

THE IMPACT OF THE BARBARIAN INVASIONS ON THE JEWS OF ROMAN ITALY: NEW PERSPECTIVES

Samuele Rocca

(The Neri Bloomfield College of Design & Teacher Training, Haifa
The Ariel University Center of Samaria)

Key words: Jews, Rome, Late Antique, Venosa, Barbarian invasions

Abstract: There is no scholarly discussion on the impact of the Barbarian invasions on the Jewish communities of Roman Italy. Roman Italy fell victim to a series of invasions. First the invasion of Alaric's Visigoths in 410 C.E., and then that of Genseric's Vandals in 455 C.E., which culminated in the sack of Rome. These were followed by the establishment of the Roman-Barbaric Kingdom of the Ostrogoths, and the subsequent disastrous Gothic War (535-554 C.E.), which brought Italy back under Justinian's rule. The Barbarian conquest of Italy ended with the Lombard invasion in the second half of the sixth century, around 568 C.E.

The purpose of this article, therefore, is to demonstrate that the Barbarian invasions brought profound changes to the geographic distribution and the demographic development of the Jews living in Late Antique Italy. Thus, a close look at epigraphic data shows that the destruction that came in the wake of the Barbarian invasions probably resulted in the total destruction of the various Jewish communities established in northern Italy, and a substantial decrease, even decline in the Jewish population of Rome, sacked twice by the Barbarians during the fifth century, and much damaged by Justinian's Gothic wars in the middle of the sixth century. On the other hand, it is possible to observe a slow demographic and geographic increase, albeit one that is difficult to measure, of the Jews living in southern Italy. This part of the peninsula suffered much less damage than the rest of the peninsula as a consequence of the Barbarian invasions, as attested in the epigraphic evidence from Venosa. Thus, by the end of the Barbarian invasions, the geographical distribution of the Jewish communities in southern Italy anticipated that of the early Middle Ages, attested in the eighth and ninth centuries C.E.

The research leading to these results received funding from the European Research Council under the European Union's Seventh Framework Programme (FP/2007-2013) / ERC Grant Agreement no. 614 424. It was part of the ERC Judaism and Rome, and was realized within the framework of the CNRS and Aix-Marseille University, UMR 7297 TDMAM (Aix-en-Provence).

1. The Jewish Communities in Late Roman Italy Prior to the Barbarian Invasions

By Late Antiquity, following the reorganization of Diocletian and Constantine, the territory of Italy constituted a whole *diocesis*, *Diocesis Italiae*. Thus, under the rule of Constantine, the *diocesis* of Italia was divided into two main districts, *Italia suburbicaria*

and *Italia annonaria*. Each region was ruled by an official called *corrector*. Moreover, with the reforms of Diocletian also Sicily and Sardinia, till then two *provinciae*, became part of *Italia suburbicaria*, an integral part of Roman Italy. By the beginning of the fifth century C.E. the situation had not changed significantly. Thus, according to the *Notitia Dignitatum*, Italy was governed by the *praefectus praetorio Italiae*, one *vicarius*, and one *comes rei militaris*. Four of the regions were administered by *praesides*, and the other eight by *correctores*.¹ Furthermore, by the middle of the third century, the city of Rome had lost its historical role as the main political center of the empire, at least partially. Although it was still the seat of the senate, the emperor seldom resided there. Gallienus, first, and later, during the tetrarchy, Maximian Herculeus, resided in Mediolanum. Diocletian established his residence in Nicomedia. Constantine moved the imperial seat to Constantinople and established a twin eastern Senate there. Likewise the city of Rome was no longer the only political center and the main seat of the emperor and his retinue, when he resided there, in Roman Italy. Ravenna became the main imperial seat in the Western Empire from the reign of Honorius onwards, taking the place of Mediolanum.

By the beginning of the fifth century, Jewish communities were scattered all over Italy. Indeed, a trend of expansion characterized the previous period, mainly the fourth century. Literary, epigraphic, and archaeological evidence points to the presence of new Jewish communities in the whole territory of Late Antique Italy. Rutgers gives a list of synagogues attested in Late Antique Italy. However, we must keep in mind that epigraphic evidence per se is not helpful for the evaluation of the size of each community. Probably most communities were very small, revolving around a few dozen individuals. In Rome alone, the various Jewish communities amounted to more than a few thousands persons. In northern Italy, Jewish communities were located in Dertona, Genua, Milan, Aquileia, and Ravenna. In central Italy, Rome was the seat of the most important Jewish communities. Jewish presence was also attested in Ostia and Terracina. In southern Italy, the presence of Jewish communities is attested in Naples, Venosa, Bova Marina, Rhegium, Palermo, Syracuse, and Cagliari.² Hence, on the eve of the Barbarian invasions Jewish communities were scattered everywhere in Roman Italy.

There is very scant evidence of the Jewish communities of Genua and Dertona. The Jewish community of Dertona is recorded first in 350 C.E. Of the Jewish community of Genua we know that it still existed in 511 C.E.³ Therefore, the first Jewish community

¹ The first was *Italia suburbicaria*, or the areas directly ruled from Rome, which included *Tuscia et Umbria*, *Valeria*, *Campania et Samnium*, *Apulia et Calabria*, *Sicilia*, and *Sardinia et Corsica*. The second area was *Italia annonaria*, whose capital was Mediolanum, residence of the *augustus* Maximinus. The areas included were *Venetia et Histria*, *Aemilia et Liguria*, *Flaminia et Picenum*, *Raetia*, and *Alpes Cottiae*. The former Italian regions of *Alpes Poeninae* and *Alpes Maritimae* become part of the *Diocesis Galliarum*. According to the *Notitia Dignitatum*, Italy was governed by the *praefectus praetorio Italiae*, who also administered Illyricum and Africa, one *vicarius*, and one *comes rei militaris*. Eight of the regions – *Venetiae et Histriae*, *Aemiliae*, *Liguriae*, *Flaminiae et Piceni annonarii*, *Tusciae et Umbriae*, *Piceni suburbicarii*, *Campaniae*, and *Siciliae* – were governed by eight *consulares*, two regions – *Apuliae et Calabriae* and *Lucaniae et Bruttiorum* – were governed by *correctores*, and four regions – *Alpium Cottiarum*, *Samnii*, *Sardiniae*, and *Corsicae* – were administered by *praesides*, see Cracco Ruggini 1995; Williams 1997, 105-107, 222.

² Rutgers 1998, 128. See also Solin 1983, 725-727 on the Jews in Latium and Campania; 734-735 on the Jews in southern Italy; 738-740 on the Jews in northern Italy, and 746-748 on the Jews in Sicily and Sardinia.

