Diaspora in Dialogue: Jewish Civic Life in the Roman Province of Asia between the 1st century B.C. and the 3d century A.D.

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DIASPORA IN DIALOGUE

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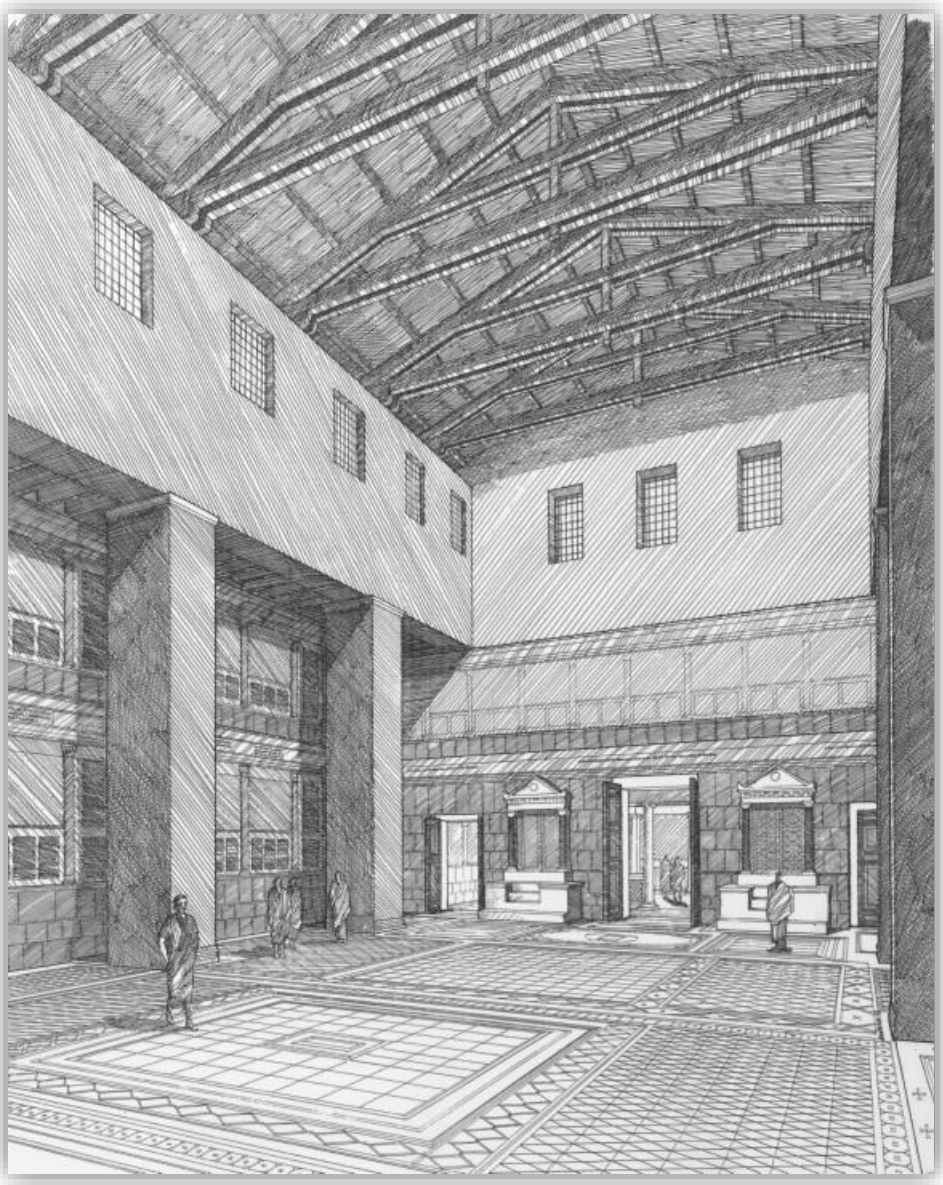

Gabriël de Klerk

Cover: reconstruction drawing of the main hall of the Sardis synagogue.

Archaeological Exploration of Sardis/president and Fellows of Harvard College.

Diaspora in Dialogue

Jewish Civic Life in the Roman Province of Asia between the 1st century B.C. and the 3d century A.D.

Master Thesis

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Contents

Bibliographical Abbreviations

Given here are the abbreviations used in this thesis to refer to epigraphical reference works, as well as scientific publications.

