My purpose in this paper is to examine a group of cults in western Asia Minor where the term 'angel' (angelos) is used in a pagan cult to designate a particular type of supernatural being, rather than a simple messenger of the gods.¹ I shall argue that some features of the terminology of these cults cannot be explained by pagan usage alone; my suggestion is that some terms were borrowed from the Hellenistic Jewish communities of the area without any real understanding of their original monotheistic background. This qualification is important in that I do not see these cults as examples of substantive Jewish influence or of explicit Jewish-pagan syncretism.

The evidence for these texts is epigraphic. A particularly interesting group of texts has been published from Stratonicea, in Caria. (The texts cited will be referred to by number in the ensuing discussion.) Two new texts are presented in the course of the article.

¹ This paper was originally presented to the University of Durham Pre-Industrial Seminar in January 1980. I am grateful to the participants for their comments and suggestions and especially to Dr. Robert Hayward for advice on some aspects of the Jewish background. I am responsible for the remaining deficiencies. Dr. Stephen Mitchell has kindly allowed me to publish Texts nos. 8 and 11 below. We are both grateful to the authorities of the Turkish Directorate-General of Museums and Ancient Monuments in Ankara and Kütahya for research permits issued in connection with Regional Epigraphic Catalogues for Asia Minor.

The following epigraphic abbreviations may be unfamiliar:


Δίψιστω καὶ ἀγαθῷ
ἀγγέλῳ Κλαύδιος Ἀχιλλεὺς
καὶ Γαλάτηα ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας
4 μετὰ τῶν ἰδίων πάντων
χαριστήριον.

"TO ZEUS MOST HIGH AND THE GOOD ANGEL, Claudius
Achilles and Galatia, with all their household, made a thank-
offering for salvation."

2. Stratonicea. A. Hauvette-Besnault & M. Dubois, *BCH* V (1881),
p. 182 no. 3.

Δίψιστω
καὶ θεὶ ό ἀγ-
γέλῳ Νέων
4 καὶ Εὐφροσύ-
νη ὑπὲρ τῶν
ἰδίων.

"TO ZEUS MOST HIGH AND THE DIVINE ANGEL, Neon and
Euphrosyne, on behalf of their household."


Θεὶ ό ἀγγε-
λικῷ εὐχα-
ριστόμεν
4 ὑπὲρ σωτη-
ρίας.

"We give thanks for salvation TO THE ANGELIC DIVINITY."


Θεὶ ό ἀγγελικῷ εὐχαριστόμεν.

"We give thanks TO THE ANGELIC DIVINITY."


Δ]μει ὑψί-
στω καὶ Θ[εί-
φ ἀγαθῷ
Σύκρατης.
The Beings associated with Zeus in this cult are certainly identical. In nos. 1-2 we find an angelos, qualified by two different epithets; in nos. 3-4, the terms are reversed and we have an ‘angelic Divinity’ instead of the ‘divine angelos’ of no. 2. In no. 5 the Divinity has the same epithet as the angelos in no. 1.² It must be made clear at the outset that this cult is thoroughly pagan. There is some evidence to suggest that Zeus Hypsistos originated in Macedonia, and may have had associations with mountains.³ Zeus Hypsistos is found associated also with Hekate the Saviour at Stratonicea and, at Mylasa, with Good Fortune.⁴ What are we to make of the angelos?

Sokolowski, noting the appearance of Hekate as Stratonicea, argued that angelos referred to Hekate as a messenger of the underworld, denying the possibility of any borrowing from Semitic sources and going so far as to suggest that post-Biblical Judaism derived its interest in angels from Greek paganism.⁵ There are a number of objections to an explanation in purely pagan terms of the angelos of Stratonicea. Firstly, angelos is in fact a very rare title for Artemis-Hekate, known only from Didyma and Sicily.⁶ Secondly, the examples of this title clearly designate the bearer as feminine, whereas the Stratonicea angelos is either masculine (nos. 1-2) or neuter (nos. 3-5). Thirdly, all other pagan cult usages of the term can be translated as ‘messenger’ (scil. of the gods); in nos. 3-4 θεῖον ἄγγελου would be very odd Greek for ‘messenger god’ (= θεῶς ἄγγελος) or ‘messenger of the gods’ (= ἄγγελος τῶν θεῶν). Fourthly,

2. See L. Robert, Anatolia 3 (1958) 116 n. 54. The choice between θεῖο and θεῖο in no. 5 depends on the restoration. The latter reading is suggested by the parallel nos. 3-4; cf. also no. 6, below p. 86.


4. G. Deschamps & G. Cousin, BCH 12 (1888) 271 no. 57; LW 416 = CIG 2693e.


all other pagan *angeloi* are explicitly identified with gods of the traditional pantheon; there is no such clear identification at Stratonicea. We are dealing with a nameless divine being, not with one of the traditional gods. The classical term for such a being was *daimon*. From where, then, did the term *angelos* come?

Cumont suggested Syrian paganism as a possible source, mentioning in particular the Palmyrene cult of Malakh-Bel ('Angel Lord'). This god could well have been translated into Greek as *θείων ἄγγελων*.

Two objections may be raised. First, Malakh-Bel seems to have been a solar deity, while the Stratonicea cult seems to lack such characteristics. Secondly, there is no evidence for the presence of Syrians in this part of Asia Minor, with the exception of a single Roman *eques* at Eumeneia.

We do, however, have evidence for the presence of members of two other groups of Middle Eastern origin in western Asia Minor in Roman times: Magi, who claimed spiritual descent from the priesthood of the Persian period, and Hellenised Jews.

Pausanias, writing in the second century AD, tells us he attended ceremonies in what were evidently fire-temples at Hierocaesarea and


b) Iris, *angelos* of the gods: *Hom. Il.* 2.93, 786; 18.182; 24.169-73; Plato, *Crat.* 408B.


i) *angeloi katakthonioi* = Hermes, Hekate, Pluto, Kore: A. Audollent, *Defixionum Tabellae* (Paris 1904) nos. 72-74. (The Sethian tablets from Rome belong to a gnostic sect (Audollent, op. cit. nos. 140-87) and are not therefore relevant here.)


