

The Jews of Aphrodisias: New Evidence and Old Problems

Angelos Chaniotis

1. The 'donor inscriptions' and their puzzles¹

Aphrodisias, site of a famous sanctuary of Aphrodite, important center of urban life in Roman Asia Minor, and the capital of the province of Caria in Late Antiquity,² has attracted considerable attention among students of Judaism since the publication by Joyce Reynolds and Robert Tannenbaum of two important inscriptions concerning the Jewish community (Fig. 1). The two texts give the names of 68 Jews, three proselytes, and 54 *theosebeis* ('god-fearers'), thus attesting the existence of a large and apparently prospering Jewish community at Aphrodisias.³ Unfortunately, this is the only uncontroversial statement one can make about these inscriptions, which I will call — for the sake of convenience — the 'donor inscriptions'. Almost all issues related to this monument, including the date of the two texts, their relation to one another, the interpretation of the introductory text written on one of the two inscribed faces,⁴ the interpretation of the word *patélla* or *patellás*⁵ and the nature of the 'memorial' (*mnemeion*) set up 'for the relief of the people from grief',⁶ the question whether the 'godfearers' (*theosebeis*) constituted a separate group (persons that attended the synagogue without being fully

¹ All dates are CE, if not otherwise stated. Abbreviations of epigraphic *corpora* are those of the *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum* (see Index XXXI-XLV).

² Recent studies on the urban development and history of Aphrodisias (with further bibliography): Roueché 1989; Roueché 1993; Ratté forthcoming I and II.

³ Reynolds and Tannenbaum 1987. It is difficult to estimate the number of the donors, since in a few cases it cannot be determined whether a word is a personal name or designation of an occupation. The bibliography on these inscriptions is immense (cf. *SEG* XXXVI 970; XXXIX 1100, 1105 and 1841; XLI 918; XLIV 862; XLV 1503). I mention only a few important studies: van der Horst 1990; Trebilco 1991: 107-10, 152-5, 179, 182f.; Murphy-O'Connor 1992; Williams 1992; Botermann 1993; Bonz 1994; van Minnen 1994: 255-7.

⁴ Face A in Reynolds' terminology (face II, here): Θεὸς βοηθῶς ΠΑΤΕΛΛΑΔΟ[.] οἱ ὑποτεταγμένοι τῆς δεκαν(ί)ας ἢ τῶν φιλομαθῶ[ν] ἢ τῶν κέ παντευλογ(ούντων?) ἢ εἰς ἀπειθησίαν ἢ τῶ πλῆθι ἔκτισα[ν] ἢ ἐξ ἰδίω μνήμα.

⁵ A soup kitchen for the poor: Reynolds and Tannenbaum 1987: 26-8; cf. Botermann 1993: 192-4; Levine 1999: 1009. An association of cooks or 'Imbissinhaber': van Minnen 1994: 256f. Cook-shop customer: Mussies 1991: 293-5. See next note.

⁶ The object of the donation has been interpreted as a philanthropical institution (if the word *πατέλλα* in l. 1 means 'soup kitchen for the poor'; cf. note 5), a funerary institution or association (McKnight 1991: 158 note 64; cf. Williams 1992: 306-10: a synagogal *triclinium* initiated by a burial society), or a synagogue (G.W. Bowersock apud Feldman 1993: 575 note 116). In light of the vocabulary used (*apenthesia*, *mnema*), I regard the second suggestion as the most plausible.

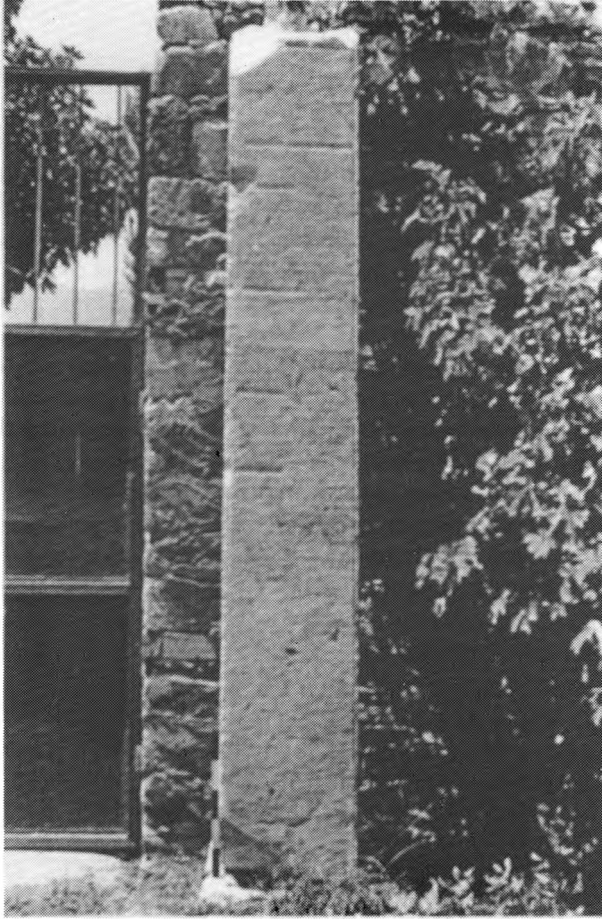


Figure 1. Face I of the ‘donor inscriptions’

converted),⁷ and the understanding of several terms and names, have excited a great deal of controversy. In the *editio princeps*, Joyce Reynolds discussed in a very clear manner all the problems concerning the date and the genesis of the two texts and presented all the possible options. If she finally favored a date in the Severan period (c. 200) for both texts, she did this not without warning other scholars about the problems involved and about other possibilities (fourth or fifth century). Many scholars have chosen, however,

⁷ Reynolds and Tannenbaum 1987: 48-66. On this question see also Kant 1987: 687-90; Cohen 1989: esp. 31-3; van der Horst 1990: 169-71; Molthagen 1991: 46f.; Trebilco 1991: 152-66; Murphy-O'Connor 1992; Rajak 1992: 20f.; Bonz 1994: 291-9; Lieu 1995; Rutgers 1998: 219f.; Stanton 1998: 267-91; Wander 1998: 8-12, 65-128. Mitchell's recent studies (1998, 1999b: 115-21) have substantially endorsed the view that the *sebomenoi ton theon* of the literary tradition are identical with the *theosebeis* of the inscriptions (but cf. note 49 below).

to disregard her explicit warning,⁸ and the attribution of both texts to the early third century has become almost canonical.⁹ The question of chronology may seem a rather technical matter, but it has very important historical implications. The significance of the 'donor inscriptions' as a source for the Jewish community at Aphrodisias — but also for the suspected influence of Mishnaic rabbis on the Jews of the Diaspora, for Jewish euergetism, for the social status of adherents to Judaism, for the service of Jews and sympathisers as councillors, for the popularity of Biblical names, for the attraction of the synagogue, the 'visibility' of proselytes and the tolerance of proselytism, for the meaning of the term *theosebes* (and its possible evolution), etc. — depends entirely on the historical context(s) in which we place them. The correct dating of the texts, therefore, has enormous significance for students of Judaism. In addition to this, if the 'donor inscriptions' have not hitherto been discussed in the context of the religious interaction amongst Christians, Greeks, and Jews in Late Antiquity,¹⁰ this is entirely due to the early datings. The aims of this paper are to clarify the relation between the two texts, to establish a more accurate chronology, and to present hitherto unpublished evidence for the Jewish community at Aphrodisias in Late Antiquity, pointing out its historical implications.

2. The relation between the two texts of the 'donor inscriptions'

The monument on which the two texts are inscribed is a 2.80 m high marble block (probably a free-standing stele), tapering a little towards the top.¹¹ Two opposite faces are 46 cm wide (faces I and III, or B and D in the ed. pr.), the other two are slightly narrower — 45 cm (faces II and IV, or A and C in the ed. pr.). The immediate temptation would be to designate the wider faces as the front and back faces and the narrower as the lateral faces. This impression is strengthened by the fact that only three of the faces are carefully smoothed, whereas one of the wider faces (face III) is neither smoothed nor inscribed; one cannot avoid the conclusion that the smoothed and inscribed face (face I, opposite to face III) is the front side and the rough and uninscribed face III is the back side, originally intended to remain invisible — e.g., to be placed against a wall. Further observations make this interpretation more attractive. The inscribed face I has a drafted margin or rebate down both sides, whereas the other inscribed face (face II, to the left of face I at right angles) lacks this treatment and has a fillet with rough-dressed treatment instead. The appearance of the inscriptions on the two faces strengthens the

⁸ Reynolds and Tannenbaum 1987: 22: 'the position is not, unfortunately, susceptible of proof. It may be wrong; but it seems to us likely'.

⁹ The early chronology is followed, e.g., by Strubbe 1989: 194f. (with regard to the integration of the Jews and their service as members of the council); van der Horst 1990; van Minnen 1994: 255; Trebilco 1991: 152-5; Murphy-O'Connor 1992; Rajak 1992: 20; Williams 1992; Bonz 1994 (only for one of the two texts); Braun 1998; Levine 1999: 1009; Williams 1999: 93 (with regard to the popularity of Hebrew names; cf. below note 70). More sceptical Goodman 1988: 261f.; Molthagen 1991: 47 note 27; now also Williams 2000: 318.

¹⁰ The 'donor inscriptions' are not mentioned in two important studies on Aphrodisias in Late Antiquity: Roueché 1989 and Trombley 1993/94.

¹¹ Cf. the description by Reynolds in Reynolds and Tannenbaum 1987: 3 and 19.

impression that face I has the more clean and neat appearance that one expects for the front side of a monument: the inscription on face I begins at the very top of the block (Fig. 1), while the text on face II begins 15 cm lower (Fig. 2); the text on face I is inscribed with carefully engraved letters, with standardised letter-heights within guide-lines; on the contrary, the text on face II lacks this care, there are no guidelines, the letter-heights vary, in a few cases the text goes beyond the right-hand margin, and the first line is oblique.¹²

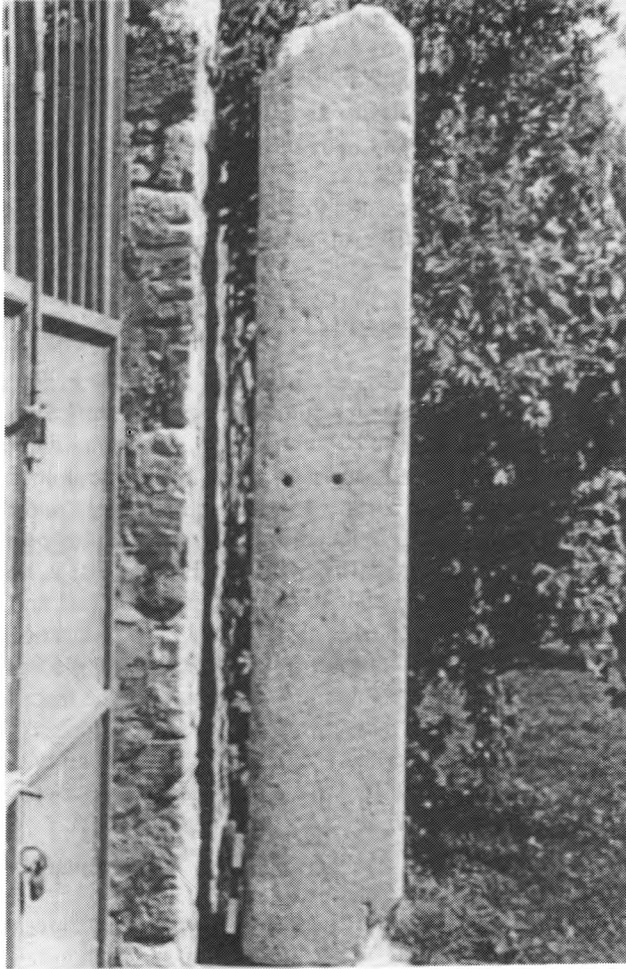


Figure 2. Face II of the ‘donor inscriptions’

Reading this description one can come to only one conclusion: face I was written first, possibly while the stone was still lying on the ground; this made it possible for the

¹² Van Minnen 1994: 256, has suggested that the first line was written later, but a close examination of the stone confirms Reynolds’ view that the first line was written together with the rest of the text on this face.

mason to draw the guide-lines and to start inscribing the text at the very top of the block, as he could bend over it and did not have to climb a ladder. Sometime later, after the block had been set up, a mason (certainly a different one) inscribed the second text on face II; his work was impeded by the height of the block and by the fact that it was standing. This explains why he had to start lower, why his lines are not horizontal, and why the script gives the impression that less care was given to it. The mason of face II was not less experienced, worse paid, or simply lazy; he was working under unfavorable conditions.

Why then did such an experienced epigrapher as Joyce Reynolds favor the assumption that the text on face II was inscribed first, but without excluding the alternative presented above?¹³ The reason is simple and at first sight persuasive: the text on face II has a heading, that on face I starts with a list of names. For the same reason Reynolds concluded, again very cautiously and without excluding other possibilities (e.g., the existence of a crowning capital or even of another *stèle* carrying an explanatory text), that the names of Jews and *theosebeis* inscribed on face I continue the list of donors which starts on face II (Reynolds' face A); consequently the two texts belong to the same historical context. Reynolds' argument is based, however, on the assumption that the block has 'quite extensive damage'¹⁴ at the top and that only one line is missing. This is, however, not the case: the top of the block has indeed been *broken off* and, therefore, a separate heading could have been written on the lost part of face I (possibly on a moulding) introducing the names of the Jews and the *theosebeis* and indicating the nature of their donation. This heading could still be read at a height of c. 3 m, if it had been written with slightly larger letters than the rest of the text (only 2 cm).

