



SYNAGOGUES AND CEMETERIES: EVIDENCE FOR A JEWISH PRESENCE IN THE FAYUM

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ABSTRACT

Current excavations in the Fag el-Gamous necropolis have raised several questions about the ethnic composition of the mummies buried there. Of particular significance is the potential Jewish presence in the cemetery, as this could help explain the early changes in burial practices witnessed at Fag el-Gamous and often posited to be related to the Christianization of the area. However, evidence of a Jewish presence in the Fayum is difficult to pinpoint conclusively due to the integration of Jewish customs with surrounding cultures. Despite this, a sizeable Jewish population within the Fayum can be demonstrated by extrapolating from known societal integration patterns of the period and also by correlating onomastic evidence and recorded ethnicities in day to day proceedings with the mummies buried at Fag el-Gamous. This conclusion will need to be substantiated once other analyses of the Fag el-Gamous mummies become available.

At the cemetery in Fag el-Gamous, in the Fayum, Brigham Young University's excavation has excavated over 1000 bodies from Egypt's Graeco-Roman era. DNA, cranial metric, and dental analyses are underway in an effort to determine the ethnic background of the population represented in the cemetery. Initial examination of varying hair colors suggests already that a multi-ethnic group is attested. Preliminary cranial-metric analysis concurs. It is too early to say whether there was a predominant ethnic group intermixed with several minorities or whether the population centers of the area were a somewhat balanced heterogeneous group. However, even at this preliminary stage of research it seems clear that the areas of Philadelphia and nearby Manishinshana, in the Fayum, were ethnically mixed communities.

While we must await further data to determine what these ethnicities were, one clue may be found in the description of a Roman mummy portrait from the site. The original catalogue entry for this portrait says that it had "rather Jewish features."¹ Thus, Jews are one ethnic group which may have been present in the villages around this cemetery. Furthermore, the cemetery witnesses the process of conversion to Christianity. Initial ¹⁴C dating done on burials (Figure 1) known to be Christian because of the crosses present in their accoutrements (Figure 2), yields a date of about mid sixth century, though a larger sample size must be analyzed before a great deal of confidence can be placed in this date. Another interesting feature of the cemetery is a change in

burial practice, namely a reversal in body direction and an accompanying increase in the quality and quantity of mummy wrappings. Some have suggested that this change may be due to the conversion to Christianity,² perhaps as early as the mid second century according to the earliest range of a single ¹⁴C analysis. At this point the association between the change in burial culture and Christianity is highly speculative. We believe a



Figure 1: Bronze crosses - Christian artifacts from the Fag el-Gamous cemetery

great deal of research must be done to know if such a supposition is plausible and if it is supported by the data. Part of that research involves an investigation into the Jewish presence in the Fayum because, according to Biblical tradition, Christianity was often preached first in Jewish population centers. Because of this and the aforementioned “Jewish features” of a mummy portrait from

our excavation, this article explores evidence for Jews in the Fayum. We will see that there is a significant Jewish presence in the Fayoum, including in the areas around Fag el-Gamous, and that the Jewish population participated in many aspects of the larger culture.



Figure 2: The upper level of typical burial shafts in the Fag el-Gamous cemetery

PRESENCE OF JEWS IN EGYPT IN BRIEF

While the Bible itself recounts a number of incidents regarding a Hebrew presence in Egypt, the first such Hebrew incursion which could have had a lasting presence was in the days of Jeremiah, around 586 BCE.³ While there is some reason to believe that a Jewish presence began as some fled the Assyrian invasion in 700 BCE, we have a more definite presence established by the “Letters of the Aristeas” which divulge that Jews were “sent to auxiliary units to fight alongside Psammuthis against the king of Ethiopia” in 525 BCE.⁴ Eventually, a temple to Yahweh akin to the Jerusalem temple was built in this time

period as well,⁵ indicating a sizable Jewish population with plans to remain in Egypt.

