

Synagogue on Delos:
Identification and context

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A thesis submitted to the faculty of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in the Department of Classics.

Chapel Hill
2012

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ABSTRACT

DANIEL SCHINDLER: Synagogue on Delos, identification and context
(Under the direction of Monika Trümper)

This thesis reassesses the much debated identification of the building *GD 80* on Delos as a synagogue. First, the literary, epigraphic, and archaeological evidence and its significance for determining the function of the building is critically analyzed. Second, the Delian complex is compared with several other pre-70 CE buildings in Judea and Ostia that also have been interpreted as synagogues. It is argued that any definite identification of the building *GD 80* is not currently possible.

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List of Abbreviations

<i>AW</i>	Antique Welt
<i>BCH</i>	Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique
<i>BdA</i>	Bollettino d'arte
<i>BÉFAR</i>	Bibliothèque des écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome
<i>BiblArch</i>	Biblical Archaeologist
<i>EA</i>	Epigraphica Anatolica
<i>EAD</i>	Exploration archéologique de Délos
<i>GD</i>	Guide de Délos
<i>Hephaistos</i>	Hephaistos. Kritische Zeitschrift zur Theorie und Praxis der Archäologie und angrenzenden Wissenschaften
<i>Hesperia</i>	Hesperia. The Journal of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens
<i>HTR</i>	Harvard Theological Review
<i>ID</i>	Inscriptions de Délos
<i>IEJ</i>	Israel Exploration Journal
<i>JSJ</i>	Journal for the Study of Judaism
<i>NEAEHL</i>	New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land
<i>OEANE</i>	The Oxford Encyclopedia of Archaeology in the Near East
<i>RBibl</i>	Revue biblique

State of Research and Aim:

The identification of building *GD* 80 on Delos as a synagogue, which is considered by many scholars to be the oldest original such building in the Diaspora or Judea, has been debated for the better part of a century.¹ In the last twenty years there has been a resurgence of synagogue studies, typically centering on the origin of synagogues and the earliest archaeological examples.² However, there has been no scholarly consensus regarding the identification of early synagogue buildings. The term synagogue, which is known from pre-70 CE literary and epigraphic sources, can refer to an assembly of Jews or to a purpose-built building – to house the assembly. What constitutes a ‘synagogue’ and how scholars define that term is one of the most challenging issues in the study of pre-70 CE synagogues. If it is defined as a building, is it an assembly hall for a variety of purposes, strictly for religious use, or some combination of both?³

According to Binder, the most common problem is literary and archaeological anachronism, namely, that evidence from the 2nd century CE and later is cited in the discussions of pre-70 CE synagogues.⁴ For example, traditions recorded in Luke-Acts, Josephus, and rabbinical texts are cited in an attempt to determine the activities performed in 1st century CE synagogues and their role in Second Temple society. A second problem is that

¹ For the purposes of this paper I will use the designation ‘Judea’ to refer to the pre-70 CE Roman province of the same name. It was not until after the Bar Kokhba revolt in 135 CE that the Roman Emperor Hadrian changed the name to Syria-Palestina. Since all of the alleged synagogues from this region that are included in this paper date to before 70 CE, I will use this designation. For more information concerning the name of this region see, Levine 2000, 42 n. 1.

All buildings in Delos are numbered in P. Bruneau and J. Ducat, *Guide de Délos*, 4th ed., Paris 2005 and commonly referred to with these numbers: *GD* 80 = *Guide de Délos* no. 80.

² The origins of the synagogue cannot be treated here. Discussion of this topic is often based on arguments from silence; see Levine 2000, 19-41; Runesson 2001a; Catto 2007.

³ Levine 2004, 91-2.

⁴ Binder 1999, 4-13.

the archaeological material from the pre-70 CE period, as compared to the material from late antiquity, is meager in Judea and especially in the Diaspora where the buildings at Delos and Ostia are the only claimed extant examples of pre-70 CE Diaspora synagogues. Thus, it is much more difficult to reconstruct the significance and function of synagogues in Jewish society before the destruction of the Temple than afterwards.

There are two main reasons why early synagogue buildings have been hotly contested and why they are important to Judeo-Christian studies: first, the synagogue played a central role in Jewish life in antiquity, and second, it provided a socio-political and religious setting for the formative periods of Judaism and Christianity.

It will be argued in this paper that the identification of the building on Delos as a synagogue is tenuous at best and that the archaeological record provides *no conclusive evidence* for determining the function of this building beyond that of an assembly space (but not necessarily a *Jewish* assembly space). Furthermore, the circularity of the arguments used to justify its identification as a synagogue will be highlighted. Finally, it will be stressed that the identification and study of pre-70 CE synagogue buildings needs to be approached with caution. First, the literary and epigraphic evidence for Jews on Delos, which is cited by scholars as proof of the identification of the building, will be considered. It shall be seen that while there may have been Jews living on Delos this fact does not secure the identification of the building *GD* 80 as a synagogue. The following analysis of the building will demonstrate that very little evidence exists to determine its function beyond that of an assembly hall. Comparisons with other buildings on Delos will show first, that the structure *GD* 80 shows similarities with pagan clubhouses on Delos, though it lacks some features typical of these buildings; and second, that *GD* 80 differs significantly from local domestic architecture.

Finally, *GD 80* will be compared to other so-called pre-70 CE synagogues that have been identified in Judea (Gamla, Masada, Herodium) and at the Roman port city of Ostia, calling into question the identification of these buildings.

Building *GD 80* was first excavated by Plassart between 1912 and 1913 and published only in short reports and with schematic plans.⁵ He was the first to identify it as a synagogue based on six inscriptions found inside the building which will be discussed below.⁶ In 1970, and again in 1982 and 1988, Bruneau reexamined the building, publishing a state plan, section drawings, and list of inscriptions.⁷ While Bruneau did not question the identification as a synagogue, this issue was the focus of more recent studies by White, Binder, Trümper, and Matassa, whose methodologies differ and produced crucially different results.⁸ Additionally, *GD 80* has been cited in nearly all recent books and papers on early synagogues. This study will provide a balanced approach toward the reexamination of the evidence for a synagogue building on Delos, as well as reexamine the context, which is often overlooked by scholars.

Identification of *GD 80*

Location and Context:

⁵ Plassart 1913; Plassart 1914, 523-34.

⁶ Matassa 2007, 83.

⁷ Bruneau 1970, 480-93; Bruneau 1982; Bruneau 1988.

⁸ White 1987, 1990, 1999; Binder 1999; Trümper 2004; Matassa 2007. White, Binder, and Matassa have a predominantly textual approach to the material, while Trümper has an archaeological focus.

GD 80 is located on the northeast side of the island of Delos, in the partially excavated Quartier du stade, clearly separated from the main harbor and city (Fig. 1). The Quartier du stade includes two insulae with residential buildings (*GD 79b*) and a larger commercial building/clubhouse of an association, the so-called perfumery (*GD 79a*), and a complex of agonistic buildings, namely a gymnasium, stadium, and xyste (*GD 76-78*, respectively) (Fig. 2).⁹ *GD 80* is located immediately on the shore on the southern end of the Gournia bay, which served in antiquity as a small protected harbor.¹⁰ The sea, which has risen about 2.50 m since antiquity, has destroyed the eastern part of *GD 80* to an unknown extent as well as many other buildings in the Quartier du stade. The immediate surroundings of *GD 80* have never been excavated and no detailed plan of all remains visible on the surface of this quarter has been published.¹¹ Thus, the architectural and urban context of *GD 80* currently cannot be fully assessed.¹²

It is not clear exactly when *GD 80* was built. The stadium was built sometime in the first half of the 3rd century BCE.¹³ The Quartier du stade did not undergo major development until after 167/6 BCE, when Romans conquered the island, declared it a free port, and gave control of it to Athens. During this period Delos became a cosmopolitan trade center and home to numerous merchants. In light of this evidence, *GD 80* could have been constructed

⁹ For more information on the results of the excavation of the Quartier du stade, see Plassart 1916, 145-256.

¹⁰ Trümper 2004, 514.

¹¹ Trümper 2004, 540.

¹² The residential insulae were developed north to south. The stadium most likely preceded the insulae followed by the gymnasium. The layout of the insula with *GD 80* clearly suggests some general urban planning. What is not clear is the chronological relationship between Insula I (developed north to south) and the *GD 80* insula developed south to north (Trümper 2004, 541).

¹³ *GD* 2005, 251 n. 10.

in the period between the 3rd century BCE and 88/69 BCE.¹⁴ After Delos was attacked and sacked by the troops of Mithridates VI of Pontus in 88 BCE and again in 69 BCE by the pirates of Athenodoros, *GD* 80 continued to be occupied, possibly well into the 2nd century CE.¹⁵ If *GD* 80 is a synagogue, it would be the oldest such building ever discovered.¹⁶ Due to the importance and implications of such a claim, it is necessary to reexamine the data at hand. Before we can examine the archaeological evidence, we must first try to determine whether there were there Jews on Delos.

Literary and Epigraphic Evidence for Jews on Delos:

Many scholars have cited literary and epigraphic evidence that purportedly attests to a Jewish population living on or visiting the island of Delos. The most substantial text consists of a decree of the 1st century BCE preserved in Josephus:

Julius Gaius, Praetor, Consul of the Romans, to the magistrates, council and people of Parium, greeting. The Jews in/on Delos (*en Delo*) and some of the neighboring Jews, some of your envoys also being present, have appealed to me and declared that you are preventing them by statute from observing their national customs and sacred rites. Now it displeases me that such statutes should be made against our friends and allies and that they should be forbidden to live in accordance with their customs and to contribute money to common meals and sacred rites.

(*Ant.* 14.213-16)¹⁷

There was a Jewish community on Delos in the middle of the 1st century BCE whose cultural and sacred rites, including common meals and banquets, were restricted. While a specific place for such gatherings is not mentioned, one can infer that some sort of publicly visible

¹⁴ Trümper 2004, 514.

¹⁵ *GD* 2005, 254; Pausanias (8.33.2) suggests that Delos was ‘sparsely populated’ in the 2nd century CE.

¹⁶ For a summary of the early debate concerning *GD* 80, see Catto 2007, 63 n. 71.

¹⁷ Marcus 1961, 561-3.

assembly space existed on the island for such activities. The very mention of such activities being restricted indicates that they were practiced at least by the time of this decree.¹⁸ Some scholars have suggested that the Jews mentioned in the text were residents of Parium, which is located on the coast of the Troad, and would therefore offer evidence of a Jewish community and its assembly space in Parium and not Delos.¹⁹ On the other hand, Parium could have had a special relationship with Delos and its Jewish population, and it seems clear from the text that there was a Jewish population in *both* Parium and Delos.²⁰

First Maccabees provides the earliest literary reference to Jews on Delos.

Then Numenius and his companions arrived from Rome, with letters to the kings and countries, in which the following was written: ‘Lucius, consul of the Romans, to King Ptolemy, greetings. The envoys of the Jews have come to us as our friends and allies to renew our ancient friendship and alliance. They had been sent by the high priest Simon and by the Jewish people and have brought a gold shield weighing one thousand minas. We therefore have decided to write to the kings and countries that they should not seek their harm or make war against them and their cities and their country, or make alliance with those who war against them. And it has seemed good to us to accept the shield from them. Therefore if any scoundrels have fled to you from their country, hand them over to the high priest Simon, so that he may punish them according to their law.’ The consul wrote the same thing to King Demetrius and to Attalus and Ariarathes and Arasaces, and to all the countries, and to Sampsames, and to the Spartans, and to Delos, and to Myndos, and to Sicyon, and to Caria, and to Samos, and to Pamphylia, and to Lycia, and to Halicarnassus, and to Rhodes, and to Phaselis, and to Cos, and to Side, and to Aradus and Gortyna and Cnidus and Cyprus and Cyrene. They also sent a copy of these things to the high priest Simon.

(1 Macc. 15.15-23)²¹

¹⁸ Levine 2000, 104. Matassa incorrectly asserts that a Jewish population on Delos could not have had such an assembly space. She argues that the Jews on Delos could not have assembled with the anti-Jewish legislation in effect and that they were in no position to have an identifiable synagogue to use for their traditional practices (2007, 86). However, precisely the opposite may be true. The fact that the text mentions Jewish customs suggests that these were publically visible and therefore had been conceived of as offending to other inhabitants of Delos. Rites or practices that were held in private settings likely would not have caused any public reaction.

¹⁹ Runesson et al. 2008, 124-5. Eilers (forthcoming, ch. 9) interprets “on Delos” as a reference to the place where the Jews met with the magistrate.

²⁰ There is a second text from Josephus, which is an account of the same event, but Delos is not mentioned specifically (*Ant.* 14.145-8); however, it is commonly juxtaposed with the first text.

²¹ Callaway 2007, 242.

This passage describes the Jews renewing their friendship with the Romans through the high priest Simon – in 139 BCE. While Delos is mentioned in this text, it is not clear whether this means that Jews lived on or frequented the island, or is merely a renewal of good faith between the Jews and Romans, or pertains to criminals/runaways. While both of these texts mention Delos it is not clear whether there was a population of Jews on the island. Many scholars have cited these passages as evidence both of a Jewish population and a synagogue building on Delos; however, it is clear that one can only infer the existence of a synagogue from Josephus' text.

Plassart's principal body of evidence for identifying *GD 80* as a synagogue consisted of six inscribed votives: five discovered in the building and one outside. *ID 2329*, dated to the 1st century BCE, was found in a house 90 m northwest of *GD 80* in the Quarter du stade (*GD 79b*). Plassart associated it with *GD 80* for two reasons: it shared the name Lysimachus with another inscription found in *GD 80* (*ID 2328*) and contains the words *epi proseuche* (Fig. 3).²² It is not clear what the relationship is between *ID 2329* and *GD 80* and if there ever was one.

Proseuche with the particle *epi* has two meanings in Greek. First, it can be translated as “an offering to the prayer-house”. However, it can also be used *for* the actual object dedicated: “as an offering, vow, or prayer”.²³ In Jewish literature of the 2nd century BCE through the 1st century CE, the term *proseuche* did not have a universal meaning. The temple

²² Plassart 1914, 522-34; Trümper 2004, 569-71 ns. 122-3; Runesson et al. 2008, 129. The name Lysimachus is not inherently Jewish and appears in other non-Jewish contexts on Delos. For example, *ID 2616* is a list of donors to Sarapeion C (Mastassa 2007, 89).

²³ For those scholars who doubt such an interpretation, see Levine 2000, 153-5, ns. 147-52 and Runesson 2001a, 429 n. 96. Mazur (1935, 21-22) was the first to question Plassart's translation of the phrase on *ID 2329* because the definite article is absent. She translated it as ‘for a prayer/votive’.

in Jerusalem, earlier Jewish shrines, and synagogue buildings could all be described by this term.²⁴ Even in Jewish contexts it is unclear whether *proseuche* means ‘prayer’ or ‘prayer-house’. There is no literary or epigraphic evidence to substantiate the claim of some scholars that communal prayer took place in the Second Temple period synagogues.²⁵ A comprehensive study of all of the uses of the term *proseuche* is needed to clarify this issue.

The term *synagoge*, commonly used in Palestine, superseded the term *proseuche* in the Diaspora in reference to assembly buildings, and only took on its modern meaning of a place of worship and prayer, community center, hostel, banqueting place, law court, etc. by the 4th century CE.²⁶ We will see that archaeological evidence of activities that might have taken place in *GD* 80 is lacking. *Synagoge* is a Greek word that denotes both the community of Jews and the building housing it. The former sense is already present in the Septuagint and the latter occurs from the 1st century CE in the New Testament and Josephus. In other words, a purpose-built building is not required to house a Jewish assembly. With regard to *ID* 2329, it is not clear whether the votive was erected in a pagan or Jewish communal context.

In 1979-80, Bruneau discovered two stelae with honorary inscriptions on the shore, 90 m north of *GD* 80. Both were adorned with a wreath and mention Mt. Gerizim

²⁴ The following literary citations are based on Runesson 2001a, 429:

1. Temple in Jerusalem: 1 Macc 7: 37; Mark 11:17; Matt 21: 13; Luke 19:46
2. Earlier Jewish shrines: 1Macc. 3:46
3. Synagogues: Philo, *Flacc.* 122; Josephus, *Life.* 277

Scholars have identified several other terms used to denote synagogue assemblies and the buildings housing them. See Runesson 2001a, 171-174.

²⁵ Levine 2000, 127,153; Runesson 2001a, 429; Nielsen 2005, 67-8. cf. esp. Levine 2000, 152: “With all their diversity, extant sources are unanimous in this respect.... Philo, Josephus, the New Testament, the Theodotus inscription, and what appear to be early rabbinic traditions speak only of scriptural reading and sermons. None mentions public communal prayer.”

²⁶ Nielsen 2005, 68.

(*Argarizein*), indicating that the dedicators were Samaritans.²⁷ Only the Samaritan honorary stele 1 (S1) mentions Delos (Fig. 4). S2 contains the phrase *epi proseuche* and is often reconstructed with *en Delo* in the first line above the wreath, in analogy to the other inscription (where the entire text is written under the wreath) (Fig. 5). In other words, the text of the second inscription has been reconstructed on the basis of the first. This is impossible because S1 is dated to 150-50 BCE and S2 to 250-175 BCE. Thus, the first could not have served as a model for the second in antiquity, although this does not negate the possibility that the wording of both was similar. One could argue that after 150 BCE the Samaritan community added *en Delo*.²⁸

According to Bruneau, the stelae were found *in situ* and originally had been inserted in the wall from which they fell, indicating that 90 m northeast of *GD* 80 stood a second, Samaritan synagogue. However, it is possible that these inscriptions were displaced and reused from another location in the Quartier du stade.²⁹ In either case, the Samaritan honorary stelae do not indicate that *GD* 80 was a synagogue for two reasons. First, the text from S2 states that Menioppos is honored for having made, at his own expense, an *ex-voto* to god, *not* “to the synagogue”.³⁰ Second, the text from S1 does not mention a synagogue building. In other words, the Samaritan inscriptions provide no compelling evidence for the identification of *GD* 80 as a synagogue.

²⁷ Bruneau 1982, 467-75; Runesson et al. 2008, 129-31 nos. 100-101.

²⁸ It is possible that there was a loose or semi-permanent Samaritan group on Delos before 150 BCE which only later formed a clear communal identity.

²⁹ Bruneau 1982, 486. Bruneau cites the stele of Pausanias in the Palestre du lac as a comparison. Several scholars have proposed that *GD* 80 is a Samaritan synagogue and that these two honorary steles were displaced from it. For a summary of both views, see Levine 2000, 102-3; Runesson 2001a 185-86 n. 68; Kraabel 1984, 44-6.

³⁰ Bruneau 1982, 474.

According to the Packard Humanities database of inscriptions, the only *two* inscriptions on Delos that contain the phrase *epi proseuche*, or simply *proseuche*, are *ID* 2329 and S2. While the Samaritan connotation of S2 is clear, it is not clear that *ID* 2329 is Jewish.

The other inscribed votives, *ID* 2328, 2330, 2331, and 2332, which were found in *GD* 80, all refer to *Theos Hypsistos* or *Hypsistos*: “God Most High” and “Most High” (Fig. 6). *ID* 2333, also found in *GD* 80, includes the words “became free” (Fig. 7).³¹ The votives were found on top of the marble benches or at the base of the walls in rooms A and B.³² The paleographic dates of the inscriptions range from the 1st century BCE (*ID* 2330, 2328) to the 1st or 2nd century CE (*ID* 2331, 2332, 2333).³³ Like Lysimachos (see above), the names inscribed on the rest of the votives appear among other inscriptions on Delos and are not intrinsically Jewish. For example, the name Laodike on *ID* 2330 is one of several donor names on a marble plaque in the theater of the Sanctuaire des dieux syriens (*ID* 2628).³⁴

Figure 8 lists the dimensions of all of the votives found in *GD* 80. The small size of the votives indicates that they were portable and might have been transported from another building to *GD* 80. The installation of a lime kiln in room A after the abandonment of *GD* 80 may have had a role in their displacement.³⁵

³¹ For other instances of inscriptions describing manumission of slaves occurring in alleged synagogues, see Levine 2000, 113-21, 590. Besides the evidence from the Black Sea region (Panticapaeum, Gorgippia, and Chersonesus) the manumission of slaves in synagogues is not well attested and seems to be characteristic of this particular region.