10. W.R. Buckler et al., *JRS* 16 (1926) 74 no. 201.
Hypaea in Lydia.\textsuperscript{11} Roman Sardis, the principal city in Lydia, had a cult of Zeus-Ahura Mazda, while Pisidia has furnished an inscription which invokes ‘Gods of the Greeks and Persians’ in the late Hellenistic period. Pisidia is also notable for the number of personal names of the Roman period which contain Iranian elements.\textsuperscript{12}

There can be no question here of ‘authentic’ Zoroastrian tradition derived from the Iranian plateau, but with a syncretising form, heavily influenced by Babylonian paganism: the deity worshipped at Hypaea was not Ahura Mazda, but “Persian Artemis”, probably to be identified with a Babylonian goddess.\textsuperscript{13} In very general terms, there seems to be a move in western areas and in the Hellenistic period away from the radical dualism which balanced Ahura-Mazda against Ahriman towards a pantheon subordinated to a vaguely conceived supreme god.\textsuperscript{14} What is important for our present purpose is that the six great spirits of light (\textit{yazatas}) get turned into the seven guardians of the planetary spheres of Babylonian tradition, appearing in a Greek form as \textit{archangeloi}.\textsuperscript{15} Such teachings probably circulated initially in Aramaic, the \textit{lingua franca} of the Achaemenid Empire, but by the first century AD were available in a number of pseudepigraphic Greek works, ascribed to Persians of the early Achaemenid period; the most important of these in terms of angelology were those ascribed to Ostanes; they survive only in citations, the earliest clearly datable references being in Pliny the Elder.\textsuperscript{16} Similar sources in Aramaic may well have stimulated the efflorescence of angelology in Judaism from the second century BC onwards.\textsuperscript{17} One fairly late epigraphic text, from the theatre at

\textsuperscript{13} J. Bidez & F. Cumont, \textit{Les Mages Hellénisés} (Paris 1938) I, 35, 90-91; II, 85 n. 5. For a warning about the difficulty of finding ‘genuine’ Iranian sources for Hellenistic or late Jewish religious ideas, see R.N. Frye, ‘Reitzenstein and Qumran revisited by an Iranian,’ \textit{HTR} 55 (1962) 261ff.
\textsuperscript{15} Ibid. II, 284 n. 4.
\textsuperscript{16} Ibid. II, 271-296, especially the citation from Cosmas of Jerusalem/ Maiuma on p. 272.
\textsuperscript{17} Ibid. I, 41-50 on the identification of Zoroaster with various biblical characters. Gen. Rabbah on Gen. 18.1 preserves a rabbinic tradition that the ‘names of angels were brought from Babylon.’ D.S. Russell, \textit{The Method and Message of Jewish Apocalyptic} (London 1964) 257ff., who cites this passage, refers Jewish angelology back to Iran, after some hesitation.
Miletus, does illustrate a cult of seven planetary archangels. The symbols of the seven planets are shown, each accompanied by what appears to be musical notation and the words, 'Holy One, guard the city.' At the bottom, we read, 'Archangels, the city of Miletus is guarded, with all its inhabitants.' Miletus, however, is not known to have been a centre of Mazdean cult in the Roman period; it did have a group of Jews sufficiently integrated into the local community to have a section of the theatre reserved for them. In this case Judaism may be the intermediate source for the Milesian cult of angels.

At Stratonicea, we only encounter a single angel. Now it is noticeable that the Hellenistic Magi, so far as one can judge from the fragments, thought of angels either in groups of a specific number, like seven, or in numberless hosts. Both these conceptions appear in Jewish tradition, but we also find individual angels, often with names and/or special functions. Organised Jewish communities can be traced in Phrygia at Acmonia, Apamea, Synnada and Hierapolis; in Caria at Myndus and Hyllarima, in Lydia at Hypaepa, Philadelphia, and Sardis, and on the coast at Smyrna.

18. CIG 2895.
19. CIJ 748: τόπος Ελουδέων τῶν καὶ θεοσεβῶν (sic). Read θεοσεβῶν. Θεοσεβῶν must be read as an adjective qualifying Ελουδέων, not as meaning 'god fearers': for this usage cf. Joseph and Asenath 4.9, and see L. Robert, Nouvelles Inscriptions de Sardes I (Paris 1965) 41-45. For an alternative interpretation see M. Simon, 'Sur les débuts du prosélytisme juif,' Hommages à A. Dupont-Sommer (Paris 1971) 509ff., especially 518; Jos. AJ 14.7.2 does not seem a true parallel to the Miletus text. H. Hommel, 'Juden und Christen im kaiserzeitliche Milet,' JM 25 (1975) 167-95, takes τῶν καὶ to be a defining expression and understands the text to refer only to gentile associates of the synagogue. But the latter could not be described as Jews.
20. Angels set over heavenly bodies: 1 Enoch 75.1-3; 82.7ff.; 2 En. 11-12; 3 Bar. 6.1-2; 9.3ff.
21. See D.S. Russell op. cit. (n. 17) 168-69; 240ff.; 244ff.; 1 Enoch 100.5; Jub. 35.17.
22. MAMA VI.264; CIJ 774 = W.M. Ramsay, Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia II (Oxford 1897) 538 no. 399 bis; MAMA IV.90 (restored text); CIJ 775 = IGR IV.834 = W. Judeich, Altertümer von Hierapolis (JDAI Ergänzungsheft 4, Berlin 1898) 138 no. 212.
24. CIJ 755 = S. Reinach, REJ 10 (1885) 74ff.
26. I exclude the Thyateira text CIJ 752 = CIG 3509, which does not seem
Teos, Phocaea and Ephesus. Later Rabbinic orthodoxy forbade the invocation of angels and discouraged public speculation about possible members of the 'court of Heaven'. It is, however, abundantly clear from the non-canonical literature and from the Qumran material that great interest was taken in the angelic world, while the sub-Jewish culture of the magical papyri and the Testament of Solomon made great use of the names of angels and demons, as well of the Divine Names.