IJO II	Walter Ameling, *Inscriptiones Judaicae Orientis. II. Kleinasien* (Tübingen 2004).
Judeich	Walther Judeich, 'Inschriften', in : Carl Humann, Conrad Cichorius, Walther Judeich, Franz Winter (eds), *Altertümer von Hierapolis* (Berlin 1898).
MAMA IV	William Buckler, William Moir Calder, William Guthrie, *Monuments and Documents from Eastern Asia and Western Galatia. Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua* (Manchest 1933).
SEG	*Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum.*

Introduction

Diaspora has always held a prominent position in the Jewish people's narrative. Many have viewed it as the distinguishing characteristic of the Jewish experience for over two and a half millennia. While Jews and Judaism do not hold a monopoly on diaspora, the two are intrinsically connected.[1] Ever since the Assyrian Exile in the 8th century B.C., 'dispersal' and 'wandering' have become an integral part of the Jewish consciousness and have played a role in forming Jewish identity. In modern times, the diaspora has tended to be constructed as either a dark account of forced exile or a comforting belief of Judaism as a boundary-crossing phenomenon. Primarily the former view has often been held in high regard when discussing the Jews of antiquity, and not without cause: it was Philo of Alexandria who placed banishment as the second-worst punishment next to the death penalty.[2] In contrast, however, one might argue that the ancient Jews must not be understood as people marked by a constant dwelling, longing for a 'home' that they might never have visited during their lifetime and probably will never have the chance to visit. Especially because, following diaspora, ancient Jewish communities were established hundreds and thousands of miles away from Jerusalem, it is hard to imagine that these groups lived in complete isolation from their surroundings.[3]

Indeed, the evidence suggests the contrary. The Jewish communities were not secluded or marginalized from their ancient surroundings. They seemed to have become well integrated into the cultural and social life of the Mediterranean cities of the Hellenistic and Roman world.[4] Before the arrival of the Roman administration in the eastern provinces of the Mediterranean, the Jewish diaspora communities engaged with Hellenistic culture. Following the expansion of the Graeco-Macedonian empire under Alexander the Great and his untimely

[1] Erich Gruen, *Diaspora Jews amidst Greeks and Romans* (Cambridge 2002) 1.
[2] Phil. *Abr.* 64.
[3] Erich Gruen, 'Diaspora and Homeland', in: Howard Wettstein (eds), *Diasporas and Exiles: Varieties of Jewish Identity* (Los Angeles 2002) 18-46, there 20.
[4] Irina Levinskaya, 'The Traces of Jewish Life in Asia Minor', in: Roland Deines, Jens Herzer & Karl-Wilhelm Niebuhr (eds), *Neues Testament und hellenistisch-jüdische Alltagskultur* (Tübingen 2011) 347-358, there 353.

death in 323 B.C., the Ptolemaic and Seleucid monarchs replaced the Persian sphere of influence in the eastern Mediterranean.

The subsequent coming of Roman power did not pose the same break with the past as the coming of Greek hegemony had entailed. To a certain extent, the Roman administration in the east drew on Greek precedent and left the social structures of the Hellenistic cities intact.[5] The expansion of the Roman empire across various regions enabled the dispersion of products, ideas, traditions, norms and values, religions between people over a so-far unimaginable network of cities, places, and cultures throughout the Mediterranean world. Of course, the Romano-Jewish relations were marked heavily by conflict. Following the conquest of Judaea in 63 B.C., many Jews were taken prisoner and escorted to Rome.

In contrast, the Great Jewish Revolt between 66-73 A.D. culminated in the destruction of the Second Temple. Furthermore, from the first century A.D. onward, the Roman administration enabled the quick expansion of early Christianity. Through its ecclesiastical organization, the dispersion of novel funerary rites and new teaching became a competing rival within the existing Jewish religious structures. Because of this, the Jewish communities not only were forced to interact with their pagan surroundings but moreover had to negotiate with their religious competitors.[6]

It is fascinating to research how these Jewish communities were able to integrate into the civic framework that was provided by the Greek cities during Roman rule. However, it is much less clear how one is to approach such a study and what geographical and spatial boundaries are to be employed. This thesis will tackle this problem by studying the civic participation of the Jewish communities residing in the Roman province of Asia between the first century B.C. and the third century A.D. Attention will be divided among three different case studies that highlight certain aspects of Jewish civic integration in the Roman province. These case studies will comprise of a selection of passages from Josephus' writings on the

[5] *Supra.*

[6] Stephen Mitchell & Philipp Pilhofer, 'Introduction', in: Idem (eds), *Early Christianity in Asia Minor and Cyprus* (Leiden 2019) 1-12, there 5-6.

