ex 38.8	Ach50	Prov 10.7?	Cre3
Num 6.22–27	Mac17	Job 34.23	Ach70 ⁿ
Num 14.14	Ach50?	Zech 3.2?	BS2
Num 16.22	Ach70	Zech 4.10	Ach16 ⁿ
Num 27.16	Ach70		

f. Symbols

ascia	Dal2		11, Mac13 ⁿ , Ach5,
ethrog	Salonae, Thr1 ⁿ , Thr2–4, Mac2, Mac6, Mac10, Ach27, Ach29?		Ach16–22, Ach24, Ach27–30, Ach46, Ach52, Ach72–73, Chersonesus, BS2 ⁿ , Panticapaeum, BS10–12, BS14– 16, Phanagoria
hedera	Moes1, Thr1, Ach6, Ach49, Cre1		Thr1 ⁿ , Thr2
human figures	Pan2, BS19		Ach70
jug	Ach72?	myrtle	Ach17
lulab/palm	Siklós, Salonae, Moes1, Thr1 ⁿ , Thr2, Thr4, Mac2, Mac6, Mac10, Mac18, Ach16– 17, Ach30, Ach72, BS2 ⁿ , Panticapaeum, Phanagoria	pair of hands	Ach28, Ach64
	Panticapaeum	peacock	Siklós, Salonae, Thr4, Mac6, Ach27, Ach29–30, BS2 ⁿ , Panticapaeum, Phanagoria
mahtah	Pan1–2, Siklós, Dalmatia, Salonae, Moes2, Thr1 ⁿ , Thr2–4, Mac2, Mac6–7, Mac10–	rosette	Thr4, Ach16
menorah		shofar	Phanagoria
		shovel	Thr1 ⁿ Thr2
		tamga	Dalmatia, Ach66– 67
		willow	
		wreath/garland	

VI. Dates

a. Years given by era

ἔτους σοζ'	Ach53	ἔτους δ<ξ>τ'	BS22
ἔτους γιτ'	BS17	ἔτους ζοτ'	BS5
ἔτους ηλτ'	BS20	[ἔτει] βμυ'	BS25 ⁿ
ἔτους <η>μτ'	BS18	ἐν τῷ γχ'	BS4
[ἔ]τους δντ'	BS8	[ἔτ]ου[ς ...]	BS25 ⁿ
[ἔ]τους σντ'	BS23	[ἔτους ...]	BS6

[έν τῶι .. τ' ἔτει BS27

b. Dating formulae

ἀρχέφηβος Γ(άιος) Ἰούλ(ιος) Θεαγένης Κλεοβούλου, Γ(αίου) Ἰουλ(ίου) Θεαγένους ἔγγονος τοῦ αἰωνίου πρεσβε[υ]τοῦ καὶ λογιστοῦ γενηθέντος τῆς πόλεως	Ach53*
ἄρχοντας Ἄρχωνος τοῦ Καλλία	Ach43*
[ἄρ]χοντα[ς] Ἐμμενίδα τοῦ Καλλία	Ach42*
ἄρχοντας Ἡρακλείδ[α]	Ach44*
γυμνασιάρχος Γ(άιος) Κλώ(διος) Ἰούλ(ιος) Κλεόβουλος, Γ(αίου) Ἰουλ(ίου) Θεαγένους υἱός, ὁ προστάτης διὰ βίου τοῦ κοινού τῶν Ἀχαιῶν	Ach53*
ἐπὶ ἐπιμ[ε]λητοῦ τῆς νήσου Ἀπολλωνίου τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου Ρα[μ]νουσίου]	Ach69*
ὕπ(ατίας) Ἀπ[ι]ωνος τ[ο]ῦ λαμπρ(οτάτου), [ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος β']	Dal4

