An Apostle to Ankara from the New Jerusalem: Montanists and Jews in Late Roman Asia Minor*

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1. An Epigraphic Perspective on Religious History

Most of what we know about the religious history of late antiquity rests on patristic literature, which survives in abundant quantity. It is widely acknowledged that orthodox Christian authors offer a partisan historical perspective, but it is harder to find approaches to the period that allow us to nuance their one-sided views or place them in the wider scope of social and religious developments. The mainstream writers of late antiquity ignored, misrepresented, or demonized the beliefs and practices of pagans, Jews and heretics. The writings of these groups were often suppressed. The problem is made more acute by the fact that the Roman state aligned itself with Christian orthodoxy, and the emperors repeatedly put out laws which aimed to restrict or abolish other forms of religious activity. This legislation also creates the impression that non-orthodox religion had been successfully marginalized, and that the institutions of the Church were virtually unchallenged in society at large.

Inscriptions provide one of the few alternative sources of written information that do not conform to this overall pattern. Inscriptions with a religious content, which form the great majority of texts from late antiquity, represent the viewpoint of those that set them up. In many cases they provide a perspective that differs significantly from the patristic norm. The purpose of this study is to explore the implications of a single gravestone set up by one of the most important non-orthodox Christian groups of late antiquity, the Montanists. The details of this text imply that they had close links with the diaspora Jewish communities of Asia Minor. If these conclusions are correctly drawn, we have evidence for a picture of Christian-Jewish relations in an important part of the eastern Roman Empire that is radically different from the view that has generally prevailed in modern scholarship.

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* The inscription discussed here was identified and copied in June 2004 by myself and David French, as part of our project to complete a corpus of the Greek and Latin inscriptions of Ankara. We are grateful to the Turkish authorities for permission to carry out this work, to Ilhan Temizsoy, former director of the Ankara Museum, his successor Hikmet Denizli, and to the other members of the Museum staff who provided access to the depots. The following discussion repeatedly refers to Tabbernee 1997 = W. Tabbernee, *Montanist Inscriptions and Testimonia, Epigraphic Sources Illustrating the History of Montanism* (North American Patristic Society Monograph 16, Mercer University Press). My debt to this remarkable example of Christian scholarship will be obvious. Fergus Millar's studies in this area, noted in my footnotes, have been an inspiration. He also reminded me not to forget Quintilla (at n. 12). The inscription is currently housed in the depot below the south terrace of the Museum of Anatolian Civilisations Ankara.

2. The New Prophecy of Montanus

The religious landscape of late antiquity in Anatolia was an intricate mosaic of competing groups. Although the Roman state used church councils to define doctrinal orthodoxy and relied on the hierarchy of bishops to assert its authority, totalitarian control proved an illusory goal. The late Roman law codes contain a well known litany of legislation against heretical and schismatic groups, but these defied regulation. The laws against Manichees, Montanists, Novatians, Jews, Samaritans and others offer a fine repertoire of the imperial rhetoric which was targeted against non-orthodox religious organisations, but these continued to flourish in regional power bases. The resilience of these sects was due both to the strength and distinctiveness of their beliefs and to the effectiveness of their organisation.[1]

The most sustained radical challenge to state orthodoxy came from the Montanists. The so-called Montanist church had its origin in the middle years of the second century AD, when the eponymous Montanus began to utter prophecies at a place called Ardabau ἐν τῇ κατὰ τὴν Φρυγίαν Μυσίᾳ.[2] He claimed that he was a medium through which the Holy Spirit, the Paraclete, transmitted God's message to mankind. Inspired prophecy was the speciality of two women followers, Maximilla and Priscilla, who were also later regarded as founders of the sect. When the Monophysite bishop John of Ephesos launched a major pogrom against Pepuza, the Montanist spiritual centre, in the mid-sixth century, he destroyed their sacred writings and burnt to the ground the church where the remains of the three had been preserved.[3]

The Montanists claimed that the Holy Spirit continued to speak to Christians through their prophets, and these revelations were offered as an authoritative form of guidance on matters of Christian conduct.[4] They posed a clear challenge to the doctrines of the established church and the apostolic tradition, even before the Constantinian period. Montanist ideals were as rigorous as their beliefs were extreme. Montanist communities were dominated by millenarian beliefs, and their conduct was shaped by expectations of the second coming.[5] The key to their religious enthusiasm were the prophecies of the end of time in the book of Revelation:

> Then I saw thrones and upon them sat those to whom judgement was committed. I could see the souls of those who had been beheaded for the sake of God's word and their testimony to Jesus, those who had not worshipped the beast and its image or received its mark on forehead or hand. These came to life again and reigned with Christ for a thousand years, though the rest of the dead did not come to life until the thousand years were over. This is the first resurrection. Happy indeed, and one of God's own people, is the man who shares in this first resurrection! Upon such the second death has no claim; but they shall

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1 S. Mitchell, *Anatolia. Land, Men, and Gods in Asia Minor* II. *The Rise of the Church* (Oxford 1993), esp. 91-108.

2 Eusebius, *HE* 5. 16. I avoid discussion here of the vexed question of the chronology of early Montanism.

3 See the entry in the Syriac chronicle of Ps-Dionysius of Tell Mahre, entry for 861 Seleucid era = AD 550; Michael the Syrian *chron.* 9. 33; texts, commentary and translations in Tabbernee 1997, 27-47; discussion by S. Gero, *JTS* 28 (1977), 520-4.

4 R. Lane Fox, *Pagans and Christians* (1985), 404-10.

5 C. Trevett, *Montanism. Gender, Authority and the New Prophecy* (Cambridge 1996).

> be priests of God and of Christ, and shall reign with him for the thousand years (Rev. 20.4-6, trans New English Bible).
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> Then I saw a new heaven and a new earth, for the first heaven and the first earth had vanished, and there was no longer any sea. I saw the holy city, New Jerusalem, coming down out of heaven from God, made ready like a bride adorned for her husband, I heard a loud voice proclaiming from the throne: 'Now at last God has his dwelling among men! He will dwell among them and they shall be his people, and God himself will be with them. He will wipe every tear from their eyes; there shall be an end to death, and to mourning and crying and pain; for the old order has passed away!' (Rev. 21.1-4).