Available evidence suggests that Jews were the second largest foreign population in Egypt.⁶ Philo in fact purported that there were one million Jews in Alexandria.⁷ While this figure is widely agreed to be an exaggeration, it still suggests that the Jewish population was noticeably large in comparison to those of other immigrants. Though the Jewish presence began to grow in the seventh century, other subcultures were prevalent as well. The Nile River, combined with frequent outside invasions, allowed for foreign occupants to flourish in the aridity of Egypt, ergo foreigners’ customs and cultures were introduced to Judaism. A

cultural exchange surely occurred, and the Jewish population quickly found itself immersed in Hellenistic society. Hellenistic praxes were appropriated by a considerable number of Jews.

One of the earliest encounters between Jews and Greeks occurred in 530 BCE when Jewish soldiers, under the auspices of the Persian Empire, were stationed at Elephantine.⁸ Hellenism was the culture of prestige at the time, and many Jews readily infused much of it into their lives.⁹ This adoption is supported by archaeological evidence ubiquitous in Egypt. A few examples of evidence pertaining to Jewish participation in Hellenistic culture include Jewish inscriptions of Jews at El-Kanais visiting the temple of Pan and manifold lamps and pottery depicting Dionysus, the Greek winemaking god, in the Jewish village at Edfu.¹⁰ This is just some of the evidence of Hellenized Jews in Upper Egypt, but the Hellenistic hegemony enveloped all of Egypt.

Under the Ptolemies this intercultural interaction inevitably increased incumbent with the rise of the Jewish population in Egypt.¹¹ As Hellenism spread throughout Egypt Jews were often considered Hellenes who served in a variety of high and low civic positions.¹² The large population of Jews in Alexandria likely led to a somewhat autonomous Jewish community in the region. Jews were bequeathed *isopolity*, equal rights, with fellow Greeks and Josephus notes that a supervisory role for the whole of the Jewish politic, called “ethnarch,” was produced.¹³ Eventually, over twenty-five Egyptian towns contained a synagogue, and some of these housed more than one.

During the apex of Hellenization in the third century BCE through 132 BCE, the Hebrew Bible’s translation into Greek, known as the Septuagint (LXX), was completed under the alleged auspice of King Ptolemy II Philadelphos.¹⁴ Putatively, the LXX was translated into Greek because Hellenism had imbued society insofar that the usage of Hebrew had fallen by the wayside and Greek had become the primary language for Egyptian Jews.¹⁵ Another supposition is that the translation was Greek at the behest of King Ptolemy who desired to create a collection of religious thought for his people.¹⁶ The attempt to elevate the status of Jewish conceptions to Greek literature by translating it into Greek was also another potential reason for the conversion.¹⁷ While there are many postulations for the reason the LXX was translated into Greek in lieu of the Jews’ mother tongue, the reasons denote a Hellenistic influence on or, rather, a relationship with the Jewish population. Beyond this, soon after the creation of the Septuagint, Greek-style literature popularized Jewish characters and probably spread such knowledge even further than the Septuagint.¹⁸ Non-canonical stories about figures like Joseph, Jacob, and especially Abraham seem to have been particularly popular. A veneer of toleration towards Jews prevailed during these centuries, and in many places Jews flourished and became part of the surrounding culture.

During the second century CE, however, this semblance of toleration deteriorated. The Trajan Revolt (115-117 CE) nearly

resulted in the eradication of Judaism in Egypt.¹⁹ This revolt was preceded by the First Revolt (66-70 CE) in Judea, which was a watershed for both the Trajan and the Bar Kochba Revolt (132-135 CE). Eusebius construes that the Jews were “as though carried away by some wild and riotous spirit.”²⁰ It is probable that the Jews of Palestine provided support to their neighboring beleaguered kin. As collateral consequences, the Jewish population was in ebb and concomitantly there was an upsurge in primitive Christianity in the second century. It is interesting to see how these events correspond to the archaeological record, specifically the Fayum where both Jews and Christians had a palpable presence.