c. Day of the week/month

πρὸ δε[κ]απ[έ]ντε καλ[ε]νδῶν	μηνὸς Δείου	BS20
[Σ]επτε[μ]βρίων Dal4	μηνὸς Ἐνδυσποιτροπίου	Ach43*
[μ]ηνὸς Ἀπελλαί[ου] Ach42*	μηνὸς Ξανδικοῦ α'	BS18
[μ]ηνὸς Ἀρτ[ε]μ[ι]σίου - -] BS6	μηνὸς Περει[τί]ου ιβ'	BS5
μηνὸς Δαισίου ζ' BS17	μην[ὸ]ς Ποιτροπίου	Ach44*
μηνὸς Δαισίου ι' BS8	μηνὶ [- -]αίου ιε'	BS25 ⁿ
μηνὸς Δαισίου [..] BS22	μηνὸς [- - -]	BS23

d. Rulers and their families

Roman emperors

[L(ucii) Sept(imii) Severi Pe]rtinacis	Pan5
[Iuliae Aug(ustae) matris cast]rorum	Pan5
[et M(arci) Aur(elii) Antonini] Aug(ustorum)	Pan5
[P(ublii) Sep(timii) Getae nob(ilissimis) Cae(saris)]	Pan5
Sev(eri) A[lexandri] P(ii) F(elicis) Aug(usti)	Pan3
[Iu](iae) Mamae[lae] Aug(ustae) mat(ris) Aug(usti)	Pan3
Διοκλητιανοῦ καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ	BS4

Jewish rulers

βασιλέα Ἡρώδην φιλορωμαῖον	Ach38
[β]ασιλέα Ἡρώδην εὐσεβῆ καὶ φιλοκαίσαρα	Ach39
Βασιλ[ε]ὺς Ἡρώδ[η]ς	Ach74
Ἡρώδην βασιλέω[ς] Ἡ[ρ]ώδου υἱόν] τετράρχην	Ach69

Bosporan rulers

[β]ασιλεῦντος [β]ασιλέως Ἀσπούργ[ο]υ [φ]ιλορω[μ]αίου	BS17
[β]ασιλεῖν[τος] βασιλέως Κότυος	BS18
Βασιλεῦντος βασιλέως Τιβερίου Ἰουλίου Κότυος φιλοκαίσαρος καὶ φιλορωμαίου εὐσεβοῦς	BS8
[β]ασιλ[ε]όντος βασιλ[ε]ως Κότυος φιλοκαί[σα]ρος καὶ φιλω[ρ]ωμαίου εὐσεβοῦς]	BS23
[β]ασιλ[ε]όντος [Κότυος τοῦ Ἀσπού]ργου φιλο[καί]σαρος καὶ	BS27

φιλορωμαίου	
βασιλεύοντος βασιλέως [(Μιθρ)ιδάτρυ] φιλοΓΕΡΜΑΚΟΥ και	BS20
φιλοπάτριδος	
βασιλεύοντος βασιλέως Τιβερίου Ίουλίου Ήρσκουπόριδος	BS5
φιλοκαίσαρος και φιλορωμαίου εὐσεβοῦς	
βασιλεύοντος βασιλέως Ήρσκουπόριδος φιλοκαίσαρος και	BS22
φιλορωμαίου εὐσεβοῦς	
βασιλεύοντο[ς] βασιλέως Τιβερίου Ίουλίου {λίου} Σαυρομάτου	BS21
φιλοκαίσαρος κ<α>ι φιλορωμ<α>ίου εὐσεβοῦς	
[βασιλεύοντος βασιλέως Τιβερίου Ίουλίου Σαυρομάτου?]	BS25 ⁿ
βασιλεύοντος βασιλέως Τιβερίου Ίουλίου - - - φιλοκαίσαρος και	BS26
φιλορωμ<ι>ου <ε>ὐσε<β>οῦς	
[βασιλεύοντος βασιλέως - - - φιλοκαίσαρος και φιλορωμαίου,	BS6
εὐσεβοῦς]	

