

PAGAN CULTS OF ANGELS IN ROMAN ASIA MINOR

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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:

- CIJ* = *Corpus Inscriptionum Judaicarum* II ed. J.-B. Frey et al. (Sussidi allo Studio delle Antichità cristiane 3, Roma 1952). (N.B. the notice by L. Robert, *Bulletin Epigraphique*, REG 67 (1954) no. 24).
- IBM* = *The Collection of Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum* ed. E.L. Hicks et al. (Oxford 1874-1916).
- LW* = P. LeBas and W. Waddington, *Voyage archéologique en Grèce et en Asie Mineure* III. v (Inscriptions - Asie Mineure) (Paris 1870).

1. Stratonicea. *LW* 515.

Δὺ ὑψίστῳ καὶ ἀγαθῷ
ἀγγέλῳ Κλαύδιος Ἀχιλλεὺς
καὶ Γαλάτ[ι]α ὑπὲρ σωτηρ[ίας]
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.

Δὺ ὑψίστῳ
καὶ θείῳ 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.”

3. Stratonicea. A. Laumonier, *BCH* LVIII (1934), p. 337 no. 22.

Θείῳ ἀγγε-
λικῷ εὐχα-
ριστοῦμεν
4 ὑπὲρ σωτη-
ρίας.

“We give thanks for salvation TO THE ANGELIC DIVINITY.”

4. Stratonicea. L. Robert, *Rev. Arch.* 1935, ii, 55.

Θείῳ ἀγγελικῷ εὐχαριστοῦμεν.

“We give thanks TO THE ANGELIC DIVINITY.”

5. Stratonicea. A. Laumonier, loc. cit., no. 21.

Δ]ιεὶ ὑψί-
σ]τῳ καὶ Θ[εί-
ῳ ἀγαθῷ
Σόκρατης.

Socrates (*scil.* dedicated this)

TO ZEUS MOST HIGH AND THE GOOD [DIVINITY.]

2 [God] Laumonier

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 *θείον ἀγγελικόν* would be very odd Greek for 'messenger god' (= *θεὸς ἀγγέλος*) or 'messenger of the gods' (= *ἀγγέλος τῶν θεῶν*). Fourthly,

2. See L. Robert, *Anatolia* 3 (1958) 116 n. 54. The choice between *θεῶν* and *θείων* 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.

3. A.D. Nock, 'The Guild of Zeus Hypsistos,' *HTR* 29 (1936) 34ff. (corrected version in *Select Essays ... of A.D. Nock* ed. Z. Stewart (Oxford 1972) I, 416 ff.) A.B. Cook, *Zeus* (Cambridge 1925) II. ii App. B, 876-890.

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

5. F. Sokolowski, 'Sur le Culte d'Angelos dans le paganisme grec et romain,' *HTR* 53 (1960) 225ff. Cf. T.F. Glasson, *Greek Influence on Jewish Eschatology* (London 1961) 57-64.

6. Sokolowski, *op. cit.* 243.

all other pagan *angeloi* are explicitly identified with gods of the traditional pantheon; there is no such clear identification at Stratonicea.⁷ 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').⁸ This god could well have been translated into Greek as *θείον ἀγγελικόν*.

Two objections may be raised. First, Malakh-Bel seems to have been a solar deity, while the Stratonicea cult seems to lack such characteristics.⁹ 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.¹⁰

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

7. a) *Hermesangelos*: Hom. *Od.* 5.29; Hom. *Hymn* 2.407; 4.572; 18.3; 19.29; 29.8; W. Peek, *Griechische Versinschriften* I. 1883; Eur. *El.* 462; *I.A.* 1303; Plato, *Crat.* 407E.

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

c) *Athena, angelos*: Hom. *Il.* 11.714-5.

d) *Helios, angelos*: Hom. *Od.* 8.270-71.

e) *Nemesis, angelos* of Dike: Plato *Laws* 717A.

f) *angelos athanaton* = Nike: A. Raubitschek, *AJA* 44 (1940) 53 (5th cent. BC).

g) *Thetis, angelos*: Hom. *Il.* 24.133.

h) *theios oneiros* as *angelos*: Hom. *Il.* 2.26.

i) *angeloi katakhthonioi* = 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.)

