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0521418704 - Jewish Inscriptions of Graeco-Roman Egypt: with an Index of the Jewish Inscriptions of Egypt and Cyrenaica

William Horbury and David Noy

Excerpt

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INSCRIPTIONS

1 (*CIJ* ii no.1427): Chatby, Alexandria; necropolis: perhaps late Ptolemaic. Epitaph painted in red ochre on plastered wall.

Unknown.

Text follows T.D. Néroutsos, *BIE* 13 (1874-5), p.229.

Ἰώσηπος KNEM (ἐτῶν) λδ'.

Néroutsos expanded the L symbol as (ἐτη)

Joseph *KNEM*, 34 years old.

T.D. Néroutsos, 'Mémoire sur les fouilles récentes faites à Alexandrie', *BIE* 13 (1874-5), p.229 (from the original); T.D. Néroutsos, *L'ancienne Alexandrie* (1888), p.82; *CIJ* ii (1952), pp.357-8 no.1427; *CPJ* iii (1964), p.138 no.1427.

L. Zunz, *BIE* 14 (1875), p.27; S. de Ricci, 'Paleography', *JE* ix (1905), p.473; P.M. Fraser, 'Greek inscriptions (1952-3)', *JEA* 40 (1954), p.124; B.S.J. Isserlin, 'The names of the 72 translators of the Septuagint', *JANESCU* 5 (1973), p.192; S.M. Ruozi Sala, *Lexicon nominum semiticorum* (1974), p.22; G. Delling, 'Biblisch-jüdische Namen im hellenistisch-römischen Ägypten', *BSAC* 22 (1974-5), p.16 n.3; M. Hengel, *Jews, Greeks and barbarians* (1980), p.91 n.34; J. Méléze-Modrzejewski, 'Splendeurs grecques et misères romaines', in *Les juifs du Nil*, ed. J. Hassoun (1981), p.25; Schürer revised iii.i (1986), p.47; M. Hengel, 'The interpenetration of Judaism and Hellenism', *CHJ* ii (1989), p.193 n.3; J. Méléze-Modrzejewski, *Les juifs d'Égypte* (1991), p.69.

On Chatby, see Introduction, p.xiv, above. So little is known of the excavations in which nos.1 and 2 were discovered that dating is uncertain; if the inscriptions can be associated with the finds of ossuaries, the latter would point to a date not before the late first century B.C., in view of the dates usually assigned to the practice of ossuary burial, but these dates are themselves far from fixed (Figueras, *Ossuaries*, p.1).

Joseph was reckoned by Tcherikover to be the third most common Jewish name in the papyri, appearing most frequently with this spelling (Tcherikover, *Jews in Egypt*, p.182); in the material surveyed in *CPJ*, including ostraca and this inscription, D. Rokeah identifies eighteen bearers of the name spelt exactly as here, from the third or second century B.C. to the early second century A.D., as opposed to three whose name is spelt with φ (add no.12, below) (*CPJ* iii, pp.182-3). The Greek letters KNEM here and

Cambridge University Press

0521418704 - Jewish Inscriptions of Graeco-Roman Egypt: with an Index of the Jewish Inscriptions of Egypt and Cyrenaica

William Horbury and David Noy

Excerpt

[More information](#)

JEWISH INSCRIPTIONS OF EGYPT

in no.2 have been thought to abbreviate a formula like those common in later Hebrew epitaphs; L. Zunz suggested Κεῖται Νῶν Ἐν Μακαρίοις on the analogy of similar formulae surveyed in his *Zur Geschichte und Literatur* (1845), pp.304-7, but Fraser, p.124, classes this among unconvincing solutions. This judgement seems right, for if such formulae were current, they might have been expected to appear more often, and in general the surviving Egyptian Jewish epitaphs show little sign of the tendency to biblical allusion with which many later formulae are connected. Mr J.D. Ray kindly informs us that the letters do not readily suggest a Demotic word or phrase. An unexplained abbreviation or symbol occurs after the number of years in no.106, below.

