

Five Inscriptions from Jaffa

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The necropolis at Jaffa is known from the many burial caves excavated in and around what is today Abu Kabir, located east of the old city, between the present-day Herzl and Kibbutz Galuyoth streets. The caves were uncovered and investigated haphazardly, beginning with their first discovery by a western scholar, Ch. Clermont-Ganneau, in 1872. When he arrived at the site he discovered many of the tombs laid bare during recent quarrying for building materials — the soft stone made the place congenial for both excavating burial caves in ancient times and the modern quarrying of building stone — and on further inquiry he found out that various ancient objects, including stones with inscriptions, had been taken out of the caves by the workers there. He requested to see one, and it turned out to be one of the more important inscriptions from Jaffa, the epitaph of Hezekiah, *phrontistes* of Alexandria.¹ Over several more years of exploration Clermont-Ganneau discovered many more inscriptions, and published them *seriatim*.²

Yet he was not alone. Archaeologists, collectors and dealers descended on the site looking for inscriptions, pottery, coins, glass, artwork and other potentially valuable antiquities. Local inhabitants had some inscriptions in their homes, other stones were in fact used in recent tombs,³ and of course many of the caves were broken into and looted for anything of value. As a result, a great deal of valuable information was lost when the stones were ripped from their context. The facts that most caves were looted before being explored by archaeologists, and that many inscriptions were offered to archaeologists and collectors after being removed from their site, make the use of this group of texts and the ‘reading’ of the caves extremely limited for questions regarding the history of the site, particularly: who the Jews at Jaffa were, how long the community existed and under what conditions, where Jaffa’s Jews came from, what the relation was between the Jewish community in Jaffa and the necropolis, and so forth.

As happens in cases of a rich archaeological site with uncontrolled excavation, the ancient objects were dispersed to various locations. The inscriptions from Jaffa can be found today in museums throughout Europe, although a large number were kept together as the collection of the Baron Plato von Ustinow, a colorful and wealthy

¹ CII 918; Ch. Clermont-Ganneau, *Archaeological Researches in Palestine II* (1896), 5.

² The Jaffa inscriptions published up to the end of the 1930s are reproduced in CII II nos. 892-960 (the volume came out in 1952, but very little material was added after Frey’s death in 1939), listing Clermont-Ganneau’s publications. Cf. also S. Klein, *Jüdisch-palästinisches Corpus Inscriptionum (Ossuar-, Grab- und Synagogeninschriften)* (Berlin 1920), nos. 110-56, 176-9; J. Oehler, *MGWJ* 53 (1909), 295-6; Semitic inscriptions from Jaffa also in J. Pedersen, *Inscriptiones Semiticae Collectionis Ustinowianae* (Oslo 1928).

³ Clermont-Ganneau, *Arch. Res.* (n. 1), 131 records the case of a man who had just put two ancient marble slabs in the tomb of his mother.

Russian aristocrat who lived in Jaffa from 1877-1913, and tirelessly amassed a huge number of valuable antiquities from the Holy Land, including a large number of objects from Jaffa itself, in order 'to save them from destruction'.⁴ The Ustinow collection is housed today in the University Museum of Cultural Heritage (The Collection of Mediterranean Antiquities) at the University of Oslo.⁵ Seven Hebrew/Aramaic texts from this collection were moved to Israel about 30 years ago.⁶

Burial caves continued to be discovered (most of them previously plundered) as Tel Aviv-Jaffa grew and much of the area of the necropolis at Abu Kabir developed into a densely inhabited residential and commercial area. Starting in the year 1950 and continuing for a period of about 30 years, Jacob Kaplan (d. 1989), who was head of the antiquities museum in Jaffa during that time, excavated the area in no systematic fashion, but as the need arose on the heels of building or repair projects. He excavated eight caves in all, and among his finds were the inscriptions published here.⁷ Only one of the texts was ever presented in full, but with significant errors.⁸

Of the more than 50 caves found and excavated so far in the Jaffa necropolis, only one is a single burial; all others are multiple burials, organized, so far as can be determined, in family groupings, as is to be expected. Altogether, more than 80 inscriptions have been recovered to date, including the five published here and six more found in salvage excavations by Yossi Levi and soon to be published in the excavation report.⁹ There are no dated texts in the entire corpus, but this should cause no surprise or special disappointment, for dated Jewish texts are extremely rare (the Jewish inscriptions from Zoar are a dramatic exception). In the absence of archaeological context, one resorts to

⁴ From a letter about the Baron and his collection, quoted by I. Skupinska-Løvset, *The Ustinov Collection: The Palestinian Pottery* (Oslo 1976), 17.

⁵ The Keeper of Mediterranean Antiquities, Prof. Laszlo Berczelly, estimates that the museum today possess about 40-45 percent of the original Ustinow collection of antiquities, but the percentage of Jewish inscriptions is somewhat higher.

⁶ Z. Ilan, 'Jaffa Epitaphs Return to Israel', *Qardom* 15 (1981), 57-9 (Hebr.). In fact there was supposed to be a large exchange of antiquities, with all of the inscriptions from the Ustinow collection being transferred to Israel in return for some items in which the Oslo museum was interested, but in the end only the seven stones were relinquished.

⁷ My gratitude to Zvi Shacham of the Antiquities Museum of Tel Aviv-Jaffa, who provided access to the stones and much valuable assistance.

⁸ B. Lifshitz, 'Varia Epigraphica', *Euphrosyne* 6 (1974), 23-48 at 29-32 = *SEG* XXVI 1669. So far as I can tell, Kaplan did not even mention the discovery of all the stones published here in his brief notices of excavations at Abu Kabir, which are as follows (the date in parentheses at the end of each reference indicates the year of excavation): *RB* 82 (1975), 262 (1972). *HA* 11 (1964), 22 (1964); 18-19 (1966), 9 (1966); 48-9 (1974), 59 (1972). *BMH* 3 (1961), 7-8 (1960); 7 (1965), 70 (1963); 9 (1967), 32 (1966); 15/16 (1972/3), 35-6 (1973). *IEJ* 24 (1974), 137 (1972). In *The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land* IV, ed. E. Stern (1993), 1456, Kaplan mentions only one inscription found in eight caves excavated at Abu Kabir. All of Kaplan's excavation files are summarized by R. Bar-Nathan, 'The Jacob Kaplan and Haya Ritter-Kaplan Legacy', *HA* 114 (2002), 104-9. In general see his 'The Archaeology and History of Tel Aviv-Jaffa', *Biblical Archaeologist* 35 (1972), 66-95, and his earlier account, *The Archaeology and History of Tel Aviv-Jaffa* (Ramat Gan 1959) (Hebr.).