The first writer who made a clear identification of the daimones of pagan tradition with the angeloi of the Septuagint was Philo. The equation was repeated by Nicomachus of Gerasa and Cornelius Labeo and then taken up by later Platonists and Neoplatonists. It to offer clear evidence for Judaism, as opposed to other Semitic influences. The Jews of Sardis and their synagogue are now well known as a result of the American excavations. See most recently A.T. Kraabel, 'Paganism and Judaism: the Sardis evidence,' Paganisme, Judaisme, Christianisme - Influences et affrontements dans le monde antique: Mélanges ... Marcel Simon (Paris 1978) 10ff.

27. Smyrna: CIJ 741 = IGR IV.1452 = S. Reinaeh, REJ 7 (1883) 161-166.
32. R. Heineze, Xenokrates (Leipzig 1892) 113; Philo, Gig. 16-17; cf. W. Bousset, 'Zur Dämonologie der späteren Antike,' Archiv für Religionswissenschaft 18 (1915) 134ff., especially 170ff. referring to the Chaldaean Oracles and the Hermetic literature. Bousset's view (172) that pagan uses of the term angelos are an independent development of chthonian cults is here contested; his belief in an Iranian origin for Jewish angelology needs modification: see above n. 13. There is no direct evidence that Posidonius first equated angels with daimones as Heineze suggests in discussing Philo.
33. Nicomachus: Bidez & Cumont op. cit. (n. 13) II 283. Cornelius Labeo: Cumont op. cit. (n. 8) 168. Later examples: Bousset, Heineze loc. cit. (n. 32), Cumont op. cit. (n. 8) 168-80. Of the popular second-century literature Cumont refers to (Corpus Hermeticum and Chaldaean Oracles) the C.H. is known to have been in contact with Jewish ideas, so cannot be used as evidence for an independent development of pagan angelology. (See M. Philonenko, 'Le Poimandres et la liturgie juive,' Les syncrétismes dans les religions de l'antiquité (Etudes préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'empire romain 46, Leiden 1975)
is in Philo and in Christian authors influenced by him that some parallels to the language and theology of the Stratonicea dedications can be found. Firstly, the Word of God, which acts as a kind of intermediary between the remoteness of the divine essence and the created world, is sometimes referred to as the ‘eldest of the angels’ or as Angel or Archangel.\(^{34}\) The Word, highest of the angels, seems to be considered by Philo to be worthy of address in prayer.\(^{35}\) Elsewhere, Philo explains that God sometimes took the form of an angel in manifesting himself to men, but warns against the error of those who mistakenly worship angels as if they were divine.\(^{36}\)

A particular feature of the Stratonicea cult is the identification of the Angel with a neuter ‘Divinity’. This appears in Philo’s language in the story of Balaam and the angel. The apparition of the angel tells Balaam, ‘I shall prompt what must be said without you being aware and direct your organs of speech.’\(^{37}\) After his inspired prophecy to King Balak, Balaam explains, ‘I say nothing that is my own, but whatever the Divinity prompts.’\(^{38}\)

Justin appears to have recognised a fourfold cult of Father, Son, Angels and Spirit.\(^{39}\) He adopted the concept of a supreme angel

204-211.) The *Chaldaean Oracles* contain only passing references to angels in surviving fragments (137-38), *daimon* being much commoner. They bear, in any case, a close relationship to the writings of Numenius (also late 2nd cent.) who was certainly in touch with Jewish tradition. See the editions of *Oracles Chaldaiques* and Numenius by E. des Places (Paris 1971, 1973) pp. 11, 14 of the former, 17ff., 21ff. of the latter with frr. 8-10, 56 of Numenius. Angels first receive a place in a ‘systematic’ pagan theology with Porphyry (Cumont op. cit. 169).

34. Philo *Confus. Ling.* 146, cf. *Quis ... Heres* 205, *Cher.* 3, 35.
35. Id. *Leg. All.* 3. 177-78 on Gen. 48.15f. At *Gig.* 16 Philo says that good angels are ῥής προσφήνεις αξίων: it is possible that this should be translated ‘worthy of invocation’ rather than ‘worthy of the name’ (so the Loeb ed., II, 453). For this sense of *prothesis* in Philo, see *Leg.* 353, 355; *Moses* 2.171 (pace Colson); *Decal.* 53 (pace Colson); cf. *Mut. Nom.* 12, *Abr.* 50, *Moses* 1.76 for the sense ‘mode of address in worship’.
36. Philo *Sомн.* 1.232, 238; *Fug. et Inv.* 212.
37. Id. *Moses* 1.274.
39. Justin *1 Apol.* 6. The cult of angels was condemned by Origen *c. Celsum* 5.4-5, but remained a problem in Phrygia: the canons of the Council of Laodicea (4th cent.) condemned it, along with other judaizing practices (M. Simon, *Verus Israel*\(^{2}\), Paris 1964, 382 n. 3) and Theodoret complained about it in the 5th cent. (W.M. Ramsay, *Christianity in the Roman Empire* (London 1893) 477). Early Byzantine dedications to the Archangel Michael: *LW* 728, *MAMA* 1.434;
closely related to God, for christological purposes. A similar idea appears in Clement of Alexandria.

Both Christians and Jews identified the gods of pagan cults as angels — either as angelic guardians mistakenly worshipped as gods or as evil demons resulting from the fall of some of the angels.

Although we have no independent means of knowing what literature circulated among the Jews and Christians of Asia Minor, it seems possible that the language of the philonic tradition has been drawn on to some extent by the devotees of the Stratonicea cult. The question remains as to whether they drew directly on the usages of the well established Jewish communities of the area or picked up some of their terminology from Christians. A strong presumption in favour of a Jewish origin is created by the absence of any specifically Christian colouring in any of the pagan texts relating to angels.