³² Plassart 1913, 205-6; Plassart 1914, 526-8.

³³ Plassart 1914, 526-8; Bruneau 1970, 484.

³⁴ Matassa 2007, 89.

³⁵ For argumentation against this, see n. 61.

Like *proseuche*, the phrase *Theos Hypsistos* is debated. Scholars agree that this epithet was used by Diaspora Jews and Samaritans to refer to their god.³⁶ The discovery of this phrase on votives *ID* 2328, 2330, 2331, and 2332 has been cited by many scholars as the primary evidence for identifying *GD* 80 as a synagogue.

Mitchell, however, has argued that the abundant epigraphic evidence for *Zeus Hypsistos*, *Theos Hypsistos*, and *Hypsistos* can be interpreted as a single widespread cult that included pagan and Jewish elements and existed alongside Judaism. These so-called “Hypsistarians” conducted worship ceremonies in open air sanctuaries that faced east.³⁷ They were influenced by Judaism but did not fully convert and would have easily been confused by outsiders with Jews. Mitchell’s analysis of *GD* 80 is ambiguous. He agrees with its interpretation as a synagogue, but says that it is also a Greek sanctuary “containing dedications set up by persons with Greek names for *Theos Hypsistos*.”³⁸ One of the many problems with applying this theory to Delos is that this cult was a predominantly late antique phenomenon, based upon the paleographic dates assigned to the epigraphic evidence which Mitchell lists in his appendix.³⁹ To counter this problem, Mitchell suggests that the predecessors of the Hypsistarians were the *Theosebeis*, or “God-fearers”: Gentile attendees of the synagogues.⁴⁰

³⁶ Mitchell 1999, 110-12.

³⁷ Mitchell 1999, 125-8.

³⁸ Mitchell 1999, 98.

³⁹ Mitchell 1999, 128-47.

⁴⁰ Mitchell 1999, 115-21. The *Theosebeis*, or *sebomenoi ton Theon*, are mentioned in the New Testament and by Josephus (*Apion*, 2.39.282). I would like to propose that when Mitchell is referring to *GD* 80 as being a Greek sanctuary, he is suggesting that the dedicators of the votives found in *GD* 80 were these God-fearers. While this solution does not solve any of the other issues that arise from Mitchell’s proposal, it does explain the ambiguity of his claim.

Stein rejects the syncretism proposed by Mitchell and his cult of *Theos Hypsistos*, proposing instead that this was a common epithet used mainly by the Jews and some Christians to denote their God and by Gentile worshippers of Zeus.⁴¹ Stein suggests that Mitchell is over-interpreting the evidence. The simplest explanation, i.e. Stein's interpretation, is probably the correct one. If this is true, we cannot differentiate between pagan and Jewish usage of this epithet without more contextual evidence. Similarly, Trebilco points out that sometimes dedications or inscriptions to *Theos Hypsistos* are to deities other than Zeus, or are made to an unnamed pagan deity who was worshiped under this general name.⁴² In Syria both *Theos Hypsistos* and *Zeus Hypsistos* were used to refer to the local mountain god Baal; in Lydia *Thea Hypsiste* was used for some form of the Mother goddess; and in Egypt *Hypsistos* was used as an epithet of Isis. All of these examples indicate that a whole range of titles was used for deities, both specific and general, and that it often is impossible to tell which pagan deity was meant without further contextual evidence.⁴³ In other words, this was a commonly used epithet for a deity, whether pagan, Jewish, or Christian.⁴⁴ Thus, the votives found in *GD 80* were dedicated to a *Theos Hypsistos* whose

No inscriptions found in association with *any* of the suggested synagogues dating to before 70 CE that mentions *Theosebeis*.

⁴¹ Stein 2001, 124-25.

⁴² Trebilco 1991, 128, see also, 238 n. 5 for inscriptions mentioning *Zeus Hypsistos* or *Theos Hypsistos*. He cites Nock, who suggested the following: "A dedication was addressed to the gods and not to the public, and therefore there was not in antiquity that need, which a modern man might feel, for the avoidance of ambiguity; circumlocutions were used which were intelligible only to the dedicant...or the god was not named at all" (Nock et al. 1936, 61).

⁴³ Trebilco 1991, 128-9.

⁴⁴ Levinskaya (1996, 84-5) argues that *Theos Hypsistos* is predominantly a Jewish term for Yahweh. He suggests that scholars have wrongly associated inscriptions with the words *Theos Hypsistos* with other deities, esp. Zeus. For an alternative interpretation, see Levinskaya 1996, 94.

precise identification cannot be determined with certainty, but who could have been the Jewish God.

Two inscriptions with the words *Theos Hypsistos*, probably from the island of Rheneia, the burial place of the inhabitants of Delos, date to the end of the 2nd century or the beginning of the 1st century BCE.⁴⁵ The almost identical fragmentary inscriptions consist of prayers which call upon “God Most High” to avenge the murder of two girls: on one Marthine, and in the other Heraclea (*ID* 2532, I and II).⁴⁶ Both contain allusions to the Septuagint and, according to Plassart and others, indicate a Jewish population on Delos, proving the Jewish connotation of the votives from *GD* 80.⁴⁷ Much like the literary evidence from Josephus and Maccabees, these funerary inscriptions, while providing positive evidence of a Jewish population on the island of Delos, do not prove the existence of a Jewish assembly building or the Jewish connotation of *Theos Hypsistos* in the context of *GD* 80.

Some positive conclusions can be derived from the available evidence. The text from Josephus and the Samaritan honorary stelae suggest that there were Jewish and Samaritan groups on Delos, either semi-permanent or permanent. The word *proseuche* was found in two inscriptions 90 m north and northeast of *GD* 80, *not* within the building, suggesting that these were displaced from some location in the Quartier du stade or elsewhere. One possibility is that a private residence was used as the assembly space for the Jewish community, a *domus ecclesia*, though this would be nearly impossible to prove archaeologically. It is not clear what the function of *ID* 2329 would have been within *GD* 79b, if it is *in situ*.

⁴⁵ The inscriptions are located in the Museum of Bucharest and Athens and it has only been argued that they come from Rheneia (Le Dinahet-Couilloud 1974, 214).

⁴⁶ Le Dinahet-Couilloud 1974, 214-15 no. 485

⁴⁷ Plassart 1914, 532-3; Trebilco 1991, 133, 241 n. 28.

Although there is a concentration of five votives with the words *Theos Hypsistos* and *Hypsistos* in *GD* 80, the identity of the deity, whether pagan or Jewish, is unknowable. This is unlike the funerary stelae *ID* 2532, which contain allusions to the Septuagint. It is possible that these were also displaced. This alternative is especially attractive due to the allusion to manumission on *ID* 2333, which seems out of place among the other votives.

Having exhausted the literary and epigraphic evidence for a synagogue on Delos, it is essential to turn to the archaeological and architectural evidence to interpret the possible function of *GD* 80. I will show that each of the architectural characteristics of the building that have been used previously by scholars to prove that it functioned as a synagogue are based upon circular argumentation, i.e. the assumption that it was a synagogue, and that *ID* 2329 and the Samaritan honorary inscriptions are associated with the structure.

Archaeological Evidence:

The extant remains of *GD* 80 measure 28.30 m north-south by 15.5 m east-west from the stylobate (Fig. 9).⁴⁸ The building extends to an unknown point to the shore.⁴⁹ Two main phases can be posited: one before the destructions of 88/69 BCE and a second phase until the abandonment of the building in the 2nd century CE. Sub-phases of construction and use can be distinguished based on the use of different building materials and wall bonding (Fig. 10).

It is not clear when *GD* 80 was first built, although that it was constructed as a freestanding building some time between the 3rd and early 1st centuries BCE. This phase consisted of a large hall (A/B) constructed out of gneiss blocks, 16.80 x 14.40 m, with three

⁴⁸ Catto 2007, 61.

⁴⁹ From the west wall of the structure to the furthest end of the extant portico is 30.70 m (Trümper 2004, 514).

entrances in the east defined by marble thresholds. The floor was at least partially paved with marble chips (Fig. 11).⁵⁰ The interior walls were covered with stucco in masonry style, and all exterior walls may have been reveted as well.⁵¹ The marble chip pavement and masonry style stucco are common decorative elements in Delian buildings. There is no evidence of supports for a roof, but the absence of interior drainage indicates that hall A/B was roofed.⁵² It is not clear how far south the building extended. A reservoir exploiting a fault in the natural rock underneath hall A/B might have been incorporated into the building at this time and may even have been the original impetus for choosing the building site.⁵³ The hall may have been preceded by a colonnade at the place of the later courtyard C.⁵⁴

An extension to the south (D) made of mixed gneiss and granite blocks marks the next stage of construction, measuring 11 x 14 m (Fig. 12).⁵⁵ D was further subdivided into a series of rooms of differing size: D1-7. The accessibility and functions of these rooms cannot be determined because of their state of preservation. The gap in the eastern wall of D7 provided access to the entire D complex. The east wall of D3 is preserved and includes no passageways. This is also true for the west wall of the D complex. D7 or D1 could have been

⁵⁰ This is a pavement technique of medium quality: below tessellated mosaic, above earthen floors and terracotta pieces.

⁵¹ Trümper 2004, 521-7; Runesson et al. 2008, 133.

⁵² The best candidate would be wooden supports that rotted away. Due to the later addition of an interior dividing wall and subsequent occupation any traces of interior supports are gone. No roofing tiles were recorded so one can posit either a flat or pitched roof.

⁵³ A predecessor granite wall runs east-west to the south of hall A/B but does not seem to have been part of the original building due to the fact that it is thinner, non-parallel, and made out of granite instead of gneiss.

⁵⁴ The hall had three doors with thresholds from the beginning, thus access could be controlled. A colonnade would have provided sheltered space in front of the doors and also enhanced the façade of the building, but it had no impact on accessibility.

⁵⁵ Trümper 2004, 527-8; Runesson et al. 2008, 133-4.

a light well.⁵⁶ If there was a colonnade in front of hall A/B in its initial phase, it would have been extended to the south, but this is speculative.

These two initial phases can only be dated between the 3rd century BCE and 88 BCE (see above). A *terminus post quem* of 88/69 BCE can be postulated for the third phase, in which the eastern wall of hall A/B was remodeled with marble spoil material which likely came from the nearby agonistic buildings (Fig. 13). These blocks were not positioned for esthetic appeal but for structural support with gneiss blocks as filler. The three entrances of the eastern wall of hall A/B made it structurally the weakest element of the building. For unknown reasons, the wall had to be rebuilt.⁵⁷ It is possible that at the same time granite walls were added defining courtyard C in the north and south. Simultaneously, the east and south walls of D were defined or redone with granite blocks and a southern entrance was added, framed by monolithic granite doorjambs.

Following these large-scale additions and renovations, hall A/B was subdivided by a wall that consisted of granite, gneiss, and marble spoils.⁵⁸ The large central entrance in the eastern wall was blocked up. Whether the northernmost entrance, found blocked during the excavation, was closed at the same time or later is unclear. Once these two entrances were blocked, the south entrance in the east wall became the only access to rooms A and B. The dividing wall mirrored the earlier entryway including three entrances, which were accessed

⁵⁶ Runesson (2008, 133-4) suggests that the D complex might have been a living space but there is so clear evidence for this.

⁵⁷ Trümper 2004, 529-34. There is no evidence for *GD* 80 having been affected by the two sacks of the city in 88 and 69 BCE. Other possibilities for the renovation include the east wall having suffered a subsidence or that a subsidence was imminent, requiring action by the patrons of the building.

⁵⁸ Trümper 2004, 537-9.

through double doors.⁵⁹ Access to room A was now more remote and restricted while B became a passage or ante-room. At some point marble benches from the nearby agonistic buildings and a marble throne from the theater were transported to *GD* 80 and set up along the walls of rooms A, B, and the courtyard C (Fig. 14). Whether they were set up in their current arrangement is unknown.

Problems of the archaeological evidence:

While *GD* 80 has been completely excavated and is fairly well preserved, some factors hinder its full assessment: its surroundings remain unexplored; its eastern part and crucial information about the accessibility cannot be reconstructed; and no stratigraphic excavation was ever carried out.⁶⁰ Thus, only relative dates can be suggested for the phases of construction of *GD* 80.

The marble benches and throne, as mentioned previously, could have been added at any time after 88/69 BCE. They were moved from their original contexts to *GD* 80; perhaps modifying the original arrangement after the dividing wall was put in place, assuming that they were incorporated into the structure before the dividing wall was installed. Before the addition of the marble benches, it is possible that wooden benches, or *klinae*, and other furniture were utilized. The benches and the throne have been cited as evidence supporting the identification of *GD* 80 as a synagogue, but it is unclear at which point in the history of the building they were inserted, and whether they indicate the building was a synagogue.

⁵⁹ Only two of the three passageways preserved their thresholds, both of which had cuttings for a double door.

⁶⁰ Trümper (2004, 542-56) posits several convincing arrangements of courtyard C, see 566-7 for plans. She favors a 'pi' shaped portico either open to the sea or closed off with a wall.

Another problem concerns the use of the building after its abandonment, including the installation of the lime kiln in room A at an unknown date. Marble elements that originally belonged to *GD* 80 may have been burned in the lime kiln, and marble elements found in *GD* 80 might not originally have belonged to this building, but could have been transported here to be burnt.⁶¹

Evidence for the Function of *GD* 80:

Several features and finds are cited as evidence for the use of *GD* 80 as a synagogue, among them decorative elements, the size of hall A/B, the marble throne and benches, oil lamps, and the water reservoir. The only decorative elements on the votives are wreaths on the Samaritan honorary stelae and rosettes on votive *ID* 2333. Wreaths are a common decorative motif in Byzantine synagogues and might have been adopted by Jews in art as early as the Hasmonean period.⁶² Wreaths were commonly associated with inscriptions in ancient art, probably signifying actual honors bestowed upon the person mentioned in the inscription as well as generically symbolizing victory and peace.⁶³ The figures on the Samaritan honorary inscriptions are typical honorary wreaths which are found on numerous honorary bases on Delos, suggesting that the Samaritans followed common local practice in

⁶¹ One may question why the marble benches and throne, which were available *in situ*, did not end up in the lime kiln or before a possible dismantling of the porticus in the courtyard. The fact that the benches are preserved suggests that parts of the building were already buried when the lime kiln was installed. *ID* 2328, 2330, 2331, 2332, and 2333 were found *on top* of the marble benches or in the corners of rooms A or B (Trümper 2004, 570-1 n. 122). This suggests that these votives can be associated with the use of *GD* 80 before the addition of the lime kiln. In other words, the votives found by Plassart *inside* the structure most likely were found *in situ* and were not brought in by the operators of the lime kiln.

⁶² Fine 2005, 108 n. 192.

⁶³ Hachlili 1998, 380.

using them. Whether these wreaths had an additional or specific Samaritan or Jewish meaning is difficult to prove.

Rosettes are a common motif in Jewish art by the Second Temple period, especially on ossuaries, and persisted into later periods. Since both of these motifs and other non-specific decorative motifs were taken from/or common in the contemporary Hellenistic-Roman pagan world, a specific Jewish significance cannot be assumed.⁶⁴ However, Jewish imagery repertoire seems to have included these two motifs at the time the Delian monuments were inscribed.

The large size of hall A/B as well as its decoration suggests its use as an assembly space.⁶⁵ Due to a lack of any fixtures it is not possible to call this space anything other than a multifunctional hall or reception area. Like the large-size, the benches indicate an assembly space. A similar arrangement of benches in a rectangular room can be seen in Sarapeion A in the Quartier de l'Inopos, though these benches contain dedicatory inscriptions and graffiti *GD* 80 (Fig. 15).⁶⁶ Such an arrangement of benches was also typical of exedrae in the Agora of the Italians and the largest exedra in the gymnasium, as well as numerous other exedrae in the Hellenistic world. Their function was to provide organized seating for larger groups during group activities and rituals. In Delos, this arrangement is found in sacred and profane

⁶⁴ A specifically Jewish decorative motif would be, for example, the *menorah* or showbread table. The *menorah* especially would become the most important symbol in Jewish art in Israel and the Diaspora, in the 3rd/4th centuries CE (Hachlili 1998, 343-5). Images of the menorah from the Second Temple period are exceedingly rare, see Fine 2005, 148, 152.

The issue of whether or not Jews in Judea and the Diaspora refrained from using figurative art is beyond the scope of this paper. See, Fine 2005; Hachlili 1998.

For a critical assessment of the alleged aniconism of Jewish art, see Bland 2000.

⁶⁵ While rich stucco decoration was common in rooms used for assemblies, pavements were frequent, but not standard; see, for example, the unpaved room e (111m²) of the House of the Diadumenos, (*GD* 61), which was most likely used for assemblies and banquets.

⁶⁶ *GD* 2005, 267-9. Other examples of benches arranged in a similar fashion include the largest room of the Gymnasium (*GD* 76) and in the three exedrae of the Agora of the Italians (*GD* 52).

contexts, but always for communal use. The most intriguing fact about the benches in *GD* 80 is their different contexts: rooms A and B, and the courtyard. In other words, the benches were probably for different activities.

The throne in room A has been interpreted as a Cathedra/Seat of Moses, though this is contingent upon the building actually having been used as a synagogue.⁶⁷ The throne was brought to the Quartier du stade from the theater some time after 88/69 BCE, providing a *terminus post quem* for its addition. This date also applies to the marble benches taken from the so-called Gymnasium (*GD* 76). The great distance between the theater and *GD* 80 suggests that the throne must have been important for the patrons of *GD* 80.

Both Binder and Runesson have suggested that the dividing wall between rooms A and B was intended to separate the sexes.⁶⁸ This division between the sexes has been rejected by Mazur and Trümper, and is an anachronistic trait taken from modern orthodox Jewish synagogues. The idea of a division between men and women in a synagogue is fundamentally flawed. The division of sacred space can be seen in the plan of the Tabernacle. The Holy of Holies was the purest zone at the west end of the Tabernacle, which housed the Ark of the Covenant. The next zone to the east was the 'Holy'. The Tabernacle was surrounded by the Court, which had an entrance on the eastern wall and was further subdivided into regions of greater or lesser purity (Fig. 16).⁶⁹ The Jerusalem Temple illustrates that this principle of division between levels of purity was enforced through

⁶⁷ The exact purpose of the Seat of Moses is debated. Most scholars view it as the seat for the leader of the congregation, but it is not known what his role would have been in the Jewish community. Suggestions include: judge, *archisynagogos*, or the spiritual-religious figure. The earliest literary reference to the Seat of Moses is from the New Testament: Matthew 23:1-3 and Mark 12:38-39 (Runesson et al. 2008, 90-91, 98, nos. 58, 67). In Mark the seat is referred to as *protokathedria*, "first seat" of the synagogue. According to Levine (2000, 325), the Delian throne would be the earliest example of such a Seat of Moses.

⁶⁸ Binder 1999, 316; Runesson 2001a, 187.

⁶⁹ Kunin 1998, 11.

physical barriers (Fig. 17).⁷⁰ There was a separate assembly space for Israelite women to the east of the main courtyard of the Temple proper, which was reserved for Israelite men and the priests.

According to Nielsen, the builders of *GD* 80, which she assumes is a synagogue, incorporated a Temple arrangement in the fifth building phase with three entrances mirroring the three gates of the Temple and a partition wall relating to levels of purity between men and women, i.e. the dividing wall between rooms A and B.⁷¹ There are two problems regarding gender separation in synagogue buildings. First, there are no known comparable architectural arrangements in alleged pre-70 CE synagogue buildings in either Judea or the Diaspora to substantiate the claims posited for *GD* 80. Second, these scholars assume that pre-70 CE synagogues had a certain level of sanctity and, therefore, required physical barriers similar to the Jerusalem Temple.⁷² The Theodotus inscription from Jerusalem indicates that the primary purpose of the synagogue was to serve as a locus for the reading and study of the Torah (Fig. 18). These functions are further substantiated in the Gospels and in Acts. The Theodotus inscription, which is our earliest piece of archaeological evidence for a synagogue building, does not indicate that Judean synagogues held any level of sanctity.⁷³ Therefore, this interpretation of the dividing wall between rooms A and B cannot be substantiated with the evidence currently available.

⁷⁰ Netzer 2006, 138-9. It should be noted that in this period the structure of the temple had no relevance to the synagogue.

⁷¹ Nielsen 2005, 97.