EVIDENCE FOR A FAYUMIC JEWISH PRESENCE

The nature of our evidence handicaps constructing an accurate picture of the Jewish presence in the Fayum. Lacking material culture in known archaeological remains that indicates Jewish individuals, and not having discovered a clearly Jewish cemetery, we are forced to rely on textual evidence which only incidentally bears on the subject. Our assessment is fated to be skewed, since we can only use textual evidence which clearly designates groups or individuals as Jews in some way. For example, we can discern many Jews because of the nature of their Semitic names, but we simultaneously miss many others who used names from the cultures around them. Similarly, we can often detect a Jewish background of an individual or group from the use of Aramaic. Yet employing this as the criterion for what we label “Jewish” is somewhat problematic. Anything that a Jew wrote in either some form of Egyptian or Greek is less recognizable as Jewish in origin. During the early part of the Ptolemaic era, many documents included an ethnic indicator with the name of individuals, allowing us to ascertain the Jewish background of many individuals. This practice died out, and so our knowledge of a Jewish population is heavily skewed towards the second through third centuries BCE. As we examine the incomplete evidence available to us, we must keep in mind all these inherent limitations associated with that evidence.

Onomastic Evidence The Fayum region was heavily settled by Jews under the sovereignty of King Ptolemy. Onomastic evidence indicates that the Fayum was one of the largest centers for Judaism outside of Alexandria, with over thirty different localities inhabited by Jews.²¹ These towns include Krokodilopolis (Arsinoe), Apollonias, Areos-Kome, Euhemeria, Hephastias, Ibion-Argaiou, Philadelphia, Syron Kome, Alexandrou Nesos, Samaria (Kome), other towns named Samaria, Themistos, Trikomia, Chanaanain, Tebtunis, Herakleopolis, Alabanthis, Apias, Neilou, and Tebetnoi.²² Names such as Samaria and Chanaanain suggest that Jews were the original settlers in these areas since they seem to have been able to choose the name of the place and intentionally chose names that reminded them of their homeland. While the Fayum did not

have a temple as did Leontopolis, other evidence points towards a significant Jewish presence there.

A thorough cataloguing of the onomastic evidence in Winnicki's study reveals that of 551 Graeco-Roman area Jewish names examined, by far the four most common origins were from the Fayum (156 or 28.3%), Edfu (119 or 21.6%), Leontopolis (75 or 13.6%), and Thebes (26 or 4.7%), though this last figure is colored by the fact that at some point a number of Jews from Thebes moved to the Fayum.²³ Of course this analysis does not include Jews with names that are not of a Jewish nature.

Analysis of more onomastic evidence leads to the conclusion that the majority of the population of Samaria (Kome) was Jewish in the Ptolemaic era. During the third to second centuries BCE, if one adds those who were designated as Jews, those who have Semitic names, and those who were part of the families of these two groups, then over half of the known inhabitants of the township were Jewish.²⁴ Later, during the Roman era, the town seems to have witnessed an increased Egyptianization.²⁵ In this town Jews fulfilled a variety of functions and seem to have been members of the Gymnasium.²⁶ As was noted above, the Palestinian origin of the name of the town suggests that Jews were the original settlers. The heavy Jewish population lends credence to this supposition. Theoginis may also have been named by Jews, though this religiously oriented name could have been created by other groups. However, the Jewish presence of the town and its extremely close proximity to Samaria combine to make Jewish settlement a more likely possibility. An unpublished papyrus lists several Jews as part of the population of the town in the late third century BCE.²⁷

The presence of a synagogue in Alexandrou Nesos attests to a significant Jewish presence there. Its inhabitants included Jews who were owners of substantial flocks, soldiers, workers in a vineyard, and one who was a thief.²⁸ Kerkesoucha Orous, south of Philadelphia and near Hawara, may have been associated with the Jewish rebellion of 115-119 AD, though the evidence is weak.²⁹ Syron Kome, south of Philadelphia and east of Hawara, also was home to a significant Jewish family. They owned a pottery factory in nearby Neilou polis.³⁰ Estimates of the Jewish population of Trikonia, south of Philadelphia and west of Hawara, range from being at least one-fifth to almost two-thirds percent.³¹