VII. Funerary formulae

a. Life and death of the deceased

Age: quae vixit annis	Pan4	Death: [τελευ]τήσασα	Dal4
ἀν(νορουν)	Dal2	Murder: τοὺς δόλοι φονεύσαντας ἢ	
τρι[έ]του (?)	Mac8	φαρμακεύσαντας	Ach70–71
ἐτῶν	Cre1	ἐχχέαντας αὐτῆς τὸ ἀναίτιον αἷμα	
[ἐτ]ῶν δέκα	Ach9	ἀδίκως	Ach70–71
ζήσασα καλῶς [ἐτ] εἴκο[σι]			
καὶ ἐπτά	Dal4		

b. Provision of the tomb

dedico: dedicavit	Moes1	κατασκευάζω: κατεσκεύασα	Mac12
pono: posuic	Dal1	ποιέω: ἐποίει	Ach2
ἐπιγράφω: ἐπέγραψα	Mac7	ἐποίησ[α]	Ach51

c. Terms for tomb

κοιμητήριον:	Ach28	μνημα	Thr3, Ach16–
κυμητήριον	Ach21		18, Ach20,
κυμητήριον	Ach29–30		Ach22?, Ach51
memoria	Dal1	μνημίων	Ach24
memoria[m]	Moes1	τάφος	Mac7–8
μεμορια	Pan1	τάφον	Mac7
μημορια	Pan2	τάφοι	Ach23
μημόριον	Mac10?,	ἐν τῷ τάφῳ τούτῳ	Ach23
	Mac16	χαμωσόρον: τὸ χαμωσόρον	
μημώριον	Mac11		Mac12
μημούρηων	Mac6	ככשח	Ach49

d. Curses and fines against tomb violation

Adjuration	ἐνεύχομαι	πρὸς τῷ μηδένα ἀνασκεύασε τὸ ἐμὸν μνημα	Ach51
------------	-----------------	---	-------

Fine	<ἐάν> τις ἀνύξει τὸν τάφον, δώση τῇ ἀγιοτάτῃ συν<α>γω(γῇ) ἄρ(γύρου) λί(τρων) α΄.	Mac7
	ὅς ἂν δὲ ἐτέρων νέκυν κατάθεσε δώσει προστείμου τῇ συναγωγῇ (δηνάρια) μ(υριάδας) ρ΄	Mac12
	εἰ δὲ τις ἕτερον καταθῇ δώσει ταῖς συναγωγαῖς λα<μπ>ράς (δηνάρια) μ(υριάδας) ζ΄ χ(ιλιάδας) ε΄	Mac15
	ἐὰν> δὲ τεις τούτου τὸν τάφον ἀνορύξῃ, δώσει τῇ ἀγιοτάτῃ συναγωγῇ δυναρίων μυριάδες δέκα	Ach23
Curse on violators	si qu[is dea]sciare voluerit habe[at ir]ata numina quot sibi fi[e]ri non v[oluit] facere non debet	Dal3
Curse on murderers	ἵνα ἐγδικήσῃς τὸ αἷμα τὸ ἀναίτιον ζητήσεις, καὶ τὴν ταχίστην	Dal3
	ἵνα ἐκδικήσῃς τὸ αἷμα τὸ ἀναίτιον καὶ τὴν ταχίστην	Ach70
		Ach71

e. The deceased in the tomb

Manes: D(is) M(anibus)	Pan4, Dal1	ἐνθα κ(εῖται)	BS14
[suo]s Manis colente[s]	Dal3*	ἐνθα χίθη	BS16
“Here lies”: κεῖτε	Ach23	τῆς κεκυμημένης	Thr3
ἐνθάδε κῖτε	Dal4,	ἐνθε κατάκιτε	Thr4
	Mac9,	ἐνθα	Cre3
	Ach75	Repose: ὑπὲρ ἀ[ναπ]αύσεω[ς]	BS13

f. Wishes for / addressed to the deceased

Farewell: χαῖρε	Ach9?, Ach31?, BS19	ἐν ἱρήνῃ - -] ἐν [εἰρήνῃ Θε]οῦ □η>□	Ach75 Dal4 BS13
Memory: <μ>νείας χάριν	Cre1, Cre2?	Consolation: τάφοι <ἐ>κό<ν>(των) ἡ κ(αὶ) ἀ[ε]κόν]των ἐπὶ γῆ[ς] ἀνθρ]ώπων	Ach23
μνίας χάριν	Mac15		
μνήμη δικέας ἰς ἐῶνα	Cre3		
Peace: ἐρίνη [καὶ] ἀν<ά>παυσις	BS13		