³ On Dertona: *Acta Sanctorum* 2. 483; on Genua, Cassiodorus, *Variae* 2.27; Rutgers 1998, 128.

that can be examined in depth is that of Mediolanum.⁴ According to an inscription in the Milan Archaeological Museum, there may have been a Jewish presence by the middle of the second century C.E.⁵ Probably, by the end of the third century, there was already an organized Jewish community in the city, now an imperial capital. However, literary evidence is relevant only for the late fourth century C.E. The Council of Aquileia in 380-381 C.E. referred to a certain Ursicinus, an Arian Christian, who was working to upset the church of Milan, as “now at the synagogue door, now in the houses of the Arians.”⁶ In 388 C.E., Ambrose, the powerful bishop of Milan, expressed his deep regret that he had not been successful in destroying the synagogue, which had been burned down by an “act of God.”⁷ Did the Jews meddle in the quarrel between the Arian and Orthodox Christians, siding with the first, and pay a heavy price for that? No matter what, the presence of a synagogue testifies the existence of an organized Jewish community. It seems that even at the end of the fourth century C.E., Judaism was attracting fair interest from the Pagan-Gentile and Christian population, if Ambrose addressed young people, warning them from entering into an intimate bond with Jews. This is not surprising as, roughly in the same period, in the East, John Chrysostom complained of exactly the same problem.⁸ Three inscriptions dated to the early fifth century C.E. testify to the Jewish presence in the city. The first inscription records the “Pater of good memory.” The inscription is decorated with a lulav and an ethrog. According to Noy, the word “Pater” is a personal name, and does not bear any indication of the task of the deceased inside the Jewish community. The second inscription, decorated with a menorah, records a certain Joses the Alexandrian, evidently an immigrant from Egypt. The third inscription in Greek and Hebrew, much more fragmentary, presents an uncertain reading.⁹ Although the Jewish presence is attested in the first century B.C.E., there is no other evidence of a Jewish settlement in Aquileia till Late Antiquity, with the exception of an epitaph of a Jew, born in Aquileia, but settled in Rome, dated to the third century C.E. An ancient tradition relates that the Christians set fire to the synagogue in Aquileia in the presence of Ambrose, bishop of Milan in 388 C.E. Three African-type lamps decorated with the menorah attest the presence of Jews in Late Antiquity. Excavations conducted in 1948-1450 brought to light a place of worship, later transformed into a three-aisled church, with polychrome mosaic flooring, as well as thirty-six inscriptions. The excavators identified the building as a synagogue, because some inscriptions could be identified as Jewish. However, most scholars today identify the building as a church owned by Syrian-Christians.¹⁰ The

⁴ On Roman Milan, see *Civico Museo Archeologico, Sezione Milano Antica – V-secolo A.C. – V secolo D.C. – Guida*, Milano 2007. See also Mirabella Roberti 1984.

⁵ A funerary stele records the name of Gaius Atilius Iustus, a tanner and a cobbler, who set the stele for himself and for his wife Cornelia Exonerata. Although it is not specifically stated that Gaius Atilius Iustus was a Jew, there are some elements that may suggest this possibility. First, the name Iustus; second, the profession of tanner and cobbler, which in Classic Antiquity and in the early Middle Ages characterized Jews; and, last but not least, the fact that the initials D.M. as well as any Pagan imagery are lacking from the stele: Caporusso et al. 2007, 110, fig. 130.

⁶ J. Wittig, “Papast Damasus I,” *RQ suppl.* 14 (1902), 22.

⁷ Ambrose, *Epist.* XI, 8. See also Ambrose, *Epist.* xx, one of the three Letters to Orontianus, written after 386.

⁸ Ambrose, *Abr.* ix, 84; xiv, 451; John Chrysostomos, *Adv. Jud.* 75; Fredriksen – Irshai 2006, 1005.

⁹ Noy 1993, 1-3, no. 1; 3-4, no. 2; 5, no. 3; Ruggini 1959, 186-308, esp. 227.

¹⁰ Ambrose, *Epist.* XI, 8; Luzzatto 1950, 140-146; Ruggini 1959, 186-308; Noy 1993, 11-13, no. 7.

presence of a Jewish community at Brixia is already attested in the third century C.E. by an inscription mentioning Coelia Paterna, “mother of the synagogue of the Brixians.” Another inscription, dated to the fourth century, mentions an *arcisynagogus*.¹¹ There is very little evidence that a Jewish settlement existed in Ravenna in the third and fourth centuries C.E. The earliest evidence is a shard of an amphora, with the word “shalom” painted on it. The evidence for the presence of a Jewish community in the city under the Ostrogoths and the Byzantines is, however, attested by literary sources. In 519 C.E., the Christian populace, incited by the clergy, burnt down the synagogue in Ravenna. Theodoric, however, ordered that those responsible for the act should pay compensation; those who refused were to be publicly flogged.¹²

In central Italy, Rome was still the main Jewish center. Epigraphic evidence from the Jewish catacombs of Rome gives us useful information on the Jewish communities of Rome till the very end of the fourth century. Six Jewish catacombs had been excavated around Rome: the Monteverde Catacombs, located between the ancient Via Aurelia and Via Portuense, the Catacombs of Vigna Cimarra, Vigna Rondanini and Via Appia Pignatelli, all situated near the Via Appia, the Labicana Catacombs situated near Via Labicana, and the Catacombs of Villa Torlonia, located near the ancient Via Nomentana. Approximately 600 inscriptions had been found. More than half of the inscriptions are in Greek, while the rest are in Latin, sometimes using formulae in Hebrew. The main Jewish cemetery in the Transtiberinum, or *Regio XIV*, the main area of Jewish settlement, was in the catacombs of Monteverde, located on the Via Portuense. Some of the synagogues, whose names are found on the sepulchral inscriptions from the area, date from the Augustan period, such as the Synagogues of the Agrippensium, Augustensium, Hebrews, Herodians, and Volumnesians. However, by the third century, there were other synagogues located in the area, such as the Synagogue of the Calcarensium, the Synagogue of the Tripolitani, and the Synagogue of the Vernaclensians.¹³ Momigliano argues, probably quite rightly, for the existence of the Synagogue of Severus, though the existence of this community has not been corroborated by epigraphic data. The existence of this synagogue is attested in the Middle Ages as late as the twelfth century.¹⁴ Yet the Transtiberinum was not the only neighborhood where Jews settled. They were also found in *Regio I*, the southernmost area of Rome, where the huge Via Appia enters the city. Two catacombs, that of Vigna Randanini and the hypogeum of Vigna Cimarra, indicate a Jewish presence in the area. The two synagogues whose members were mainly buried in the Catacombs of Vigna Randanini are the Synagogue of the Elesians and the Synagogue of the Campesians.¹⁵ The third area where Jews resided is the *Regio VI*, which included

¹¹ On Brixia see Noy 1993, 6, no. 4 and 6-8, no. 5; *Brescia, L'età romana, la città e le iscrizioni*, Santa Giulia, Museo della Città, Milano 1998.

¹² *The Excerpts of Valesius – Anonymi Valesiani Pars Posterior* 14, 81-82, in: J. C. Rolfe (trans.), Ammianus Marcellinus, *History III*, Harvard (Mass.) 1939; Noy 1993, 17-18, no. 10.

¹³ Noy 1995, 539-540.