Cf. *RE* Supp. III.102ff., whose view of the Stratonicea cult is not supported by the evidence. For the conclusion reached here, cf. J. Barbel, *Christos Angelos*² (Bonn 1964) 7-18.

8. F. Cumont, 'Les anges du paganisme,' *Revue de l'histoire de religions* 72 (1915) 159ff.

9. J. Teixidor, *The Pantheon of Palmyra* (Etudes préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'empire romain 79, Leiden 1979) 47ff.

10. W.R. Buckler et al., *JRS* 16 (1926) 74 no. 201.

Hypaepa in Lydia.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.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 Hypaepa was not Ahura Mazda, but "Persian Artemis", probably to be identified with a Babylonian goddess.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.¹⁴ What is important for our present purpose is that the six great spirits of light (*yazatas*) get turned into the seven guardians of the planetary spheres of Babylonian tradition, appearing in a Greek form as *archangeloi*.¹⁵ Such teachings probably circulated initially in Aramaic, the *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 Ostanēs; they survive only in citations, the earliest clearly datable references being in Pliny the Elder.¹⁶ Similar sources in Aramaic may well have stimulated the efflorescence of angelology in Judaism from the second century BC onwards.¹⁷ One fairly late epigraphic text, from the theatre at

11. Paus. 5.27.8. Cf. L. Robert, *Rev. Num.* 18 (1976) 25-48.

12. L. Robert, *CRAI* 1975, 306-30; 1978, 280.

13. J. Bidez & F. Cumont, *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,' *HTR* 55 (1962) 261ff.

14. See Bidez & Cumont, op. cit. I, 34ff., 56-84. Cf. Plut. *De Is et Os.* 46ff. and J.G. Griffiths (Oxford 1970) ad loc.

15. Ibid. II, 284 n. 4.

16. Ibid. II, 271-296, especially the citation from Cosmas of Jerusalem/Maiuma on p. 272.

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, *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.'¹⁸ 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.¹⁹ In this case Judaism may be the intermediate source for the Milesian cult of angels.²⁰

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.²¹ Organised Jewish communities can be traced in Phrygia at Acmonia, Apamea, Synnada and Hierapolis;²² in Caria at Myndus and Hyllarima,²³ in Lydia at Hypaepa,²⁴ Philadelphia,²⁵ and Sardis,²⁶ and on the coast at Smyrna,²⁷ Miletus,

18. CIG 2895.

19. CII 748: *τόπος Ελουδέων τῶν καὶ θεοσεβίων* (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,' *IM* 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; CII 774 = W.M. Ramsay, *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia II* (Oxford 1897) 538 no. 399 bis; MAMA IV.90 (restored text); CII 775 = IGR IV.834 = W. Judeich, *Altortümer von Hierapolis* (JDAI Ergänzungsheft 4, Berlin 1898) 138 no. 212.

23. CII 756 = T. Reinach, *REJ* 42 (1901) 1-6. Hyllarima: n. 45 below. Unpublished evidence exists for a community at Aphrodisias: *AS* 27 (1977) 31.

24. CII 755 = S. Reinach, *REJ* 10 (1885) 74ff.

25. CII 754 = J. Keil & A. von Premerstein, 'Bericht über eine dritte Reise in Lydien ...', *Denkschr. Akad. Wien* 57 (1914) 32 no. 42.

26. I exclude the Thyaterra text CII 752 = CIG 3509, which does not seem

Teos, Phocaea²⁸ and Ephesus.²⁹

Later Rabbinic orthodoxy forbade the invocation of angels and discouraged public speculation about possible members of the 'court of Heaven'.³⁰ 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.³¹

The first writer who made a clear identification of the *daimones* of pagan tradition with the *angeloi* of the Septuagint was Philo.³² The equation was repeated by Nicomachus of Gerasa and Cornelius Labeo and then taken up by later Platonists and Neoplatonists.³³ 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, Judaïsme, Christianisme - Influences et affrontements dans le monde antique: Mélanges ... Marcel Simon* (Paris 1978) 10ff.