g. Addressed to the reader

Farewell: [χαί]ροις ἀνθρώπων πεπ[νυμέν]ε ὅστις ὑπάρχει Ach1

VIII. Formulae of benefactions

a. Verbs used for benefactions

ἀνατίθημι (cf. IXa): [ἀνέθηκαν]	δῶρον (no verb)	Ach54
BS27	ἐπισκευάζω: ἐ[πε]σκεύασαν	BS1
ἀνέθηκεν	Thr5	
ἀναθεῖναι	Ach45	κατασκευάζω: κατασκευάσαντα
ἀναθένθα	Ach66	Ach66
[Ἀπόλλωνι ἀνεθηκαν?]	Ach69	κοσμέω: ἐκόσμησεν Thr1
		μουσειόω: ἐμουσώθη Ach59

οικοδομέω: οἰκοδομήσας	τῷ ποιήσαντι	Mac17
	BS4	
οἰκοδόμησα	Ach58	στεγάζω: στεγάσα[ντες] BS1
ποιέω: ἐποίησεν	Thr2	restituo: [restituit] Pan5

b. Circumstances, source and nature of benefaction

Personal circumstances: ὁ πολλὰ	μηδὲν ὅλως παραψάμενος τῶν	
ἀποδημήσας καὶ ἀποστατήσας	ἀγίων	Mac1
ἔτη δέκα ἕξ	BS4	
ἐν πολλοῖς θλίψεσι γενόμενος	Size of benefaction:	
BS4	[vetu]state [collapsam a so]lo	
σωθέντες [ἐκ μεγάλων κιν]δύνων	[restituit]	Pan5
BS27	στεγάζω: στεγάσα[ντες] ἀπὸ τοῦ θε<μελί>ου	
σωθεῖσα ταῖς ὑφ' αὐτοῦ θαραπήαις	μέχρι [- -]	BS1
Ach62	ἐκ θεμελίου	BS4
σωθίς	ἔχ θεμελίων	Ach58
ἐνύπνιον ἰδὼν	πό(δας) ρκ'	Thr2
Source: τῇ ἐαυ[τῶν] προνοίᾳ	χρύσιναι ρε'	Ach58
BS1	χρύσιναι πε'	Ach58
ἐκ τῶν τῆς προνοίας	Arrangements for changing provision:	
Thr1-2	ὅς ἂν δὲ βουληθῇ τι καινοτομήσαι	
ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων	παρὰ τὰ ὑπ' ἐμοῦ δοχθέντα,	
Ach66	δώσει τῷ πατριαρχῇ δηναρίων	
ἐκ τῶν οἰκείων χρημάτων	Mac1	
Mac1	<μ>υριάδας εἴκοσι πέντε	
ἐκ τῶν τοῦ Θε(εο)ῦ δωρεῶν	Ach58	
Ach58		
[ἐκ τῆς πρ]ο[σ]όδοις τῆς συναγ(ωγῆ)ς		
Ach59		

c. Votive formulae

Vow: vot(um) red(dit) l(ibens)	Pan3	καθὼς ἡξάμην	BS5, BS6?
εὐχὴν	Thr5,	ἐπὶ προσευχῇ	Ach65
	Mac3-5,	ἐπὶ προσευχῇ τοῦ Θε[οῦ]	Ach66
	Ach60-62,	Thank-offering: χαριστήριον	Ach63
	BS4, BS27	On behalf of: ὑπὲρ ἐαυτοῦ	Ach63
εὐχῆς ἕνεκεν	Mac1	καὶ [ὑπὲρ] τῶν ἀδελφῶν καὶ τῆς	
εὐξάμενος	BS4	μ[η]τρὸς]	Ach68
[εὐξ]αμένης αὐτῇ[ς]	BS23	ὑπὲρ [εὐπλ[ύ]ας?]	Ach73
κατ' εὐχὴν	BS6?, BS20	Well-being: pro sal(ute) d(omini)	
κατὰ εὐχὴν	BS21	n(ostri)	Pan3
κατὰ εὐχῇ[v] μου	BS5	[pro salute im]p(eratorum)	Pan5