¹⁴ A. Momigliano (1934, 151-153 = Momigliano 1969, 531-533) argues for the existence of the Synagogue of Severus. His sources are two passages from the *Historia Augusta*: SHA, *Alexander Severus* 28, 7 and 45, 6-7. An inscription from unknown provenance which mentions a certain Alexandria, from the city of Arca in Lebanon, in Noy 1995, 451-452, no. 568; *Genesis Rabbah* 45: 8, and the commentary to the Book of *Genesis* by David Kimchi.

¹⁵ Noy 1995, 539-540. On the Jewish catacombs of Rome: Laurenzi 2011. For recent scholarship on the Monteverde Catacombs: Rossi – Di Mento 2013. On the catacomb's inscriptions: Negroni 2013, 155-318.

the Quirinalis and Viminalis areas. Nearby, on the Via Nomentana, are located the Villa Torlonia catacombs, whose inscriptions mention two synagogues – those of the Seceni and of the Siburensians.¹⁶ Throughout the fourth century there were probably no more than 5000 Jews living in Rome. This assumption stems from the fact that in Rome, by the beginning of the fourth century, the total population probably numbered no more than 500,000. If we assume that the Jewish population comprised 1% of the total population of the city, we can reach this number, corroborated by a study by Rutgers.¹⁷ Scholarship is still divided on the nature of the organization of the Jewish communities of Late Imperial Rome. Thus while some scholars, such as Juster and La Piana, argue for a central organization which presided over all the communities, others, most notably Frey and Momigliano, maintain the existence of decentralized independent congregations. According to various scholars, therefore, the Jewish community appears to have consisted of various small congregations, each with its own synagogue, within a larger central communal organization which represented all of the congregations. By Late Antiquity, at least until the termination of the Patriarchate in 429 C.E., it is likely that all of the Jewish communities of Rome were, in one way or another, organized around a central body which controlled and directed each community. It is important to remember that from Diocletian onwards, the Roman Empire began a process of centralization that was continued by his successor, Constantine. This body, or perhaps a single person delegated by the Jewish communities or appointed by the *praefectus urbis* or the Patriarch, coordinated the activities of the thirteen congregations of Late Antique Rome. Besides, since the Jewish community of Rome was much more dispersed than before, a ruling body was now more necessary than it had previously been. It is difficult to establish, however, whether or not this ruling body was a *gerousia* or perhaps a single delegate who bore the title of *prostates* or *patronus*.¹⁸ The hierarchy and communitarian organization of the Jewish communities of Late Antique Rome is documented in many funerary epitaphs left to posterity by some of their members throughout the third and fourth centuries. According to epigraphic evidence from the catacombs of Rome, there were various communitarian officials, such as the *archisynagogus*, the *archon*, the *gerousiarches*, the *grammateus*, the *hyperetes*, the *phrontistes*, and the *prostates*. Some of the titles, however, such as the *pater synagogae* and the *mater synagogae*, were honorary. Last but not least, some members of the community were priests or *hiereis*, and this probably gave them an important position within the hierarchy of the community, even if they were not exactly elected or appointed magistrates. The hierarchy of the various officials found in the different Jewish communities scattered throughout Italy, mainly Venosa, mirrors the situation in Rome itself.¹⁹ Very few episodes are recorded on the history of the Jews of Rome throughout Late Antiquity. Yet the common element is that all these episodes testify to

On the datation of the archaeological and epigraphic material: Di Mento – Negroni 2013, 346-352; Dello Russo 2014, 9-63. For recent scholarship on the Catacombs of Vigna Randanini: Laurenzi 2013.

¹⁶ Noy 1995, 539-540.

¹⁷ Scheidel 2001; Frier 2001; Rutgers *et al.* 2006, 169-184; Rutgers 2006b, 345-358; Scheidel 2007.

¹⁸ Juster 1914, I: 418-424; La Piana 1927, 183-403, esp. 341-393 on the Jewish community of Rome; Momigliano 1931, 283-292 (= Momigliano 1966, 523-532); Leon 1960, 135-166; Frey 1975, cii-cxi; Rabello 1980, 662-762; Williams 1994, 129-141; 1998, 215-228.

¹⁹ Levine 2000, 391-402. The tasks and functions of these communitarian officials were explored mainly by Leon (1960, 167-194). See also Juster 1914, I: 443; Noy 1993, 328-329; 1995, 538-539.

the tense situation between Jews and Christians, who at the beginning of the fourth century were still a minority in the *urbs*. Well known, albeit legendary, is the public debate between the Jews of Rome and Pope Sylvester I. Yet the relationship between Jews and Christians was probably not so bad if, in 384 C.E., Jerome was able to borrow several books from a Jew, who had previously borrowed them from a synagogue.²⁰ Less known is the destruction of a synagogue in 387 C.E. as a consequence of a disorder. Together with Rome, Jewish communities are attested at Ostia and Terracina. In Ostia, during the fourth century, the Jewish community probably thrived, as the synagogue was rebuilt anew.²¹ Another Jewish community near Rome was located at Terracina.²²

In southern Italy, the Jewish settlement dated back to the first century C.E. It continued to develop and even to flourish in Late Antiquity. If literary sources are quite scant for the period considered, the epigraphic and archaeological material is rather abundant. It seems that various Jewish communities flourished, scattered in southern Italy, Sicily and Sardinia, from the third century well into the sixth century C.E. If there were Jewish communities in Naples, as well as in Campania, in Potentia, Oria, and Rhegium, and in Sicily in Tauromenium, Syracuse, Netum, and Sophiana, and in Sardinia in Sulcis and Turrus Libisonis, the most important remains come from Venusia and Bova Marina, where the remnants of a synagogue were found. By the fourth century C.E., various inscriptions attest the presence of an important Jewish community in Naples. A Jewish burial ground was excavated in 1908 in Corso Malta. The tombs date from the end of the fourth century C.E. till the middle of the sixth century C.E. Of the eleven inscriptions, nine are in Latin, and one in Greek. Besides, no fewer than seven inscriptions in Latin are followed by an inscription in Hebrew, generally the words “shalom” or “amen.” By the end of the period, Hebrew had once more become a relevant language for the Jews of Roman Italy, as the inscriptions from Venosa attest. All the inscriptions are decorated with the menorah. The ethrog and the Holy Arch decorate two of the inscriptions. The Jewish community was quite organized if a Rabbi, a certain Abundantius, is mentioned, together with Benjamin, the *prostates*. This title appears only in Rome, and may be synonymous of *gerousiarches*. Some of the Jews were recent immigrants, such as Barbarus son of Cumanus from Venafrum, Irene daughter of Telesius of Rome, Benjamin the prostates from Caesarea, and Gaudiosus the elder, citizen of Mauretania. Gaudiosus is mentioned as *senior* or elder. The word *senior* might stand for *presbyter*, thus indicating a position within the Jewish community, or it could also indicate that Gaudiosus occupied a position in the civic hierarchy.²³ From Campania two inscriptions dated to the third and fourth-fifth centuries C.E. attest the possible presence of Jewish communities in Capua and Nola.²⁴ Thanks to inscriptions found in its catacombs, or scattered in the surroundings, in Greek, Latin and Hebrew, the Jewish community of Venusia, or Venosa, is probably the best known at the end of the Late Antique period in southern Italy. However, we must beware that the community was probably quite small, including only a few

²⁰ Jerome, *Epist.* 36. 1; Rutgers 1998, 118.