27. Smyrna: *CIJ* 741 = *IGR* IV.1452 = S. Reinach, *REJ* 7 (1883) 161-166.

28. Miletus: *CIJ* 748. Teos: *CIJ* 744 = E. Pottier & A. Hauvette-Besnault, *BCH* 4 (1880) 181 no. 44. Phocaea: *CIJ* 738 = *IGR* IV.1327 = S. Reinach, *BCH* 12 (1886) 236-43.

29. Ephesus: *IBM* III. 676-677. Cf. Acts 18.26, 19.9.

30. J. Talmud, *Berachot* 13A69; I. Epstein, *Judaism* (Harmondsworth 1959) 224-25. Cf. *Sifre Deut.* 148A fin.

31. D.S. Russell op. cit. (n. 17) chap. 9; Qumran 'Angelic Liturgy' transl. G. Vermes, *The Dead Sea Scrolls in English* (Harmondsworth² 1975) 210ff.; M. Simon, *Vetus Israel* (Paris² 1964) 400-405; J.M.R. Cormack, *HTR* 44 (1951) 31. For summary data on *TSolomon*, see J.H. Charlesworth, *The Pseudepigrapha and Modern Research* (Missoula, Mont. 1976) 197-202.

32. R. Heinze, *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 Heinze 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, Heinze 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 Poimandrès 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 Chaldaïques* and Numenius by E. des Places (Paris 1971, 1973) pp. 11, 14 of the former, 17ff., 21ff. of the latter with fr. 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 τῆς προσήσεως ἀξιῶν: 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 *prosrhesis* 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 *Somn.* 1.232, 238; *Fug. et Inv.* 212.

37. Id. *Moses* 1.274.

38. Ibid. 281: λέγω γὰρ ἴδιον οὐδέν, ἀλλ' ἅπ' ἂν ὑπηχῆσθαι τὸ θεῖον. See in general on Philo's angelology, J. Barbel, *Christos Angelos* 33.

39. Justin *I Apol.* 6. The cult of angels was condemned by Origen c. *Celsus* 5.4-5, but remained a problem in Phrygia: the canons of the Council of Laodicea (4th cent.) condemned it, along with other judaising 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* I.434;

closely related to God, for christological purposes.⁴⁰ A similar idea appears in Clement of Alexandria.⁴¹

Both Christians and Jews identified the gods of pagan cults as angels – either as angelic guardians mistakenly worshipped as gods.⁴² or as evil demons resulting from the fall of some of the angels.⁴³

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 Çayı) joins the main Maeander (= Menderes) valley while the same town has furnished a synagogue document concerning a high-ranking lady who was a *θεοσέβης*. 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.⁴⁴ More significant than either of these is the presence of a synagogue at Hyllarima, in the basin of the Marsyas River.⁴⁵

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 1 *Apol.* 63.14-15; *Dial.* 61.1, 86.3 fin. The details and implications of Justin's christology are not relevant here.

41. Clem. Alex. *Paed.* 1.59.1.

42. D.S. Russell op. cit. (n. 17) 168-69, 235ff. Cf. Philo *Fug. et Inv.* 112.

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

44. Ign. *Trall. Praef.*; a *θεοσέβης* in Tralles: *CIG* 2924. Id. *Magn. Praef.*, 8-10. The detailed interpretation of Ignatius' attacks on heretics remains controversial; for a convenient summary, see C.K. Barrett, 'Jews and Judaizers in the Epistles of Ignatius,' *Jews, Greeks and Christians: Essays in honour of W.D. Davies* (Studies in the Judaism of Late Antiquity 21, Leiden 1976) 220-244, especially 235ff.

45. Hyllarima: A. Laumonier, *BCH* 58 (1934) 379, 516-17.

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

6. Lagina. C. Diehl & G. Cousin, *BCH* XI (1887), p. 159 no. 67.

Δὺ ὑψισ[τω
καὶ Θεῖω τ[ω βα-
σιλικῷ Σ[τε-
4 φανίων ὑπὲρ
αὐτοῦ καὶ
τῶν ιδίων
πάντων εὖ-
8 χαριστήρι-
[ον].

