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A Jewish Epitaph from the Fayum

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Abstract

This paper presents an edition of a previously unpublished Ptolemaic Jewish epitaph from the Fayum (Egypt). The epitaph is stored in the Kom Aushim (Karanis) magazine and was discovered by the author in the spring of 2014 while working in the magazine. This is the first known Jewish epitaph from the Fayum region.

Keywords

inscriptions – epitaphs – Egypt – Ptolemaic period

In February of 2014 I had the opportunity to work in the storage magazine at Kom Aushim (ancient Karanis) as part of the Brigham Young University excavation in the Fayum. During this time the curator, Mustafa F. Hemeida, showed me a number of inscriptions in Greek and Coptic that were stored in the magazine. One inscription that particularly caught my attention was a three-line Greek epitaph inscribed on a small limestone block that measured 11.6 cm × 23.0 cm × 6.8 cm (H × W × D) and bore the Kom Aushim inventory

* I would like to thank Mustafa F. Hemeida, curator of the Kom Aushim Magazine, for showing me this inscription and for permission to photograph and publish it. I also want to thank Paul Evans for his help with imaging this inscription.

For editions of papyri cited in this article I have followed the abbreviations given in *Checklist of Editions of Greek and Latin Papyri, Ostraca and Tablets* (ed. J. F. Oates, et al.; 5th ed.; BASPSup 9; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 2001). The online version is available at <http://papyri.info/docs/checklist>. For abbreviations of inscriptions I have followed G. H. R. Horsley and J. A. L. Lee, "A Preliminary Checklist of Abbreviations of Greek Epigraphic Volumes," *Epigraphica: Periodico Internazionale di Epigrafia* 56 (1994): 129–69.

no. 647. Unfortunately, the catalogue records for the inscription were extremely sparse and mentioned neither the date of acquisition nor the provenance.¹ Though it might be assumed that the epitaph came from Karanis, the actual site of the storage magazine, this cannot be established; however, it seems safe to assume Fayumic provenance for the artifact since all of the provenanced inscriptions in the storage magazine have come from the Fayum. While the inscription is rather unremarkable and contains a fairly formulaic epitaph it does contain one noteworthy feature: the name of the deceased is Jonathan, which suggests that it is a Jewish epitaph. As this is the first Jewish epitaph from the Fayum it therefore deserves some attention. With the permission of the curator I present here an edition of this previously unpublished inscription.

Given the measurements of the limestone block upon which the epitaph is found, it seems more appropriate to regard it as a grave placard rather than a gravestone since the latter tended to be much larger. Aside from the three-line Greek inscription there is no ornamentation or decoration on the placard; however, in the top right corner there are faint traces of two Greek letters, which appear to be upsilon and sigma, written in another hand and are seemingly unrelated to the epitaph.² The text of the epitaph is inscribed with a clear and fairly regular hand with average line heights measuring 1.3 cm and average letter widths measuring 1.1 cm. Orthographically there are no peculiarities or phonetic spellings. Above the first line of text there is a supralinear stroke that extends the entire length of the line and seemingly sets the inscription off. Paleographically the letter forms are indicative of the later Ptolemaic period between the second and first centuries B.C.E.: the iota is written with a serif at the bottom; the chi has distinct roundels at the ends of the strokes;

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- 1 The catalogue records are written in Arabic and I wish to thank Mohammed Esseny, an assistant to the curator, for carefully checking them. The only details they provide are a very brief physical description of the artifact and mention that it was acquired through an individual named Yusef Mishrefy about whom no additional information is given.
 - 2 The letters are very faint, yet definitely present, and are removed from the main inscription by a gap of about 3.5 cm. The letters are smaller and probably written in a different hand than that of the inscription. To the left of these two letters there could be more letters but the stone seems to have been effaced in this part. Since the letters have no apparent relation or bearing on inscription perhaps the most likely explanation for their presence is that they are a later addition of some kind. If there is preceding text that has been effaced, then the -υς termination is common in Greek. If the two letters are standing on their own, they could perhaps be taken as the number 406, in which case the sigma must be taken as a stigma, but the purpose of a number here is not readily discernable. An isopsephy, suspension, or contraction of some kind is possible, though doubtful, because there are no extant abbreviation marks after the sigma and no supralinear stroke. If it were a contraction of some sort the only one that lends itself as a possibility is υ(ι)ς.

the cross bar on the theta does not touch either side and appears more like a dot. Similar styled letter forms occur in the following inscriptions from the Fayum: IFayum I 67 (=SB I 3956; undated; Hawara; fragmentary epitaph with very similar executed epsilons); IFayum III 199 (II B.C.E.; similar letter forms throughout); IFayum III 213 (53 C.E.; Fayum); cf. JIGRE 13 (Pl. VI; =CIJ II 1432; 37 B.C.E.; Alexandria); JIGRE 20 (Pl. VIII; =CIJ 1447; late Ptolemaic or early Roman; Alexandria [?]).

The only distinctly Jewish aspect of the epitaph is the name “Jonathan” that appears in the first line in the dative case (i.e. Ἰωνᾶθῆ) signifying that the plaque was erected “for” him or “on behalf” of him.³ Given that this name is the only Jewish marker in the epitaph a few words about onomastics as ethnic/religious markers in Greek and Roman Egypt are in order. As numerous studies have shown, in Greek and Roman Egypt where *nomen erat omen*, names often bore etymological significance and can often be employed as evidence for ethnicity or religious devotion.⁴ It is therefore a reasonable assumption that the name Jonathan—a Semitic name derived from יִנְתָן that carries the meaning “Yahweh has given”⁵ and is hardly attested outside of a Jewish context in Egypt—is sufficient grounds for establishing Jewish provenance.⁶ Accordingly, the editors of the *Corpus Papyrorum Judicarum* (CPJ) rightly

3 On the meaning of the dative case for names in epitaphs see L. H. Kant, “Jewish Inscriptions in Greek and Latin,” *ANRW* II 20.2: 671-713 at 677 n. 28.

