

no. 2 and comm. there), and the sign indicating the “place of trumpeting” on the southwestern corner (no. 5 plus comm.). The other fragmentary inscriptions which have survived by pure chance – e.g., nos. 4, 10, 12 – were thrown down from the Temple Mount during its destruction in 70; their context cannot be exactly known. But their quality and number, despite their severely fragmentary state, indicate that the Temple Mount and its immediately surrounding area must have been filled with many more inscriptions than those associated with these mere broken pieces.

2. Greek warning sign on Temple Mount, 23 BCE-70 CE

Copy One: Thick marble slab, once-smooth face now abraded; seven lines incised in formal Greek script, uneven line-ends, no breaks between words; four-barred *sigma*; closed *omega*; *alphas* with both broken and straight cross-bars (photo and ed. pr.). Copy Two: Broken marble slab, six lines deeply incised in formal Greek script, red paint inside grooves; different hand but similar epigraphic features to Copy One; wide blank margin at bottom; thin horizontal guidelines on top and bottom of each line. Meas.: Copy One: h 60, w 90, d 39 cm (Dussaud); Copy Two: h 49, w 27, d 31 cm; letters 3.5 cm.

Findspot: Copy One: north of Temple Mount. Copy Two: Lion’s Gate, Jerusalem. Pres. loc: Copy One: Archaeological Museum, Istanbul; Copy Two: Israel Museum, Jerusalem, IAA inv. no. 1936-989.

Copy One:  
 ΜΗΘΕΝΑΑΛΛΟΓΕΝΗΕΙΣΠΟ  
 ΡΕΥΕΣΘΑΙΕΝΤΟΣΤΟΥΠΕ  
 ΡΙΤΟΙΕΡΟΝΤΡΥΦΑΚΤΟΥΚΑΙ  
 ΠΕΡΙΒΟΛΟΥΟΣΔΑΝΑΗ  
 ΦΘΗΕΑΥΤΩΙΑΙΤΙΟΣΕΣ  
 ΤΑΙΔΙΑΤΟΕΞΑΚΟΛΟΥ  
 ΘΕΙΝΘΑΝΑΤΟΝ

Copy Two:  
 [...]ΘΕΝΑΑΛΛ[...]  
 [...]ΤΟΣΤΟΥΠ[...]  
 [...]ΤΟΥΚΑΙ[...]  
 [...]ΗΦΘΗΑΥ[...]  
 [...]ΙΑΤΟΕΞ[...]  
 ΘΑΝΑΤ[...]



fig. 2.1 (Copy One)

Copy One: μηθένα ἄλλογενῆ εἰσπορεύεσθαι ἐντὸς τοῦ περὶ τὸ ἱερόν τρυφάκτου καὶ περιβόλου. ὃς δ’ ἂν λη|φθῆ| ἑαυτῷ αἴτιος ἔσ|ται διὰ τὸ ἐξακολουθεῖν θάνατον  
 Copy Two: [μη]θένα ἄλλο[γενῆ] εἰσπορεύεσθαι ἐν|τὸς τοῦ π[ε]ρὶ τὸ ἱερόν τρυφάκ[του] καὶ [περιβόλου. ὃς δ’ ἂν λη]φθῆ| αὐ|[τῷ αἴτιος ἔσται δ]ιὰ τὸ ἐξ[ακολουθεῖν] θάνατ[ον]

No foreigner is to enter within the balustrade and forecourt around the sacred precinct. Whoever is caught will himself be responsible for (his) consequent death.



fig. 2.2 (Copy Two)

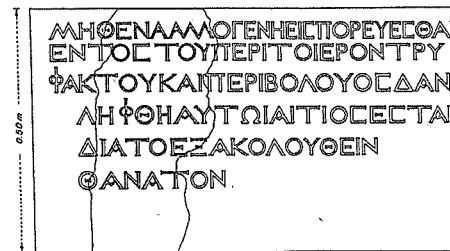


fig. 2.3 (Copy Two)