Néroutsos reproduced this inscription and no.2 in his *Alexandrie*, p.82, with the ages transposed by comparison with his first publication in *BIE* 13; Philon is now given the age 34, and Joseph that of 50. The entries here follow Néroutsos's first publication.

2 (CIJ ii no.1428): Chatby, Alexandria; necropolis: perhaps late Ptolemaic. Epitaph painted in red ochre on plastered wall.

Unknown.

Text follows T.D. Néroutsos, *BIE* 13 (1874-5), p.229 (see no.1, above); his conjectural restoration is given in the note.

Φίλων Ἰππ[.....] KNEM (ἔτῶν) ν'.

Néroutsos expanded the L symbol as (ἔτη)

Ἰππ[.....]: Néroutsos, followed by *CIJ* Ἰππ[ολύτου]

Philon son of Hipp... *KNEM*, 50 years old.

T.D. Néroutsos, 'Mémoire sur les fouilles récentes faites à Alexandrie', *BIE* 13 (1874-5), p.229 (from the original); T.D. Néroutsos, *L'ancienne Alexandrie* (1888), p.82; *CIJ* ii (1952), p.358 no.1428; *CPJ* iii (1964), p.139 no.1428.

B.S.J. Isserlin, 'The names of the 72 translators of the Septuagint', *JANESCU* 5 (1973), p.192; M. Hengel, *Jews, Greeks and barbarians* (1980), p.91 n.34; J. Mélèze-Modrzejewski, 'Splendeurs grecques et misères romaines', in *Les juifs du Nil*, ed. J. Hassoun (1981), p.25; Schürer revised iii.i (1986), p.47; M. Hengel, 'The interpenetration of Judaism and

Cambridge University Press

0521418704 - Jewish Inscriptions of Graeco-Roman Egypt: with an Index of the Jewish Inscriptions of Egypt and Cyrenaica

William Horbury and David Noy

Excerpt

[More information](#)

INSCRIPTIONS

Hellenism', *CHJ* ii (1989), p.193 n.3; J. Mélèze-Modrzejewski, *Les juifs d'Égypte* (1991), p.69.

The name Philon, conventionally transliterated as Philo, was borne by Jews including the epic poet who wrote on Jerusalem (quoted by Alexander Polyhistor in the first century B.C.; see Schürer revised, iii.i, pp.559-61), the Alexandrian philosopher of the first century A.D., and two persons named in ostraca of the first century A.D. (Rokeah in *CPJ* iii, p.195); the related names Philous and Philoution were also used by Jews (no.80, below). The restoration of the second name as Hippolytus would give a name found in the Roman Christian community at the beginning of the third century A.D., but not attested among Jews in Egypt; Mélèze-Modrzejewski, *Les juifs d'Égypte*, p.69 notes that Hippostratus is also possible; Hippodamus, a third possibility, does occur as a Jewish name (*CPJ* 30.i,2; second century B.C.). See no.1, above, for comments on the date and the letters *KNEM*.

3 (Plate III; *CIJ* ii no.1424): El-Ibrahimiya, Alexandria; necropolis: early Ptolemaic. Painted stucco; epitaph; Aramaic with Hebrew proper names.

Alexandria Museum.

Text follows C. Clermont-Ganneau, *RAO* viii, pp.61-5.

עקביה

בר אליועי

ני

Akabiah son of Elioenai.

C. Clermont-Ganneau, 'L'antique nécropole juive d'Alexandrie', *CRAI* (1907), pp.236-9 (photograph on p.237) and pp.375-6 = *RAO* viii (1907), pp.61-5 and pl.ii (from tracing and photograph); E. Breccia, 'La necropoli dell'Ibrahimieh', *BSAA* 9 (1907), pp.38-41, fig.10; M. Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris* iii (1915), p.49; *CIJ* ii (1952), p.356 no.1424; *CPJ* iii (1964), p.138 no.1424; J. Mélèze-Modrzejewski, *Les juifs d'Égypte* (1991), pp.67-8 (facsimile).