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

7. Kidrama. J. & L. Robert, *La Carie* (Paris 1954), p. 366 no. 191, fragment A.

... πάθῃ/[ι]τε ὑπὸ τῶν πυ[ρ]ρῶν ἀγγέλων ...

"... 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.ii.879 n. 17 mistranslates *θεῖω* as an adjective. The *Theos Basileus* from Enckler (Lydia) may be a comparable borrowing from Jewish phraseology: publication, A. Fontrier, *Museion kai Bibliothekē tes Evangelikes Scholes tes Smyrnes* 1886, 77 no. 566, cited by L. Robert, *Anatolia* 3 (1958) 128, n. 102. Ζεὺς Βασιλικός 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.⁴⁸ 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.⁴⁹ 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.' (*φιλαγαθήσασαν ἐν τῇ τοῦ Δίως συναγωγῇ*).⁵⁰ The word *συναγωγή* 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.⁵¹

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

48. *Ep. Arist.* 16; *Philo Spec. Leg.* 2.165.

49. See A.S. Hall, 'The Klarian 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:

Αὐρ(ήλιος)

Τ

Below figures:

Φιλανγέλων συνβι-
ώσις Ὅσιω Δικέω εὐ-
χήν.

“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.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.⁵³ As to the vocabulary, *symbiosis* is not uncommon as a name for a religious association, especially in Lydia in the Roman period.⁵⁴

52. Information kindly provided by my colleague Dr. S. Mitchell. Three documents from a possible sanctuary of Hosion-Dikaion at Kula were published by P. Herrmann and K.Z. Polatkan, *SB Akad. Wien* 265 i (1969) 49-53.

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 ἀγγέλους τε ποθητόν 'Beloved of the angels', applied to a certain Aquila, who was probably a Christian and possibly a Bishop in the same area.⁵⁵ The evidence of no. 9 below makes it probable that Hosion-Dikaion 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.

9. L. Robert, *Anatolia* III (1958) 120. Temrek, near Borlu (Lydia).

..... Ἰ Ἰων καὶ [Λ]ουκία
 καὶ Ἀγγελῶ Ὅσιῳ
 Δικαίῳ εὐχαριστοῦντες
 4 ἀνέστησαν διὰ προφητοῦ
 Ἀλεξάνδρου Σαῖττηνοῦ.

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

1950) 37-38; cf. K. Buresch, *Aus Lydien* (Leipzig 1898) 54-55, 130ff.; E. Lane, *Corpus Monumentorum Religionis Dei Menis* III (Leiden 1976) 34.

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 Çayırbaşı (Formerly Zemme); both this and Yayla Baba Köy are in the Altıntaş 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 δικέα φρονῶν' — '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 Altıntaş 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.⁵⁶ Meanwhile, it is worth noting that some of the language of the inscriptions is strongly reminiscent of Judaism. 'Hosios' and 'Dikaioi' 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,⁵⁷ as masculine, singular or plural,⁵⁸ as feminine and even in a combination of genders.⁵⁹ 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.⁶⁰ 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'.⁶¹ Another striking development is the association of Hosion and Dikaion with 'the One and Only God'.⁶² 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.

58. P. Herrmann and K.Z. Polatkan, *SB Akad. Wien* 265 i (1969) 50 nos. 7-8, 'To the Holy and Righteous God (singular) ...'; *MAMA* VII.132, 'To the Holy and Righteous (?) Ones (?plural) ...'; *CIG* 3830 (plural).

59. *MAMA* V.183; Herrmann and Polatkan op. cit. no. 8.

60. G. Mendel, *Musées impériaux ottomans: Catalogue des sculptures grecques, romaines et byzantines* III (Istanbul 1914) no. 847, cf. 846; I. Macpherson, *ABSA* 44 (1954) 12 no. 2; C.H.E. Haspels, *The Highlands of Phrygia* (Princeton 1971) no. 116; J.G.C. Anderson, *JHS* 19 (1899) 79 no. 43. Much information on all these cults is to be found assembled in P. Carrington, *The Distribution and History of Elements of the Native Culture of Roman Phrygia, with reference to their Ethnic Origin*, diss. Newcastle-upon-Tyne 1976, especially pp. 184-88 and App. 3.