Montanists in particular offered themselves up for voluntary martyrdom during the persecutions of the second century, and their uncompromisingly confrontational attitudes brought them into conflict not only with the Roman authorities but also with other Christians, who advocated flight in the face of their oppressors.[6]

The movement had a strong regional basis. Montanism was often referred to as the Phrygian heresy.[7] Its followers were denounced as Kataphrygians, an insulting form of address, doubtless implying that they were in some way lower even than Phrygians, but in fact derived from the description of the heresy as being prevalent among the Phrygians, κατὰ Φρύγας.[8] The early history of Montanism is known to us from works written by its opponents towards the end of the second century, which were cited or summarised by Eusebius in book V of the Church History. His two main sources were Claudius Apollinaris, bishop of Phrygian Hierapolis (Eusebius *HE* V.19.2), and another unnamed priest, doubtless from Phrygia, who prefaced his anti-montanist work in three books with a letter to the famous Aberkios (Avircius Marcellus), bishop of the much smaller Phrygian city of Hieropolis (Eusebius, *HE* V.16.3). He was associated with a fellow priest, Zotikos of Otrous, probably the same man as Zotikos from the village of Koumane (assuming this to have been a village dependent on Otrous), who was mentioned in the anonymous author's second book (Eusebius, *HE* V.16.5 and 17). According to Apollinaris, Zotikos had attempted unsuccessfully to combat the prophetic influence of the prophetess Maximilla (Eusebius, *HE* V.18.13). Confrontations between Montanists and other Christians occurred at Apamea, the Roman judicial centre in southern Phrygia. Julian, apparently bishop of Apamea, is named as one of those who were muzzled by the Montanist writer Themison; Thraseas, bishop of Eumenia, was another protagonist in the controversy (Eusebius *HE* V.18.13; 24.4); and when Montanists were executed by the Roman authorities alongside two other Christian victims from Eumenia, Gaius and Alexander, the two groups of martyrs refused to communicate with one another, even *in extremis* (Eusebius, *HE* V.16.22). One of the claims to authority made by the Montanists was that Priscilla and Maximilla had inherited the prophetic gifts of the four virgin daughters of Philip the evangelist, who are mentioned in Acts as living at

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6 A.R. Birley, 'Die freiwilligen Märtyrer. Zum Problem der Selbst-Auslieferer', in R. von Haehling (ed.), *Rom und das himmlische Jerusalem. Die frühen Christen zwischen Anpassung und Ablehnung* (Darmstadt 2000), 97-123.

7 First attested in the *Mart. Pionii* 11.2 (c. 250).

8 Eusebius, *HE* V.18.1; cf. Ps.-Tertullian, *adv. omn. haer.* 7; Cyprian, *ep.* 75.7; Philastrius, *haer.* 49.

Caesarea, and who were later supposed to have died and been buried at Phrygian Hierapolis.[9] The opponents of Montanism argued that their Phrygian mode of ecstatic prophecy, in which the prophetic mediums were seized by a spirit, was evidence not of inspiration but of madness, and could not compete with genuine prophetic gifts displayed in both the Old and the New Testaments.[10] Apollinaris and others called church councils in the later second and early third centuries at which Montanist conduct was debated and condemned.[11]

According to Apollinaris, Montanus himself gave instruction about the dissolution of marriages, laid down laws about fasting, and identified the obscure Phrygian places of Pepuza and Tymion as the site of Jerusalem itself. He planned to bring men here from all quarters, and organised collectors of revenue to pay the salaries of those who proclaimed his doctrine (Eusebius, *HE* V.18.2). Epiphanios identified a group of Montanists called Quintillians, who particularly revered another prophetess, Quintilla. She, it was said, had experienced an extraordinary vision of Christ, dazzlingly dressed in a woman's clothes, who imbued her with wisdom, declared that Pepuza was a holy place, and foretold that Jerusalem would descend there from heaven (Epiphanios, *Pan.* 48.14.1-3; 49.1.2-3). Pepuza remained the centre of Montanist activity throughout the sect's long and active history.[12]

The location of Pepuza remained undiscovered until the beginning of the third millennium. In the year 2000 William Tabbernee in the company of Kâzim Akbıyıkoğlu, the director of the archaeological museum of the western Turkish town of Uşak, identified a series of important sites south of Uşak, the ancient Temenothyrae, in the thinly inhabited and little visited area which lay on the borders of Phrygia and Lydia. An inscription, discovered in 1975 on a hill-top near the village of Susuzköy and first published in 2003, contains a rescript addressed in 208 by the emperors Septimius Severus and Caracalla to the *colonis Tymiorum Simoen[sium]*.[13] This provides the first good fix for the site of Tymion. Two other settlements were found in the canyon-like valley of the Banaz Çay (ancient Senaros), immediately to the south of the village of Karayakuplu. One appears to have been an extensive Roman and late Roman town site, over 1.5 kilometres long and a kilometre wide, the other was a large monastic complex largely cut

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9 Acts 21.8-9; Eusebius *HE* 3.31.2-5; 38.8-9; V.24.2 (the sources confuse Philip the apostle with Philip the evangelist; see discussion by Tabbernee 1997, 504-8); V.17.3.

10 Eusebius, *HE* V.17.2-3; cf Epiphanius, *Panarion* 48.4-7, who has a polemical discussion of Montanist *ekstasis*. For spirit possession in an early Byzantine context in Anatolia, see S. Mitchell, *Anatolia. Land, Men, and Gods in Asia Minor* II (1993), 145-50.

11 J.A. Fischer, 'Die antimontanistischen Synoden des 2/3 Jahrhunderts', *Annuarium Historiae Conciliorum* 6 (1974), 241-7; C. Hefele and H. Leclercq, *Histoire des conciles* I (1907), 127-32.

12 Eusebius *HE* V.18.1-2, 13; Epiphanios, *Panarion* 48.14.1-2. A. Strobel, *Das heilige Land der Montanisten* (Berlin 1980), 10-29.

13 T. Hauken, C. Tanrıver and K. Akbıyıkoğlu, 'A new inscription from Phrygia. A rescript of Septimius Severus and Caracalla to the *coloni* of the imperial estate at Tymion', *Epigraphica Anatolica* 36 (2003), 33-44. A new edition of this inscription has been published by P. Lampe and W. Tabbernee, 'Das Reskript von Septimius Severus und Caracalla an die Kolonen der kaiserlichen Domäne von Tymion und Simoe', *Epigraphica Anatolica* 37 (2004), 169-78. Several of their restorations are problematic.

into the cliffs along the north bank of the river. These have plausibly been identified as Pepuza. Tabbernee has added the intriguing suggestion that the whole table land, which stretches for some twelve kilometres between Tymion on the north and Pepuza on the south, may have appeared to Montanists to be the literal extent of the New Jerusalem, which was to descend from heaven in accordance with the prophecies of John the Evangelist in the book of Revelation (quoted above) and the more specific revelation which had been made to their own prophetesses.[14] These topographical discoveries and the field research which is now being carried out at the presumed site of Pepuza can be expected to give a new impetus to the study of Montanism in its regional context.[15]

3. A New Inscription from Ankara

These preliminaries are designed to introduce a new inscription from Ankara, a city which is already identified by several sources as a centre of Montanist activity. This text testifies to the organisation of the Church and the vigour of its missionary activities in late antiquity.