The Stratonicea texts may be tentatively dated to the second century AD, on the basis of the square sigma in partial use in nos. 3 and 5 and the lack of Roman citizens, apart from a Claudius in No. 1. An early Christian community is known at Tralles, where the valley of the Marsyas River (= Çine Cayı) joins the main Maeander (= Menderes) valley while the same town has furnished a synagogue document concerning a high-ranking lady who was a θεοοική. It appears from the terms in which Ignatius writes to the Church in Magnesia-on-Maeander, downstream from Tralles, that that Church was under strong Jewish influence, presumably from a local synagogue. More significant than either of these is the presence of a synagogue at Hyllarima, in the basin of the Marsyas River.

IV.225; 307; 325; cf. Ramsay, Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia I (Oxford 1895) 214-15 on the cult of St. Michael at Khonae, the Byzantine successor to Colossae. Cf. Col. 2.16; Rev. 19.10.

40. Justin I Apol. 63.14-15; Dial. 61.1, 86.3 fin. The details and implications of Justin’s christology are not relevant here.


43. Russell op. cit. (n. 17) 249ff.; Justin 2 Apol. 5; Origen De Princ. 3.3.3; Eus. PE 7.329C8-330A8.


Two related inscriptions from elsewhere in Caria provide further evidence in favour of a Jewish origin.


Δι υψο[τω
καὶ Θείω τ[ω βα-
σιλεως Σ[τε-
4 φανεῖν υπερ
αυτοῦ καὶ
τῶν ἱδίων
πάντων εὐ-
8 χαροτήρι-
[ν].

"TO ZEUS MOST HIGH AND THE ROYAL DIVINITY. Stephanion made a thank-offering on behalf of himself and all his household."


... πάθοι[ν]τε ὑπὸ τῶν πυ/ρὸς ἄνγελων ... 

"... may you suffer at the hands of the angels of fire ..."

The nameless Royal Divinity of no. 6 is strongly suggestive of a Semitic origin, and the placing of the epithet Royal seems to aim at deliberately avoiding the familiar combination of Zeus Basileus. Philo in fact identifies the ‘Divinity’ with the ‘Father and King of All’. 46 The closest parallels for No. 7 are to be found in apocryphal literature of Jewish origin. 47

In short I believe that at Stratonicea we have an example of pagans borrowing some of their religious language from Jews. In no sense must this be regarded as an instance of substantive Jewish

46. Philo Leg. 3 (Theion is a regular substitute for Theos in Philo: e.g. Quod Det. Pot. Ins. Sol. 55; Fug. et Inv. 99.) A similar idea occurs in Clem. Alex. Str. 1.158.2. A.B. Cook, Zeus II.i.879 n. 17 mistranslates θείω as an adjective. The Theos Basileus from Enceklar (Lydia) may be a comparable borrowing from Jewish phraseology: publication, A. Fontrier, Mouseion kai Bibliothike tes Evangelikes Scholes tes Smyrnes 1886, 77 no. 566, cited by L. Robert, Anatolia 3 (1958) 128, n. 102. Ζεύς Βασιλεύς is found once, MAMA V. R 8 (Kuyucak, N. Phrygia), in a strictly pagan context.

47. Jub. 2.2; 2 Enoch. 29.1-3.
influence on a pagan cult, nor as an example of actual syncretism. What has happened is that a trend to a more abstract conception of deity has lead a few pagans to borrow catch-words from the people who had a particular reputation for a cult of a nameless, spiritualised divinity and to apply this language more or less incongruously to the cult of Zeus Hypsistos. The idea of a relation of equivalence between the Jewish God and Zeus is found as early as the Letter of Aristeas, while Philo at one point states that both Greeks and Jews acknowledge one supreme God. From the pagan point of view an important document is the inscription from Oenoanda recording an oracle of Apollo Klarios which proclaimed that the gods of the traditional pantheon were only the angeloi of a remote Supreme Deity. A further curious example of the uninformed borrowing of Jewish religious term by pagans is provided by an inscription whose probable provenance is the Mudanya (Apamea-Myrlea) area, on the borders of Bithynia and Asia. The members of a religious association, which seems from other texts which can be associated with it to have been devoted to Zeus Hypsistos, honoured a priestess 'for her love of good service in the synagogue of Zeus.' The word ὑσπιστὸς is always used in pagan Greek with a partitive genitive to mean an assembly of citizens, soldiers etc. In this context, it can only mean either 'assembly belonging/devoted to Zeus' or 'synagogue building of Zeus'. These usages with a possessive genitive are a peculiarity of Jewish Greek and its Christian derivations.

It is interesting to find angels associated with the cult of 'Hosion-Dikaion' (or 'Holiness and Justice') in Phrygia and Lydia.

8. White limestone stele; complete but broken in four pieces. The arched pediment contains a radiate head and bears acroteria. Below, in a recessed field between two columns, stand two figures in long tunics: right, a male with a long staff (? spear) in right hand and left, a (?) woman with a pair of scales in her right hand. Now in the store

49. See A.S. Hall, 'The Karian Oracle at Oenoanda,' ZPE 32 (1978) 263-67; L. Robert, 'Un oracle gravé à Oenoanda,' CRAI 1971, 597-619. A dedication to Theos Hypsistos (LW 1231) occurs in the same context. Hall dates the oracle to the late 3rd cent.; earlier commentators favoured the late 2nd or early 3rd century.
50. P. Perdrizet, BCH 23 (1899) 593.
51. LSJ s.v.
of Kütahya Museum. Provenance: Yayla Baba Köy, in the upper
Tembris (= Porsuk) valley. Plate 1.
Unpublished.
Height: 0.49 m. Width: 0.345 m.
Thickness: 0.05 m. Height of letters: 0.015 m.
Lunate sigma and epsilon.