²¹ I would like to thank L. Michael White for this personal communication at the Congress of the SBL, held in Rome in 2009. White is currently excavating the Ostia synagogue. See also White 1997, 23-58.

²² Gregory, *Epist.* 1. 34.

²³ On Naples: Noy 1993, 27-37, 43-57.

²⁴ Noy 1993, 37-38, no. 20; 39-40, no. 22.

families, numbering no more than one hundred individuals.²⁵ No fewer than seventy-four inscriptions attest the existence of this small Jewish community from the late fourth century to the early sixth century C.E.²⁶ Twelve inscriptions are dated to the late fourth-early fifth century, five to the fourth-five centuries, twenty-seven inscriptions are dated to the fifth century, nineteen are dated to the late fifth-early sixth centuries, nine are dated to the sixth century, mainly the beginning, and the rest span from the fourth to the sixth centuries C.E. Thus, it is clear that the community began in the late fourth century, prospered throughout the fifth century, and declined in the first half of the sixth century. The linguistic development is quite interesting. Greek, found in no fewer than forty-five inscriptions, was the main language used from the end of the fourth century C.E. till the beginning of the sixth century C.E. Latin, although it appears already at the end of the fourth century, is used in no more than fifteen inscriptions, mainly dated to the fifth century. The use of Greek and Latin in Venosa is corroborated by the catacomb's inscriptions from Rome, which, although much earlier, as their dating is to the third and fourth centuries C.E., reflect a similar relationship.²⁷ However, the new element present in Venosa is the massive use of Hebrew from the fifth century onwards. At least twenty-four inscriptions have at least a word in Hebrew; no fewer than four are completely in Hebrew, albeit sometimes as a transliteration of Greek. Thus, although Hebrew is relatively less utilized than Greek, it is more frequent than Latin. The various inscriptions throw light on the small community, its relationship with the outside world, as well as its hierarchy and composition. Some of the community's members were quite important in the local municipal hierarchy. Thus the only inscription with a certain date, 521 C.E., refers to a certain Augusta, the wife of Bonus, *vir laudabilis*. Evidently Bonus was important in the local hierarchy, as *vir laudabilis*. Three inscriptions refer to a certain Marcellus and Auxianus, who bear the title of *patronus civitatis*, albeit in Greek. A certain Faustinus, son of Isa, who was a *gerousiarch* of the community, was also the chief doctor (*archi-eratos*) of the city.²⁸ That the relationship with the surrounding Gentile population was probably good is indicated by the presence of no fewer than two Gentiles, who decided to share their life together with the Jewish community, Anastasius the proselyte and Marcus, the "God-Fearer."²⁹ The community was dominated by a group of officials known as *pater patrum*. We know three of these officials – Sebbetius, Marcellus and Sarmata. It seems that the community council was composed of elders, known in Latin as *patres*, as a certain Faustinus, or in Greek as *presbyteroi*, as a certain Secundinus. These officials were also called *gerousiarches*, as Faustinus, son of Isa. This position was probably open to women as well, as we found a *presbytera*, attributed to no fewer than two women, Alexandra and Faustina. The title *archisynagogus* appears in more than one inscription, but it was probably used as an honorific position, as the title is attributed to children, such as Callistus. At the bottom were the so called life-officer (*dia biou*), as a certain Longinus and Ana. Last but not least stood the *didaskalos*, or the community teacher, which in

²⁵ Noy 1993, xx-xxi.

²⁶ Noy 1993, 61-154, nos. 42-119.

²⁷ On the similar degree of Romanization between the Jewish inscriptions from Rome and those from Venosa: Rutgers 2006a, 496-498, 499-502.

²⁸ Noy 1993, 100-103, no. 76; 137-141, no. 107; 145-149, nos. 114-116.

²⁹ Noy 1993, 72-73, no. 52; 144-145, no. 113.

the early fifth century was a certain Jacob.³⁰ Other cities where a Jewish settlement is attested in southern Italy were Potentia, Tarentum, Oria, Rhegium, where an inscription testifies to the existence of a synagogue.³¹ Another Jewish community is attested in Bova Marina, where a synagogue was erected in the early fourth century and continued to be used till the sixth century. The synagogue presents at least two main phases. The earliest phase ought to be dated to the beginning of the fourth century. Towards the early sixth century the synagogue was transformed into a larger building.³²

In Sicily there were Jewish communities in Tauromenium, Catania, Syracuse, Netum, Chiaramonte Gulfi, Sofiana, Agrigentum, and Panormum. Besides, the presence of rural communities, as in the *latifundia* of Gela, is mentioned in the letters of Gregorius Magnus. The language of the vast majority of the inscriptions is Greek. These inscriptions are dated to the fourth and fifth centuries C.E. A Jewish community is still attested in Panormum in 598 C.E.³³ In Sardinia there were Jewish communities in Sulcis and Turrus Libisonis. The few inscriptions, dated to the fourth and fifth centuries C.E., are in Latin, although the words in Hebrew “Peace” or “Peace upon Israel” do appear on most of the inscriptions.³⁴

2. The Effect of the Barbarian Invasions

From 364 to 378 C.E. the Roman Empire was ruled by Valentinian I and his brother Valens, who was defeated and killed at the battle of Hadrianople by the Goths in 378 C.E. However, during Theodosius I's long reign, the Barbarians were kept at bay, and Orthodox Christianity became the state religion in 391 C.E. The Barbarians invaded the western half of the Roman Empire at the very beginning of the fifth century. Italy was one of the main targets of the invasions. In 410 C.E. the Goth chief Alaric sacked Rome. In 452-453 C.E. the Huns sacked and destroyed various cities of northern Italy. In 455 C.E. the Vandals of Genseric once again sacked Rome. In 476 C.E. Odoacer, a Barbarian, deposed the last Roman Emperor, Romulus Augustus. The western half of the Roman Empire was no more. Italy, as well as the West, was by now dominated by Barbarian kingdoms. The Ostrogoths, first under Theodoric, from 493 to 526 C.E., then under his successors, dominated the whole of Italy. By then, the Eastern Roman Emperor Justinian conducted a long series of campaigns against the Goths, which ended with the conquest of Italy in 554 C.E. Soon after Justinian's death, however, in 568 C.E., the Lombards

³⁰ Noy 1993, 63-64, no. 44; 67-69, no. 48; 73-75, no. 53; 76-78, no. 56; 82-87, nos. 62-64; 90-91, no. 68; 92-96, nos. 70-72; 98-103, nos. 75-76; 112-119, nos. 85-87; 125-127, no. 90.

³¹ On Potentia: Noy 1993, 150, no. 117. On Oria: *ibid.*, 176-177, no. 137. On Rhegium (Reggio Calabria): *ibid.*, 178-180, no. 139.

³² Costamagna 1991, 611-630; 1994, 239-245; 2003, 93-118. On the related inscription: Noy 1993, 180-181, no. 140.

