

# JEWES IN THE WESTERN ROMAN EMPIRE IN LATE ANTIQUITY: MIGRATION, INTEGRATION, SEPARATION

## JUDÍOS EN EL IMPERIO ROMANO OCCIDENTAL EN LA ANTIGÜEDAD TARDÍA: MIGRACIÓN, INTEGRACIÓN, SEPARACIÓN

*Abstract:* Jewish urban settlements in Western Europe were mainly established in the first two centuries CE, and spread into more rural areas in Late Antiquity. Although founded by migrants they must have been maintained primarily by natural reproduction. In many places there was considerable integration, with Jews holding leading offices in their cities. From the late 4<sup>th</sup> century this changed, with Jews losing their legal rights, sometimes being forcibly baptised, and otherwise reacting to their compulsory separation with increasing use of Hebrew instead of Latin and Greek. These issues are investigated in the light of events on Minorca in 418 and of the trilingual Jewish epitaph from Tortosa.

*Keywords:* Jews, migration, Minorca, Tortosa, Greek, Latin, Hebrew, Late Antiquity, Venosa.

*Resumen:* En la Europa occidental los judíos fundaron asentamientos urbanos principalmente en los dos primeros siglos de nuestra era, expandiéndose hacia las zonas rurales en la Antigüedad Tardía. Aunque fundados por inmigrantes, estos asentamientos debieron de haberse mantenido más tarde principalmente por reproducción natural. En muchos lugares la integración fue considerable, con judíos desempeñando magistraturas en sus ciudades. Desde finales del siglo IV, sin embargo, la situación cambió: los judíos perdieron sus derechos legales y en ocasiones fueron obligados a bautizarse. Ante ello, reaccionaron aumentando el uso del hebreo en lugar del latín y el griego. Se investigan estas cuestiones a la luz de los acontecimientos del año 418 en Menorca y del epitafio judío trilingüe de Tortosa.

*Palabras clave:* judíos, migración, Menorca, Tortosa, griego, latín, hebreo, Antigüedad Tardía, Venosa.

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There are two principal categories of evidence for the Jews of Western Europe in Late Antiquity: inscriptions with recognisably Jewish content, and literary references in Christian sources. These can be supplemented to a limited extent by archaeological remains and legal texts. The main problem of interpretation is the nearly total disjuncture between the categories: places which have produced inscriptions are rarely mentioned in literature as having Jewish communities, and outside Rome places which appear from literature to have had substantial communities have rarely produced inscriptions. Such evidence, by its nature, provides no continuous history of the Jewish population of any particular city, and says nothing about when or how such a population began.

Benjamin of Tudela, describing the Jewish communities he encountered in Western Europe in the 12<sup>th</sup> century, avoided any speculation about their origins, but some internal traditions did exist. For example, in the 10<sup>th</sup>-century *Sefer Yosefon* the first Jews in Southern Italy are identified with the prisoners brought to Rome for Titus' Judean triumph of 71 CE, and there were similar ideas in Spain (Rabello 1996, 160-1). It was evidently true in at least one case, the freedwoman Claudia Aster *Hierosolymitana* (i.e. from Jerusalem) who was commemorated at the age of 25 by her imperial freedman husband (JIWE i 26; new edition in Lacerenza 1999).

However, Philo (*Legatio* 156-7), writing soon after 40 CE about the Jews of Rome in the time of Augustus, explained their origins through earlier capture and enslavement: "They had been brought as prisoners to Italy and were liberated by their owners." The Jewish population in the city of Rome, and perhaps elsewhere in the West (García Moreno 2005, 40-41), was already established in the 1<sup>st</sup> century BCE, although claims made by some Spanish Jews that their ancestors arrived there before the common era have been attributed to the wish to avoid being labelled Christ-killers (Bradbury 2006, 508). Warfare caused large-scale movements of Jewish populations up to the defeat of the Bar-Kochba Revolt in 135 CE, and Bowers (1975, 400), after surveying all the available evidence, argues that the Jewish community in Spain "had its roots in the transmigrations during and following the upheavals of AD 70-135". Economic motivation may have influenced people to leave a region badly affected by the revolts even if they were under no compulsion, and it is also likely that Diaspora Jews from Egypt and Cyrenaica moved westwards. Although the Judean revolts are usually cited as the cause (García Moreno 2005, 43), the revolt under Trajan was perhaps more significant for migration since it affected a wider and more heavily populated area. Evidence for Jews in Egypt nearly disappears for several centuries afterwards.