E. Schürer, *Geschichte* iii (1909), pp.41f.; L. Fuchs, *Die Juden Aegyptens* (1924), pp.7-8; H. Leclercq, 'Judaïsme', *DACL* viii.i (1932), cols.235-6; E.M. Forster, *Alexandria: a history and a guide* (1938), p.111; S. Calderone, 'Per la storia dell'elemento giudaico nella Sicilia imperiale', *RAL* (1955), p.493 n.4;

Cambridge University Press

0521418704 - Jewish Inscriptions of Graeco-Roman Egypt: with an Index of the Jewish Inscriptions of Egypt and Cyrenaica

William Horbury and David Noy

Excerpt

[More information](#)

JEWISH INSCRIPTIONS OF EGYPT

A. Kasher, 'Three Jewish communities of Lower Egypt', *SCIsr* 2 (1975), p.115 n.9; M. Hengel, *Jews, Greeks and barbarians* (1980), p.91 n.34; J. Méléze-Modrzejewski, 'Splendeurs grecques et misères romaines', in *Les juifs du Nil*, ed. J. Hassoun (1981), p.25; A. Kasher, *The Jews in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt* (1985), p.108 n.4a; Schürer revised iii.i (1986), p.47; M. Hengel, 'The interpenetration of Judaism and Hellenism', *CHJ* ii (1989), p.193 n.3.

On El-Ibrahimiya, see Introduction, pp.xiv–xv, above, and P.M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* i, p.33 (literature). The dating of nos.3–8 derives mainly from the dating of the cemetery as a whole, which is bound up with that of the eastern necropolis (Chatby, Hadra, Ibrahimiya) in general (see Introduction, p.xiv, above). In 1907 Breccia noted that in this El-Ibrahimiya cemetery two coins of Ptolemy I were found in one loculus, and others of Ptolemy I and II in the sand outside the tombs; further, the palaeography of the Greek inscriptions and the form of the stelae suit an epoch not too far advanced in the Ptolemaic period, and Roman features are entirely lacking. Breccia concluded that this cemetery was in full development not long after Ptolemy I, if not already during his reign, and that the latest parts were not later than the middle of the first century B.C. (Breccia, 'Ibrahimieh', pp.65–7). The general likelihood of an early Ptolemaic date for part of the necropolis is confirmed by discoveries at Chatby and Hadra (see Introduction). Jewish inscriptions were found among those of non-Jews, as in later discoveries at Hadra and Mustafa Pasha (nos.10–12, below). Ibrahimiya is therefore less likely to be the ancient 'Jewish necropolis' of Alexandria, as suggested by Clermont-Ganneau, than a place where Jews and non-Jews with some common link were buried. Breccia accordingly suggested that the Ibrahimiya Jewish graves were those of mercenaries (Breccia, 'Ibrahimieh', pp.40–2, 67–8; id., *Egitto greco e romano* (3rd ed., Pisa, 1957), pp.173–4).

Clermont-Ganneau judged that the script of no.3 closely recalled Jewish Aramaic documents of the fifth century B.C., but that, given the location of the find, the grave must be early Ptolemaic; Lidzbarski opted for the third to the second century B.C. (Clermont-Ganneau, *CRAI* (1907), pp.237–9 = *RAO* viii, pp.62–4; Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris* iii, p.49). Even apart from arguments from palaeography, however, there is a fair probability, since a Ptolemaic dating for the cemetery as a whole is likely, that a Jewish epitaph in Semitic script would be early Ptolemaic. The great majority of known Ptolemaic and early Roman Jewish epitaphs from Alexandria and Egypt are Greek, and this Semitic inscription would then reflect the circumstances of immigrants who were not yet linguistically assimilated. Comparably, the handful of

Cambridge University Press

0521418704 - Jewish Inscriptions of Graeco-Roman Egypt: with an Index of the Jewish Inscriptions of Egypt and Cyrenaica

William Horbury and David Noy

Excerpt

[More information](#)