4 R. S. Bagnall, “Religious Conversion and Onomastic Change in Early Byzantine Egypt,” *BASP* 19 (1982): 105-24; G. H. R. Horsley, “Name Change as an Indication of Religious Conversion in Antiquity,” *Numen* 34 (1987): 1-17; M. Choat, *Belief and Cult in Fourth-Century Papyri* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006), 51-57; L. H. Blumell, *Lettered Christians: Christians, Letters, and Late Antique Oxyrhynchus* (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 237-75. See also D. Hobson, “Naming Practices in Roman Egypt,” *BASP* 26 (1989): 157-74.

It is certainly no coincidence that in the Fayum the name Petesouchos (“he whom Souchos gave”), or more generally names including “Souchos,” were especially prominent since the crocodile god Souchos (Egyptian Sobek) was given special devotion in this region. See R. Alston, “Trade and the City in Roman Egypt,” in *Trade, Traders and the Ancient City* (ed. H. Parkins and C. J. Smith; London: Routledge, 1998), 168-202 at 182; cf. C. Préaux, “La stabilité de l’Égypte aux deux premiers siècles de notre ère,” *ChREg* 31 (1956): 311-31 at 327-28 who notes that “Souchos” names are little attested outside of the Fayum.

5 See “יִנְתָן, יִנְתָן,” *BDB*, s.v.

6 On identifying Jewish epitaphs in Egypt based on onomastics see A. El-Fatah and G. Wagner, “Épigraphes grecques d’époque ptolémaïque de Sedment el-Gebel (II^e/I^{er} siècles): une communauté juive dans la chôra égyptienne,” *CRIPPEL* 19 (1998): 85-96. Similarly, CIJ II 1531 (=CPJ III 1531; JIGRE 115), an inscription from the Fayum commemorating the erection of a sundial and a well, is regarded as Jewish solely because the patron was named Eleazar (Ἐλεάζαρος). For this inscription see Appendix I.

employed onomastics as a criterion for detecting the presence of Jews in certain papyri given that in many cases they bore distinct names that were foreign to native Egyptian or Greek names.⁷ Turning specifically to the name Jonathan, it is presently not attested in any Greek inscription from the Fayum, or larger Egypt for that matter,⁸ but is attested some thirteen times in various papyri of the Greek, Roman, and Byzantine periods.⁹ In Papyri from the Fayum the name Jonathan is attested only seven times, all from the Ptolemaic period, and in five instances it is specifically modified with the ethnic “Jew” (Ἰουδαίος).¹⁰ In the other two instances a decidedly Jewish context for the name can be readily established based on an onomastic cluster of Jewish names—Jacob (Ἰακωβίδης)¹¹ and John (Ἰωάννης)—and in the other text a reference to the “Syrian” origin of the name.¹² Therefore, on onomastic grounds the name itself appears sufficient for establishing a Jewish context for this epitaph.¹³

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- 7 See CPJ I xvii-xix; for an alphabetical listing of Jewish names see CPJ II 263-69. While the editors of the CPJ went too far with the use of onomastics as they included names with no apparent Jewish pedigree, overall the method is useful if applied with circumspection and caution. On some of the inherent problems with the onomastic methodology employed in the CPJ see G. Bohak, “Good Jews, Bad Jews, and Non-Jews in Greek Papyri and Inscriptions,” *PapCongr.* XXI (1997): 105-12; E. Epp, “The Jews and the Jewish Community in Oxyrhynchus: Socio-Religious Context for the New Testament Papyri,” in *New Testament Manuscripts—Their Texts and Their World* (ed. T. J. Kraus and T. Nicklas; Leiden: Brill, 2006), 13-52 at 17-23; cf. R. S. Bagnall, *Egypt in Late Antiquity* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), 276.
- 8 This name is, however, attested in an inscription from Berenike in Cyrenaica (56 C.E.) in a clearly Jewish context: SEG XVII 823.10 (=CJZC 72).
- 9 For a chronological listing of this name in the papyri see Appendix III.
- 10 Papyri where the name Jonathan occurs with the ethnic “Jew”: CPR XVIII 7 (May 18-June 16, 231 or May 12-June 10, 206 B.C.E.; Theogonis); CPR XVIII 9 (May 18-June 16, 231 or May 12-June 10, 206 B.C.E.; Theogonis); CPR XVIII 11 (May 18-June 16, 231 or May 12-June 10, 206 B.C.E.; Theogonis); P.enteux. 23 (May 11, 218 B.C.E.; Magdola); P.tebt. III.1 818 (Apr. 16, 174 B.C.E.; Trikomia). Papyri where Jonathan occurs without the ethnic “Jew”: P.Petr. II 14 (238/37 B.C.E.; Crocodilopolis); P.tebt. III.2 882 (Jan. 29-Feb. 27, 155 B.C.E. or Jan. 26-Feb. 24, B.C.E.). See Appendix III below.
- 11 On the change of the case ending from -ος to -ις, which is not uncommon in papyri, see T. Ilan, *Lexicon of Jewish Names in Late Antiquity, Part III: Jews of the Western Diaspora 330 BCE-650 CE* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008), 12.
- 12 On the use of “Syrian” referring to Jews in the Fayum see A. Kasher, *The Jews in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1985), 145.
- 13 There are only a few attestations of the name Jonathan in the papyri where a Jewish context seems unlikely, but all of these appear in papyri from the late Byzantine period where a Christian context appears considerably more probable: P.Herm. 31 (VI cent. C.E.; Ta Memnoneia [Theben]); SB I 2137 (VI-VII cent. C.E.; Thebes); SB X 10738