Jews may have had their own reasons for migration, but were also subject to the same 'push' and 'pull' influences as everyone else: the disadvantages of remaining at home and the perceived advantages (particularly in economic terms) of the destination (Noy 2000, 85-127). They might move to find work, for education or to get married, just like everyone else. When Justus, son of Amachius of Catania, aged 22, was commemorated in the Villa Torlonia catacomb at Rome (JIWE ii 525), his family may have come to Rome from Sicily for reasons no different from those which would have brought a Christian or pagan family there. Gaudiosus from Mauretania was buried at Naples in the 5<sup>th</sup> century (JIWE i 31), showing that Jewish migration did not necessarily flow only from east to west.

After the 2<sup>nd</sup> century CE (if not earlier), Jews are unlikely to have migrated directly from the Land of Israel to towns in Western Europe. Those who did make the move from east to west are more likely to have followed the usual migration pattern of going to a large urban centre such as Rome first (Noy 2000, 55). This may have happened earlier too, when the Jews were expelled from Rome (García Iglesias 1978, 46). Movement over shorter distances would have been commoner. Rutgers (2006, 493) argues that migration of Jews to rural places such as Bova Marina in Calabria, where a 4<sup>th</sup>-6<sup>th</sup> century synagogue has been found, began only in Late Antiquity. Some of the earliest epitaphs from Venosa use formulae which are mainly found in the catacombs of Rome, particularly the Greek "in peace his/her sleep", and that could indicate that people had moved there from Rome (if it is not a matter simply of imitation) (JIWE i p.337). Such movement may have served to increase the amount of archaeological evidence simply because Jews were living in more places (Rutgers 2006, 494, 502).

Jews certainly travelled in Late Antiquity for reasons connected with their religion, such as the *duo apostuli* who spoke the dirge at a funeral in Venosa in the early 6<sup>th</sup> century and may have been sent to Italy from Tiberias (JIWE i 86, with other sources listed there). Rabbinic sources show some awareness of Spain as a far-distant province (Bradbury 2006, 509). Augusta, who was buried at

Venosa in 521, had a father from Saranda and a grandfather from Lecce, and had probably come to Venosa to get married (JIWE i 107), a clear example of the marriage exchange between communities considerable distances apart which must have been practised if Jews were to marry other Jews.

When the existence of a Jewish community comes to light through a literary reference or the discovery of an inscription, the chances of forming any clear idea about that community's origins are very slim. However, assuming that proselytism was not a very significant factor in the growth of such communities<sup>1</sup>, some sort of original migration can be supposed, either creating a community which became demographically self-sustaining or beginning a process of continual migration which maintained the community's existence. Most Jewish communities probably contained few migrants at any given time, but must have been composed largely of the descendants of migrants.

There was a significant difference in the experience of Jewish migrants when they reached their destination. Other groups may have maintained a separate identity at first, but it rarely seems to have lasted more than one generation (Noy 2000, 157-160). If Jews came to a town with an existing Jewish community, they were likely to find a synagogue, through which they had access to a network of connections which might help with employment, housing and marriage. The synagogue was normally a permanent institution which did not disappear with the first generation of migrants, and it enabled a separate communal identity to be maintained by people whose families had been settled in the same place for many generations, in a way which was not available to, for example, Thracians or Gauls (Noy 2000, 255-267). The synagogue had social as well as religious functions which went beyond those of a church or temple, leading to the suggestion that Jews might be described as an *ethnos*, not a separate race but more than a religion (Roth 1994, 35).

Jewish inscriptions are only identifiable as such if their creators chose to make them identifiable. The Jewish catacomb of Venosa and a burial area at Naples are the only places outside Rome where a concentration of Jewish inscriptions has been found which leads to a presumption of Jewishness for any epitaph from the site. "Here lies Pretiosa, daughter of Faustinus" (JIWE i 66) would not be taken as a Jewish inscription if it had not come from the catacomb. The deceased's affiliation might be indicated by a visual symbol, usually a menorah or a line of Hebrew, and these are found in clearly Jewish contexts as well as in places where there may have been non-Jewish burials too. "Here lies Leontia, aged 3" from Catania (JIWE i 146) is only taken as Jewish because of the menorah beneath it. If commemorators chose for whatever reason not to add such symbols, Jewish epitaphs must go unrecognised. Thus, the more Jews were integrated in their surroundings, the less their inscriptions are likely to be distinctive.