Other Evidence in Papyri Records Between the mid-third century and mid-first century BCE, various papyri designate at least 27 different people from the Fayum as Jews. These documents are about subjects ranging from contracts³² to complaints³³ to accusations of crimes to authorities³⁴ to marriage documents³⁵ and lists of royal officials.³⁶ During the same time period, over 88 people from the Fayum were attested in documents with Jewish names.³⁷ Other clues, such as marriage to a Jew, association with a synagogue, etc., indicated the Jewish origin of a person who did not have a name with a Semitic origin. The documents containing these names indicate that Jews were appointed to the liturgy,³⁸ received land,³⁹ donated votive stelae,⁴⁰

served as scribes,⁴¹ were soldiers,⁴² were given land as part of their military service,⁴³ owned sheep,⁴⁴ houses⁴⁵ and wells,⁴⁶ were slaves,⁴⁷ donated goods and property,⁴⁸ were murdered,⁴⁹ served in Greek temples,⁵⁰ and served in synagogues.⁵¹ Many of their dealings were with Egyptians.

Krokodilopolis, the central city of the Fayum, witnessed at least two flourishing synagogues. The dedicatory inscription of one reads: "On behalf of king Ptolemy, son of Ptolemy, and Queen Berenike his wife and sister and their children, the Jews in Crocodilopolis [*sic*] (dedicated) the proseuche."⁵² This suggests both a significant Jewish presence and their ability to at least partially integrate their peculiar culture and religious practice into the Hellenistic world.⁵³ The second synagogue seems to have been built by a group of Jews who migrated there from Thebes.⁵⁴ Documents detailing the water usage of this synagogue indicate that it was engaged in a thriving ritual practice.⁵⁵

Because the Zenon Papyri collection is likely the earliest documentation of Jews in the Fayum, this collection is of particular interest. Zenon resided in Philadelphia in the third century BCE, and managed one of Apollonios's royal estates, and his recordings of such duties have shed some light into of the quotidian tasks and lives of the Fayumic Jews.⁵⁶ The Jews occupied a gamut of positions, from being sold into slavery from Palestine,⁵⁷ to leading the humble livelihood of being a shepherd,⁵⁸ to acting as a police officer⁵⁹ being involved in civic affairs, to working as wine-dressers higher up on the social ladder, etc. Jews were an integral part of the Philadelphia community. Adjacent to Philadelphia was another substantial township named Tanis (San el-Haggar). A Jewish brick maker played a significant role there in some major building projects.⁶⁰ Nearby Alabanthis had a prominent Jewish herdsman who owned a substantial flock, suggesting that this Jewish presence was common to the region around Philadelphia.⁶¹

Tax receipt ostraca contain the names of over 108 Jewish residents of the Fayum.⁶² As with the other textual evidence, these documents show that Fayumic Jews were from every part of the community and that they had regular interactions with the larger community. The most common taxed occupation was that of farmer. They owned land, sold grain, owned and traded in sheep and goats, and paid a great variety of taxes and fees.

Most of the available evidence portrays Fayumic Jews coexisting peacefully with their counterparts. For the most part they seem to not have merely tolerated each other, but to also have appropriated cultural practices from one another. This perspective can be misleading, for other evidence bespeaks some tension. The "Letter of Claudius to the Alexandrians" did not confine its audience to those in Alexandria as copies of this letter have been found in Philadelphia.⁶³ Likely the animosity present in Alexandria was at least partially manifested elsewhere since the letter was sent up and down the Nile. The letter reads:

I have not wished to make an exact inquiry, but I

harbor within me a store of immutable indignation against those who renewed the conflict. I merely say that, unless you stop this destructive and obstinate mutual enmity, I shall be forced to show what a benevolent ruler can be when he is turned to righteous indignation. Even now, therefore, I conjure the Alexandrians turned to behave gently and kindly towards the Jews who have inhabited the same city for many years, and not to dishonor any of their customs in their worship of their god, but to allow them to keep their own ways as they did in the time of the god Augustus and as I too, having heard both sides, have confirmed. The Jews, on the other hand, I order not to aim at more than they have previously had and not in future to send two embassies as if they lived in two cities, a thing which has never been before, and not to intrude themselves into the games presided over by the gymnasiarchoi and the kosmetai, since they enjoy what is their own, and in a city which is not their own they possess an abundance of all good things. Nor are they to bring in or invite Jews coming from Syria or Egypt, or I shall be forced to conceive greater suspicions. If they disobey, I shall proceed against them in every way as fomenting a common plague for the whole world. If you both give up your present ways and are willing to live in gentleness and kindness with one another, I for my part will care for the city as much as I can.⁶⁴

While the evidence here highlights Alexandrian tension arising from Jews living amidst Greeks, it also portrays an active Jewish involvement in the community. We cannot be sure that such was also the case in the Fayum, but the documents examined thus far suggest that it would not have been far different.