In pediment, below head:

\[ \Delta \rho(\nu l\nu \varsigma) \]

Below figures:

\[ \Phi l\nu \gamma \varepsilon \lambda \nu \nu \sigma \nu \beta i-\nu \omega \nu \ 'O \sigma \nu \ \Delta \mu \kappa \epsilon \omega \nu \ e\nu-\chi \eta \nu. \]

"Aur(elius) ... the Association of Friends of the Angels (made) a
vow to Holiness and Justice".

This is one of a collection of about 40 dedications to Holiness and
Justice recovered from the same spot, where there was presumably
a sanctuary.\(^\text{52}\) Most had been smashed; it is to be hoped that further
research will ascertain whether this happened as a result of deliberate
action in antiquity. It has been decided to present this text here
because of its unusual interest.

The presence of an Aur(elius) in this and other texts from the
group dates it to the third century, after 212; the probable sanctuary
group from Kula (Lydia), referred to in n. 52 above, has texts dated
to 256/7 and 157/8.

The iconography is familiar from other dedications of this cult.\(^\text{53}\)
As to the vocabulary, *symbiosis* is not uncommon as a name for a
religious association, especially in Lydia in the Roman period.\(^\text{54}\)

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52. Information kindly provided by my colleague Dr. S. Mitchell. Three
documents from a possible sanctuary of Hosion-Dikaion at Kula were published
53. W.H. Buckler et al., *JRS* 15 (1925) 161 no. 150 (radiate bust); J.G.C.
Anderson, *JHS* 19 (1899) 80 no. 44 (figures, not illustrated); *MAMA* V.11
(woman with scales); cf. *AM* 25 (1900) 433 no. 55. The other dedications from
Yayla Baba Köy are iconographically very similar to the one published here.
54. L. Robert, *Etudes anatoliennes* (Etudes orientales publiées par l'Institut
français d'archéologie de Stamboul 5, Paris 1937) 63 n. 2; *Hellenica* IX (Paris
Plate 1. No. 8. Dedication by the Association of Friends of the Angels.
Philangelos is only otherwise attested in Ps.-Dionysius. The nearest parallel, interestingly enough, is the phrase ἀνγέλους τε ποιητῶν 'Beloved of the angels', applied to a certain Aquila, who was probably a Christian and possibly a Bishop in the same area. The evidence of no. 9 below makes it probable that Hesion-Dikaios were seen as angel(s) of a higher god by some of their worshippers; in Lydia, at least, this god may have been sometimes identifiable as Men, to judge from the evidence cited in nn. 64-66 below.


......... I ἱων καὶ Λουκία
......... καὶ Ἀνγέλω Ὀσίω
Δωρᾶς εὐχαριστοῦντες
4 ἀν' ἔστησαν διὰ προφητοῦ
'Αλεξάνδρου Σαϊτταῖο[ῦ].

"... and Lucia, through the agency of the prophet Alexander of Saittae, set this up in thanksgiving to .... AND TO THE HOLY AND JUST ANGEL".


55. Dion. Ar. *De Caelesti Hierarchia* 13.4 (PG III 320C). A. Petrie in *Studies in the History and Art of the Eastern Roman Provinces* ed. W.M. Ramsay (Aberdeen 1906) 125 no. 7 (epitaph of Aquila); cf. Anderson’s remark on p. 201: I can see no evidence for his suggestion that Aquila was a martyr. The text is from Çayırbaşi (Formerly Zemme); both this and Yayla Baba Köy are in the Altintas area. Aquila’s religion is only indicated by the names of his wife and son (Kyrilla, Kyrillos); his epitaph does not belong to the provocative ‘Christians for Christians’ group which dominate the Christian epigraphy of this area. These inscriptions are edited by E. Gibson, *The ‘Christians for Christians’ Inscriptions of Phrygia* (Harvard Theological Studies 32, Missoula, Mont. 1978). See W.H. Buckler et al., *JRS* 15 (1925) 142 no. 125 for a possible connection between the Aquila epitaph and another heterodox Christian verse epitaph from Kütahya. Did the Friends of the Angels in Yayla Baba Köy borrow the term ‘angel’ from local Christians? The parallel is not exact, since in one it is (presumably) the angels who are the object of affection, while in the other a man is befriended by the angels. I should prefer to see a common Jewish origin behind both occurrences of interest in angels: the language in which Aquila is described could well be applied to a Jew (note, in the religious context, especially lines 5-6, 'νομῶ τὰ δικεά φρενών' — ‘man of just ideas at law’) while another epitaph from the same village echoes Gen. 3.19 (Petrie op. cit. 124 no. 6 line 7); south over the hills from the Altintas valley lay the territory of Acmonia which had a prominent and hellenised Jewish community (below nn. 72-73). Nothing else in
A full discussion of the affinities of this cult is expected from Louis Robert. Meanwhile, it is worth noting that some of the language of the inscriptions is strongly reminiscent of Judaism. 'Hosios' and 'Dikaios' are, of course two of the standard attributes of God in the Septuagint. In the Anatolian cult, Holiness and Justice (or Righteousness) seem to have been very vaguely conceptualised. Dedications to them sometimes portray them in human form, Justice being shown as a woman with a pair of scales and Holiness as a man with a staff (cf. Plate 1). The texts, however, variously refer to them as neuter abstractions, as masculine, singular or plural, as feminine and even in a combination of genders. They are often associated, especially through the iconography of the monuments, with a variety of Anatolian deities: radiate Apollo, the Rider with the Double Axe, Kybele or Marsyas. However, in spite of these undeniable pagan associations, the uncertain way in which they are characterised suggests a groping after a more abstract conception of divinity. This process is illustrated by cases where the two virtues coalesce in a single 'Holy and Righteous Divinity'. Another striking development is the association of Hosion and Dikaion with 'the One and Only God'. Such language cannot be interpreted as

the Hosion-Dikaion cult suggests specifically Christian borrowings, while some other features, besides the two references to angels, are reminiscent of Jewish religious language.