Inscriptions provide evidence of individual Jews, and only occasionally of larger communities. Literature is more likely to mention a whole community or a synagogue building than an individual. If the Jews of a particular city interacted with a saint in the 6<sup>th</sup> century, the implication is that the community must have been there at least from before the end of the Western Roman Empire, since its formation later seems very unlikely. Toch (2005, 554) takes a minimalist approach, regarding many of the references to the conversion of Jews and the appearance of Jews at bishops' funerals in Gaul as literary devices. He believes that a continuous Jewish presence from Roman times into the Middle Ages can only be assumed in Italy from Rome southwards and at a few places on the coasts of Gaul and Spain, i.e. those where inscriptions have been found. Handley (2011, 30 n.52) rejects this approach as "unhelpful", and the Minorca episode discussed below shows that it is perfectly plausible for relatively small urban settlements to have a substantial Jewish community without any inscriptions.

<sup>1</sup> Conversion of slaves may have had some effect, as suggested by García Moreno (2005, 46).

## THE JEWS OF MINORCA

The only evidence for a Jewish community on Minorca is the letter by Bishop Severus about the forcible conversion of 540 of them in 418 CE. As the result of the arrival of the remains of St Stephen on the island, the bishop led a violent movement against the Jews, despite the influential connections of the community's leaders. Bachrach (1998) casts doubt on the historicity of the account, regarding it as more of a handbook on how to carry out a mass conversion: stage a provocation, stage a mock debate, burn and loot the synagogue, terrify the Jews with threats of violence (after accusations of arms-hoarding), force them to accept baptism. He accepts that there was a rich and powerful Jewish community on the island, but regards the story as implausible for precisely that reason. Bradbury, in his edition of the letter, argues that Severus' account was written soon after the (alleged) events it describes, relying principally on the confirmation provided by Augustine, *Ep.*12\*, and this view has been generally accepted, most recently by Ginzburg (2012, 28).<sup>2</sup> Sudden outbreaks of hostility to Jews are well attested in many places in the same period. It is therefore unlikely that the background is fictitious, even if some degree of exaggeration about the numbers<sup>3</sup> and influence of the Jews and their previously harmonious relations with the Christians can be suspected, just as Severus exaggerates the island's poverty and isolation.

The Jews lived at Mahon (ancient Magona), while the island's other town, Iamona, was a Christian stronghold where no Jews lived. According to Severus they were long-established on the island. Bradbury estimates that the town's population was 1,000-3,000, making the Jews a substantial part of the population and possibly as much as half.<sup>4</sup> The head of the Jewish community was Theodorus, a former *defensor civitatis* of Mahon (an office held in 418 by another Jew, Caecilianus) and now the town's *patronus*, with exemption from curial obligations. He had an estate on Majorca too. Within the Jewish community he was *pater pateron*. If the term used by Severus is correct, it would indicate that the Jews of Minorca used Greek titles for their leaders, as inscriptions show was generally the case in the Western Roman Empire; this is another detail suggesting accuracy. Theodorus was one of the most influential people on the island, and this extended to his family. His brother Meletius was married to Artemisia, daughter of Litorius, a prominent political figure who was *comes rei militaris* in Gaul in 435-7 (Severus of Minorca, p. 35; PLRE ii, s.v. Litorius). If Litorius was not a Jew himself (which legally he could not be to hold high office at the time) this is evidence of intermarriage between Jews and non-Jews, and female conversion on marriage since Artemisia is said by Severus to have been one of the most tenacious adherents of Judaism. Other evidence suggests that intermarriage between Jews and Christians was familiar in both early 4<sup>th</sup> century and Visigothic Spain (Council of Elvira, canon 16; Roth 1994, 12). It is not something which would be apparent in epitaphs. Another member of the Jewish community was Innocentius, a wealthy man who had fled from the barbarian invasions of mainland Spain.

Jews were explicitly excluded from the office of *defensor civitatis* in 438 (Novellae Theodosianae 3.2). From 409 the *defensores* were expected to be men of orthodox religion chosen by leading residents including the clergy to defend the interests of the poor (Codex Justinianus 1.55.8). Evidently that

<sup>2</sup> See also Amengual i Batle, Orfila (2007, 201-4) and Amengual i Batle (2008, 80-83), with extensive bibliography.