Evidence for Jews in the Fayum is confined almost exclusively to the papyri where it is clear that in the Ptolemaic and early Roman periods there is evidence for a significant Jewish presence;¹⁴ however, after the first century C.E. the evidence decreases significantly, to the point where it virtually disappears, and must certainly be explained by the decimation of Jews in Egypt during and after the revolt of 115-117 C.E.¹⁵ In the Fayum various Ptolemaic villages attest a strong Jewish presence such as Samaria (Σαμάρεια),¹⁶ Magdola (Μαγδῶλα),¹⁷

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- (VI C.E.; provenance unknown); P.Mich XIII 622 (Oct. 30, 645 C.E.; Aphrodites Kome [Antaiopolites]). Though Ilan, *Lexicon of Jewish Names, Part III*, 109 (no. 12) identifies the Jonathan of P.Mich. XIII 662 as a Jew, this seems highly unlikely as the context of the entire document, which is a sale of part of a house, is thoroughly Christian since it begins with an invocation to the "Trinity" and contains various Christian references throughout. While there are individuals in the document bearing biblical names, a Christian context is more likely than a Jewish one. On the Christian use of biblical names in late antique Egypt see Blumell, *Lettered Christians*, 249-50; cf. Bagnall, *Egypt in Late Antiquity*, 275-76.
- 14 See Appendices I and II. For useful discussions of the evidence from the Ptolemaic period see J. K. Winnicki, *Late Egypt and Her Neighbours: Foreign Population in Egypt in the First Millennium BC* (Journal of Juristic Papyrology Supplement 12; Warsaw: Warsaw University Press, 2009), 243-46; Kasher, *The Jews in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt*, 135-50.
- 15 R. A. Kraft and A. M. Luijendijk, "Christianity's Rise After Judaism's Demise in Early Egypt," in *Partings—How Judaism and Christianity Became Two* (ed. H. Shanks; Washington, D.C.: Biblical Archaeology Society, 2013), 179-85; Bagnall, *Egypt in Late Antiquity*, 275-78; J. M. Modrzejewski, *The Jews of Egypt: From Rameses II to Emperor Hadrian* (trans. R. Cornman; Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995), 207, who notes that "the revolt of 115-117 led to the obliteration of the Jews from the face of Egypt"; cf. D. Frankfurter, "Lest Egypt's City be Deserted: Religion and Ideology in the Egyptian Response to the Jewish Revolt (116-117 CE)," *JJS* 48 (1992): 203-20; V. Tcherikover, "The Decline of the Jewish Diaspora in Egypt in the Roman Period," *JJS* 14 (1963): 1-32. Also very useful for the Egyptian evidence is M. P. Ben Zeev, *Diaspora Judaism in Turmoil, 116/117 C.E.: Ancient Sources and Modern Insights* (Leuven: Peeters, 2005).

- In the post-revolt era the only literary evidence for Jews in the Fayum, if indeed it ought to be regarded as evidence at all, is found in Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 7.24-25. Here he reports that an ecclesiastical conference took place ca. 262 C.E. in Arsinoe in the Fayum where the interpretation of the Book of Revelation was the focus of the debate. While describing the conference he noted that the locals from the Fayum tended to interpret the Book of Revelation too literally "after a more Jewish fashion" (Ἰουδαϊκώτερον τὰς ἐπιγγελλόμενας τοῖς ἀγίοις ἐν ταῖς θείαις γραφαῖς; *Hist. eccl.* 7.24.1).
- 16 For the most recent evidence for the Jewish presence in Samaria see the *Fayum Project* by University of Leuven online at http://www.trismegistos.org/fayum/fayum2/2077.php?geo_id=2077; cf. Kasher, *The Jews in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt*, 148-49. On the location of Samaria (meris of Polemon) see H. Verreth, *A Survey of Toponyms in Egypt in the Graeco-Roman Period* (Leuven: Trismegistos Publications, 2008), 504.
- 17 Derived from the Semitic word *migdol* (מִגְדֹּל; "watch-tower") there is some extant evidence for a Jewish presence in the village. See Kasher, *The Jews in Hellenistic and*

and especially Trikomia (Τρικωμία) where in the late Ptolemaic period at least one fifth of the population was Jewish.¹⁸ Likewise, the presence of Aramaic papyri from Tebtynis (Τεβτύνις) from the third and second centuries B.C.E. also attests to the presence of a Jewish community in this village.¹⁹ Furthermore, in an inscription from Crocodilopolis (Arsinoe) from ca. 246-221 B.C.E. it is evident that a “prayer-house” (προσευχή) had been erected in the nome metropolis by the Jews of that city.²⁰ Therefore, given the diverse geographic nature of the evidence for Jews in the Fayum there are many possibilities for the potential provenance of the present epitaph.²¹

Roman Egypt, 149-50. On the location of Magdola (meris of Themistos) see Verreth, *A Survey of Toponyms in Egypt*, 288.