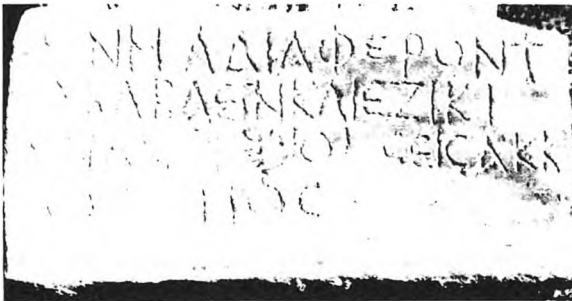
⁹ The final tally will be known when all unpublished texts have been studied and published.

the less secure technique of letter-forms. The writing on the five texts published here would fit well into the third to fifth centuries, but this does not rule out earlier or later dating. We shall discuss dating further in the last part of this paper.

There is little doubt that the necropolis at Jaffa was exclusively (or at least: nearly exclusively) Jewish. There are very few inscriptions in Jaffa which, if found out of context, would not have been identified as Jewish. Although Greek preponderates, most have some reliable sign, such as a Jewish symbol, an exclusively Jewish name or title, or Hebrew or Aramaic words.¹⁰ In this sense the linguistic character of the Jaffa corpus is much like that of Beth She'arim, where Greek texts are in the majority but there is no shortage of Jewish expression. Only in Jerusalem are the majority of inscriptions in Hebrew or Aramaic.¹¹

All stones found by Kaplan show signs of secondary use, but their primary use can only be guessed in all cases. Let us begin with the text already published.

I. The Tomb of Babaeis and Ezekias (?)¹²



White limestone slab, smoothed face and back, rough unfinished edges; concave face. Top of stone broken, but the text is complete.

Dimensions of stone: 42 x 21 x 4.5 cm.

Dimensions of letters: 2.5- 3.5 cm., shallowly incised.

The letters are carved competently but inconsistently: for instance, there are three styles of alpha, with straight cross-bar, v-shaped crossbar and one slanting upwards from bottom left hasta; most but not all have an extended top point. Epsilons and omegas are curved, without straight edges, as opposed to stick-figure psi.

The symbol in the middle of the third line seems to be a menorah without a base, such as is sometimes found on Jewish funerary monuments, e.g. Jason's tomb in Jerusalem.¹³

¹⁰ Of the 69 inscriptions in *CII*, seven are solely in Hebrew or Aramaic, and 15 are bilingual (Greek/Semitic), although many of these have just the word מלך .

¹¹ See my 'The Languages of the Ossuaries from Jerusalem', in H.M. Cotton and J.J. Price, 'Corpus Inscriptionum Iudaeae/Palaestinae: A Multilingual Corpus of Inscriptions', forthcoming in the Proceedings of the Twelfth International Congress of the International Society of Greek and Roman Epigraphy.

¹² This stone was apparently what Kaplan described in his terse reports in *HA* 18-19 (1966), 9 and *BMH* 9 (1967), 32.

¹³ See L.Y. Rahmani, 'Representations of the Menorah on Ossuaries', in H. Geva (ed.), *Ancient Jerusalem Revealed* (Jerusalem 1994), 239-43; A. Negev, 'The Chronology of the Seven-Branched Menorah', *Eretz-Israel* 8 (1967), 193-210 (Hebr.). In general, E.R. Goodenough, *Jewish Symbols of the Greco-Roman Period* IV (New York 1954), 71-98; XII (1965), 79-83.

Abu Kabir, next to the Moroccan Synagogue. IAA no. 95-133.
Autopsy: 4 November 2001.

MNMAΔΙΑΦΕΡONT
ABABAEINKAIEZIKI
ANANĒΨ(menorah)IOICEICAKK
WZWNOC

Μν<ῆ>μα διαφέρουτ-
α Βαβαειν καὶ Ἐζικί-
αν ἀνεψιοῖς Εἰςὰκ Κ-
ώζωνος

The tomb belonging to Babaeis and Ezekias, cousins (or nephews) of Isaac *Kozon*(?).

Line 1.

The stonemason forgot the H in μνῆμα, perhaps because of the similarity between H and N.

While the word διαφέρειν does not mean ‘belong to’ in classical Greek, this sense is well-attested in patristic literature¹⁴ and especially in papyri¹⁵ and inscriptions,¹⁶ including four Jewish inscriptions from Jaffa itself, and another from Caesarea.¹⁷ In these parallel occurrences, the term does not necessarily convey a legal determination, so that we cannot be certain that it has specific legal connotations here. The easiest way to understand the epitaph would be to assume that the word διαφέροντα means simply that Babaeis and Ezekias were buried in that tomb. If however the word διαφέροντα does refer to legal title, then only two things could be meant: 1) their heirs held title, since they were dead; 2) they were not dead, but only asserting legal ownership, and as such this inscription might have been placed at the front of a family burial plot, with each individual family member designated more simply in the place where he lay (if this is the correct interpretation, then it is not clear whether the Isaac mentioned in the inscription was alive or dead when the stone was set up).

The form of the word διαφέροντα is odd, since the neuter participle, which seems to be the intention of the author, should properly be διαφέρον. Apparently the ending -τα was suggested by attraction to the ending of the neuter noun μνῆμα, a phenomenon of which there is another example at Jaffa (*CII* 937). Thus, as Clermont-Ganneau recognized, διαφέροντα is a solecism.¹⁸

More puzzling are the case-endings of the nouns following διαφέροντα. The names Βαβαειν and Ἐζικίαν appear to be in the accusative. The verb διαφέρειν, when used in

¹⁴ G.W.H. Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon* (Oxford 1961), s.v. (p. 362).

¹⁵ PLond. 940, 28; PStrass. I.22, 22 and 26, 5; further examples in F. Preisigke, *Wörterbuch der griechischen Papyruskunden* (Berlin 1927), s.v. (col. 368).

¹⁶ See e.g. the numerous examples mentioned by E. Sironen, *Late Roman and Early Byzantine Inscriptions of Athens and Attica* (Helsinki 1997), 386-400.

¹⁷ *CII* 937, 938, 947 and 955; C.H. Lehmann and K.G. Holum, *The Greek and Latin Inscriptions from Caesarea Maritima. The Joint Expedition to Caesarea Maritima, Excavation Reports V* (2000), nos. 172, 187, 199, 212, 249, 250, 288.

¹⁸ *PEFQS* 1900, 115 n. 14.

the sense of ‘belong to’, would seem naturally to require the dative case,¹⁹ but there are tens if not hundreds of instances — in Jewish, Christian and pagan documents — in which διαφέρειν takes either the accusative or the genitive.²⁰ Thus in the first centuries CE, there was no ‘norm’, at least in spoken Greek, from which this text deviates. Yet ἀνεψιόϊς is dative, and it is in apposition to the two names. It could be that both names are undeclined (although Ezekias in its various forms in Greek is often declined), or it could be that the two names are two-case names, i.e., nominative and a second case for all the oblique cases.²¹ A third possibility is simply that the cases are mixed up, and this did not sufficiently bother the engraver or the owner of the tomb.