We may, therefore, conclude that the text on face I was written first. It had a separate heading, and the commemoration of the 55 Jews and 52 *theosebeis*, whose names are preserved on this face, is separate (and possibly of a different nature) from the donation mentioned in the text of face II. We should now turn to the chronological relation between the two texts and the date of the text on face I.

3. The date of the 'donor inscriptions'

In most references to the 'donor inscriptions' in studies concerning the history of Judaism the chronology cautiously proposed by Joyce Reynolds (c. 200) is accepted without comment or indeed any notice of the many doubts Reynolds herself raised regarding her

¹³ Reynolds and Tannenbaum 1987: 19. Reynolds' interpretation has been generally accepted, with a few exceptions: Bonz 1994: 285-91, has reached the same conclusion as mine, but with a different argument, observing that the formulaic expression *theos boethos* on face III is not attested earlier than the fifth century; for the text on face I she follows the traditional date in the early third century. Doubts on whether the two texts belong together have also been expressed by van Minnen 1994: 255 and Ameling 1996: 31 note 4.

¹⁴ Reynolds and Tannenbaum 1987: 3. A second argument (the presence of the extremely rare name Antipeos in both texts) is not conclusive: Antipeos in face I does not necessarily belong to the same historical context nor is he necessarily related to Antipeos on face II; cf. Bonz 1994: 287.

early date (see notes 8-9 above). In the last few years the early chronology has been doubted by several scholars,¹⁵ and it is now time to review the dating criteria closely.

The main argument for an early date is the fact that after the *Constitutio Antoniniana* of 212 the free population of the empire received Roman citizenship, and the recipients added to their name the Latin name Marcus Aurelius. Since none of the 123 persons listed in the 'donor inscriptions' has this (or any other Roman) *nomen*, Reynolds plausibly concluded that the texts were written either before 212 or long after that date, after Roman citizen nomenclature had been abandoned for a single-name system, i.e., in the fourth or fifth century. She preferred the earlier date, because some Aurelii (and derivatives of the name Aurelius) continue to appear in inscriptions of Aphrodisias in the fourth century.¹⁶ With regard to another common, but not always conclusive, dating criterion, namely the letter forms, Reynolds rightly observed that most individual features of the palaeography can be reconciled with a date any time between c. 200 and c. 450. Some features, such as the good alignment on face I, some letter forms, and the use of stops seem earlier, but other features, such as the variation of letter sizes, the poor alignment on face II, and the many abbreviation marks, seem later. She preferred the earlier date observing that 'with a date in the late fourth or fifth centuries it is difficult to reconcile the letter forms and still more the layout of face B [= face I]'.¹⁷

Reynolds never concealed the fact that the arguments for an early date are not conclusive. The problems of the first argument have been demonstrated by Helga Botterman, who has pointed out that the absence of Aurelii cannot be used as a dating criterion, since the use of Roman citizen nomenclature is not consistent; many persons used the name Marcus Aurelius after 212, others did not.¹⁸ Therefore, the absence of Aurelii in the two texts cannot serve as an indication of date, let alone as proof of an early date. Similarly, it is true that individual forms of letters (and to a great extent the overall appearance of the text on face I) resemble those in Aphrodisian inscriptions of the Severan period. This does not exclude, however, a date in the fourth century for the text on face I or the fifth century for the text on face II.¹⁹ In my table of letter forms (Table 1), one finds forms of the letters *alpha*, *sigma* (both angular and lunate), and *upsilon* (with a horizontal bar) as well as an abbreviation mark which reappear in an inscription that Reynolds has plausibly dated to the fifth century.²⁰ If the palaeography can be reconciled with any date between c. 200 and 500, a decisive argument for a late

¹⁵ Williams 1992: 297 note 4, 301 (mid-third century); Botermann 1993: 187-92 (fourth century); Bonz 1994 (ca. 200 for the text on face I, fifth century for the text on face III); Mitchell 1998: 64; 1999a: 73 note 72; 1999b: 117 note 108 (fourth century). Cf. G.W. Bowersock apud Feldman 1993: 577 note 138; Ameling 1996: 31 note 4.

¹⁶ Reynolds and Tannenbaum 1987: 20.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Botermann 1993: 187-9; cf. Williams 1992: 297 note 4; Bonz 1994: 286. For the *Constitutio Antoniniana* and the diffusion of the name Aurelius in the Greek East see Buraselis 1989: esp. 120-48.

¹⁹ Cf. Bonz 1994: 286f., who observes that the similarity of the letter forms on face II with those of the synagogue inscriptions of Sardis supports a date in the fourth century or later.

²⁰ Reynolds and Tannenbaum 1987: 137f. no. 10 (here, Appendix II no. 25). For other fourth- and fifth-century inscriptions with similar letter forms as in faces I and II (esp. E, Ξ, Σ, Υ, and Ω) see, e.g., Roueché 1989: nos. 14, 16, 17, 19, 21, 22, 32, 42 and 73.

Letter	Face I	Face II	Letter	Face I	Face II
A	AAA	AAA	Ξ	ΞΞ	Ξ
B	BB	B	Ο	ΟΟ°	Ο°
Γ	Γ	Γ	Π	ΠΠ	ΠΛ
Δ	Δ	Δ	Ρ	ΡΡΡ	Ρ
Ε	ΕΕΕ	ΕΕ	Σ	ΣΣΣ	ΣΕ
Ζ	ΖΖ		Τ	ΤΤ	Τ
Η	ΗΗ	Η	Υ	ΥΥ	Υ
Θ	ΘΘ	Θ	Φ	ΦΦ	Φ
Ι	ΙΙ	Ι	Χ	Χ	Χ
Κ	ΚΚ	Κ	Ψ	Ψ	Ψ
Λ	ΛΛ	Λ	Ω	ΩΩ	Ω
Μ	ΜΜ	Μ			
Ν	ΝΝ	Ν	abbr. sign		ς

Table 1

date is the use and the form of the abbreviation signs, which in Reynolds' words 'at first sight seem very Byzantine';²¹ Reynolds is also right that they 'are all attested in use by the third century, although more freely in papyri than in inscriptions'; but in the early third century the sign ^ς is never used in the papyri to abbreviate words or names, and in the inscriptions it is attested in this function only from the fourth century onwards.²² Therefore, there is no compelling reason for dating the two inscriptions to the Severan period. But are there reasons for preferring a later date?

This question can be easily answered for the text on face II (face A in Reynolds' edition). For this text there are other criteria which lead to a date around the fifth century. The decisive argument has been provided by Marianne Palmer Bonz,²³ who has observed that the formulaic expression *theos boethos* is — to the best of our knowledge — not attested earlier than the fourth century and becomes common only after c. 350. Some other difficulties with an earlier date had already been pointed out by Reynolds

²¹ Reynolds and Tannenbaum 1987: 21.

²² I owe the information on the papyri to my colleague Professor D. Hagedorn; see, e.g., the indices of *P.Lond.* vol. I-IV. All the epigraphic examples for the abbreviation sign ^ς from Aphrodisias are from the fourth and fifth centuries: Roueché 1989: nos. 65, 68, 72, 116, 212; cf., e.g., *SEG XLVII 908* (Macedonia, fifth century).

²³ Bonz 1994: 289f.

herself: the mention of a psalm-singer (l. 15) would be problematic²⁴ and the word *palatinos* (l. 11) — whether as a designation of an official, a status, or a personal name — makes better sense in the context of Late Antiquity.²⁵ The presence of three proselytes (ll. 13, 7, and 22) would be surprising only a few years after the reinforcement of the anti-conversion laws under Septimius Severus.²⁶ By calling to mind that the toleration of Christianity from 311 onwards improved the conditions of the Jews, H. Botterman has supported a date in the fourth century.²⁷ An even later date, however, remains quite possible (cf. below).

The text on face I is certainly earlier and more difficult to date, since there are almost no internal dating criteria other than the names and occupations of the men listed here. The fact that at least 29 of them are not further identified by their father's name, but by their occupation, seems a late feature,²⁸ but would not exclude a priori a date in the early third century.²⁹ The most important, and hitherto not fully exploited, dating criterion is the onomastic material. The majority of the persons in this inscription have names so typical for Late Antiquity that one would immediately be tempted to date the text on face I to the fourth century or later.³⁰ Reynolds recognized this problem, and in her onomastic survey she observed that many names are not attested earlier than the third

²⁴ Reynolds and Tannenbaum 1987: 46.

²⁵ Reynolds and Tannenbaum 1987: 42f., who observe, however, that there are already first-century attestations of the Latin form *palatinus* to designate persons in the emperor's service. This does not change the fact that the word is attested in Greek inscriptions only after the fourth century. For its late use, see, e.g., Frey 1952: no. 1006; *SEG* XXIX 636; XXXVIII 817; XLII 639; XLIV 1599. Cf. Cotton and Geiger 1989, no. 724 *verso* and commentary ad loc. The personal name Palatinos is already attested in the second century, but it becomes common only in Late Antiquity. For isolated second- and third-century attestations see *SB* VI 9017 (second century); *IGSK* 17, 3817 (second or third century); *IG* II² 2239 l. 211 (late third century); *P.Oxy.* I 43 VI,8 (third century); for late attestations (fourth-sixth century) see Preisigke 1922: 260 (3 cases); Foraboschi 1971: 70 (3 cases).

²⁶ Cf. Reynolds and Tannenbaum 1987: 43-5, who doubt, however, whether Roman laws were automatically in force at Aphrodisias, a free city. This is not the place to discuss this issue, but the idea that the Aphrodisian Jews challenged the Imperial legislation in the early third century seems to me improbable. For the anti-conversion laws of Septimius Severus and the question of their historicity see Smallwood 1976: 500-2 and Braun 1998: 154f.

²⁷ Botermann 1993: 190-2. For the improvement of the position of the Jews after 311 cf. Noethlichs 1996: 101. For the strength of the Jewish community in the fourth century at Antioch see Hahn 1996.

²⁸ Mitchell 1999a: 73 note 72. For this practice in Aphrodisias in Late Antiquity cf. Roueché 1989: nos. 91, 113, 169, 189-91, 195, 206, and 214.

²⁹ For examples earlier than c. 212 see, e.g., *SEG* XLVI 737 (Beroia), 2170.2 and 33 (Terenouthis).

³⁰ This has already been observed by Mitchell 1999a: 73 note 72, who points out that some names (Amachios, Eusebios, Heortasios, Eugenios, Praoilios, Acholios, Eutychios, Gorgonios, Paregorios, Gregorios, Polychronios, Politianos, Leontios, Prokopios) are not attested until the fourth century; some of these names are in fact attested earlier (see Appendix I), but Mitchell is right in his observation that it seems incredible that so many names typical of the fourth and fifth century should occur in an early third-century document.

Name	I-II	II/III	III	III<	IV	V-VII	undated
Acholios				1	2	1	1
Adolios				1			
Amantios						1	1
Amazonios	1		1	6	14		
Anikios				1		1	
Anysios					7		
Arkadios	2	1		2	7	9	1
Eugenios	4	6	10	19	32	27	4
Eupeithios					1	1	
Eusebios	20		20	54	77	29	5
Eutropios	2		4	11	14	9	
Gorgonios	1	5	11	14	18	1	
Gregorios	1	1	4	29	5	32	2
Heortasios		1		2	4	1	
Manikios						1	
Oxycholios		1		1			
Paregorios		3	5	5	10	4	2
Patrikios		1		2	7	22	
Polychronios	5	5	8	24	19	12	7
Prokopios	1	2	3		2	7	
Romanos	5	1	2	8	7	16	3
Strategios	2	2		2	3	22	
	44	29	67	182	229	196	26

Table 2. The onomastic habit in face I of the ‘donor inscriptions’

This table shows the chronological distribution of some of the names attested in face I of the ‘donor inscriptions’ from the first to the seventh century. For the corpora surveyed for this table see Appendix I. None of these names is attested earlier than the first century. The date of many inscriptions is not certain. In order to avoid a manipulation of the evidence in favor of a late date, in cases of doubtful chronology I have adopted the earlier alternative; those Christian inscriptions (with a cross or another Christian symbol) that can not be dated securely, are regarded as belonging to the fourth century, but may be later.

I-II = c. first and second century

II/III = late second or early third century

III = c. third century

III< = c. 220-300

IV = c. fourth century

V-VII = c. fifth-seventh century

century and are rare in our evidence before Late Antiquity.³¹ In many cases the only early (i.e., second or third century) attestation she could find for a name was that of a related form,³² the Latin form,³³ or an attestation in Rome.³⁴ However, the onomastic

³¹ Reynolds and Tannenbaum 1987: 97 (Amachios), 98 (Anysios, Gorgonios), 99 (Heortasios), 103 (Oxycholios), 106 (Arkadios), 109 (Patrikios and Prokopios), and 110 (Strategios).

³² E.g., in the case of Anysios she refers to Anytos/Anyte (ibid. 112 note 30), in the case of Heortasios to Heorte (ibid. 99), in the case of Eupeithios to Eupeithes (107), although the ending -ios is a characteristically late feature.

³³ Reynolds and Tannenbaum 1987: 97 (Amantios), 105 with note 113 (Amazonios), and 109 with note 157 (Patricius).

habits in late second- or third-century Rome should not be regarded as representative of the Greek East, despite the wide circulation of some of the names attested in Rome; furthermore, it should not be surprising that Latin forms of names are attested earlier than their Greek version. Still, such parallels would not be so problematic if they did not concern fully a quarter of the names attested on face I. In addition, some of the third-century attestations of a name are dated to the later part of the century and not to the period around 200.