- 18 W. Clarysse, “Jews in Trikomia,” *PapCongr.* xx (1994): 193-203 at 202, who notes that “at least one fifth of its population was of Jewish origin, and even the epistates of the village (the royal commissar), a certain Simon (P.Ent. 33), was clearly a Jew.” See also the *Fayum Project* by University of Leuven online for additional evidence: http://www.trismegistos.org/fayum/fayum2/2470.php?geo_id=2470.
- 19 Winnicki, *Late Egypt and Her Neighbors*, 246 takes this as evidence for a Jewish community in Tebtynis who “communicated in their own language.” Cf. C. Gallazzi and G. Hadji-Minaglou, *Tebtynis, I. La reprise des fouilles et le quartier de la chapelle d’Isis-Thermouthis* (Cairo: Institut Français d’Archéologie Orientale, 2000), 31.
- 20 For inscriptional evidence for Jews in the Fayum see Appendix I.
- 21 It might be added here that two of the famous Fayum mummy portraits have been described as having “Jewish” features. The first Fayum mummy portrait to be described as having “Jewish features” is inv. no. 33284 of the Cairo Museum that was excavated from Fag el-Gamous cemetery and dates to the first or second century C.E. C. C. Edgar gives the following description of the portrait: “He has thick wavy hair, coming down rather low on forehead, and a beard of similar appearance. Forehead wrinkled, vertical lines above nose and strongly marked line below inner corner of eye; thick, slightly arched eyebrows; the nose is hooked and the lips curve downwards in the middle; rather Jewish features. Fair, ruddy complexion, dark hair, brown eyes.” See C. C. Edgar, *Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du musée du Caire. 33101-33285: Graeco-Egyptian Coffins, Masks, and Portraits* (Cairo, 1905; repr., Osnabrück: Otto Zeller Verlag, 1977), 131. It may be noted that there are no distinctively Jewish symbols in the portrait. The other apparently “Jewish” portrait comes from the cemetery at Philadelphia and contains the bust of woman that is dated to the first part of the second century C.E. While this portrait is sometimes referred to as “The Jewish Woman” there are no distinctly Jewish symbols in it and perhaps the only noteworthy feature of the portrait is that the female is not wearing any jewelry. See E. Doxiadis, *The Mysterious Fayum Portraits: Faces from Ancient Egypt* (London: Harry N. Abrams, 1995), 189 no. 20.

However, such designations merely reflect nineteenth and early twentieth-century conceptions about the physical appearances of Jews in antiquity and should not be considered credible identifications. There is no evidence from antiquity that Jews were ever identified as looking physically different or could be easily identified based on



Following the name Jonathan the epitaph contains the succinct $\chi\rho\eta\sigma\tau\acute{\epsilon}\ \chi\alpha\acute{\iota}\rho\epsilon$ formula that is a fairly widespread funerary formula that is attested not only in Egypt but also in Greece, Rome, Asia Minor, Crete, and Cyprus.²² However, it is worth noting that it appears with some frequency in Jewish epitaphs from Leontopolis between the second century B.C.E. and first century C.E.²³ While the Jewish epitaphs from Leontopolis tend to include more than just the name of the deceased and the $\chi\rho\eta\sigma\tau\acute{\epsilon}\ \chi\alpha\acute{\iota}\rho\epsilon$ formula, as they usually include

distinct facial features. See S. J. D. Cohen, "Those Who Say They Are Jews and Are Not': How Do You Know a Jew in Antiquity When You See One?" in *Diasporas in Antiquity* (ed. S. J. D. Cohen and E. S. Frerichs; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1993), 1-45, repr. in *The Beginnings of Jewishness: Boundaries, Varieties, Uncertainties* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 25-68; I. F. Fikhman, "The Physical Appearance of Egyptian Jews According to the Greek Papyri," *SCI* 18 (1999): 131-38, who notes that there is nothing in the papyri that suggests Jews were identified as being physically different from non-Jews. K. Muhlestein and C. Innes, "Synagogues and Cemeteries: Evidence for a Jewish Presence in the Fayum," *JAET* 4.2 (2012): 53-59 have seemingly taken Cairo Museum inv. no. 33284 as a Jewish burial without realizing the tenuous nature of the evidence.

- 22 A search on the *Greek Inscription Database* (<http://epigraphy.packhum.org/inscriptions/main>) readily shows the geographic distribution of this phrase in epitaphs.
- 23 CIJ II 1454 (=JIGRE 43); CIJ II 1456 (=JIGRE 45); CIJ II 1458 (=JIGRE 47); CIJ II 1460 (=JIGRE 49); CIJ II 1468 (=JIGRE 57); CIJ II 1469 (=JIGRE 58); CIJ II 1476 (=JIGRE 65); CIJ II 1482 (=JIGRE 107); CIJ II 1483 (=JIGRE 108); CIJ II 1485 (=JIGRE 110); CIJ II 1487 (=JIGRE 112); CIJ II 1490 (=JIGRE 30); CIJ II 1499 (=JIGRE 75); CIJ II 1523 (=JIGRE 92); CIJ II 1525 (=JIGRE 94); CIJ II 1527 (=JIGRE 96).

the age at which the deceased died or the actual date of death, epitaphs with just the name and formula are periodically attested in Egypt.²⁴

⟨m1⟩	ϣϛ
⟨m2⟩	Ἰωνᾶθῆ χρηστῆ 4 χάρε.

Translation

For Jonathan, excellent one, farewell.