INSCRIPTIONS

Jewish papyri and ostraca written in Aramaic but including Greek names are usually assigned to the early Ptolemaic period (Cowley, *Aramaic papyri*, nos.81-2; Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris*, ii, pp.243-8, iii, pp.22-6; comment in C.C. Torrey, *Aramaic graffiti*, pp.4-5). It might similarly be suggested tentatively that, if an inscription from Tell el-Yehoudieh was rightly identified as Semitic (Introduction, p.xviii, above), it would reflect a stage when some members of that particular Jewish immigration were not yet using Greek for preference; the date in this instance would be the 2nd century B.C., given the identification of the community with the followers of Onias. The probability of this line of argument is only fair, however, for the total number of epitaphs known is relatively small, and Aramaic or Hebrew speakers might have formed a group within an immigrant community for some time after arrival. Aramaic-speaking Jews were probably known in Alexandria in Philo's time (the satirical Greek cries of 'Marin' during Agrippa I's visit in A.D.38 (Philo, *Flacc.* 39) would otherwise have lost part of their point, although Philo himself connects them only with Agrippa's reputation as a Syrian king); once again, recent immigrants may be in question. Similarly, Torrey emphasized that in Acts xxi 37-8 the tribune Claudius Lysias is represented as assuming that 'the Egyptian' who stirred up unrest in Judaea will not know Greek (Torrey, *Demanhur*, p.6). The Nash Papyrus attests use of the Decalogue and Shema' in Hebrew in the later Ptolemaic period (W.F. Albright, 'A biblical fragment from the Maccabaeon age: the Nash Papyrus', *JBL* 56 (1937), pp.143-76; G. Vermes, *Post-Biblical Jewish studies* (Leiden, 1975), pp.169-177).

For the retention of names in Hebrew form in an Aramaic text, compare Aramaic papyri, for instance Cowley, *Aram. Pap.* 82 l.2 (Delaiah bar H[aggai], Shib'ah bar Obadiah); an Aramaic ossuary inscription of the first century A.D. from Judaea can also include a short Hebrew formula (D. Barag & D. Flusser, 'The ossuary of Yehoḥanah, granddaughter of the High Priest Theophilus', *IEJ* 36 (1986), pp.39-44 (41)).

The name Akabiah occurs in Aramaic form with final * as the name of a son of the high priest Ha[nania]h in a Masada jar inscription in Aramaic (Barag & Flusser, 'Yehoḥanah', p.41 n.8), and (with initial as well as final *) as the second component of the double name Jehoezer Akabia, on two ossuaries from the first-century A.D. Goliath sepulchre at Jericho (Hachlili, 'Goliath family', pp.48, 54). In literature, Akabiah is found in post-biblical sources (e.g. Mishnah, *Eduyoth* v 6-7; the related name Akiba, e.g. *Berakhoth* iv 3), but the related name Akkub is biblical; note I Chron. iii 24, Akkub, one of the sons of Eliehoenai. Biblical Eliehoenai or Elioenai (e.g. I

Cambridge University Press

0521418704 - Jewish Inscriptions of Graeco-Roman Egypt: with an Index of the Jewish Inscriptions of Egypt and Cyrenaica

William Horbury and David Noy

Excerpt

[More information](#)

JEWISH INSCRIPTIONS OF EGYPT

Chron. iii 23-4, Ezra viii 4, Neh. xii 41) recurs as the name of a high priest in Josephus, *Ant.* xix 342 (Elionaeus); Mishnah, Parah iii 5 (Eliehoenai). Elienai is attested on a Hebrew seal of the first century A.D.; see N. Avigad, 'The seal of Elienai', *Eretz-Israel* 16 (1982), pp.1 ff. and pl.A.

If the Akabiah of this inscription was of priestly descent, a possibility suggested by the attestations of the two names, that would not be incompatible with Breccia's suggestion that these Jews were military settlers; the sons of the high priest Onias IV were generals of Cleopatra III (Josephus, *Ant.* xiii 285-7, 348-55; cf. no.129 below).

The inscription is painted in red, in large characters, within a border in the shape of an undivided portal, rectangular at the base and irregularly rounded towards an obtuse-angled point at the head, 89 cm. high in all (Clermont-Ganneau, *CRAI* (1907) p.236 = *RAO* viii, pp.61-2; Breccia, *BSAA* 9, pp.38 & 40).