EVIDENCE IN MUMMY PORTRAITS

Mummy portraits are one of the more famous elements of funerary culture in the Fayum. These portraits represent a fusion of Egyptian and Greek cultural practices. In Egyptian thought, a necessary component to the continuation of person in perpetuity was the preservation of the features of the deceased. Traditionally, bodies would be embalmed and covered with a mask in Egyptian culture. In some places, particularly the Fayum, interaction with Roman culture led to a combination of this practice with Roman style art, which evolved into the Fayum Portraits that we know today.⁶⁵

Despite the evidently large Jewish population in the Fayum and the abundance of the mummy portraits, only a couple have been associated with Jews.⁶⁶ Aforementioned, the Jewish population was surrounded by a thriving Graeco-Roman community so it is conceivable that Jews could have adopted the technique and style used by the Graeco-Romans, making them

indistinguishable from the general milieu. This notion could be especially true if the portraits were manufactured in the same location and by the same artisans as those of the Pagans and Christians. In Rome in the first three centuries, Jewish and Christian burials appeared very similar due in part to a shared workshop that was commissioned by both.⁶⁷ That could be the case here. As mentioned above, the Cairo Museum catalogue of Graeco-Egyptian Coffins describes one of the coffins from Fag el-Gamous as having “Jewish Features.” More details of this portrait describe a “fair, ruddy complexion, dark hair, and brown eyes.” The forehead is wrinkled; there are “vertical lines above the nose and a strongly marked line below the inner corner of the eye.” His eyebrows are thick and arched. He has a hooked nose and his lips curve downward in the middle. The portrait is painted on a white background. It was painted with wax colors and there are marks of a hard point (especially on the forehead). There is “strong light on the nose, forehead, and cheek, shading on the left side of the nose” (the deeper shading is a yellowish brown color), his “hair was rendered by curving black strokes on a brown ground; brown strokes round the outside.”⁶⁸ We cannot verify from the portrait if the person was, in fact, Jewish. However, the portrait does suggest that there may possibly have been a Jewish presence in the area.

CONCLUSION

The evidence gained from these few sources points towards at least a few large Jewish communities in the Fayum, some racial tension, but also a high degree of integration of Jews with the other residents of the nome. Additionally, it seems that the Fayum was a place known for its Jewish population, as a locale with a sizable Jewish community and at least two synagogues in which one could meet with and preach to the Jewish community. This may mean that early Christian missionaries (the earliest missionaries were typically Jews) would have gone to the Fayum to preach to the large groups of fellow Jews they would find there.

Jews in the Fayum were a known presence, as well as a group which interacted in every part of society and participated in almost every imaginable way with their communities. They were landholders, farmers, soldiers, civilians, trouble makers, and respected, poor, well-off, participating citizens. They sometimes practiced Judaism and sometimes seemed to blend in with their neighboring religious cultures and ideas. Some seemed to be somewhat separatist, others mixed with their neighbors, and if there were some who fully blended with the surrounding community, doing so took away our ability to identify them as Jews. In short, the textual evidence supports the idea that there could have been Jews in the population centers that supplied the cemetery of Fag el-Gamous, especially Tanis and Philadelphia, which were the two largest nearby population centers. Next we must examine evidence of DNA and cranial metrics in order to verify, round out, or correct this conclusion.