Notes

2 Ἰωνᾶθῆ. On the use of this name in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt see F. Preisigke, *Namenbuch enthaltend alle griechischen, lateinischen, ägyptischen, hebräischen, arabischen und sonstigen semitischen und nichtsemitischen Menschnennamen, soweit sie in griechischen Urkunden (Papyri, Ostraka, Inschriften, Mumienschildern usw.) Ägyptens sich vorfinden* (Amsterdam: Verlag Adolf M. Hakkert, 1967), 522; CPJ III 182; and Ilan, *Lexicon of Jewish Names, Part III*, 109-11. The name is not attested in the *Demotisches Namenbuch*. On its wider use and orthography see T. Ilan, *Lexicon of Jewish Names in Late Antiquity. Part I: Palestine 330 BCE-200 CE* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2002), 144-50. On pp. 6-7 Ilan notes that this name became more common in the late second and first century B.C.E. because of the Hasmonean king Jonathan (161 B.C.E.-143/42 B.C.E.); cf. S. Honigman, "The Birth of a Diaspora: The Emergence of a Jewish Self-Definition in Ptolemaic Egypt in the Light of Onomastics," in

24 IEgSyene145 (I cent. C.E.; Silsilis); SB I 2116 (II-I B.C.E.; Alexandria); SB I 2049 (I B.C.E.-I C.E.; Alexandria); SB I 5011 (III B.C.E.; Alexandria); ICairoMus 75,9227 (II B.C.E.; provenance unknown); SB I 386 (date unknown; Alexandria); SB I 387 (date unknown; Alexandria); SB I 395 (Ptolemaic period; Alexandria); SB I 2044 (date unknown; Alexandria); SB I 5694 (date unknown; Alexandria); SB I 5705 (date unknown; Alexandria); SB I 5844 (date unknown; Alexandria); SB I 5851 (date unknown; Alexandria); SB V 8289 (date unknown; Alexandria); SEG I 560 (date unknown; Terenouthis); SEG II 876 (I-II C.E.; Mareia); SEG II 877 (I-II C.E.; Mareia); SEG II 879 (date unknown; Kom Abu Ismail); SEG VIII 388 (date unknown; Alexandria); SEG VIII 397 (date unknown; Alexandria); SEG VIII 451 (date unknown; Paraitonion).

Diasporas in Antiquity (ed. S. J. D. Cohen and E. S. Frerichs; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1993), 93-127, at 107-10, makes the same observation for Egypt. M. H. Williams, "The Use of Alternative Names by Diaspora Jews in Graeco-Roman Antiquity," *JSJ* 38 (2007): 307-27, at 315, notes that Jonathan, in the Greek form Theodotus (Θεόδοτος ["God given" θεός + δοτός]), was a "perennial favourite with Egyptian Jews"; cf. S. Honigman, "Abraham in Egypt: Hebrew and Jewish-Aramaic Names in Egypt and Judea in Hellenistic and Early Roman Times," *ZPE* 146 (2004): 279-97 at 289; R. Hachlili, "Hebrew Names, Personal Names, Family Names and Nicknames in the Second Temple Period," in *Families and Family Relations as Represented in Early Judaism and Early Christianities: Texts and Fictions* (ed. J. W. van Henten and A. Brenner; Leiden: Deo Publishing, 2000), 83-115.

The dative form of Jonathan with the same spelling is attested in P.Yadin II 59.1 (=SB VIII 9844; ca. 135 C.E.; Judea): [Ἰ]ωνανος Ἰωναθῆ τῶι ἀδελφῶ χαίρειν ("Annanos to his brother Jonathan, greeting"); with the iota adscript it is attested in P.Yadin II 52.1 (=SB VIII 9843; Sept.-Oct. 135 C.E.; Judea): Σου[μαί]ος Ἰωναθῆι ("Sumaios to Jonathan").

3 χρῆστῆ. The adjective *χρηστός* (-ή, -όν) is a fairly common laudatory epithet on epitaphs. On the use of this adjective M. N. Todd, "Laudatory Epithets in Greek Epitaphs," *BSA* 46 (1951): 182-90, at 186, notes that *χρηστός* is considerably more popular than *ἀγαθός* and suggests that the latter represented "an 'abstract' virtue of the human soul, while *χρηστός* may denote goodness in action, goodness which finds an outlet in the service of those in the home or community, helpfulness." On the use of this epithet in Jewish epitaphs see P. W. van der Horst, *Ancient Jewish Epitaphs: An Introductory Survey of a Millennium of Jewish Funerary Epigraphy (300 BCE-700 CE)* (Kampen: Kok Pharos, 1991), 62-64.

4 χαίρει. While the principal meaning of *χαίρω* is "rejoice" it is often used in salutations to mean "greeting" and it is typically differentiated from *ῥώννυμι* that is employed in the middle imperative form *ἔρρωσο* or the infinitive perfect middle form *ἔρρωσθαι* to mean "farewell." See G. A. Gerhard, "Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des griechischen Briefes I. Die Formel ὁ δεῖνα τῷ δεῖνι χαίρειν," *Philologus* 64 (1905): 27-65; cf. H. Koskeniemi, *Studien zur Idee und Phraseologie des griechischen Briefes bis 400 n. Chr.* (Helsinki: Akateeminen Kirjakauppa, 1956), 155-58. Nevertheless, *χαίρει* is frequently used in funerary inscriptions to mean "farewell"; in Latin epitaphs *salve* is also used as "farewell" (CIL v 6693) even though *vale* better carries the meaning of "farewell." Since *χαίρω* is a little unusual for "farewell" it is sometimes referred to as a sort of "farewell greeting" in epitaphs. See van der Horst, *Ancient Jewish Epitaphs*, 52; cf. Kant, "Jewish Inscriptions in Greek and Latin," 678.