Rectangular panel of fine white-grey limestone, broken in three pieces; the top right corner is missing, the stone is broken at the bottom left, and the right hand edge is chipped. Height. 0.80; width 0.625; thickness 0.06; letter heights 0.03-0.045. The letters are clear but irregular. *Alpha* always has a broken bar. *Sigma* and *omikron* are sometimes square and sometimes round. The stone was re-used and a finely cut Ottoman funerary text carved on the reverse side. Although the find spot of the inscription is not recorded, the character of this later inscription confirms the presumption that the stone is from Ankara itself.

† Τρόφιμος ἀπόσ-
τολος Πεπουζεὺς
καλέσας εἰς τὴν
ἁγιοσύνην ἐκοιμ[ί-
θη ſ ἰνδ. γ´ ſ μινὶ
Φεβρουαρίου ſ κ´
ἡμέρᾳ Σαβαθ·
ὑπὲρ εὐχῆς Σευήρ[ου]
προστάτου δεκα[νί-
ας ſ γ´ καὶ παντ[ὸς]
τοῦ οἴκου αὐτοῦ
A † Ω

14 W. Tabbernee, 'Portals of the Montanist New Jerusalem: the discovery of Pepuza and Tymion', *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 11. 1 (2003), 87-93.

15 A monograph is announced: P. Lampe and W. Tabbernee, *Pepuza and Tymion: the Archaeological Discovery of Two Lost Cities in Phrygia*. For interim reports see *Epigraphica Anatolica* 37 (2004), 169 n. 3.

1: The bottoms of the last three letters can be made out.
5: There is a punctuation mark before and a sign of abbreviation after ἰνδ., and a punctuation mark before μινί (= μηνί).
6: Punctuation mark before the numeral.
10: Punctuation marks before and after the numeral.

Trophimus, apostle, from Pepuza, having given out the call to holiness, went to sleep in the third indiction, on the twentieth of the month of February, on the Sabbath day. In fulfilment of the prayer of Severus, leader of the third dekania, and all his household. Alpha Omega.

There is nothing surprising about the appearance of a Montanist inscription at Ankara. The Phrygian heresy had taken root early in Galatia.[16] The anonymous writer of the late second century, whose works are cited by Eusebius, reported that he had visited Ancyra in Galatia where the local Christian community was in the grip of the self-styled New Prophecy, and that he had done everything he could to refute the Montanists and their propositions during several days of debate in the church. Although his efforts, which were aided by Zotikos of Otrous, had been successful for the moment, he had been asked to deposit a memorandum of their arguments for future use against the heretics, and had

16 Compare Epiphanios, *Panarion* 48.14.2 (Cappadocia, Galatia, Phrygia, Cilicia and especially Constantinople).

promised to send them a letter for this purpose forthwith (Eusebius, *HE* V.16.3-5). The Montanists continued as a strong presence in the fourth century. I have argued elsewhere that the late fourth century *Life of Saint Theodotos* of Ankara should be interpreted as a document of the Montanist Church.[17] The behaviour of Theodotos himself, who ostentatiously presented himself for martyrdom in 312 during the persecution of Maximinus Daia, conforms to the pattern of Montanist behaviour during earlier persecutions,[18] and the story of the martyrdom of the seven virgins, which is incorporated within the narrative, also appears to be Montanist. Epiphanios, perhaps drawing on information from Ankara itself, reported that groups of seven virgins, dressed in white robes, carrying torches, and prophesying to their churches, were a feature of Montanist communities.[19] There is a gravestone from Ankara itself, probably dating to the fifth century, for an abbess or *hegoumene* called Stephania, who is described as one of the five lamp-bearing virgins.[20] She may have belonged to such a Montanist group.[21] These details are supported by a group of sources, beginning with Epiphanios and extending through the fifth century, which described Montanists or Montanist sympathisers at Ankara by a remarkable collection of derisive names: Tascodrungitae, Passalorhynchitae, Artotyritae, and others.[22] Ankara was a hotbed of heretical activity, especially Montanism.

The style of the inscription suggests a fifth or sixth century date, and it is clearly later than any information about Montanists at Ankara available hitherto. The calendrical information in lines 5 to 7 encourages the hope that the inscription might be precisely datable, but certainty proves illusory. Third indiction years in the fifth and sixth centuries began in 404 and continued at fifteen year intervals (419, 434, etc.) until 599. Since these years, marking the beginning of a new taxation cycle, began on 1 September in Asia Minor and in most of the east Roman Empire, February of a given indiction belonged to the following calendar year according to our chronology. 20 February happens to have fallen on a Saturday in 465, 510, 555 and 600, all in the third year of indiction cycles.[23]

It is better to place the Ankara inscription at one of the earlier dates. The chronicle of Ps-Dionysius of Tell Mahre reports that the cult centres at Pepuza were destroyed by John of Ephesus in year 861 of the Seleucid era, that is AD 550, and an entry in the chronicle of Michael the Syrian placed the destruction of the relics of Montanus and the two women prophetesses between 554/5 and 556/7.[24] The brief mention of the destruction of the Montanists and the burning of their churches by Procopius in the *Secret History* XI. 23, which most modern scholars date to around 550, supports the earlier

17 S. Mitchell, 'The Life of Saint Theodotus of Ancyra', *AS* 32 (1982), 93-113; see also Susannah Elm, *Virgins of God. The Making of Asceticism in Late Antiquity* (Oxford 1994), 54-9.