NOTES

- ¹ Campbell C. Edgar, *Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire* 33101-33285, *Graeco-Egyptian Coffins* (1905; repr., Osnabrück, DE: Otto Zeller Verlag, 1977), 131-132.
- ² See C. Wilfred Griggs, Marvin C.J. Kuchar, Mark J. Rowe, and Scott R. Woodward, "Identities Revealed: Archaeological and Biological Evidences for a Christian Population in the Egyptian Fayum," *The Ancient Near East, Greece, and Rome*, edited by T. W. Hillard, R. A. Kearsley, C.E. V. Nixon, and A. M. Nobbs, 82-87. Vol. 1 of *Ancient History in a Modern University*, Grand Rapids, Michigan: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1998.
- ³ See Jeremiah 44:1
- ⁴ Jan Krzysztow Winnicki, *Late Egypt and Her Neighbors: Foreign Population in Egypt in the First Millennium BC* (Warsaw: Warsaw University Press, 2009), 180.
- ⁵ *Ibid.*, 187.
- ⁶ *Ibid.*, 182.
- ⁷ Philo of Alexandria, *Flaccum* 6.43
- ⁸ Joseph Meleze Modrzejewski, *Jews of Egypt: from Rameses II to Emperor Hadrian* [transl. by Robert Cornman] (Philadelphia and Jerusalem: The Jewish Publication Society, 1995), 227.
- ⁹ *Ibid.*, 50.
- ¹⁰ Allen Kerkeslager, "Jewish Pilgrimage and Jewish Identity" in David Frankfurter, ed., *Pilgrimage and Holy Space in Late Antique Egypt* (Leiden, Boston, and Köln: Brill, 1998), 99-228, here 216-219.
- ¹¹ Peter Nadig, "We Beg You, Our King!" in J. Gee, B. Hauglid, (eds.) *Astronomy, Papyrus, and Covenant*, Provo, 2005 86. See also John Gee, "Abracadabra, Isaac and Jacob," *FARMS Review*, 79; Aryeh Kasher, *The Jews in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt: The Struggle for Equal Rights*. Tübingen, 1985, 1-28; Barbara Watterson, *Coptic Egypt*. Edinburgh, 1988, 1-3, 17-24; and Naphtali Lewis, *Greeks in Ptolemaic Egypt: Case Studies in the Social History of the Hellenistic World*. Oxford, 1986, 14, 21, 162.
- ¹² Nadig, 86-87.
- ¹³ Flavius Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities* 14,117.
- ¹⁴ John J. Collins, *Jewish Cult and Hellenistic Culture: Essays on the Jewish Encounter with Hellenism and Roman Rule* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2005), 11.
- ¹⁵ Winnicki, *Egypt and Her Neighbors*, 245.
- ¹⁶ Jewish Historical Society of England, *Letters of Aristaeas* [translated by Henry St. John Thackeray] (New York City: Macmillan, 1904), 1.
- ¹⁷ Natalio Fernandez Marcos, *The Septuagint in Context: Introduction to the Greek Version of the Bible* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2000), 36.
- ¹⁸ Sylvie Honigman, "Abraham in Egypt: Hebrew and Jewish-Aramaic Names in Egypt and Judea in Hellenistic and Early Roman Times," *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 146 (2004), Honigman, S. *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*, 296.
- ¹⁹ Abraham Malamet and Haim Hillel Ben-Sassion, *A History of the Jewish People* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1976), 372.
- ²⁰ Eusebius, *Historical Ecclesiastes* iv, 2.
- ²¹ Winnicki, *Egypt and Her Neighbors*, 243.
- ²² *Ibid.*, 191-246. This list exceeds that created when combining evidence from Winnicki and the K U Leuven Fayum Project because it includes town names from other evidence.
- ²³ Winnicki, *Egypt and Her Neighbors*; Also see Honigman, "Abraham in Egypt," 290, 295.
- ²⁴ K U Leuven Fayum Project, http://www.trismegistos.org/fayum/fayum2/2077.php?geo_id=2077. See also Willy Clarysse, "Jews in Trikomia," *Proceedings of the 20th International Congress of Papyrologists*, Adam Bülow-Jacobsen, ed. (Copenhagen: Museum Tusulanum Press, 1994), 193-203.
- ²⁵ K U Leuven Fayum Project, http://www.trismegistos.org/fayum/fayum2/2077.php?geo_id=2077.
- ²⁶ *Ibid.*
- ²⁷ K U Leuven Fayum Project, http://www.trismegistos.org/fayum/fayum2/2376.php?geo_id=2376.
- ²⁸ K U Leuven Fayum Project, http://www.trismegistos.org/fayum/fayum2/105.php?geo_id=105.
- ²⁹ Suggestion made by the Trismegistos project: http://www.trismegistos.org/fayum/fayum2/1069.php?geo_id=1069.
- ³⁰ BGU VI, 1282; and K U Leuven Fayum Project, http://www.trismegistos.org/fayum/fayum2/2216.php?geo_id=2216.
- ³¹ BGU VI, 1282; and K U Leuven Fayum Project, http://www.trismegistos.org/fayum/fayum2/2216.php?geo_id=2216.
- ³² For one example, see BGU XIV 2381, 8.
- ³³ P. Enteux 2, 2.
- ³⁴ For one example see P. Tebtunis III 820, 15. 36.
- ³⁵ For one example see CPR XVIII 9, 175-76.
- ³⁶ For one example see P. Tebtunis III 793, ii 19020. For all of the examples in this list, see Winnicki, 200-205.
- ³⁷ *Ibid.*, 207-221.
- ³⁸ For one example see BGU III 715.
- ³⁹ For one example, see P. Tebtunis III 1019.
- ⁴⁰ For one example see CIJ II 1532.
- ⁴¹ For one example see P. Tebtunis III 882.
- ⁴² For one example see P. Tebtunis III 882.
- ⁴³ For one example see P. Tebtunis I 79.
- ⁴⁴ For one example see P. Tebtunis III 1882.
- ⁴⁵ For one example see P. Tebtunis III 882.
- ⁴⁶ For one example see CIJ II 1531.
- ⁴⁷ For one example see P. Petrie I 16, 66-88.
- ⁴⁸ For one example see CIJ II 1531.
- ⁴⁹ For one example see P. Tebtunis III 730.
- ⁵⁰ For one example see P. Gurob 22, 48-50.