Appendix

I *Greek Inscriptions Attesting Jews in the Fayum*²⁵

Text	Date	Provenance	Description
CIJ II 1531 (=CPJ III 1531; JIGRE 115)	ca. II cent. B.C.E.	Fayum	A certain individual named "Eleazer" (Ἐλεάζαρος) sets up a "sundial" (ὠρολόγιον) and a "well" (φρέαρ)
SB V 8939 (=CIJ II 1532; CPJ III 1532a; JIGRE 117)	ca. 246-221 B.C.	Arsinoe- Crocodylopolis	Commemorates the dedication of a "prayer-house"; ll. 8-10: ... οἱ ἐν Κροκ[ο]δίλων πόλει Ἰου[δαί]οι τὴν προ[σευχὴν] ("... the Jews in Crocodylopolis [dedicated] the prayer-house.")
*Kom Aushim inv. no. 647	II-I cent. B.C.E.	Fayum	Epitaph for a certain Jonathan

II *Greek Papyri from the Fayum Mentioning "Jew/Jews" and "Jewish"*

P.Zen.Pest. 35 (=SB VIII 9682)	III cent. B.C.E.	Fayum	ll. 36-37: [Ἰου]δαίοις ἐρίφους ("the kids [i.e. goats] for the Jews")
W.Chr. 55 (=CPJ I 33)	III cent. B.C.E.	Psenyris	ll. 6-7: τῶν Ἰουδαίων καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ("of the Jews and Greeks")

25 I have not counted CIJ II 1532 (=Fayum III 210; CPJ III 1532; JIGRE 116; Oct. 3, 29 B.C.E.) as a Jewish inscription because there are no solid indicators for attributing Jewish provenance. There is no solid Jewish onomastic data in the inscription; the only names given are Epitychia, Dionysia, and Harpochas, and the only reason evinced that the inscription is Jewish is that it begins with an invocation "To the greatest and highest God ..." (θεῶι μεγάλῳ μεγάλῳ ὑψίστῳ...). The epithets μέγας and ὑψίστος are not exclusively Jewish but appear in a wide variety of different religious contexts in Egypt and elsewhere. See S. Mitchell, "The Cult of Theos Hypsistos between Pagans, Jews and Christians," in *Pagan Monotheism in Late Antiquity* (ed. P. Athanassiadi and M. Frede; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 81-148.

(cont.)

P.Mich. I 30 (=CPJ I 8)	ca. 256/55 B.C.E.	Philadelphia	Fr. B. l.5: Ἀντιγόνης Ἰουδαίος ("Antigones the Jew")
P.Cair.Zen. II 59241 (=CPJ I 9a)	Sept. 17, 253 B.C.E.	Philadelphia	l. 2: παρὰ Πάσιτος τοῦ Ἰουδαίου ("from Pasis the Jew")
P.Cair.Zen. II 59252 (=CPJ I 9b)	ca. Jan. 22, 250 B.C.E.	Philadelphia	l. 6 l. 1: Πάσιτι Ἰουδαίω ("to Pasis the Jew")
P.Tebt. III.2 1077 (=CPJ I 125)	mid. III cent. B.C.E.	Crocodilopolis	l. 3: Ἀντιπάτρου Ἰουδαίου ("of Antipatros the Jew")
CPR XVIII 7	May 18-June 16, 231 or May 12- June 10, 206 B.C.E.	Theogonis	l. 19: Ἰουδαίος τῆς ἐπιγονῆς ("Jew of the Epigone") ²⁶
CPR XVIII 8	May 18-June 16, 231 or May 12- June 10, 206 B.C.E.	Theogonis	l. 1: Ἰουδαίος τῆς ἐπιγονῆς ("Jew of the Epigone")
CPR XVIII 9	May 18-June 16, 231 or May 12- June 10, 206 B.C.E.	Theogonis	l. 3: Ἰουδαίος τῆς ἐπιγονῆς ("Jew of the Epigone")
CPR XVIII 11	May 18-June 16, 231 or May 12- June 10, 206 B.C.E.	Theogonis	l. 3: Ἰουδαίου τῆς ἐπιγονῆς ("Jew of the Epigone")
P.Gurob 2 (=CPJ I 19)	Aug. 9, 226 B.C.E.	Crocodilopolis	ll. 12-13: [Ἰουδαίος] τῆς ἐπ[ιγονῆς ("Jew of the Epigone")
P.Tebt. III.1 815 (=CPJ I 20 and 127d)	223/22 B.C.E.	Tebtynis	Fr. 2 r.2 l. 17: Μουσαίος Σίμωνος Ἰουδαίος τῆς ἐπ(ιγονῆς) ("Mousaios son of Simon, Jew of the Epigone")