4 (CIJ ii no.1425): El-Ibrahimiya, Alexandria (see no.3); necropolis: early Ptolemaic. Painted stucco; epitaph (?); Aramaic or Hebrew. Alexandria Museum.

Text follows C. Clermont-Ganneau, *RAO* viii, pp.69-71.

בִּים י

[...אפלין]

On the tenth day Apollo(dorus?)

C. Clermont-Ganneau, 'L'antique nécropole juive d'Alexandrie', *CRAI* (1907), pp.378-9 = *RAO* viii (1907), pp.69-71 and pl.v (from tracing and photograph); M. Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris* iii (1915), p.50; *CIJ* ii (1952), pp.356-7 no.1425; *CPJ* iii (1964), p.138 no.1425.

B.S.J. Isserlin, 'The names of the 72 translators of the Septuagint', *JANESCU* 5 (1973), p.192; A. Kasher, 'Three Jewish communities of Lower Egypt', *SCIsr* 2 (1975), p.115 n.9; M. Hengel, *Jews, Greeks and barbarians* (1980), p.91 n.34; J. Méléze-Modrzejewski, 'Splendeurs grecques et misères romaines', in *Les juifs du Nil*, ed. J. Hassoun (1981), p.25; A. Kasher, *The Jews in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt* (1985), p.108 n.4a; Schürer revised iii.i (1986), p.47; M. Hengel, 'The interpenetration of Judaism and Hellenism', *CHJ* ii (1989), p.193 n.3; J. Méléze-Modrzejewski, *Les juifs d'Égypte* (1991),

Cambridge University Press

0521418704 - Jewish Inscriptions of Graeco-Roman Egypt: with an Index of the Jewish Inscriptions of Egypt and Cyrenaica

William Horbury and David Noy

Excerpt

[More information](#)

INSCRIPTIONS

p.69.

The inscription is painted in red on stucco applied to the rock face. On the dating, see no.3, above. In l.2, a letter resembling τ can be seen after ι in the copy as reproduced by Clermont-Ganneau, *RAO* viii (1907), p.69. He emphasizes the poor quality of the copy and the uncertainty of the transcription. The restoration Apollo[dorus] assumes that the letter after ι is indeed τ , but gives a name otherwise unattested among Egyptian Jews. Mèlèze-Modrzejewski, *Les juifs d'Égypte*, p.67, well suggests Apollonius, noting that it occurs as a Jewish name at least four times in Greek papyrus, although at a later date. To these may be added, however, the attestation of Apollonius in the possibly contemporary Aramaic Jewish papyrus, Cowley, *Aram. Pap.* 81, l.64 אפליניס. If this suggestion is right, the spelling of the name in the epitaph will have been fuller than in the Aramaic papyrus. It is therefore advisable to keep open the possibility of another name, perhaps reading אפלי = Aphuli; the Hebrew proper names 'ply and 'pwli (?Aphli, Aphili, Aphuli) are attested respectively in a pre-exilic seal and in an Aramaic Elephantine papyrus of 437 B.C. (G.I. Davies, *Ancient Hebrew inscriptions*, s.vv.; E.G. Kraeling, *Aramaic Papyri*, p.155 no.3 l.4 and l.21). Nevertheless, given the popularity of the name Apollonius over a long period beginning with the probable time of this inscription, it is a strong suggestion.

5 (Plate IV; CIJ ii no.1426): El-Ibrahimiya, Alexandria (see no.3); necropolis: early Ptolemaic. Painted stucco; Aramaic letters and numerals.

Alexandria Museum.

Text follows M. Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris* iii, p.50 (see final paragraph of comment).

מ ד 4 3

ת ר 3 3

[Right-hand column] 20 1000

20 20

[Left-hand column] *dmtr* (?Demetrius)

Cambridge University Press

0521418704 - Jewish Inscriptions of Graeco-Roman Egypt: with an Index of the Jewish Inscriptions of Egypt and Cyrenaica

William Horbury and David Noy

Excerpt

[More information](#)

JEWISH INSCRIPTIONS OF EGYPT

C. Clermont-Ganneau, 'L'antique nécropole juive d'Alexandrie', *CRAI* (1907), pp.242-3 (photograph on p.241) = *RAO* viii (1907), pp.66-7 and pl.iii (from tracing and photograph); M. Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris* iii (1915), p.50; *CIJ* ii (1952), p.357 no.1426; E.R. Goodenough, *Jewish symbols* ii (1958), p.62; iii fig.864 (photograph); *CPJ* iii (1964), p.138 no.1426.