Line 2.

The name Βαβαειν — an accusative of Βαβαειν? — is without exact parallel, but there are enough close parallels to identify its probable origin. Ezra 2:11, in the list of the heads of households going out from Babylonian exile, mentions בני בבי, which in the Septuagint is rendered υἱοὶ Βαβι. The name is a personal name (and not a family name, as in Ezra) in M.Shek. 5:1, which mentions a בני בבי, and similarly there is a בבי בן in M.Erub. 2:4 and a בבי בן בטי in M.Ker. 6:3. Josephus also mentions the sons of a Jew named Baba (*AJ* 15.260: but mss. differ as to the form of the name) and there is a Yosef (son of) Βαβα/Βββ in documents from the Judaean Desert.²² These are all Jewish instances. A Christian Βαβας was found in Apollonia.²³ Thus there were two basic forms of the name, Baba and Babi/e, and the name on this inscription combines both variants. Moreover, although there are similar names in pagan contexts,²⁴ and therefore it is not an exclusively Biblical name, there were perhaps separate origins for the name in the Jewish/Christian and non-Biblical traditions.

¹⁹ M. Schwabe and B. Lifshitz, *Beth She‘arim II: The Greek Inscriptions* (Jerusalem 1967) (Hebr.), no. 142.

²⁰ In *CII* 937, 938 and 955 from Jaffa it takes the genitive.

²¹ This was suggested to me by Leah di Segni.

²² XHev/Se 64, l. 11 and 33, in H.M. Cotton and A. Yardeni, *Aramaic, Hebrew and Greek Documentary Texts from Nahal Hever and Other Sites*, Discoveries in the Judaean Desert XXVII (Oxford 1997), pp. 209 and 210; on p. 218 the authors, following Nöldeke, suggest that the name ‘is probably borrowed from Persian’. P.Yadin 7, ll. 6, 11, 12, 38, 45, 47, in Y. Yadin, J.C. Greenfield, A. Yardeni, B.A. Levine (eds.), *The Documents from the Bar Kokhba Period in the Cave of Letters. Hebrew, Aramaic and Nabataean-Aramaic Papyri* (Jerusalem 2002), text on pp. 80-8. There is also a Babas in Hellenistic Maresha: J.P. Peters and H. Thiersch, *Painted Tombs in the Necropolis of Marissa (Marêshah)* (London 1905), no. 10; cf. D. Oren and U. Rappaport, ‘The Necropolis of Maresha-Beth Govrin’, *IEJ* 34 (1984), 114-53 at 144, positing an Idumaeen origin.

²³ G. Durand, *RB* 1 (1892), 247; id., *RB* 2 (1893), 214-15; B. Lifshitz, ‘Beiträge zur palästinischen Epigraphik’, *ZDPV* 78 (1962), 64-88 at 86; L. di Segni, ‘Εἶς θεός in Palestinian Inscriptions’, *SCI* 13 (1994), 94-115 at 109.

²⁴ Lifshitz (above, n. 8) offered two possible explanations: a *Lallname* such as can be found in many inscriptions from Asia Minor published by L. Robert — Βαβος, Βαβας, Βαβων, Βαβαν — or from Egypt, where Lifshitz found a Βαβει in a papyrus. His second suggestion is that the name is a Syrian cultic name, related to the goddess Βαβία. This seems especially far-fetched.

Lines 2-3.

The names Ezekias and Isaac are of course common names for the period, and they are variously spelled in Jewish sources.²⁵ There are parallels for the spellings of names here. For example, the slightly unusual iota in the second syllable of Ἐζικίας is found in another inscription from Jaffa (*CII* 918), and the form Εἰκάκ is found in Beth She‘arim,²⁶ Egypt²⁷ and elsewhere.

ἀνεψιόϛ. In classical Greek, and in fact through the early period of the Roman empire, ἀνεψιόϛ meant cousin, but in later Greek, from about the third century CE onwards, it could also mean nephew,²⁸ although this meaning did not replace the first.

Lines 3-4.

The name Κωζωνοϛ is a puzzle. It cannot even be stated with certainty whether it is a declined form — a genitive is needed, but Κωζωνοϛ may be either the genitive of Κωζων or an indeclinable form of a rare name. There are suggestive parallels: Κόσων in a Hellenistic epitaph on a limestone stele from Boeotia (*SEG* XXVI, 492), Θεόδωροϛ Κόσωνοϛ on an epitaph of the fourth or third century BCE from Eretria (*SEG* XXVIII 724), Ἀπολλωνικέτεϛ Κώδωνοϛ in a first-century gravestone from Athens (*SEG* XXXII 297).²⁹ These look like the same name as the one in our epitaph, but they are distant in time and place from the stone found at Jaffa.

A final possibility, admittedly far-fetched, is that the name is based on Κωζε, an Edomite national god. In any case, no Jewish parallel from any period is known to me, and since Isaac is himself in the genitive, we cannot be sure whether Kozon(os) is another of his names or his patronym.³⁰

The reason for the appearance of Isaac's name on the tomb inscription of his cousins or nephews can be simply explained by assuming that he was the one who arranged burial.³¹ Alternatively, he could himself be buried in the tomb, although if this is the case, the phrasing of his epitaph is rather strange. An argument could be made that his name appears either because of his importance, i.e., his relatives wanted to be associated with his fame, or conversely because the cousins were well-known and he wished to be

²⁵ For examples see Tal Ilan, *Lexicon of Jewish Names in Late Antiquity* (Tübingen 2002), 95-7 and 174-5.

²⁶ Schwabe and Lifshitz (above, n. 19), nos. 79, 82, 84, 87

²⁷ W. Horbury and D. Noy, *Jewish Inscriptions of Graeco-Roman Egypt* (Cambridge 1992), no. 19.

²⁸ Examples in E.A. Sophocles, *Greek Lexicon of the Roman and Byzantine Periods (from B.C. 146 to A.D. 1100)* (New York, repr. 1957), s.v.

²⁹ I doubt the name has any relation to the Roman name Cossinius (and cf. conjectured Κοσσώνιοϛ, *SEG* XXVI 1254). Leah Di Segni has pointed out to me the similarity to the name Ἰουδαϛ Τωζομου found on a mold for weights, especially if the T of the second name is read as a Γ, which, judging from the drawings, is a possibility, see below, n. 66; if so (and M and N were interchanged), and if this Isaac Kozonos *vel sim.* was the Ioudas' father or somehow related to him within a generation or two, then the dating of this cave would be rather early compared to the others.