³³ On the epigraphic evidence from Tauromenium, see Noy 1993, 184-186, no. 143. On Catania: *ibid.*, 187-199, nos. 144-150. On Syracuse: *ibid.*, 199-203, nos. 151-152. On Netum: *ibid.*, 205-206, no. 154. On Chiaramonte Gulfi: *ibid.*, 206-207, no. 155. On Sofiana: *ibid.*, 209-212, nos. 157-158. On Agrigento: *ibid.*, 215-218, no. 160. On Panormum: Gregory, *Epist.* 9. 38; *Epist.* 25 dated before 598 C.E.

³⁴ On the inscriptions from Sulcis: Noy 1993, 229-234, nos. 170-174. On Turrus Libisonis, *ibid.*, 235-237, nos. 175-176.

invaded Italy under the leadership of Alboin. Italy was divided between the Lombards, fragmented into various duchies, and the Eastern Romans, by now also known as Byzantines, who still dominated in various parts of the Italian peninsula, mainly the South.³⁵

By the middle of the fifth century C.E., one city after another of north and central Italy fell to the Barbarians. Of the Roman urban centers where the presence of a Jewish community is attested by literary and epigraphic evidence, such as Dertona, Mediolanum, Aquileia, Brixia, Ravenna, only Ravenna survived intact. In Mediolanum, ravaged by the Huns, the Jewish presence is no longer attested till the Late Middle Ages. In Aquileia, by the beginning of the second half of the fifth century C.E., the Jewish community, together with the city, had ceased to exist. In Brixia, from the end of the fourth century onwards, all Jewish epigraphic as well as literary evidence also ceased. It is therefore clear that the small Jewish community of Brixia had been annihilated by the Barbarian invasions, as those of Mediolanum and Aquileia. Contrary to the other cities of northern Italy, Ravenna was not destroyed by the Barbarian invasions. As a consequence of the invasions, it became the capital of the Roman west from 402 C.E. onwards, when Honorius fled there from Milan. By 493 the Imperial city had become the capital of the Ostrogothic kingdom of Italy. In 540 Belisarius reconquered the city, and by 540 it had become the seat of the East Roman government in Italy, the Exarchate of Ravenna. Ravenna presents an exception, an urban center of northern Italy, which was an uninterrupted settlement well after the end of the Barbarian invasions. Hence, the city became the center of a small Jewish community, well into the sixth century. Yet did the Jewish community continue to thrive when the city once again became part of the Eastern Roman Empire? There is no answer.

In fact only in the city of Rome it is possible to estimate the demographic decline of the population as a consequence of the Barbarian invasions. By the middle of the fifth century, following the sack of Rome, first by Alaric's Visigoths in 410 C.E., and then by Genseric's Vandals in 455 C.E., Rome's population diminished to 300,000 people. The abrupt termination of the *annona* coming from North Africa, by now in the hands of the Visigoths, highlighted this trend of demographic decrease. In 530 C.E., still before the beginning of the Gothic Wars, the population of the *urbs* numbered no more than 80,000. Moreover, already from the beginning of the fifth century C.E. onwards, the Imperial capital had shifted to Ravenna, which resulted in a further reduction in the city population.³⁶ The Jewish population was not immune to this dramatic trend of demographic decrease. If we assume that the Jewish population was around 1% of the total population of the city, by the middle of the fifth century it had decreased to no more than 3000 individuals. By the middle of the sixth century, on the eve of the Gothic wars, the Jewish population of Rome was barely more than 800. The fact that by the middle of the fifth century onwards epigraphic data is totally lacking corroborates this last number. Yet there were still Jews in 519 C.E., as, according to the *Excerpta Valesiana*, a synagogue

³⁵ On the Goths: Heather 1998 and 2005. On the Gothic wars: Kulikowsky 2008. On Theodosius: Williams – Friell 1994. On Galla Placidia, Theodosius I daughter Honorius sister and Valentinianus III's mother: Storoni Mazzolani 1975. On the transformation of Western Europe in the Fifth Century: Ward-Perkins 2005. On Justinian: Evans 2000.

³⁶ Robinson 1992, 8-9; Lançon 1999, 28-32. Lançon estimates the population of Rome at the beginning of the fourth century to have been some 800,000. Yet he acknowledges that, between 408 and 419 C.E., the reform of the *annona* suggests a decrease of 300,000, meaning a population of no more than 500,000 people.

was burned by the mob.³⁷ Therefore, the dwindling of the Jewish community and the abandonment of the catacombs is attested by the lack of epigraphic evidence. By the middle of the fifth century C.E. no more inscriptions are attested. The only exception is an inscription from the Catacombs of Vigna Randanini, dated to 501 C.E. According to Noy, however, if the inscription was Jewish, it could also be Christian, which indicates that the catacomb was briefly reused in the early sixth century C.E.³⁸ However, the most interesting evidence for contact between Jews and Barbarians is an inscription found on the Via Portuense, dating from the fifth century C.E. or later. The Latin inscription, decorated by the lulav, shofar, and menorah, as well by the inscription in Hebrew “in peace,” mentions a Jewish couple named Sarah and Sigismundus. Sigismundus is clearly a Germanic name, totally unknown in the Jewish contemporary onomasticon. The only possible suggestion is that this Sigismundus was a Barbarian, maybe a Goth or a Vandal invader, maybe an Imperial soldier of Burgundian origin, or maybe just an immigrant who came to Rome to seek his fortune. There, he converted to Judaism to marry Sarah.³⁹ By the end of the fifth century, when the Jewish community of Rome was just a shadow of what it had been less than one hundred years before, most of the synagogues would have been abandoned not because of Christian violence, but because the Jewish community was too small to own or use these buildings. However, at least one synagogue survived as such, the Synagogue of Severus, which was probably located in Trastevere. Hence, it is quite possible that by the end of Late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages, the Jewish settlement of Rome, reduced to no more than some hundred individuals, and possibly less, was still located in the Trastevere area. If the city of Rome, as well as its Jewish community, was shattered by the Barbarian invasions, it seems that the neighboring city of Ostia was left quite intact. Recent excavations show that the synagogue of Ostia ceased to be used only in the seventh century C.E. Another Jewish community near Rome was located in Terracina, and it is still existed in 591 C.E.⁴⁰

The Barbarian invasions did not bring urban life in southern Italy to an end. According to the Byzantine historian Procopius, in Naples in 536 C.E., the Jewish population helped the Goths, although unsuccessfully, to defend the city when it was besieged by the Byzantines.⁴¹ There is no evidence that, as a consequence of the Byzantine conquest, Jewish life ceased in Naples, even if the Jews sided with the Goths. In fact most of the Italic population sided with the Barbarians against Belisarius’ armies. The Jewish community probably continued to exist, even if it somehow diminished even afterwards.⁴² A letter of Gregory testifies the existence of a Jewish community in 602 C.E.⁴³

At Venosa, the *terminus post quem* is far from clear. As the area of Venosa was the theatre of fighting between the Goths overlords and the Byzantines, it is possible that the area was destroyed between 540 and 550 C.E. Yet it may also be that the small Jewish

³⁷ *The Excerpts of Valesius – Anonymi Valesiani Pars Posterior* 14, 81-82, in: J. C. Rolfe (trans.), Ammianus Marcellinus, *History* III, Harvard (Mass.), 1939. See also Noy 1993, 17-18, no. 10.