Jewish settlement in Ephesos, the Jewish epitaphs originating from the *necropolis* of Hierapolis, and the archaeological evidence from the synagogue in Sardis.

All sources have their advantages and their pitfalls. Inscriptions stem from an extensive time period, are found in a wide variety of places in Asia, and offer the historian a direct and immediate perspective on how ancient life and culture was constituted. However, those inscriptions that have survived the test of time are, in most cases, heavily damaged, brief, and highly formulaic. Literary sources, in turn, offer a wide array of possibilities for interpretation and can convey extensive amounts of information to the reader. Nevertheless, they tend to leave out vital information about day-to-day life and are heavily coloured by the author's bias, background, and intentions. Despite these drawbacks, the sources offer a wide array of viable information for the construction of Jewish civic life. Furthermore, in many instances, they constitute the only testimonies of the ancient Jewish communities and are the only sources available to us for studying diaspora communities.

This thesis will answer the central question: to what extent were the Jewish communities living in the Roman province of Asia from the 1st century B.C. until the 3d century A.D. integrated into the civic framework of the Greek city under Roman rule? This thesis aims to develop a more sophisticated understanding of Jewish negotiation and dialogue with Roman power in the environment of the Greek cities. With the aim and the research question in mind, this thesis will first analyze the civic structure and the administrative bodies of the Roman province of Asia (chapter I). Chapter II will draw on passages from Josephus to discuss the Jews of Ephesos. Chapter III will study the epitaphs originating from the necropolis of Hierapolis. Subsequently, chapter IV will address the archaeological evidence from Sardis, while chapter V will constitute an analysis of the findings of the previously mentioned chapters.

Chapter I: The civic framework of the Roman province of Asia

1.1 *The Roman conquest of Asia*

In 133 B.C., the Pergamene king Attalus III died and bequeathed his kingdom to the Republic of Rome. The kingdom was centred around the city of Pergamon, which, at the time, was one of the most influential cities in the region. Rome, at first, was reluctant to physically intervene, relying instead on allies and client-kingdoms in Asia Minor to maintain peace. In 131 B.C., however, Aristonicus rebelled against the Roman claim and militarised the region, which forced the Roman senate to defend their territory actively.[7] The autonomous cities paid a heavy toll for the rebellion of Aristonicus, as the Romans forced them to levy troops and provide food and shelter for the legions. After the uprising was crushed in 129 B.C., the once independent and powerful kingdom of Pergamon was turned into *provincia Asia* (see appendix II, figure 1 for a map of the province of Asia). The city was declared "free" and received internal autonomy. Still, the royal treasury was shipped off to Rome, and the burden of day-to-day financing fell on the shoulders of the citizens of the newly incorporated province.[8] Roman administration and financial interest deeply influenced provincial life, stemming from a continuous influx of Italian Romans who settled in the area of Pergamon and its neighbouring cities. They lived alongside the indigenous citizens but organized themselves in individual associations.[9] Under Roman rule, urban settlements could retain their civic status and administered their internal affairs through local government along traditional lines. The Romans did not control their province through direct shows of power. Instead, they relied on the loyalty of the local elite and governing bodies to Roman authority.[10] Alongside the indigenous population, we see that Italian Roman settlers, many of them *publicani* (private tax-collectors), began to flock to the province during the 2nd century B.C.

[7] Stephen Mitchell, *Anatolia. Land, Men, and Gods in Asia Minor. Vol. 1: The Celts and the Impact of Roman Rule* (Oxford 1995) 29.
[8] David Magie, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor, Vol. 1 (Text)* (New Jersey 1950) 161-162.
[9] Magie, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor*, 162-163.
[10] Clifford Ando, 'The Administration of the Provinces', in: David Potter (eds), *A Companion to the Roman Empire* (Oxford 2006) 177-192, there 181-182.

and started to exploit the newly added regions. The publicani centred their power around Ephesos, where their headquarters lay, but aggressively took control of large plots of land outside of the large city centres.[11] Because of this, relations between the Romans and the native Greeks were often troublesome on a local level, and the Romans became highly unpopular in the region.