26 On the meaning of the phrase "Jew of the Epigone" see CPJ I 13-14.

P.Sorb. III 103	Jan. 22, 221 B.C.E.	Muchis	l. 2: τῶν κατοικούντων Ἰουδαίων ἐν Μούχει ("of the Jews sojourning in Muchis")
P.Enteux. 2 (=CPJ I 38)	May 11, 218 B.C.E.	Crocodilopolis	l. 2: ὑπὸ Σεῶτος Ἰουδαίου ("by Seos, a Jew")
P.Enteux. 23 (=CPJ I 128)	May 11, 218 B.C.E.	Magdola	ll. 2-3: τῶν [Ἰου]δαίων ("of the Jews")
P.Enteux. 30 (=CPJ I 129)	Apr. 14-May 13, 218 B.C.E.	Alexandru Nesos	l. 5: ἐν τῇ προσευχῇ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ("in the prayer house of the Jews")
P.Gurob 8 (=CPJ I 21)	Aug. 20, 210 B.C.E.	Apollonias	l. 10: οἱ τρεῖς Ἰουδαῖοι τῆς ἐπιγονῆς ("three Jews of the Epigone")
P.Tebt. III.1 820 (=CPJ I 22)	Aug. 22, 201 B.C.E.	Samaria	ll. 15-16, 36: οἱ ἕξ Ἰ[ο]υδαῖ[ο]ι. ("the six Jews")
P.Count. 15	Late III-II cent. B.C.E.	Bubastos	v. 4: Ἰ[ο]υδαῖοι ("Jews")
P.Mich. XVIII 781	ca. 186/85 B.C.E.	Fayum	l. 13: Ἰουδαῖος ("Jew")
P.Tebt. III 793 (=CPJ I 130)	183 B.C.E.	Berenikis Thesmophoru	l. 20: δύο Ἰουδαῖοι ("two Jews")
P.Tebt. III.1 817 (=CPJ I 23)	Nov. 182 B.C.E.	Crocodilopolis	ll. 9-10: ἐδάνεισεν Ἀπολλώνιος Πρωτογένου Ἰουδαῖος τῆς ἐπιγ[ο]νῆς Σωστράτῳ Νεοπτολέμου Ἰουδαίῳ τῆς ἐπιγονῆς ("Apollonios son of Protogenes, Jew of the Epigone, has lent to Sostratos son of Neoptolemos, Jew of the Epigone")
BGU XIV 2381	Aug. 2, 176 B.C.E.	Philadelphia	l. 8: Ἰουδαῖος τῆ[ς] ἐπιγονῆς] ("Jew of the Epigone")

(cont.)

P.Tebt. III.1 818 (=CPJ I 24)	Apr. 16, 174 B.C.E.	Trikomia	ll. 10-11: ἐδάνεισεν Ἰουδαῖος Ἰωσήφου Ἰουδαῖος τῆς ἐπιγονῆς Ἀγαθοκλεῖ Πτολεμαίου Ἰουδαίωι ("Judas, son of Josephos, Jew of the Epigone, has lent to Agathokles son of Ptolemaios, Jew")
BGU VI 1272 (=CPJ I 25)	Sept. 24, 173 B.C.E.	Hephaistias	l. 22: Ἰουδαῖος, φυλακίτης ("... a Jew, policeman...")
P.Ryl. IV 578 (=CPJ I 43)	ca. 159/58 B.C.E.	Fayum	ll. 1-2: παρὰ Ἰούδου τοῦ Δωσιθέου Ἰουδαίου ("from Judas son of Dositheos, a Jew")
P.Tebt. III.1 800 (=CPJ I 133)	July of 153 or 142 B.C.E.	Tebtynis	l. 3: [Ἰου]δαίου ("of a Jew")
P.Köln III 144	Feb. 3, 152 B.C.E.	Fayum	ll. 22 and 28: Ἰουδαῖοι ("Jews")
P.Tebt. III.2 1075 (=CPJ I 30)	ca. mid II cent. B.C.E.	Tebtynis	Col. I ll. 1 and 2: Ἰπ]ποδάμου Ἰουδαῖος ("son of Hippodamos, a Jew") l. 9: Σ]αββαθαίου Ἰουδαῖος ("son of Sabbathios, a Jew") Col. II l.16: Δωσίθεος Ἄρτεμιδώρου Ἰουδαῖος ("son of Dositheos, a Jew")
P.Tebt. I 86R (=CPJ I 134)	Late II cent. B.C.E.	Crocodilopolis	l. 17: προσευχῆς Ἰουδαίων ("of the prayer house of the Jews")
BGU VI 1282 (=CPJ I 46)	II-I cent. B.C.E.	Fayum	ll. 2-3: ἀπὸ Σύρων κώμης Ἰουδαῖοι ("the Jews from the Syrian village")

SB XX 15189 (=CPJ II 415)	24-25 C.E.	Aueris	l. 13: Θ[εοδόσ]ιος Ἰουδαίος ("Theodosius, a Jew")
BGU IV 1079 (=CPJ II 152)	Aug. 4, 41 C.E.	Philadelphia	ll. 24-25: Ἰουδαίων ("of the Jews")
SB XX 14525	ca. July 24, 57 C.E.	Philadelphia	l. 12: διὰ Σακολάου Ἰουδ(αίου) ("through Sakolaos the Jew") l. 13: ὁμοίως Ἰσάκ[ι] Ἰουδαίωι ("likewise through Isaac the Jew")
W.Chr. 61 (=CPJ II 421)	ca. 73 C.E.	Ptolemais Euergetis	l. 433: Ἰ[ουδαικοῦ τελέσ-] ματος ("of the Jewish tax") l. 450: [ἐ]ν Ἰουδαϊκῷ τελέσμ(ατι) ("in the Jewish tax")
P.Strasb. IX 805	ca. 71-116 C.E.	Fayum	2.14: Ἰουδ(αικοῦ) [τελέσματος] ("of the Jewish tax")
P.Fay. 123 (=CPJ II 431)	ca. 100 C.E.	Euhermeria	ll. 15-16: Τεύφιλος Ἰουδαίος ("Teuphilos the Jew")
P.Mil.Vogl. 4 212	May 21, 109 C.E.	Tebtynis	7.1 and 10.16: Ἰουδαίωι ("to the Jew")
BGU III 889 (CPJ II 449)	ca. 151 C.E.	Fayum	l. 23: ἐν τῷ Ἰουδ(αϊκῷ) ταράχῳ ("in the Jewish disturbance")
BGU IX 1893 (=CPJ III 459)	Aug. 23, 149 C.E.	Theadelphia	11.373: ὁ αὐ(τὸς) Ἰουδαίωι... ("The same, of [for ?] Jewish...")
P.Ryl. 4 594 (=CPJ III 460)	Either 145-46 or 168-69 C.E.	Karanis	l.7: Ἰουδ(αικοῦ) τελέσμ(ατος) ("Jewish tax")
SB XII 10892	ca. 188 C.E.	Fayum	Ἰουδ(αίων) used throughout document ("of Jews")
P.Bour. 44 (=CPJ III 458)	II cent C.E.	Fayum	v.1: Ἰουδαικοῦ ("... of Jewish...")