IX. Manumissions

a. Verbs of manumission

ἀνατίθημι (cf. VIIIa): [ἀν]ατίθησι	ἀφίημι:	BS6?, BS7,
BS17		BS22,
ἀνέθηκεν	BS20	BS25"?
ἀποδίδωμι: ἀπέδοτο τῷ	ἀφείημι	BS5
'Απόλλωνι τῷ Πυθίῳ	ἀφείομεν	BS21
Ach42-43	ἀφί[ησι]	BS23
ἀπέδοτο τῷ 'Απόλλωνι		
Ach44		

b. Words for (ex-)slave

ἀφετός: ἄφετοι	BS18	[θρεπτήν μου]	BS25 ⁿ
καὶ ἔσταν ἄφετ[οι]	BS18	τὸν ἑαυτοῦ [θρ]επ[τόν]	BS17
ἐλεύθερος: ἐλευθερὸν καθάπαξ		[ἐμ]α[υ]τῆς θρεπ[τήν]	BS7
	BS5	θ[ρ]επτήν ἑαυτοῦ	BS20
[ἐλευθέραν]	BS21	τὴν θρεπ[τήν] ἡμῶν	BS21
[ἐλευθ]έραν	BS25 ⁿ	τοὺς ἔ[μο]ους θρεπτοῦς]	BS6
[ἐλευθέρ]ους	BS22	σῶμα: σῶμα[τα ἀνδρεῖα?]	BS6
[ἐλευθέρους καθάπαξ?]	BS6	σῶμα ἀνδρεῖον	Ach42,
γενόμενος ἐλεύθερος	Ach64		Ach44
θρεπτός: [τὸν θρεπτόν?]	BS23	σώματα γυναικεῖα τρία	Ach43
θρεπτόν μου	BS5	τροφή: μου τροφῆς	BS22

c. Terms and conditions of manumission

Protection of the ex-slave	<ἀ>νεπίληπτον καὶ ἀπαρενόχλητον ἀπὸ π<α>ντὸς κληρονόμο[υ]	BS5
	[ἀνεπιλήπτους καὶ ἀπα]ρανοχλήτο[υς ἀπὸ τ' ἐμοῦ καὶ πα]ντὸς κληρογόμ[ου]	BS6
	ὅπως ἐστὶν ἀπαρενόχλητος καὶ ἀνεπίληπτος ἀπὸ παντὸς κληρονόμου	BS7
	ἀνεπίλ<η>πτοι, ἀνεπικόλυτοι	BS18
	ἐφ' ᾧ ἢ ἀνέπαφος καὶ ἀνεπηρέαστος ἀπὸ παντὸς κληρονόμ[ου]	BS20
	ἐ[φ'] ᾧ ὧσιν ἀνέ[π]αφοι καὶ ἀνεπηρέαστοι ἀπὸ παντὸς κληρονόμου μου	BS22
	ἐφ' ᾧ ἢ ἀ[νέ]παφος καὶ ἀνεπηρέαστος ἄ[πό] τε ἐμοῦ καὶ παντὸς μο[υ] κληρονόμου	BS24
	[ἀνεπάφ]ους καὶ ἀνεπη[ρέαστους ἀπὸ παντὸς] κληρονόμου	BS25 ⁿ
	ἐ<φ>' ᾧ ἄ[νέ]παφος ἢ καὶ ἀ[νε]πη[ρέαστος ἀπ]ό τε ἡμῶν καὶ παν[τ]ὸς κληρονόμ[ω]ν ἡμῶν]	BS25 ⁿ
	ἀνεπικωλύτως	BS5
	ἐφ' ὧτε ἐλεύθερον εἶμεν καὶ ἀνέφαπτον ἀπὸ πάντων τὸμ πάντα βίον	Ach42
	ἐφ' ὧτε ἐλεύθεραι εἶμεν καὶ ἀνέφαπτοι ἀπὸ πάντων τὸν πάντα βίον	Ach43
	ὥσ[τε] ἐλεύθερος εἶμεν καὶ ἀνέφαπτος ἀπὸ πάν[των] τ[ὸν] πάντα βίον.	Ach44
	εἰ δὲ τις ἄπτοιτο ἐπὶ καταδουλισμῶι αὐτῶν, βέβαιον παρεχέτω ὃ τε ἀποδόμενος 'Ατεισίδας καὶ ὁ βεβαιωτὴρ Εὐδοκος	Ach43
	ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ οἱ παρα[τ]υγχάνοντες κύριοι έόντω συλέοντες αὐτάς ὡς ἐλευθέραις εἰσας ἀξάμιοι έόντες καὶ ἀνυπόδικοι πάσας δίκας καὶ ζαμίας	Ach43
	εἰ δὲ μὴ παρέχουσιν	Ach43
	βέβαιον τὰν ὧν τῶι θεῶι ὃ τε ἀποδόμενος καὶ ὁ βεβαιωτὴρ πράκτιμοι έόντω	