56. See e.g. L. Robert, *Anatolia* 3 (1958) 117, 121 nn. 57, 67.
57. *MAMA* V.184-85.
59. *MAMA* V.183; Herrmann and Polatkan op. cit. no. 8.
62. Herrmann & Polatkan op. cit. (n. 58) 51 no. 9.
evidence for genuine monotheistic tendencies, but rather for a preliminary stage in which one god is proclaimed supreme over others in the pantheon. In Lydia, from which the example just cited (n. 62) comes, such language is a feature of the cult of the lunar god Men, who is also found associated with Hosion-Dikaion. Men also communicated with his worshippers through an anonymous supernatural angelos.


Μέγας Μείς Ἀξιοτητὸς Τάρσι βα-
σίλευων. Ἅπει ἐπεστᾶθη σική-
πτρον εἶ τις ἐκ τοῦ βαλανείου τι
κλέσι, κλαπέντος οὐν εἰματίου
ὁ θεὸς ἐνεμέσθαι τὸν κλέσιν
καὶ ἐπόσαμεν μετὰ χρόνου τὸ εἰμά-
τιον ἐνεκόν ἐπὶ τὸν θεὺς καὶ ἐ-
ξωμολογήσατο. Ὁ θεὸς οὖν ἐκέλευ-
σε δὲ ἀνγέλου πραοῦν τὸ εἰμα-
τιν καὶ στηλογραφήσα τὰς δυ-
νάμεις. Ἅτους σοῦ!

“Great is Men Axiottenos, King in Tarsi! When the sceptre had been set up in case anyone stole anything from the bath-house, since a cloak was stolen, the god took vengeance on the thief and made him bring the cloak to the god after a time, and he made

63. E. Peterson, Ἐκ Θεὸς (Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments NF 24, Göttingen 1926) 268-70, cf. 256 n. 3.

Μὴν οὐράνιον, μεγάλῃ δύναμις τοῦ ἄθαντον θεοῦ. (Saittae, Lydia). Cf. S. Rein-
nach, REG 3 (1890) 51 no. 1 (Kirgiz near Emet): ['Ετοὺς σοὶ' (190/1)
A[...]] Νεκτής Παρδαλᾶ Ἔργο θεῶ εὐχήν. Ὅσιος κ(α)λι δικέω ἡ Ἀλανῶν
κατοκία. σῶζε τὴν κατοικίαν. E. Lane, Corpus Monumentorum Religionis
Dei Menis I (Leiden 1971) 58 no. 88 treats δοῦλ κ(α)λι δικέῳ as epithets of
Men (cf. ibid. III 78); this leaves ἡ Ἀλανῶν κατοκία incomplete in sense.
J. Keil, JOAI 11 (1908) Beibl. 154ff. (Arvalia near Ephesus): μέγα τὸ ὄνομα
tοῦ θεοῦ, μέγα τὸ ὄνομα, μέγα τὸ ἀγαθόν. Cf. LXX Ps. 76.2: μέγα τὸ ὄνομα
ἀυτοῦ. See further n. 87 below. There is some rather scattered evidence from
Cyprus and Palestine to suggest that Ἐκ Θεὸς acclamations were associated
with pagan-Jewish syncretism: see Peterson op. cit. 281-99.
confession. So the god gave orders through an angel that the cloak should be sold and his powers written up on a stele. In the year 249 (= AD 164/5).”

Now it was possible for a second century Christian critic of Judaism to say of the Jews, ‘They adore angels, archangels, the months and the moon’. If this kind of garbled view of Judaism could pass muster in Christian circles, is it not possible that some pagans could have thought that Jews worshipped a supreme, ‘One’ god of the moon, and have applied some of the language used by Jews to their own cults? Once again, we are not dealing with real Jewish influence on pagans, nor even with actual syncretism, but with the misappropriation of religious language.

A recently published dedication from Phrygia links Holiness with Theos Hypsistos and Zeus, while a dedication to Theos Hypsistos by a priest of Men is also known. A warning about the danger of ascribing Theos Hypsistos texts to Jewish influence or cryptojudaism has recently been issued by Thomas Kraabel. Kraabel has argued that only one of the numerous Theos Hypsistos texts from western Asia Minor is necessarily Jewish and suggests that the other examples can be explained in terms of mountain gods, analogous to Zeus Hypsistos, with whose cult Theos Hypsistos sometimes overlaps, or of an independent trend towards a pagan monotheism. While, as Kraabel argues, there may be no direct evidence for actual syncretism among


66. T. Drew-Bear, Nouvelles Inscriptions de la Phrygie (Studia Amstelodamensia ad Epigraphicam, Ius Antiquum et Papyrologiam pertinentia 16, Zutphen 1978) 41, no. 8 (Seyitgazi); G.E. Bean, AS 10 (1960) 65 no. 115 (Belen, near Yaniz = Andeda, Pisidia). Men is also found associated with Thelov: Herrmann and Polatkan op. cit. 54 no. 11 (Menye).


known Jewish communities of Asia Minor, I should prefer to see at least the Lydian and Phrygian Theos Hypsistos inscriptions as a further example of the borrowing of half-understood Jewish terms by pagans.

A puzzling new inscription from Galatia may stand closer to Jewish, or at least Semitic sources.


Height: 0.46 m. Diameter: 0.28 at base, tapering to 0.26 m.

Letters: 3.5 cm.

τῷ μεγάλῳ
Θεῷ ὶψίστῳ καὶ
Ἐπουρανίῳ καὶ
4 τοῖς ἅγιοις αὐτοῦ
ἀνγέλου καὶ τῆ
προσκυνητῇ αὐ-
τῷ προσευχῇ τὰ
8 ὡδε ἔργα γείνεται

"The works here set forth are FOR THE GREAT AND MOST HIGH GOD OF HEAVEN AND HIS HOLY ANGELS and for his venerable house of prayer ..."

The letter forms are consistent with a date in the late second or third century AD.

(1) The article is unusual with Θεὸς ὶψίστος in inscribed dedications. It is, however, normal in the Septuagint, except to a certain extent in Ecclesiasticus. It occurs in inscriptions only in two cases which are certainly Jewish and in the cult of ὄ ἅγιωτατοι θεὸς ὶψιστος σωτήρ at Miletus.

