Received: November 24, 2025 | Accepted: December 11, 2025

THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF ETHNICITY AND RACE IN THE ROMAN WORLD. THE JEWISH BLACK MOSES CASE[1]

Marcio Teixeira-Bastos[2]

Pedro Paulo Abreu Funari[3]

Abstract

In this article, we examine archaeological interpretations of ethnicity and race in the Roman world, with a special focus on the representation of Moses in the Middle East, particularly in Syria. We argue that ethnicity is a dynamic and instrumental phenomenon expressed through materiality and social practices. Our paper highlights how representations of Moses in the Dura Europos synagogue (244-245 CE) clearly depict a dark-skinned man, contradicting the later appropriation that whitewashed his image in Greco-Roman art. We demonstrate that the whitewashing process was intentional, propagating a false notion of aesthetics for centuries. We also explore how concepts of race and blackness were distorted to legitimize racism, particularly through the appropriation of the Ham myth. We conclude that archaeology provides crucial evidence for understanding ethnic and racial diversity in antiquity, challenging hegemonic narratives that have erased the presence and importance of marginalized peoples (especially Black and Jewish people) in the ancient world.

Keywords

Archaeology; Classics and Race; Dura-Europos; Cultural Whitewashing.

[1] This work was supported by the São Paulo Research Foundation (FAPESP), Grant No. 23/00172-8.

[2] Adjunct Professor – University of São Paulo, São Paulo, Brazil. E-mail: texeira.bastos@usp.br.

[3] Full Professor – State University of Campinas, Campinas, Brazil. E-mail: ppfunari@unicamp.br.

Resumo

Neste artigo, examinamos as construções e interpretações arqueológicas sobre etnia e raça no mundo romano, com foco especial na representação de Moisés no Oriente Médio, especialmente, na Síria. Argumentamos que a etnicidade é um fenômeno dinâmico e instrumental, expresso por meio da materialidade e das práticas sociais. Nosso trabalho destaca como as representações de Moisés na sinagoga de Dura Europos (244-245 EC) retratam claramente um homem de pele escura, contrariando a apropriação posterior que o branqueou na arte greco-romana. Demonstramos que o processo de embranquecimento foi intencional, propagando uma falsa noção estética ao longo de séculos. Exploramos também como os conceitos de raça e de negritude foram distorcidos para legitimar o racismo, em particular por meio da apropriação do mito de Ham. Concluímos que a arqueologia fornece evidências cruciais para compreender a diversidade étnica e racial na antiguidade, desafiando narrativas hegemônicas que apagaram a presença e importância de povos marginalizados (especialmente negros e judeus) no mundo antigo.

Palavras-chave

Arqueologia; Estudos Clássicos e Raça; Dura Europos; embranquecimento cultural.

Introduction

Race and ethnicity are featured in archaeological scholarship as long as archaeologists have studied the human past. Race and ethnicity have been distinguished as embodied, involuntary, or hierarchical by archaeologists (Orser, 2004). Agbe-Davies (2020) uses "race" to indicate a constellation of ideas sharing the assertion that meaningful claims about a person or group can be based on their origins or background, especially relying on their appearance or other physical characteristics. The archaeological study of "race" operates into three arenas: racial difference; racism; and racialization (see Karega; Schmidt, 2010) [4]. There is a consensus among nowadays archaeologists that it would be inappropriate to identify 'cultures' from the archaeological record and their association with past ethnic groups.

Although, the study of ethnicity is a highly controversial area in contemporary archaeology, continues to play a significant role in archaeological thought, mainly when it comes to topics that address the legitimation of modern ethnic and national claims. A large body of recent research has suggested that the communication of ethnicity is an active process involved in the manipulation of economic and political resources. Moreover, ethnic groups have been conceptualized as self-defining entities. Ethnic groups are, according to Jones (1997: 113), "self-conscious identity groups constructed through the process of social and cultural comparison vis-à-vis others, rather than as a passive reflection of cultural tradition as in normative archaeology"[5].

Anthropology and sociology have recognized since the late 1960s that ethnic groups are dynamic and might change through time and from place to place, a situational phenomenon bounded as sociocultural entities. It has been argued that material culture differentiation may increase in times of economic and political stress providing a glimpse into the intensity of ethnic consciousness (e.g., Hodder, 1979a; 1979b; Kimes; Haselgrove; Hodder, 1982: 113–131). In the archaeological literature, beyond a dynamic and instrumental phenomenon, ethnicity is entangled with material means

---

[4] Hostility towards strangers, immigrant minorities, and foreigners is immediately connected with Roman imperial ideology and ethnic prejudice. Xenophobia - ξένος (xénos) 'strange, foreign, alien', and φόβος (phóbos) 'fear' - is *per excellence* defined as an expression based on the perception that a conflict exists between an in-group and an out-group.

[5] Assumptions that bound past peoples, tribes, ethnic groups and/or races to monolithic cultural entities ('archaeological cultures') received several important critiques within various processual and post-processual archaeological thoughts. See Renfrew, 1977: 94; Hodder, 1982: 6; McGuire, 1992: 169.

used in the justification and manipulation of inter-group relations (Shennan, 1989). Hodder (1982: 55, 187-188) argued that ethnic identity may be expressed in decorative and mundane utilitarian items. He suggested that the expression of ethnicity must be understood in terms of symbolic schemes of meaning generated within the group. Thus, the form that between-group relations take is usually related to the internal organization of social relations.

Archaeology has become especially adept at tackling forms of practice and their associated material means. Shepherd (2014: 115-143) demonstrates how native Sicilian populations (Sicans, Elymians, and Sikels), Greeks, and Phoenicians have incorporated elements of one another into their burial practices and materiality in Western Greece. Material culture does not necessarily reflect one's ethnicity. Ethnic boundaries are far from stable, always depending on other things that may serve specific purposes, and not rarely do archaeologists come across remains that were used to express a plurality of identities in the same shared space.

In a more recent approach, Derbew (2022) warns to avoid dangerous connections with ideas of violence linked with the modern Black male body in the illustration of the cover book Isaac's (2006) page. More precisely, the ancient Herakles' blackness or the dark red skin tone pictured (Derbew, 2022: 20). Roymans (2019: 439-458), pursues archaeologically, in a distinctive research query direction, the impact of racially motivated violence in antiquity addressing a new way of reading the ethnographic imprint of warfare. Ethnicity, thus, is embedded in contingence upon the cultural transformations engendered by processes of interaction, the nature of the power relations between the interacting groups' space, and shared habitus or pre-existing cultural realities (Jones, 1997: 123-127).

Different social contexts resulted in a complex pattern of overlapping material-culture distributions relating to the multidimensional nature of ethnicity. From an archaeological point of view, these processes may lead to a variety of different scenarios (Gosden, 2004; 2006). In some cases, this results in the incorporation of a bricolage of different cultural traditions (Rowlands, 1982: 164). In other cases, may present a high degree of homology between the signification of ethnicity and the structuring principles of the habitus in both material and non-material culture (Hodder; Orten, 1976; Hodder, 1986; Olsen; Kobylinski, 1991).