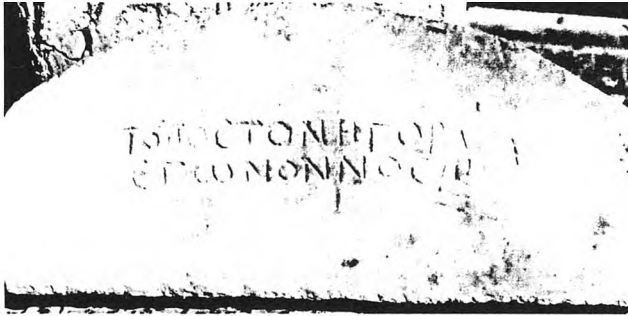
³⁰ Lifshitz (above, n. 8), p. 31 thought it was 'certainment le nom grec de Isaac' but this is not so certain; note that he misread the letter N as M.

³¹ See Lifshitz (above, n. 8).

associated with them; there is no way, however, of knowing for certain. On the other hand, as explained above, if the word διαφέροντα refers to legal title, then Isaac could very well have been dead when the inscription was set up.

II. The Tomb of Nonnos

Yellow-white limestone slab, top shaped into a curve, smoothed front and back, rough



unfinished edges.

Dimensions of stone: 47.5 x 22 x 4 cm.

Dimensions of letters: 1-2 cm. Shallow incised.

Rounded epsilon and omega.

IAA no. 95-137.

Autopsy: 4 November 2001.

ΤΟΠΟΚΤΟΝΗΓΟΡΑΚΑ
ΕΓΩΝΟΝΝΟC (palm branch)

Τόπος τὸν ἠγόρασα
ἐγὼ Νόννος

This is the burial-place which I, Nonnos, bought.

Line 1.

Unlike the first inscription above, the legal intent of this one is beyond doubt. The declaration of purchase of one's burial site is widely paralleled in epigraphy, Jewish and non-Jewish, and in fact there is a very similar one in Jaffa:

Ἠγόρασα ἐγὼ Σαοὺλ / ἐν τῇ Ἰόππῃ παρὰ / Βαρουχίου μνήμα· / ἀνεθήκαμεν πρῶτως Σαοὺλ καὶ / Συνκλητικῆν

'I, Saul, bought (this) tomb in Jaffa from Baruch; we first placed therein Saul and Synkletike' (*CIJ* 953).

It is clear from this inscription that the term ἀγοράζειν was used to indicate legal ownership by the family, and that the purchaser wanted to ensure exclusive rights for his family members.³² Saul not only was alive when he set up his inscription, but he may have had no one to bury at the time. Similarly, Nonnos presumably bought his tomb for more people than just himself, set up the inscription after he made the purchase and identified the deceased with separate inscriptions. So far as I know, however, this is the only inscription Kaplan found in the cave, so that the record of the other family members has been lost.

³² Compare the similar declaration in the Abba inscription from Jerusalem, E.S. Rosenthal, 'The Giv'at ha-Mivtar Inscription', *IEJ* 23 (1973), 72-81 at 77-8; id., 'The Inscription from Giv'at ha-Mivtar', *Praqim* 2 (1969-1974), 335-80 (Hebr.).

Line 2.

There is at Jaffa another Jewish Nonnos, spelled without a double-*nu* (*CII* 909), three more on synagogue inscriptions in Ashkelon (*CII* 964), Beth She'an³³ and Apamea,³⁴ one in Egypt,³⁵ and two different women named Nonna who were buried at Jaffa.³⁶ The name Nonnos also appears in non-Jewish texts as a personal name.³⁷ The name might originally have derived from *νέννος*, uncle, but there is no reason to assume that it is a transliterated form of the nickname *דני*, dwarf.

III. The Tomb of Tryphon the Alexandrian

White limestone with reddish tint, rough unfinished back and edges.

Dimensions of stone: 32 x 30 x 3 cm.

Dimensions of letters: 2.5 – 4 cm. Deeply incised.

Inscriber used serifs on most letters; alpha with v-crossbar and also in cursive style; triangular delta with prolonged diagonal bar; five-stroke xi; rounded omega. In l. 2, the epsilon is very oddly shaped, unlike those in ll. 1 and 3, and is possibly a mistake.

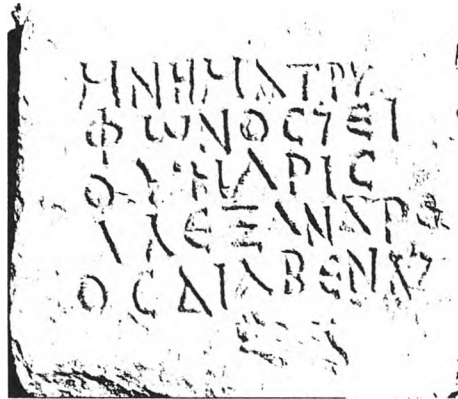
J. Kaplan mentioned this stone, without providing a text, in *IEJ* 24 (1974), 137, *HA* 48-9 (1974) 59, *BMH* 15/16 (1972/3), 35-6 and *RB* 82 (1975), 262, and reported finding a coin of Constantius II (337-61) on the floor of the the burial cave.

Abu Kabir, Kibbutz Galuyoth Street. IAA no. 95-134.

Autopsy: 4 November 2001.

MNHMATPY
ΦWNOCTEI
OYMAPIC
ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΕ
ΟCΔΙΑΒΕΝΑ(?)
(unclear symbol)

μνήμα Τρύ-
φωνος υεί-
ου Μαρικ
'Αλεξανδρέ-
ος Διαβενά ..



The memorial of Tryphon son of Maris, the Alexandrian, from Adiabene(?).

- ³³ He is from Cyzicus: N. Zori, 'The House of Kyrios Leontis at Beth She'an', *IEJ* 16 (1966), 123-34 at 133, no. 5.
- ³⁴ *IGLS* IV, 1337, restored.
- ³⁵ Horbury-Noy (n. 27), no. 128.
- ³⁶ One in *CII* 917, the other mentioned in an inscription found in the salvage excavations at Jaffa soon to be published. Another one is in G. Lüderitz, *Corpus jüdischer Zeugnisse aus der Cyrenaika, mit einem Anhang von Joyce M. Reynolds* (Wiesbaden 1983), no. 44 k.
- ³⁷ See examples in P.M. Fraser and E. Matthews, *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names I* (Oxford 1987), 340; IIIa (1997), 330; IIIb (2000), 312. It is uncertain whether the epitaph of Nonnos and Entolios at Caesarea is Jewish, see Lehmann-Holum (above, n. 17), no. 157.

Line 1.

Tryphon is a common Greek name for both Jews and non-Jews throughout the Roman world.³⁸ The form Τρύφωνος instead of Τρύφονος is unexceptional. The Hebrew name Tarphon (תַּרְפוֹן) is derived from it.