(1-3) The combination of epithets cannot be paralleled exactly, the closest approaches being a dedication to θεὸς μέγας ὶψιστος by

69. CIJ 725, 769.
70. OGIS 755, 756.
Plate 2. No. 11. Dedication from Kalecik.
a certain Rufina near Sinope\textsuperscript{11} and the hellenised cult of Baal Shamim at Baetocaece near Aradus in Syria, where the god was addressed as \textit{θεός υψίστος οὐράνως} or \textit{Σεβ οὐράνως υψίστος}.

\textit{Επουράνως} is very rare as a divine epithet. \textit{Επουρανῖοι θεοί} are cited alongside \textit{θεοὶ καταχθόνιοι} in a sepulchral curse formula at Magnesia.\textsuperscript{73} The phrase \textit{θεός έπουράνως} is, however, used twice in 3 Maccabees; in both passages its use is attributed to non-Jews.\textsuperscript{74}

(4-5) The expression ‘holy Angels’ is common in patristic and liturgical Greek, but is not a feature of LXX or philonic usage. It has not hitherto been recorded in non-Christian inscriptions.

(6) \textit{προσευχής} is a rare word, not otherwise known to have been applied to physical objects before Epiphanius and Cyril of Alexandria.\textsuperscript{75} Its appearance here may suggest a date rather late in the third century, or conceivably the early fourth.

(7) \textit{προσευχή} is only used in the sense of ‘place for prayer’ in Jewish Greek. Its presence marks the inscription as either Jewish or connected in some way with Judaism. A relevant example of a text which combines a pagan deity with a \textit{προσευχή} is provided by a dedication from Amastris: \textit{θεῷ ἀνεκκήτῳ Λαβαμεῖ καὶ τῇ κυρίᾳ προσευχὴ εὐξαμένου καὶ ἐπιτυχῶν ἀνέθηκα Αὐρήλῳ Πρωτόκτητος εὐχαριστήριῳ.}

“I, Aurelius Protoctetus, having prayed and obtained my request, set up a thank-offering to (?) Asbames, unconquered god, and to the great house of prayer.”\textsuperscript{76}

The god addressed in the Kalecik dedication cannot safely be identified as the God of Israel, in spite of the use of the article with \textit{Theos Hypsistos}, as the additional epithets point rather to Syrian paganism. Nevertheless, the use of \textit{προσευχή} (and perhaps \textit{ἐπουράνως}) and the absence of specifically polytheistic elements certainly suggests some borrowing from Judaism or else an attempt on the

\textsuperscript{71} D.M. Robinson, \textit{AJA} 9 (1905) 304 no. 26 (Sinope), cf. G. Mendell, \textit{BCH} 27 (1903) 333 no. 49 (Emreli) — identical text but possibly not the same stone.

\textsuperscript{72} \textit{IGLS VII.} 4027, \textit{IGR III.} 1060.

\textsuperscript{73} \textit{Inschriften von Magnesia ad Sipyllum} ed. T. Ihnen (Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien 8, Bonn 1978) 28. \textit{πατήρ ἐπουράνως:} once in NT, Mt. 18.35. \textit{ἐπουράνως} is used once in OT LXX to translate Heb. \textit{Shaddai}, Ps. 67 (68). 15.

\textsuperscript{74} 3 Macc. 6.28, 7.6.

\textsuperscript{75} See Lampe, \textit{A Patristic Greek Lexicon} s.v.

\textsuperscript{76} E. Kalinka, \textit{JOAI} 28 (1933) Beibl. 61 no. 8 with L. Robert, \textit{Rev. Arch.} 1936 i, 237.
part of pagans to give their cult a Jewish veneer. Whether such a
cult should be regarded as strictly pagan or as Jewish but heterodox
is difficult to say. The nearest trace of orthodox Jewish settlement
is the recently excavated cemetery at Evci, near Bogazköy. 77 A
possible parallel phenomenon to our text is the 'Hypsistarii' of
fourth century Cappadocia, who appear to have blended hellenised
Judaism with an Iranian fire cult. 77a

Borrowing of Jewish terms will have been facilitated by the fact
that the Jews of western Asia Minor participated in pagan society
to an unusual extent. Jewish magistrates are known from Sardis,
Acmonia and Corycus in the imperial period while Jewish ephebes
have been identified at Iasus. 78 The Tyrronii of Acmonia produced
within a generation both a synagogue president and a priest of the
imperial cult. 79 The same synagogue had as one of its benefactors
an aristocratic lady connected with the old royal family of Galatia,
who also served as a priestess of the imperial cult. 80 We have al-
ready seen that the Jews of Miletus attended the theatre, while at
Smyrna we have striking evidence of assimilation in the shape of a
group contributing to the expenses of a pagan cult who identify
themselves as 'the former Jews'. 81 Finally, the Talmud preserves
an anecdote, for what it is worth, concerning a visit by the second
century sage Rabbi Meir to Sardis on the feast of Purim: he found
no Hebrew text of the Book of Esther available for the service, so
proceeded to dictate one from memory. 82

77. K. Bittel et al., Boğazköy V (Abh. der Deutschen Orientgesellschaft 18,
Berlin 1975) 110-113 nos. 6-9. These stones come from a cemetery which
included both Jewish and Christian burials of roughly contemporary date. The
Christian stones can hardly be earlier than the very late 4th century, to judge
from the prominent Latin crosses.

77a. A.B. Cook, Zeus II ii 885 n. 28 with literature there cited, especially
Greg. Naz. Or. 18.5.

Epheses at Iasus: Robert, Hellenica III (Paris 1946) 100-101, cf. the Jewish
Archiatros at Ephesus, IBM III.677.


80. Julia Severa: PIR² J 701; E. Groag, RE X.947; S. Mitchell, JRS 64

30.