18 See Birley's article (n. 6).

19 Epiphanios, *Panarion*, 49.2.3-4.

20 S. Mitchell, *AS* 27 (1977), 101 no. 49 (*SEG* 27 [1977] 882); Tabbernee 1997, 518 no. 87.

21 See *AS* 32 (1982), 103 n. 45; Tabbernee 1997, 519-25.

22 Mitchell, *Anatolia* II, 93-4.

23 Information from the tables in www.calendarhome.com.

24 Tabbernee 1997, 28 testimonium 1 and 35 testimonium 2.

chronology.[25] Some time later than 550 Justinian replaced the existing church of John the Evangelist at Ephesus with an enormous new cruciform church, which was designed as a major pilgrimage centre at the site of John's tomb. The destruction of Pepuza may be linked to this emphatic policy to reclaim the Johannine religious tradition for the Orthodox Church.[26] In any event it seems unlikely that the Montanists were able to sustain active missionary activity in the 550s, during the years when Pepuza itself was destroyed, and although some Montanists clearly survived Justinian's onslaught, a date of 600 seems improbable for the same reasons. We are thus left, on the face of it, with a choice between 465 and 510. The second date is remarkably close to that of a Montanist epitaph from Lydian Philadelphia, which is dated to the year 545 of the local Actian era (beginning in 31 BC) and thus corresponds to AD 515. This text is dated by a named day, a month date and an indiction year to Sunday 15 Xanthikos (= 8 March, Julian calendar) in the eighth indiction.[27] Another probable Montanist epitaph from Kırka, a site near Pepuza itself, is similarly dated to Sunday 17 Panemos (= 11 June in the Julian calendar) in the tenth indiction. 11 June twice fell on a Sunday during a tenth indiction year in the relevant period, in 517 and in 565.[28] Tabbernee prefers the earlier option. If the Ankara text belongs to 510, Philadelphia to 515 and Kırka to 517 we have a striking cluster of Montanist epitaphs, dated in similar fashion, during the last decade of Anastasius's reign. However, the chronological argument is very precarious. K.A. Worp studied sixty-nine Greek and Latin documents from the period 200-700 which combine a named weekday with some other precise calendrical information. The weekday matches the indicated date in forty-six but fails to do so in the remaining twenty-three cases.[29] Thus the chances of the Sabbath in fact being the day of Trophimos's death are no higher than two in three, and if a mistake has been made there is no ground for dating the inscription to 465 or 510 at all. In general, however, the evidence points to an early sixth-century date.

Trophimos was an apostle from Pepuza. He bore one of the commonest Phrygian names. Tabbernee's *index nominum* of the epigraphic sources for Montanism contains twelve examples of Trophimos, more than for any other personal name, but Trophimos is equally frequent in other pagan and Christian contexts. Two of the Montanist examples were identified as martyrs, one on an ossuary from the Phrygian city of Synnada (Tabbernee 1997 no. 35), the other on a marble grave slab from a village north of Phrygian Sebaste, which may be roughly contemporary with the new Ankara text (Tabbernee 1997 no. 80). The ethnic identifying his place of origin is the first epigraphic attestation of the Montanist centre Pepuza.[30] The form is noteworthy. The writers who attacked the

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25 Averil Cameron, *Procopius and the Sixth Century* (1985), 52-3; G. Greatrex, 'Recent work on Procopius and the composition of *Wars* VIII', *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 27 (2003), 45-67.

26 Procopius, *Buildings* 5.1.4-6, cf. *Secret History* 3.3.

27 Tabbernee 1997, 509 no. 84.

28 Tabbernee 1997, 494 no. 81.

29 K.A. Worp, 'Remarks on weekdays in late antiquity occurring in documentary sources', *Tyche* 6 (1991), 221-30.

30 It should be noted that the toponym is attested both in the feminine singular form Πέπουζα, dative Πεπούζῃ (Epiphanios, *Panarion* 49.1.2, and often elsewhere), and as a neuter plural Πέπουζα, dative Πεπούζοις (Eusebius, *HE* V.18.13, after Apollinaris).

Montanists regularly designated them by reference to their place of origin, but rather than *Pepuzeis*, they called them *Pepuzenoi* (Basil *ep.* 188.1; Theodoret, *Haer.* III.2), *Pepuzianoi* (Epiphanios, *Panarion* 49.1.1; 48.14.1; Augustine, *Haer.* XXVII and XXVIII), or *Pepyzitae* (Sozomen VII.18.12; CTh. 16.5 *passim*, esp. 16.5.59). These were not true ethnics, such as would have been used by the people of Pepuza themselves, but adjectives formed by analogy with other group descriptors. They denigrated the sect by implying that its followers were merely the inhabitants of an obscure Phrygian village. Trophimos, however, used a true ethnic form, not to advertise that he was a Montanist, but that he was indeed a native of Pepuza, the holiest of their settlements.

The third element in Trophimos's self designation is unparallelled. He was an apostle, a term that occurs nowhere else in the epigraphic or literary documentation of the Montanists. The term ἀπόστολος, as applied to any Christian, evoked comparison with Christ's apostles of the Gospels.[31] From the viewpoint of Eusebius and other orthodox Christian writers, the age of the apostles was precisely the generation that had followed the crucifixion, the period defined by the historical records of the Acts of the Apostles.[32] Even then the claim to be an apostle was a matter for dispute, as Paul refers to sham apostles and, mockingly, to super-apostles (2Cor. 11.5, 11.13, 12.11), and false apostles were decried by John the Evangelist (Rev. 2.2).[33] Thereafter no one within the Orthodox Church claimed apostolic status. However, there is no reason for this distinction to have deterred Montanists from recognising apostles in their own church, as they believed that divine revelations continued in their own age.[34] Apostles were inspired envoys, who transmitted the message of the gospel to new churches.

It seems certain that the Montanist conception of this role was influenced by their belief that Philip the apostle and his virgin daughters had been buried at Phrygian Hierapolis. Eusebius twices quotes an extract from a letter written by Polycrates, the late second-century bishop of Ephesus, to Victor the bishop of Rome, which described Philip's final resting place and coming resurrection.[35]

> For great figures (***stoicheia***) have come to rest in Asia. And they shall rise up at the last day with the appearance of the Lord, when he comes in glory from heaven and will seek out all the saints, among them Philip, one of the twelve apostles, who has come to rest at Hierapolis, along with his two daughters who have grown old as virgins and his other daughter, who has led an active life in the holy spirit and is pausing from her life at Ephesos.

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31 As is clear from the entry in G.W.H. Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon* (Oxford 1961), s.v.

32 Eusebius, *HE* III.31.6.

33 See H.D. Betz, 'Apostle' in *The Anchor Bible Dictionary* I, 309-11.

34 According to Hippolytus, *Haer.* 8.19, the Montanists exalted their wretched female prophets above the apostles and every gift of Grace.

35 Eusebius, *HE* III.31.3; repeated at V.24.2. καὶ γὰρ κατὰ τὴν 'Ασίαν μεγάλα στοιχεῖα κεκοίμηται· ἅτινα ἀναστήσεται τῇ ἐσχάτῃ ἡμέρᾳ τῆς παρουσίας τοῦ κυρίου, ἐν ᾗ ἔρχεται μετὰ δόξης ἐξ οὐρανοῦ καὶ ἀναζητήσει πάντας τοὺς ἁγίους καὶ Φίλιππον τῶν δώδεκα ἀποστόλων, ὃς κεκοίμηται ἐν 'Ιεραπόλει καὶ δύο θυγατέρες αὐτοῦ γεγηρακυῖαι παρθένοι καὶ ἡ ἑτέρα αὐτοῦ θυγάτηρ ἐν ἁγίῳ πνεύματι πολιτευσαμένη ἐν 'Εφέσῳ ἀναπαύεται.

Although the interpretation of the stories concerning Philip at Hierapolis is contentious (it was disputed whether Philip the evangelist or Philip the apostle was buried there), and this passage comes from an orthodox source, its content will have struck a particular chord among Montanists with their strong millenarian expectations. Philip, now buried in Phrygia, provided a model for apostolic activity in the Phrygian church.