⁷² Nielsen (2005, 104) posits that the eastward orientation of *GO* 80, three entrances, and partition wall are borrowed from the Jerusalem Temple and therefore indicate the sanctity of Diaspora synagogues, even in the pre-70 CE period.

⁷³ Levine 2000, 54-6; Runesson 2001a, 227-9; Catto 2007, 83-4; Runesson et al. 2008, 53-4.

Approximately 60 oil lamps were found in *GD* 80.⁷⁴ Binder and Matassa have connected these lamps with ritual use. However, there is a much simpler explanation.⁷⁵ In the earlier phases of the building, hall A/B was lit through the three eastern entrances. After the addition of the dividing wall and the blocking of two entrances in the eastern wall, room A would have received no direct light, except through its three southern doors from room B, thus necessitating the use of oil lamps. A lamp niche can clearly be seen to the north of the throne in room A (Fig. 19).⁷⁶

Bruneau suggested that the water reservoir running underneath room B was a *miqveh* (Fig. 20).⁷⁷ The reservoir is a natural gap in the gneiss rock 6.08 m long by ca. 4.0 m deep (Fig. 21). It was partially built up and roofed with a poros vault, 4 m long, running under the floor of room B. The exposed 2 m between rooms B and D1 were covered with a marble arch to support the wall above. The reservoir was not accessible at all from room B, only through

⁷⁴ Plassart 1914, 532-3; Bruneau 1970, 484-5, 492; Trümper 2004, 587 n. 180 .

⁷⁵ Trümper 2004, 585 n. 168; Matassa 2007, 94. Matassa's interpretation is incorrect since she reconstructs *GD* 80 as being unroofed.

⁷⁶ W. 0.18 x H. 0.25 m and 0.80 m above the floor (Trümper 2004, 538 n. 57). The dimensions of this niche are far too small to hold a Torah scroll or anything larger than a lamp.

⁷⁷ A *miqveh* (pl. *miqva'ot*) is an immersion pool for Jewish ritual purification. This is distinct from physical cleanliness or 'sin' in the Christian sense of the term. Impurity was contracted through natural processes, not by human will. While it was not a sin to be impure, failing to purify oneself was considered a sin (see the book of Leviticus for sources of impurity). The practical consequence of being impure is that one could not participate in the temple cult – a central concern of Judaism before 70 CE. Biblical uses of purity and impurity occur mostly in priestly documents, stressing the need for priests to maintain purity for the purposes of the sacrificial cult in the Jerusalem temple. However, purity laws also affected all aspects of Jewish life including diet and sexual relations (Magness 2002, 135). Because of the need for immersion in water to maintain purity and limited rainfall in Judea, it became common in the 1st century BCE and 1st century CE to dig *miqva'ot* in the ground to hold water (Magness 2002, 142-3). There are no Second Temple texts specifying the amount of water needed for ritual bathing, but later texts state the minimum amount of 40 *seahs* (estimates range from 250-1000 L) of undrawn water. *Miqva'ot* typically had steps which either extended across the whole width of the *miqveh* or were smaller, running along one side. *Miqva'ot* with the latter arrangement are hard to distinguish from reservoirs. *Miqva'ot* also tend to be covered with layers of waterproof plaster (Lawrence 2006, 158-68). Beyond these general characteristics there were no standard designs. According to Reich, the earliest *miqva'ot* date to the Hasmonean period, mid-2nd century BCE, and *miqva'ot* in general seem to have been particularly popular in the late Second Temple period (Reich 1997, 431). They are particularly concentrated in Jerusalem, the surrounding environs, and the pilgrimage routes in the Hebron hills (Magness 2002, 143).

room D1, supporting the identification of the D complex as a service section. The irregular nature of the rocks around the access point suggests that the opening must have been built up in antiquity with a wood or stone covering which subsequently rotted or collapsed. Steps or other evidence for entering the reservoir were not found. There is no evidence of plaster on the interior walls.

Delos receives weak and irregular rainfall and had weak aquifers, necessitating the extensive use of wells, reservoirs, and cisterns.⁷⁸ While reservoirs and wells were fed by ground water through permeable floors and walls, and by rain water collected from roofs, cisterns with waterproof walls and bottoms were only fed by rain water. Thus, the structure in *GD* 80 can be identified as a reservoir, supplied by ground water and possibly by rain water from the roof, although no inlet pipe was found. Stone arches are very common in reservoirs and cisterns on Delos. For example the large reservoir in the Theater Quarter (*GD* 115) (Fig. 22) and the reservoir in house *GD* 79b in the Quartier du stade are covered with arches (Fig. 23). *GD* 80 is fitted with a reservoir that conforms to local standards in design and function and cannot be identified as a *miqveh*.⁷⁹

The Hebrew Bible identifies “living water” as necessary for ritual immersion. Jews interpreted living water as any water that had not been drawn, which includes sea water.⁸⁰ If *GD* 80 was a synagogue the adjacent sea would have sufficed for ritual bathing. However, this assumes that synagogue attendance required ritual immersion. In the Theodotus

⁷⁸ Desruelles and Cosandey 2005, 101-4.

⁷⁹ In addition, there is no physical evidence for ritual bathing in the Diaspora during the Second Temple period; however, it has been suggested that Greco-Roman baths could have been used for such a purpose (Lawrence 2006, 168).

⁸⁰ Lawrence 2006, 165 ns. 30-2. The absence of built pools (*miqva'ot*) does not mean that people did not use streams or other natural bodies of water, see 2 Kings 5:1-19 and Exodus 19:10 (Lawrence 2006, 158 n. 10).

inscription, water installations are listed as part of the synagogue complex, though their specific function or location is never made clear.⁸¹ Furthermore, there is nothing in Jewish law which indicates that the use of *miqva'ot* was necessary in synagogues.⁸²

This analysis has shown that while there is circumstantial evidence for identifying *GD* 80 as a synagogue, there is nothing definitely Jewish or Samaritan about the building, except for the problematic wording in the inscriptions. The use of hall A/B as an assembly space and its location near the sea for possible ritual immersions may indicate its use as a synagogue.⁸³

Comparative Assessment of *GD* 80:

Local Context

The closest parallels to *GD* 80 are clubhouses of pagan associations in Delos.⁸⁴ One of the identifiable examples in the Greek and Roman world, and the only clubhouse on Delos clearly identifiable through epigraphy, is the *Établissement des Poseidoniastes de Berytos* (*GD* 57) (Fig. 24).⁸⁵ Located in the middle of the residential quarter to the north of the sacred lake and the sanctuary of Apollo, the building has a ground floor surface area of 1,500 m² and was first constructed in the mid-2nd century BCE (153/2 or 149/8 BCE). Hall A/B of *GD* 80

⁸¹ Levine 2000, 309.

⁸² Levine 2000, 310; Lawrence 2006, 168 n. 48.

⁸³ One problem is the orientation of the large hall. Commonly, large *oeci* of houses and clubhouses are, oriented towards the south for climatic reasons. All houses in the Quartier du stade are orientated this way. Only the Maison de Fourni is orientated towards the sea, but it is located high on a hill, not on the coast.

⁸⁴ Runesson 2001a, 186.

⁸⁵ Trümper 2011, 53.

shares many similarities with hall E of the *Établissement des Poseidoniastes*: access via three doorways, no annex rooms, an opening onto a peristyle courtyard (though this is not clear for *GD* 80 in the early phases), marble chip pavement, and similarly suited for assemblies and gatherings.⁸⁶ The *Établissement des Poseidoniastes* was likewise built as a free standing structure and had its own water supply. Placing their plans side-by-side, one can clearly see the similarities in layout between the two (Fig. 25). However, there are key elements lacking from *GD* 80 that are present in the *Établissement des Poseidoniastes*: commercial spaces (shops, workshops, and storage magazines), a latrine, and sacred spaces or objects (shrines, altars, statuettes, and statues) (Fig. 26).⁸⁷

White has argued that the earliest phases of *GD* 80, i.e. pre-88 BCE, belonged to a private residence, which was only later transformed into a synagogue.⁸⁸ However, an examination of layouts and dimensions of typical Delian houses contradicts this suggestion.⁸⁹ For example, the largest room of the *Maison des dauphins* (*GD* 111) is significantly smaller than hall A/B of *GD* 80 and is also connected with two lateral annex rooms (Fig. 27).⁹⁰

⁸⁶ This is common for very large rooms, or *oikoi*. Slightly smaller *oikoi* have one central door flanked by two windows.

⁸⁷ *GD* 80 originally had no courtyard but only a single colonnade in front of the façade. Furthermore, it is not clear whether it ever had a fully closed courtyard in any of its later phases. In contrast, the *Établissement des Poseidoniastes* is provided with two courtyards which are central elements, in terms of circulation pattern and function.

⁸⁸ The argumentation for either a private or public origin for *GD* 80 is summarized by Catto 2007, 64-6 ns. 80-4.

⁸⁹ Trümper 2003, 22-3.

⁹⁰ The dimensions of the largest private *oeci maiores*: *Maison de l'Hermès*, room D (*GD* 89), 11 x 6 m; *Maison des dauphins*, room h (*GD* 111), 10 x 6.8 m; *Maison des masques*, room g (*GD* 112), 9.2 x 7 m; *Quartier du théâtre*, insula II, house f, room 1 (*GD* 117), 9.4 x 6.2 m; *Maison du Dionysos*, room f (*GD* 120), 10 x 5.5 m; *Maison des comédiens*, room N (*GD* 59b), 9.2 x 5.5 m (Trümper 2004, 560 n. 103).

What does this mean for the interpretation of *GD 80*? While *GD 80* shares many architectural similarities with the *Établissement des Poseidoniasts*, it lacks key features indicative of such a building type. The dimensions of hall A/B exceed those of the largest reception rooms among the houses of Delos, and also exceed the size of all large rooms in clubhouses.⁹¹ If this was not a pagan clubhouse or private house, what was it? Having eliminated other options, the conclusion seems to be that this must have been a synagogue because it does not appear to be anything else. This conclusion is unsatisfactory in light of previous evidence and necessitates further inquiry.

How does *GD 80* compare to other proposed synagogue buildings dated to before 70 CE? I will first consider claimed synagogue buildings in Judea, and then the only other example of a Diaspora synagogue building, namely the example in Ostia.

Judea

One of the best known examples of an early synagogue is located at Gamla. Situated in the Lower Golan, the settlement of Gamla was established upon a rocky ridge, 230 m above the surrounding area, on a south facing slope. The first Jews settled there about the middle of the 2nd century BCE. In 80 BCE Alexander Janneus took control of the town and incorporated it into the Hasmonean kingdom.⁹² During the First Jewish Revolt, the inhabitants of Gamla allied with the rebels under the command of Flavius Josephus.⁹³ The

⁹¹ The dimensions of the largest rooms of clubhouses on Delos: *Établissement des Poseidoniastes*, room E (*GD 57*), 15.80 x 13.37 m; the *Maison du Diadumène*, room e (*GD 61*), 15.00 x 7.40 m; the *Maison de Fourni*, room h (*GD 124*), 10.40 x 7.40 m; *Quartier du stade*, Îlot I, *Maison B*, room m (*GD 79a*), 8.40/13.40 x 7.20 m (Trümper 2004, 560 n. 105).

⁹² Catto 2007, 94.

⁹³ Catto 2007, 93; see Josephus *Life*. 61, 114, 177-85, *War*. 1.105, 2.568-74, *Ant.*. 13.394, 18.4.

town was subsequently destroyed by Vespasian and his legions in 67 CE and never re-occupied.

The synagogue is located at the highest point of the town, adjacent to the casemate city wall (Fig. 28). The date of construction is the 1st century CE. The building was made out of black basalt ashlar and built on a northeast-southwest axis with dimensions of 20 x 16 m and an interior floor space of 12 x 10 m.⁹⁴ The interior arrangement consists of a large central hall surrounded by two to four tiers of benches and four raised platforms along all four walls.⁹⁵ The roof was supported by columns set up in front of the benches and in the center of the open space (Fig. 29).⁹⁶ The floor of the hall is beaten earth.⁹⁷ Two entrances in the southwest lead into the building: a wide entrance straight into the central hall and another narrower entrance onto the northern platform. From the building interior one had access to a small room on the northeast side inside the casemate wall that also contained benches (two on the east and north, one on the west and south). In the northwest wall of the building was a niche which Gutman, Levine, and Runesson interpret as a cupboard for the storage of Torah scrolls, though this is speculative (Fig. 30).⁹⁸ To the west of the building lies a pool which includes steps running down the southeast side and the interior is lined with several layers of hydraulic plaster – a *miqveh* (Fig. 31). A water pipe runs from underneath the synagogue to the stepped pool.

⁹⁴ Runesson et al. 2008, 33.

⁹⁵ Four benches line the north and south walls, two along the east and west (Gutman 1993, 461).

⁹⁶ Catto 2007, 94 n. 216. Gutman suggests that the central stylobate was for two additional columns. Another suggestion by Binder (1999, 164) is that it formed the foundation of a *bema*, or speaker's platform. Netzer (2003, 285 n. 9) suggest that the floor originally would have been completely paved which had subsequently been looted.

⁹⁷ Runesson et al. 2008, 33.

⁹⁸ Binder 1999, 165. Dimensions: 1.20 x 1.20 m, at floor level.

The Gamla synagogue and *GD 80* in Delos share a central feature, namely a large covered hall lined with benches that is suited for an assembly. In contrast to Delos, Gamla was, however, a Jewish settlement. Though it is impossible to determine what activities went on in the building at Gamla, it is safe to assume that the residents congregated here for the reading and study of the Torah, especially on Sabbaths and festival days.⁹⁹ The Gamla building is a synagogue – in this sense of the word.

Masada and Herodium were occupied by Jewish rebels during the First Jewish Revolt, who made use of the Herodian palace fortresses.¹⁰⁰ The building at Masada, modified by the Jewish rebels in 66 CE, has an area of 15 x 12 m including a small chamber (5.7 x 3.5 m) in the northern corner (Fig. 32).¹⁰¹ The main hall has five columns arranged in two rows and benches along each of the four walls (Fig. 33).¹⁰² The floor of the main hall is made of ash lime plaster over a layer of stones and potsherds, and that of the small chamber consists of beaten earth.¹⁰³ According to Yadin, the original excavator of the site, the identification of this building as a synagogue is supported by a cistern north of the building which could have been used as a *miqveh*. However, none of the *miqva'ot* found at Masada lies next to the synagogue, and therefore it is questionable whether any were associated with the building.¹⁰⁴ Some scholars suggest that this building was transformed into a synagogue because it is

⁹⁹ Rocca 2011, 296.

¹⁰⁰ The following three examples are only a few of the 10 alleged pre-70 CE synagogue buildings in Judea; see, Catto 2007, 82-105; Runesson et al. 2008, 20-76. These are illustrative of the problem of identification.

¹⁰¹ Runesson et al. 2008, 55. The original structure, dated to the second half of the 1st century BCE, was rectangular and included a partition wall separating a smaller vestibule area from the larger main hall. For discussion of the original structure, see Yadin 1981, 21; Netzer 1991, 412-3; Flesher 1995, 36.

¹⁰² The benches are arranged in four tiers on all except the northern side where there is one row.

¹⁰³ Runesson et al. 2008, 55.

¹⁰⁴ Catto 2007, 90 n. 199.

conveniently oriented towards Jerusalem (northwest). It is not known, however, whether orientation towards Jerusalem for ritual purposes really mattered in pre-70 CE synagogues and whether the Jewish rebels would and could have followed presumable standards regarding orientation.¹⁰⁵

Like Gamla, the building at Masada is located in a Jewish context and has all of the features indicative of an assembly hall. In other words, it is a synagogue in the most basic sense. In addition, finds clearly testify that the reading and study of the Torah took place here: fragments of parchment containing texts from the books of Deuteronomy and Ezekiel were discovered in a pit in the small secondary room.¹⁰⁶ This small room served as a *genizah*, or repository for old or damaged Torah scrolls, and thus indicates that this was a synagogue. The situation is similar at Herodium, which was occupied by Jewish rebels during the First and Second Jewish Revolts; here, Jews transformed a *triclinium* of the Herodian palace fortress into a synagogue (Fig. 34).¹⁰⁷

The Masada and Herodium synagogues were not purpose-built, but were existing structures that were modified by the rebels into Jewish assembly halls. These buildings resemble the Gamla synagogue, with all three including halls supported by columns and surrounded by benches.¹⁰⁸ These three examples are early synagogue buildings.

In contrast to the Temple in Jerusalem we have few sources about what activities went on in synagogue buildings (besides the reading and study of the Torah), where they

¹⁰⁵ Catto 2007, 90 n. 201.

¹⁰⁶ Netzer 1991, 410.

¹⁰⁷ Catto 2007, 92; Runesson et al. 2008, 35

¹⁰⁸ The structure at Masada might originally have been a stable, see Netzer 1991, 412. While it is significant that these synagogue buildings were created by modifying existing structures to serve a particular purpose, it is unclear if there was any significance in the choice of the buildings at Masada and Herodium for modification.

were located, and what they looked like. Architecturally, synagogues in Judea had an arrangement that resembled Greco-Roman *bouleuteria* or *ekklesiasteria*: square or rectangular halls with benches.¹⁰⁹ Without a clear Jewish context, it would be impossible to differentiate a synagogue from any other kind of assembly building. In other words, if the town of Gamla had both a pagan and Jewish population, there would be no conclusive way to identify the assembly hall as a synagogue.

Ostia

The only other claimed pre-70 CE Diaspora synagogue building aside from *GD 80* is a located near the ancient shore outside of the Porta Marina gate of the Roman port city of Ostia (Fig. 35). Maria Floriani Squarciapino discovered the structure in 1961 and was the first to identify it as a synagogue building.¹¹⁰ This building is important for two reasons: the original phase of the structure may date to the 1st century CE and, its size suggests that a large Diaspora community resided in Ostia. The building at Ostia has been the subject of debate by White and Runesson, who focus on two questions: was the building originally constructed as a synagogue building, and does it date to the second half of the 1st century CE or to in the first half of the 2nd century CE or later?¹¹¹

The currently visible remains of the building (or last stage of use) dates to the 5th century CE and functioned as a synagogue due to the presence of a *bema*, or speaker's platform, an *aedicula* containing a Torah shrine, and identifiable Jewish iconography

¹⁰⁹ Levine 2000, 69-70. However, Hellenistic *bouleuteria/ekklesiasteria* have a *bema* for orators and benches on only three sides of a room.

¹¹⁰ Floriani Squarciapino 1961, 326-37. See Catto 2007, 52 n. 18 for further bibliography.

¹¹¹ White 1997, 1999; Runesson 1999, 2001b, 2002.

(*menorah, lulav, ethrog, and shofar*) (Fig. 36).¹¹² Different wall techniques (*opus reticulatum mixtum* for the original building and *opus vittatum* for later additions) indicate that the 5th century CE building differed in layout from the original structure.¹¹³ Runesson reconstructs the first phase with a main meeting room (D/14), 15 x 12 m, and another room with stone benches (G/10), 1.83 m deep, functioning as a *triclinium* for communal dining (Fig. 37).¹¹⁴ Outside the main entrance were a well and stone basin.

Runesson posits that the identification of the building as a synagogue is dependent upon how one reconstructs the history of the building, which, in my opinion, is also dependent upon the context of the original building phase in the Quarter of the Porta Marina.¹¹⁵ Brandt reconstructs the Ostia synagogue as the oldest building in the southwest portion of the Quarter of the Porta Marina, basing his reconstruction on Runesson's dating of the first phase of the building (Fig. 38).¹¹⁶ If White's dating is correct then the first phase

¹¹² Boin and White 2008, http://www.fastionline.org/micro_view.php?fst_cd=AIAC_2521&curcol=sea_cd-AIAC_3404; Runesson 2001b, 58.

¹¹³ At Ostia, the technique of *opus reticulatum mixtum* has been traditionally dated to the 1st century CE. However, this technique is now known to have been used at Ostia into the mid-2nd century with some examples into the 3rd century CE (White et al. 2002, <http://www.utexas.edu/research/isac/web/OSMAP/Preliminary%20Results/2002.html>).

¹¹⁴ Catto 2007, 58-9; Runesson et al. 2008, 226-8. In light of White's ongoing excavation of the Ostia synagogue I have including both the alphabetical and numerical room labels. The numerical labels are based on White's OSMAP plan.

¹¹⁵ Runesson 2001b, 83.