In the first century B.C., the province of Asia was forced to be at the forefront of many wars. The Pontic king Mithridates VI (r. 120-63 B.C.) invaded and occupied the region of Asia in 89 B.C. and ordered the slaughter of every Roman or Italian citizen living in the region. This resulted in the death of 80.000 Romans.[12] While peace between Mithridates and Rome was declared in 85 B.C., violations continued, resulting in two successive wars between the sides. In 68 B.C., Pompey dealt many losses to Mithridates. Mithridates committed suicide in 63 B.C., after which the Romans established peace in Asia Minor. Pompey added the provinces Pontus and Bithynia to the Republic and reinstated Asia and Cilicia once more as Roman provinces.[13] The region did not have long to recover, as the civil war between Pompey and Caesar (49-45 B.C.) and the planned Parthian invasion of 40 B.C. weighed heavily on the shoulders of the citizens of Asia.[14] While, this time, much of the fighting occurred in Thessaly, Asia still had to provide manpower and money.[15]

Only from Augustus' reign on, the province started to prosper and regained its former strength. The region of Asia Minor itself was a relatively peaceful one, located in the hinterland far from the Eastern frontier and with almost no need for military intervention during the first and second centuries A.D.[16] The Flavians put a renewed emphasis on the development of urban centres, the construction of road sites, and the granting of certain civic privileges.[17] The region also prospered under the rule of the Antonine emperors, most notably during the euergetism of Hadrian, and public building activity continued well into the third

[11] Magie, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor*, 165-166.
[12] App. *Mith.* 5.22.
[13] Magie, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor*, 110-111.
[14] John Barclay, *Jews in the Mediterranean Diaspora* (London 1996) 267.
[15] Magie, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor,* 402-403.
[16] Mitchell, *Anatolia. Vol. 1,* 9.
[17] Magie, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor,* 571.

century A.D.[18] Many emperors, such as Augustus, Vespasian, and Hadrian, founded cities in Asia Minor and transformed tribal centres into *poleis*.[19] However, during the third century, the Antonine Plague ravaged the region of Asia Minor. Together with large-scale famines resulting from failed harvests, they profoundly affected the local economy.[20] Around the middle of the third century, Gothic hordes invaded the provinces of Asia Minor, which led to the destruction of many city centres in Asia, such as Chalcedon and Ephesos.[21] Eventually, Diocletian (r. 284-305 A.D.) reorganized the empire, after which Asia was transformed into the diocese Asiana.[22]

1.2 *The civic layers of Roman Asia*

1.2.1 *Roman administration*

After the end of the rebellion, Rome took several crucial decisions and sent a delegation of five to ten senators to oversee the preparations for transforming the former kingdom of Attalus into a Roman province.[23] Manius Aquilius was named the first governor of the region, which he exercised until 126 B.C.[24] From the outset, some cities, such as Pergamon and Sardis, retained their autonomous position, most likely in honour of their efforts against Aristonicus. In contrast, many other urban centres were incorporated into the province of Asia and were monitored from Ephesos, which came to function as the capital of the province somewhere after 129 B.C.[25] Every few years, the Roman senate would appoint another *proconsul* or *propraetor* to act as governor of Asia. This habit did not change significantly under the administrative reforms of Augustus, as the province of Asia came to be a senatorial province

[18] Ibidem, 657.
[19] Anthony Macro, 'The Cities of Asia Minor Under the Roman Imperium', in: Hildegard Temporini & Wolfgang Haase (eds), *Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt. Geschichte und Kultur Rom sim Spiegel der neueren Forschung II* (Berlin 1980) 658-697, there 672.
[20] Magie, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor,* 663.
[21] Ibidem, 706.
[22] Christian Marek, *Geschichte Kleinasiens in der Antike* (Tübingen 2017) 491.
[23] Richard Evans, *Roman Conquests. Asia Minor, Syria and Armenia* (Barnsley 2012) 33.
[24] Stephen Mitchell, "The Administration of Roman Asia from 133 BC to AD 250", in: Werner Eck & Elisabeth Müller-Luckner (eds), *Lokale Autonomie und Ordnungsmacht in den Kaiserzeitlichen Provinzen vom 1. Bis 3. Jahrhundert* (Berlin 1999) 17-46, there 18.
[25] Stephen Mitchell, 'Ephesos, Classical and Later', *The Encyclopedia of Ancient History* (Hoboken 2012).