Polycrates's letter portrayed Philip as awaiting resurrection, which would occur when the Lord came to identify his saints. The purpose of Trophimos's apostolic mission had been precisely to 'call people to sainthood'. Only those who led a saintly life would enter the New Jerusalem. Accordingly the term ἅγιος had a crucial meaning for Montanist communities. The Montanist martyr Theodotos at Ankara was naturally enough invoked as a saint, ἅγιε Θεόδοτε (Tabbernee 1997 no. 88). However, other instances do not conform to the regular orthodox Christian use of the word to denote saints who were the objects of local cult. Several Montanist gravestones single out the deceased precisely as ἅγιοι, marked by sainthood. They include Paulinus, attested by the fifth or sixth century inscription from near Sebaste (Tabbernee 1997 no. 80), Praylios, who died in 515 near Philadelphia (Tabbernee 1997 no. 84), and Paulos, also mentioned on a stone of this period from Bagis in north-east Lydia (Tabbernee 1997 no. 85). All three are named on their epitaphs as *coenoni*, who occupied the rank between the patriarchs and the bishops in the Montanist church hierarchy.[36] The term *hagioi* was presumably used to denote the members of the Montanist community whose conduct in life had earned them entry into the realm of the New Jerusalem at the second coming.

4. The Jewish Connection

Trophimos died in Ankara, far from his home, and was buried in accordance with the prayers of a local resident, Severus, the *prostates* of the third *dekania*, and all the members of his household. It is natural to assume that the words used to describe Severus's rank and function relate to the local organisation of the Montanist community at Ankara, although neither term features in other Montanist inscriptions or occurs elsewhere in the Christian epigraphy of the eastern Roman empire. We appear to be confronted by a novelty. The usage, however, is illuminated by a remarkable and unexpected parallel. The only late Roman inscription from Asia Minor which mentions a *dekania* in an intelligible context is the famous Jewish foundation inscription from Aphrodisias in Caria, published by Reynolds and Tannenbaum in 1986, which has become the principal focus of most studies of diaspora Judaism under the Roman empire, and has recently been the subject of a fundamental revisionist re-appraisal by Angelos Chaniotis.[37] This tall stele carried two separate texts, a lengthy list of names, patronymics, and profession designations, divided into Jews and God-Fearers (inscription B), and a shorter text erected by eighteen named members of a Jewish association: οἱ ὑποτεταγμένοι τῆς δεκαν(ίας) τῶν φιλομαθῶ(ν) τῶν κὲ παντευλογ(ούντων). Heading the list of members was Ἰαηλ

36 Jerome, *ep.* 41.3 (ed. I. Hilberg, CSEL 54, Vienna, 1996); *CJust.* I.5.20.3.

37 J.M. Reynolds and R. Tannenbaum, *Jews and Godfearers at Aphrodisias* (Cambridge 1986); *SEG* 36 (1986) 970; A. Chaniotis, 'The Jews of Aphrodisias: new evidence and old problems', *Scripta Classica Israelica* 21 (2002), 209; full bibliography in W. Ameling, *Inscriptiones Judaicae Orientis* II. *Kleinasien* (Tübingen 2004), 71-112 no. 14.

προστάτης (inscription A). The exact date of these texts cannot be fixed, but Chaniotis and Walter Ameling in his authoritative new corpus of Jewish inscriptions from Asia Minor have argued convincingly that neither text is likely to have been carved before the fourth century, that A is later than B, and that A probably belongs to the fifth century, or even later.[38] It may therefore be roughly contemporary with the new Ankara inscription.

The critical point is that the communal organisation revealed by the Ankara inscription precisely corresponded to that of the Jewish association at Aphrodisias. This can hardly be a coincidence; for it is also striking that in both cases the associations had similar functions. Severus, in his capacity as head of the third *dekania*, was responsible for burying Trophimos, and we should infer that this group acted as a burial association. Thanks to an important study by Margaret Williams, it is now clear that the *dekania* at Aphrodisias had a similar purpose. The association of the lovers of wisdom and those who call down the Lord's blessings on all[39] was responsible for founding at its own expense some type of funerary building, described as a μνῆμα, to assuage the grief of the community, εἰς ἀπενθησίαν τῷ πλήθει.[40] The Montanist *dekaniai* of Ankara and the Jewish *dekania* at Aphrodisias were both, in the first instance, societies that honoured the dead, attended to their burials and supported the bereaved. Such functions were one of the main responsibilities of the guilds and associations that had been an essential part of civic life in Roman and late Roman Asia Minor, and these religious *dekaniai* of the fifth or sixth century AD were heirs to a long tradition.[41]

The parallel between the Ankara and Aphrodisias texts is so close that it is legitimate to ask whether Severus might in fact be a member not of a Christian but of a Jewish association. This possibility is surely ruled out by the ostentatiously Christian nature of the gravestone, demonstrated by the large cross placed between alpha and omega after the last line of the text. The term '*alpha* and *omega*' first appears in Revelation, the key New Testament book for the New Prophecy, as a symbol used to denote both God and Christ (Rev. 1.6; 21.6; 22.13). It was particularly appropriate for a Montanist burial, although it was of course much more widely used in Christian funerary epigraphy.[42]

The explanation to be preferred is that the Montanist church, in Ankara at least, was closely modelled on Jewish organisations in Asia Minor and maintained significant contacts with them. This is fully borne out by other features of the text. First, and most obviously, the day of Trophimos's death is given in the undeclinable Jewish form, Σαβαθ, rather than hellenised as Σάββατον, as it was by Roman and Christian authors and, as far as I can see, in all other Christian inscriptions from the late empire.[43] The choice of the

38 Chaniotis, *SCI* 2002, 218; Ameling, *Inscriptiones Judaicae Orientis* II, 82 n. 49.

39 See Ameling, *Inscriptiones Judaicae Orientis* II, 88-9 for this interpretation.

40 M.H. Williams, 'The Jews and Godfearers inscription from Aphrodisias—a case of patriarchal interference in early 3rd century Caria?', *Historia* 41 (1992), 297-310.

41 Art. 'Genossenschaft', *Reallexicon der Antike und des Christentums* 10 (1978), 83-155. See now the excellent study of P.A. Harland, *Associations, Synagogues and Congregations. Claiming a Place in Ancient Mediterranean Society* (Minneapolis 2003), especially 83-7, 207-9, and his full bibliography.

42 See E. Lohmayer, *RAC* I, 1-4.

43 See Lampe, *Patristic Greek Lexicon,* s.v. Σάββατον. I have not had an opportunity to consult H. Weiss, *A Day of Gladness: the Sabbath among Jews and Christians in Antiquity* (University of South Carolina Press 1993), which Fergus Millar has brought to my attention.

word lay presumably with Severus, the head of the *dekania*. The significance of the Sabbath as a day of common Christian and Jewish worship will be discussed below.