¹¹⁶ Brandt 2001, 21. Before the early Imperial period nothing was built outside the Porta Marina which was constructed around 100 BCE. Between 30 and 40 CE the sanctuary of Bona Dea was built just outside the gate. In the second half of the 1st century CE, fountains, basins, and the *Domus fulminate* were constructed along the *decumanus* leading out of the gate. In the 1st century CE the emperor Claudius constructed his new harbor at Ostia.

might coincide with the construction of Trajan's harbor at Portus, and the construction of other buildings outside the Porta Marina, such as *thermae* and a *horreum* (Fig. 39).¹¹⁷

Since Brandt's work there has been more research on the context of the Ostia synagogue, among which is the new interpretation of the Quarter of the Porta Marina by Mitternacht. Brandt claims that the synagogue building appears to have been built far from any other buildings and remained remote for half a century.¹¹⁸ In 2001, excavations between the city wall of Ostia and the *Via Severiana* brought to light a sizable *Villa suburbiana* with a garden stadium dated to roughly 60-80 CE (Fig. 40).¹¹⁹ There may have been a relationship between the construction periods of the *Villa suburbiana* and the synagogue building, which also might provide a *terminus post quem* for the construction of the latter building.¹²⁰ While this research challenges previous theories, the development of the Porta Marina Quarter (and the surroundings of the synagogue) can still not be comprehensively assessed because the areas to the west of the synagogue and north of the *Via Severiana* are not yet excavated.¹²¹

The ongoing *Ostia Synagogue Area Masonry Analysis Project* (OSMAP), directed by White, has yielded interesting results (Fig. 41). Preliminary masonry analysis has shown that the exterior walls of rooms 7, 9, 10, and 14 were likely constructed at the same time and may

¹¹⁷ Brandt 2001, 22. According to Brandt, only in the 2nd century CE were other buildings are constructed adjacent to the synagogue building.

¹¹⁸ Mitternacht 2003, 548.

¹¹⁹ Mitternacht 2003, 549-50.

¹²⁰ Mitternacht (2003, 552) suggests that since the synagogue did not infringe upon the view axis of the garden stadium it is possible that the positioning of the synagogue was influenced by the requirements of the garden's shoreline view; this would mean that the synagogue postdates the villa.

¹²¹ Mitternacht 2003, 551, 553. Further inquiry into the surrounding structures of the synagogue could show if there was a Jewish quarter in this area of Ostia and provide architectural comparanda.

have constituted one part of the first building. No interior partition walls have survived from this initial phase, which may indicate significant modifications in later phases.¹²²

Excavations of the wall foundations in the vicinity of rooms 16 and 14 have led White to the conclusion that the walls of room 10 and 14 might have been constructed at two different times, suggesting that the earliest structure might not have had the currently visible layout (Fig. 42).¹²³ These findings alter the perception of the Ostia synagogue profoundly. First, the original building may never be reconstructed fully because of later renovations and repairs. Second, if the original structure differed in layout from the currently visible building, it may not have been built and served as a synagogue, but only later was transformed into one, similar to the buildings at Masada and Herodium. In addition, there appears to be no absolutely positive evidence that this building was a synagogue before the latest phase (5th century CE) when the Torah shrine was installed.

The Ostia synagogue building shares many similarities with *GD* 80: lack of contextual information, the unknown date of the original building, and a lack of conclusive proof of its function in the first phase.¹²⁴ Until a comprehensive assessment and publication of the entire building and the final publication of White's OSMAP project, debate will continue. Currently, the Ostia synagogue cannot be included in the corpus of pre-70 CE

¹²² White et al. 2002, <http://www.utexas.edu/research/isac/web/OSMAP/Preliminary%20Results/2002.html>.

¹²³ White et al. 2005, <http://www.utexas.edu/research/isac/web/OSMAP/Preliminary%20Results/2005.html>.

¹²⁴ Runesson (2002, 201) cites the tri-portal layout, orientation towards Jerusalem, and continuity of use as evidence for identifying the first phase of the structure as a synagogue. Also cited is the inscription of Plotius Fortunatus, which includes the term *archisynagogos*, but the date of this inscription (ca. 100 CE) is not precise. The inscription was not found in the Ostia synagogue but in the Piannabella region south of ancient Ostia, between modern Via del Mare and Castel Fusano (Runesson 2001b, 91 n. 381).

synagogue buildings. Because the identification of *GD* 80 and the Ostia synagogue are questioned, there are no examples of pre-70 CE Diaspora synagogue buildings.¹²⁵

Conclusions:

The purpose of this study has been three-fold: 1) to reexamine the evidence for the identification of *GD* 80 as a synagogue building, 2) to point out the circularity in the argumentation and identification process, and 3) to argue for a reevaluation of pre-70 CE synagogue buildings and their function, especially in the Diaspora. While there is no safe evidence for the identification of *GD* 80 as a synagogue there is also nothing that definitively precludes this possibility. The three synagogue buildings in Judea indicate that contextual evidence is a key to identification. The latest phase of the building at Ostia is identified as a synagogue, but is clearly distinguished from *GD* 80, which was abandoned in the 2nd century CE. In other words, it cannot serve as a useful comparison.

If we give *GD* 80 a more conclusive designation, which would be the most appropriate? The similarity in layout to the *Établissement des Poseidoniasts* points towards the use of *GD* 80 as a pagan clubhouse for some unknown association; however, one would need to explain the lack of certain features (shops, shrines, etc.). Looting and the lime kiln in room A may account for some of the absence of votive statues, while the post-depositional process and the rising sea may account for the absence of commercial structures located at

¹²⁵ Nielsen (2005, 93-4) posits that Diaspora synagogues, even before the destruction of the Temple in Jerusalem, served the cultic needs of their congregations. Richardson (2004, 221) posits that synagogues originated in the Diaspora and that Jews modeled them on pagan clubhouses, like the *Établissement des Poseidoniasts*. Although no clear evidence exists, such a conclusion is likely. Even if the first phase of the Ostia building can be proven to have been used as a synagogue, it is not conducive towards making far reaching conclusions about the Diaspora Jewish community. One example should not be considered representative of the whole.

the sea front.¹²⁶ In any case, what we are left with is an assembly hall with unknown patrons which could have served different purposes. It is also important to remember the frequent remodeling of *GD* 80 by changing owners. This could also account for the lack of finds indicating a pagan clubhouse, as the last owners might have destroyed features associated with previous functions. Thus, the identification of *GD* 80 remains a mystery. Until the surroundings of *GD* 80 are excavated and soundings are conducted (especially in the area where the Samaritan inscriptions were discovered) we can only speculate about this building, its place in Delos, and its place in early synagogue studies.

¹²⁶ This would require a fully closed courtyard with a line of shops in the front, comparable to the Magasins (*GD* 122) on the west coast. See Trümper 2011, 63-64.

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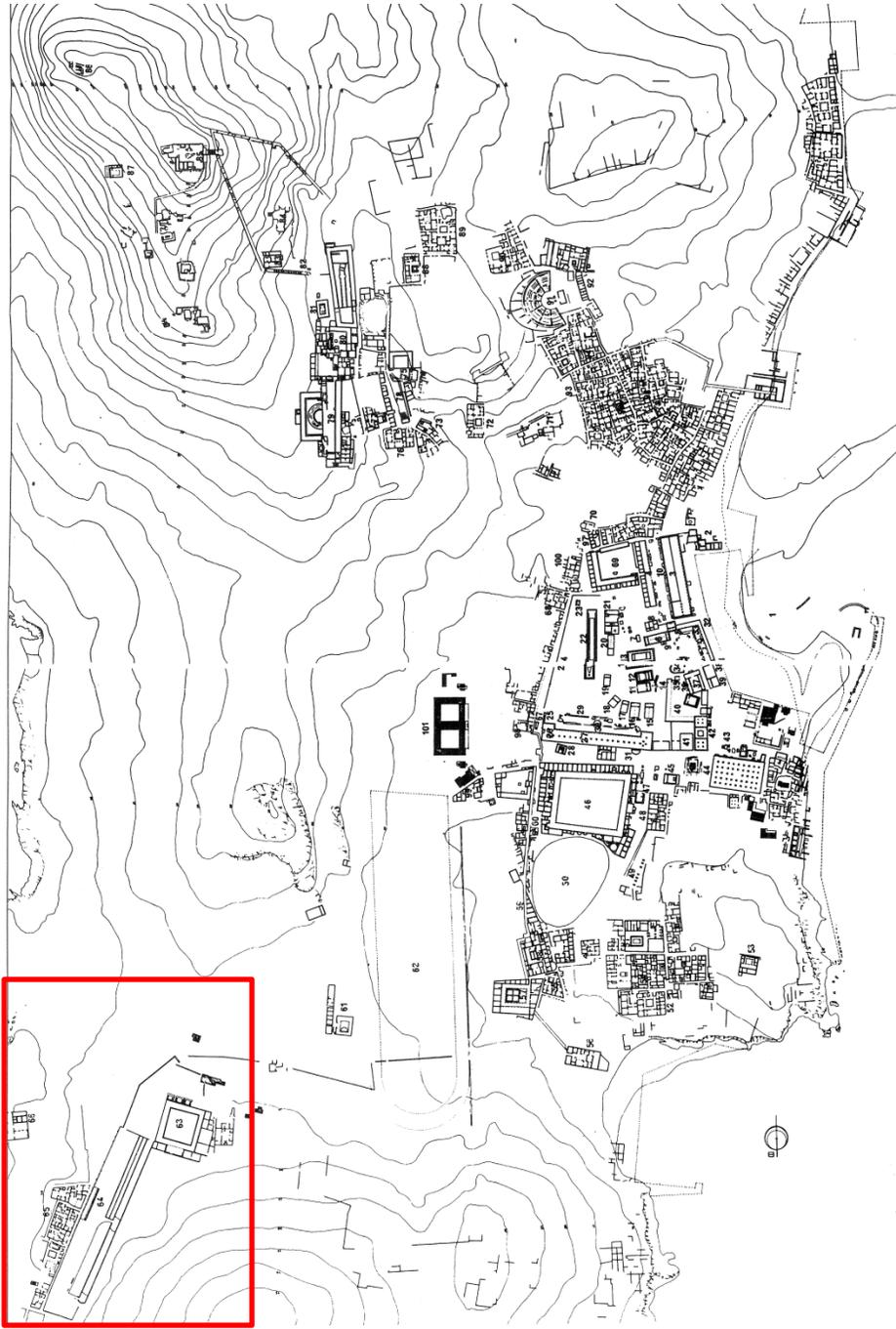


Figure 1. Plan of Delos. Quartier du stade indicated. After Trümper 1998, 173, Abb. 1

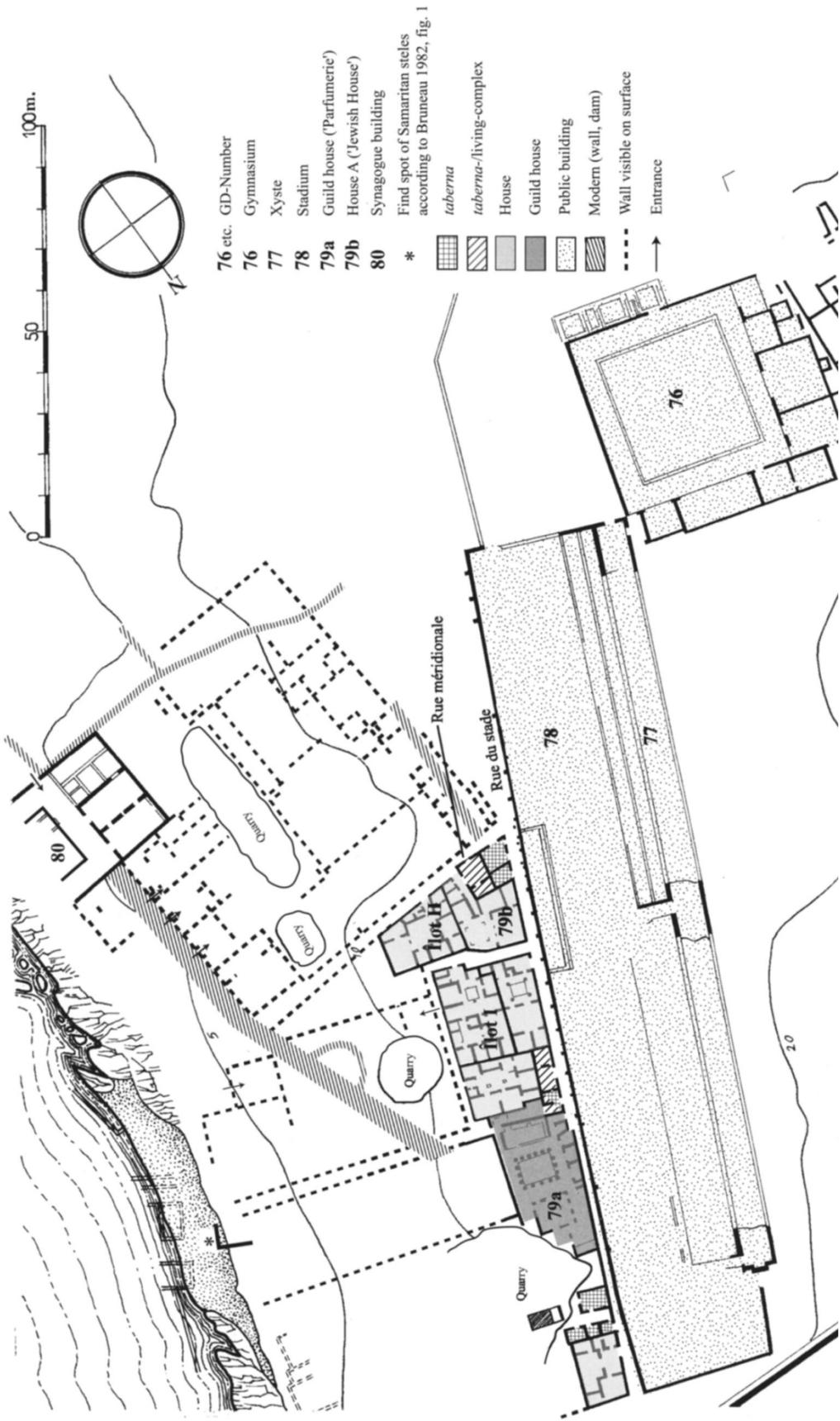
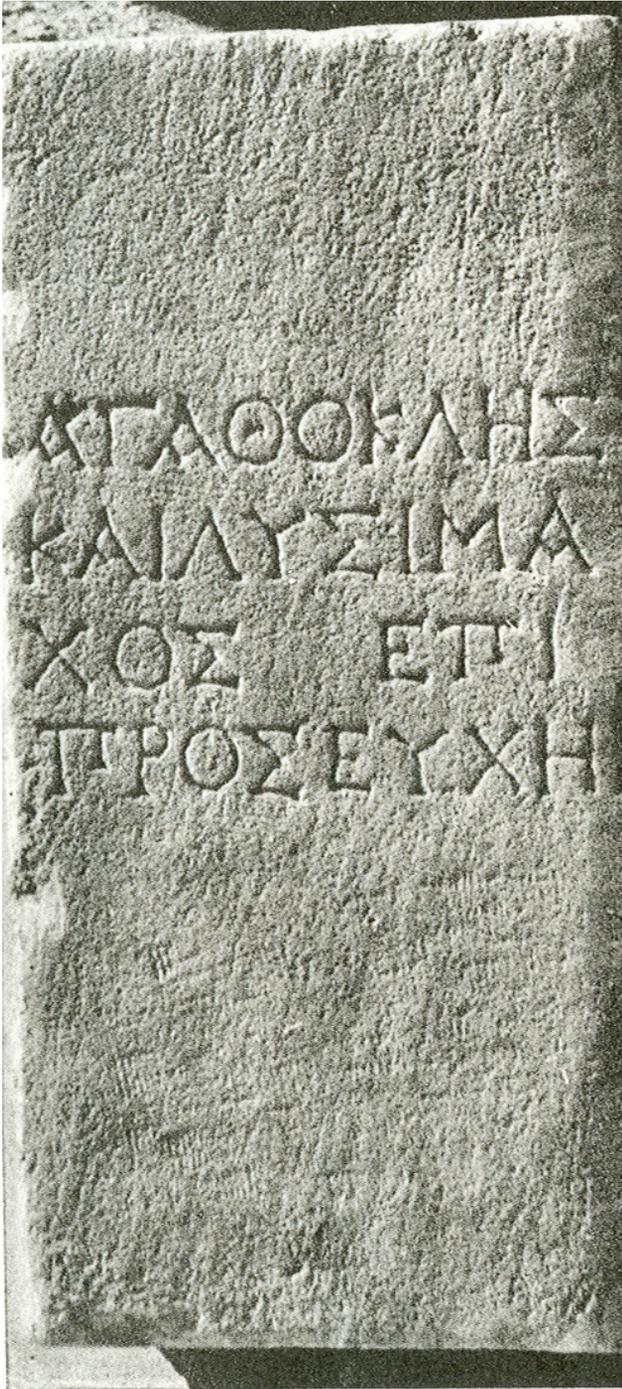


Figure 2. Delos, Quartier du stade. After Trümper 2004, 515, fig. 1



Ἀγαθοκλῆς
καὶ Λυσίμα-
χος ἐπὶ
προσευχῇ.

Agathocles
and Lysimachus
for the prayer hall [*proseuchē*]

Figure 3. (left) ID 2329, (right) text and translation. After Bruneau 1970, pl. IX:4; Text from Runesson et al. 2008, 128.



Figure 4. (above) Samaritan honorary stele 1; (below) Text and translation. After Bruneau 1982, 471; Text from Runesson et al. 2008, 130-131.

(wreath)

Οἱ ἐν Δήλῳ Ἰσραελεῖται οἱ ἀ-
 παρχόμενοι εἰς ἱερὸν Ἀρχα-
 ριζεῖν στεφανοῦσιν χρυσῶ
 στεφάνῳ Σαραπίωνα Ἰάσο-
 νος Κνώσιον εὐεργεσίας
 ἕνεκεν τῆς εἰς ἑαυτούς.

5

The Israelites on Delos who make contributions to sacred Garizim crown with a gold crown Sarapion, son of Jason, from Knossos, for his benefactions toward them.

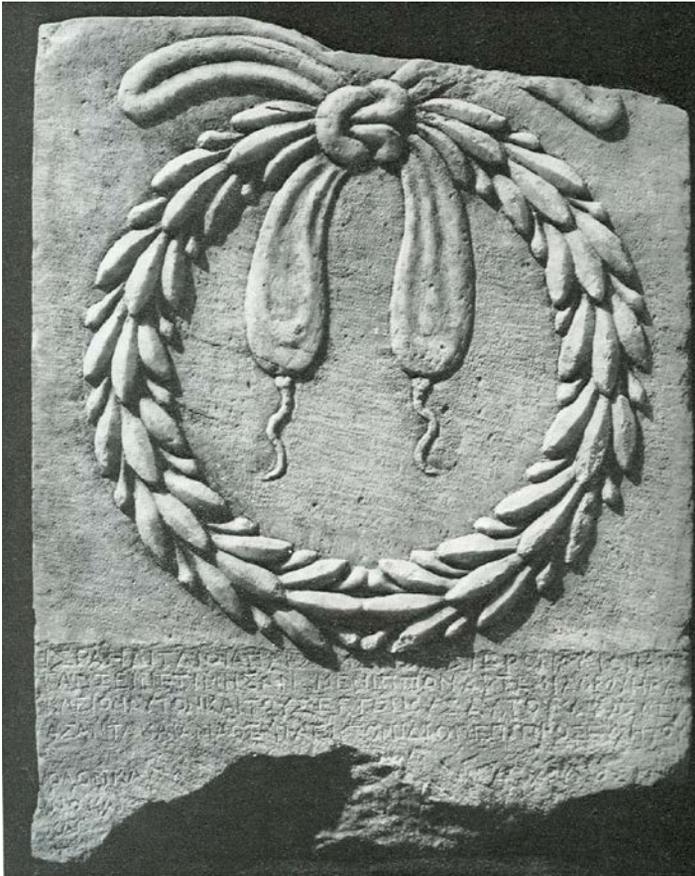


Figure 5. (above) Samaritan honorary stele 2; (below) Text and translation. After Bruneau 1982, 474

[? Οἱ ἐν Δήλω]

(wreath)

Ἰσραηλιται οἱ ἀπαρχόμενοι εἰς ἱερὸν ἅγιον Ἄρ-
 γαρζεῖν ἐτίμησαν *vacat* Μένιππον Ἄρτεμιδώρου Ἡρα-
 κλειον αὐτὸν καὶ τοὺς ἐγγόνους αὐτοῦ κατασκευ-
 άσαντα καὶ ἀναθένθα ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἐπὶ προσευχῇ τοῦ 5
 θε[οῦ] ΤΟΝ[-----] |
 ΟΛΟΝΚΑΙΤΟ[- - ca 6-8 - - καὶ ἐστεφάνωσαν] χρυσοῦ στε[φά-]
 νω καὶ [-----]
 ΚΑ - -

"[The] Israelites who make contributions to the sacred and holy Gerizim have honored Ménippos son of Arlémidoros, Heraclea, himself and his descendants, for establishing and dedicated at his own expense, as a votive offering [to God], the [] and [and have crowned] with a golden crown, and []. "



Ζωσᾶς
Πάριος
Θεῷ
Ἐψίστῳ
εὐχὴν.