Line 2.

The spelling of υείοϋ is unexceptional, amply paralleled in Greek epigraphy,³⁹ reflecting the widespread practice writing ει instead of ι during that period. In fact the word υίός is spelled with every possible permutation in Greek documents, Jewish and non-Jewish, reflecting the way it was heard and pronounced, and the absence of standardized spelling.

The odd-shaped first upsilon in υείοϋ has a dot over it, and the iota has two dots over it, but the meaning of this — if there is any — is unclear.

Line 3.

The name Mari or Maris appears frequently in the Jewish onomasticon, in both inscriptions and rabbinic literature,⁴⁰ probably deriving from מרי. It is not, however, an exclusively Jewish name. The name Maris can be declined, but in this instance it is not.

Line 4.

The epithet 'Alexandrian' probably applies to Tryphon.

Line 5.

The last letters of the inscription are difficult to interpret. There seems to be no Greek expression, e.g. with δία, latent in what was carved, and it is easiest, but still problematic, to understand ΔΙΑΒΕΝΑ as a place-name or a word based on a place-name, i.e. Adiabene. There is a carved sign after the final alpha (see photo), probably representing more letters, but its meaning is unclear; it could be an abbreviation for the remaining letters of the adjectival designation, in the genitive — -ου (or -ου?) — thus rendering ΔΙΑΒΕΝΑΙΟΥ *vel sim.*

³⁸ See e.g. Fraser-Matthews (previous note) I, 448; II (1994), 435-6; IIIa, 436; IIIb, 412; and Ilan (n. 25), 308-9; and cf. Lüderitz-Reynolds (n. 36), p. 3, in their notes to the inscription containing the name Marin daughter of Tryphon (= *SEG* 17, 818).

³⁹ Some Jewish examples: *CII* 943 (Jaffa), 781, 801, 870, 882, 991; D. Noy, *Jewish Inscriptions from Western Europe* II: Rome (Cambridge 1995), nos. 211, 460, 480. Non-Jewish in Asia Minor: *MAMA* 1 (Chr.), 177, 179, 212, 213, 269, etc. (there are tens of instances from the province). And so forth. In this case the distinction between Jewish and non-Jewish is in fact meaningless.

⁴⁰ L.Y. Rahmani, *A Catalogue of Jewish Ossuaries in the Collections of the State of Israel* (Jerusalem 1994), nos. 413, 820, 822, and see his note ad 413. D. Noy, *Jewish Inscriptions of Western Europe* I (Cambridge 1993), no. 2; *SEG* XLII 1427 (El-Khirbe); etc. Note Ἀβουμαρής and Ἀββομαρής at Jaffa (*CII* 901, 902, 908). There are several figures named מַרְיָה, מַרְיָה in rabbinic literature, see B. Kosovsky, *Thesaurus Nominum quae in Talmude Babylónico Reperiuntur* III (Jerusalem 1977), 1041-44; M. Kosovsky, *Concordance to the Talmud Yerushalmi (Palestinian Talmud: Onomasticon, Thesaurus of Proper Names* (Jerusalem 1985), 514.

There are two problems with understanding the last word(s) as referring to Adiabene. First, the form. The Greek name Adiabene represents the Semitic original; in the Babylonian Talmud it is צ״דן.⁴¹ The initial *chet* is a strong letter which would not normally be dropped in transliteration or in common speech.⁴² I have found no parallel for Adiabene without the initial alpha.⁴³ It is possible that the engraver erroneously left off the alpha: the similarity of Δ and Α might have mistakenly led them to be assimilated into one letter.

The second problem is one of interpretation. Adiabene was located on the upper east Tigris and had, according to Talmudic references to the place,⁴⁴ an established Jewish community. Famously, the royal family of Adiabene, maybe three centuries before this inscription was cut, converted to Judaism, and Queen Helena arranged for her bones to be carried to Jerusalem for burial. Jews from Adiabene joined the Jewish revolt and gallantly helped defend Jerusalem in 70.⁴⁵ Although this is a bit unusual, Tryphon seems to be indicating (if the last letters do indeed refer to Adiabene) that he was formerly a resident and probably also a citizen of the city Alexandria but his place of origin, his 'ethnicity' in today's parlance, was Adiabene. Even if this is correct, however, we still would not know whether this Tryphon, his father Maris or an earlier ancestor moved from Adiabene to Egypt.

It should be noted that, if the stone had been found out of context, and in the absence of an interpretation of the puzzling symbol engraved at the bottom of the epitaph, there would be no indication that Tryphon was Jewish.

IV. The Tomb of Iakodes(?) the Alexandrian

White-yellow limestone slab, smoothed front and back, rough unfinished edges.

Dimensions of stone: 22 x 22 x 2.5 cm.

Dimensions of letters: 1.5-2.5 cm., deeply incised.

The script is flowing and rounded: note the curved upward stroke of the right diagonal line of the alpha (which however has a v-shaped middle bar), delta and lambda; the two hastae of kappa; the stylized xi; the rounded mu and omega. Serifs.

⁴¹ A. Oppenheimer, *Babylonia Judaica in the Talmudic Period*, in collaboration with Benjamin Isaac and Michael Lecker (Wiesbaden 1983), 21-4.

⁴² Although notice that the transliteration of דן is αζα in two inscriptions: the first from Apamea *CII* 903 = *IGLS* IV, 1321, and the second from Caesarea, Lehmann-Holum (above, n. 17), no. 166; for commentary on the Syrian inscription, plus further literary references to the title in Jewish and Christian sources, see L. Roth-Gerson, *The Jews of Syria as Reflected in the Greek Inscriptions* (Jerusalem 2001), 59-60 and 287-8 (Hebr.).

⁴³ Ammianus 23.6.20-2 mentions (and rejects) the ancient etymology ἀ-διαβαίνειν, 'can't be crossed'; he prefers to derive the name of the place from the rivers Diabas and Adiabas.

⁴⁴ Oppenheimer (n. 41).

⁴⁵ Conversion: Jos. *AJ* 20.75. In the rebellion: Jos. *BJ* 2.520, 6.356, cf. 5.474; J.J. Price, *Jerusalem Under Siege: The Collapse of the Jewish State 66-70 C.E.* (Leiden 1992), 80-4.

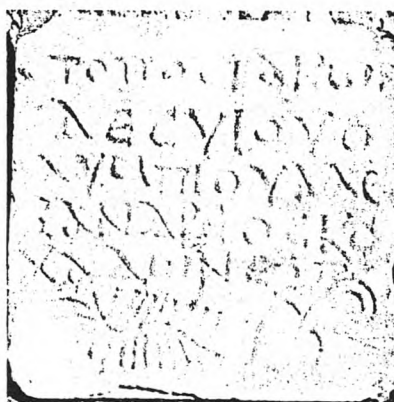
IAA no. 95-135.