	κατὰ τὸν νόμον	
	εἰ δέ τις ἐφάπτοιτο Ἀμύντα ἐπὶ	Ach44
	καταδουλισμῶι, κύριος ἔστω συλῶν ὁ	
	παρατυχῶν ὥς] ἐλεύθερον ὄντα καὶ ὁ	
	βεβαιωτὴρ βεβαιούτω τὰν ὀνάν τῶι [θε]ῶι	
Freedom of movement /	[τ]ρέπεσ<θ>αι αὐτὸν ὅπου ἂν βούλη[τ]αι	BS5
action	τρ[έ]πεσ[θ]αί τε αὐτοὺς [ὅπ]ου ἂν βούλωνται	BS22
	εἶν[αι] αὐτοῖς τρέπεσθαι ἂν]επικωλύτως	BS6
	ἄν[ε]υ πάσης ἀμφισ[β]ητήσεως	
	[καὶ τρέπεσθαι αὐτοὺς] τ' ἐξουσίως [ὅπου ἂν	BS25 ⁿ
	βούλωνται]	
	[ὅπου ἂ]ν γῆς βούλωνται	BS6
	διεξελεῖν ἐλεύθερο[ς] ἀπίτω Μόσχος οὗ ἂν	Ach45
	αὐτὸς βούληται	
	ποιέων ὁ κα θέληι	Ach42
Paramonē	[ἐπὶ παραμ]ονῇ μέχρι τῆς ζωῆς μου - -]	BS6
	παραμειν[ά]τω] δὲ Ἀμύντας παρὰ Ἰουδαῖον,	Ach44
	ἕως κα ζῇ Ἰουδαῖος, ποιέων τὸ	
	ποτιτασσόμενον πᾶν τὸ δυνά[το]ν	
	εἰ δὲ μὴ, κύριος ἔστω Ἰουδαῖος [ἐπι]τιμέων	Ach44
	Ἀμύνται ὥς κα φαίνηται αὐτῶι πλάμ μὴ	
	πωλέ[ων]	
	[παραμένειν ἐνιαυ]τον καὶ εἶναι ἐλεύθερον	Ach45
	μη[θεν]ὶ μηθ[έν] προσήκοντα	
After manumittor's death	τελευτήσαντός μου	BS6
	ποιήσουσιν πᾶ[ν]τα μετὰ δὲ τήν] τελευτήν	BS6
	εὐάρεστοι τῇ μ[ητρί] μου?	BS6
	ἐπ[ε]ὶ δὲ καὶ τι π[άθ]η Ἰουδαῖος, ἐλεύθερος	Ach44
	ἔστω [Ἀμύν]τας	
	ἐάν δέ τι πάθῃ Φρυνίδας πρὸ τοῦ τὸ γ χρόνον	Ach45
Obligations to the prayer-	χωρὶς ἰς τ[ή]ν προσευχὴν θωπείας τε καὶ	BS5
house	προσκαρτερήσεως	
	χ[ωρὶς] εἰς τήν] προσευχὴν θωπείας τε καὶ	BS6
	προσ[καρτ]ερήσεως	
	χωρὶς εἰς τήν προ<σ>ευχὴν προσκαρτερήσεως	BS18
	καὶ θωπείας	
	τῆς θωπεί[ας] ἔνεκα? καὶ] προσκαρ[τερ]ήσεως	BS17
	χωρὶς τοῦ προσκαρτερεῖν τῇ προσευχῇ	BS7
	προσμέ[νου]σα τῇ προσευχ[ῇ]	BS24
Price of manumission	τιμᾶς ἀργυρίου μνᾶν τεσσάρων	Ach42
	τιμᾶς ἀργυρίου μνᾶν ἐπτά, καὶ τὰν τιμὰν	Ach43
	ἔχει πᾶσαν	
	ἐπ' ἐλευθερίαι τιμᾶς ἀργυρίου μνᾶν πέντε,	Ach44
	καὶ τὰν τιμᾶν ἔ]χει	
Miscellaneous	διὰ τὸ κύριο[ν] κελευθῆναι ὑπ' ἐμοῦ	BS22