5

Zosas of Paros to
God Most High,
(in fulfillment of)
a vow.

Figure 6. (left) ID 2331, (right) text and translation. After Bruneau 1970, pl. IX:5; Text from Runesson et al. 2008, 125-126.



— — — — —
(rosette) (rosette)
γενόμενος
ἐλεύθερος.

... having been set free

**Figure 7. (above) ID 2333;
(below) Text and
translation.** After Bruneau
1970, 484; Text from
Trümper 2004, 571, n. 122.

Catalogue # from ID	Dimensions	Date	Find Spot
2328	H. 0.865, D. 0.21 m	1 st c. BCE	GD 80; base of the wall in room B
2329	H. 0.345, L. 0.185, W. 0.17 m	1 st c. BCE	GD 79b
2330	H. 0.25, L. 0.165, W. 0.12 m	1 st c. BCE	GD 80; on bench in room A
2331	H. 0.18, L. 0.10, W. 0.10 to 0.085 m	1 st to 2 nd c. CE	GD 80; on bench in room A
2332	H. 0.17, L. and W. 0.10 to 0.08 m	Later than 1 st c. BCE	GD 80; on bench in room A
2333	L. 0.26 to 0.24, W. 0.20 to 0.18 m	1 st to 2 nd c. CE	GD 80; corner of room B

Figure 8. Table of all of the votives discovered by A. Plassart, 1914. After Trümper 2004, 570-71, n. 122.

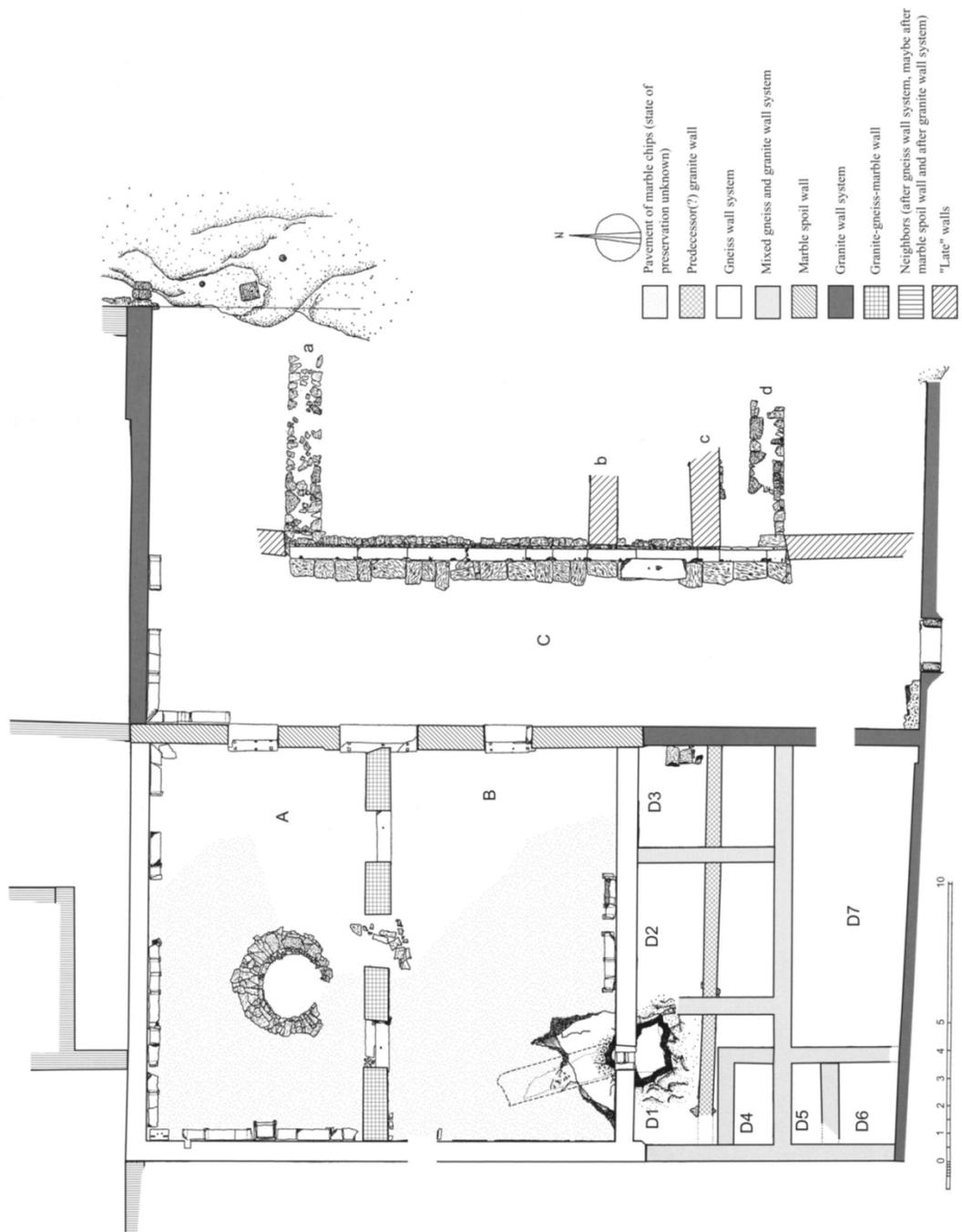


Figure 10 Delos, GD 80 plan showing different wall systems. After Trümper 2004, 520, fig. 3



Figure 11. Delos, GD 80, (above) Marble chip floor, room B, view from north; (below) Remains of marble chip floor, northwest corner, view from south . After Trümper 2004, 523, fig. 5; 577, fig. 44



Figure 12. Delos, *GD 80 D-complex* of rooms view from the west. After Trümper 2004, 528, fig. 9



Figure 13. Delos, *GD 80* Eastern wall of hall A/B rebuilt with marble blocks, from the north. The marble thresholds date to the first phase and were re-cut in the third. After Trümper 2004, 530, fig. 10



Figure 14. Delos, *GD 80*, marble throne and benches in room A, view from the east. After Matassa 2007, 96, fig. 3

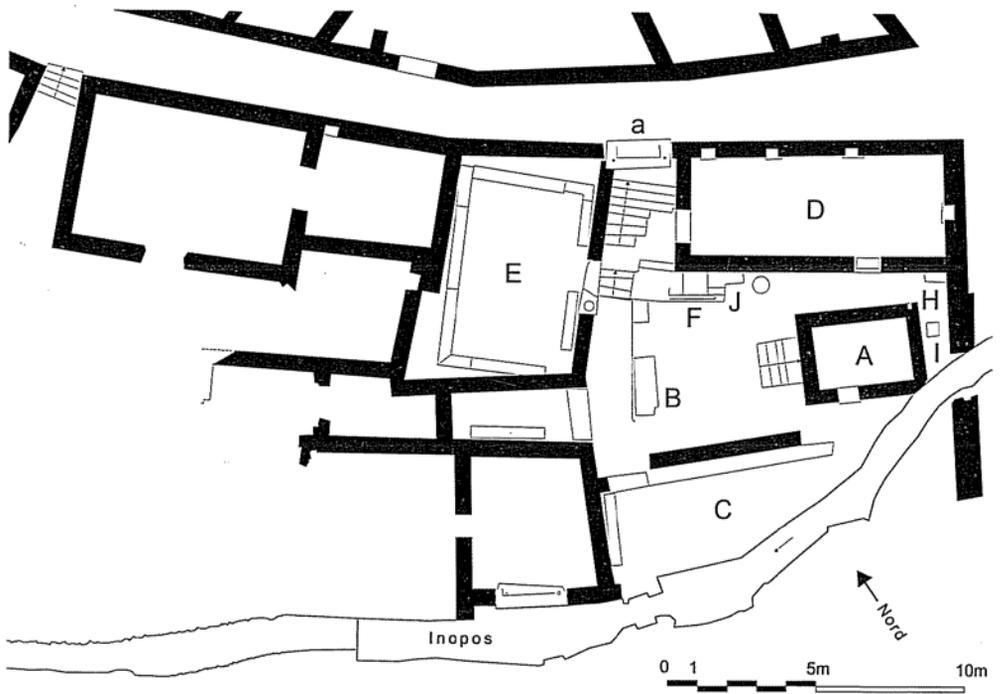
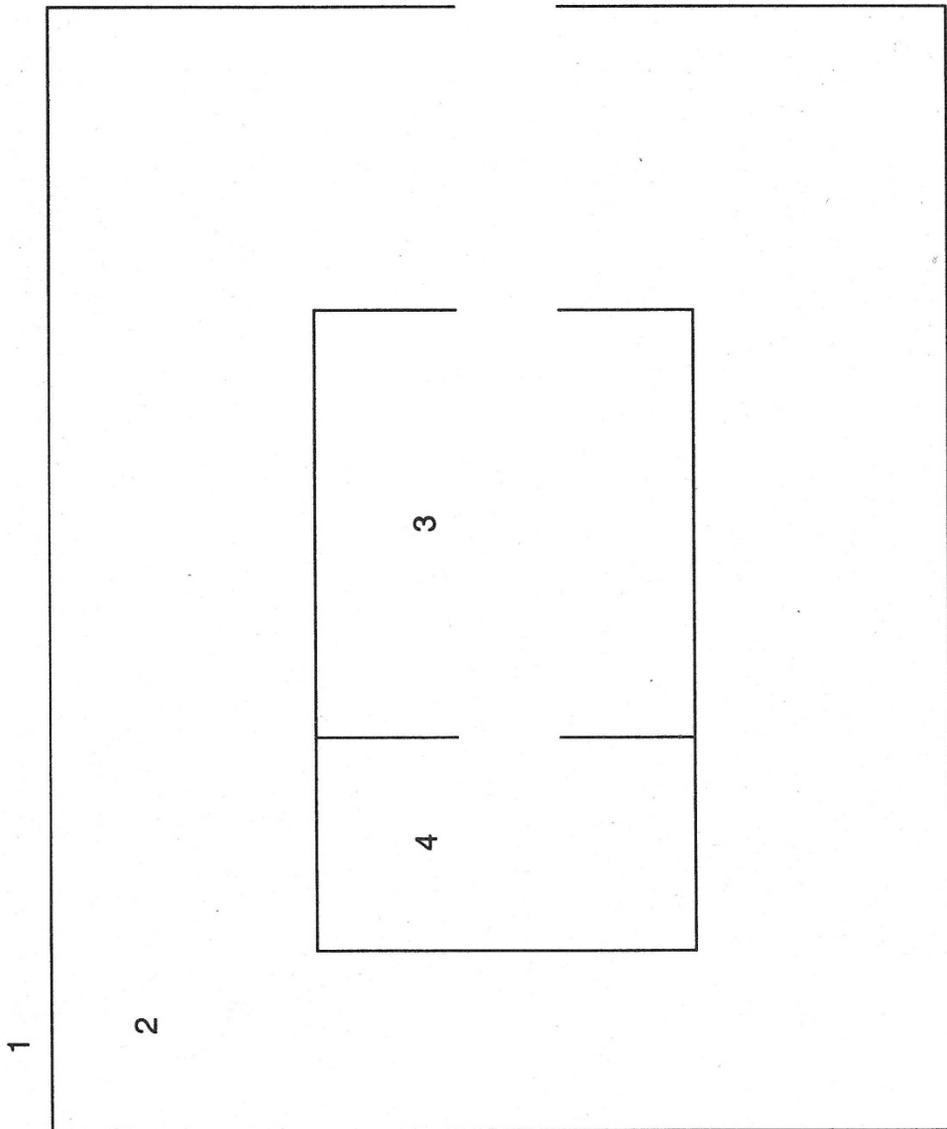


Figure 15. Delos, (above) Sarapeion A; (below) Sarapeion A , view from the south. After *GD* 2005, 269, fig. 83; photo by Trümper

**Figure 16. Schematic plan of the
Tabernacle with different areas of
purity. Holy of Holies- 4, Holy-3,
The Court-2, The Camp-1. After
Kunin 1998, 12, fig. 2.1**



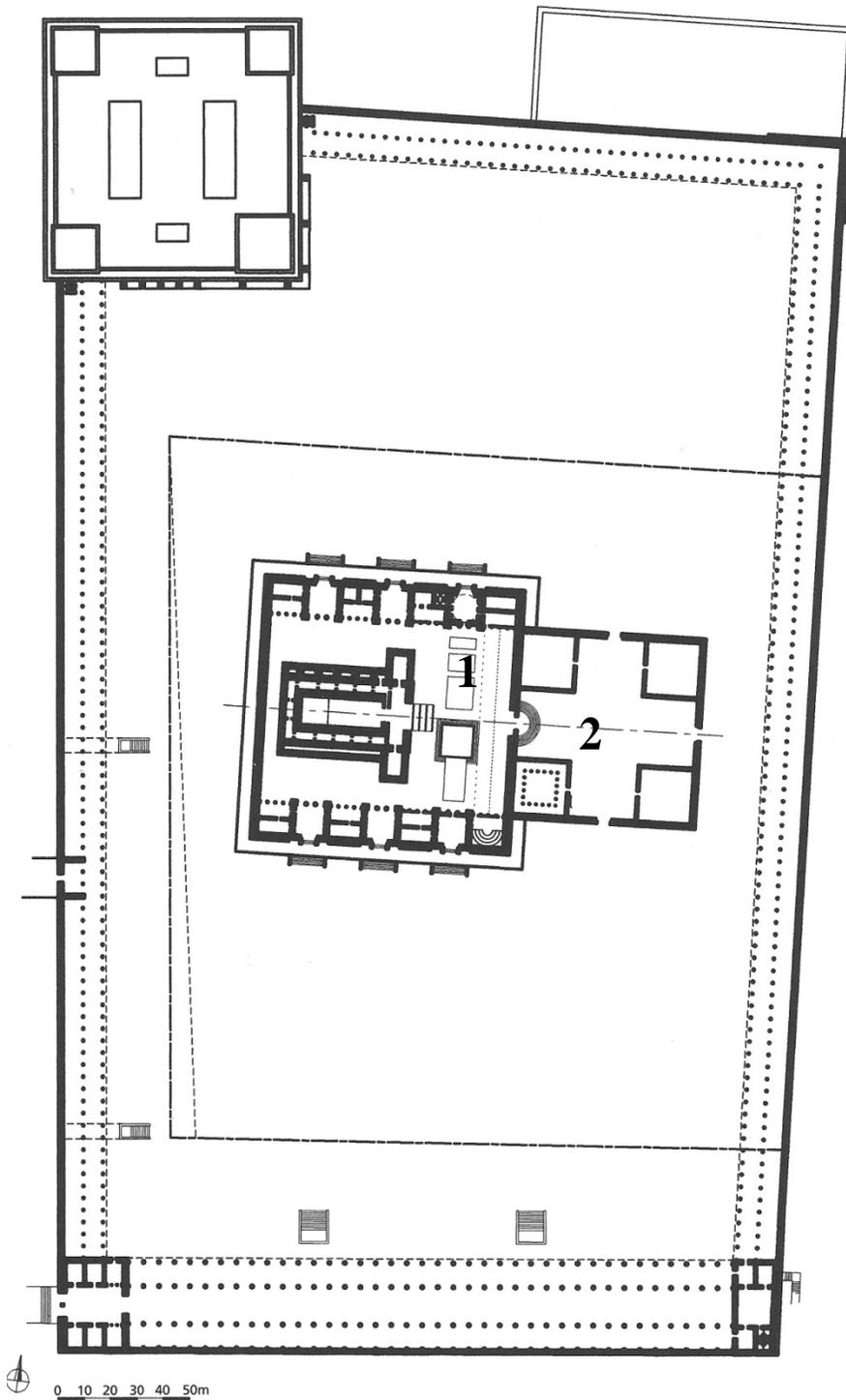


Figure 17. Plan of Herod's Second Temple in Jerusalem. Priest's Court-1, Women's Court-2. After Netzer 2006, 139, fig. 31



θ[ε]όδοτος Ουεττήνου, ἱερεὺς καὶ
 ἀ[ρ]χισυναγωγος, υἱὸς ἀρχισυν[αγώ]-
 γ[ο]υ, υἱωνὸς ἀρχισυν[α]γώγου, ᾧκο-
 δόμησε τὴν συναγωγὴν εἰς ἀν[άγν]ω-
 σ[ιν] νόμου καὶ εἰς [δ]ιδαχ[ῆ]ν ἐντολῶν, καὶ 5

τ[ὸ]ν ξενῶνα, κα[ὶ] τὰ δώματα καὶ τὰ χρη-
 σ[τ]ήρια τῶν ὑδάτων εἰς κατάλυμα τοῖ-
 ς [χ]ρήζουσιν ἀπὸ τῆς ξέ[ν]ης, ἣν ἐθεμε-
 λ[ίω]σαν οἱ πατέρες [α]ὐτοῦ καὶ οἱ πρε-
 σ[β]ύτεροι καὶ Σιμων[ί]δης. 10

Theodotos, son of Vettenus, priest and ruler of the synagogue [*archi-*
synagōgos], son of a ruler of the synagogue [*archisynagōgos*], grandson
 of a ruler of the synagogue [*archisynagōgos*], built the synagogue [*synagōgē*]
 for the reading of the law and the teaching of the commandments, and
 also the guest chamber and the upper rooms and the ritual pools of
 water for accommodating those needing them from abroad, which his
 fathers, the elders [*presbyteroi*] and Simonides founded.

Figure 18. (above) Theodotus Inscription, (below) text and translation. After
 Fine 1996, 9, fig. 16; Text from Runesson et al. 2008, 52-53.



Figure 19. Delos, GD 80, Lamp niche in room A indicated. Photo by Trümper



Figure 20. Delos, *GD 80*, Water reservoir in room D1 at north wall, view from southeast. After Trümper 2004, 576, fig. 43.