A. Kasher, 'Three Jewish communities of Lower Egypt', *SCIsr* 2 (1975), p.115 n.9; M. Hengel, *Jews, Greeks and barbarians* (1980), p.91 n.34; J. Mélèze-Modrzejewski, 'Splendeurs grecques et misères romaines', in *Les juifs du Nil*, ed. J. Hassoun (1981), p.25; A. Kasher, *The Jews in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt* (1985), p.108 n.4a; Schürer revised iii.i (1986), p.47; M. Hengel, 'The interpenetration of Judaism and Hellenism', *CHJ* ii (1989), p.193 n.3; J. Mélèze-Modrzejewski, *Les juifs d'Égypte* (1991), p.69.

In the original (see Plate IV) the script is uniform in both columns, but in the transcription above characters representing the forms in the original appear in the right-hand column, here interpreted as presenting numerals, and conventional Hebrew square characters in the left-hand column, here interpreted as presenting letters.

The characters were 'executed with care and very well presented' (Clermont-Ganneau, *RAO* viii, p.66), but the reading is uncertain partly because the general sense of the inscription is unclear. Clermont-Ganneau held that it was likely to be an epitaph, but because of the difficulty of discerning a name in the right-hand column he very tentatively suggested that some of the characters in this column might read as numerals rather than letters, the left-hand column as the name Demetr[ius], and that the whole might then be understood as indicating the particular position of Demetrius's burial. He brought into this interpretation a mark (read as *aleph*, *ibid.*, p.67, n.1) which appeared to the right of the upper line of the right-hand column in the tracing but not the photograph, and which he regarded as only very doubtfully a character, especially as a character in that position would have disturbed the symmetry of the arrangement (*ibid.*, p.66, n.1); this mark on the copy should probably be disregarded, as he himself suggests, but some form of his interpretation could stand without it.

Lidzbarski affirmed that the right-hand column should be read as numerals, that there seemed to be no character to the right of the upper line of this column, and that the four characters on the left might represent the name Demetrius; but he did not think it possible that, as Clermont-Ganneau held, the left-hand character of the upper line of numerals could be *mem* (like the somewhat similar second character in the upper line of *letters*); it

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0521418704 - Jewish Inscriptions of Graeco-Roman Egypt: with an Index of the Jewish Inscriptions of Egypt and Cyrenaica

William Horbury and David Noy

Excerpt

[More information](#)

INSCRIPTIONS

was more likely to be the numerical sign for 1000. If Clermont-Ganneau's reading were to be allowed, however, the values in the first line of numerals would be 20 40.

In view of the care given to the inscription and its outline, in which it is comparable with the nearby inscription of Akabiah (no.3) and that of Psyllas (no.8, where the painted outline is similarly elaborated at the top), it seems likely that it is indeed meant to indicate a particular burial place, in the same way as those inscriptions which clearly give names.

The division of the name Psyllas (no.8, Plate IV) into two lines within one of two columns formed by the outline suggests that here too the characters may be read consecutively within each column, but no name can readily be discerned in the right-hand column (*sm(?)ss*), and it therefore seems best provisionally to accept the interpretation of these characters as numerals, perhaps indicating a particular position or positions within the tomb, and the interpretation of the left-hand column as *dmtr* = Demetrius (found as a Jewish name in a second-century B.C. papyrus, *CPJ* 28.19).