61. *Mouseion kai Bibliotheke tes Evangelikes Scholes tes Smyrnes* 1880, 169 no. 343, cited by L. Robert, *Anatolia* 3 (1958) 116 n. 55 — Gölte (Lydia); G. Petzl in *Studien zur Religion und Kultur Kleinasien: Festschrift für F.K. Dörner* (Leiden 1978) 756-61. Cf. Philo, *De Virt.* 50 for the two virtues' connection with the 'Divinity'.

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.⁶³ 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.⁶⁴ Men also communicated with his worshippers through an anonymous supernatural *angelos*.

10. Köleköy (Lydia). P. Hermann, *Denkschr. Akad. Wien* LXXX (1962) 30 no. 21. (Reprinted: E. Lane, *Corpus Monumentorum Religionis Menis* I (Leiden 1971) 45f no. 69).

- Μέγας Μείς Ἀξιωττηνὸς Τάρσι βα-
σιλεύων. Ἐπεὶ ἐπεστάθη σκῆ-
πτρον εἴ τις ἐκ τοῦ βαλανείου τι
4 κλέψι, κλαπέντος οὖν εἰματίου
ὁ θεὸς ἐνεμέσῃσεν τὸν κλέπτην
καὶ ἐπόησεν μετὰ χρόνον τὸ εἰμά-
τιον ἐνεγκῶν ἐπὶ τὸν θεὸν καὶ ἐ-
8 ξωμολογήσατο. Ὁ θεὸς οὖν ἐκέλευ-
σε δι' ἀγγέλου πραθῆναι τὸ εἰμά-
τιν καὶ στηλλογραφῆσαι τὰς δυ-
νάμεις. Ἔτους σμθ'.

"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, *Eἰς Θεός* (Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments NF 24, Göttingen 1926) 268-70, cf. 256 n. 3.

64. J. Keil & A. von Premerstein, 'Bericht über eine zweite Reise in Lydien,' *Denkschr. Akad. Wien* 54 (1911) 109 no. 211: *Εἰς θεός ἐν οὐρανοῖς, μέγας Μῆν οὐράνιος, μεγάλη δύναμις τοῦ ἀθανάτου θεοῦ*. (Saittae, Lydia). Cf. S. Reinach, *REG* 3 (1890) 51 no. 1 (Kırgıl near Emet): [*Ἔτ*]ους σοε' (190/1) *Α[...]* Νευκήτας Παρδαλᾶ Μηνὶ θεῷ εὐχὴν. Ὅσιω κ(αὶ) Δικέω ἡ Ἀλιανῶν κατοικία. σῶζε τὴν κατοικίαν. E. Lane, *Corpus Monumentorum Religionis Dei Menis* I (Leiden 1971) 58 no. 88 treats ὁσίω κ(αὶ) δικέω as epithets of Men (cf. *ibid.* III 78); this leaves ἡ Ἀλιανῶν κατοικία incomplete in sense. J. Keil, *JOAI* 11 (1908) Beibl. 154ff. (Arvalia near Ephesus): *μέγα τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ θεοῦ, μέγα τὸ ὄσιον, μέγα τὸ ἀγαθόν*. Cf. LXX Ps. 76.2: *μέγα τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ*. See further n. 87 below. There is some rather scattered evidence from Cyprus and Palestine to suggest that *εἰς θεός* 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'.⁶⁵ 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.⁶⁶ 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,⁶⁷ or of an independent trend towards a pagan monotheism.⁶⁸ While, as Kraabel argues, there may be no direct evidence for actual *syncretism* among

65. Kerygma Petri, cited by Clem. Alex. *Str.* 6.41. For what follows, see M. Simon, 'Remarques sur l'angelolâtrie juive au début de l'ère chrétienne,' *CRAI* 1971, 120-32.