The scholarly production during the 20th century focused on the study and interpretation of racism guided by the consequences of two great disgraces

of the history of humankind: the enslavement of black Africans[6] and the Jewish holocaust under the Third Reich. Although the anti-Jewish Nazi-German clash attitudes met with widespread international repulsion of that period and still have contemporary repercussions, black African slavery only received more systematic examination after World War II. Not by chance Jews and Blacks had joined forces for equal civil rights in the United States under the "Comradeship of Excluded People" flag. We do believe the entanglement between Blacks and Jews goes a long way and can be traced back to antiquity.

Jewish Blackness and the somatic norm

James Cowles Prichard (1786–1848) referring to English Jews wrote:

> The Jews have assimilated in physical characters to the nations among whom they have long resided, though still to be recognized by some minute peculiarities of physiognomy. In the northern countries of Europe, they are fair, or xanthous. Blue eyes and flaxen hair are seen in English Jews, and in some parts of Germany, the red beards of the Jews are very conspicuous. The Jews of Portugal are very dark (Prichard, 1843: 145).

Moreover, as John Efron has shown in detail, Prichard concluded that the "real" or "true" Jews were white (Efron, 1994: 43). Many scholars (e.g., Misson, Buffon, Smith, Lawrence, and Prichard), had a similar position from the late seventeenth to the mid-nineteenth century.

The term "white Negro" then come into play when the German philosopher and theologian Bruno Bauer (1862, 1863) wrote a racist lexicon asserting: "the robust nature and the capacity for physical work of the Negro are missing and are replaced by a brain which by size and activity bring the Jew close to the Caucasian peoples" (Bauer, 1863: 10; quoted in English in Stern, 1977: 498). Indeed, most race theorists of the late eighteenth and nineteenth-century share Bauer's views associating Jewishness and Blackness but denying Jewish blackness relationships and entanglements.

In the same German atmosphere, Hitler himself in the book *Mein Kampf* vociferates explicitly that the Jews not only politically-socially allied with Black people: "these negroid parasites in our national body corrupt our innocent fair-haired girls" (Hitler, 2014: 236). Together with Copitc and Gipsy races, Jews were considered by Scottish ethnologist Robert Knox

[6] See Funari, 1999: 308-327 for discussions about Maroon, race, and gender in the Palmares case, Brazil.

(1793–1862) within "the dark races of man". According to him, "the purest of the Jewish race is a dark tawny, yellow-coloured person, with jet-black hair and eyes seemingly coloured" – "there is no mistaking the race when pure: it is Egyptian, that is, African" (Knox, 1850: 300; Gilman, 1994: 372; HaCohen, 2018: 6-9). These ideas were accepted within the embryonic disciplines of archaeology and anthropology during the late nineteenth century.

In a tentative definition of racism, David Goldenberg's (1999: 561-570) approaches race conceptions arguing the crucial component is a stereotype or the physical-nonphysical link which will be considered as inferior or superior, explicitly or implicitly. Lloyd Thompson made the same point, which seems to have influenced later racist theories. In his groundbreaking book, Goldenberg (2003a) addresses the debate over the roots of racism and slavery by asking when black Africans first became identified as slaves in the ancient Near East[7].



Figure 01: Banquet scene with a slave standing in front of the dining couches. House of the Triclinium (V.2.4), dining room r, north wall, Pompeii, first century (MANN inv. 120031). Photo: Michael Larvey (su concessione del Ministero per I Beni e le Attività Culturali – Soprintendenza Speciale per I Beni Archeologici di Napoli e Pompei).

Opposing Snowden's ideas (e.g., Snowden, 1970; Snowden, 1983), Goldenberg was one of few scholars of the period who argued there was clear color prejudice in the ancient Greek and Roman worlds[8]. In the

[7] See Forsdyke (2021) which stresses the non-chromaticism of slavery in ancient Greece and considers the slave in antiquity as a class of humans dispossessed, possessed, and used for the growth of the empire.

[8] For the myth of Ham discussions in nineteenth-century American Christianity, see Johnson 2004.

Roman case, when Thompson (1989: 104) tries to quantify the number of Black slaves in Rome got the following conclusion: "The overwhelming majority of slaves in Roman society was always white". Indeed, slaves were so present that a free man or woman of any status was rarely alone, being constantly helped, which made them also almost invisible (Figure 01)[9]. As far as we can reach, enslavement and incarceration were not related to skin color, nor tied to blackness in the Roman ancient world.

Benjamin Issac (2004) ideas became the antithesis to Snowden's premise (1983), as he points to the ties of European white supremacy and the Greco-Roman imperial texts prejudices: racism is itself ancient rooted from a mindset that regards 'them' as different from 'us' in ways that are permanent and unbridgeable" (Isaac, 2004: 23; see also 2006: 32-48; 2009: 32-56). Melamed (2003) then argued that rabbinic Judaism developed an anti-Black image "since in the socio-economic reality of their time slavery was identified more and more with the black" (Melamed, 2003: 86). Goldenberg (2003b: 7-8; 2009: 88-108) confronts main Melamed's thesis, which uses a midrash (GenR 36.7) arguing the rabbinic Ham-turned-black midrash is an etiology meant to account for dark-skinned people (once is "Ham"[10], the father of Canaan, who turned black).

Dee (2004) after dexterously exposing her arguments argues that λευκός is not the standard Greek word for Mediterranean somatic norm:

> We have now seen several reasons why the Greeks and Romans do not describe themselves as λευκὸν γένος (white genus) or *albi homines* (white man) - or as anything else because they had no regular word in their color vocabulary for themselves - and we can see that the concept of a distinct "white race" was not present in the ancient world (Dee, 2004: 163).

Samuels (2015: 723-741) goes beyond to denounces that Western scholars of the late 20th century examining the writings of Herodotus were undoubtedly in "denial of ancient Egypt's Blackness", claiming the "ancient Egyptians could have been anything—but Black". He argues the erasing of blackness started before the transatlantic slave trade, 20th-century academia, or white supremacism. The Greco-Roman lens "equates 'Negro' with inferiority and ugliness" (Samuels, 2013), which is generally accepted as one of the sources for the beginning of anti-Blackness in Western thought (Eliav-Feldon, Issac, Ziegler, 2010).

[9] For discussions about Roman slavery see Bradley (1994), and Cartledge; Bradley (2011).
[10] According to biblical genealogy, was also the father of the Egyptians, Kushites (Nubians, Ethiopians), and Putites (Somalians or Libyans).

More recently, Green (2011: 138-155), through Afrocentrism and Orientalism vias, offers a distinctive reading of Bernal. One that is not focused on a clash of thoughts but rather expands the notion of shared histories in Africa. Using Jolof society in Senegal as a study case, one can look for the history of Jewish groups among Africans which can be traced through certain historical arcs until its further developments into the Atlantic Slave Trade and early modern Atlantic (Hall, 1989). Using a framework of hybridity, Green highlights Bernal's failure[11] to bring Jewish and African histories closer. Then he suggests that in some sense the Africans and Jews of Senegambia had shared interests and developed a shared history[12].

Black Moses and the case of the Dura Europos site

The problematic nature of ethnic language in Jewish self-descriptions emerges more fully when examining the much larger corpora of Philo, Josephus, and Paul. Harland (2019: 665-686) dexterously explores Greek and Roman ethnic hierarchies through Philo, Josephus, and Paul's lenses. These three Judean authors used distinguished strategies that provided an opportunity to position Jewish ethnicity according to the ethnic hierarchy of each context and period.