Autopsy: 4 November 2001.

ΤΟΠΟΣΙΑΚΩ
ΔΕΣΥΙΟΥΘ
ΛΥΜΠΙΟΥΑΛΕ
ΞΑΝΔΡΕΟΣΚΟ
ΧΑΔΩΝΕΞΓ

(palm branch, ivy leaf)

Τόπος Ιακω-
δες υἱοῦ Ο-
λυμπίου Αλε-
ξανδρέος Κο-
χαδων, ἔ(των) ΞΓ



The tomb of Iakodes(?) son of Olympios the Alexandrian, of (the family of the) Kochadoi, 63 years old.

Line 1.

Whether or not the letters were carved correctly, the name represented in ΙΑΚΩΔΕC is probably a form of Ya'akov, Jacob, but I have been unable to find an exact parallel to this strange spelling, either as a nominative form, or — an admittedly remote possibility — as a genitive based on Ιακω or ΙακωC, i.e. Ιακωδος in which the omicron somehow became epsilon to make Ιακωδες. There are several epigraphic instances of the name Ιακω or ΙακωC within and outside Palestine;⁴⁶ the hypocoristic Ιακω seems to have become a name in its own right. In any case, if the name here is indeed a form of Ya'akov,⁴⁷ then it is interesting to see that Olympios' father gave him a purely Greek name, whereas Olympios gave his son a Jewish name.

Lines 3-4.

The deceased, although buried in Jaffa, was an Alexandrian citizen or at least came from there (see below), just like Tryphon in the previous inscription.

Lines 4-5.

Κοχαδων is a family name, probably the same name as that found in a different inscription from the Jaffa necropolis:

Ἄναπαυσις μητρὸς / Ἀβουδέμμου καὶ / Καμουήλος καὶ Ζή/ωνος καὶ τοῦ γένους /
αὐτῶν κὲ ἀδελφῆς / αὐτῶν Κοχχαθίων / πέντε σπτιβη <Π>17Ψ

⁴⁶ Even in Jaffa: *CII* 956. Also, e.g., in Beth She'arim: Schwabe and Lifshitz (n. 19), nos. 83, 130, 203. Aphrodisias: *SEG* XXXVI 970; etc.

⁴⁷ Two other possibilities have been suggested to me by Leah di Segni: either the name, despite its appearance, has nothing to do with Ya'akov and is simply an undeclined name so far unique in our sources — Ιακωδες; or δεC could be an abbreviation for something else, leaving the name Ιακω.

'This is the resting-place of the mother of Aboudemmos and Samuel and Zenon and their offspring and their sister, five (members) of the Kochathioi (family). *Shalom*, Aboudemmos!' (CII 903).

The relation between this cave, published by Clermont-Ganneau in 1900, and the one Kaplan explored more than 70 years later, is unknown to me, but the family names are almost certainly the same, since the spelling differences are insignificant: double-chi is an orthographic idiosyncrasy for single chi, the dentals theta and delta can easily be exchanged, and the name does not change with the presence or absence of iota in the ending. It is interesting that, like our inscription, CII 903 also contains a mixture of Greek and Hebrew names.

V. The Tomb of Samoēs

White limestone slab, smoothed face, rough unfinished back and edges, broken on left side but text complete.

Dimensions of stone: 46.5 x 19 x 3 cm.

Dimensions of letters: 3-4 cm., very deeply incised.

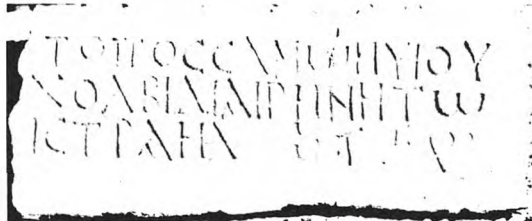
Greek letters boldly and confidently carved; Hebrew letters nearly inept. Serifs. Right diagonal stroke on alpha, delta and lambda is extended upwards. Alpha has v-shaped middle bar. Rounded omega.

IAA no. 95-138.

Autopsy: 4 November 2001.

ΤΟΠΟCCΑΜΩΗΥΙΟΥ
ΧΟΛΒΙΔΙΑΙΡΗΝΗΤΩ
ΙCΤΡΑΗΛ ΠΙΓΩ

Τόπος Καμώη υιού
Χολβιδία. Ἰρήνη τῶ
Ἰσραήλ Πιγώ



This is the tomb of Samoēs son of Cholbidias(?). Peace on Israel. Peace.

Line 1.

The name Samoēs is the biblical name Shamua (שמוא); Καμώη is the genitive of Καμώης. The name first appears in Numbers 13:4, Shamua ben Zakkur being one of the spies sent into Canaan, and then elsewhere in the Bible, transliterated variously in the LXX.⁴⁸ It may seem odd that a Jew, especially one possibly called Caleb (see next paragraph), would name his son after one of the notorious spies, but there are in fact more attestations of the name in the period. The name appears in rabbinic literature (the father of a Tanna)⁴⁹ and in documents from the Judaean desert.⁵⁰

⁴⁸ II Sam. 5:14: Καμμους. IChron. 14:4: Καμαα. Neh. 11:17: Καμουι genit. Neh. 12:18: Καμουε genit.

⁴⁹ B. Kosovsky (n. 40) V (1983), 1640 and cross-references there; M. Kosovsky (n. 40), 663 and cross-references there.

⁵⁰ Cotton-Yardeni (n. 22), no. 62 l. 13 = Καμμοῦς, *ibid.* no. 60 l. 8 = Καμμοῦου genit. And see Ilan (n. 25), 217-18.

Line 2.

Χολβιδία would be the genitive of Χολβιδίας. There is no exact parallel to this name in any source I know of. It sounds Egyptian, but could also be an expanded form of the name Caleb, a possibility strengthened by some of the Greek forms of Caleb recorded by Wuthnow: Χολαιβου, Χαλβας, Χαλβης, Χαλβιων.⁵¹

Line 3.