- ⁵¹ For one example see P. Tebtunis I 86, 14-31. For all of the above, see Winnicki, 207-221.
- ⁵² William Horbury and David Noy, *Jewish Inscriptions of Graeco-Roman Egypt* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 241-257.
- ⁵³ Peder Borgen, *Early Christianity and Hellenistic Judaism* (Edinburgh: T.&T. Clark Publishers, 1996), 76.
- ⁵⁴ P. Tebt. I 86, 14-31 (CPJ I 134).
- ⁵⁵ P. Tebt. I 86, 14-31 (CPJ I 134); see also Winfried J. R. Rubsam, *Götter und Kulte im Faiyum während der griechisch-romisch-byzantinischen Zeit*, (Bonn, 1974), 43; Winnicki, *Late Egypt*, 243.
- ⁵⁶ Victor Tcherikover and Alexander Fuks, *Corpus Papyrorum Judaicarum* (Cambridge, Ma: Harvard University Press, 1957), 131.
- ⁵⁷ *Ibid*, 132, inscription 7.
- ⁵⁸ *Ibid*, 133, inscription 9.
- ⁵⁹ *Ibid*, 141-143, inscription 14.
- ⁶⁰ P. Cairo Zen. 4 59762, col. 1, 11, 14 and col 2, 19; see also K U Leuven Project, http://www.trismegistos.org/fayum/fayum2/2251.php?geo_id=2251.
- ⁶¹ P. Enteux. 2, ll.2. See also http://www.trismegistos.org/fayum/fayum2/97.php?geo_id=97.
- ⁶² Winnicki, 221-233.
- ⁶³ *Ibid*, 157.
- ⁶⁴ *Ibid*.
- ⁶⁵ *Ibid*.
- ⁶⁶ *Ibid*, 248.
- ⁶⁷ Leonard Victor Rutgers, *The Jews in Ancient Rome: Evidence of Cultural Interaction in the Roman Diaspora* (Leiden, New York, and Koln: E.J. Brill, 1995), 40.
- ⁶⁸ Edgar, *Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes*, 131-132.
-