Because of the great importance of the onomastic habit for the dating of the inscription on face I, I have undertaken a detailed treatment of the most characteristic names in Appendix I; here, I present only a summary of the results. Table 2 reveals beyond any doubt that the overall onomastic habit of this text is that of Late Antiquity (fourth century). For 12 names we only have isolated attestations before 212, primarily in Rome; these names become common in the East only after the mid-third century; five names (Acholios, Adolios, Anikios, Oxycholios, and Patrikios) appear in our record at least one generation after the *Constitutio Antoniniana*, while another four names (Amantios, Anysios, Eupethios, and Manikios) are not attested until at least one century after the early date. A few characteristic cases should suffice. In the onomastic *lexica* and *corpora* I have surveyed, Amazonios is attested only once before the third century, becoming common only long after the Severan period (21 attestations); in the case of Eusebios the ratio of attestations before and after c. 200 are 20 to 180 (of which 106 are of the fourth century or later), in the case of Eutropios 4 to 38, in the case of Gorgonios 6 to 48, in the case of Gregorios 2 to 67, in the case of Polychronios 10 to 63, in the case of Romanos 6 to 33; in all these cases the bulk of the evidence is from the fourth century or later. The great number of late attestations becomes even more important if we take into consideration the fact that the number of inscriptions generally decreases after the third century. We either have to assume that face I of the 'donor inscriptions' was inscribed around 200 to commemorate men whose names deviated radically from the contemporary onomastic habits, or that the inscription dates to some time after c. 250. In light of all the other evidence, the latter conclusion is compelling.

It seems impossible to me to come to a more accurate date for the two texts within the period we call Late Antiquity. The religious tolerance in the period between Galerius' decree (311) and the more aggressive measures for the establishment of Christianity as state religion under Theodosius I seems a plausible historical context for the commemoration of at least 55 Jews and 52 *theosebeis* on face I. Such a date can without difficulty be reconciled with the text's palaeographical features and with the mention of *bouleutai*.³⁵ Its differences from the text on face II (palaeography, larger number of biblical names) support the assumption that the second text was inscribed much later, certainly after c. 350 (because of the acclamation *th̄eos boethos*) and probably sometime in the fifth century.³⁶

³⁴ E.g., for Acholios, Gorgonios (ibid. 98 with notes 35 and 39), Eusebios (100 with note 53), Oxycholios (103 with note 87), Paregorios (103 with note 89), Amazonios (105 with note 113), Arkadios (106 with note 121), Gregorios (107 with note 129), Eutropios (107 with note 136), Prokopios (109 with note 161).

³⁵ For the *bouleutai* cf. Mitchell 1999a: 73 note 72.

³⁶ Cf. Bonz 1994: 289f.



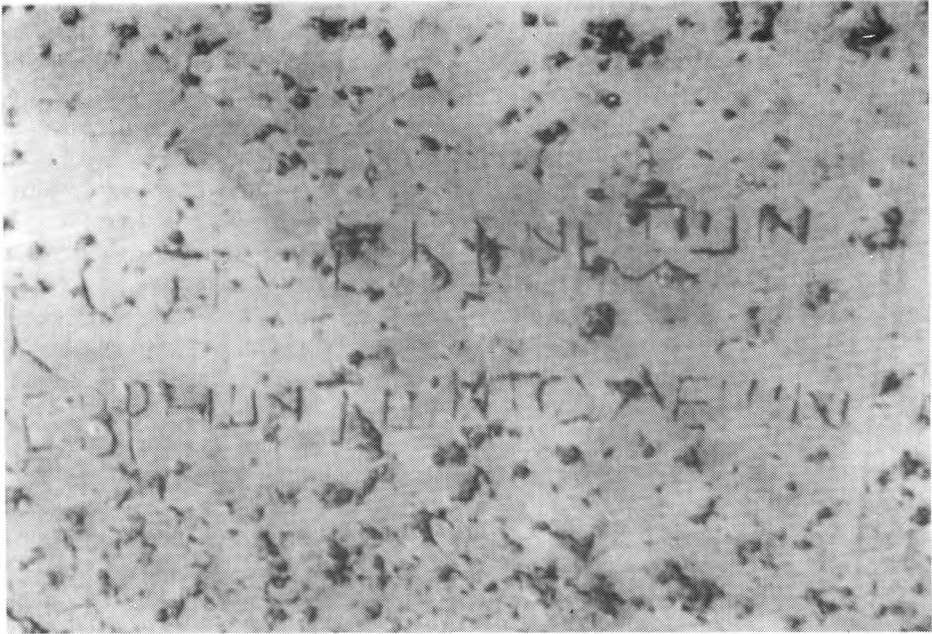
T O Π O C O P F W I N

Figure 3. *Bouleuterion/Odeion*: seating inscriptions of the *Hebraioi* (Appendix II no. 18)

4. The Jewish presence at Aphrodisias in Late Antiquity

The redating of the ‘donor inscriptions’ is not without important historical implications. I lack the competence to discuss the implications it has for the history of Judaism (see notes 5, 6 and 9 above). The late date and the reassessment of the relation of the two texts to one another not only bring the ‘donor inscriptions’ closer to the inscriptions from the synagogue at Sardis (now dated to the fourth century)³⁷ and to the other Jewish evidence at Aphrodisias, but also place them in the context of the religious controversies, interactions and ambiguities of Late Antiquity. These two points need to be discussed briefly here.

³⁷ Botermann 1990; Bonz 1994: 286f.



Ζ. Κ. ΠΟ. Κ. ΒΕΝΕΤΤΩΝ
 ΕΒΡΕΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΤΩ ΛΕΩΝ

Figure 4. *Bouleuterion/Odeion*: seating inscriptions of the elderly Jews (App. II no. 17)

In an appendix in *Jews and Godfearers at Aphrodisias* Joyce Reynolds presented an impressive collection of inscriptions, religious symbols and graffiti which can be attributed to the Jewish community of Aphrodisias. Her collection has made Aphrodisias one of the best-documented sites with a Jewish community in Asia Minor, next to Sardis and Hierapolis.³⁸ In the meantime more evidence has come to light, and it should be useful to summarize here the entire dossier (see Appendix II). A first group of texts was found in a building known as the ‘Odeion’; this building is in fact the *bouleuterion* of

³⁸ Sardis: Botermann 1990; Rajak 1998; Crawford 1999. Hierapolis: Miranda 1999.

the city, which was used in Late Antiquity for spectacles as well.³⁹ Here, seats were reserved for the *Hebraioi* and their elders — or rather for the elderly Jews (*palaioi*), as two inscriptions written on the seats demonstrate; these graffiti have been plausibly dated by Reynolds to the late fifth or early sixth century (Fig. 3-4; Appendix II nos. 17-18). Another seating inscription in the same area reads ‘seat of the younger men’ (Appendix II no. 19); these men are not designated as Jews, but the proximity of this inscription to the other seating inscriptions for Jews as well as the opposition *palaioi* (no. 16) — *neoteroi* (no. 19) suggest that the ‘younger men’ were a group of young Jews; it should be noted that at Hypaipa in Lydia a similar inscription explicitly referring to Jewish *neoteroi* has been found (third century).⁴⁰

Most of the Jewish graffiti were found in the *Sebasteion*. This complex, flanked by two colonades, was originally constructed for the worship of the Roman emperors. In Late Antiquity (fourth-seventh century) it was occupied by traders, who used the space between the columns for their shops (*tabernae*).⁴¹ Here, Reynolds recorded the engraved representation of a *menorah* and a *shofar* on a column beside the entry to one of the shops in the south portico and another *menorah* on a column of the north portico



Figure 5. Sebasteion, south portico: drawing of a menorah

³⁹ For the identification of the building as a *Bouleuterion* see Reynolds 1996: 125. For its function in Late Antiquity see Roueché 1993: 38-43.

⁴⁰ Frey 1952: no. 756 (Ἰουδα[ί]ων νεωτέρων), pointing to the separation of young and old in the synagogue; cf. Reynolds and Tannenbaum 1987: 132; Roueché 1989: 222, prefers to associate this text with the organisation of the *neoi*, the age-group senior to the *ephebes*.

⁴¹ Hueber 1987; Smith 1987; Smith 1988: 50-3.

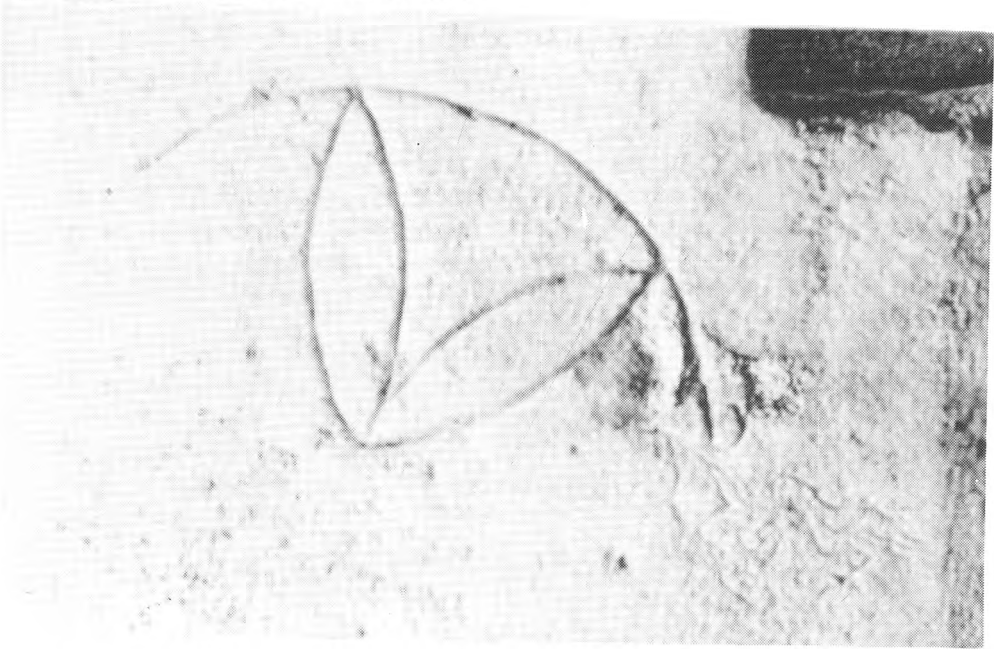


Figure 6. *Sebasteion*, north portico: unfinished rosette and drawing of a bird (App. II no. 6)

(Fig. 5; Appendix II nos. 13-14). A variety of Jewish symbols was incised on a marble block which closed the entry to another *taberna* in the south portico, including several *menoroth*, a small jug, possibly an *ethrog*, a palm branch, and a *Torah* shrine (Appendix II no. 16). The *terminus post quem* for all these representations is the abandonment of the imperial cult in this building in the early fourth century. I was able to spot another five or six *menorah* drawings in the same building, on columns and on the pavement (Appendix II, nos. 7-12). These drawings have various sizes (3-22 cm). In most cases they were carefully carved and conspicuous, at a height of c. 1.10-1.40 m above the ground level, but today they are usually very worn and difficult to discern. On one of the columns next to the drawing of a *menorah* one can see an unfinished rosette and the drawing of a bird, for both of which there are good parallels in contemporary Jewish art (Fig. 6; Appendix II no. 6). A chevron ornament engraved on the pavement of the south portico should probably be interpreted as a *lulab* (Appendix II no. 15; cf. a similar representation on no. 16). The shops in the respective areas were apparently owned by Jews; as the 'donor inscriptions' show, the Jews at Aphrodisias were represented in a large variety of occupations.

Another area which obviously offered space to traders was the spacious South *Agora*, repaired by the local benefactor Albinus in the sixth century.⁴² Under two of the acclamations written on the columns of the west portico to commemorate Albinus' benefaction I spotted two large but very worn *menorah* representations (17 and 20 cm respectively) at a height of more than 1.50 m from the ground (Appendix II nos. 1-2). In the neighboring area of the North *Agora* the sherd of a clay lamp decorated with a

⁴² Roueché 1989: 125-36.

menorah was found in 1998 (Fig. 7; Appendix II no. 4). David J. MacDonald has suggested that a holed coin of Judaea, struck under Herodes Agrippa I and found at Aphrodisias may have been carried as an amulet or souvenir; it is conceivable that its owner was a Jew (Appendix II no. 33).⁴³ Three representations of palm branches engraved on seating blocks of the stadium may be *lulab* representations, although other interpretations should not be excluded (Fig. 8; Appendix II nos. 20-2).⁴⁴

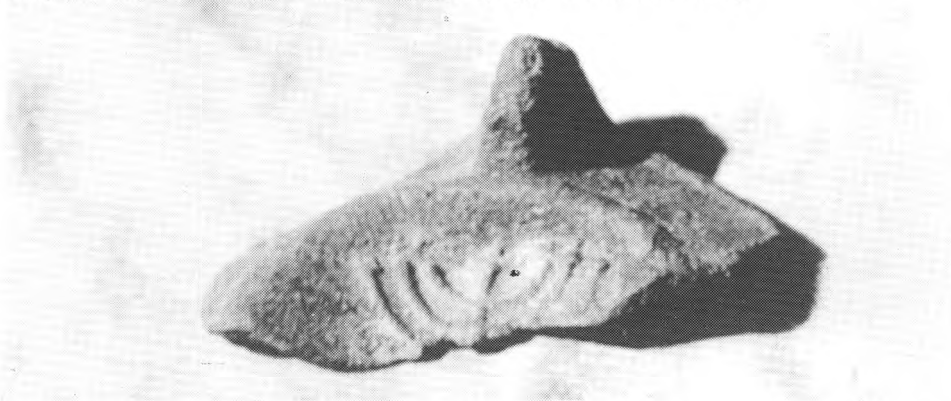


Figure 7. North Agora: sherd of a clay lamp with *menorah* representation (App. II no. 4)

In addition to the public buildings, Jewish inscriptions, graffiti and symbols were found in private contexts as well. Joyce Reynolds has published a fragmentary prayer, possibly from a private house, accompanied by the representation of a *menorah* (Appendix II no. 26). I interpret one of the unidentified objects to the left of the *menorah* as an *ethrog*, often associated with *menoroth*.⁴⁵ Another neatly carved relief of a *menorah* may have come from the synagogue;⁴⁶ on the photo I recognize a *shofar* to the left of the *menorah* (Appendix II no. 28). A *menorah* was engraved, before firing, on the shoulder of a clay jar, now exhibited in the Museum's courtyard (Fig. 10; Appendix II no. 29). This vase belongs to a group of marble and clay storage jars, which were used for the storage of agricultural products and are commonly found in private houses in Late Antiquity. The occupation of part of the Jewish population of Aphrodisias in agriculture should not be surprising.⁴⁷ In 1993, during an informal survey of the region around Aphrodisias, in the

⁴³ MacDonald 1976: 19. I owe this information to Oliver Hoover.