Jewish influence is also evident in the role of Trophimos as an apostle. As we have seen this was in fundamental conflict with the presuppositions of the orthodox Church, but it fell into line with contemporary Jewish practice. Eusebius, in his commentary on Isaiah, says that the Jews of his day gave the name of apostles to persons who carried letters for general circulation from their leaders.[44] Epiphanios associated the 'so-called apostles' with the Jewish patriarchs, and indicated that they sat with or in front of the patriarch at gatherings.[45] In 399 the emperors Arcadius and Honorius in a letter to the praetorian prefect of Italy and Africa referred to the patriarch sending *apostoloi* to collect contributions from the Jews of this region.[46] A sixth-century Latin epitaph for a Jew from Venusia in Italy indicates that two *apostoloi* and two rabbis uttered the lament over the body of the dead woman, Faustina.[47]

The patriarchs themselves also present a link between Judaism and Montanism. From the second century until the office was abolished in the fifth century under Theodosius II, the presiding figure of Palestinian Jewry was the patriarch, who was responsible for administering Jewish law, collecting taxes, and sending out instructions which were taken by *apostoloi* to other Jewish communities. They were recognised as official heads of the Jewish community by Roman emperors, and given Roman honorific titles (*illustris*, *clarissimus*, *spectabilis*) appropriate to their standing.[48] The question of the identity of the Jewish patriarchs is complicated by evidence that there were also officials called patriarchs in local Jewish communities, but this does not obscure the fact that the patriarchate was a distinctively Jewish institution.[49] On the other hand, Jerome, in a letter to Marcella exposing the fallacies of Montanism, states that patriarchs were at the apex of the Montanist ecclesiastical hierarchy, and this is confirmed by the rescript of Justinian of 530, which banished all Montanist clergy from Constantinople.[50] The Life of Theodotos of Ankara, which may have been written shortly before Jerome's letter, mentions a Church of the Patriarchs, which from the context should be Montanist,[51] and an

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44 Eusebius, *Is.* 18.1-2: ἀπόστολοι δὲ εἰσέτι καὶ νῦν ἔθος ἐστὶν Ἰουδαίοις ὀνομάζειν τὰ ἐγκύκλια γράμματα παρὰ τῶν ἀρχόντων αὐτῶν ἐπικομιζόμενος.

45 Epiphanios, *Panarion* 30.4; 30.11: εἰσὶ δὲ οὗτοι μετὰ τῶν πατριαρχῶν ἀπόστολοι καλούμενοι, προεδρεύουσι (v.l. προσεδρεύουσι) δὲ τῷ πατριάρχῃ. Compare also *CTh.* 16.8.14.

46 *CTh.* 16.8.14.

47 D. Noy, *Jewish Inscriptions of Western Europe* I (Cambridge 1993), no. 86.

48 L.I. Levine, 'The Jewish patriarch (Nasi) in third century Palestine', *ANRW* II.19.2 (1979), 649-88; D. Goodblatt, 'Patriarchate', *Anchor Bible Dictionary* 5, 179-80; M. Jacobs, *Die Institutionen der jüdischen Patriarchen* (1995).

49 *CTh.* 16.8.102 (329-30); 16.8.13 (397); see discussion by Fergus Millar, 'The Jews of the Graeco-Roman diaspora between paganism and Christianity AD 312-438', in J. Lieu, J. North and T. Rajak (eds.), *The Jews among Pagans and Christians in the Roman Empire* (London 1992), 97-123 at 97-8 (= chapter 1 in Fergus Millar, *Rome, the Greek World, and the East* III: *The Greek World, the Jews and the East*, eds. H.M. Cotton and G.M. Rogers, forthcoming).

50 Jerome, *ep.* 41.3; *CJust.* 1.5.20.3.

51 *Vita S. Theodoti* 20.

inscription was set up in the fifth century at Hierapolis in Phrygia by a local priest to commemorate the founding of a church under the auspices of a patriarch: ἐπὶ τοῦ ἁγιοτ(άτου) καὶ θεοφ(ιλεστάτου) | † ἀρχιεπισκό(που) ἡμῶν κὲ π(ατ)ριάρ[χ]ου | Γενναίου. This has plausibly been interpreted as a reference to the head of the Montanist church at Pepuza (Tabbernee 1997 no. 82). Since the office of patriarch appears to have become current among Montanists before the term was introduced to denote the senior archbishops of the orthodox Church, it is extremely likely that this was another imitation of Jewish practice.[52]

5. Jews and Christians in Late Roman Asia Minor

Possible links between the Montanist church of the second and third centuries and the contemporary Jewish communities of the diaspora in Asia Minor were suggested in a short article by J.N. Ford, who based his argument on the Montanist adoption of the Jewish calendar and certain fasting practices.[53] The revised dating of the Jewish inscriptions from Aphrodisias and the full publication of the texts from the Sardis synagogue, which also belong to late antiquity, have prompted an overdue re-evaluation of relations between Jewish and Christian communities under the Christian empire.[54] Ford's tentative suggestions can be reinforced with a considerable quantity of specific information from the fourth and fifth centuries. The evidence of the new inscription that there was a close alignment between the organisation of the Montanist church and Jewish institutions in the fifth or early sixth centuries illustrates the potential for positive rather than hostile interaction between the two monotheistic religions in the communities of Asia Minor. This is also the clear implication of the evidence from Aphrodisias and Sardis. The earlier of the Aphrodisian inscriptions, doubtless to be placed in the fourth century, comprises a list of fifty-four Jews and fifty-two Godfearers (θεοσεβεῖς), including nine city councillors. Three godfearers and two proselytes, full converts to Judaism, are also

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52 It is worth noting another possible parallel between Jewish and Montanist practice. Both seem to have recognised female priests, πρεσβύτεραι. Epiphanios, *Panarion* 49.2.5 alleged that the followers of the prophetess Quintilla, the Quintilliani, had female bishops and presbyters and an epigraphic example has been identified (Tabbernee 1997 no. 4, with full discussion). Several Jewish examples of presbyterai are known; see B.J. Brooten, *Women Leaders in the Ancient Synagogue: Inscriptional Evidence and Background Issues* (1982); Ameling, *Inscriptiones Judaicae Orientis* II, 64-7 no. 12 with notes.

53 J.M. Ford, 'Was Montanism a Jewish-Christian heresy?' *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 17 (1966), 145-58; brief discussion by W. Frend, 'Montanism: research and problems', in *Archaeology and History in the Study of Early Christianity* (London 1988), c. VII, esp. p. 533.