Figure 21. Delos, GD 80, Water reservoir. Room D1-1, Marble arch-2, Poros vault-3. Bruneau 1970, pl. G

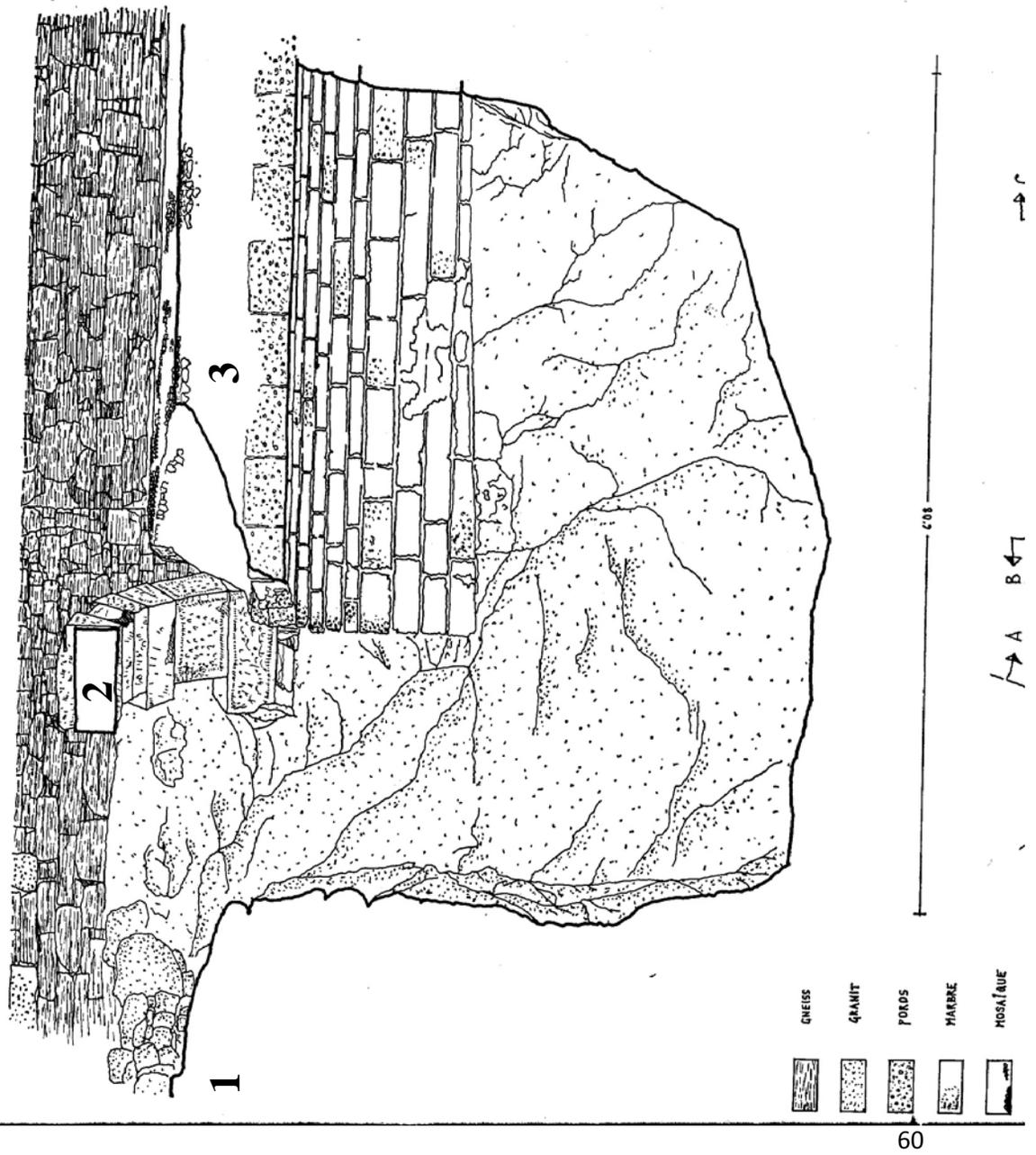




Figure 22. Delos, *GD 115*, Reservoir of the Theater Quarter. After *GD 2005*, 299, fig. 100.



Figure 23. Delos, *GD 79a*, Water reservoir covered with three arches of stone. After Plassart 1916, 241, fig. 40.

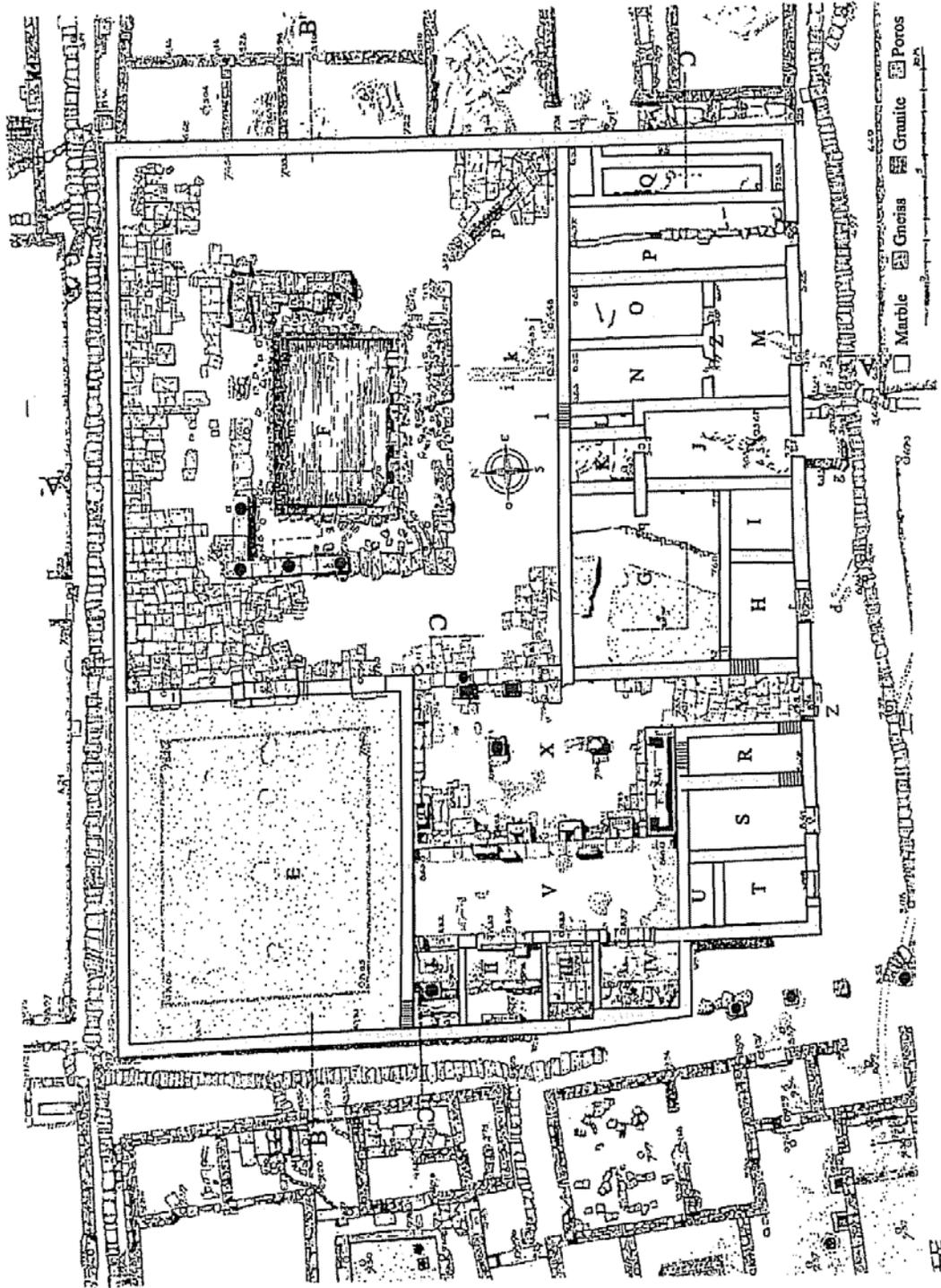


Figure 24. Delos, GD 57, Établissement des Poseidoniastes de Bérytos state plan. After Trümper 2010, 82, fig. 2.

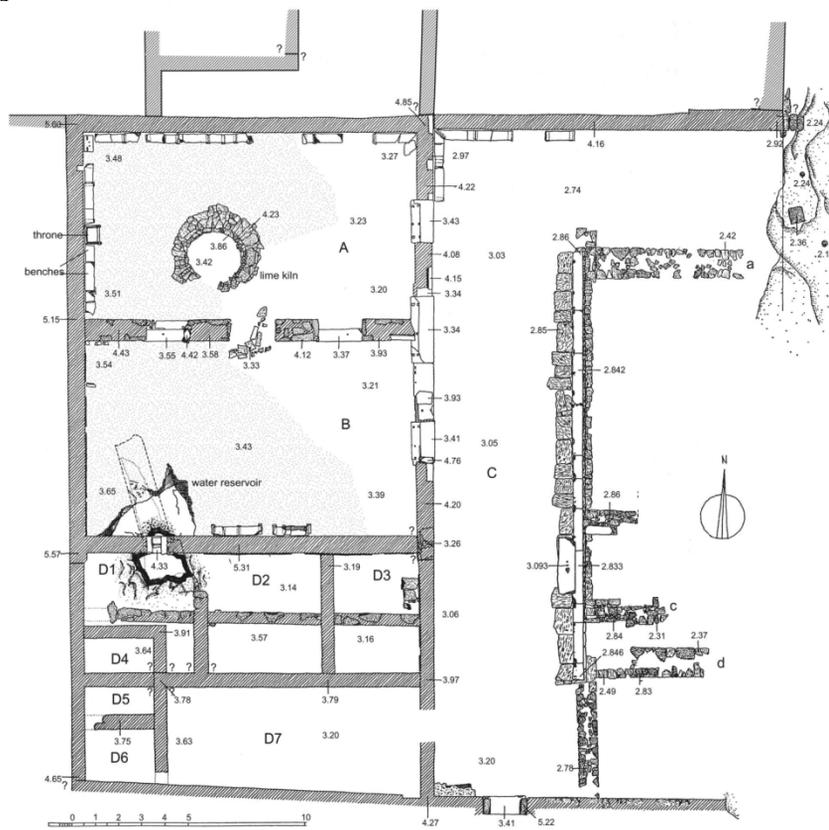
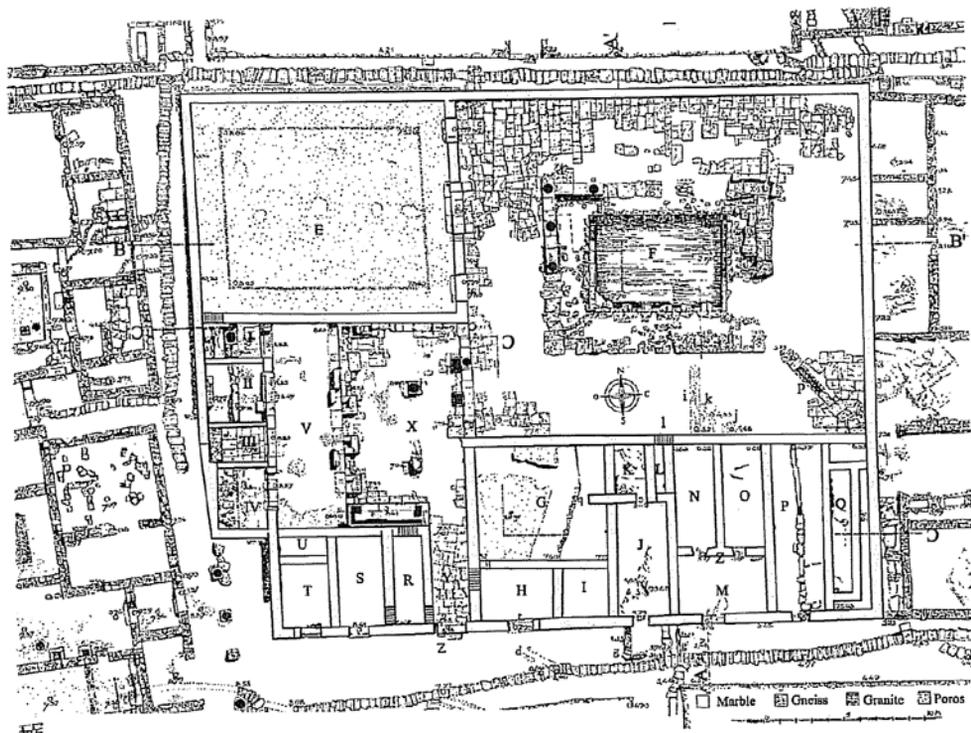


Figure 25. Delos, Établissement des Poseidoniastes de Bérytos and GD 80, not to scale. After Trümper 2011, 82, fig. 2; Trümper 2004, 51, fig. 2

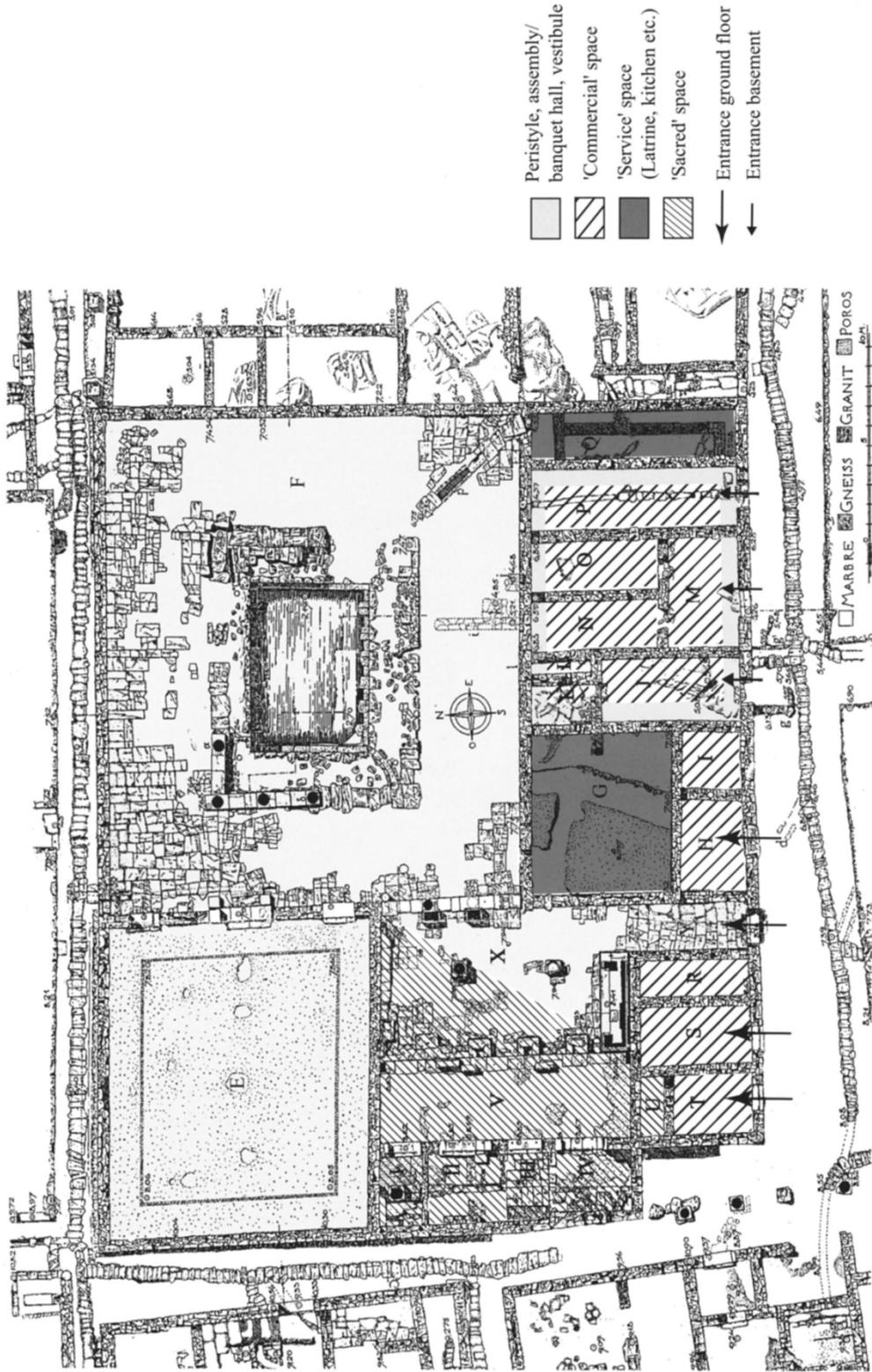


Figure 26. Delos, GD 57, Établissement des Poseidoniastes de Bérytos, with key structural traits and elements typical of association buildings on Delos labeled. After Trümper 2004, 561, fig. 35.

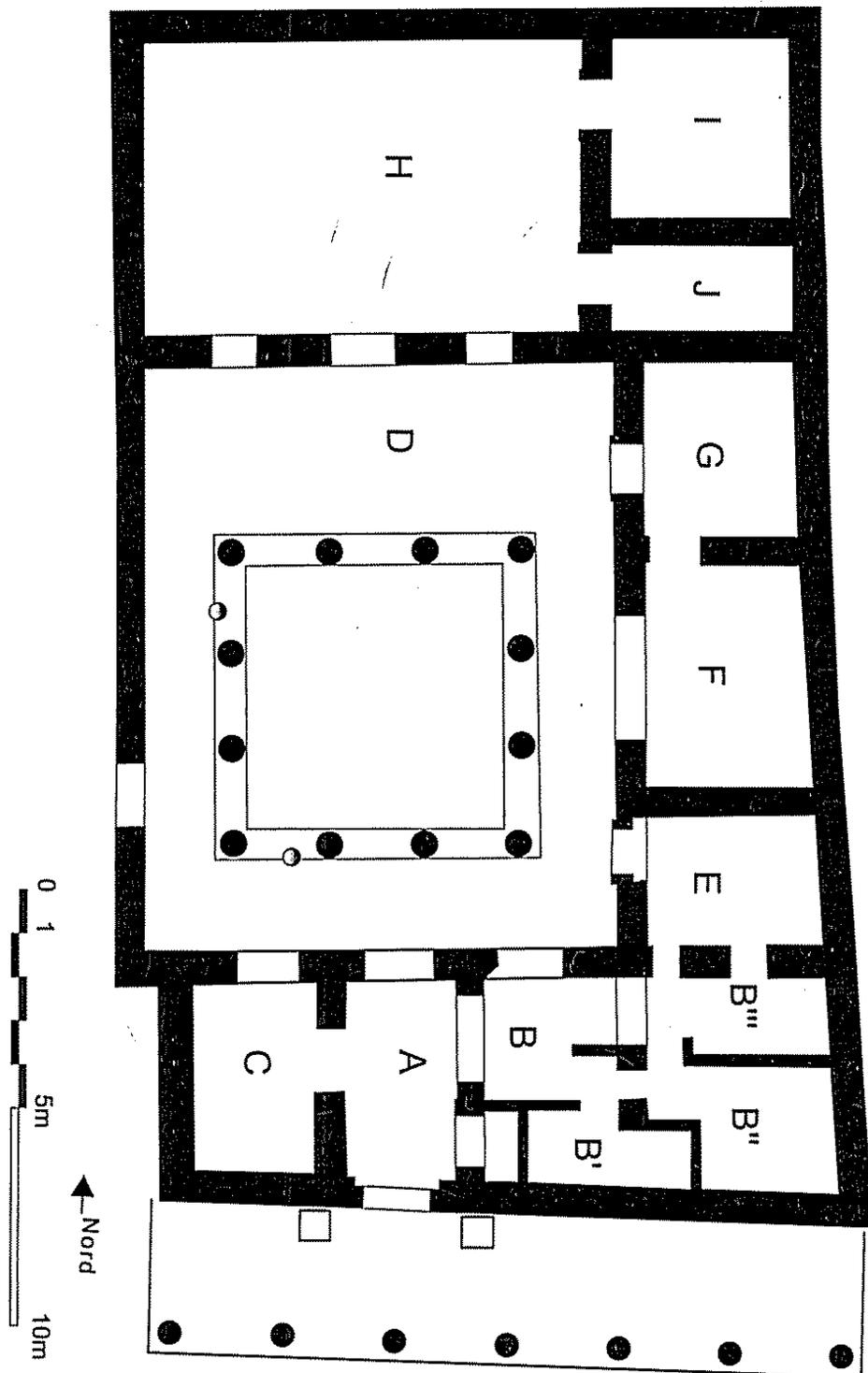


Figure 27. Delos, *GD* 111, Maison de dauphins, . After *GD* 2005, 292, fig. 97a.