⁴⁴ For the *stadium* of Aphrodisias (and the numbering of the wedges) see Welch 1998. For similar *lulab* representations cf., e.g., Noy 1993: pl. xxviii, xxx. For isolated *lulab* representations (i.e., not accompanied by other Jewish symbols) see, e.g., Frey 1936: nos. 30-1, 53, 61, 135. But palm branches can appear in other contexts, e.g., in funerary monuments of soldiers (e.g., Frey 1936: no. 79) or of gladiators (e.g., Robert 1940: 235f. no. 299, pl. XIV).

⁴⁵ Cf., e.g., Noy 1993: pl. xvii; Noy 1995: pl. iv, viii, xiii.

⁴⁶ The location of the synagogue at Aphrodisias is not known. The information given by H. Bloedhorn and G. Hüttenmeister (1999: 287 note 58) is wrong: 'The synagogue came to light during the foundation work for the new museum, however, it was not uncovered by the excavator but built over immediately'; what came to light is a round marble structure, not the synagogue.

⁴⁷ For farmers among the Jews of Asia Minor see Ameling 1996: 31f.

valley of the river Morsynos (the modern Dandalas), a block with an engraved *menorah* was found in a *necropolis* at Gök Tepesi (Fig. 11; Appendix II no. 34),⁴⁸ showing that Jews inhabited not only the city but also the countryside of Aphrodisias.

The attribution of some other evidence to Judaism is doubtful. It is more plausible to attribute to *theosebeis* than to Jews two dedications to *Theos Hypsistos* (Appendix II, nos. 30-1).⁴⁹ In the case of an acclamation (Appendix II, no. 29) and a *topos* inscription (Appendix II, no. 25) the identification of the persons mentioned as Jews or sympathizers rests entirely on their names (Sabbatios, Heortasios, and Eusebios); but Reynolds has pointed out that these names are not uncommon among Christians and polytheists.⁵⁰ We have the same problem with two prayers which use a widely attested formulaic expression: *euche* followed by a name in the genitive (Appendix II, nos. 3 and 25). This formula was very common among the Christians — usually accompanied by a cross or another distinctively Christian symbol or text⁵¹ — but it is also attested in Jewish contexts.⁵² The fact that these two inscriptions lack a cross does not automatically make their dedicants — the cursor Flavius Damochares and another man (Danielios?) — Jews or sympathizers,⁵³ since another prayer of the *euche* type without a cross at Aphrodisias is clearly Christian.⁵⁴

Things are far more complicated in the case of two inscriptions which provide interesting evidence for religious interpenetration. The dedication of Flavius Eusebios, a former soldier, to *Theos Epekoos* (Appendix II, no. 24), demonstrates an ambiguous use of Jewish, Christian, and pagan religious vocabulary, which makes an unequivocal attribution to a particular religious group impossible.⁵⁵ The name Eusebios was very popular

⁴⁸ *Menorah* representations are very common in Jewish funerary monuments; e.g., Noy 1995: pl. ii-viii.

⁴⁹ Cf. Reynolds and Tannenbaum 1987: 139f.; Trebilco 1991: 243 note 51. The association of *Theos Hypsistos* with Judaism has been challenged by Trebilco 1991: 127-44. Mitchell 1998, has presented strong arguments for his worship by the *theosebeis* (cf. Mitchell 1999b: esp. 110-15); I am still not entirely convinced that every single dedication to *Theos Hypsistos* in every site of the Mediterranean was made by a *theosebes* or that this worship should be characterized as monotheistic; a still unpublished dedication to *Theos Hypsistos* and the 'gods who attend the symposium' (συμποσιασταὶ θεοί) from Thessalonike (cf. *SEG* XLVII 963, Imperial period) seems to contradict the monotheistic character of this worship; I would prefer the term *henotheistic* (for this term see Versnel 1990).

⁵⁰ Reynolds and Tannenbaum 1987: 135f. For the problem of identifying persons as Jews simply by their names cf. Horsley 1992: 126f.

⁵¹ E.g., Roueché 1989: nos. 114-15.

⁵² See, e.g., Horbury and Noy 1992: no. 19; Noy 1993: no. 181.

⁵³ For Damochares see Reynolds and Tannenbaum 1987:138. The name Danielios (if correctly read) was hitherto unattested, but it can be explained as the extended form of the Jewish name Danielos, attested for a son of David (Josephus, *Ant. Jud.* 7.1.4) and for a prophet (Josephus, *Ant. Jud.* 10.10). The name Danielos is not uncommon among the Christians: see e.g., *MAMA* III 297; *SEG* XL 1765 and XLII 1431. There is only one epigraphic attestation of the name Danielos for a Jew (Frey 1952: no. 933); also Δανίλος, the son of Ἰλίας, at Korykos was possibly a Jew: *MAMA* III 298.

⁵⁴ Roueché 1989: 137 iii a (the prayer of Stephanas); the other five graffiti on the same block are Christian.

⁵⁵ Cf. Reynolds and Tannenbaum 1987: 137 with thorough commentary.

among the Christians, but it was occasionally used by Jews as well;⁵⁶ the dedicant uses the Jewish expression ‘from the gifts of God’⁵⁷ which, however, was adopted by Christians as well. It is difficult to assume that Eusebios was a Jew, since he was a soldier (*primipilarius*). The recipient of the dedication (‘the god who listens’) does not solve the puzzle, since the expression *theos epekoos* is widely attested for a variety of pagan



Figure 8. Stadium: palm branches engraved on a seat of wedge 29 (App. II no. 20)

gods, but it is never attested in Christian texts and uncertainly in Jewish ones.⁵⁸ Are we dealing then with a Jew with a Christian name who uses a pagan expression to address his god, or with a pagan with a Christian name influenced by Jewish ideas, or with a Christian using Jewish and pagan phrases, or with a *theosebes*, a worshipper of *Theos Hypsistos* (cf. note 49)? We should not be distressed by the fact that we will never know, because this will not diminish the value of this text as evidence for religious interpenetration.

The second text is the dedication of Polychronios ‘to the god’ (Appendix II, no. 32). The dedicator’s name is attested in Aphrodisias for at least two *theosebeis* in Face I of the ‘donor inscriptions’; a Jewish or Christian context is evoked by the word *hagiasma* (holy place? consecration?) which is often used both in the Septuaginta and in Christian inscriptions.⁵⁹ Therefore, we cannot tell whether Polychronios was a Christian, a Jew, a *theosebes*, or a pagan influenced by Judaism. The complexity of his dedication is increased by his statement that he was the son-in-law of a pagan (or a Jewish?) priestess, according to a plausible restoration of his dedicatory inscription. There is more in favor of the assumption that Polychronios may have been connected with the circle of the late polytheists at Aphrodisias. His dedication was made for a certain Fl. Er. (εἰς τὸ ἁγίασµ[α] | τὸ Φλ. Ἐρ. ἐποίησα). The

⁵⁶ E.g., Frey 1952: nos. 756 and 803; Horbury and Noy 1992: no. 144; Noy 1995: nos. 6, 68, 168, 309, 354, 374, 467.

⁵⁷ For this expression see White 1997: 39-41.

⁵⁸ Reynolds and Tannenbaum 1987: 137; for a possibly Jewish attestation see Horbury and Noy 1992: 19-21 no. 13 with commentary.

⁵⁹ Jewish usage: e.g., LXX Amos 7.13; Psalms 92.5; Christian usage: *SEG* XXIX 1227 (holy place); XXXVI 1266 (quotation of Psalms 92.5).

abbreviation of the name raises the suspicion that Fl. Er. was a well-known personality at Aphrodisias and this makes an identification with the governor of Caria Fl. Quinctilius Eros Monaxius (c. 355-360) very attractive.⁶⁰ Fl. Eros Monaxius is known from a dedication at Aphrodisias, in which he alludes to the mythological kinship between Crete and Aphrodisias.⁶¹ Ch. Roueché has argued convincingly that he should be identified with Eros, a recently appointed governor to whom Libanius addressed a letter; this fits well with the assumption that Flavius Eros Monaxius was one of the late Hellenists.⁶² Roueché has pointed, however, to a serious objection: Eros Monaxius should properly be referred to by his last name (Monaxius and not Eros). This objection would be ruled out if the identification of Fl. Er. with the governor is correct, but there can be no certainty on this matter. But even though we cannot tell with certainty whether Polychronios was a supporter or friend of a pagan governor, his dedication is still an instructive example of the religious complexities of Late Antiquity.

The evidence for the Aphrodisian Jews should be seen in the context of this religious interpenetration and complexity. Not all of the aforementioned finds can be dated with certainty, but most of them belong to the same period (roughly c. 350-550). The members of the Jewish community at Aphrodisias left the symbols of their religious belief on numerous public buildings in various parts of the city (Fig. 9), thus displaying a great deal of self-confidence: in the *Sebasteion*, the *Bouleuterion*, the North and South *Agora*, possibly the *Stadium*, and in one of the *necropoleis* of the countryside. More evidence will certainly be found once the *necropoleis* near the city have been excavated systematically.

5. The Jews and the others

The redating of the 'donor inscriptions' has eliminated the evidence for the presence of Jews at Aphrodisias earlier than the fourth century and confronts us with the question why so much evidence for the Jewish community is concentrated in two or three centuries in Late Antiquity. It would be mistaken to assume that there was a Jewish migration to Aphrodisias in Late Antiquity.⁶³ It is far more probable that Jews lived here, as in other places in Caria, from the Hellenistic period onwards.⁶⁴ If they are invisible in the epigraphic records of the Imperial period, this may possibly be explained by their use of Greek names. The case of Hierapolis is very instructive in this respect: the recent publication of the Jewish epitaphs of Hierapolis (second-fourth century) has acquainted us with a large and integrated Jewish community. Among the 76 Jews known at Hierapolis,

⁶⁰ The editors of *MAMA* have not attempted an identification of Fl. Er., and the text has not been included by Ch. Roueché (1989) in her study of *Aphrodisias in Late Antiquity*; the *gentilicium* Flavius and the letter forms suggest a date in the period of the Constantine dynasty (or later).

⁶¹ Roueché 1989: 35-9 no. 19.

⁶² Roueché 1989: 37f.

⁶³ This is the conclusion reached, e.g., by D.I. Dan'shin (1996: 146) for the Bosphorus region. He interprets the appearance of Jewish symbols, the increase of Biblical names, and the use of the Hebrew script after the third/fourth century as the result of the arrival of a new wave of Jewish settlers, with different traditions.

⁶⁴ Jews in Caria: Trebilco 1991: 7, 124f.; Ameling 1996: 31.