<sup>3</sup> Hunt (1982, 112-13) suggests that the numbers might be taken from church records.

<sup>4</sup> In his edition of Severus of Minorca, p. 29. Severus avoids mentioning pagans, who may still have been a majority of the whole Balearic population, which makes the estimate more tenuous; see Amengual i Batle, Orfila (2007, 200) who suggest that 13% of Minorca's population was Jewish.

regulation against the Jews was no more enforced on Minorca than the laws protecting them and their synagogues from violent assault. The collapse of Roman authority in Spain no doubt had a knock-on effect on the Balearic Islands, but militant Christians were able to ignore Roman law in other places where Roman control was much more secure. On the other hand, Jews were still treated as full citizens in the Later Western Empire and the successor states, at least in emergencies. During the siege of Gothic Arles by Franks and Burgundians in 508, a Jew allegedly tried to betray the city, but it was assumed that the Jews would play their part by defending a section of the city wall (Toch 2005, 551; Life of St Caesarius i 31).

Severus makes Meletius say to Innocentius (18.17): “I wish to emigrate alone, to any land whatsoever by whatever voyage possible”, and later he talks about waiting for a suitable time to “emigrate abroad” (*ad peregrina emigremus*, 18.19). Innocentius’ sister-in-law, who refuses to convert, boards a ship (26.2; she later changes her mind). These may be no more than Christian allusions to biblical exile, but could indicate a real-life reaction of Jews to persecution. But where would they go? After a comparable incident at Clermont in 576 when the synagogue was burned and more than 500 Jews were baptised, the rest of the community left for Marseilles<sup>5</sup>. Circumstances clearly differed between one town and another, depending on the attitude of the bishop and the strength of any secular authorities, and short-distance migration for religious reasons probably increased from the late 4<sup>th</sup> century onwards. Innocentius had already moved for reasons unconnected to his religion, but religion may explain why he chose Mahon as his destination.

The Jews of Minorca have left no epigraphic evidence, which is not surprising as Minorca has produced almost no Christian inscriptions either, although there is much archaeological evidence, mainly from the 6<sup>th</sup> century and later (Amengual i Batle, Orfila 2007). There is clearly no correlation between survival of inscriptions and a community’s original importance. However, the internal organisation of the Jewish community described by Severus and the holding of civic offices by Jews are closely paralleled in the inscriptions from Venosa.

The history of Roman Minorca is too poorly documented to identify any particular circumstances which might have brought Jews to the island in the first place. Their social position indicates that they were not new arrivals. An example from more recent history of how Jewish migrants could become a major force in a new home is provided by Salonica in the early 16<sup>th</sup> century, where Jews, driven initially by expulsion from Spain and welcomed by the Ottoman authorities, found economic opportunities and became the largest group in the city (Mazover 2004, 46-63). Chain migration must have been a significant factor in the community’s growth: “the migration of an initial stream of people often encourages the migration of a second group; the innovators may be followed by family or friends at a different time, for example” (Boyle, Halfacree, Robinson 1998, 36). On a smaller scale this may explain why a place like Mahon with no obvious attraction for Jews became a centre of Jewish population. Migration was apparently followed by integration, to the extent of Jews holding civic offices, and then by forced conversion. According to Severus some of the ex-Jews were able to retain their wealth and influence, and it is possible that they were able to re-establish their religion when the Vandals conquered the island in 455 (Amengual i Batle, Orfila 2007, 214, 243; Amengual i Batle 2008, 165-8), but in adapting to the religious norms of the strongest element in local society they did what most other migrant groups had normally done within one or two generations of arrival.

<sup>5</sup> Gregory of Tours, *History of the Franks* 5.11. See Brennan 1995 on this episode: as on Minorca, relations between the communities were previously good.

THE JEWISH INSCRIPTION FROM TORTOSA (*DERTOSA*)

Tortosa (ancient *Dertosa*) near the mouth of the River Ebro in *Tarraconensis* was the seat of a bishop from at least the 6<sup>th</sup> century until the Muslim conquest in 714, and it had a substantial Jewish community in the Muslim period (García Moreno 2005, 51). It has produced a small quantity of Latin epitaphs, mainly from the 2<sup>nd</sup> century CE, one of which shows an immigrant or visitor: it commemorates L. Numisius Liberalis who had served 13 years in the fleet at Ravenna, and was *nat(ione) Corsican(us)*, i.e. a Corsican (CIL ii 798, late 2nd/early 3rd century CE). That is the only evidence for the city being at all cosmopolitan, but in common with the rest of the Spanish coast Tortosa is likely to have been affected by the strong trade links with Rome, North Africa and other provinces.