d. Consent to and endorsement of manumission

By heir / family	συνεπινευσάντων δὲ καὶ τῶν κληρ<ο>νόμων μου	BS5
	[συνεπι]νεύσαντος δὲ καὶ τοῦ πατρός μου	BS22
By Jewish community	συνεπαινεούσας Ξενοφανείας τᾶς [μα]τρὸς Κλευδάμου	Ach42
	συνευδοκέοντος τοῦ υἱοῦ	Ach44
	συνεπιτροπευούσης δὲ καὶ τῆς συναγωγῆς τῶν Ἰουδαίων	BS5–6, BS9?
	συνεπιτροπεύουσης τῆς συναγωγ[γῆς] τῶν Ἰουδαίων	BS18
	ἐπιτροπευούσης τῆς συναγωγῆς τῶν Ἰουδαίων καὶ θεὸν σεβῶν	BS7
By city / citizens	βεβαιωτήρες κατὰ τὸν νόμον τᾶς πόλιος	Ach42
	βεβαιωτὴρ κατὰ τὸν νόμον τᾶς πόλιος	Ach43
	βεβαιωτὴρ	Ach44
	μάρτυρες	Ach45
	μάρτυρες καὶ τοὶ ἄρχοντες ἰδιῶται	Ach42–43
By gods	μάρτυροι οἱ ἄρχοντες[ς] καὶ ἰδιῶται ὑπὸ Δία Γῆν Ἥλιον	Ach44 BS20, BS22, BS25 ⁿ ?
	καθὼς ἐπίστευσε Ἰουδαῖος τῷ θεῷ τὰν ὄντων	Ach42
	καθὼς ἐπίστευσε Ἀντιγόνα καὶ Θεωδώρα καὶ Δωροθέα τῷ θεῷ τὰν ὄντων	Ach43
	καθὼς πεπίστευκε τὰν ὄντων τῷ θεῷ	Ach44
	μάρτυρες τοὶ ἱερεῖς τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος	Ach42
	μάρτυροι ὁ ἱερεὺς τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος	Ach43
	τύχη ἀγαθῇ	Ach45
	ὁ Ἀμφιάραιος καὶ ἡ Ὑγιεία	Ach45
	τοῦ θεοῦ Ἀμφιαράου καὶ τῆς Ὑγιείας	Ach45

X. Other words

a. Greek words not indexed elsewhere

ἀβολέω: ἀβ[ολεῖτ]ε	Ach2	δέ	Mac1, Mac7,
ἄμα	Mac17		Ach1–2, Ach7, Ach69
αὐτός: αὐτοῦ	Cre1		
αὐτῆς	Mac7	δεσποτεία: τὴν <δ>εσποτείαν	Mac1
αὐτόν	Ach53*		
ἐαυτόν	Ach38*	δῆμος: ὁ δῆμος	Ach38*–39*
ἐαυτὸ	Mac12	τῷ δῆμ[ω]	Ach74*
ἐαυτῷ	Mac15	διὰ	Mac1
βίος: βίου	Mac1	ἐγώ	Mac7
βωμός: τῷ βωμῷ	Ach45	ἐμέ	Mac1
γάρ	Mac1, Ach2	μοι	Mac1
γίγνομαι: γενό[μενον?]	Ach56	εἰς	Ach38*
γράφω: γράψαντα	Ach45	ἐλαύνω: ἐλάεσθε	Ach2