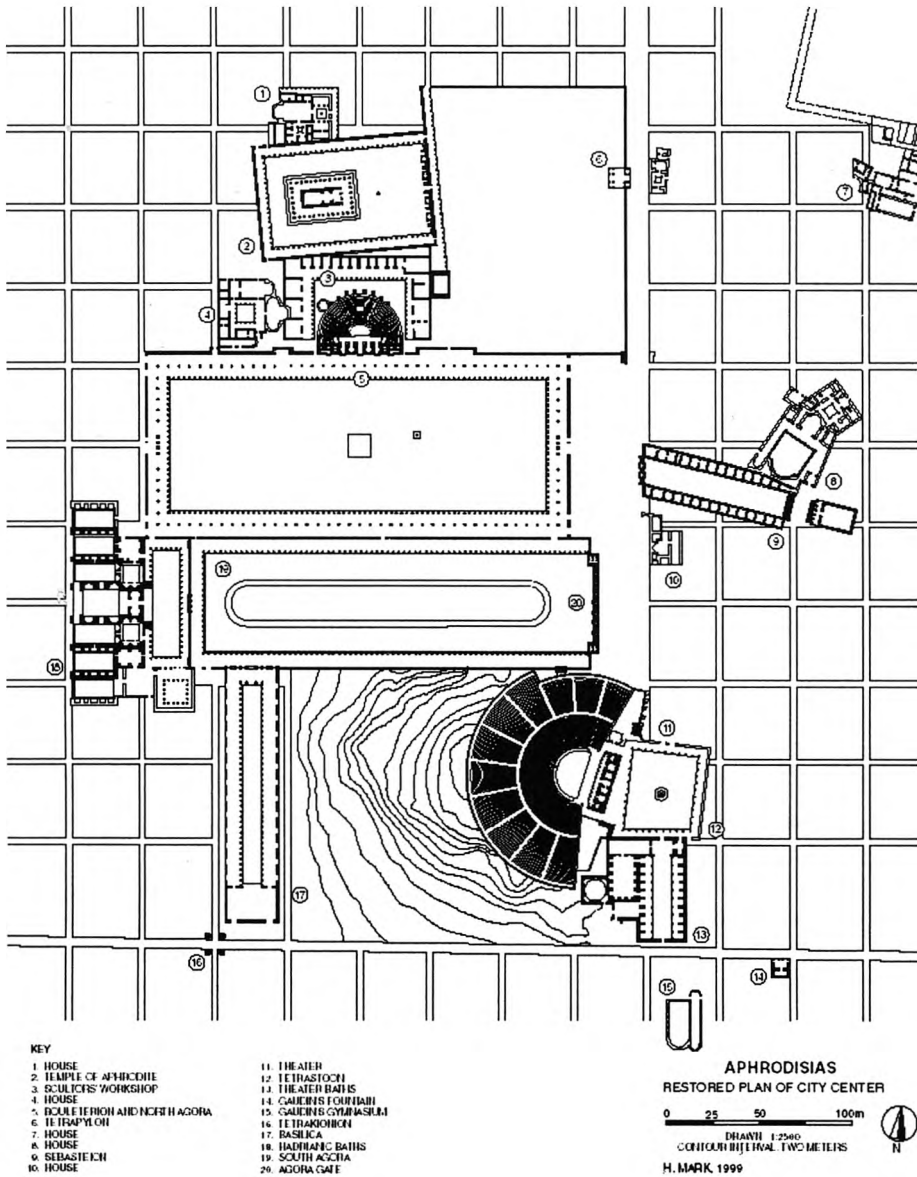


Figure 9. Aphrodisias: City Plan

only three persons bear recognizable Jewish names (Judas in two cases, Sanbathios in one); in one of these cases Judas is the person's second name; his first name (Hikesios) is Greek.⁶⁵ Similarly, we may suspect that at least part of the Jewish population of Aphrodisias cannot be recognized in the public inscriptions simply because its members had adopted Greek names. Future finds of Jewish epitaphs at Aphrodisias may change this picture radically.

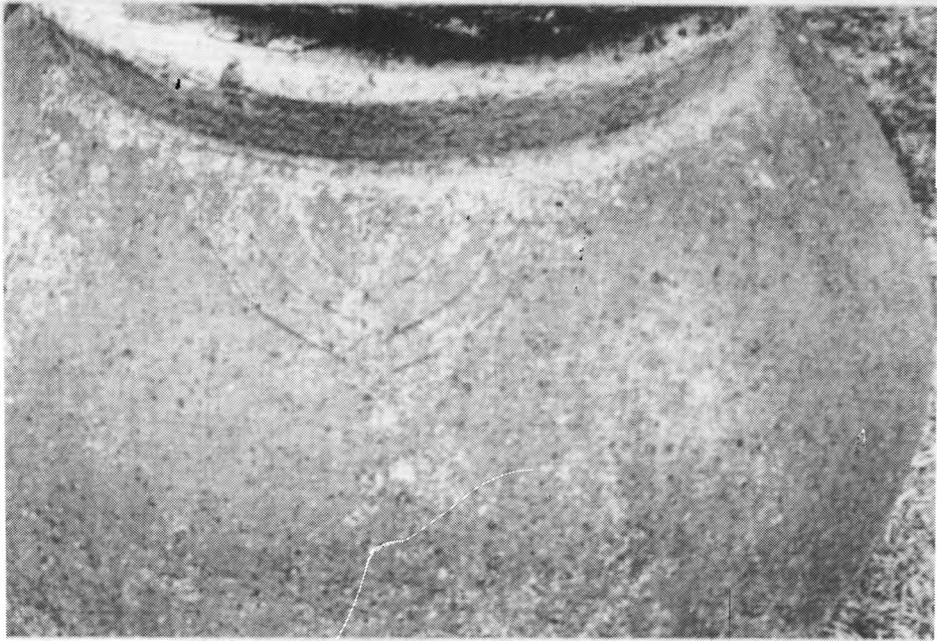


Figure 10. Clay jar with *menorah* representation engraved before firing (App. II no. 28)

For the time being we can only observe that in the fourth and fifth centuries the Jewish community was flourishing, attracting both converts (three proselytes) and sympathizers (54 *theosebeis*) who represent different social strata and professions.⁶⁶ There is no sign of discrimination in this period. A few drawings of *menoroth* and the name *Hebraioi* have been intentionally erased (Appendix II nos. 9, 10, 14, 18), but this may have occurred in the sixth century (or later). Helga Botermann's suggestion that Galerius' tolerance decree had positive consequences for the Jews at Aphrodisias (note 27) as in many other cities offers a very plausible explanation for the flourishing of their community at Aphrodisias and their more prominent self representation as demonstrated by the conscious use of Biblical names. This flourishing continued until the late fifth century,

⁶⁵ Miranda 1999: 136-40. For double names of Jews cf. also Horbury and Noy 1992: nos. 6, 19?, 128; Noy 1993: no. 8; Noy 1995: nos. 60?, 108, 217, 338, 530?, 534?, 551. For the preference of Greek and Latin names among the Jews until the fourth century see Williams 2000: 317f.

⁶⁶ For the similar situation in Asia Minor see Ameling 1996: 47-53; for Antioch see Meeks and Wilken 1978: 10-13; Hahn 1996. See also Braun 1998.

existing even within a period in which the legislation of the Christian emperors was anything but favourable to the Jews.⁶⁷ The strength of the Aphrodisian Jews in a period of increasing attacks by the Christians may be related to the existence of a strong pagan community in this city.⁶⁸ This is not the place to treat the complex interaction between Jews, Hellenists and Christians at Aphrodisias.⁶⁹ I will limit myself to a few remarks concerning (a) the development of a Jewish identity at Aphrodisias and (b) the Jewish influence on members of Christian and pagan families.

Both the archaeological and the epigraphic evidence leave us in no doubt that religion was a central issue in the public and social life of the Aphrodisians in certain historical periods. The importance of religious identity is evident above all in the rich onomasticon of the 'donor inscriptions', which contains material from closed contexts: 39 (possibly more) out of 100 Jews have transliterated Biblical names; on face II the representation of Hebrew names is even stronger (58%);⁷⁰ another large group (17 persons) has names associated with religious and moral values (love, close relation to god, willingness to console others and to behave in a good manner).⁷¹ Such onomastic uniformity, with c. 60% of the persons having names associated with their religious beliefs, is uncommon in the Greek East in the earlier, polytheistic periods. For the sake of comparison, only 20% of the *theosebeis* have names which can be associated with religious beliefs or moral qualities.⁷² Analogous rigid onomastic habits can hardly be found

⁶⁷ For an overview of the legislation see Rabello 1980: 698; Noethlichs 1996: 101-17.

⁶⁸ Van der Horst 1990: 173; cf. (for Antioch) Hahn 1996: 77-80. But cf. the reservations of Horsley 1992: 123f.

⁶⁹ See Chaniotis 2002.

⁷⁰ For the etymology and origin of the names in the 'donor inscriptions' see Reynolds and Tannenbaum 1987: 93-115. Cf. Trebilco 1991: 108, 199 note 70, 229 note 23. Biblical names (39 cases): Benjamin (1), Eusabbathios (5), Zacharias (1), Iael (1), Iakob (3), Iesseos (1), Ioudas (10), Ioseph (3), Ioses (2), Iosouas (1), Ioph (?), Manases (1), Paulos (1), Rouben (1), Sabbathios (2), Samuel (4), Symeon (1). The following names may be related to Biblical names: Iason (1, cf. Jesus), Rufus (1, cf. Reuben), Serapion (1, cf. Seraphim). The large number of Biblical names may also be related to the stronger influence of the Patriarch on the Diaspora communities; for this development see Ameling 1996: 53f. Williams (1999: 93) attempts to detect variations in Diasporan naming practices, based, however, on a wrong date of the 'donor inscriptions' (early third century). For the increase of Hebrew and Semitic names from the fourth century onwards see Williams 2000: 318.

⁷¹ Acholios (1, lacking bile), Amachios (1, love of peace), Amantios (1, love), Eusebios (1, piety), Heortasios (4, festival, cf. Haggai), Theodotos (1, God-given, cf. Jonathan, Nathaniel), Theodoros (1, gift of God, cf. Jonathan, Nathaniel), Theophilos (1, dear to God, cf. Eldad), Kyrillos (1, of the Lord), Nektarios (1, divine), Paregorios (1, consoling), Praylios (2, gentle), Charinos (1, grace, cf. Hanan). It should be noted that another twenty names express other positive aspects of character and hopes: Anysios (1, efficacious), Eugenios (2, nobility), Eukolos (1, good-natured), Gorgonios (1, vigour?), Hilarianos (1, cheerful), Leontios (2, lion), Oxycholios (4, spirited), Politianos (1, elegant), Biotikos (1, life), Euodos (1, good journey, success), Eutybios (2, luck), Zosimos (1, life), Zotikos (1), Kallikarpos (1, rich in fruit).

⁷² There are three Jewish names (Eusabbathios, Ioun?, and Iounbalos?) and eleven persons with names which express religious and moral features: Adolios (1, guileless), Aponerios (1, free from malice), Eutropios (1, good manners), Gregorios (1, wakeful), Eupeithios (2, obe-

among pagans, but interestingly enough they are attested for the early Christians of Aphrodisias, from the fourth to the sixth century. In their case, statistics are not possible since we lack a closed find.⁷³ But still we may observe that the majority of their names is associated with apostles, evangelists, and angels, with the Lord, and with religious beliefs or practices, such as baptism (Iordanes), the immortality of the soul (Athanasios) or the resurrection (Anastasios). A pagan or a Jew can have a name like Theodoros or Theophilos; but names like Theodokios and Theophylaktos are new creations⁷⁴ which



Figure 11. Block with an engraved *menorah* from the necropolis at Gök Tepesi (App. II no. 34)

make such a misunderstanding impossible. More material, and above all comparisons with material from similar closed contexts, will be needed in order to reach firm conclusions, but it seems probable that the change in the Jewish onomastic practices is con-

dient), Meliton (1, sweet-tongued), Onesimos (1, helpful), Heortasios (1, festival), Paramonos (1, enduring), Prokopios (1, progress).

⁷³ The following Christians at Aphrodisias have names which reflect Christian beliefs or are connected with apostles, saints, etc. (references are to inscription numbers in Roueché 1989): Anastasios (94-5), Athanasios (163, 171, 181 vi), Ioannes (73, 103, 171, 205), Iordanes (156), Kyriakos (93, 168, 189), Loukas (187), Michael (119, 124), Petros (118 i), Philippos (122), Photios (68-70), Stephanos (120, 121 i, 155), Theochares (102), Theodokios (174), Theodoretos (92), Theodoros (114-15, 169, 192), Theoktistos (202, 204), Theophanes (134 iii), Theophilos (117 i), Theophylaktos (132), Theopompos (89), Theopropios (165-6); cf. Eudoxios (Roueché 1989: 323).

⁷⁴ Only Christian attestations in *LGPN* I-IIIa, no attestations in *SEG*.

nected with their opposition to the Christians and with the effort of both groups to make their religious adherence visible and unambiguous.⁷⁵

These efforts for homogeneity and solidarity make sense if one considers the competition among the religions in Late Antiquity.⁷⁶ The tolerance decree of Galerius had created — only temporarily — a kind of market of religious beliefs, in which Greeks, Christians, and Jews were participating, crossing the boundaries of their religious communities. The evidence collected recently by Paul Trebilco indicates that in the fourth century not only pagans, but also Christians were attracted to Judaism and attended the synagogue — a problem often addressed by the Christian fathers.⁷⁷ At Aphrodisias, the three proselytes and the 54 *theosebeis* in the ‘donor inscriptions’ present clear evidence for the attraction of the Jewish religion; it may be true that the *theosebeis* were primarily recruited among the pagan families, but there are reasons to suspect that the Jewish synagogue had attracted members of Christian families as well. One of the *theosebeis* has the characteristic Christian name Gregorios (face I l. 44), which alludes to the duty of the Christian to be alert and watchful (*gregorein*), particularly with regard to sins (a meaning attested, e.g., in the Gospel of Matthew 24.43).⁷⁸ Not very far away, at Deliler, near Philadelphia, two *theosebeis* with the names Eustathios and Athanasia donated a basin to the synagogue.⁷⁹ Again, their names are almost exclusively attested for Christians and allude to Christian beliefs and virtues: faith and immortality of the soul.⁸⁰ We may suspect that Gregorios at Aphrodisias and Eustathios and Athanasia in Philadelphia, originated from Christian families. Of course, this phenomenon is not limited to Aphrodisias: the proselyte Anastasios at Venosa was probably the offspring of Christian parents who gave him a typically Christian name that alludes to resurrection.⁸¹ The interpenetration of ideas and forms of religious expression can be detected in the use of the same religious vocabulary by pagans, Christians, and Jews, which makes it often so difficult to attribute an inscription to one of the three communities. The dedications of Fl. Eusebios and Polychronios discussed earlier are intriguing examples for this religious complexity.⁸²

⁷⁵ For the construction of new barriers because of Christian anxieties cf. Rajak 1992: 25; Lieu 1998; Stanton 1998. For the confrontation of Christianity and Judaism in the fourth century see Neusner 1991: 30-92. For the onomastic practices of the Jews in Rome see Rutgers 1995: 139-175.