under the jurisdiction of the senate.[26] The letters of Pliny to Trajan reveal that, at least at the time of the principate, the governor did not act on his own accord but almost always in consultation with the central government.[27] The age of the emperors, however, saw the establishment of the provincial procuratorship, who served as an imperial agent. He was directly liable to the emperor (instead of the governor) and was mainly concerned with financial tasks in the province.[28]

The governor's primary responsibilities were the command and upkeep of the armies, the jurisdiction of provincial courts, and taxation. While the governor was able to issue provincial edicts, most of the disputes between citizens of the same city fell to the city's responsibility and was mainly resolved by local regulations.[29] In this sense, the governor functioned as a higher authority who was only consulted after depleted local resources of jurisdiction. Aquilius divided the region of Asia into several districts, and each called a *conventus* or διοικήσεις. These assize-centres centred around one of the neighbouring biggest cities, in which the metropolis functioned as a judicial centre.[30] The governor's court would meet in the chief city of every conventus and served as the leading visitation site when the governor was touring the province. There were 13 districts in Asia: Adramyttium, Pergamon, Smyrna, Sardis, Ephesos, Tralles, Miletus, Mylasa, Alabanda, Cibyra, Synnada, Apameia, and Philomelium.[31]

Regarding taxation: the *lex Sempronia de provincial Asia*, imposed by Gaius Gracchus in 123/122 B.C., regulated the right to collect tax revenue by the publicani as mentioned above. However, the *Senatus Consultum de Agro Pergameno* suggests that publicani were already collecting taxes before the *lex* of Gracchus and following the end of the rebellion of Aristonicus.[32] The tax collectors often worked under the supervision of the provincial

[26] Str. 17.3.25.
[27] John Rogan, *Roman Provincial Administration* (Chalford 2011) 51.
[28] John Richardson, *Roman Provincial Administration* (London 1991) 62.
[29] Richardson, *Roman Provincial Administration,* 34.
[30] Mitchell, "The Administration of Roman Asia', 22.
[31] Macro, 'The Cities of Asia Minor Under the Roman Imperium', 671.
[32] Philip Kay, 'State Finance and the lex Sempronia de Provincia Asia', in: Idem (eds), *Rome's Economic Revolution* (Oxford 2014) 59-83, there 59-60.

governor, to which end both the governors and the publicani filled their pockets by extortion of the local communities.[33] Eventually, Julius Caesar (and finalized under Augustus) transferred the prerogative to collect taxes from the publicani to the local communities.[34] From Vespasian's reign onward, the provincial procurator became solely responsible for collecting taxes, thus entirely omitting interference from the provincial governor.[35]

1.2.2 *Local authority*

Much of the local authority of the cities in Asia was left intact by the Romans. While they engineered the foundations of the all-encapsulating Roman province, much of the city administration retained its glory as enjoyed under the Attalids. The cities arranged their affairs about the local market, finance, council elections, and, as previously mentioned, local jurisdiction.[36] The urban centres were able to uphold a certain amount of autonomy, especially in the times of the Republic, because the Roman provincial government relied on minimal bureaucracy.[37] The local élite participated in policy-making and implementation through many magistracies, such as the local *boulè* (city-council).[38] Civic administration was usually carried out by boards of the magistrates which comprised of *prytaneis*, *hipparchoi*, *stephanephoroi*, *archontes,* or *strategoi* (different per city), who administered day-to-day affairs and proposed resolutions before the assembly.[39] Furthermore, the élite fulfilled many other civic magistracies, such as the function of *grammateus, agoranomos, astynomos, tamias, eirenarches, paraphylax,* and *sitonae.*[40] Disputes between residents of the city and those between citizens and foreigners of the same municipality were settled in the local courts.

[33] Macro, 'The Cities of Asia Minor Under the Roman Imperium', 667.
[34] Ibidem, 668.
[35] Magie, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor,* 566-567.
[36] Rogan, *Roman Provincial Administration,* 85.
[37] Maud Gleason, 'Greek Cities under Roman Rule', in: David Potter (eds), *A Companion to the Roman Empire* (Oxford 2006) 228-249, there 240.
[38] Macro, 'The Cities of Asia Minor Under the Roman Imperium', 677.
[39] Ibidem, 678.
[40] For their responsibilities, see Macro, 'The Cities of Asia Minor Under the Roman Imperium', 678-680.