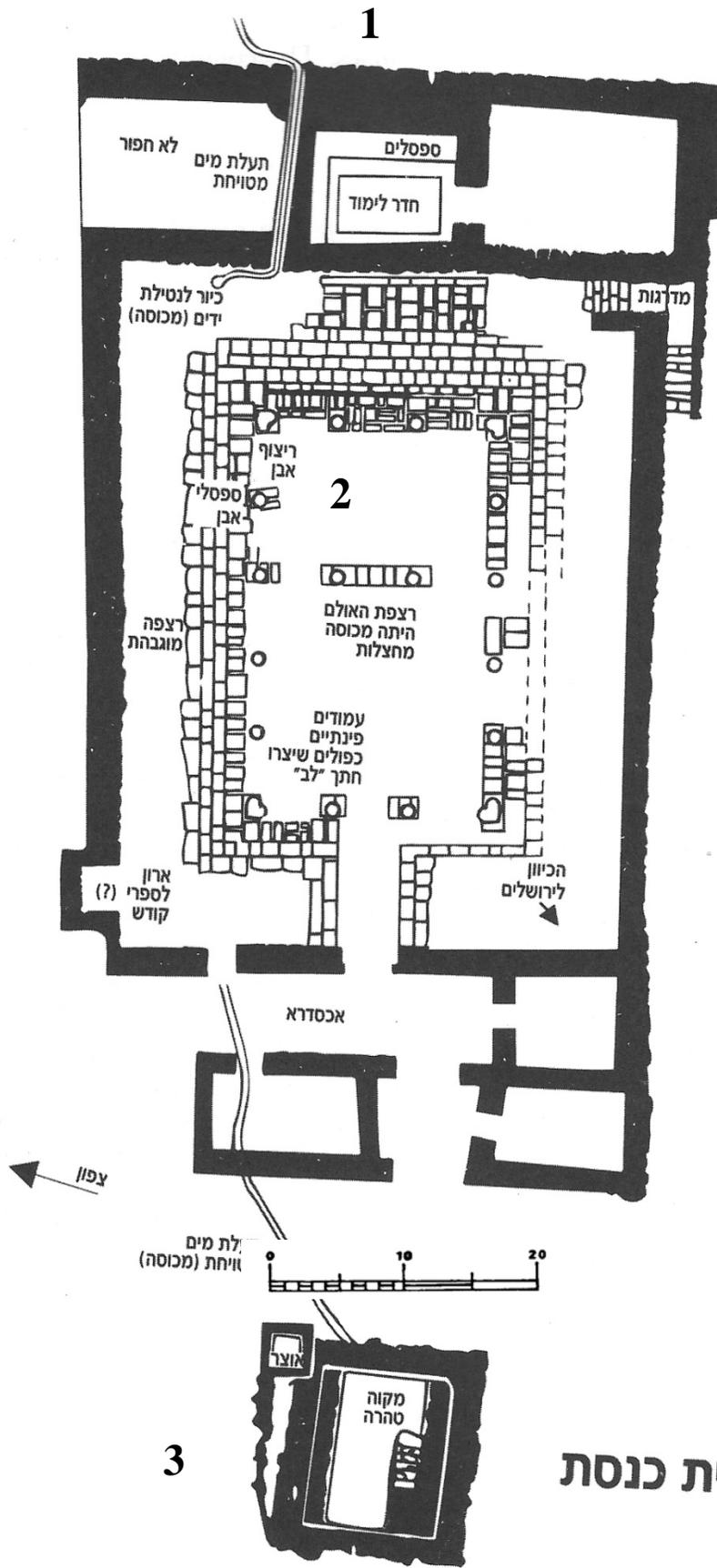


Figure 28. Plan of the Gamla synagogue and *mikveh*. Small room with benches-1, Main hall-2, *Mikveh*-3 After Runesson et al. 2008, 34, fig. 4.

בית כנסת



Figure 29. The main assembly hall of the Gamla synagogue and central stylobate, view from the northwest.
Photo taken by author 2011.



Figure 30. Niche from the Gamla synagogue, view from the south. Photo taken by author, 2010



Figure 31. The stairs of the *miqveh* south of the Gamla synagogue, view from the northwest. Photo taken by author 2011.

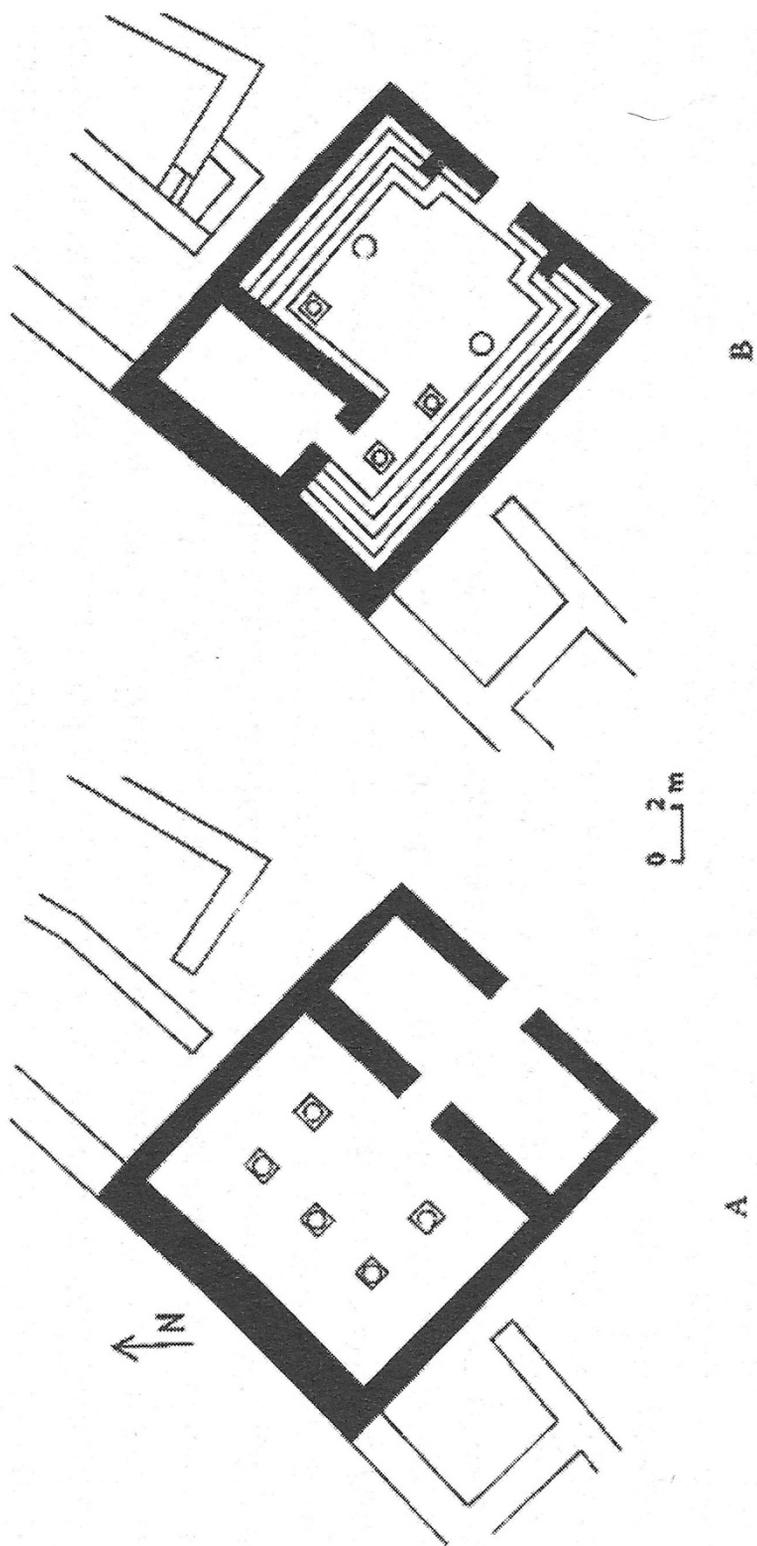


Figure 32. The two stages of the Masada synagogue building, before and after modification by the Jewish Rebels. After Catto 2007, 91, fig. 3.6.



Figure 33. Interior view of the Masada synagogue, from the southeast. Photo taken by author 2011.

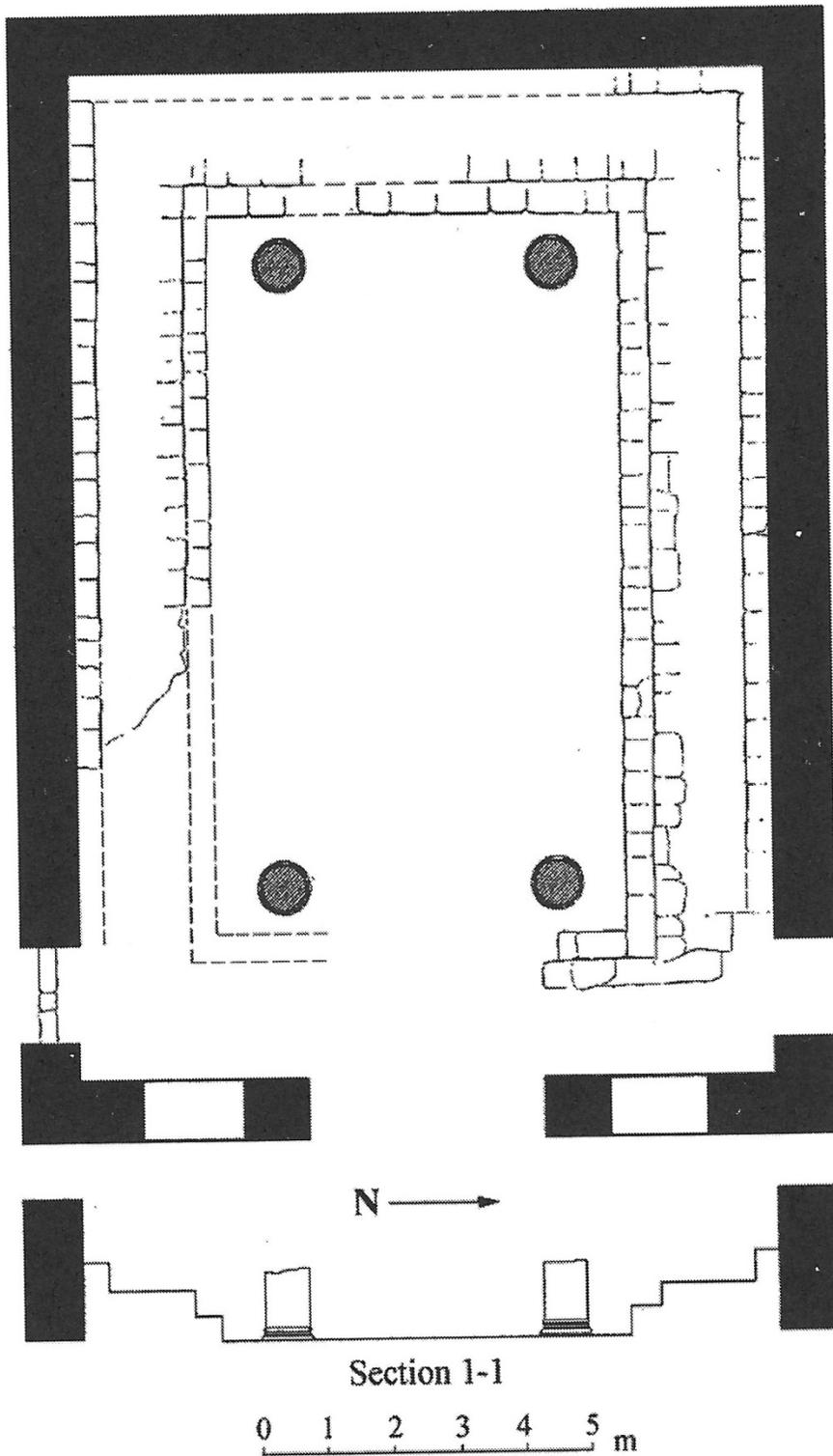


Figure 34. The plan of the Herodium synagogue. After Runesson et al. 2008, 36, fig. 6.

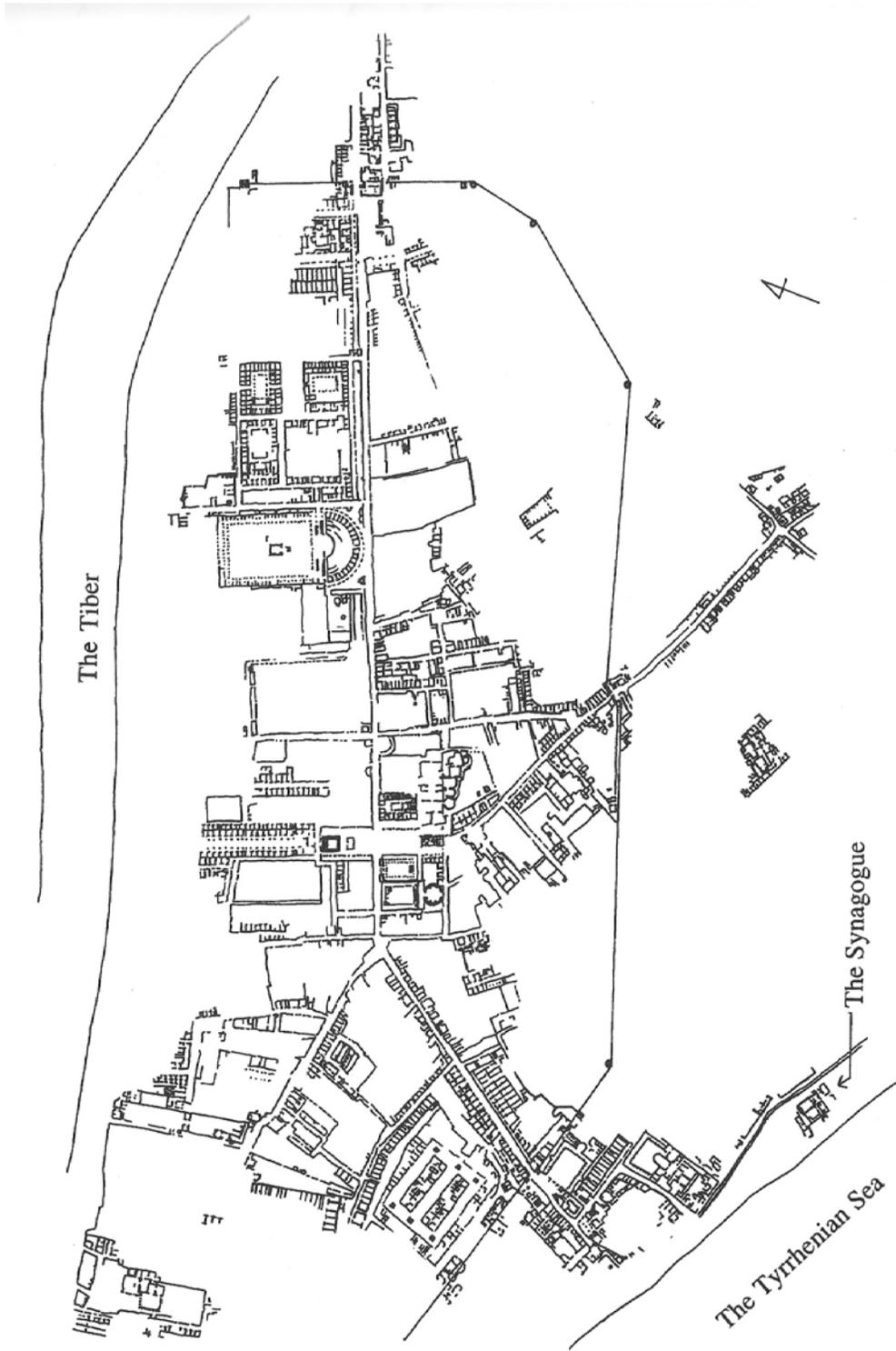


Figure 35. General plan of Ostia showing the location of the synagogue. After Runesson 2001b, 38, fig. 4.

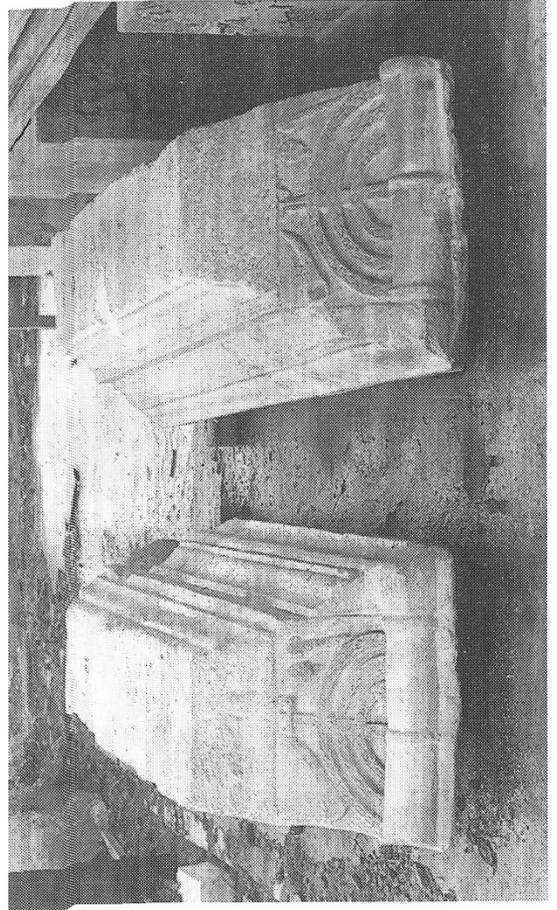
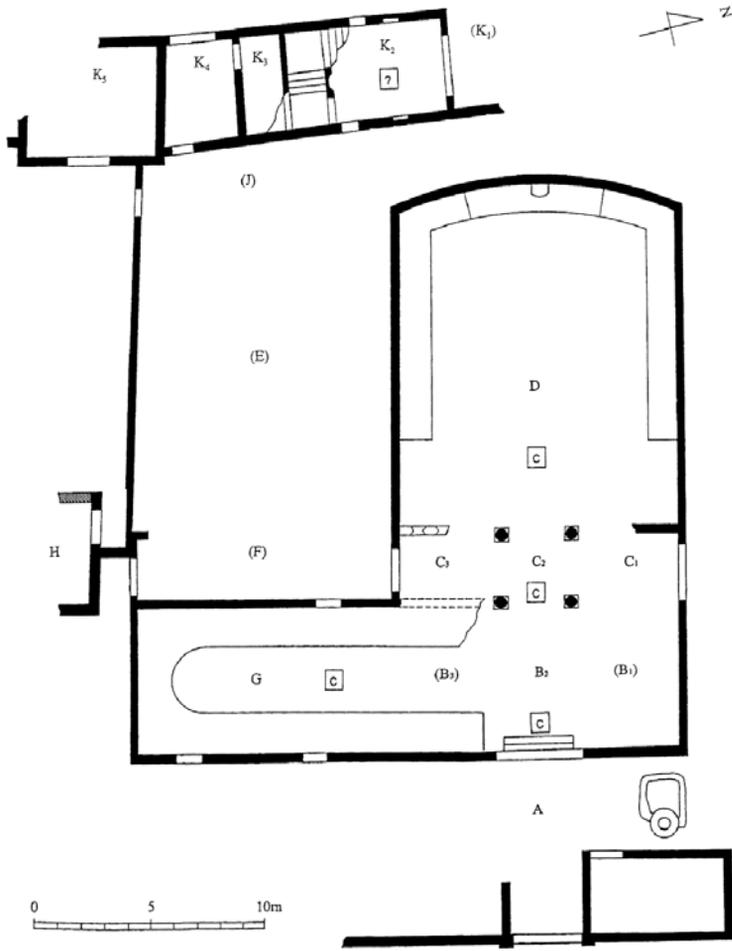
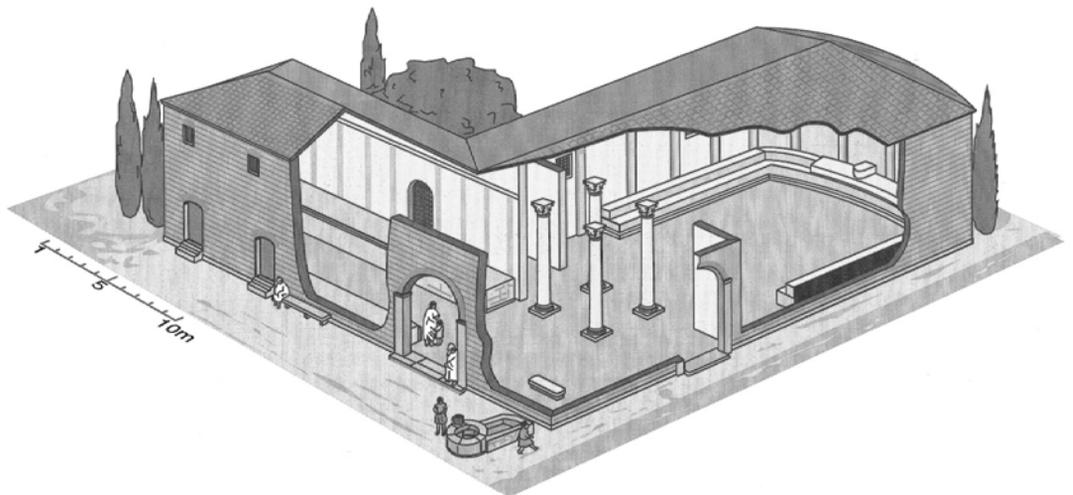


Figure 36. (top left) The aedicula; (bottom left) The architraves of the aedicula; (top right) The menorah with lulav and etrog on the left and shofar on the right. After Runesson2001b, 58, figs. 55, 57-58.