Philo asserts that Moses was not only a Hebrew (as opposed to being an Egyptian) but was also of the purest *genos*[13] of the Hebrews, a phraseology that does carry racial importance. But Kennedy, Sydnor, and Goldman (2013) have shown how the early theories of foreignness, genealogies and origins, genetic theories, and custom or cultural theories were present in the Greco-Roman ancient thought. The Environmental Theory and Geography were directly connected with the ancient Greco-Roman thoughts.

---

[11] For more discussions on this topic see MacCoskey, 2018.

[12] For another African case, see Jones 1971: 56-59. Over the last few years, scholars have also reexamined the relationships between Africans and Jewish communities of the seventeenth-century Atlantic, with a special focus on Amsterdam, Suriname, and Brazil entanglements (e.g. Schorsch, 2005; Teixeira-Bastos, 2021).

[13] See Gruen's (2013: 1-22) who argues people's self-representation "ethnicity" and "race" are interchangeable expressions. Tracing collective origins to Abraham, Moses, Jacob, Herakles, Aeneas or Romulus, carry multiple meanings, and rarely do they designate racial characteristics. The terms *ethnos*, *genos*, *genus*, or *natio* usually do not have racial connotations in the Classical world.

Josephus, by its turn, when employing the term *ethnos*, rarely, if ever, has a racial connotation. Another way around, it frequently alludes to the customs, practices, and Jewish ways of life. And Paul, finally, created an alternative to the Roman hegemonic hierarchy that clumped together all non-Israelite peoples, blurring ethnic distinctions, and placing Israelite peoples at the top of the Roman ethnic hierarchy. The etic and emic resonances of ethnic nomenclature are particularly useful in exploring the socio-historical implications of language and self-representations. Ethnicity and religious cohesion rely on histories of self that are bound to changing landscapes and notions of sacred spaces (Hall, 1997; Elsner, 2003).

In this sense, the case of the Dura Europos archaeological site provides a glimpse into the multivalent historical and religious traditions of the Jews in the Roman East. Recently, Moormann (2021: 141-161) proposed to address Dura Europos and their magnificent paintings as sacred decor, an instrument of historical memory, and immersed in the Roman figurative *koine*, in both public and private decorative practices. Versluys (2019: 218-22) argues a *koine* is related to the different currents within Greco-Roman art as expressions of a common dialect (in Greek, κοινή – *koine*). It would be a globalized symbolic and iconographic language in a shared space, a software of Roman visual culture (Dietler, 2017). The material evidence shows the practice of making images existed between the Jews in the 2nd and 3rd centuries CE.

The Dura Europos' discovery in 1932 shed light on the Jewish past through its heterodox character observing that the mixing of Jews with Romans, Greeks, Aramean, and Syrians, created their own practice (e.g., Levine, 2012; Hachlili, 2013: 251–276; Talgam, 2016; Leibner; Hezser, 2016). According to the final reports of excavations, the synagogue was built in the back part of a private house, and the outside does not give any clue as to the function, content, and importance of the space (Figure 02) (Kraeling, 1956).

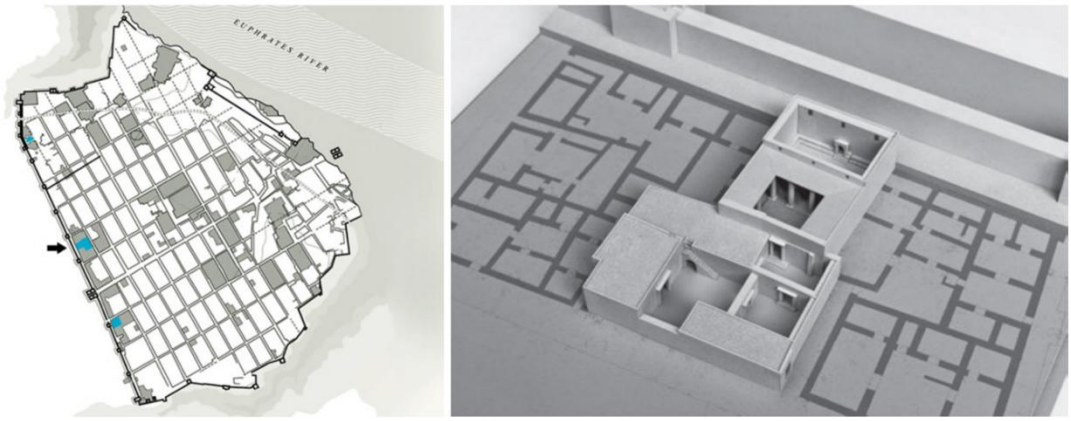


Figure 02: Dura Europos plan with the indication of the synagogue location and model produced for the 2007 Constantine exhibition in Trier. Source: Moorman, 2021, Fig. 01 and Fig. 02, p. 144.

The synagogue room has two entrances on the east side measures 13.65 x 7.68 m and is approximately 7m high. The Torah shrine (directed towards Jerusalem) is in the center of the west wall. Some 60 % of the original murals have been preserved. All walls originally displayed four horizontal friezes up to around 4.6 m, crowned by a white surface reaching the roof. The decoration of the ceiling is barely visible because of the hall's height, but so much attention was paid to it: 234 tiles that have been preserved represent around half of those required to cover the entire ceiling. In addition, personifications of nature such as 23 images of female heads, 40 zodiac signs, 39 animals, 119 vegetal elements, two apotropaic eyes, and three inscriptions surrounded by wreaths. The place contains 44 panels. Fourteen (14) are filled with lozenges embellished by circles, displaying yellow, red, and green patches of mock marble (e. g., giallo antico; green and red porphyry) in the technique of *opus sectile veneer*. Another fourteen (14) contain masks; the final sixteen (16) panels present images of animals. Walking felines occupy the rectangular spaces. The central doorway is positioned almost in front of the Torah shrine, the second door is positioned just to the south.

Following a three zones spatial analysis proposed by Hopkins (2011: 219-231), and followed by Moormann (2021: 141), from top to bottom labeled A, B, and C; the four walls are indicated with W, N, E, and S for the panels, arranged as large square isodomes (Fig. 03). The registers do not reach an identical height on each wall, so they must have been planned separately. Fifth eight (58) narrative scenes fill twenty-eight (28) panels.

