

- ¹⁹ Philo, *De vita Mosis* III 27: »... nam destinata oppidatim sacris precationibus loca, quae proseuchas vulgus nominat, quid aliud sunt, quam scholae, in quibus prudentia, fortitudo, temperantia, iustitia, pietas, sanctitas, omnisque virtus discitur, quaecumque ad humana divinaque negotia requiruntur«.
- ²⁰ Fl. Iosephi *Cont. Ap.* II, 2, 10 i dalje
- ²¹ Fl. Iosephi *Vita* c. 54: »Sequenti igitur die populus convenit in proseucham quam vocant, precationibus domum amplam et capacem tantae multitudinis...« (iz lat. prevoda Flavijevih djela II. t. izd. Iacobi Stoer, 1611, str. 19)
- ²² R. Cagnat, *Cours d'epigraphie latine*, Paris 1890, 230—237
- ²³ isti, o. c. 237, br. 2 s. neznatno izmijenjenim redosljedom prema sačuvanom tekstu na našoj ploči.
- ²⁴ S. Krauss, o. c. 340
- ²⁵ J. Fitz, *Der Besuch des Sept. Severus in Pannonien im Jahre 202 u. Z.*, *Acta Arch. Acad. Sc. Hung. Budapest* 1959, 239—248
- ²⁶ D. Pinterović, o. c. 29
- ²⁷ Th. Mommsen, *Judaea und die Juden*, Berlin 1936, 17—21
- ²⁸ *Cod. Theod.* VII 8, 2; S. Krauss, o. c. 413—420
- ²⁹ Th. Mommsen, o. c. 73—76; H. Schiller, o. c. I 2, 897—902
- ³⁰ S. Krauss, o. c. 340
- ³¹ isti, o. c. 260, 116; J. Fitz, *Intercisa*, RE, Suppl. s. v. *Intercisa*
- ³² S. Krauss, o. c. 254
- ³³ isti, o. c. 97
- ³⁴ S. Spitzer, *Urheimisch in slavischen Ländern*, Essek 1880; (spomenspis povodom svečanosti otvaranja jevrejskog hrama u Osijeku u kojem autor također napominje oslobađanje jevrejskih robova u sinagogama, te citira 5 natpisa na kamenu koji su se sačuvali u južnoj Rusiji; na njima se hramovi zovu proseuche, jer, kako autor kaže, prvi doseljenici Jevreji u ranokršćansko doba došli su u južnu Rusiju iz Grčke, Male Azije i Kavkaza, dakle iz helenističkog područja.)
- ³⁵ S. Krauss, o. c. 199—200
- ³⁶ isti, o. c. 200—202, 204, 205, 210, 225
- ³⁷ isti, o. c. 226—227
- ³⁸ C. H. Kraeling, *The Synagogue, The Excavations at Dura Europos, Final Report VIII, Part I*, New Haven, Yale University Press 1956.
- ³⁹ S. Krauss, o. c. 239—241
- ⁴⁰ isti, o. c. 241
- ⁴¹ isti, o. c. 241—242
- ⁴² isti, o. c. 263
- ⁴³ isti, o. c. 264
- ⁴⁴ isti, o. c. 265
- ⁴⁵ isti, o. c. 260
- ⁴⁶ J. Petrović, *Iskopavanje u Stobima 1931.*, *Starinar*, VII 1932, 81—86; B. Josifovska, *Stobi*, Skopje 1953, 34—36
- ⁴⁷ V. Nedomački, *Stara Jevrejska umetnost u Palestini*, Beograd 1964, 77, 100—103
- ⁴⁸ ista, o. c. 79, 91
- ⁴⁹ A. Mocsy, *Pannonia*, RE suppl. IX, 1962, 709—710; R. Marić, *Antički kultovi u našoj zemlji*, Izd. zadužb. Luke Đelovića-Trebinjca, Beograd 1933, 79—80

WAS THERE A SYNAGOGUE AT MURSA?

This question arose and was induced by a Roman stone inscription found at Murša and now deposited in the Museum of Slavonia. When it was first published in 1960 under the title »Murša at the time of the Severi« (note 1) it was stated that during the reign of Septimius Severus and Caracalla some object had been rebuilt for the occasion of the supposed imperial visit to Murša in 202 (note 25). With the help of numerous analogies among Pannonian inscriptions of the Severian period, to which dr. J. Fitz gave a great many examples, it seemed obvious that this object must have been ruined in the course of time and then reerected from its foundation, and also that it had been done by someone whose name ended in -NDVS. The kind of object by the mere ending -SEVCHAM could not be deciphered.

Mr Howard Comfort, Professor at the Haverford College, Haverford, PA., U. S. A. advised me in a letter to try to read »proseucham« at the related place

which word occurred in Juvenal's Satire III, 258 and helpfully also quoted some of the sources to this word. I followed his advice as much as I could, but unfortunately could not use some of the very important sources because they were not available to me. Still with those that I had at my disposal I thought I came to a definite result.

The word »proseucha« in Juvenal's Satire was used in a contemptuous meaning, denoting a place where beggars and vagabonds assembled. In the primary sense the Greek word proseucha meant prayer or place of prayer.