⁷⁶ For religious competition cf. North 1992: 183-92.

⁷⁷ Trebilco 1991: 27-32; cf. van der Horst 1990: 174-81; Hahn 1996: 72-5.

⁷⁸ There is a single attestation of the name (in its female form Glegoria) for a Jewish (?) woman: Frey 1952: no. 927. For *γρηγορέιν* in Christian literature see, e.g., Lautenschlager 1990: 39-42.

⁷⁹ Robert 1937: 410f.; Frey 1952: no. 754; Trebilco 1991: 162, assumes that they were Jews.

⁸⁰ There is only one attestation of the name Athanasios in Jewish context: Frey 1952: no. 796 (Noy 1995: no. 400 is not certain) and two for Eustathia: Frey 1952: nos. 804 and 813.

⁸¹ Noy 1993: no. 52 (fifth century). For another attestation of Anastasios in Jewish context see Frey 1952: no. 1123 (Beth Shearim).

⁸² For an example from Ephesos see Horsley 1992: 126. For the blurring of distinctions between Christians and Jews see van der Horst 1990: 176f.; between Jews and polytheists in Asia Minor: Ameling 1996: 45-7; between Christians and pagans in Egypt in Late Antiquity: Vinzent 1998: 46-53.

The aim of this paper was to show that the known Jewish evidence at Aphrodisias comes from Late Antiquity. The sudden appearance of Jewish evidence is probably a result of Galerius' tolerance decree. Between c. 350 and 500 CE, in a period of religious conflict and suppression, but also of religious quest and ambiguity, the Jewish community of Aphrodisias flourished, possibly profiting from the resistance of the late pagans.*

Heidelberg University

Appendix I: The onomastic habit in the 'donor inscriptions'⁸³

In this Appendix, I present personal names on face I of the 'donor inscriptions' which are characteristic for or exclusively attested in Late Antiquity. For this survey, I have not collected all the attestations of the relevant names, but I have limited myself to the following representative onomastic *lexica*: *LGPN*, Foraboschi 1971, Preisigke 1922, and Solin 1982. Since the 'donor inscriptions' were found in a city in Asia Minor, it was important to survey the major *corpora* of Asia Minor as well (*Inschriften der griechischen Städte in Kleinasien, I. Magnesia, I. Milet, I. Pergamon, I. Priene, MAMA, TAM*, Hagel and Tomaschitz 1998, Laminger-Pascher 1992, and Malay 1999). Given their Jewish context, it was also important to consider also Frey 1937: 393-593 and 1952, Horbury and Noy 1992 and Noy 1993, Lüderitz and Reynolds 1983 (Noy 1995 and Frey 1937: 5-392 overlap with Solin 1982). Needless to say I have tried to avoid duplication. I have considered both male and female, Greek and Latin, expanded and shortened forms (e.g. Arkadios, Arkadia, Arcadius, Arcadia, Gregorios, Glegorios, Gregoris, Prokopios and Prokopianos).

* I should like to express my thanks to Professor R.R.R. Smith (Oxford) and Professor Ch. Ratté (New York) for inviting me to participate in the excavation of Aphrodisias as an epigrapher (1995-) and for facilitating my work in many ways; I have discussed the problem of the 'donor inscriptions' with Dr. Joyce Reynolds, whose critical remarks were of great help to my work. Dr. James Cowey has corrected the English text. The problems discussed in this article have been presented in lectures at the AAR/SBL Annual Meeting (San Francisco November 1997), in Heidelberg (June 1998), at the conference 'Kulturelle Komplexität: Bedrohung oder Chance?' (Kulturwissenschaftliches Institut, Essen, September 1998), at the Annual Meeting of Austrian Ancient Historians (Vienna, October 1998), at the conference 'Die Epigraphik sozialer und religiöser Gruppen in Kleinasien' (Trier, May 1999) and at the 'David Lewis Lecture' (Oxford May 2000). The comments of colleagues and the questions from the various audiences have helped me render some issues more precisely. I should also like to thank Hedwig Millian who allowed me to use her unpublished Masters' thesis, *Die jüdische Widmungsinschrift aus Aphrodisias in Karien im Widerstreit der wissenschaftlichen Meinungen* (Vienna 1997), which presents an excellent summary of recent research on the 'donor inscriptions'. My research at Aphrodisias has been supported by the Dorot Foundation (1996) and the Alexander S. Onassis Foundation (1997).

⁸³ Ronald Oetjen has assisted me in the compilation of Appendix I.

I-II = c. first and second century
 II/III = late second or early third century
 III = c. third century
 III< = c. 220-300

Chr. = Christian inscription (fourth century or later)
 byz. = c. fifth-seventh century

Acholi(o)s, Acholia

Solin 1982: 771: undated (1), III-IV (1), V (1); *I.Magnesia* 122 d: IV (1); *TAM* V.1, 776: IV (1).

Adolios

Solin 1982: 731: III< (1).

Amantios, Ama(n)tia

Foraboschi 1971: 27: byz. (1); *MAMA* VIII 99: undated (1).

Amazonios, Amazonia

Foraboschi 1971: 27: IV (1), IV-V (1); Preisigke 1922: 22: IV (8); Solin 1982: 528: I-III (1), III (1), III/IV (4), III/V (1), IV (2), IV/V (2); *TAM* III 1, 230: III< (1).

Anikios (not as gentilicium)

Preisigke 1922: 31: byz. (1); *MAMA* V R9: III< (1).

Anysios

Foraboschi 1971: 37: IV (3); *LGPN* IIIb: IV (1); Preisigke 1922: 37: IV (1); *MAMA* III 761 C: IV or later (1); *MAMA* VI 13: IV (1).

Arkadios, Arkadia, Arkathios

Foraboschi 1971: 49: IV (1), byz. (3); *LGPN* I: I (2), IV (1), byz. (1); *LGPN* IIIb: V (1); Solin 1982: 570: II/III (1), III< (1), III/IV (1), IV (3), IV/V (2), byz. (1); *IGSK* 14, nos. 1345, 1352: byz. (2); *IGSK* 27, nos. 124: Chr. (1); Hagel and Tomaschitz 1998, no. Sel 20: byz. (1).

In Aphrodisias: *MAMA* VIII 536 (undated, Ἀρκάθιος).

I have disregarded one attestation of the personal name Arkadia in the Arkadian Tegea (*LGPN* IIIa).

E(u)genios, Eugenia

Foraboschi 1971: 113: byz. (3); *LGPN* IIIb: IV/V (1); Preisigke 1922: 110: III (1), IV (2), byz. (2); Solin 1982: 983f.: undated (1), II (1), II/III (6), III (5), III/IV (11), III-V (2), IV (6), IV/V (2), IV/VI (2), byz. (7); *LGPN* I: I-III (1), byz. (1); *LGPN* II: II (1), byz. (3); *LGPN* IIIa: III (1), III/IV (1), byz. (1); *IGSK* 16, no. 2253b: Chr. (1); *IGSK* 17, nos. 3071, 3134, 3455: III (1), III/IV (1), byz. (1); *IGSK* 55, nos. 6, 19: byz. (2); *IGSK* 57, no. 98: III (1); *MAMA* I 163, 170, 171, 207, 280, 327, 357, 363, 364, 383: IV (5), byz. (5); *MAMA* III 109, 336-9, 497 B: IV (6); *MAMA* VI 271: undated (1); *MAMA* VII 73, 78, 279b, 309, 530, 576, 581, 589: III< (2), Chr. (5), IV (1); *MAMA* VIII 336: byz. (1); *MAMA* IX 179: II (1); *MAMA* X 9, 529: III (1), IV (1); *TAM* IV.1, 263, 355: III< (2), Chr. (1); *TAM* V.2, 1242: undated (1); Hagel and Tomaschitz 1998: no. Olb 25a: IV (1).

In Aphrodisias: Le Bas-Waddington 1591: undated (1); Roueché 1989: no. 88: VI (1).

I have not considered the name Εὐγένεια which is already attested in the Hellenistic period, but has a different origin.

Eupeithios

LGPN II: byz. (1).

In Aphrodisias: Roueché 1989: no. 33 (the same person in Merkelbach and Stauber 1998: 239): IV (1).

Eusebi(o)s, Eusebia, Eusebianos

Foraboschi 1971: 66, 115, 334: III/IV (2), IV (4), byz. (5); Frey 1937: no. 696: byz. (1); Frey 1952: nos. 756, 803, 815: IV (1), IV/V (2); *LGPN* IIIb: byz. (2); Preisigke 1922: 114: III (2), IV (9), byz. (5), undated (1); Solin 1982: 1226-9: undated (2), I-II (7), II/III (10), II/IV (1), III (19), III< (1), III/IV (29), III/V (8), IV (27), IV/V (7), IV/VI (6), IV/VIII (1), V (9), byz. (3); *LGPN* II, s.v. Eusebianos: III< (2); *LGPN* IIIa: I-III (1), III/V (8), IV (1), byz. (2); *IGSK* 14, no. 1285.13: byz. (1); *IGSK* 15, no. 1757: undated (1); *IGSK* 20, no. 125: IV/V (1); *IGSK* 29, no. 81: II (1); *IGSK* 51, no. 11: byz. (1); *IGSK* 53, no. 96: III< (1); *MAMA* III 19, 90, 132, 192, 250, 347, 348 B, 349, 561 B, 576, 582, 669: Chr. (12); *MAMA* VI 249: IV (1); *MAMA* VII 20, 78, 121: III< (2), Chr. (1); *MAMA* VIII 101: Chr. (1); *TAM* IV.1, 193: undated (1); *I. Magnesia* p. xxvii: IV (1); *I. Milet* 312: III/IV (1).

In Aphrodisias: Roueché 1989: nos. 10 and 181 vi: IV or later (2); here Appendix II no. 29: IV (1).

Eutropios, Eutropia

Foraboschi 1971: 116: IV-V (1), V (1); *LGPN* IIIb: II/III (2); Preisigke 1922: 114: IV (3), byz. (4); Solin 1982: 1278f.: II/III (1), III (2), III< (1), III/IV (6), III/V (2), IV (3), IV/V (1), byz. (1); *LGPN* I: I-III (1), III (1); *LGPN* II: III< (1), byz. (1); *MAMA* I 38: III/IV (1); *MAMA* VI 85: IV (1); *MAMA* X 9: IV/V (1); *IGSK* 11, no. 42: IV (1); *IGSK* 14, no. 1304: IV (1); *IGSK* 20, 77: Chr. (1); *TAM* V.2, 1161: byz. (1); *I. Magnesia* 122 d and 332: IV (1), byz. (1); Malay 1999: no. 191: III (1).

Gorgoni(o)s, Gorgonia

Foraboschi 1971: 88: II/III (1); Preisigke 1922: 81: III/IV (1), IV (1), IV/V (2); Solin 1982: 534: II (1), II/III (3), III (11), III< (12), IV (9), IV-V (6), IV-VI (2), IV-VII (1); *LGPN* I: byz. (1); *MAMA* III 201: II/III (1); *MAMA* VII 442: III/IV (1); *TAM* III.1, 282: III< (1); *TAM* V.2, 1332: Chr. (1); Hagel and Tomaschitz 1998: no. Ala 4: byz. (1).

Gregori(o)s, Gregoria, Glegorios

Foraboschi 1971: 65 and 88: IV (1), byz. (5); Frey 1952: no. 927: IV/V (1); *LGPN* IIIb: byz. (1); Preisigke 1922: 82: III< (3), IV (2), byz. (4); Solin 1982: 764f.: undated (1), II/III (1), III (4), III< (1), III/IV (22), IV (15), IV/V (9), IV-VI (8), byz. (7); *LGPN* I: byz. (2); *LGPN* IIIa: II (1), byz. (3); *MAMA* VIII 320: IV (1); *IGSK* 14, no. 1113: III< (1); *IGSK* 17, no. 4213: undated (1); *IGSK* 31, no. 19: III/VI (1); *IGSK* 48, no. 312: byz. (1); *TAM* V 1, p. 228 C 4: byz. (1); Malay 1999: no. 82: byz. (1).

Heortasios, Hiortasios

Preisigke 1922: 95: byz. (1); *LGPN* IIIa: III/V (1); *LGPN* IIIb: II/III (1); *MAMA* III 450, 725: Chr. (2); *MAMA* V 320: IV/V (1); *MAMA* X 152: III< (1).

Manikios

Foraboschi 1971: 186: V-VI (1).

Oxycholios

Solin 1982: 778: III< (1).

Paregori(o)s, Paregoria, Parecorios

Foraboschi 1971: 236: III (2), III-IV (2); Frey 1937: no. 670: byz. (1); Frey 1952: no. 860, 926, 939, 944, 945, 1006, 1041, 1102: II (1), IV (5), undated (2); *LGPN* IIIb: byz.

(2); Noy 1993: no. 189: byz. (1); Solin 1982: 1248: II/III (2), III (3), III/IV (3), IV (1), IV/V (2); *IGSK* 34, no. 623: Chr. (1); *MAMA* III 636: IV/V (1).