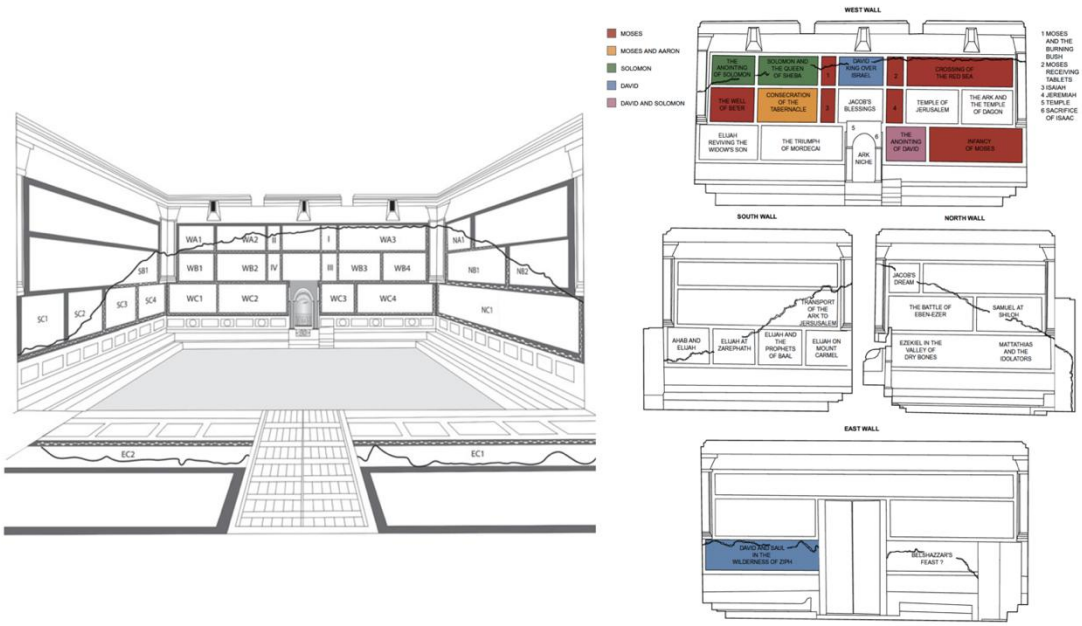


Figure 03: Organization of the three zones (A, B, C) four synagogue walls (W, N, E, S) decoration according to Hopkins (2011) and Moormann (2021: 147, Fig. 04 and 06) primary themes locations.



Figure 04: Central synagogue wall (W) with their painting panels (A, B, C layers).

The room would be able to accommodate approximately 60 to 65 worshippers. The Durene synagogue was dated between 244/245 CE, but parts of the older synagogue were found under the walls of the new room. The coffered ceiling follows an old tradition in the Greco-Roman world and stands up as evidence to sustain the assumption that the Jewish population was entangled with both the Graeco-Roman East and the Persian West[14].

[14] In the synagogue were found texts in Aramaic, Greek, and Middle Persian. Persian was written on top of the decorations. Aramaic and Greek were used for explanations and are associated with the images (Moormann, 2021: 141-161). Gates-Foster (2014: 175-193) argues that Achaemenid control gradually incorporated iconographic motifs derived from the art of conquered groups to emphasize the empire's power.

The presence of graffiti attests to the presence of visitors who wanted themselves to be recorded next to the images, a phenomenon of 'tagging' in the antiquity. This strengthening the idea that people also visited the synagogue at moments other than religious services around 253-254 CE. No doubt Moses is the main protagonist of the murals, but one can find Aaron, Jacob, Daniel, Ezra, Solomon, David, and others. The Second Temple or the Ark of the Covenant is also depicted. Moses is featured three times on the west wall (WA3, WB1, WC4), plus, probably, four times on the panels (1, 2, 3, 4) flanking the central space. Each Moses depiction represents a specific aspect of his myth (Figure 04)[15]. Aaron, Moses' collaborator, and successor can be found by his side in the Crossing of the Red Sea panel. The giant painting of Moses in the mural clearly portrays him as the *archēgétēs* (ἀρχηγέτης), leader, hero, and as *ktístēs* (κτίστης), the pre-founder of the free Israelite ethnos. David and Solomon occupy panels WA1, WA2, WC2, and WC3. The king Saul is also depicted in EC2.

In Moses' biography on the murals, we have seven scenes of the following themes: 1) Pharaoh's daughter finds Moses (the background shows a Persian court style – it's part of a foundation myth analogous to that of Romulus and Remus in Roman art). 2) Moses and the twelve tribes of Israel (Moses wearing a toga touches a stone in the Sinai to bring forth water). 3) Moses and Aaron Crossing of the Red Sea (Egyptians are drowned after the Jews cross the Red Sea - the hands of the God of Israel can be seen in the painting). 4) Moses leads Jewish people out of Egypt (Jews depart from a Roman-style city dressed in military attire, led by a giant Moses clothed in civilian dress). 5) Moses reading the Torah (here despite his blanching compared to the other depictions, it is still recognizable Moses's features - in his foot stands the covered Ark of the Covenant). 6) Moses and the Burning Bush (it is worth noting Moses without his sandals for stepping into a sacred place and, again, the hands of the God of Israel). 7) And the old Moses alone wearing a toga (Figures 05 to 11)[16].

[15] The origins of the Israelites and their kingdoms are shrouded in mystery due to the centuries that followed the collapse of multiple civilizations at the end of the Bronze Age. The Merneptah Stele (around 1210 CE), the Kurkh Stele, and the Kurkh Stele (853 BCE) provide few archaeological evidence of Israelites.

[16] Although, there is no archaeological evidence of exodus from Egypt, what seems archaeologically clear is that Israel emerged from the long shadow of Egypt to make their own mark on history. See: Finkelstein, 1996: 177-187; Finkelstein; Silberman, 2001: 72-96; Finkelstein, 2003: 75-83; Finkelstein, 2013: 37-61; Lipschits, 2001: 1-27; 2021.



Figure 05: Pharaoh's daughter finds Moses, depicted in Persian court style. Source: Wikipedia Commons.



Figure 06: Moses wearing a toga and the twelve tribes of Israel are depicted in Persian style. Source: Wikipedia Commons.



Figure 07: Moses and Aaron crossing of the Red Sea and Moses leading Jewish people out of Egypt, departing from a Roman-style city in civilian dress. Source: Wikipedia Commons.

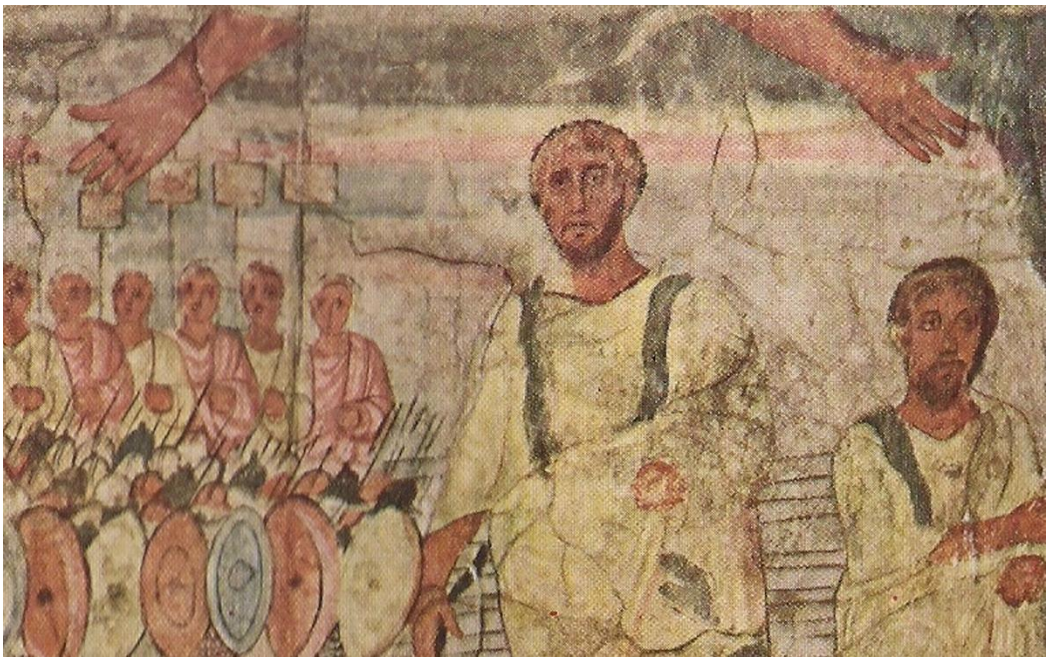


Figure 08: Detail of Moses and Aaron image crossing of the Red Sea. Source: Wikipedia Commons.