³⁸ Noy 1995, 330-331, no. 401. The inscription in Latin is dated to 501 C.E.: *Flavio Avieno iuniore consule*.

³⁹ Noy 1993, 433-434, no. 550.

⁴⁰ Gregory, *Epist.* 1. 34.

⁴¹ Procopius, *Bell. Goth.* V, 8, 41 and 10, 24-25.

⁴² On the Jewish Community in Late Antique Naples: Serao 1988-1989, 103-117; Noy 1993, 37-60.

⁴³ Gregory, *Epist.* 13, dated to 602 C.E.

community continued to thrive under Byzantine rule and even after the Lombards' conquest after 570 C.E. A few inscriptions dated to the eighth century onwards once more attest a Jewish presence by the early Middle Ages.⁴⁴ It is possible, therefore, that after a temporary decline the community continued to prosper until late in the ninth century.⁴⁵

Besides, Venosa present us with an interesting surprise. It is likely, after an in-depth analysis and comparison between the Jewish onomasticon of Late Antique Rome and that of Venosa, that there is a close connection between the Jewish community of Venosa and those of Rome. It is striking that some of the names used by the Jews of Venosa are the same ones found in an earlier period between the Jews of Rome. Maybe, as a consequence of the Barbarian invasions, some Jews fled from Rome and settled in Venosa, more secure and far away from the Barbarians than Rome. In support of this possibility, the relationship between Rome and Venosa, there is another possible piece of evidence. As previously stated, in the fifth century C.E., the Jewish community of Rome was probably dwindling. The epigraphic evidence is quite lacking, and the *terminus post quem* of all the catacombs is indeed the beginning of the fifth century. What happened to the Jews living in Rome? One possibility is indeed that they fled to the more hospitable areas of southern Italy. The epigraphic evidence from Venosa testifies, contrary to Rome, that the Jewish community continued to thrive there in the fifth century and at the beginning of the sixth. Besides, the use of catacombs, albeit shared with their Christian neighbors, is not attested in Venosa in earlier periods, while in Rome, it is attested already to the second half of the second century C.E. Did the Jewish immigrants from Rome continue with their burial traditions in Venosa, thus introducing them? Last but not least, the only surviving painted decoration from Venosa, a painted *arcosolium* dated to the sixth century, presents common features to the earlier painted *arcosolia* from the Catacombs of Villa Torlonia in Rome, dated to the late fourth century C.E.⁴⁶ The synagogue of Bova Marina presents another example of the fate of the Jewish communities in southern Italy during and after the Barbarian invasions. The building was abandoned, probably after being burnt down, at the end of the sixth or the beginning of the seventh century. The only element dating it is a fragment of Late North African Sigillata from the first half of the seventh century.⁴⁷ It is probable that the community ceased as well. Sicily and Sardinia were left apparently unscathed by the Barbarian invasions. Hence, while the Catacombs of Venosa suggest a continuous settlement, which continued uninterrupted well into the early Middle Ages, the Synagogue of Bova Marina was destroyed at the beginning of the seventh century, probably by Lombard raiders, while violently pushing their way to southern Italy. Thus, even if in southern Italy the transition from Late Antiquity to the early Middle Ages was characterized by war and violence brought by the Gothic Wars and the Lombard invasion, most of the Jewish communities located in southern Italy survived, albeit not untouched. By the eighth century C.E., the Lombard Duchy of Benevento occupied most of southern Italy, yet the Byzantines were successful in retaining

⁴⁴ Cassuto 1944, 99-120; 1960, 1-20; Noy 1993, xix-xx.

⁴⁵ See the various studies of Colafemmina on the Jewish epigraphy of Venosa in the early Middle Ages: Colafemmina 1974, 87-94; 1975, 41-46; 1978, 369-381; 1983, 443-448; 1984, 197-202; 1987, 201-209; 1993, 411-421.

⁴⁶ Colafemmina 1978, 371-381.

⁴⁷ Costamagna 1991, 611-630; Noy 1993, 180-181, no. 140; Costamagna 1994, 239-245; 2003, 93-118.

the Exarchate of Ravenna and the duchy of Calabria. By the end of the first millennium, most of southern Italy was back in the hands of the Byzantine Empire, and so the Jewish communities scattered there could once more breathe more freely.

3. Conclusions

To conclude, by the fourth and fifth centuries Jewish communities are attested in northern, central, and southern Italy. The advent of Christianity as state religion did not disturb Jewish life, as the fourth century was a period of relative development, even if clashes between Christian and Jews as well as the burning of synagogues are attested in Mediolanum, Ravenna, and Rome. Yet, quite probably most of the Jewish communities located in northern and central Italy came to an end with the Barbarian invasions of the fifth century. Where urban life ended, the Jewish communities ended as well. Rome is probably the best example.

And yet there is no dramatic split in the geography and demography of the Jews living in Italy between the very end of Late Antiquity, after the end of the Barbarian invasions, and the early Middle Ages. The Jewish communities located in southern Italy continued to thrive undisturbed under Byzantine and Lombard rule, and through an internal metamorphosis, which of course was brought on by external reasons as well, became the Jewish communities known from earlier Medieval Italy. Thus, between the seventh and tenth centuries, the vast majority of the Jewish settlements were concentrated in Byzantine southern Italy. However, the pattern of Jewish settlements there had by then changed. Venosa, so important in Late Antiquity, had decreased by the ninth century. Other known settlements which present a pattern of continuity are Bari and Otranto. New settlements were located in Oria, Salerno, Benevento, Gaeta and Capua.⁴⁸ Outside southern Italy, the Jewish presence is attested only in Rome, after a gap of some hundred years.

The political vicissitudes of the Jewish communities of southern Italy are mirrored in their material culture. The economic damage brought by the incertitude of the Lombard invasion ought to have been massive, as material culture did not reveal, at least for the time being, synagogues which were erected in the early Middle Ages. Indeed, it seems that no synagogues were erected for many hundred years. Actually, the earliest synagogue is the Scuola Grande of Trani, which in 1380 was converted into the Church of Saint Anna. Much earlier, though, this Byzantine synagogue topped by a dome erected on pendentives, was renewed in 1247, according to an inscription. And yet, the plan of this synagogue, which is somehow an imitation of faraway Hagia Sophia in Constantinople, can possibly point to a trend of continuation of the material culture. Indeed, if we compare the plan of the Bova Marina Synagogue to that of the Scuola Grande di Trani, it seems that there is a chronological link between the two plans. Hence, while the Bova Marina Synagogue in its second phase followed a basilical plan, characterized by an apse, the Synagogue Scuola Grande di Trani followed a dome plan. This evolution probably mirrors in micro the evolution of the plan of contemporary Byzantine churches. This archi-

⁴⁸ See Abulafia 1996, 5-10. As Rabbenu Tam wrote, "from Bari came Torah, and the World of G-d from Otranto," *ibid.*, 9-10.