(cont.)

P.Ant. I 42 (=CPJ III 508)	Sept. 26, 557 C.E.	Lenaiu, Fayum	ll. 9-10: Αὐρηλίω Ἰωσηφίω υἱῷ Σουρούτος Ἰουδαίω τὴν θρησκείαν (“To Aurelius Josephios, son of Sourous, a Jew by religion”) l. 15: ἀπὸ ξεστῶν πέντε Ἰουδαϊκῶν (“with five Jewish <i>sextari</i> ”)
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III *Greek Papyri From Egypt Attesting the Name “Jonathan”²⁷*

CPR XVIII 7	May 18-June 16, 231 B.C.E. or May 12-June 10, 206 B.C.E.	Theogonis	ll. 2-3: \ἐμίσθωσ[εν]/ Ἰωναθῶι Ἰωνναθῶ . . . Ἰουδαίοις τῆς ἐπι- γονῆς (“we paid to Jonathan, son of Jonathan . . . Jews of the epigone”)
CPR XVIII 9	May 18-June 16, 231 B.C.E. or May 12-June 10, 206 B.C.E.	Theogonis	ll. 4-5: παρὰ Μενεστράτου τοῦ [Ἰωνα]θῶυ Ἰουδαίου/ τῆς ἐπιγονῆς (“From Menestratus, son of Jonathan, Jew of the Epigone”)
CPR XVIII 11	May 18-June 16, 231 B.C.E. or May 12-June 10, 206 B.C.E.	Theogonis	l. 4: Μενεστράτωι Ἰωναθῶυ Ἰουδαίω[ι] (“for Menestratus, son of Jonathan, a Jew”)

²⁷ An additional attestation of the name might be found in SB XXVI 16487.9 (v-vi cent. C.E.; Hermopolite nome) but the reading is not certain: δι' ἐμοῦ Ἰω[.]θ(.). On the potential reading Ἰω[να]θ(άν) see SB XXVII.2 74.

P.Petr. II 14 (=CPJ I 126)	238/37 B.C.E.	Crocodilopolis	I. 15: ὄς καὶ Συριστὶ Ἰωναθάς ("also known by the Syrian name of Jonathan")
P.Enteux. 23 (=CPJ I 128)	May 11, 218 B.C.E.	Magdola	I. 6-8: Ἰωναθάν ἀποστεῖλαι ("to send Jonathan")
P.Tebt. III.1 818 (=CPJ I 24)	Apr. 16, 174 B.C.E.	Trikomia	I. 19: Ἀνανίας Ἰωναθοῦ Ἰουδαῖος τῆς ἐπιγονῆς ("Ananias son of Jonathan, Jew of the Epigone")
P.Tebt. III.2 882 (=CPJ I 28)	Jan. 29-Feb. 27, 155 B.C.E. or Jan. 26 Feb. 24, B.C.E.	Samaria, Fayum	Fr. 2 I.26: Σαμβάθιον Ἰωναθοῦ ("Sambathion son of Jonathan")
P.NYU 52	Early II cent. C.E.	Egypt, exact provenance unknown	II.6: Ἰωνᾶτ(ος) ("of Jonathan")
SB XVI 12553	I-III cent. C.E.	Oxyrhynchus	I. 13: ὄμο]λογοῦντος Ἰωνάδου ("Joanadus acknowledging") ²⁸
SB X 10738	VI cent. C.E.	Egypt, exact provenance unknown	I. 3: καὶ Ἰωναθάς ("and Jonathan")
P.Herm. 31	VI cent. C.E.	Ta Memnoneia (Theben)	I. 5: καὶ Ἰωναθάν ("and Jonathan")
SB I 2137	VI-VII cent. C.E.	Thebes	I.14: Ἰωναθάν Ἰωά(ννου) ("Jonathan son of John")
P.Mich. XIII 662	Oct. 30, 645 C.E.	Aphroditēs Kome (Antaiopolites)	II. 18, 42: λεγομέ(νης) Ἰωναθάν οἰκοδόμου ("called Jonathan the builder")

28 In the *editio princeps* (= I. L. Forselv, "Two Papyri from the Oslo Collection," *SO* 57 [1982]: 127-36) the reading given, which is incorrect, is ὄμο]λογοῦντος Ἰωναθοῦ ("Jonathan acknowledging"). Nevertheless, the interchange of θ and δ is well attested so the intended name was surely Jonathan. On this phonetic interchange see F. T. Gignac, *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods. Volume I, Phonology* (Milan: Istituto Editoriale Cisalpino, 1976), 96-97.