Comm.: These nearly identical copies of the same inscription are two of an indeterminate number of Greek and Latin inscriptions set in the stone balustrade (δρύφακτος, *soreg*, cf. M.Midd. 2,3) separating the outermost court of the Temple Mount, where Gentiles were allowed, from the inner courts and sanctuary (here τὸ ἱερόν), where they were not. The meaning of *περιβόλος* here probably refers to the area between the δρύφακτος and the high wall surrounding the inner courts of the Temple. Josephus describes the entire area beyond the balustrade as τὸ ἱερόν δρύφακτος περιβέβλητο λίθινος (BJ 5,193), and says there were 14 steps between the balustrade and the wall surrounding the inner courts (5,195). He mentions the inscriptions inserted “at regular intervals” in the stone barrier (BJ 5,194, cf. 6,126; AJ 15,417, cf. 12,145); Philo mentions the prohibition but not the inscriptions (Leg. 212); Paul was accused of violating the prohibition (Acts 21,26-30). The two extant stones with Greek inscriptions are relatively thick with unfinished backs, thus confirming Josephus’ report that they were incorporated in the balustrade itself, ἐν αὐτῷ εἰστήχεσαν, BJ 5,194; they may have been inserted on either side of each entrance in the barrier. None of the Latin inscriptions has survived.

Copy One was found north of the Temple Mount in 1871 and immediately published by Clermont-Ganneau; it soon disappeared and re-appeared “mystérieusement” in Istanbul 13 years later (Clermont-Ganneau). The second, fragmentary

copy was found in 1935 built into a tomb-wall near the Lion's Gate of Jerusalem and was first published by Iliffe in 1938. The two stones were inscribed by different stonecutters (Iliffe), both of whom were skillful in forming letters, despite Iliffe's derogation of the second artisan, pointing to inconsistency in the forms of letters, which phenomenon appears in Copy One as well (according to the photograph). In l.2 of Copy Two, Iliffe restores a lunate *sigma* where the stone is chipped, but it probably was a four-barred *sigma*, as in Copy One. As Iliffe points out, the letters are crowded together in the first two lines of Copy Two but spaced more generously in ll.3-6, thus indicating poor planning; Copy One does not have this problem. This accounts for the different number of lines in each inscription, which however may also be the result of differences in the size of each stone, each cut to fit its individual setting within the balustrade; no suggestions are offered here for the line-breaks on the fragmentary stone (see suggested restoration in Iliffe).

The texts of the two stones were not entirely identical, compare  $\epsilon\alpha\upsilon\tau\tilde{\omega}$  in Copy One, l.5 and  $\alpha\upsilon\tau\tilde{\omega}$  in Copy Two, l.4; there may have been other small differences like this one, but presumably no significant textual variants. The texts show features of Greek phonology and orthography of the period, note  $\mu\eta\theta\acute{\epsilon}\nu\alpha$  for Attic  $\mu\eta\theta\acute{\epsilon}\nu\alpha$  in l.1 and  $\tau\rho\upsilon\phi\acute{\alpha}\kappa\tau\omicron\upsilon$  for  $\delta\rho\upsilon\phi\acute{\alpha}\kappa\tau\omicron\upsilon$  in l.3 (cf. Jos. BJ 5,193 and AJ 15,417); see McLean, Introduction to Greek Epigraphy 350ff., and E.B. Petrounias, History of Ancient Greek 606ff.).

Josephus, who as a priest in Jerusalem saw these inscriptions regularly, twice summarizes their content, each time using different words for "foreigner":  $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\acute{o}\phi\upsilon\lambda\omicron\nu$  (BJ 5,194) and  $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omicron\epsilon\theta\nu\tilde{\eta}$  (AJ 15,417), rather than  $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omicron\gamma\epsilon\nu\tilde{\eta}$  in the actual inscription. When he turned to write history, Josephus reconstructed the texts from memory; apparently for him, these three words meant more or less the same thing.