54 S. Mitchell, 'The cities of Asia Minor in the age of Constantine', in S. Lieu and D. Montserrat, *Constantine. History, Historiography and Legend* (1998), 52-73 at 67-8; A. Chaniotis (n. 37), 209; 'Zwischen Konfrontation und Interaktion: Christen, Juden und Heiden im spätantiken Aphrodisias', in A. Ackermann and K.E. Müller (eds.), *Patchwork. Dimensionen multikultureller Gesellschaften* (2002), 83; Fergus Millar, 'Christian emperors, Christian church and the Jews of the Diaspora in the Greek East, C. E. 379-450', *Journal of Jewish Studies* 55 (2004), 1-24 (= chapter 18 in Fergus Millar, *Rome, the Greek World, and the East* III: *The Greek World, the Jews and the East*, eds. H.M. Cotton and G.M. Rogers, forthcoming).

mentioned in the later text. There is of course no way of identifying the further religious affiliations of the non-Jews, whether they were pagans or Christians of any persuasion, but it is probable that they were drawn from various sections of the population of Aphrodisias. A similar picture can be seen at Sardis, where five individuals who contributed to the construction of the synagogue building, with its lavish mosaic floor, elaborately painted walls and decorated interior fittings, also identified themselves as godfearers.[55] Jewish beliefs, and precisely their forms of worship and cult practice in the synagogue, appealed to numerous sympathisers from other religious traditions.[56] The large body of Jewish concepts, which occur in the Johannine books of the New Testament, were central to Montanist theology, provided important doctrinal common ground for the two religious traditions.

The attractions of Judaism were evident to many Christians. The best known evidence for this is to be found in John Chrysostom's sermons 'against the Jews', which he addressed to his Christian congregation at Antioch towards the end of the fourth century, to deter them from attending the synagogue and from joining in the celebration of the main Jewish festivals.[57] However, there are also extensive indications of the same phenomenon in the sources for Asia Minor. Most of this is to be found outside the purview of the orthodox Church, and is particularly associated with the activities of the Novatians and the Montanists in the hinterland of Asia Minor.

The Novatians were the most numerous and best organised schismatic Christian community of the east Roman Empire. Literary sources, especially the church historian Socrates, who had close links to the Novatians, and inscriptions show that they were strongly represented in Constantinople, in north-west Asia Minor, Phrygia and Lycaonia, and their four senior bishoprics were at Constantinople, Nicaea, Nicomedia and Cotiaeum.[58] The movement underwent a major internal split in the time of Valens, when a synod of lesser bishops met at a village called Pazon in Phrygia, near the sources of the Sangarios River, and agreed to celebrate Easter at the same time as the Jewish Passover instead of at the canonical date. In 385 a second council met at the Propontic harbour town of Angarum, and agreed to a compromise, whereby the Novatians from rural districts, significantly under the leadership of a former Jew called Sabbatios, continued to celebrate Easter in the Jewish fashion on 14 Nisan, provided that they did not attempt to spread the practice to Constantinople.[59] Socrates's account of the synod at Pazon indicates explicitly that the rural Novatians not only celebrated Easter on the same date as the Passover, but actually attended the Jewish Passover festival, precisely the behaviour

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55 Mosaics: J.H. Kroll, 'The Greek inscriptions of the Sardis synagogue', *HTR* 94 (2001), 20 no. 8 (Ameling no. 67), no. 9 (Ameling no. 68); wall covering: Kroll 27 no. 22 (Ameling no. 83); balustrade: Kroll no. 59 (Ameling no. 125); menorah: Kroll no. 66 (Ameling no. 132).

56 There has been extensive discussion, not least by W. Liebeschuetz, 'The influence of Judaism among non-Jews in the imperial period', *JJS* 52 (2001), 235-52.

57 R.L. Wilken, *John Chrysostom and the Jews. Rhetoric and Reality in the Late Fourth Century* (1983).

58 See T. Gregory, 'Novatianism. A rigorist sect in the Christian Roman empire', *Byzantine Studies* 2 (1975), 1-18; Mitchell, *Anatolia* II, 96-108.

59 Socrates *HE* IV.28; V. 22; Sozomen *HE* 6.24; 7.18; Mitchell, *Anatolia* II, 98-9.

of godfearers who frequented Jewish synagogues, and this point is emphasised in the reference to this council in Theophanes' *Chronographia*, who dates it to 367.[60]

Both Socrates and Sozomen develop their accounts of the Novatian schism with lengthy discussions about the date of Easter and the extent of Jewish influence on the Church.[61] The Tessareskaidekatitai or Quartodecumani traced the origins of their practice back to the apostle John, in contrast to the Roman church who claimed the authority of Peter and Paul for their Easter date (Socrates, *HE* V.22.28). Others who followed their practice were known as Sabbatiani, observers of the Sabbath. Moreover Sozomen explicitly noted that the Montanists followed the lunar calendar and introduced this alien method for fixing their Easter celebration.[62] Contemporary writers, especially those concerned with Christian heresies, were fully aware that Christians who celebrated Easter on 14 Nisan cited John the Evangelist as the authority for their practice. So Theodoret reported that 'they say that John the Evangelist, when he brought the gospel to Asia, taught them to celebrate the festival of Easter on the fourteenth day of the lunar month'.[63]

At about the same time as the Pazon synod, Jewish-Christian relations were on the agenda of another Phrygian council, convened by bishops of the orthodox Church at Laodicea on the Lycus.[64] Canon 7 stated that Novatians, Photinians and Tessareskaidekatitai were not to be admitted to communion until they renounced their heresy, and Canon 8 insisted that those who abandoned the Phrygian heresy, even members of the clergy, could not be received before they had served time as catechumens and been rebaptised. Other regulations dealt explicitly with the issues of judaisers. Christians should not follow Jewish practices and rest on the Sabbath, but should work on that day, observing Sunday (*Kuriake*) as their holiday. Those proved to have been judaisers were to be anathematised (Canon 29). No one was to receive festival gifts from heretics or Jews or to celebrate their festivals with them (Canon 37). They should not accept the Passover meal from the Jews (Canon 38). No one should receive *eulogiai*, since such praises were in fact the reverse, *alogiai*. This may be a reference to the Jewish custom of praising the dead.[65]

The spread of these judaising practices has been illuminated by a neglected record of part of the proceedings of the Council of Ephesos in 431, recently studied by Fergus

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60 Socrates HE IV.28.17: σύνοδον γὰρ ἐν Πάζῳ κώμῃ, ἔνθα τοῦ Σαγαρίου ποταμοῦ εἰσιν αἱ πηγαί, ποιήσαντες ὀλίγοι τινὲς καὶ οὐκ εὔσημοι τῶν περὶ Φρυγίαν Ναυατιανῶν ἐπίσκοποι ὅρον ἐκφέρουσιν, ὥστε Ἰουδαίους ἐπιτηρεῖν ποιοῦντας τὰ ἄζυμα καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς τὴν τοῦ πάσχα ἐπιτελεῖν ἑορτήν. Theophanes, *Chron.* 5867: ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ τε χρόνῳ τινὲς τῶν Ναυατιανῶν ἐν Φρυγίᾳ τὸ πάσχα ἤρξαντο ποιεῖν μετὰ Ἰουδαίων, συνελθόντες ἐν Πάζῳ τῇ κώμῃ, καὶ νόμον ἐξέθεντο μετὰ Ἰουδαίων πασχάζειν. ἐκ τούτων οἱ λεγόμενοι Σαββατιανοὶ ἀπὸ Σαββατίου τινὸς ἀνεφύησαν.