In the different lexica and glossaria we find for »proseucha« additional explanations, as f. i.: the proseuchae of the Jews were large places in the open air like theatres where the books of law were read — the proseuchae were homes for the poor where they could pass the night and have food. — the proseuchae were places of worship in the open, but enclosed by walls or fences, whereas the synagogues were under roof — the proseuchae were sometimes secret and hidden places where the Christians assembled who were at those times as well as the Jews considered as the most despised. All these explanations are based on reliable sources (notes 4—7). — That the proseuchae were the same as the synagogae and that both had different stages of development according to time, country and circumstances — that they were sometimes outside towns in the open, sometimes representative buildings in towns with their own temporary lodgments, even thermae for the poor, for travellers or merchants — that they were even hidden places at times of persecution, or, only insignificant places if the community was not numerous enough or not rich enough to erect a larger building — all this had yet to be proved.

Dr. Samuel Krauss in his well documented work »Synagogale Altertümer«, Berlin - Wien 1922, after having analysed sources Hebrew, Greek and Roman stated and proved that proseuchae were Jewish places of prayer and to some extent identical with the Greek word synagogae. Both expressions were created by the Jewish Diaspora in Greek-speaking countries. By some old tradition in Egypt only proseucha was in use (note 9). None of those two were used in the Rabbi-literature but exclusively in the Jewish-Hellenistic works. In some of them there was a difference between the word synagoga and proseucha inasmuch as the first meant »community« and the second »house of prayer«. The word templum indicated only the temple of Jerusalem, but from the mediaeval time on, it became more and more common for denoting a synagogue, whereas the word proseucha disappeared entirely.

The most numerous documents for the existence and meaning of the word proseucha are to be found in Egyptian inscriptions from the third century B. C. on. We also frequently find the word in the works of two outstanding Jewish authors, in Philo and Flavius Josephus whose characters excellently illuminate the peculiar permeation of the Jewish and Greek spirit and culture which developed at the historic time of Jewish clashes and conflicts with the idea of the Roman imperial sovereignty. There are numerous passages in Philo's works where he speaks of the proseuchae, meaning without exception — the synagogae (note 16—19). In Flavius Josephus we also find such passages (note 20, 21). We can also find this word denoting the same in numerous inscriptions on graves and other monuments in the East and also some in the Western part of the Roman Empire, some of which are quoted here, i. e. CIL III 6533 (a Greek inscription on an alabaster slab reaffirming the asylum right of a proseucha in Lower Egypt — note 37) and CIL VI 9821 (a cippus found in Rome mentioning grounds belonging to a proseucha).

The inscription of Mursa is one more evidence of a proseucha which does of course not mean an open place or anything else except a synagogue.

By the rules of epigraphy (note 22, 23) inscriptions on buildings usually contain some essential parts as: A) the motif which led to the erection of a given object and the name or names of those connected with it (in gen.); B) the name and title or names and titles of those who built or rebuilt the monument (in nom.); in our inscription the name ended in -NDVS; C) the kind of object built or rebuilt (in acc.); in our case proSEVCHAM; D) there must be a verb indicating the action of building or restoring and sometimes the state of the object before the restoration began can be indicated, the reason why the object was erected and eventually the place and the expenses which were necessary.

If we compare the Pannonian inscriptions of the Severian period in which a great building activity took place we easily find patterns which may help us to make up for the deficiency in our inscription. Therefore to complete it we propose

one of Cagnat's formulas which contains such essential parts that presumably existed here (page 66). There is no doubt about the motif PRO SALVTE, about the names of the emperors Sept. Severus, Caracalla, the erased name of Geta (in the fourth line) and that of Julia Domna (in the fifth); a certain SecuNDVS(?) whose praenomen, nomen and social position we do not know, rebuilt a proSEVCHAM which was perhaps because of age decayed and had to be reerected from the ground up, a soLO. We presume he did it on his own expenses (analogies are not rare in sources).

From this inscription we may draw several conclusions.

A synagogue existed at Mursa, i. e. an older one which was probably established in the course of the second century when under Hadrian's reign and in the following decades Mursa started to flourish as a Roman colony. This one was already decayed at the beginning of the third century when Septimius Severus and his son reigned and had to be rebuilt from the ground up. Therefore we presume that the Jewish community must have been by that time large and affluent and all the more for it if the presumed praepositus could have had the means to restore the old temple.

That the marble inscription was fixed at the frontside of the building is more than natural which speaks by itself for a representative synagogue, built at least of bricks if not partially of stones. — The text of the inscription indicates that the word proseucha was in use in Pannonia on account of Hellenised Jews. — That the synagogue was put under imperial protection is in harmony with the well known tolerance of the then reigning dynasty. (note 29).

This inscription also enriches our knowledge of Mursa as regards the composition of its inhabitants (autochthonous elements, Romans, Greeks, Egyptians and — Jews); as regards cultural relations with the Orient and different cults (the official Roman and syncretistic polytheists, the Christian and Jewish monotheists).

In the whole of Pannonia only one synagogue at Intercisa is evident so far (CIL III 3327) where the praepositus of the synagogue Cosmus made a vow PRO SALVTE to the emperor Severus Alexander and his mother Julia Mamaea.

If we study the history of the Jews in Roman times (note 27, 38, 47, 49) we are assured that they were spread over the Empire and had numerous synagogues everywhere, especially in large cities as in Alexandria and Roma and that, in spite of frequent interruptions at persecution times they enjoyed the imperial tolerance and could live in their old and sacred traditions.