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

67. A.D. Nock et al., *HTR* 29 (1936) 55-59 = *Select Essays ... of A.D. Nock* ed. Z. Stewart (Oxford 1972) I 416-20.

68. A.T. Kraabel, 'Hypsistos and the Synagogue at Sardis' *GRBS* 10 (1969) 81-93. The *Theos Hypsistos* text he there refers to is *CIJ* 769 = W.M. Ramsay, *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia* II (Oxford 1897) 652 no. 563 (Acmonia). Cf. Nock op. cit. 67-69 = *Essays* 426-27; E. Lane, *Corpus Monumentorum Religionis Dei Menis* III (Leiden 1976) 68-70, 79-80. G.E. Bean, *AS* 10 (1960) 70 no. 122 *θεῶν ὑψίστων καὶ ἁγεία καταφυγῆ* ought to satisfy Kraabel's criteria for being Jewish with its reminiscence of the language of *Psalms*. At the other extreme, note *Thea Hypsiste* (fem.) at Göldö (Lydia) — Keil and Premerstein, op. cit. (n. 64) 97 no. 189.

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.

11. Kalecik, now in the garden in front of the Belediye, but brought from elsewhere. Column of red marble with white veins. Broken above and below. Square sigma and 'W' form omega. Also published by S. Mitchell, *Regional Epigraphic Catalogues of Asia Minor*, II, no. 209 (b) (British Archaeological Reports, Oxford 1982). Photograph kindly made available by Miss J. Greenhalgh. Plate 2. Height: 0.46 m. Diameter: 0.28 at base, tapering to 0.26 m. Letters: 3.5 cm.

τῷ μεγάλῳ
Θεῷ Ὑψίστῳ καὶ
Ἐπουρανίῳ καὶ
4 τοῖς ἁγίοις αὐτοῦ
ἀγγέλοις καὶ τῇ
προσκυνητῇ αὐ-
τοῦ προσευχῇ τὰ
8 ὧδε ἔργα γέινεται
— — — — —

"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 Ὑψίστος 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 Jewish⁶⁹ and in the cult of ὁ ἁγιώτατος θεὸς Ὑψίστος σωτῆρ at Miletus.⁷⁰

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

69. *CIJ* 725, 769.

70. *OGIS* 755, 756.



Plate 2. No. 11. Dedication from Kalecik.

a certain Rufina near Sinope⁷¹ and the hellenised cult of Baal Shamim at Baetocaece near Aradus in Syria, where the god was addressed as *θεὸς ὑψίστος οὐράνιος* or *Ζεὺς οὐράνιος ὑψίστος*.⁷² *Ἐπουράνιος* is very rare as a divine epithet. *Ἐπουρανίοι θεοί* are cited alongside *θεοὶ καταχθόνιοι* in a sepulchral curse formula at Magnesia.⁷³ The phrase *θεὸς ἐπουράνιος* is, however, used twice in 3 Maccabees; in both passages its use is attributed to non-Jews.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) *προσκυνήτος* is a rare word, not otherwise known to have been applied to physical objects before Epiphanius and Cyril of Alexandria.⁷⁵ Its appearance here may suggest a date rather late in the third century, or conceivably the early fourth.

(7) *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 *προσευχή* is provided by a dedication from Amastris: *θεῷ ἀνεκλήτω Ασβαμεῖ καὶ τῇ κυρίᾳ προσευχῇ εὐξάμενος καὶ ἐπιτυχῶν ἀνέθηκα Αὐρήλιος Πρωτόκτητος εὐχαριστήριον*.

"I, Aurelius Proctetus, having prayed and obtained my request, set up a thank-offering to (?) Asbames, unconquered god, and to the great house of prayer."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 *Theos Hypsistos*, as the additional epithets point rather to Syrian paganism. Nevertheless, the use of *προσευχή* (and perhaps *ἐπουράνιος*) and the absence of specifically polytheistic elements certainly suggests some borrowing from Judaism or else an attempt on the

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

72. *IGLS* VII. 4027, *IGR* III. 1060.