Patriki(o)s, Patrikia

Foraboschi 1971: 240, 335: IV (1), byz. (5); Frey 1952: no. 947: byz. (1); Preisigke 1922: 290: byz. (9); *LGPN* IIIa: byz. (1); *LGPN* IIIb: III< (1); *MAMA* I 170 and 203: III< (1), IV (1); *MAMA* VII 300: byz. (1); *MAMA* IX 554: byz. (1); *MAMA* X 9, 169, 211, 253: IV (1), IV/V (2), byz. (1); *TAM* III.1, 710: III< (1); *IGSK* 14, no. 1336: IV/V (1); 32, 137: byz. (1); *IGSK* 57, no. 56: IV (1); *I. Magnesia* p. xxvii: byz. (1); Hagel and Tomaschitz 1998: no. Kas 5a: byz. (1).

In Aphrodisias: unpublished graffito: IV/V (1).

Polychronios, Polychronia, Polychronis

Preisigke 1922: 338: byz. (1); Solin 1982: 949f.: II/III (1), III (5), III< (1), III/IV (11), III-V (1), IV (6), IV/V (3), IV/VI (1); *LGPN* I: II/III (2); *LGPN* II: II (1), III< (2), byz. (1); *LGPN* IIIa: III-V (1), byz. (2); *LGPN* IIIb: byz. (3); *IGSK* 13, nos. 678, 815: undated (1), III (1); *IGSK* 14, no. 1058: undated (1); *IGSK* 16, nos. 2236 e, 2302 a: undated (2); *IGSK* 32, no. 127: IV (1); *IGSK* 18, no. 409: undated (1); *IGSK* 29, no. 100: III< (1); *IGSK* 33, no. 82: undated (1); *IGSK* 39, nos. 144, 154: II/III (2); *MAMA* I 218, 281: IV (2); *MAMA* III 263: III< (1); *MAMA* IV 101, 103, 313: IV (1), byz. (2); *MAMA* V R 29: IV (1); *MAMA* VI 18, 218 (2 persons), 380: III< (4); *MAMA* VII 69, 78: Chr. (1), IV (1); *MAMA* X 110: byz. (1); *TAM* V.1, 118, 163, 315: II (2), byz. (1); *TAM* IV.1, 269, 293: III< (1), undated (1); Malay 1999, no. 148: II (1).

In Aphrodisias: *CIG* 2824: I-III (1); *MAMA* VIII 457, 575, 576: III (2), IV (1); Roueché 1989: nos. 151, 176, 214: III/IV (1), IV/VI (1), byz. (1).

Prokopios, Prokopianos

Foraboschi 1971: 269: II/III (2); Preisigke 1922: 345: II (1), VI (1); Solin 1982: 1250: III (3), IV (1); *LGPN* I: byz. (1); *LGPN* IIIb: byz. (1); *IGSK* 7, no. II 22: byz. (1); *IGSK* 20, no. 99: byz. (1); Malay 1999: no. 81 B: byz. (1).

In Aphrodisias: Roueché 1989: no. 91: byz. (1); unpublished prayer (found in 2000): Chr. (1).

Romanos, Roumanos, Romana

Foraboschi 1971: 218, 275: II (1), IV (1); Preisigke 1922: 355: II (1), III (1), byz. (16); *LGPN* I: II (1), III (1); *LGPN* II: II (1), III< (3); *LGPN* IIIa: III< (1), IV (1); *IGSK* 14, 1081 a: undated (1); *MAMA* III 218 C, 433, 676 A, 796: III< (1); Chr. (3); *MAMA* V R128: II/III (1); *MAMA* VII 410, 426, 451, 553: III/IV (1), III< (1), Chr. (1), undated (1); *TAM* II 1090: III/IV (1); Hagel and Tomaschitz 1998: nos. Dal 41 and Sen 1: I-III (1), undated (1).

In Aphrodisias: Roueché 1989: no. 134 iv: Chr. (1).

Strategi(o)s, Strategia

Foraboschi 1971: 299: byz. (5); Preisigke 1922: 396: II/III (1), IV (3), byz. (16); Solin 1982: 1254: I/II (1), II (1), III/III (1); *LGPN* IIIa: III/IV (1); *IGSK* 20, no. 63: III/IV (1); *IGSK* 23, no. 561: byz. (1).

**Appendix II: Jewish or possibly Jewish evidence at Aphrodisias
(inscriptions, graffiti, objects)**

South Agora

1. Drawing of a *menorah* (H 17 cm, 1.50 m from the ground) on a column of the East Portico (7th column from north, west side, under the acclamation: Roueché 1989: no. 83 vii).

Unpublished. Probably fourth century.

2. Drawing of a *menorah* (H 20 cm, 1.80 m from the ground) on a column of the East Portico (20th column from north, west side, under the acclamation: Roueché 1989: no. 84).

Unpublished, but visible on a photograph published in Roueché 1989: pl. xxii.

3. Christian or Jewish prayer inscribed on the south wall of the South Agora (opposite the 13th column of the south colonnade, on the second row of blocks, on the second block from west, in front of the unexcavated area; height of letters 2.5-3.5 cm): Εὐχὴ
VVV Δ[α]νιηλίου.

Unpublished. Fourth century or later.

North Agora

4. Representation of a *menorah* on a clay lamp (max. diameter 5.8 cm), found in the North Agora (Trench 98.7,1, 28 July, 1998, basket 40, Inv. 99.028). Fig. 7.

Unpublished. Cf. Smith and Ratté 2000: 234f. fig. 14. Late fifth or early sixth century.

For parallels see Frey 1936: 465.

Tetrastoon (east of the theater)

5. *Topos* inscription on a marble column base of the north colonnade of the portico east of the theater: Ἑορτασίου Κομνηροῦ | τόπος.

Reynolds and Tannenbaum 1987: 135f. no. 8; *SEG* XXXVII 850; Roueché 1989: no. 195. Fourth century or later.

The identification of Heortasios as a Jew or a *theosebēs* is based on the name.

Sebasteion

6. Unfinished rosette (D 21 cm) and drawing of a bird incised near a *menorah* drawing on a column of the North Portico (9th column, counted from the east, east side, Fig. 6).

Unpublished. Fourth century or later.

For parallels in Jewish art see e.g., Frey 1936: nos. 95, 101, 148, 152; Frey 1952: nos. 1192 and 1301.

7. Very worn drawing of *menorah* incised on a column of the North Portico (9th column, east side).

Unpublished. Fourth century or later.

8. Partly erased drawing of a *menorah* (H 3 cm, c. 60 cm from the ground) incised on a column of the North Portico (12th column, east side).

Unpublished. Fourth century or later.

9. Partly erased drawing of a *menorah* (H 3 cm, c. 67 cm from the ground) incised on a column of the North Portico (12th column, east side).

Unpublished. Fourth century or later.

10. Partly erased drawing of a *menorah* incised on the first step of the North Portico, between column 13 and 14.

Unpublished. Fourth century or later.

11. Drawing of a *menorah* and a partly erased drawing of a man incised on a column of the North Portico (23rd column, west side, H 10 cm, 1.20 from the ground).

Unpublished. Fourth century or later.

12. Drawing of a *menorah* incised on a column of the North Portico (24th column, east side, H 9 cm, 1.20 m from the ground).

Unpublished. Fourth century or later.

13. Drawing of a *menorah* incised on a column of the North Portico (45th column, east side, H 22 cm, 1.10 m from the ground).

Reynolds and Tannenbaum 1987: 134 no. 6. Fourth century or later.

14. Partly erased drawing of *menorah*, *lulab* and *shofar* engraved within the flute of a column of the South portico (15th column, east side, H 10.5 cm, 1.40 m from the ground, Fig. 5).

Reynolds and Tannenbaum 1987: 133f. no. 4. Fourth century or later.

15. Chevron ornament (*lulab*?) incised on the pavement between the 26th and the 27th column of the South portico.

Unpublished. Fourth century or later.

16. Graffiti representing a variety of Jewish symbols (four *menoroth*, one jug, *shofarim*, *ethrogim*, *lulabim*, and possibly a *Torah* cupboard) incised on a marble block (L 96 cm, H 57 cm, W 21 cm) between the 38th and 39th column of the South Portico. The block may have been reused in the *Sebasteion*.

Reynolds and Tannenbaum 1987: 134 no. 5. Fourth century or later.

Bouleuterion ('Odeion')

17. Seating inscription of the elderly Jews (or the Jewish elders) on seating block d, row 6 (Fig. 4): τόπος Βενέτων,| Ἑβρέων τῶν παλαιῶν.

Reynolds and Tannenbaum 1987: 132 no. 1a; *SEG* XXXVII 846; Roueché 1989: 221-3 no. 180 ii. Sixth century.

18. Seating inscription of the Jews on seating block b, row 5 (Fig. 4): τόπος [[Ἑβρ]]έων.

Reynolds and Tannenbaum 1987: 132 no. 1b; *SEG* XXXVII 847; Roueché 1989: 221-3 no. 180 iii. Sixth century.

19. Seating inscription of the 'younger men' (possibly of young Jews) on seating block b, row 5: τόπος νεοτέρων<ν>.

Roueché 1989: 180 i. Sixth century.

Stadium

20. Wedge 29, Row 17, 3rd block from west: drawing of palm branch (*lulab*?, 18 cm).

Unpublished. Undated.

21. Wedge 29, Row 19, 2nd block from west: drawing of palm branch (*lulab*?, 29 cm).

Unpublished. Undated.

22. Wedge 29, Row 24, 8th block from west: drawing of palm branch (*lulab*?, 18 cm, Fig. 8).

Unpublished. Undated.

Loose finds in the city

23. Marble block found during the preparations for construction of the Aphrodisias Museum, bearing the 'donor inscriptions' (see §§ 1-3).

Reynolds and Tannenbaum 1987. Probably fourth and fifth centuries.

24. Building inscription on a marble panel found in the area of the Museum: [.]θε[.]ῶ ἐπηκόω Φλ. | Εὐσέβιος ἀπὸ πριμιπιλαρίων ἐκ τῶν | τοῦ θεοῦ δομάτων || τὸ πρῶτον καὶ τὸ τρίτον | διάστυλον ἐποίησεν.

Reynolds and Tannenbaum 1987: 136f. no. 8; *SEG XXXVII* 851. Fourth century (or later).

25. Prayer inscribed on a rectangular marble panel found in the area of the Museum: Εὐχὴ Φλ. | Δαμοχά|ριδος κούρ|vac.σορος.

Reynolds and Tannenbaum 1987: 137f. no. 10; *SEG XXXVII* 852. Fifth century.

26. Representation of two *menoroth* and other objects next to the text of a prayer, incised on a marble block (part of a door-jamb?); found reused in the theatre: [---]ωρρα vacat τῶ οἴκῳ | τούτῳ | [.]ΝΔΙ | [---].

Reynolds and Tannenbaum 1987: 133 no. 2; *SEG XXXVII* 848. Fourth century or later.

27. Relief representation of *menorah* and *shofar* on a fragment of marble found in the debris of modern houses to the north of the museum (possibly from the synagogue).

Reynolds and Tannenbaum 1987: 133 no. 3.

28. Representation of a *menorah* incised on the shoulder of a large clay storage jar (H 1.15 m, D 1.25 m) before firing; now in the Museum's courtyard; an inscription was written on the opposite side after firing (H of letters 6.5 cm) indicating the jar's capacity (Fig. 10): Μ^ε.ρλη (138 *metretai*).

Unpublished. Fourth century or later.

29. Acclamations incised on marble panels in a threshold within the bath-building beside the extra-mural *nymphaeum*: A: νικᾷ ἡ τύχη τῶν ὀδε· | Εὐσεβίου γράμματα | ΚΕ. B: [νικᾷ ἡ τ]ύχη τῶν ὀδε· | [---] Ζηνᾶς | [---] Νόννος | [---] Θε[ὸ]δ[ω]ρ(ο)ς | [---] Σαββάτιο[ς] | [---] Κάλλιτος.

Reynolds and Tannenbaum 1987: 134f. no. 7; *SEG XXXVII* 849. Late Antiquity.

30. Small altar (stray find) inscribed on two adjacent faces (ll. 1-4 on face A, ll. 5-7 on face B): Μαρκια|[ν]δς | Θεῶ | Ὑψίστ[ο]ι|[τοιε[ὶ]ν]χί.

Reynolds and Tannenbaum 1987: 138 no. 11; *SEG XXXVII* 853. Undated.

31. Fragment of a marble altar found reused in the *Bouleuterion*: [---] Τατας | [--θ]εῶ Ὑψίστῳ | [---].

Reynolds and Tannenbaum 1987: 138f. no. 12; *SEG XXXVII* 854. First century BCE/CE.

32. Building inscription on a marble block, found one km west of the Trallian Gate: Πολυχρόνιος ὁ τῆς [---]ειρίας γανβρὸς ΕΥΧΙ[---] | τῶ θεῶ εἰς τὸ ἀγίασμ[α] | τὸ Φλ. Ἔρ. ἐποίησα.

1-2. [ἀρχ?]ειρίας, *MAMA* | 2. εὐ<ξ>άμενος?, *MAMA* | 4. Perhaps Φλ. Ἔρ(ωτος), i.e., Fl. Quintilius Eros Monaxios, governor of Caria under Constantius or Julian. Chaniotis.

MAMA VIII 457. Probably fourth century (on the basis of the letter forms and the *gentilicium* Flavius).

33. Coin of Herodes Agrippa I; a hole may have been made in order to carry it as an amulet or souvenir.

MacDonald 1976: 4 and 19 no. 35, pl. I.

Necropolis at Gök Tepesi

34. Representation of a *menorah* engraved on a marble block, possibly part of a funerary monument, found at Gök Tepesi (near Işıklar Deresi) north-west of Aphrodisias (Fig. 11).