Figure 09: Detail of Moses image leading Jewish people out of Egypt. Source: Wikipedia Commons.



Figure 10: Moses reading the Torah, Moses and the Burning Bush, and old Moses alone wearing a toga. Source: Wikipedia Commons.



Figure 11: Detail of Moses image face on the Moses and the Burning Bush painting of Dura Europos synagogue. Source: Wikipedia Commons.

Many scholars have approached these paintings (Hachlili, 1998: 111–113; Levine, 2012: 103-114; Talbot, 2016: 96; Kraeling, 1956: 227–239 - Moses, Ezra, and Abraham twice; Weitzmann and Kessler, 1990: 153, 170–173 - Moses, Isaiah, and Jeremiah; Hezser, 2021:1-24), but as far as our knowledge reaches, none of them described or highlighted the glaringly obvious brownness or blackness of Moses' image in his most ancient material evidence appearance in history. These depictions testify to Moses'

importance as the forefather of Israel, despite his almost total absence from the Passover Haggadah, the central text of the Passover Seder. The dominance of Moses here is striking in view.

Scholars, such as Sidnie W. Crawford, have discussed Moses' Black-skinned wife and color consciousness in the Torah, highlighting the punishment with white skin disease for an insult to a dark-skinned woman[17]. This approach is important to show us that in Moses's myth he had an African wife. It also means a step towards rectifying the use of the Torah, which was used to legitimize racism. If one can find a distortion of racism in the myth of Ham-turned-black, the Torah[18] also shows how Miriam was punished because of her offense, by turning white:

במדבר יב:י וְהֶעָנָן סָר מֵעַל הָאֹהֶל וְהִנֵּה מִרְיָם מְצֹרַעַ **כַּשָּׁלֶג** וַיִּפֶן אַהֲרֹן אֶל מִרְיָם וְהִנֵּה מְצֹרָעַת.

> Num 12:10 As the cloud withdrew from the Tent, there was Miriam stricken with **snow-white** *tzaraʿat*! When Aaron turned toward Miriam, he saw that she was stricken with *tzaraʿat*.

When did Moses become white? Evidence suggests that very soon whitewashing happened in Greco-Roman art. One lord-like mosaic depicting the image of Moses can be found in the Santa Maria Maggiore, Rome, an archaeological site dated between 432-440 CE. On this mosaic floor, the stoning of Moses and his companions was depicted (Rostislava, 2020: 128). It can be considered one of the first representations of Moses' image in the Western World. Much later, the paintings of Moses with the Tablets of the Law (1624), by Guido Reni (Galleria Borghese), and Moses Breaking the Tablets of the Law by Rembrandt, (1659), consolidated an imagination that Moses was a White elderly bald man, with a white beard (Figure 12).

[17] https://www.thetorah.com/article/moses-black-skinned-wife-what-does-the-torah-think-of-her

[18] Fantalkin and Tal (2012) suggests the Canonization of the Pentateuch took place in the first half of the 4th century BCE. See also e.g., Lipschits; Oeming, 2006; Finkelstein, 2008: 501-520; Fantalkin; Tal, 2012: 203; Tal, 2002.



Figure 12: Stoning of Moses and his companions, mosaic, Santa Maria Maggiore, Rome, c. 432-440 CE (after Grabar, 1966, fig. 159), after Rostislava, 2020: 128. Moses paintings Wikipedia Commons.

Batchelor (2000) in pioneering work in color or chromatic explores constructions and manifestations of the cultural fear of color. Batchelor's concept of Chromophobia provides essential support to address whitewashed processes. It stresses the point Greek and Roman worlds (mainly, statues) were originally colored. Archaeology provides enough evidence to back up multiple chromophobia cases. Engaging virtually with polychrome can be a key point of reorienting against the whitewashing of Greco-Roman art, and, ultimately, against racism. There is a tendency towards the development of research aiming to improve understanding of polychrome in antiquity. Skovmøller (2020) addresses how Roman portraiture's reception to the public would have viewed these works. It is undeniable that polychrome, and its memory erasure cases, have shaped our understanding of race in antiquity. Also, the Roman "global" economy, the systems of production for the various paints and dyes used in Roman portraiture. And artistic practices necessary for the development of "the Roman man" were brought all, at some point, into the *Orbis Romanorum* getting more and more entangled (e.g., Gosden, 2005: 193-211; Hodder, 2012).



Figure 13: 1) Getty Museum (Los Angeles); 2) Private collection; 3) Atles Museum (Berlin); 4) Walters Art Museum; 5) Staatliche Antikensammlungen (Munich). Fayum Wikipedia Commons.

Egypt's ethnic makeup in the Roman period can provide an excellent counterbalance to these discussions. In these terms, the Fayum mummy portraits are an innovation dating to the time of Roman rule in Egypt when compared to painted cartonnage mummy cases from the pharaonic times. Currently, about 900 mummy portraits are known[19]. The paintings are frequently realistic portraits, a type of naturalistic painted portrait on wooden boards very well preserved. Some of the portraits were painted in tempera on the linen pressed onto the mummy's face, probably soon after death (Figure 13). They often retained their brilliant colors due to the hot dry Egyptian climate found in the region of the necropolis of Fayum – note the capture of the ocular swelling in Figure 13.1, which appears to be a "right punched eye".

[19] These paintings are from the Imperial Roman era (1st BCE – 1st CE) but can reach the 3rd century CE (Lawrence; Freed; Doxey, 2003).

Extant examples indicate that they were mounted into the bands of cloth that were used to wrap the bodies (Oakes; Gahlin, 2002: 236). Few portraits come from controlled excavations (e.g., Trope; Quirke; Lacovara, 2005: 101). Almost all portraits have now been detached from the mummies and are spread throughout worldwide museums and private collections. Recently, Nerlich *et al*. (2020) investigated a completely wrapped young infant mummy with a typical Fayum mummy portrait using CT technology to create a facial reconstruction. The reconstructed face showed considerable similarities to the portrait, confirming the portrait's specificity to this individual and the accurate realism of Fayum's portraits. When we see the Egyptians from Fayum, we probably realize how the Durene Jews and most of the Middle Eastern Jews in the *Orbis Romanorum* imagined what Moses would look like.

Conclusion

Polychromy approaches in Antiquity holds the potential of not only reconstructing the original coloration from the Greco-Roman world but also revealing purposefully white-washed processes that for centuries have propagated a false notion of aesthetic purity (e.g., McCoskey, 2012; 2018). Dench (2005) suggested that Roman identity was geographically diffuse and shifting, "virtual". It can be a useful framework for addressing the instances of ethnic formation in the ancient world. A decisive imperial effort was made to regulate concepts of identity in Rome[20], which drastically impacted epistemologies of self, empire, ethnicity, and citizenship entangled with other things (Hodder, 2012).