These inscriptions, together with Josephus and Philo, are key documents in the massive scholarly literature on the question of whether the Jews actually had the power to apply the death penalty, if so whether that power extended to non-Jews, whether these inscriptions are evidence for it, whether the penalty was "death at the hands of heaven" and if so what that meant (by God or by priests), or whether the inscription had no more than apotropaic force. It is to be noted that ritually impure Jews were also forbidden in the sanctuary, but since they were expected to know the law and their own status, no monitory sign was necessary. As a practical matter, it would have been difficult to identify by sight an impure individual, or a Gentile determined to enter the Temple (see Cohen, Segal).

Warning inscriptions at temple entrances were found elsewhere in antiquity, compare for example the inscription at Tralleis discussed by L. Robert, Etudes Anatoliennes, 1970, 415ff.; and see Bickerman for further examples. Forgeries of this inscription exist, see Thomsen I 145 and II 248; B. Bagatti, Il Museo della Flagellazione, 1939, 36 no. 41; and further bibliography in Bieberstein - Bloedhorn.

Bibl.: Ch. Clermont-Ganneau, RA 23, 1872, 214-34, 290-6; J. Iliffe, QDAP 6, 1938, 1ff. (edd. prr.). – G. S. Clair, PEQ 3, 1871, 172f.; C. Clermont-Ganneau, Athenaeum 2280, 1871, 48f.; id., PEQ 3,

1871, 132f.; id., CRAI 1872, 170-96 at 176-80 no. 2; J. Derenbourg, JA 6e sér. 20, 1872, 178-95; A. Héron de Villefosse, Notice des monuments provenant de la Palestine et conservés au Musée du Louvre (Salle Judaïque), 1879, 16f. no. 8; Ch. Clermont-Ganneau, RCr 18, 1884, 263-8 at 263; J. Mordtmann, ZDPV 7, 1884, 119f.; Warren - Conder, SWP Jerusalem 423f. no. 7; Ch. Clermont-Ganneau, CRAI 1885, 13; Th. Mommsen, Römische Geschichte V, 1885, 513; A. Bertholet, Die Stellung der Israeliten und Juden zu den Fremden, 1896, 311ff.; S. Merrill, Biblical World 14, 1899, 275 no. 3; OGIS 2, 598; J. Oehler, MGWJ 53, 1909, 295; BE 1910, p. 336; R. Dussaud, Musée du Louvre. Département des antiquités orientales. Les monuments palestiniens et judaïques, 1912, 25ff.; Ch. Clermont-Ganneau, Syria 1, 1920, 190-7 at 192; Klein, JPCI no. 16; BE 1921, p. 452; Thomsen I no. 11; L. Vincent, RB 30, 1921, 263ff.; A. Deissmann, Licht vom Osten, 1923, 62f.; H. Leclercq, DACL 7,1, 1926, 797-800 at 798; W. R. Taylor, JPOS 13, 1933, 137ff.; F.J. Hollis, The Archaeology of Herod's Temple, 1934, 153ff.; W. Albright, BASOR 61, 1936, 25; W.R. Taylor, JPOS 16, 1936, 37ff.; SEG 8, 169; RB 48, 1939, 158; Thomsen II 209, 248; F. V. Filson, Biblical Archaeologist 7, 1944, 77-88 at 80; J. Perrot, Syria 25, 1946/48, 268-300 at 292 295ff.; E.J. Bickermann, JQR 37, 1946/47, 387-405; H.A. Wolfson, JQR 38, 1947/48, 109f.; BE 1948, 251; CIJ 2, 1400; G. M. Fitzgerald, PEQ 88, 1956, 38-48 at 44; L. Vincent - A. Steve, Jérusalem de l'Ancien Testament II-III, 1956, 448f.; E. Gabba, Iscrizioni greche e latine per lo studio della Bibbia, 1958, 83-6; J. Finegan, Light from the Ancient Past, 1959, 306; J. Bingen, Antiquité Classique 32, 1963, 316ff. no. 24; SEG 20, 477; S. Zeitlin, JQR 56, 1965/66, 188; G. Pfohl, Griechische Inschriften als Zeugnisse des privaten und öffentlichen Lebens, 1966, 148 221 no. 135; H. Bardtke, Bibel, Spaten und Geschichte, 1969, 117 145; Finegan, Archaeology 119f.; A. M. Rabello, CNI 21,3, 1970, 28-32; id. CNI 21,4, 1971, 28-32; V.R.L. Fry, The Warning Inscriptions from the Herodian Temple, 1974; P. Winter, On the Trial of Jesus, 2nd ed. 1974, 18f.; IMC no. 169; B. Lifshitz, ANRW 2,8, 1977, 452-5; Schürer II 285 n. 57; J. Strange, ANRW 2,19, 1979, 653f.; Th. A. Busink, Der Tempel von Jerusalem II, 1980, 1062; H. Rosén, in: G. Neumann ed., Die Sprachen im römischen Reich der Kaiserzeit, 1980, 227; J.M. Baumgarten, JJS 33, 1982, 215-25; M. Ben-Dov, In the Shadow of the Temple, 1985, 101f.; D. R. Schwartz, Agrippa I, 1987, 140ff.; H. Schwier, Tempel und Tempelzerstörung, 1989, 55-74; SEG 39, 1626; P. Segal, IEJ 39, 1989, 79-84; Bieberstein - Bloedhorn 3, 104ff.; L. Boffo, Iscrizione greche e latine per lo studio della Bibbia, 1994, 343-8; J. Strange, in: J. Neusner ed., Judaism in Late Antiquity I, 1995, 69; S.J.D. Cohen, The Beginnings of Jewishness, 1999, 65f.; Hezser, Jewish Literacy 413f.; Jaroš, Inschriften 368ff. no. 243f.; D. Flusser, Jesus, 2006, 115; Küchler, Jerusalem 348 675ff.