tectural evolution can possibly attest a “natural” continuation of the Jewish settlement in southern Italy. Yet the problem is that there are quite a few synagogues which can be dated to the very end of Late Antiquity, and none dated to the early Middle Ages. This possible trend mirrors the attitude of Ward-Perkins, who argues convincingly that from the end of the sixth century onwards only small churches were built in Western Europe. Only from the eighth century onwards were monumental ecclesiastic structures such as the Carolingian, Ottonian, and Romanesque monasteries once more built in Western Europe. It is therefore clear that, if in macro it is not possible to find any monumental structure dating to the early Middle Ages, the same ought to be true for monumental architecture which can be attributed to the Jewish communities.⁴⁹ On the other hand, once dealing with artistic trends, it is easier to establish a continuation of the use of Jewish symbols from Late Antiquity till the early Middle Ages. Various epitaphs from Taranto and Bari, dated to the seventh and eighth centuries – the very beginning of the early Middle Ages – are decorated with a scratched menorah.⁵⁰ However, there are no monumental structures depicting Jewish symbols, such as the painted *arcosolium* from the Venosa Catacombs. However, once more it is possible to argue that, because of their economic conditions, the Jews living in southern Italy could not afford any monumental funerary structure.

By the Early Middle Ages, although the Jews spoke the local languages, Hebrew had become the main literary language, attested in both epigraphy and literary texts. But here also there is no break, as the beginning of the use of Hebrew is already attested in Late Antiquity in Venosa. Indeed, the importance of the “massive” use of Hebrew by Late Antiquity cannot be underestimated. After a silence of a few centuries, inscriptions dated to the ninth century attest the use of Hebrew as the only written language in Venosa. Neither Greek nor Latin is attested any more.⁵¹ Hence, by the middle of the eleventh century, the *Sefer HaMirkachot* and the *Sefer Hakhmoni* of Shabbetai Donolo, the *Chronicle of Ahima'az*, and the *Book of Josippon* attest the intellectual preeminence of the Jews living in southern Italy.⁵² Only by the early eighth century, as the *Chronicle of Ahima'az* testifies, would Judaism slowly make it way back in central and northern Italy. But that is another story.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abulafia, D. (1996), Il mezzogiorno peninsulare dai bizantini all'espulsione (1453), in: C. Vivanti (ed.), *Gli ebrei in Italia*, vol. 1: *Dall'alto Medioevo all'età dei ghetti (Storia d'Italia, Annali 11)*, Torino: 5-46.

⁴⁹ Krautheimer 1984; Ward-Perkins 2005.

⁵⁰ On inscriptions from Taranto decorated with a menorah: Noy 1993, 154-160, nos. 120-121; 163-164, no. 124; 168, no. 129; 170-171, no. 131; 172, no. 133. From Bari: *ibid.*, 175-176, nos. 135-136. On the six-pointed star: *ibid.*, 164-165, no. 125.

⁵¹ See for example Cassuto 1960, 1-20. These two inscriptions, analyzed by Cassuto, together with those dating from Late Antiquity, attest the fact that the Hebrew used was still a transliteration of the local language spoken and can attest an element of continuity with the past.

⁵² On the *Chronicle of Ahima'az*: Bonfil 2009. On *Josippon*: Flusser 1978; 1978-1980; on Shabbetai Donnolo: Sharf 1976; Sermoneta 1980, 867-925; Lacerenza 2004.

- Bonfil, R. (2009), *History and Folklore in a Medieval Jewish Chronicle: The Family Chronicle of Ahima'az Ben Paltiel*, Leiden.
- Caporusso, D., Donati, M. T., Masseroli, S., Tibiletti, T. (2007), *Immagini di Mediolanum, Archeologia e storia di Milano dal V secolo a.C. al V secolo d.C.*, Milano.
- Cassuto, U. (1944), The Hebrew Inscriptions dated to the ninth century from Venosa, *Kedem* 2, Jerusalem: 99-120 (Hebr.).
- Cassuto, U. (1960), a Tale of Two Gravestones dated to the Ninth Century from Southern Italy, in: *Jews in Italy: Studies in Honor of One Hundred Years of the Birth of Umberto Cassuto*, Jerusalem: 1-20 (Hebr.).
- Colafemmina, C. (1974), 'Nova e vetera' nella catacomba ebraica di Venosa, in: C. Colafemmina (ed.), *Studi storici*, Molfetta: 87-94.
- Colafemmina, C. (1975), Nuove iscrizioni ebraiche a Venosa, in: *Studi in memoria di p. Adiuto Putignani*, Molfetta: 41-46.
- Colafemmina, C. (1978), Nuove scoperte nella catacomba ebraica di Venosa, *Vetera Christianorum* 15: 369-381.
- Colafemmina, C. (1983), Tre iscrizioni ebraiche inedite di Venosa e Potenza, *Vetera Christianorum* 20: 443-448.
- Colafemmina, C. (1984), Una nuova iscrizione ebraica a Venosa, *Vetera Christianorum* 21: 197-202.
- Colafemmina, C. (1987), Tre nuove iscrizioni ebraiche a Venosa, *Vetera Christianorum* 24: 201-209.
- Colafemmina, C. (1993), Epigraphica Hebraica Venusina, *Vetera Christianorum* 30: 411-421.
- Costamagna, L. (1991), La sinagoga di Bova Marina nel quadro degli insediamenti tardoantichi della costa Ionica meridionale della Calabria, *Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome – Moyen Âge* 103: 611-630.
- Costamagna, L. (1994), La sinagoga di Bova Marina, in: R. La Franca (ed.), *Architettura giudaica in Italia: ebraismo, sito, memoria dei luoghi*, Palermo: 239-245.
- Costamagna, L. (2003), La sinagoga di Bova Marina (secc. IV-VI), in: M. Perani (ed.), *I beni culturali ebraici in Italia, situazione attuale, problemi, prospettive e progetti per il futuro*, Ravenna: 93-118.
- Cracco-Ruggini, L. (1995), *Economia e società nell'Italia annonaria: rapporti fra agricoltura e commercio dal IV al VI secolo*, vols. I-III, Bari.
- Dello Russo, J. (2014), Recent Scholarship on the Jewish Catacombs of the Monteverde in Rome, *Sefer Yuhasin* 2: 9-63.
- Di Mento, M., Negroni, A. (2013), Datazione delle epigrafi, dei bolli laterizi e delle suppellettili funerarie e inquadramento cronologico della catacomba, in: D. Rossi, M. Di Mento (eds), *La catacomba ebraica di Monteverde: vecchi dati e nuove scoperte*, Roma: 346-352.
- Evans, J. A. S. (2000), *The Age of Justinian, the Circumstances of Imperial Power*, London.
- Flusser, D. (1978), *Josippon: The Original Version MS Jerusalem 8 41280 and Supplements*, Jerusalem.
- Flusser, D. (1978-1980), *The Book of Josippon, Josephus Gorionides*. Edited with an Introduction, Commentary and Notes by D. Flusser, vols. I-II, Jerusalem.
- Fredriksen, P., Irshai, O. (2006), Christian Anti-Judaism: Polemics and Policies, in: S. T. Katz (ed.), *Cambridge History of Judaism*, vol. IV: *The Late Roman – Rabbinic Period*, Cambridge: 977-1034.
- Frier, B. W. (2001), More Is Worse: Some Observations on the Population of the Roman Empire, in: W. Scheidel (ed.), *Debating Roman Demography*, Leiden.
- Frey, J. B. (1975), *Corpus Inscriptionum Iudaicarum*, vol. I: *Jewish Inscriptions from the Third Century B.C. to the Seventh Century A.D.*, New York.
- Heather, P. (1998), *The Goths*, London.
- Heather, P. (2005), *The Fall of the Roman Empire. A New History*, London.
- Juster, J. (1914), *Les Juifs dans l'Empire Romain, Leur condition juridique, économique et sociale*, vols. I-II, Paris.
- Krautheimer, R. (1984), *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture (Pelican History of Art)*, New Haven, Conn.
- Kulikowsky, M. (2008), *Rome's Gothic Wars: From the Third Century to Alaric*, Cambridge.