ἐν	Ach45	οὗτος: τοῦτω	Mac12
ἐξουσία: τὴν ἐξουσίαν	Mac1	οὕτως: οὕτω	Mac1
ἐπί	Ach42, Ach70–71	πᾶς: πάντα	BS6
ἐπίγραμμα: [τὸ] ἐπίγραμμα		παντός	Mac1
	Ach2	πάντων	Mac1
εὐθύ:	Ach2	πᾶσαν	Mac1
ἔφηβος: ἔφηβοι	Ach53*	ποιέω: ποιεῖσθαι	Mac1
ἔχω: ἔχειν	Mac1	πολύς: πολλῶν	Ach51
θιασώτης: [οἱ θιασῶ]τα[ι]	Ach41*	πρός	Ach45
κατά: καθ'	Ach45	προσοδεύω: προσοδεύθ<ησαν>	Ach58
κέ for καί:	Mac17, Ach6, Ach20, Ach28, Ach72, Cre3	προστάσσω: προστάξαντος	Ach45
μέν	Mac1	στεφανόω: ἐστεφάνωσαν	Ach41*
μετά	Ach51, BS23	στήλην	Ach45
μόχθος: μόχθων	Ach51	σύν	Mac1, BS21, BS25
νῦν	Ach69	συντάσσω: συνέταξε	Ach45
ὀδέ: τοῖσδε	Ach42	συνδοκέω: συνέδοξεν	Mac1
ὀνέω: ὀνήσσει	Ach2	τιμή: τὴν τιμήν	Ach51
ὄς	Mac1	ὑπό:	BS4
ᾧ	Ach45	ὑπ'	Ach53*
ὄν	Ach56	φυλάσσω(?): [φυ]λαξ[ι] -]	Ach2
τό	Ach51	χρόνος: ὁ ... χρόνος	Ach2
ὅσος: ὅσσοι	Ach2	χρόνοις	Ach48
οὐδέν	Ach2	ὥσ[περ?]	BS6

b. Latin words not indexed elsewhere

quidquid: quitquit	Dal3	sive: sivi	Dal3
quisque: qu<i>sque	Dal3	suus: sui (for suae)	Moes1
quod: quot	Dal3	unus	Dal3
se: sibi	Moes1	vel	Dal3
suo (for se)	Moes1	vivus: vivo	Moes1

c. Hebrew words not indexed elsewhere

בְּחָרָה: [ר]בְּחָרָה	BS2	רָשָׁה	Ach50
בְּחָרָה: רָשָׁה	Ach50		

d. Unidentified words

ἀπολ[- -]	BS17	κορ	Mac1 ⁿ
ασκα	Moes2	νιас	Mac8
ελκι	Moes2	νιος	Moes2
θун	BS11	οιδιο	Ach48
[ἐ]ν τῷ θυν[- - -]	BS25	ολονκαιτο	Ach66
ιτάδι	BS6	στησει	Ach69
κακου	BS7	τον[- -]	Ach66

נער[- - -]	BS13
[- -]+שלמ	Ach36bis
[- - -]שרי	Dal5

e. Names from Appendix 1

Abraham: אברהם	App4, App6	HRPYDL: הרפידיל	App4
Amos: אמץ	App6	Judah: יהודה	App1
Balakos: בלאקוס	App6	Menahem: מנחם	App6
Daniel: Δανιήλ	App2	Miriam: מרים	App6
Esther: אסטר	App6	Moses: משה	App6
Hannah: חנה	App3	Shabbetai: שבתי	App5

f. Names from Appendix 2

Aelius: Αιλίου	App17	Pistos : Πίστος	App19
Alexander: [A]λεξάνδρου	App15	Procopius : Προκοπίου	App19
Diocles: Διοκλήους	App13	Pytha: Πυθα	App12
Dionysia: [Διονυσία	App15	Samuel: Σαμουήλ?	App12
Hermes: Έρμης	App21	Sanbathis: Σανβάθι<ς>	App21
Hypeirochus: Ύπειροχος	App17	Satyrus: Σατύρως	App20
Julius: Ιούλιος Έσ[- -]	App10	Seppon: [Σ]έππωνος	App8
Martha: Μάρθα	App13, App14	Silvanus, Aelius	App7
Mercator, P. Aelius	App7	Simon: Σίμων	App9
Moses: Μωσής	App20	Theodulus: Θεοδούλου	App20
Nicias: Νικίου	App14	Zenodorus: Ζηνοδώρου?	App16
Pammenus: Παμμένον	App17		