82. A. Neubauer, La Géographie du Talmud (Paris 1868) 290, 310, citing
Tosefta, Megillah 2. R. Meir was a pupil of R. Akiba — see H.L. Strack,
A further point of contact between Jews and pagans may have been provided by the apologetic works composed by Jews and circulated under the names of figures from the Greek literary tradition, notably Orpheus (!), Aeschylus, Sophocles and Menander. Fragments are first quoted by Clement of Alexandria and in Ps.-Justin, De Monarchia (late 2nd century AD). A fragment of 'Aeschylus' closes with the words, πάντα δυνατή γάρ δόξα υψιστον (θεοῦ).

"The glory of the Most High is all-powerful". 83

A passage of 'Sophocles' begins,

eis taís álphibéas, eis èstwn theós,
d' èk oîranaiv te ètevèze kai gaián makrèn

"One is God, one in truth, who framed heaven and the broad earth." 84

Ps.-Justin introduces this quotation with the words ... kai σωφρονικὴς τῆν τοῦ μόνου ποιητοῦ τῶν θεῶν καὶ ένδικα θεοῦ ἱστορεῖ τάξιν οὕτως.

"... And Sophocles describes the situation of the Sole Creator of All and One God as follows." 85 There are evident similarities here to some of the pagan texts we have been discussing.

My conclusion, therefore, is that, although it would be extremely rash to speak of substantive Jewish influence on the cults of Hosion-Dikaion and of Zeus Hypsistos at Stratonicea, certain features of the religious language they use can best be explained as borrowings from Judaism, the beliefs and religious terminology of which remained however, largely misunderstood. The features in question are the use of angelos, instead of daimon, 86 the phrase 'Royal Divinity' at Lagina, the interest in Holiness and Righteousness and their association with a supreme god, and the cult of Theos Hypsistos. I end with a piece of speculation about the concepts which may lie behind some of this language. The triad formed by the One and Only God, Holiness and Righteousness in a text from Lydia (above, n. 62) is paralleled by one from near Ephesus which reads, 'Great is the Name of

On a more speculative level, E. Schweizer in Jews, Greeks and Christians ... (see n. 44) 249-55 suggests there may have been some Pythagorean influence on the Judaising Christians of Colossae.

83. The fragments of these works are edited by A. M. Denis in Pseudepigrapha Veteris Testamenti Graeca 3 (Leipzig 1970); 'Aeschylus' appears on p. 162.

84. Denis, loc. cit.

85. Above nn. 62-64, 66.

God, Great is Holiness, Great is Goodness'. An interest in the
Name of God is characteristic not only of Judaism and the sub-
Jewish world of the magical papyri, but also of the cult of Serapis. In
the latter, however, the usual formula is 'great is the Name of Serapis'
and in any case there is no reason to suppose that the Egyptian cult
is in question here. Judaism is once again the origin. It is tempting to
see a parallel between these triadic dedications and Philo's concep-
tion of the two Powers through whom the Father manifests him-
self. Philo's Powers, the Royal/Ruling and the Creative, are, how-
ever, aspects of divine activity, rather than attributes of godhead.
Nevertheless, the principle involved, that of the hypostatisation of
aspects of divinity, is the same. Rabbinic Judaism expressed some-
thing of the same idea through the belief that it was not God Himself,
but his Presence (Shekinah) which acted in the world and revealed
Him to men. Could a garbled version of such an idea lie behind the
following text, which is noteworthy for its combination of a tho-
roughly pagan offering with a pair of abstract divinities? There seems
to be no parallel for an impersonal deity being described as "Manifest
(Epiphanes)."


Θεῷ υψίστῳ καὶ μεγάλῳ Ἐλεώ ς ἐπιρανεί Δη-
μῶς θυγάτηρ Τυράννων
4 θεᾶν Λαρμηνήν ἄνεσ-
τησεν ἔτοικο δυνᾷ:

"Demo, daughter of Tyrannus, set up (scil. a statue of) the god-
dess Larmene, in the year 256, TO THE MOST HIGH GOD AND

87. J. Keil, JOAI 11 (1908) Beibl. 154ff., quoted n. 64 above. For the inter-
pretation adopted, see L. Robert, Hellenica X (Paris 1955) 84-89; L. Vidman,
Sylloge Inscriptionum Religionis Isiae et Sarapiacae (Religionsgeschichtliche
Versuche und Vorarbeiten 28, Berlin 1969) on nos. 304, 357. ἀγαθῶν is proba-
ably equivalent to δυκαίων.
89. Μῆν ἐπιφάνεις occurs at Uluborlu (Apollonia, Pisidia): W.M. Ramsay, JHS
4 (1883) 417 no. 32 = E. Lane op. cit. (n. 68) I 84 no. 130. Lists of theoi
epiphaneis: F. Steinleitner, Die Beicht ... in der Antike, diss. München 1913,
15-21; F. Pfister, RE Supp. IV (1924) 301. For the penetration of Judaism into
a strongly pagan milieu, see now L. Robert, CRAI 1978, 245-52 on a student of
Herodes Atticus and cf. J.G.C. Anderson, Studies in the History and Art of the
Eastern Roman Provinces ed. W.M. Ramsay (Aberdeen 1906) 211.
THE GREAT AND MANIFEST DIVINITY."
(Date: 181/2 AD).


Θε[ψ θυ[τσ, μεγάλω Θε[φ
Δ]φαντος 'Ακιαμου ιερεύ[ς
ε]υχήν ...

1 Θε[ψ Buckler 1 Θε[ψ Robert (Anatolia III, p. 118)

"Diophantus the priest, son of Akiamas, (paid his) vow ... to THE
MOST HIGH GOD, THE GREAT [God]
1 [Divinity] Robert

Mega Theion: P. Herrmann and K.Z. Polatkan, SB Akad. Wien 265
(1969) p. 53 no. 10. The publication of this text renders more likely
both Robert's restoration of no. 12a and my translation of no. 12,
taking μεγάλω with Θείω.
Western Asia Minor under the Roman Empire (sketch map).