61 Socrates, *HE* V.22; Sozomen *HE* 7.18-19.

62 Sozomen, *HE* VII.18.12: Μοντανισταὶ δέ, οὓς Πεπουζίτας καὶ Φρύγας ὀνομάζουσι, ξένην τινὰ μέθοδον εἰσάγοντες κατὰ ταύτην τὸ πάσχα ἄγουσι.

63 Theodoret, *Haer. fab.* 3.4: φασὶ τὸν εὐαγγελίστην Ἰωάννην ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ κηρύξαντα διδάξαι αὐτοὺς ἐν τῇ τεσσαρεσκαιδεκάτῃ τῆς σελήνης ἐπιτελέσαι τοῦ Πάσχα τὴν ἑορτήν.

64 See Hefele and Leclercq (n. 11), 989-1028.

65 L. Robert, *Hellenica* XI/XII, 394; Ameling, *Inscriptiones Judaicae Orientis* II, 68.

Millar, which throws further light on competing religious groups in western Asia Minor. The council's records documented how authorities were sent to the Lydian city of Philadelphia and received attestations of orthodox belief from a group of twenty individual schismatic Christians, living in Philadelphia itself or in the villages around it. These were variously identified as Novatians, Cathari, or Tessareskaidekatitai, and evidently followed the Johannine tradition of celebrating Easter on the date of the Jewish Passover.[66] Philadelphia, which has also produced a Montanist inscription,[67] was less than forty miles from Pepuza, and a bare twenty-five from Sardis with its influential community of godfearers. We may conclude that Novatianism was well established in eastern Lydia. It is worth noting also that according to Epiphanios the entire population of the important Lydian city of Thyateira was Montanist for more than a century before it reverted to orthodoxy.[68]

Mainstream Christian sources from the fourth to the sixth centuries painted an uncompromisingly hostile and negative view of the Jews. Although the Roman state recognised Jewish freedom of worship and offered Jews a measure of protection from Christian violence, emperors adopted the negative rhetoric of the Christian sources. There is plentiful evidence, especially from the great cities of Syria and from Egypt, that Christian-Jewish relations were strained, and often erupted into inter-communal violence.[69] At the same time, despite the hectoring attempts of the Church fathers to assert Christian orthodoxy and orthopraxy, and Roman state legislation, which made it an offense to convert from Christianity to Judaism and imposed numerous other restrictions,[70] Jewish law, religion and ritual practice continued to be as attractive to non-Jews in late antiquity as they had been to gentiles in the first three centuries.[71]

Jewish communities had settled in Phrygia and Lydia in the second century BC and were well established throughout the region.[72] Not only inscriptions but also the common appearance of the *menorah* and other typical Jewish symbols in the countryside as well as the cities of Asia Minor[73] reinforce the impression of a strong Jewish presence into late antiquity. As the Jews were at least as numerous and well organised in the fourth and fifth centuries as they had been in the early imperial period, the potential for a synthesis of Jewish and Christian ideas and practices continued undiminished. The Novatian and Montanist churches of Phrygia, Lydia and Galatia, whose members probably substantially outnumbered orthodox Christians in these regions, favoured interpretations of New

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66 Fergus Millar, 'Repentant heretics in fifth-century Lydia: identity and literacy', *Scripta Classica Israelica* 23 (2004), 111-30.

67 Tabbernee 1997 no. 84 (dated to 515).

68 Epiphanios, *Panarion* 51.33. The chronological problems are discussed by Tabbernee 1997, 136-8.

69 Millar (n. 54), 1-24.

70 Millar (n. 54), 4; A. Lindner, *The Jews in Roman Imperial Legislation* (1987).

71 For the common ground, see S. Mitchell, 'Rom und das Judentum in der frühen Kaiserzeit. Überlegungen zu den Grenzen zwischen Heiden, Juden und Christen', in J. Dümmer and M. Vielberg (eds.), *Leitbild Wissenschaft?* (Historia Einzelschriften Stuttgart 2002), 149-72.

72 The best survey of the evidence is W. Ameling, 'Die jüdischen Gemeinden im antiken Kleinasien', in R. Jütte and A. Kustermann (eds.), *Jüdische Gemeinden und Organisationsformen von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart* (1996), 29-55.

73 Chaniotis, in *Patchwork* (n. 54), 83.

Testament theology which emphasised the Jewish traditions of early Christianity. Both groups synchronized the main festivals of the Jewish and Christian calendars, and many preferred the Sabbath to the Lord's Day as the main focus for their communal worship. The Montanists created a clerical hierarchy that was far closer to the Jewish than to the Christian model.

In a striking passage of his commentary on Zachariah, written in the first years of the fifth century, Jerome deplored Jewish influence on contemporary Christians in a way which suggests that he may have had the Montanist example in mind:

> The Jews and judaising Christians promise themselves at the end of time the building-up of Jerusalem, and the pouring forth of waters from its midst, flowing down to both seas. Then circumcision is again to be practised, victims are to be sacrificed and all the precepts of the laws are to be kept, so that it will not be a matter of Jews becoming Christians, but of Christians becoming Jews. On that day, they say, when Christ will take his seat to rule in a golden and jewelled Jerusalem, there will be no more idols nor varieties of worship of the divinity, but there will be one God, and the whole world will revert to solitude, that is, to its ancient state.[74]

The judaising Christianity of the Montanists, the Novatians and other groups, especially in Asia Minor, represented a serious alternative to mainstream doctrines favoured by the orthodox hierarchy. The religious expectations that were fostered by the Pepuza community, and nurtured by discussion with the Jews of Asia Minor, were stronger in the fifth and sixth centuries than they had ever been. The rhetoric of one-sided orthodox sources has been responsible for creating an impression of conformity in the beliefs and organisation of the Church which radically misrepresented the real situation to be found over much of late Roman Asia Minor.

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74 Jerome, *Comm. Zach.*, in CCL 76A, 885; translated and discussed by Fergus Millar in (n. 49), 114. See N. Russell, *Cyril of Alexandria* (London 2000), 13-21, who cites this passage in a discussion of Cyril's anti-Jewish writing.