- La Piana, G. (1927), Foreign Groups in Rome during the First Centuries of the Empire, *Harvard Theological Review* 20: 183-403.
- Lacerenza, G. (ed.) (2004), *Sabbetay Donnolo: scienza e cultura ebraica nell'Italia del secolo X*, Napoli.
- Laçon, B. (1999), *La vita quotidiana a Roma nel Tardo Impero*, Milano.
- Laurenzi, E. (2011), *Le catacombe ebraiche. Gli ebrei di Roma e le loro tradizioni funerarie*, Roma.
- Laurenzi, E. (2013), *La catacomba ebraica di Vigna Randanini*, Roma.
- Leon, H. J. (1960), *The Jews of Ancient Rome*, Philadelphia.
- Leon, H. J. (1995), *The Jews of Ancient Rome*, Updated Edition, Peabody (Mass.).
- Levine, I. L. (2000), *The Ancient Synagogue, The First Thousand Years*, New York.
- Luzzatto, F. (1950), Scritti in memoria di Riccardo Bachi, *Rivista Mensile d'Israel* 16: 140-146.
- Mirabella Roberti, M. (1984), *Milano Romana*, Milano.
- Momigliano, A. (1931), I nomi delle prime sinagoghe romane e la condizione giuridica della comunità in Roma sotto Augusto, *La Rassegna Mensile di Israel* 6: 283-292 (= A. Momigliano (1966), I nomi delle prime sinagoghe romane e la condizione giuridica della comunità in Roma sotto Augusto, in: A. Momigliano, *Terzo contributo alla storia degli studi classici e del mondo antico*, vol. II, Roma: 523-533).
- Momigliano, A. (1934), Severo Alessandro Archisynagogus. Una conferma alla Historia Augusta, *Athenaeum* 12: 151-153 (= A. Momigliano (1969), Severo Alessandro Archisynagogus. Una conferma alla Historia Augusta, in: A. Momigliano, *Quarto contributo alla storia degli studi classici e del mondo antico*, Roma: 531-533).
- Negrone, A. (2013), Le iscrizioni, in: D. Rossi, M. Di Mento (eds), *La catacomba ebraica di Monteverde: vecchi dati e nuove scoperte*, Roma: 155-318.
- Noy, D. (1993), *Jewish Inscriptions of Western Europe*, vol. 1: *Italy excluding Rome, Spain, Gaul*, Cambridge.
- Noy, D. (1995), *Jewish Inscriptions of Western Europe*, vol. 2: *The City of Rome*, Cambridge.
- Rabello, A. M. (1980), The Legal Condition of the Jews in the Roman Empire, in: H. Temporini (ed.), *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt*, Reihe II: *Prinzipat*, vol. 13, Berlin: 662-762.
- Robinson, O. F. (1992), *Ancient Rome, City Planning and Administration*, London.
- Rossi, D., Di Mento, M. (eds) (2013), *La catacomba ebraica di Monteverde: vecchi dati e nuove scoperte*, Roma.
- Ruggini, L. (1959), Ebrei ed orientali nell'Italia settentrionale fra il IV e il VI secolo d.Cr., *SDHI* 25: 186-308.
- Rutgers, L. V. (1998), *The Hidden Heritage of Diaspora Judaism*, Leiden.
- Rutgers, L. V. (2006a), The Jews of Italy, c. 235-638, in: S. T. Katz (ed.), *Cambridge History of Judaism*, vol. IV: *The Late Roman – Rabbinic Period*, Cambridge: 492-508.
- Rutgers, L. V. (2006b), The Demography of the Jewish Community of Ancient Rome, in: M. Ghilardi, C. J. Goddard, and P. Porena (eds), *Les cités de l'Italie tardo-antique (IV^e – VI^e siècle). Institutions, économie, société, culture et religion*, Rome: 345-358.
- Rutgers, L. V., van der Borg, K., de Jong, A. F. M., Provoost, A. (2006), Sul problema di come datare le catacombe ebraiche di Roma, *BABesch* 81: 169-184.
- Scheidel, W. (2001), Progress and Problems in Ancient Demography, *Debating Roman Demography*, Leiden.
- Scheidel, W. (2007), Roman Population Size: The Logic of Debate, *Princeton/Stanford Working Papers in Classics*.
- Serao, E. (1988-1989), Nuove iscrizioni da un sepolcro giudaico di Napoli, *Puteoli* 12-13: 103-117.
- Sermoneta, G. (1980), Il neo-platonismo nel pensiero dei nuclei ebraici stanziati nell'Occidente latino: riflessioni sul "Commento al Libro della Creazione" di Rabbi Sabbetai Donnolo, in: *Gli ebrei nell'alto Medioevo. Spoleto, 30 marzo – 5 aprile 1978*, vol. 2, Spoleto: 867-925.
- Sharf, A. (1976), *The Universe of Shabbetai Donnolo*, New York.

- Solin, H. (1983), Jüden und Syrer im westlichen Teil der römischen Welt: Eine ethnische-demographische Studie mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der sprachlichen Zustände, in: W. Haase (ed.), *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt*, Reihe II: *Prinzipat*, vol. 29, 2, Berlin: 587-789 and 1222-1249.
- Storoni Mazzolani, L. (1975), *Galla Placidia*, Milano.
- Ward-Perkins, B. (2005), *The Fall of Rome and the End of Civilization*, Oxford.
- White, L. M. (1997), Synagogue and Society in Imperial Ostia: Archaeological and Epigraphic Evidence, *Harvard Theological Review* 90: 23-58.
- William, M. H. (1994), The Structure of Roman Jewry Re-considered – Were the Synagogues of Ancient Rome Entirely Homogeneous?, *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 104: 129-141.
- Williams, M. H. (1998), The Structure of the Jewish Community in Rome, in: M. Goodman (ed.), *Jews in the Graeco-Roman World*, Oxford: 215-228.
- Williams, S. (1997), *Diocletian and the Roman Recovery*, London.
- Williams, S., Friell, G. (1994), *Theodosius. The Empire at Bay*, London.