A trilingual Jewish epitaph was found in the 18<sup>th</sup> century and is now in the cathedral (JIWE i 183; *Hispania Epigraphica* 12 (2002), 420). It cannot be dated with any precision but is probably from the 5<sup>th</sup> or 6<sup>th</sup> century. It begins with Hebrew followed by Latin and then Greek, all within an inscribed frame. There is a menorah, and two five-pointed stars. The top of the stone is broken so the original layout is not entirely clear, but the Latin seems to have been inscribed carefully in the centre first, with the other languages fitted around it in poorer lettering. The Greek text is an almost exact translation of the Latin, but Adams (2003, 272 n.571) notes an *-es* genitive singular ending in the Latin (*Maries* instead of *Mariae*) showing convergence with Greek, and the influence of Greek usage in *cura* for “lady” (rather than *domina*) in the Latin. On the other hand, the word used for “daughter” in the Greek seems to be a transliteration of Latin *filia*, although the reading is very uncertain. The content of the Hebrew is rather different, and it was evidently composed by someone who was familiar with the conventional phraseology of Hebrew epitaphs in places where the language was in common use.

(Hebrew:) Peace upon Israel. This tomb is of Mellasa, daughter of Rabbi Judah and of Lady Maria. The memory of the just woman is for a blessing. May her spirit have eternal life! May her soul rest in the bond of life! Amen, so ... Peace.

(Latin and Greek:) In the name of the Lord. Here is the memorial in which rests Meliosa, remembered for good, the daughter of Juda and Lady Maria. She lived twenty-four years, in peace. Amen.

Latin was the normal language of commemoration at Tortosa. Judah and Maria (presumably) made a conscious decision to include the two other languages. Greek had some precedent in the region. There are a few Greek inscriptions from coastal Spain in the 1<sup>st</sup> century BCE and 1<sup>st</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> centuries CE, some associated with people from Greek-speaking places such as a man from Marseilles and a dedication for the patron and *prostates* of the Syrians in Malaga (Paz de Hoz 1997, #2.1, 15.1). The five-line verse epitaph of Valeria Musa from Tarragona set up by her husband Theseus says nothing about their origin, but could be intended to express Greek learning appropriate to their names (ibid. #5.5). Christian inscriptions in Greek from Spain are not unusual<sup>6</sup>, and can occasionally be linked to immigrants from Greek-speaking areas, e.g. a Lycian in an epitaph from the southern coast<sup>7</sup>. Other possible reasons suggested for the use of Greek include a desire to emphasise Christian identity and, later, periods of direct rule from Constantinople; the language was not only associated with immigrants from the East (Handley 2011, 29-30). Judah and Maria could have been native

<sup>6</sup> Ramírez Sádaba 2009 gives six examples.

speakers of Greek, but it is also possible that they used Greek to make a statement of Jewish identity, as the Jews of Rome seem to have done rather earlier (Noy 1997), or to make the text intelligible to as many potential readers as possible.

The use of Hebrew was a much more obvious statement of identity, and involved more than translating the Latin text. Although “peace upon Israel” formulae were already common, the other expressions only became widespread in the West in the early Medieval period. A recently discovered epitaph from Silves in the Algarve with the name Yehiel has been dated to before 390 (Friedrich Schiller University Jena 2012), and there is also a 5<sup>th</sup>-century epitaph from Majorca for Samuel son of Rabbi Haggai (JIWE i 177; Amengual i Batle, Orfila 2007, 227-8), but these only consist of names in Hebrew characters and do not show how far the language was used. There is other evidence to show that the use of Hebrew in the former Roman provinces in the 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> centuries increased the distinctiveness of the Jews (Brennan 1985, 327-8). The author of the life of Bishop Hilarius of Arles (d.449) claimed (*Vita S. Hilarii* 29 = PL 50.1243): “I recall that I heard the Hebrew language of (the Jews) singing in his funeral procession.” Jews in a bishop’s funeral procession became a literary topos in Gaul (Brennan 1985, 324), but the additional detail of the use of Hebrew is exceptional. When King Gunthram came to Orleans in 585, the “language of the Jews” was used by people who came to meet him, singing his praises, allegedly because they wanted him to rebuild their synagogue (Gregory of Tours, *History of the Franks* 8.1). At Venosa, the use of Hebrew in epitaphs extended to one in Greek written in Hebrew characters (JIWE i 75). Rutgers (2006, 502) notes that this foreshadows the Jews of Medieval Italy and marks a break from the practices of the Jews of the city of Rome, although it should be noted that no use was made at Venosa in this period of the distinctive Hebrew formulae of the Tortosa inscription.