The formulation of a coherent "Roman" identity was a necessary, critical, and ever-tenuous project facing the dawn of the Roman Empire brought about massive shifts in the ethnic composition of the ancient Mediterranean. Clarke (2002) pinpoints the pressing dynamic of race and gender in the wider construction of supremacist movements, drawing out the art of historical processes that falsify, legitimize, and whitewash the imagination of the Roman empire alongside their various receptions and inspired productions, such as Renaissance humanists, and later European fascist movements.

The claim that Israelites were originally black is central to the Hebrew Israelite and African Americans. They often reject any identification with

[20] Roth's (2007) deftly presents how Romans adapted traditional institutions to cope with the demands of an ever more complex society.

the modern Jewish community or practices arguing that if they are looking for "proof" of historical lineage, then that of the white Jewish communities is no more achievable than that of the African Americans[21]. "Dismissals of Jewish blackness have revealed the white supremacist thinking that often underlay self-assertion of Jewish identity" (Isaac, 2006: 512, see also Sand, 2009). These are type of questions classics face when analyze the development of ethnocracy in the age of globalization.

The umbrella term "Black Jews" includes not only the established African Jewish communities such as the Ethiopian Beta Israel, Lemba people, Igbo, or the Ugandan Abayudaya but Karaites are included too (see, Miller, 2019: 1-10). Many aspects of their Jewish practice and identity take place around the time of the Roman expulsion from Palestine or later - roughly at the same time as rabbinic Judaism's emergence. Collar (2013) shows through the archaeological mapping how the Hebraization and Jewish Diaspora communities have spread out in the ancient Mediterranean basin during the 1st-6th CE (2013: 236, fig. 10.2; 238, fig.10.3; 240, fig. 10.4; 243, fig. 10.5).

Archaeology, thus, provides evidence that Jews, as much as the Greeks and Romans, were virtually spread to all Mediterranean during the Roman period. Archaeological data can allow us to check up on written and iconographic material sources to estimate when and how traditions were invented or whitewashed took place, as we have seen with Moses' case of Dura Europos. The entanglement between Black and Jewish peoples goes a long way and can be traced back to antiquity. Pushing the boundaries of conceptualizing race in antiquity and reshaping these limits is vital (Rankine, 2011; 4055). Scholars are looking to push the boundaries of conceptualizing race in antiquity and reshaping these limits.

Further bibliography

AGBE-DAVIES, Anna S. *Archaeology and Race*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020. doi: 10.1093/OBO/9780199766567-0239.

ARNOLD, Bettina. Justifying genocide: Archaeology and the construction of difference. In: HINTON, A. L.; ROTH, K. (eds). *Annihilating difference*: The anthropology of genocide. Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 2002, pp. 95–116.

[21] Carmi *et al*. (2014) research shows that the Ashkenazi Jewish settlement originates from an approximately uniform mix of ancestry from the Middle East and Europe, which probably occurred around 600–800 CE, followed by rapid growth and genetic isolation.

BATCHELOR, David. *Chromophobia*. Reaktion Books, 2000.

CARMI, Shai; HUI, K.Y.; KOCHAV, E.; LIU, X.; XUE, J.; GRADY, J.; GUHA, S.; UPADHYAY, K.; BEN-AVRAHAM, B.; MUKHERJEE, S.; BOWEN, B. M.; THOMAS, T.; VIJAI, J.; GRUTS, M.; FROYEN, G.; LAMBRECHTS, D.; PLAISANCE, S.; VAN BROECKHOVEN, C.; VAN DAMME, P.; VAN MARCK, H.; BARZILAI, N.; DARVASI, A.; OFFIT, K.; BRESSMAN, S.; PE'ER, I. Sequencing an Ashkenazi reference panel supports population-targeted personal genomics and illuminates Jewish and European origins. *Nat Commun 5*, 4835, 2014. https://doi.org/10.1038/ncomms5835

CLARKE, John R. 'Just Like Us' Cultural Constructions of Sexuality and Race in Roman Art. In: PINDER, Kymberly (ed.) *Race-ing Art History*: Critical Readings in Race and Art History, 2002.

COLLAR, A. Re-thinking Jewish ethnicity through social network analysis. In: KNAPPETT, C., (ed.). *Network Analysis in Archaeology*. New Approaches to Regional Interaction. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013.

DE BUFFON, Georges Louis Leclerc. *Barr's Buffon*. Buffon's Natural History, Containing a Theory of the Earth, a General History of Man etc.. Translated by J. S. Barr. London: Barr, vol. 4, 1792.

DEE, James H. Black Odysseus, White Caesar: When Did "White People" Become "White"? *The Classical Journal*, v. 99, n. 2 (Dec., 2003 - Jan., 2004), 2004, p. 157-167.

DENCH, Emma. *Romulus' Asylum*: Roman Identities from the Age of Alexander to the Age of Hadrian. Oxford University Press, 2005.

DERBEW, Sarah. *Untangling Blackness in Greek Antiquity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2022

DIETLER, M. Anthropological Reflections on the Koine Concept: Linguistic Analogies and Material World. In: HANDBERG, S.; GADOLOU, A. (eds.). *Material Koinai in the Greek Early Iron Age and Archaic Period*. Acts of an International Conference at the Danish Institute at Athens 30 January–1 February 2015, Monographs of the Danish Institute at Athens 22 (Aarhus 2017). 2017, p. 17–39.

EFRON, John M. *Defenders of the Race, Jewish Doctors and Race Science in Fin-De-Siècle Europe*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1994.

EL-KODSI, Mourad. *The Karaite Jews of Egypt*, 1882-1986. Virginia: Wilprint, 1987.

FANTALKIN, Alexander; TAL, Oren. *The Canonization of the Pentateuch*: When and Why? Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft 124/1 (Part I): 1–18; 124/2 (Part II): 201–212. 2012.

FINKELSTEIN, Israel. The Archaeology of the United Monarchy: An Alternative View. *Levant 28*, 1996, p. 177-187.

FINKELSTEIN, Israel; SILBERMAN, N.A.. *The Bible Unearthed*, Archaeology's New Vision of Ancient Israel and the Origin of its Sacred Texts. New York, 2001, p. 72-96.

FINKELSTEIN, Israel. City States and States: Polity Dynamics in the 10th-9th Centuries B.C.E. DEVER, W.G.; GITIN, S. (eds.). *Symbiosis, Symbolism and the Power of the Past*: Canaan, Ancient Israel, and their Neighbors. Winona Lake, 2003, p. 75-83.

FINKELSTEIN, Israel. Jerusalem in the Persian (and Early Hellenistic) Period and the Wall of Nehemiah. *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament*, 32, 2008, 501-520.

FINKELSTEIN, Israel. *The Forgotten Kingdom*: The Archaeology and History of Northern Israel. Atlanta, 2013, p. 37-61.

FORSDYKE, Sara. *Slaves and Slavery in Ancient Greece*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2021.

FUNARI, Pedro Paulo. Maroon, race and gender: Palmares material culture and social relations in a runaway settlement. In: FUNARI, P.P.A.; HALL, M.; JONES, S. (Org.). *Historical Archaeology*, Back from the edge. Londres: Routledge, 1999, p. 308-327.