**Figure 37. (above)
Reconstructed plan
of the first phase.
(below)
Reconstruction of
the first phase of the
main building. After
Runesson 2002, fig. 5;
Runesson2001b, 80,
fig. 104.**



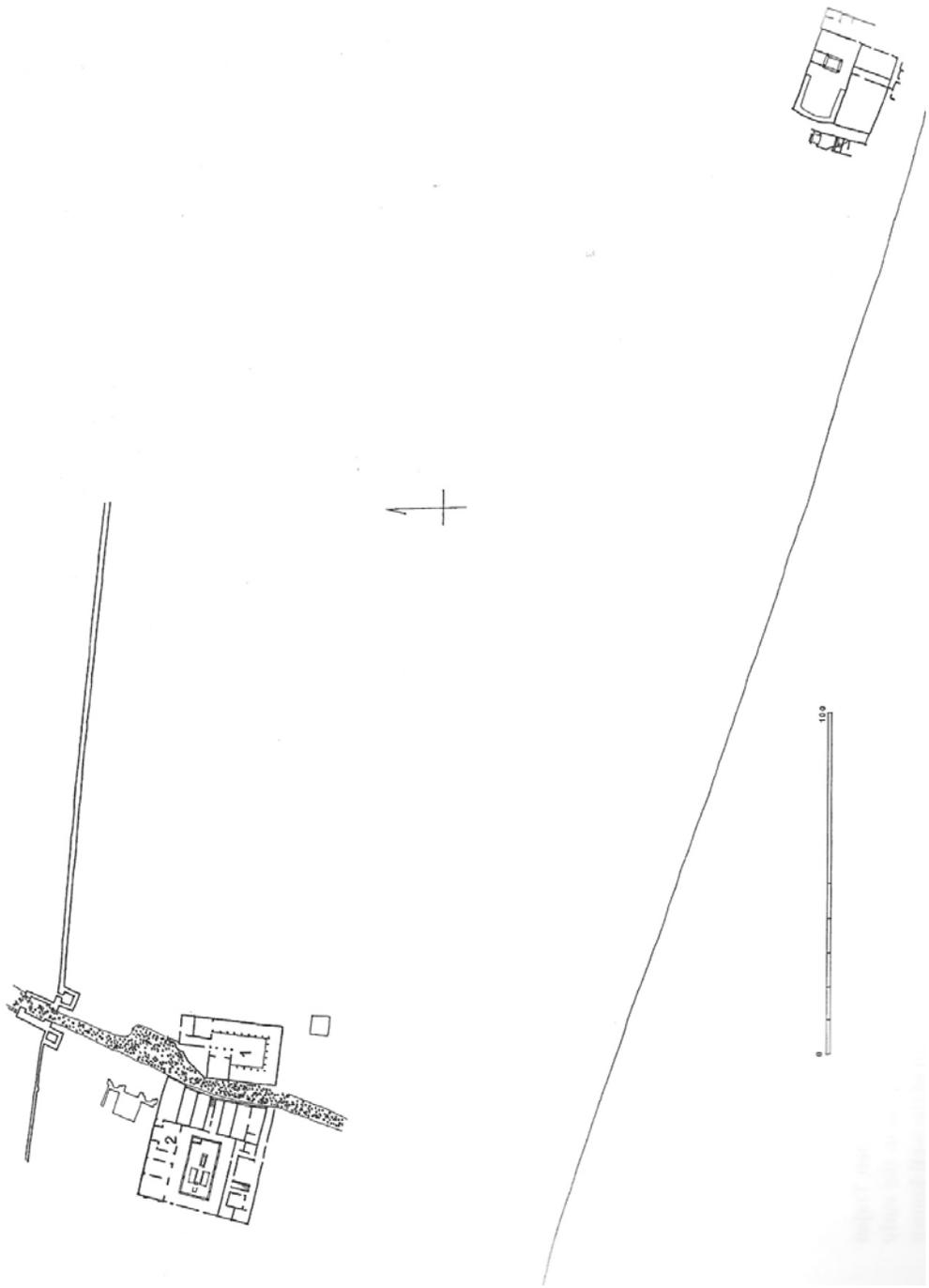


Figure 38. Ostia, Quarter of the Porta Marina in the first century CE. Sanctuary of Bona Dea – 1, *Domus fulminata* – 2. After Brandt 2001, 22, fig. 2

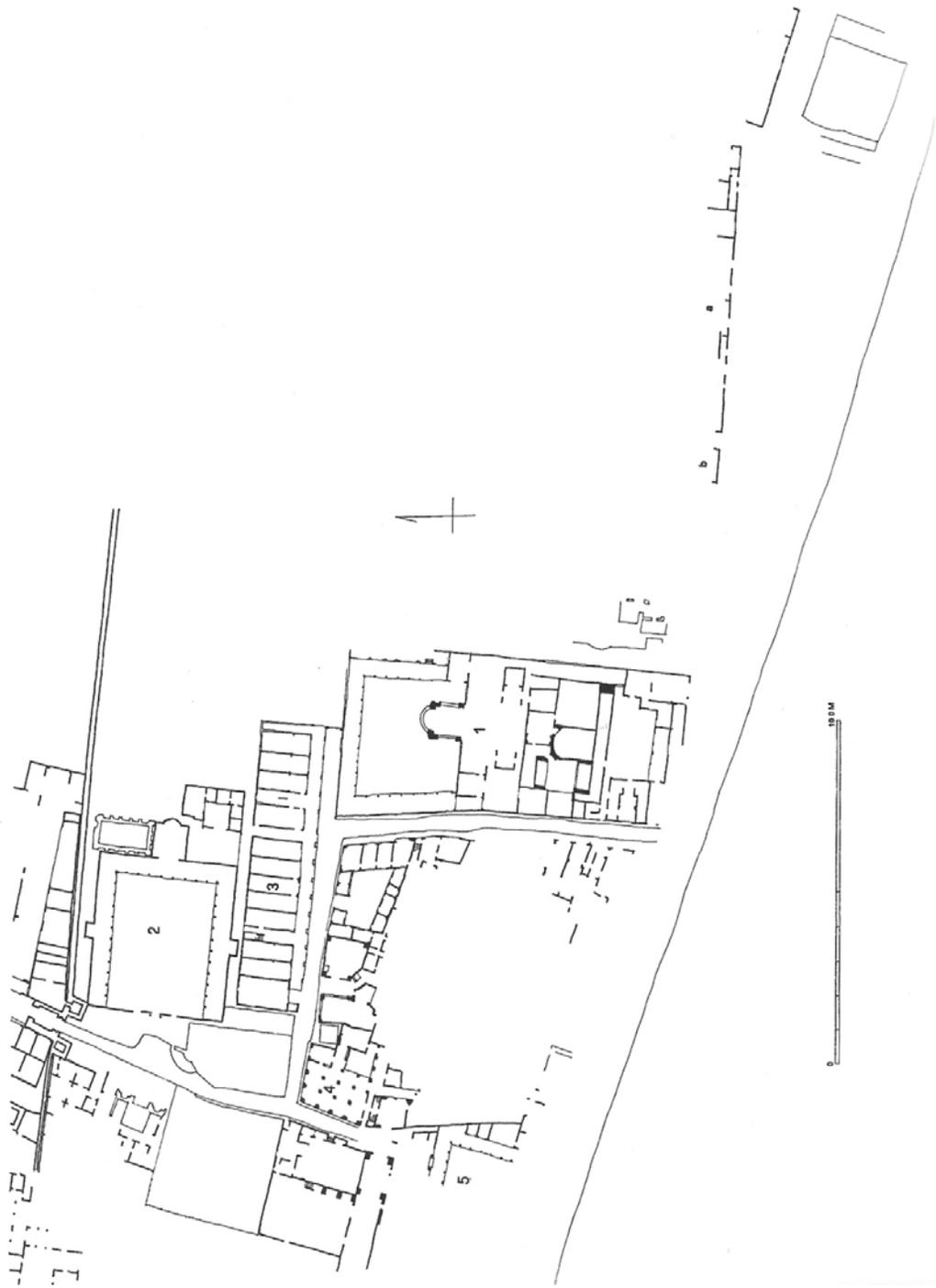


Figure 39. Ostia, Quarter of the Porta Marina in the second century CE. *Thermae* – 1, ‘Foro di Porta Marina’ – 2, *Horreum* – 3. After Brandt 2001, 23, fig. 3

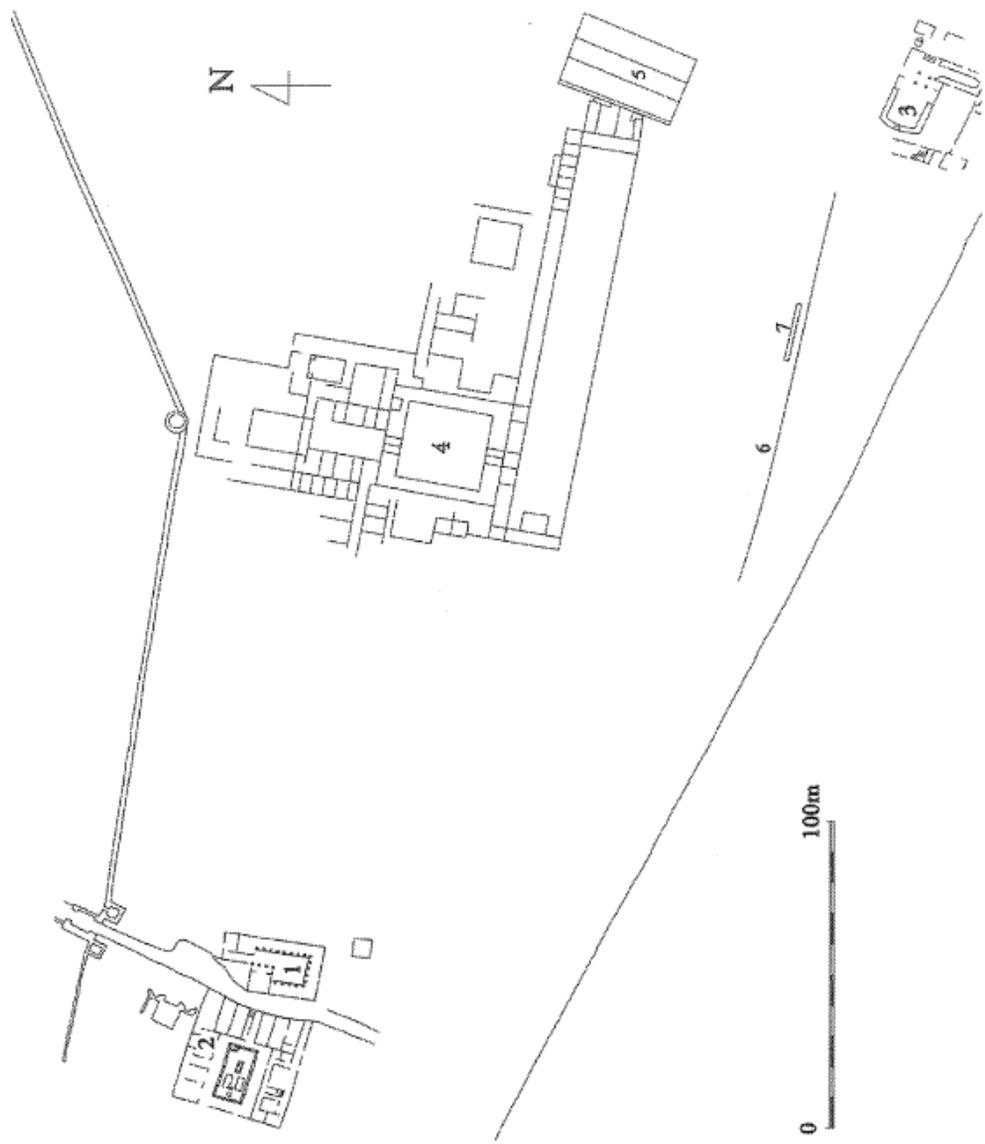


Figure 40. Ostia, Quarter of the Porta Marina in the second half of the first century CE. Synagogue – 3, *Villa suburbana* – 4, Pavillion of *Villa suburbana* – 5, Predecessor to the *Via Severiana* – 6, *Insulae* remains – 7. After Mitternacht 2003, 550, fig. 29.10

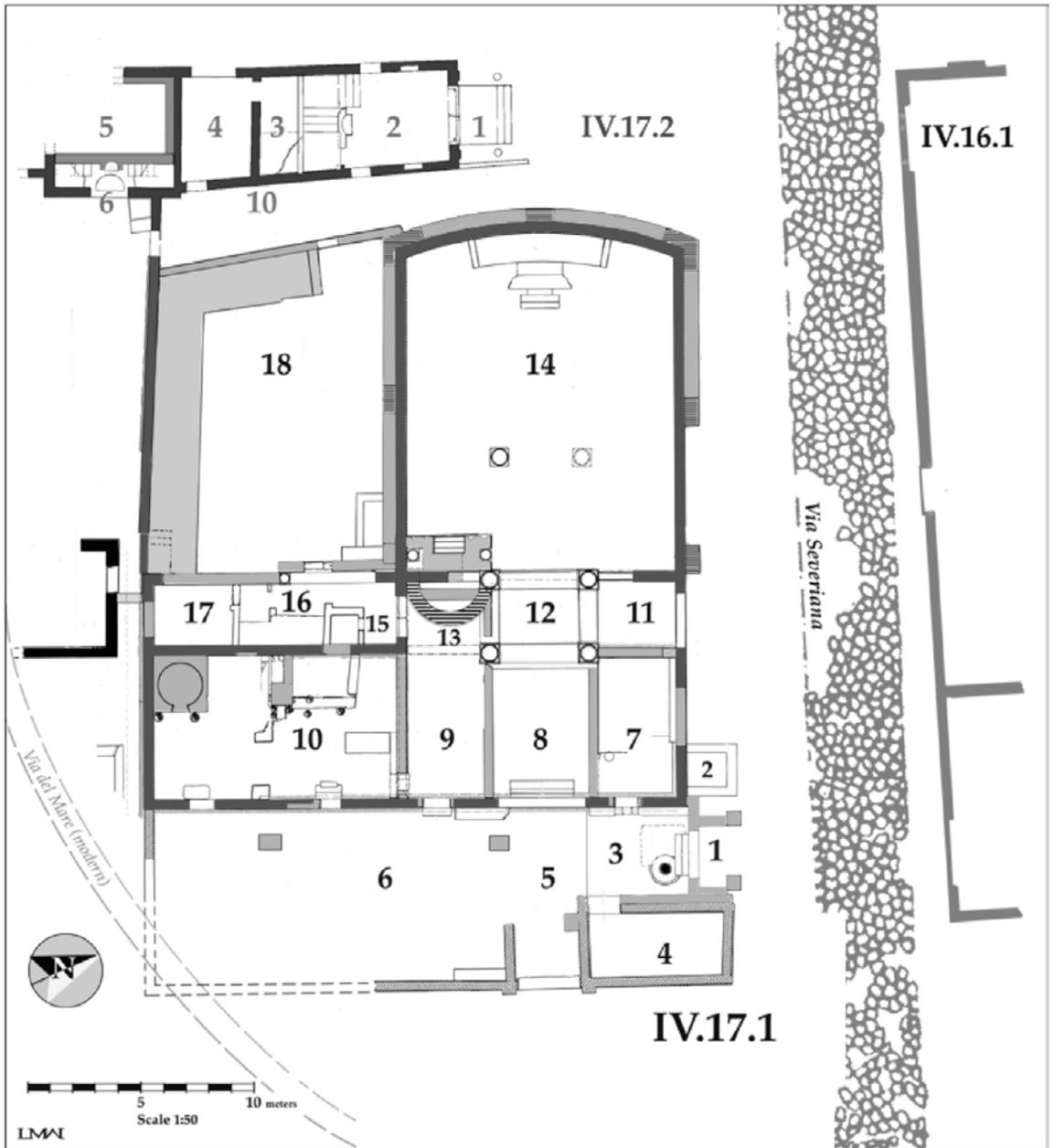


Figure 41. Top plan of the synagogue building and surrounding structures (final phases) with revised room labels. After White et al. 2001, <http://www.utexas.edu/research/isac/web/OSMAP/Preliminary%20Results/2001.html>

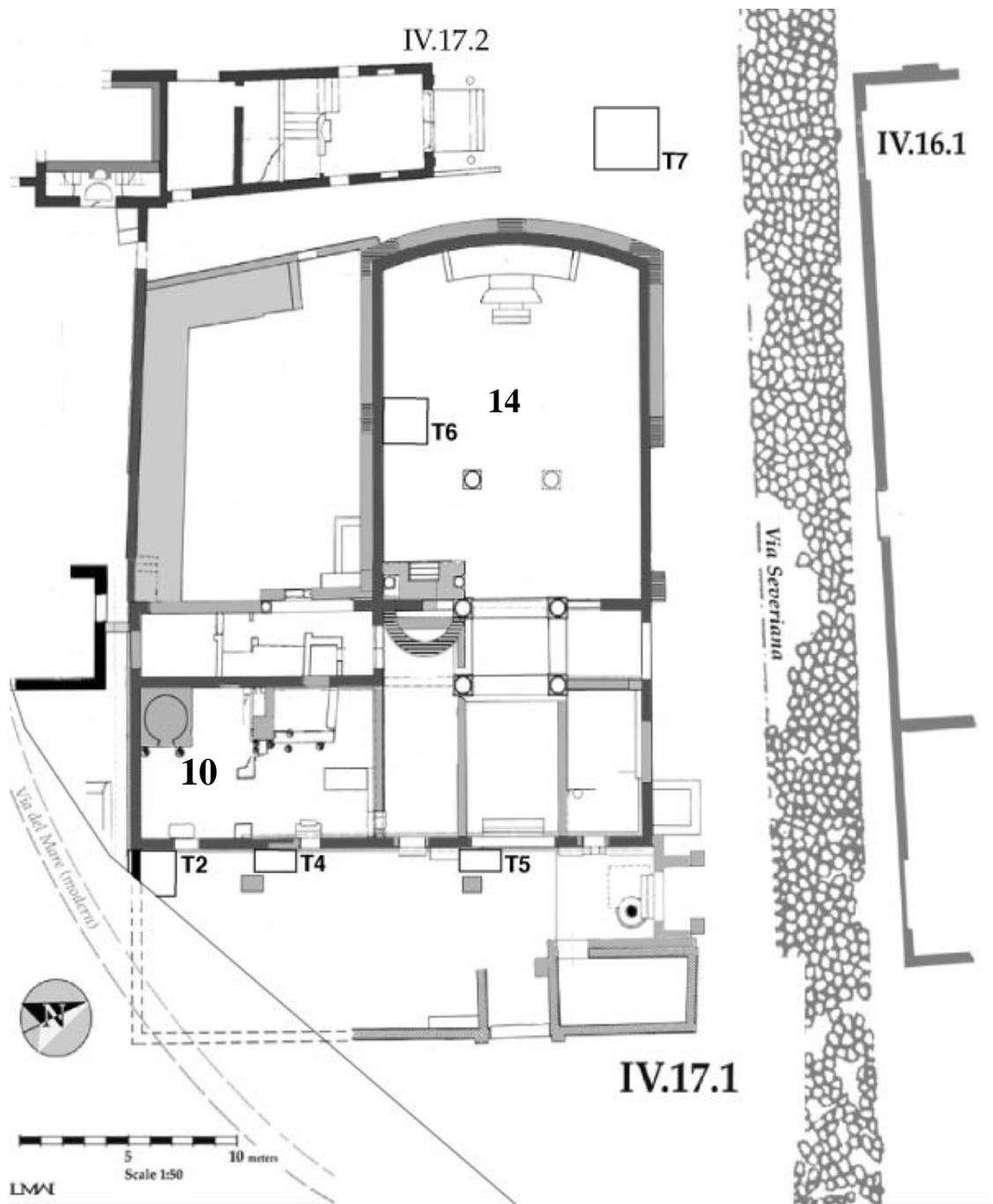


Figure 42. Ostia, Top plan showing the location of test trenches (T2-7). After White et al. 2005, <http://www.utexas.edu/research/isac/web/Images/2005%20Trenches%20Top%20Plan.jpg>