The closing formula ‘peace on Israel’, or simply ‘peace’, and the spelling ἰρήνη, are so widely attested throughout the Roman world, in both epitaphs and synagogue inscriptions, as to require no special discussion here. The spelling Ἰστραήλ reflects how people pronounced the name at the time, and is attested in inscriptions from both the West and the East.⁵² In literature, there are ca. 750 instances of the form *Istrahel* in the Latin Church Fathers,⁵³ and in Greek patristic literature the form Ἰσδραηλ occurs in Didymus (15 times in his commentary on Job), Eusebius, *Onom.* 108.13 (Ἐσδραηλά) and others.⁵⁴

Egyptian Jews in Jaffa

The inscriptions published here reinforce the impression, gained from the previously published material, that there was an Egyptian Jewish community in Jaffa during the Roman-Byzantine period. The basis for this impression is solely epigraphic,⁵⁵ but nonetheless rather compelling. Two of the present texts are epitaphs of Alexandrians, and one, that of Samoēs son of Cholbidias, is possibly Egyptian as well. Four or possibly five more Alexandrians buried in Jaffa are attested in inscriptions already published, including a φροντιστής of Alexandria (*CII* 918, cf. *CII* 919), i.e. someone who held either a managerial post (*curator*) in the civic administration or a more important post within his Alexandrian Jewish community, and a γρυτοπώλης, a more modest profession (*CII* 928). Two more Alexandrians are mentioned in *CII* 934, and still another in *CII* 895 if the proposed restoration is correct. Also buried in Jaffa’s cemetery were six other Jews of possible or probable Egyptian origin.⁵⁶ Thus as many as 13 of the 80+

⁵¹ H. Wuthnow, *Die semitischen Menschnennamen in griechischen Inschriften und Papyri des vorderen Orients* (Leipzig 1930), 146.

⁵² From Ramat Aviv: *SEG* 27, 1021. In Sicily: *SEG* XXXI, 844. Lycaonia: *CIG* 9270. Crete: *IC* 2: xii, 41; A.C. Bandy, *The Greek Christian Inscriptions of Crete* (Athens 1970), 85. Rome: Noy (n. 39), no. 489 (Εἰουδέα Ἰσδραηλίτης). This is far from being a complete list.

⁵³ See index in the electronic database of the Bibliotheca Teubneriana Latina (Centre Traditio Litterarum Occidentalium), ed. P. Tombeur (Munich 2002).

⁵⁴ Cf. also Enoch 10.1 (ed. R. Charles, 1893, p. 336).

⁵⁵ In addition to the epitaphs, a Greek inscription found in Egypt, mentioning the *boule* and a patron of a city, is alleged to have come from Jaffa, but there is no basis for this, see E. Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ* II, revised and edited F. Millar, G. Vermes and M. Black (London 1979), 113 n. 143. Clermont-Ganneau, *Arch. Res.* (n. 1), 135-7 speculates on the origins of the community.

⁵⁶ *CII* 920 (a centurion of Preamble), *CII* 930 (but the interpretation {E}γπ(τί)ο(υ) not entirely certain); *CII* 902 (deceased from Babel), *CII* 919 (Isidore Panara and Loulianos, φροντιστάι), *CII* 956 (deceased from Diospolis, possibly in Egypt), *CII* 957 (Νεαπ[ολίτ]ων).

known Jewish epitaphs found at Jaffa are of Jews who certainly or possibly came from Egypt, and this is just the minimum: there are probably among the Jaffa collection more Egyptian Jews who simply did not bother to indicate their place of origin on their stones.⁵⁷

The presence of Egyptian Jews in Jaffa is not in itself surprising. Jaffa was a cosmopolitan port and a direct sail from the port of Alexandria. The city recovered quickly from its destruction by Vespasian in 67 CE,⁵⁸ being renamed Flavia Ioppe, a name which appears on city-coins but not on the inscriptions from Jaffa containing the name of the city.⁵⁹ There is evidence of Alexandrian Jews engaged in maritime trade,⁶⁰ so that it was perfectly natural for Jews, particularly traders, to sail to Jaffa and even stay for a time.

Yet the presence of a significant number of Jewish *burials* indicates more than just commercial relations. One should rather assume a community of Egyptian Jews who actually settled in or around Jaffa. There are many more Jews of Egyptian origin buried in Jaffa than in any place outside Egypt.⁶¹ Yet several factors make interpretation difficult — above all, dating. Kaplan stated that the necropolis represented burials from the second through the seventh centuries,⁶² but he failed to support that remark with evidence, and the basis for it is far from obvious. The few chronological indications that do exist point rather to the third to the fifth centuries: a coin found by Kaplan in the cave where Tryphon was buried (see no. III above) is from the fourth century, and a title on an unpublished inscription requires the stone to be dated to the fourth-fifth centuries.⁶³ Finally, as we have stated above, the letter-forms on the five inscriptions discussed herein would suggest the third to fifth centuries, although earlier dates cannot be ruled out on this basis alone. Dating difficulties are compounded by the controversy over whether the burial caves at Beth She'arim went out of use after 351, as traditionally claimed, or continued until much later.⁶⁴ That is, if the two burial complexes were simultaneously in use, then one could not argue that the graves in Jaffa were used by

⁵⁷ As an interesting sidelight, the Arabs who inhabited the site when Clermont-Ganneau found it also claimed Egyptian origin, and Clermont-Ganneau asserted that the name Abu Kabir reflected the origin of these Arabs in Egypt, *Arch. Res.* (above, n. 1), 131.

⁵⁸ Jos. *BJ* 3.414-31.

⁵⁹ *CII* 945, 953. Also *IG* II² 8938, *SEG* XXV 275, *SEG* VIII 140.

⁶⁰ V. Tcherikover in *CPJI*, p. 105; and further on the reasons for the Egyptian Jewish presence in Jaffa, C. Heszer, *Jewish Literacy in Roman Palestine* (Tübingen 2001), 379.

⁶¹ The epigraphic references are conveniently collected in Horbury-Noy (n. 27), 234-45.

⁶² In *BA* 1972 (above, n. 8), 92. He found a Hasmonean cave near the necropolis, but 'il ne semble y avoir aucun rapport entre ces deux sites', *RB* 82 (1975), 263.

⁶³ One of the stones found by Y. Levi in salvage excavations is the epitaph of a certain *magistrianos*, an office which is attested only from the fourth century, and could not be held by a Jew after Theodosios II's *novella* in 438 barring Jews from holding office in the Roman imperial administration. I am grateful to Leah di Segni for pointing this out to me.

⁶⁴ The standard end-date 351 (the Gallus revolt) for the Beth She'arim necropolis has been challenged recently: F. Vitto, 'Byzantine Mosaics at Beth She'arim: New Evidence for the History of the Site', *Atiqot* 28 (1996), 115-46, see esp. 139, with earlier bibliography; and further in a numismatic analysis by Gabriela Bijovsky forthcoming in the same journal.

Jews in Palestine, as well as from outside Palestine, just because it was the largest necropolis functioning in the Holy Land.