Smith and Ratté 1995: 38f., fig. 8. Undated.

Bibliography

- Ameling, W. 1996: 'Die jüdischen Gemeinden im antiken Kleinasien', in R. Jütte and A.R. Kustermann (eds.), *Jüdische Gemeinden und Organisationsformen von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart*, Vienne-Cologne-Weimar, 29-55.
- Bloedhorn, H. and G. Hüttenmeister 1999: 'The Synagogue', in W. Horbury, W.D. Davies, and J. Sturdy (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Judaism III: The Early Roman Period*, Cambridge, 267-97.
- Bonz, M.P. 1994: 'The Jewish Donor Inscriptions from Aphrodisias: Are they Both Third-Century, and Who are the Theosebeis?', *HSCP* 76, 281-99.
- Botermann, H. 1990: 'Die Synagoge von Sardes: Eine Synagoge aus dem 4. Jahrhundert?', *Zeitschrift für die Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft* 81, 103-21.
- Botermann, H. 1993: 'Griechisch-jüdische Epigraphik: Zur Datierung der Aphrodisias-Inschriften', *ZPE* 98, 184-94.
- Braun, Th. 1998: 'The Jews in the Late Roman Empire', *SCI* 17, 142-71.
- Buraselis, K. 1989: Θεία Δωρεά. Μελέτες πάνω στην πολιτική της δυναστείας τῶν Σεβήρων καὶ τὴν *Constitutio Antoniniana*, Athens.
- Chaniotis, A. 2002: 'Zwischen Konfrontation und Interaktion: Christen, Juden und Heiden im spätantiken Aphrodisias', in C. Ackermann and K. Müller (eds.), *Kulturelle Komplexität: Bedrohung oder Chance?* (forthcoming).
- Cohen, S.J.D. 1989: 'Crossing the Boundary and Becoming a Jew', *Harvard Theological Review* 82, 13-33.
- Cotton, H.M. and J. Geiger 1989: *Masada II: The Latin and Greek Documents*, Jerusalem.
- Crawford, J.S. 1999: 'Jews, Christians, and Polytheists in Late-Antique Sardis', S. Fine (ed.), *Jews, Christians, and Polytheists in the Ancient Synagogue. Cultural Interaction during the Graeco-Roman Period*, London-New York, 190-200.
- Dan'shin, D.I. 1996: 'The Jewish Community of Phanagoria', *Ancient Civilizations from Scythia to Siberia* 3, 133-50.
- Feldman, L.H. 1993: *Jew and Gentile in the Ancient World. Attitudes and Interactions from Alexander to Justinian*, Princeton.
- Foraboschi, D. 1971: *Onomasticon Alterum Papyrologicum*, Milan.
- Frey, J.B. 1936: *Corpus inscriptionum Iudaicarum*. I. *Europe*, Rome.
- Frey, J.B. 1952: *Corpus inscriptionum Iudaicarum*. II. *Asie-Afrique*, Rome.
- Goodman, M. 1988: Review of Reynolds and Tannenbaum 1987, *JRS* 78, 261-2.
- Grégoire, H. 1922: *Recueil d'inscriptions grecques-Chrétiennes de l'Asie Mineure*, Paris.
- Hagel, S. and K. Tomaschitz 1998: *Repertorium der westkilikischen Inschriften (TAM, Ergänzungsband 22)*, Vienna.

- Hahn, J. 1996: 'Die jüdische Gemeinde im spätantiken Antiochia: Leben im Spannungsfeld von sozialer Einbindung, religiösem Wettbewerb und gewaltsamem Konflikt', in R. Jütte and A.R. Kustermann (eds.), *Jüdische Gemeinden und Organisationsformen von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart*, Vienna-Cologne-Weimar, 57-89.
- Horsley, G.H.R. 1992: 'The Inscriptions of Ephesos and the New Testament', *Novum Testamentum* 34, 105-68.
- Hueber, F. 1987: 'Der Baukomplex einer julio-claudischen Kaiserkultanlage in Aphrodisias', in J. de la Genière and K. Erim (eds.), *Aphrodisias de Carie, Colloque de l'Université de Lille III, 13 November 1985*, Paris, 101-22.
- Kant, L.H. 1987: 'Jewish Inscriptions in Greek and Latin', *ANRW* II 20.2, Berlin-New York, 671-713.
- Laminger-Pascher, G. 1992: *Die kaiserzeitlichen Inschriften Lykaoniens. 1. Der Süden (TAM, Ergänzungsband 15)*, Vienna.
- Lautenschlager, M. 1990: 'Εἶτε γρηγορώμεν εἶτε καθεύδωμεν. Zum Verhältnis von Heiligung und Heil in 1Thess 5,10', *Zeitschrift für die Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft* 81, 39-59.
- Levine, L.I. 1999: 'The Hellenistic-Roman Diaspora CE 70/CE 235: The Archaeological Evidence', in W. Horbury, W.D. Davies, and J. Sturdy (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Judaism III: The Early Roman Period*, Cambridge, 991-1024.
- Lieu, J.M. 1995: 'The Race of the Godfearers', *Journal of Theological Studies* 46, 483-501.
- Lieu, J.M. 1998: 'The Forging of Christian Identity', *Mediterranean Archaeology* 11, 71-82.
- Lüderitz, G. 1983: *Corpus jüdischer Zeugnisse aus der Cyrenaica*, mit einem Anhang von Joyce M. Reynolds, Wiesbaden.
- Malay, H. 1999: *Researches in Lydia, Mysia and Aiolis (TAM, Ergänzungsband 23)*, Vienna.
- MacDonald, D.J. 1976: *Coins from Aphrodisias*, Oxford.
- McKnight, S. 1991: *A Light Among the Gentiles: Jewish Missionary Activity in the Second Temple Period*, Minneapolis.
- Meeks, W.A. and R.L. Wilken 1978: *Jews and Christians in Antioch in the First Four Centuries of the Common Era*, Missoula.
- Merkelbach, R. and J. Stauber 1998: *Steinepigramme aus dem griechischen Osten. Band 1. Die Westküste Kleinasiens von Knidos bis Ilion*, Stuttgart-Leipzig.
- Miranda, E. 1999: 'La comunità giudaica di Hierapolis di Frigia', *EA* 31, 109-55.
- Mitchell, S. 1998: 'Wer waren die Gottesfürchtigen?', *Chiron* 28, 55-64.
- Mitchell, S. 1999a: 'Cities of Asia Minor in Constantine's Time', in S.N.C. Lieu and D. Montserrat (eds.), *Constantine: History, Historiography and Legend*, London-New York, 52-73.
- Mitchell, S. 1999b: 'The Cult of Theos Hypsistos between Pagans, Jews, and Christians', in P. Athanassiadi and M. Frede (eds.), *Pagan Monotheism in Late Antiquity*, Oxford, 81-148.
- Molthagen, J. 1991: 'Die ersten Konflikte der Christen in der griechisch-römischen Welt', *Historia* 40, 1991, 42-76.

- Murphy-O'Connor, J. 1992: 'Lots of God-Fearers? Theosebeis in the Aphrodisias Inscription', *Revue Biblique* 99, 418-24.
- Mussies, G.J. 1991: Review of Reynolds and Tannenbaum 1987, *Mnemosyne* 44, 293-5.
- Neusner, J. 1991: *Jews and Christians: The Myth of a Common Tradition*, London-Philadelphia.
- Noethlichs, K.L. 1996: *Das Judentum und der römische Staat. Minderheitenpolitik im antiken Rom*, Darmstadt.
- North, J. 1992: 'The Development of Religious Pluralism', in J. Lieu, J. North, and T. Rajak (eds.), *The Jews among Pagans and Christians*, London-New York, 174-93.
- Noy, D. 1993: *Jewish Inscriptions of Western Europe I: Italy (Excluding the City of Rome), Spain and Gaul*, Cambridge.
- Noy, D. 1995: *Jewish Inscriptions of Western Europe II: The City of Rome*, Cambridge.
- Preisigke, F. 1922: *Namenbuch*. Heidelberg.
- Rabello, A.M. 1980: 'The Legal Condition of the Jews in the Roman Empire', *ANRW* II 13, Berlin-New York, 662-762.
- Rajak, T. 1992: 'The Jewish Community and its Boundaries', in J. Lieu, J. North and T. Rajak (eds.), *The Jews among Pagans and Christians*, London-New York, 9-28.
- Rajak, T. 1998: 'The Gifts of God at Sardis', in M. Goodman (ed.), *Jews in a Graeco-Roman World*, Oxford, 229-39.
- Ratté, Chr. forthcoming I: 'New Research on the Urban Development of Aphrodisias in Late Antiquity', in D. Parrish (ed.), *Urbanism of Roman Asia Minor. The Status of Current Research* (JRA Suppl.), Ann Arbor.
- Ratté, Chr. forthcoming II: 'The Urban Development of Aphrodisias in the Late Hellenistic and Early Imperial Periods', in C. Berns et alii (eds.), *Kontinuität und Diskontinuität in den Städten frühkaiserzeitlichen Kleinasien* (forthcoming).
- Reynolds, J. 1996: 'Honouring Benefactors at Aphrodisias: A New Inscription', in Ch. Roueché and R.R.R. Smith (eds.), *Aphrodisias Papers* 3, Ann Arbor, 121-6.
- Reynolds, J. and R. Tannenbaum 1987: *Jews and Godfearers at Aphrodisias*, Cambridge.
- Robert, L. 1937: *Études anatoliennes*, Paris.
- Robert, L. 1940: *Les gladiateurs dans l'orient grec*, Paris.
- Roueché, Ch. 1989: *Aphrodisias in Late Antiquity*, London.
- Roueché, Ch. 1993: *Performers and Partisans at Aphrodisias in the Roman and Late Roman Periods*, London.
- Rutgers, L.V. 1995: *The Jews in Late Ancient Rome. Evidence of Cultural Interaction in the Roman Diaspora*, Leiden-New York-Cologne.
- Rutgers, L.V. 1998: *The Hidden Heritage of Diaspora Judaism*, Leuven.
- Smallwood, E.M. 1976: *The Jews under Roman Rule from Pompey to Diocletian*, Leiden.
- Smith, R.R.R. 1987: 'The Imperial Reliefs from the Sebasteion at Aphrodisias', *JRS* 77, 88-138.
- Smith, R.R.R. 1988: 'Simulacra gentium: The Ethne from the Sebasteion at Aphrodisias', *JRS* 78, 50-77.
- Smith, R.R.R. and Chr. Ratté 1995: 'Archaeological Research at Aphrodisias in Caria, 1993', *AJA* 99, 33-58.

- Smith, R.R.R. and Chr. Ratté 2000: 'Archaeological Research at Aphrodisias in Caria, 1997 and 1998', *AJA* 104, 221-53.
- Solin, H. 1982: *Die griechischen Personennamen in Rom. Ein Namenbuch*, Bonn.
- Stanton, G.N. 1998: 'Justin Martyr's Dialogue with Trypho: Group Boundaries, "Proselytes" and "God-fearers"', in G.N. Stanton and G.G. Stroumsa (eds.), *Tolerance and Intolerance in Early Judaism and Christianity*, Cambridge, 263-78.
- Stemberger, G. 1987: *Juden und Christen im Heiligen Land*, Munich.
- Strubbe, J.H.M. 1989: 'Joden en Grieken: onverzoenlijke vijanden?', *Lampas* 22, 188-204.
- Trebilco, P.R. 1991: *Jewish Communities in Asia Minor*, Cambridge.
- Trombley, F.R. 1993/94: *Hellenic Religion and Christianization*, c. 370-529. Volumes 1/2, Leiden-New York-Cologne.
- van der Horst, P.W. 1990: 'Jews and Christians in Aphrodisias in the Light of their Relations in other Cities in Asia Minor', in id., *Essays on the Jewish World of Early Christianity*, Freiburg/Schweiz-Göttingen, 166-81.
- van Minnen, P. 1994: 'Drei Bemerkungen zur Geschichte des Judentums in der griechisch-römischen Welt', *ZPE* 100, 253-8.
- Versnel, H.S. 1990: *Inconsistencies in Greek and Roman Religion. I. Ter Unus. Isis, Dionysos, Hermes: Three Studies in Henotheism*, Leiden.
- Vinzent, M. 1998: 'Das "heidnische" Ägypten im 5. Jahrhundert', in J. van Oort and D. Wydra (eds.), *Heiden und Christen im 5. Jahrhundert*, Leuven, 32-65.
- Wander, B. 1998: *Gottesfürchtige und Sympathisanten. Studien zum heidnischen Umfeld von Diasporasynagogen*, Tübingen 1998.
- Welch, K. 1998: 'The Stadium at Aphrodisias', *AJA* 102, 547-69.
- White, L.M. 1997: 'Synagogue and Society in Imperial Ostia: Archaeological and Epigraphic Evidence', *Harvard Theological Review* 90, 23-58.
- Williams, M.H. 1992: 'The Jews and Godfearers Inscription from Aphrodisias. A Case of Patriarchal Interference in Early 3rd Century Caria?', *Historia* 41, 297-310.
- Williams, M.H. 1999: 'The Contribution of Jewish Inscriptions to the Study of Judaism', in W. Horbury, W.D. Davies, and J. Sturdy (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Judaism III: The Early Roman Period*, Cambridge, 75-93.
- Williams, M.H. 2000: 'Jews and Jewish Communities in the Roman Empire', in J. Huskinson (ed.), *Experiencing Rome: Culture, Identity and Power in the Roman Empire*, London, 305-33.