Photo: J. Iliffe, QDAP 6, 1938, pl. 2; Israel Museum, Jerusalem; J. Iliffe, QDAP 6, 1938, 2 fig. 1 (dr).

JJP

### 3. Donation to Herod's Temple with Greek inscription, 18-17 BCE

Hard limestone plaque, probably once inserted into wall. Remains of five lines of formal Greek letters incised on smoothed surface; letters evenly spaced; *alpha* with broken cross-bar; square *epsilon*, *mu*, *nu*; four-barred *sigma*; majuscule *omega*; *kappa* with small diagonals; open ends of lines finished with small triangular ornaments (apices).

Meas.: h 21, w 27, d 12 cm; l.1: 27 cm, letters 2 cm.

Findspot: Temple Mount, Area 23.

Pres. loc: Hecht Museum, Haifa, IAA inv. no. 1986-338. Autopsy: 5 June 2007.

# Corpus Inscriptionum Iudaeae/Palaestinae

A multi-lingual corpus of the inscriptions  
from Alexander to Muhammad

edited by

Hannah M. Cotton · Leah Di Segni · Werner Eck  
Benjamin Isaac · Alla Kushnir-Stein  
Haggai Misgav · Jonathan Price · Israel Roll · Ada Yardeni

with the assistance of

Marfa Heimbach and Naomi Schneider

De Gruyter

2010 27500 1/1/1

# Corpus Inscriptionum Iudaeae/Palaestinae

## Volume I: Jerusalem

Part 1: 1-704

edited by

Hannah M. Cotton · Leah Di Segni · Werner Eck  
Benjamin Isaac · Alla Kushnir-Stein  
Haggai Misgav · Jonathan Price · Israel Roll · Ada Yardeni

with contributions by

Eran Lupu

with the assistance of

Marfa Heimbach and Naomi Schneider

Prof. 2010

Berlin / New York,  
2010

HIA

2

101

De Gruyter

BIBLIOTHÈQUE DES SCIENCES DE L'ANTIQUITÉ  
FACULTÉ DES LETTRES