According to Handley (2011, 106 n.16), “One of the greatest mysteries of Early Mediaeval Jewish history is how and why a community largely speaking and writing Greek and Latin became one largely speaking and writing Hebrew”. He points out that there is almost no clear evidence of the linguistic change being caused by migration. The only epigraphic evidence of such migration is the Hebrew epitaph from Taranto of a man who seems to have originated from Melos (JIWE i 125), and there is no reason to think that Hebrew was used more around the Aegean than in Italy. The adoption of Hebrew may have been influenced by contact with the East producing what Toch (2005, 550) calls the “vocabulary and mindset of the Mesopotamian houses of Talmudic learning”, but it is very unlikely that such influence came from large numbers of migrants. Jews in the western provinces might have used Greek when they arrived, and Latin as their descendants became more integrated into local society, but turning to Hebrew was a sign of their separation, caused by or in reaction to the way they were treated with generally increasing hostility by the authorities.

## CONCLUSION

It is likely that the greatest period of Jewish population movement was in the 1<sup>st</sup> and early 2<sup>nd</sup> centuries CE, caused mainly by the defeat of the three Jewish revolts and especially the Trajanic one. Some people were forced to move because of capture and enslavement, others kept their freedom but moved for economic reasons to regions which they expected to be more prosperous. Some may have joined existing Jewish settlements, in Rome and perhaps other western

<sup>7</sup> On the interpretation of Curbera 1996, 291.

cities. The origin of most major western Jewish communities can probably be placed in this period, even though evidence for their existence only emerges several centuries later. Through short-distance migration, the major communities gradually spawned smaller ones. In many respects Jews were integrated into Roman society: governed by the same laws until the 4<sup>th</sup> century, taking part in civic government, using the same languages (Latin and Greek). They were differentiated legally by paying the Jewish Tax and socially by belonging to synagogues.

Klaassen (2010-11) looks at integration under two headings: structural and identificational. The former involves socio-economic, socio-political and socio-cultural structures: how far migrants are integrated into the host society in, for example, employment, civic rights and language. The latter, which is usually slower, relates to migrants' own attitudes to the host society. Using these categories, the Jews who first migrated to the western provinces appear to have experienced considerable integration of both types, which is why they are rarely visible in the evidence—although it could be argued that those who integrated least would also be invisible because they would not follow the Roman practice of leaving inscriptions. The Latin epitaph of the freedman Alucius Roscius is only identifiable as Jewish because he is labelled *Iudeus* (JIWE i 188, from Villamesías). Integration was limited by the institution of the synagogue and the religious and social structures which went with it. In Late Antiquity, the use of the menorah and of other Jewish symbols and of words and phrases in Hebrew marked a desire to express some non-integration by people who were not usually migrants themselves. Later still, Jews were either integrated totally into the host society through forced conversion or forcibly excluded from it through discriminatory legislation, and separated themselves by the use of Hebrew.

Integration took an extreme form with forced baptisms like those on Minorca. Where Jewish communities were not fully integrated by violence, they seem to have separated instead. The process of separation worked in two directions. The law began to impose specific disadvantages on Jews as Jews, sometimes amounting to deliberate persecution as at some points in the history of Visigothic Spain. Even when the law should have protected them, that protection might not materialise, as the Jews of Minorca discovered. At the same time the Jews seem to have separated themselves by the increasing use of Hebrew. The language change is unlikely to be due to renewed large-scale population movement (Western Europe was hardly an attractive destination to Jews in the 5<sup>th</sup> century and later), and more likely to derive from a Jewish desire to express a separate identity on their own terms. The beginnings of this can be seen in the 5<sup>th</sup> or 6<sup>th</sup> century at Tortosa with the use of Hebrew for the first time as much more than a tag attached to a Greek or Latin epitaph.

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#### ABBREVIATIONS AND TEXTS

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