It is perhaps just worth noting one further possibility, that of reading across the two columns from right to left, taking the first column as two sets of numerals and the second as two abbreviated names, to give (l.1) 20 40 (?) Dem(etrius) (?); (l.2) 20 20 Theod(orus) (?) (Clermont-Ganneau gave τ as an alternative reading of the letter transcribed τ above; for Theodorus, see the ostrakon published by Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris* ii, p.243, and Sachau, *Elephantine*, i, pp.230-3 [there spelt תודירס; here the defective spelling תודירס is presupposed]; it is often a Jewish name in Greek ostraca and papyri, from the first half of the second century B.C. onwards [*CPJ* iii, p.177]).

The general likelihood that this is a Jewish inscription stems from its position close to no.3, but confirmation is lacking because of the uncertainties of interpretation.

Eight characters corresponding to Aramaic letters and numerals symmetrically arranged in two painted columns formed by an outline in the shape of a portal or framework, each column containing four characters.

Cambridge University Press

0521418704 - Jewish Inscriptions of Graeco-Roman Egypt: with an Index of the Jewish Inscriptions of Egypt and Cyrenaica

William Horbury and David Noy

Excerpt

[More information](#)

JEWISH INSCRIPTIONS OF EGYPT

6 (CIJ ii no.1429): El-Ibrahimiya, Alexandria (see no.3); necropolis: early Ptolemaic. Epitaph painted in large red characters on outer wall of loculus.

Alexandria Museum.

Text follows E. Breccia, *Iscrizioni* no.253, p.136.

Ἰωάν|να Εὐφ|ροσύνη.

Joanna Euphrosyne.

E. Breccia, 'La necropoli dell' Ibrahimieh', *BSAA* 9 (1907), pp.38-42 and 53-6 (from the original); C. Clermont-Ganneau, 'L'antique nécropole juive d'Alexandrie', *CRAI* (1907), p.235 = *RAO* viii (1907), pp.60-1 (from copy supplied by Breccia); J. Oehler, 'Epigraphische Beiträge zur Geschichte des Judentums', *MGWJ* 53 (1909), p.450 n.223; E. Breccia, *Iscrizioni* (1911), p.136 no.253 (from the original); *SB* i (1915), p.43 no.457; L. Fuchs, *Die Juden Aegyptens* (1924), p.68 n.18; *CIJ* ii (1952), p.358 no.1429; *CPJ* i (1957), p.28 n.70; *CPJ* iii (1964), p.139 no.1429.

A. Neppi Modona, 'La vita pubblica e privata degli ebrei in Egitto', *Aegyptus* 3 (1922), p.40; H. Leclercq, 'Judaïsme', *DACL* viii.i (1932), cols.234-5; S.M. Ruozzi Sala, *Lexicon nominum semiticorum* (1974), p.21; G. Delling, 'Biblich-jüdische Namen im hellenistisch-römischen Ägypten', *BSAC* 22 (1974-5), p.14; M. Hengel, *Jews, Greeks and barbarians* (1980), p.91 n.34; J. Mélèze-Modrzejewski, 'Splendeurs grecques et misères romaines', in *Les juifs du Nil*, ed. J. Hassoun (1981), p.25; Schürer revised iii.i (1986), p.47; G. Mayer, *Die jüdische Frau in der hellenistisch-römischen Antike* (1987), p.33, p.125 no.729; M. Hengel, 'The interpenetration of Judaism and Hellenism', *CHJ* ii (1989), p.193 n.3; J. Mélèze-Modrzejewski, *Les juifs d'Égypte* (1991), p.69.

The originally Hebrew Jo[h]anna, a feminine form of the widespread Hebrew J(eh)ohanán, John (Neh. xii 13, etc.), was not uncommon in Greek in Egypt (three instances including this in Rokeah, 'Prosopography', *CPJ* iii, p.182); the female name Jehohan (יהוחן) was current in the Persian period among the Jews of Elephantine (e.g. Cowley, *Aram. Pap.*, no.20, ll.2, 21, 23), and in the Greek and Roman period Jehohannah and Joanna were quite widely used in Palestine (eight instances in Ilan, 'Women's names', p.195, no.XXXIV). The Greek Euphrosyne could have been taken as nominal ('Mirth' or 'Joy'), or adjectival ('Merry' or 'Joyful'). Adjectival understanding here is suggested by the later occurrence of the male adjectival form