GATES-FOSTER, Jennifer. Achaemenids, Royal Power, and Persian Ethnicity. In: MCINERNEY, J (ed). *A Companion to Ethnicity in the Ancient Mediterranean*. John Wiley & Sons Publishers, 2014, p. 175-193.

GILMAN, Sander L. The Jewish Nose: Are Jews White? Or, the History of the Nose Job. In: SILBERSTEIN, Laurence J.; COHN, Robert L (eds). *The Other in Jewish Thought and History*: Constructions of Jewish Culture and Identity. New York and London: New York University Press, 1994, pp. 364–401.

GOLDENBERG, David. The Development of the Idea of Race: Classical Paradigms and Medieval Elaborations. *International Journal of the Classical Tradition,* 5, 1999, p. 561-570.

GOLDENBERG, David. The Curse of Ham: Race and Slavery. In: *Early Judaism, Christianity, and Islam*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003a.

GOLDENBERG, David M. Review Essay. Abraham Melamed, The Image of the Black in Jewish Culture: A History of the Other. London and New York: Routledge Curzon, 2003. p. 295. *Jewish Quarterly Review*, 93, 2003b, p. 1-18.

GOLDENBERG, David M. Racism, Color Symbolism, and Color Prejudice. In: ELIAV-FELDON, Miriam; ISAAC, Benjamin; ZIEGLER, Joseph (eds). *The Origins of Racism in the West*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009, p. 88-108.

GOSDEN, Chris. *Archaeology and Colonialism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.

GOSDEN, Chris. What Do Objects Want? *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory,* 12, 3, 2005, p. 193-211.

GOSDEN, Chris. Race and racism in archaeology: Introduction. *World Archaeology*, 38, 1, 2006, p. 1–7.

GREEN, Toby. Beyond Culture Wars: Reconnecting African and Jewish Diasporas in the Past and the Present". In: BHAMBRA, Gurminder K. et al (eds). *African Athena*: New Agendas. Oxford University Press, 2001, p. 138-155.

GRUEN, Erich. Did Ancient Identity Depend on Ethnicity? A Preliminary Probe. v. 67, n. 1/2 (Spring-Summer/printemps-été 2013), 2013, p. 1-22.

HA.C.OHEN, Ran. The "Jewish Blackness" Thesis Revisited. MDPI, *Religions,* 2018, 9, 222; doi:10.3390/rel9070222.

HALL, S. New Ethnicities. In: Black Film, British Cinema. ICA Documents 7. London: Institute of Contemporary Arts, 1989, p. 27-31.

HACHLILI, R. Ancient Jewish Art and Archaeology in the Diaspora. *Handbook of Oriental Studies*. The Near and Middle East 35. Leiden, 1998.

HACHLILI, R. Ancient Synagogues – Archaeology and Art: New Discoveries and Current Research. *Handbook of Oriental Studies*. The Near and Middle East 105. Leiden, 1989.

HARLAND, Philip. Climbing the Ethnic Ladder: Ethnic Hierarchies and Judean Responses. *Journal of Biblical Literature*, v. 13, n. 3, 2019, p. 665-686.

HEZSER, Catherine. From Lawgiver to Prophet: The Transformation of the Image of Moses in Late Antiquity. SOAS, University of London, 2021, p.1-24.

HITLER, Adolf. *Mein Kampf*. Translated by James Murphy. Stockholm: White Wolf, 2014.

HODDER, I.; ORTEN, C. *Spatial Analysis in Archaeology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p. 1976.

HODDER, I.. Pre-Roman and Romano-British tribal economies. In: BURNHAM, B. C.; JOHNSON (eds). *Invasion and Response*. Oxford: British Archaeological Reports British Series 73, 1979a, p. 189-196.

HODDER, I. Economic and social stress and material culture patterning. *American Antiquity,* 44, 1979b, p. 446–454.

HODDER, I. *Symbols in action*. Ethnoarchaeological studies of material culture. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982.

HODDER, I. *Reading the Past:* current approaches to interpretation in archaeology. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986.

HODDER, I. *Entangled*: An Archaeology of the Relationships between Humans and Things. Wiley-Blackwell: John Wiley and Sons Inc. 2012.

HOPKINS, Susan M. *My Dura-Europos: the letters of Susan M. Hopkins, 1927-1935*. Bernard Goldman, Norma Goldman. Detroit [Mich.]: Wayne State University Press, 2011.

ISAAC, B. *The Invention of Racism in Classical Antiquity*. New Jersey, Princeton University Press, 2004.

ISAAC, B. Proto-racism in Graeco-Roman Antiquity. *World Archaeology*, 38, 1, 2006, p. 32–48.

ISAAC, B. Racism: A Rationalization of Prejudice. In: ELIAV-FELDON, Miriam; ISAAC, Benjamin; ZIEGLER, Joseph (eds). *The Origins of Racism in the West*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009, p. 32-56.

JOHNSON, Sylvester A. *The Myth of Ham in Nineteenth-Century American Christianity:* Race, Heathens, and the People of God. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004.

JONES, Edward L. Blacks in Antiquity: Ethiopians in the Greco-Roman Experience, by Frank M. Snowden Jr., Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. Sausalito, CA, The Black Scholar, February, 1971, pp-56-59.

JONES, Siân. *The Archaeology of Ethnicity*. Constructing identities in the past and present. London: Routledge, 1997.

KAREGA, Munene; SCHMIDT, Peter. Postcolonial archaeologies in Africa: Breaking the silence. *The African Archaeological Review,* 27, 4, 2010, p. 323–337.

KNOX, Robert. *The Races of Man*. Philadelphia: Lea & Blanchard, 1850.

KIMES, T.; HASELGROVE, C.; HODDER, I. A method for the identification of the location of regional cultural boundaries. *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology*, 1, 1982, p. 113–131.

KRAELING, C. H. *The Synagogue*. The Excavations at Dura-Europos, Final Report VIII, Part I. New Haven, 1956.

LAWRENCE; BERMAN; FREED, RITA, E.; DOXEY, Denise. *Arts of Ancient Egypt*. Museum of Fine Arts Boston, 2003. ISBN 0-87846-661-4.

LEVINE, L. I. *Visual Judaism in Late Antiquity*. Historical Contexts in Jewish Art. New Haven, 2012.

LEIBNER, U.; HEZSER, C. (eds.). *Jewish Art in Its Late Antique Context*. TSAJ 163, Tübingen. 2016.

LIPSCHITS, Oded.; OEMING, M. (eds.). *Judah and the Judeans in the Persian Period*. Winona-Lake, 2006.

LIPSCHITS, Oded. *Age of Empires*: The History and Administration of Judah in the 8th–2nd Centuries BCE in Light of the Storage-Jar Stamp Impressions (Mosaics: Studies on Ancient Israel 2). Tel Aviv and University Park, PA, 2021.

MCCOSKEY, Denise. *Race*: Antiquity and its Legacy (Ancients and Moderns). Oxford University Press, 2012.

MCCOSKEY, D. M. Black Athena, White Power. Are We Paying the Price for Classics' Response to Bernal?. *Eidolon*, nov. 15, 2018. https://eidolon.pub/black-athena-white-power-6bd1899a46f2

MCGUIRE, R.H. *A Marxist Archaeology*. London: Academic Press, 1992.