The supposition of an Egyptian Jewish community at Jaffa changes significantly if the undated Egyptian stones, instead of being concentrated in two centuries, are spread out over five or six. Moreover, in the absence of firm dating, it is impossible to link the formation and development of the Jewish community at Jaffa with any events in Egypt. The title Ἀλεξανδρεὺς offers little help. It is a sign at least of place of (former) residence, probably also of political affiliation but certainly not of ethnic identity — as the epitaph of Tryphon, discussed above, makes clear. The term does not unambiguously indicate actual citizenship, and could even be used by a non-citizen.⁶⁵ In the case of the Jaffa epitaphs, it would seem at least to indicate that the deceased himself came from Alexandria, or at least his father did, since the designation ‘Alexandrian’ in both inscriptions III and IV above could, according to the rules of grammar (but not epigraphic convention), apply to the father instead of the son. The assumption that the deceased Alexandrian moved to Jaffa in his lifetime (or more remotely: had his bones moved there after his death) is especially compelling when the deceased boasts of an office held in Alexandria, like Hezekiah the *phrontistes*,⁶⁶ which, however, was probably not a civic title but a position within the Jewish community in the city. Yet doubt intrudes in the other cases of ‘Alexandrians’ at Jaffa, for while civic rights could almost certainly not be passed on to future generations born outside the city, the title ‘Alexandrian’ may not be so specific and might have been used, for purely sentimental reasons, by a grandson born in Jaffa to a true Alexandrian. How many generations after him — if any — would a man’s children identify themselves as Alexandrians? The answer to this question is unclear.

A Jew from Egypt was buried at Jaffa either by chance, by choice or by necessity. That is, an Egyptian Jew could, first of all, have been in Jaffa for business when he died there suddenly; his bones were not shipped back to his home-city, and burial, including payment, was somehow arranged in Jaffa. The number of inscriptions of Egyptian Jews in Jaffa, however, is too large to accept this as the explanation for all of them. Second, deliberate choice: a person could decide to move to Jaffa in order to die there, or have his bones carried there after his death. In this case, assuming that most or all of the Egyptians at Jaffa were buried after the necropolis around Jerusalem was perforce no longer used but while the caves at Beth She‘arim were still being dug out and used for burial, the choice of Jaffa was deliberate. But why? In the case of Beth She‘arim, the

⁶⁵ See now D. Delia, *Alexandrian Citizenship during the Roman Period*, American Classical Studies 23 (Atlanta 1991), 7-47, with a summary of previous opinions; she writes: ‘Ἀλεξανδρεὺς and Ἀλεξανδρίης ... were employed abroad by citizens and non-citizens alike’, p. 23. And cf. Jos. *CA* 2.37-9 and *CPJ* II, p. 32, also *CPJ* I, p. 41 n. 102 (dealing with an earlier period).

⁶⁶ On this stone in its Jaffan context, see L. Robert, ‘Pierres errantes, muséographie et onomastique’, *Berytus* 16 (1966), 5-39 at 35-6. It is worth pointing out that most of the inscriptions recording the titles which the deceased held in their lives are of foreign Jews, not local Jaffans. Yet in the city of Jaffa itself was found a stone mold for weights, bearing the name Ἰουδακ Τωζομου who was *agoranomos* in the city at the time of Trajan: *SEG* 31, 1981, 1410; see J. Kaplan, ‘Evidence of the Trajanic Period at Jaffa’, *EI* 15 (1981), 412-16 (Hebr.).

place itself and the fame of Rabbi Judah the Prince, and not just its location in Eretz Israel, is what attracted so many Jews from distant places to be buried there.⁶⁷ I assume that, if any of the epitaphs of Egyptian Jews at Jaffa represent individuals who chose deliberately to be buried there, their motivation was to be buried in the Holy Land,⁶⁸ and either out of convenience or sentiment (or both) they chose Jaffa, where there was an established Jewish community from Egypt, rather than any other place.

Finally, necessity: it could be that some of the Egyptian Jews buried at Jaffa, especially the title-bearers, left Egypt under duress, and traveled to a community of emigrés as a safe and familiar place of refuge. If so, what forced them out? Here we remain in the realm of speculation, because of both the absence of hard evidence and the uncertainties in dating just mentioned. These difficulties make any possible connection between the founding or expansion of the Egyptian Jewish community in Jaffa and catastrophic events in Egypt subject to an absurdly wide chronological range, from the second to fifth centuries CE.⁶⁹ The literary and papyrological evidence seems to indicate devastation of the Jewish community in Egypt after the revolt of 115-17 CE, what Tcherikover calls 'the almost total extermination of the Egyptian Jews'.⁷⁰ Some Jews naturally fled the rebellion rather than participate in it. Consequently, the following period, to the death of Constantine (337), is marked by 'a complete breakdown of Jewish life in Egypt'.⁷¹ The Jews who remained in Egypt after the failed revolt under Trajan also came to suffer persecution by Christians, and in 415 they were expelled entirely, although there is some evidence that Jews in Egypt of the later Byzantine period returned (or never left?) and attempted to recover and reassert their national traditions.⁷²

In conclusion, the five inscriptions presented here add valuable information to our knowledge of the Jews buried in the necropolis at Jaffa, in particular those of Egyptian

⁶⁷ Note Schwabe-Lifshitz (n. 19), no. 183, which says specifically that the deceased had given instructions to have her bones carried there for burial, although the text could be interpreted to mean that she had her body carried there from her house in Beth She'arim itself; cf. yMoed Katan 3, 5: 82c: 'Thus they bear [the deceased] from place to place, such as those who are buried in Beth She'arim' (the place-name spelled without *ayin*) seems to indicate transfer from faraway places (my thanks to Prof. M. Benovitz for helping me understand this). Clermont-Ganneau assumed that the Egyptian Jews buried in Jaffa died in Egypt and had their bones shipped to be buried in the Holy Land, but there is no basis for this. A. Kloner, *The Necropolis of Jerusalem in the Second Temple Period*, Ph.D. dissertation, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem (1980), 253-4 (Hebr.) and others have excluded the possibility of people having had their bones carried to Jerusalem after their death during the Second Temple period, but even if true, this may not apply to Jaffa in a much later period; and note the Giv'at ha-Mivtar inscription, which says specifically that the inscriber carried up the bones of someone else to Jerusalem (above, n. 32).

⁶⁸ I. Gafni, 'Reinterment in the Land of Israel: Notes on the Origin and Development of the Custom', in L.I. Levine (ed.), *The Jerusalem Cathedra* I (Jerusalem 1981), 96-104, arguing that the practice was a third-century development.

⁶⁹ See V. Tcherikover in *CPJ I*, pp. 86-111; id., *The Jews in Egypt in the Hellenistic-Roman Age in Light of the Papyri*² (Jerusalem 1963), 160-79 (Hebr.).

⁷⁰ In *CPJ I*, p. 92.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 94.

⁷² *Ibid.*, 99ff.

origin. But none of the questions arising from the previously published texts — how many epitaphs belong to Jews who actually lived in Jaffa, the internal organization of the community, and above all the nature and reason for the apparent Egyptian community there — can be answered any more definitively than before.

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