methodologically questionable, however, to take rabbinic statements concerning the Diaspora as objective, unbiased reports of actual Diaspora practice. Perhaps ordinations in fact occurred in Rome or in Asia Minor, but were not recognized—or not known—by the rabbis, which would not necessarily mean that these ordinations were not recognized in the communities in which they occurred. Since evidence for the ordination of elders in the Diaspora is lacking, however, we should probably assume that the question is irrelevant for our inscriptions (excepting CII 931: Jaffa; 1277: Jerusalem; 1404: Jerusalem).

2. Inscriptional References to the Title

The title presbyteros occurs in over twenty ancient Jewish inscriptions. They come from as far west as Elche, Spain (CII 663) and as far east as Dura Europos, Syria (CII 829). The chronological range is also considerable. The Theodotos inscription (CII 1404) found in Jerusalem is from the Second Temple period, and presbyteros inscriptions from later centuries attest that the title remained in use for some time.

Most of the inscriptions mentioning presbyteroi tell us little or nothing about the office. Several inscriptions mention elders as donors. Since we have seen donors bearing each of the titles discussed thus far, as well as no title at all, it would be incautious to assume that elders were responsible in a special way for the upkeep of the synagogue. CII 803 is the most informative of the donative inscriptions. The plural "elders" indicates a council of elders, the number of which is larger than three; only Eisakios and Saulos are mentioned here by name. Possibly the gerusiarch Theodoros is a sort of president of the council of elders. The relationship between the heads of the synagogue and the gerusiarch and the elders is not clear, but the inscription gives the impression that these are the three main titles of leadership in the synagogue in question.

That more than one elder functioned at a time is also clear from CII 731f, an inscription which is difficult to reconstruct, but which clearly has hoi presbyteroi in the first legible line. CII 663 also speaks of elders in the plural. CII 800 records the son of an elder, who is himself a scribe and president of the ancients (hoi palaioi). Should one assume two councils, one of elders and one of ancients? This seems unlikely. Given the lack of evidence, one cannot come to a
more exact understanding of the organizational structures of that community.

In CII 1404 Theodotos' forefathers are listed together with the elders and Simonides as the founders of his synagogue. The plural "elders," as in CII 663, 731f and 803, makes one think of a council of elders. Simonides, who bears no title at all, should remind us that synagogue leadership was not (and is not today) limited to title-bearers. The activities and installations of the synagogue listed in the inscription ("the reading of the Law and the teaching of the commandments, the hostel and the side rooms, and the water facilities, as lodging for those from abroad who need it") give us an idea of what the elders and other synagogue leaders had to administer.

In summary, these inscriptions teach us that the title "elder" was geographically widespread and known from at least the first century C.E. onwards. Four inscriptions (CII 663, 731f, 803, 1404) have presbyteroi in the plural, indicating a sort of council of elders. CII 800, which mentions both a presbyteros and palaios, raises the question of the diversity of synagogal constitutions.

3. Reconstruction of the Office of Elder

The comprehensive survey of the title presbyteros in Jewish inscriptions and the selective survey of literary references to Jewish elders has yielded a certain outline, albeit shadowy, which can help in defining the functions of the elders of our inscriptions. It is clear, of course, that "elder" implied different functions in different periods and probably also varied regionally. The following reconstruction is not meant as an ahistorical blurring of differences, but should rather be seen as representing the range of possible functions in the early centuries of the Common Era.

The evidence points to councils of elders rather than single elders.

Four inscriptions refer to elders in the plural (CII 663, 731f, 803, 1404), and a number of New Testament references to Jewish and Jewish-Christian elders (Luke 7:3-5; Acts 11:30; 15:2,4,6,22-23; 16:4; 21:18; Jas 5:14) presuppose a council of elders. The evidence for a special seating place for elders (1. NEG. 4.21 [Zuck. 227]; 1 QS 6:8-9; possibly CII 663 and the benches in the Sardis synagogue) also points to a council of elders.