73. *Inchriften von Magnesia ad Sipylum* ed. T. Ihnken (*Inchriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien* 8, Bonn 1978) 28. *πατήρ ἐπουράνιος*: once in NT, Mt. 18.35. *ἐπουράνιος* is used once in OT LXX to translate Heb. *Shaddai*, Ps. 67 (68). 15.

74. 3 Macc. 6.28, 7.6.

75. See Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon* s.v.

76. E. Kalinka, *JOAI* 28 (1933) Beibl. 61 no. 8 with L. Robert, *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 epebes 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 already 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., *Bogazköy 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.

78. Sardis: L. Robert, *Nouvelles Inscriptions de Sardes I* (Paris 1965) 55ff.; Acmonia: Robert, *Hellenica X* (Paris 1955) 249-53; Corycus: *MAMA* III.262. Epebes at Iasus: Robert, *Hellenica III* (Paris 1946) 100-101, cf. the Jewish Archiatros at Ephesus, *IBM* III.677.

79. *MAMA* VI.264, Ramsay, op. cit. (n. 68) 537-40, 647-51.

80. Julia Severa: *PIR*² J 701; E. Groag, *RE* X.947; S. Mitchell, *JRS* 64 (1974) 34-38.

81. Miletus: *CIJ* 748 (n. 19 above). Smyrna: *IGR* IV.1431.29 = *CIG* 3148.30.

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, *Introduction to the Talmud and Midrash* (6th Eng. ed., New York 1931) 112, 115.

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 δυνατὴ γὰρ δόξα ὑψίστου (θεοῦ).

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

A passage of 'Sophocles' begins,

εἰς ταῖς ἀληθείαισιν, εἰς ἐστίν) θεός,
ὅς οὐρανόν τε ἔτευξε καὶ γαῖαν μακρὴν

"One is God, one in truth, who framed heaven and the broad earth." Ps.-Justin introduces this quotation with the words ... καὶ Σοφοκλῆς τὴν τοῦ μόνου ποιητοῦ τῶν ὅλων καὶ ἐνὸς θεοῦ ἱστορεῖ τάξιν οὕτως. "... And Sophocles describes the situation of the Sole Creator of All and One God as follows."⁸⁴ There are evident similarities here to some of the pagan texts we have been discussing.⁸⁵

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 Judaizing 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.

86. *Daimones* of Hekate the Black in N. Phrygia: LW 784. *Agathos Daimon* at Eumeneia: CIG 3886.

God, Great is Holiness, Great is Goodness'.⁸⁷ 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 conception of the two Powers through whom the Father manifests himself.⁸⁸ Philo's Powers, the Royal/Ruling and the Creative, are, however, 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 something 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 thoroughly pagan offering with a pair of abstract divinities? There seems to be no parallel for an impersonal deity being described as "Manifest' (*Epiphanes*).⁸⁹

12. Borlu (Lydia). L. Robert, *Anatolia* III (1958), p. 112.

Θεῶ ὑψίστῳ καὶ μεγ[ά-
λῳ Θεῷ ἐπιφανεῖ Δη-
μῶ θυγάτηρ Τυράννου
4 θεὰν Λαρμηνὴν ἀνέσ-
τησεν ἔτους σνζ'.

"Demo, daughter of Tyrannus, set up (*scil.* a statue of) the goddess 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 interpretation adopted, see L. Robert, *Hellenica* X (Paris 1955) 84-89; L. Vidman, *Sylloge Inscriptionum Religionis Isiacae et Sarapiacae* (Religiongeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten 28, Berlin 1969) on nos. 304, 357. ἀγαθόν is probably equivalent to δικάιον.

88. Philo, *Abr.* 119-25, cf. *Cher.* 27-30.

89. *Μὴν ἐπιφανῆς* 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).

Cf. 12(a). Philadelphia. W.H. Buckler, *JHS* 37 (1917) p. 93 no. 6.

Θ]εῶ ὑψί(σ)τω, μεγάλω Θε[εῶ
Δ]ιόφαντος Ἀκιαμου ἱερεὺς
ε]ὐχὴν ...

1 θε[ω Buckler

? θε[ω 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.