MILLER, Michael T. Black Judaism(s) and the Hebrew Israelites. *Religion Compass,* 13, e12346., 2019, p. 1-10. https://doi.org/10.1111/rec3.12346.

MELAMED, Abraham. *The Image of the Black in Jewish Culture*: A History of the Other. London and New York: Routledge Curzon, 2003.

MOORMANN, Eric M. The Murals of the Synagogue at Dura Europos as an Expression of Roman Koine. In: HAUG, Annette; LAURITSEN, Tayler M (eds). *Principles of Decoration in the Roman World*. Decor, De Gruyter, 2021, p.141-161.

NERLICH, Andreas G.; FISCHER, Lukas; PANZER, Stephanie; BICKER, Roxane; HELMBERGER, Thomas; SCHOSKE, Sylvia. The infant mummy's face—Paleoradiological investigation and comparison between facial reconstruction and mummy portrait of a Roman-period Egyptian child. *PLoS ONE*, 15, 9, 2020, e0238427. https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0238427.

OAKES, Lorna; GAHLIN, Lucia. *Ancient Egypt*: An Illustrated Reference to the Myths, Religions, Pyramids and Temples of the Land of the Pharaohs. Hermes House, 2002. ISBN 1-84477-008-7.

OLSEN, B.; KOBYLINSKI, Z. Ethnicity in anthropological and archaeological research: a Norwegian—Polish perspective. *Archaeologia Polona*, 29, 1991, p. 5–27.

ORSER, Charles E., Jr. *Race and practice in archaeological interpretation*. Philadelphia: Univ. of Pennsylvania Press, 2004.

PRICHARD, James Cowles. *The Natural History of Man*. London: H.Baillière, 1843

RANKINE, Patrice. Black Apollo? Martin Bernal's Black Athena: The Afroasiatic Roots of Classical Civilization, volume iii, and Why Race Still Matters. In: ORRELLS, Daniel; BHAMBRA, Gurminder K.; ROYNON, Tessa (eds). *African Athena*: New Agendas. New York: Oxford University Press, 2011, p. 40-55.

RENFREW, C. Space, time and polity. In: FRIEDMAN, J.; ROWLANDS, M. J. (eds). *The Evolution of Social Systems*. London: Duckworth, 1977, p. 89–112.

ROYMANS, Nico. Conquest, Mass Violence and Ethnic Stereotyping: Investigating Caesar's Actions in the Germanic Frontier Zone. *Journal of Roman Archaeology*, v. 32, 2019, p. 439–58.

ROSTISLAVA, Todorova G. Sacred Space on Display: The place where God dwells and its visual representation. *Acta Musei Tiberiopolitani*, v. 3, Strumica: Издавач, 2020, p. 121-133.

ROTH, Ulrike. Thinking Tools: Agricultural Slavery between Evidence and Models. EDWARDS, Mike (ed). *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies Supplements*. London: Institute of Classical Studies, 2007.

ROWLANDS, M. J. Processual archaeology as historical social science. In: RENFREW, C.; ROWLANDS, M. J.; SEAGRAVES, B. A. (eds). *Theory and Explanation in Archaeology*, London: Academic Press, 1982, p. 155–74.

SAMUELS, T. *The riddle in the dark*: re-thinking 'blackness' in Graeco-Roman racial discourse. Toronto: York Unversity, 2013.

SAMUELS, Tristan. Herodotus and the Black Body: A Critical Race Theory Analysis. *Journal of Black Studies,* v. 46, n. 7, 2015, p. 723-741.

SAND, Shlomo. *The Invention of the Jewish People*. Translated by Yael Lotan. London: Verso, 2009.

SCHORSCH, Jonathan. Black, Jews and the Racial Imagination in the Writings of Sephardim in the Long Seventeenth Century. *Jewish History*, v. 19, n. 1, 2005, p. 109-135.

SHETH, Falguni A. The Technology of Race and the Logics of Exclusion The Unruly, Naturalization, and Violence. In: SHETH, Falguni A. *Toward a Political of Race*. New York: State Univ of New York, 2004, p. 21-39.

SHENNAN, S. J. (ed.). *Archaeological Approaches to Cultural Identity*. London: Unwin & Hyman; Routledge, pbk 1994., 1989, p. 1-32.

SHEPHERD, Gillian. Archaeology and Ethnicity. Untangling Identities in Western Greec. *Dans Dialogues D'Historire Ancienne*, Supplement 10, 2014, p. 115-143.

STERN, Fritz. *Gold and Iron*: Bismarck, Bleichröder, and the Building of the German Empire. London: G. Allen & Unwin, 1977.

SKOVMØLLER, Amalie. *Facing the Colours of Roman Portraiture*: Exploring the Materiality of Ancient Polychrome Forms. De Gruyter Press, 2020.

SNOWDEN, Frank M. J. *Blacks in Antiquity*: Ethiopians in the Greco-Roman Experience. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Belknap Press, 1970, ISBN 0674076265.

SNOWDEN, F. M. J. *Before Color Prejudice*: The Ancient View of Blacks. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1983, ISBN 0674063813.

TAL, Oren. *Aspects of the Study of the Material Culture of Hellenistic Ptolemaic and Seleucid Palestine*. Ph.D. Dissertation, Tel Aviv University, 2002.

TALBOT, M. O. A Deuteronomic Theme and Second Sophistic Rhetoric in the Dura-Europos Synagogue Paintings. In: HEYN, M. K.; STEINSAPIR, A. I. (eds.). *Icon, Cult, and Context*. Sacred Spaces and Objects in the Classical World. Los Angeles: UCLA Monograph 82, 2016, p. 91–102.

TALGAM, R. From Wall Paintings to Floor Mosaics: Jewish and Christian Attitudes to Figurative Art. In: LEIBNER, U.; HEZSER, C. (eds.). *Jewish Art in Its Late Antique Context*. Tübingen, TSAJ, 163, 2016, p. 97–120.

TEIXEIRA-BASTOS, M. Arqueología del Mundo Antiguo: Los Judíos en la Antigüedad Tardía y Modernidad. In: RODRÍGUEZ, Roberto R. (Org.). *Sociedade Antiguas del Crescente Fértil* - Territorios, Memorias e Identidades Culturales. 1ed. Buenos Aires: Remitente Patagonia, v. 3, 2021, p. 429-460.

THOMPSON. Lloyd A. *Romans and Blacks*. London: Routledge; Oklahoma University Press, 1989.

TROPE; B. T.; QUIRKE, S.; LACOVARA, L. *Excavating Egypt*: great discoveries from the Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology, University College, London. Atlanta, Georgia: Michael C. Carlos Museum, 2005.

VERSLUYS, M. J. Review of Konrad, M, Emesa zwischen Klientelreich und Provinz. Identit.t und Identitätswandel einer lokalen Fürstendynastie im Spiegel der archäologischen Quellen, Orient-Archäologie 34. Rahden 2014. *ZDPV*, 135, 2019, p. 218–222.

WEITZMANN, K.; KESSLER, H. L. The Frescoes of the Dura Synagogue and Christian Art, *DOS,* 28, Washington, 1990.