These courts most often comprise members of the city council, as there are no attestations of permanent law-enforcers on a local level.[41]

Cities functioned as the centre for social, economic, cultural and religious activities and performed as a projection screen for civic ambitions and honours, displaying local and regional competition. Some inhabitants fulfilled liturgies (semi-voluntary financial obligations), who served benefactions and public services to the city and the community.[42] The most important were the *gymnasiarches* and *agonothetes*, who performed euergetism financed from their own pockets. Liturgies and magistracies were not strictly separated, and often the two classifications applied to the same administrator. 'Liturgization' already began to fade during the Late Hellenistic period, as it gradually became incorporated by those who held official magistracies. By the time of the Romans, there was no real distinction.[43] For example, in the first century B.C., one Hermias of Aphrodisias is honoured as performing *leitourgiai* in the form of gymnasiarchia while he also functioned as stephanephoros.[44]

The advent of Roman rule in the Greek cities in Asia must have devalued the input of the public assemblies as it lost its right to initiate legislation on a regional level. On a local level, however, the Romans left urban autonomy intact as long as it guaranteed stability and security of the province. Because of this, the prominence of the city councils and assemblies changed little during Roman rule, and these institutions continued to hold much of its constitutional power.[45] Still, not every inhabitant was a local citizen with the right to participate in local government through elections, votes, benefactions, and public functions. Roman citizenship, which could be granted by Roman authorities directly to cities, communities, and individuals, was one way of climbing the social ladder, but this never entirely replaced the continuing importance of local citizenship.[46] (the advantages and

[41] Sviatoslav Dmitriev, *City Government in Hellenistic and Roman Asia Minor* (Oxford 2005) 130.
[42] Marc Domingo Gygax, *Benefaction and Rewards in the Ancient Greek City. The Origins of Euergetism* (St Ives 2016) 16-17.
[43] Dmitriev, *City Government in Hellenistic and Roman Asia Minor,* 17.
[44] *SEG* 54-1020.
[45] Andrew Lintott, *Imperium Romanum: Politics and Administration* (London 1993) 146.
[46] Arjan Zuiderhoek, *The Politics of Munificence in the Roman Empire. Citizens, Elites and Benefactors in Asia Minor* (Cambridge 2009) 71-73.

disadvantages of citizenship will be discussed in paragraph 3.4.2) Quite a substantial part of the local populace had to resort to other ways to enforce their will.[47]

1.3 *Civic participation*

In quite a lot of cases, local participation meant direct consultation of the local or provincial administration. Especially for those who did not find themselves in the circumstance to participate in the local council or general assembly, or those who could not fulfil public magistracies, direct communication with the ruling class was a viable option to make one's voice 'count' within the city. Especially under the principate, it became a custom to refer judicial matters to the governor or emperor.[48]

In many instances, we see the local populace directly petitioning the Roman governor. One heavily damaged inscription, dated between the second and the third century A.D., records a petition by a village in the spheres of Satala (Lydia) to the governor of Asia about attacks on the settlement property.[49] In many instances, there is evidence that shows that the governor acted in reaction to these petitions. One inscription, found in Phrygian Pentapolis and dated between 187 and 181 A.D., shows how the city issued a plea to the governor Sulpicianus, who ordered his military tribune to intervene.[50] Another inscription from the town Euhippe, dated between 211-213 A.D., purports a mandate by the provincial governor in reaction to a petition made by the community.[51]

Appeals to the Roman authorities were not made solely to the Roman governor: in many instances, cities sent embassies or petitions directly to the Roman senate or the emperor. In turn, senatorial or imperial decision-making was addressed directly to those communities, thus providing an uninterrupted communication between ruler and ruled.[52] Imperial visits were also a good opportunity for communities to express their wishes. It was

[47] Gleason, 'Greek Cities under Roman Rule', 234.
[48] Lintott, *Imperium Romanum,* 132.
[49] Tor Hauken, *Petition and Response: An epigraphic study of petitions to Roman Emperors 181-249* (Athens 1998) 247-250.
[50] Hauken, *Petition and Response,* 188-202.
[51] Ibidem, 215-216.
[52] Ibidem, 132.

common for embassies to speak on behalf of communities, conglomerations of cities, or the province as a whole and possibly representing the more rural, smaller villages of a conventus when addressing either the governor or the emperor.[53] For example, one inscription shows how the embassy of Aphrodisias addressed the Roman senate on behalf of the *koinon* of Asia to complain about the extortions of the publicani.[54] A later example, dated between 197-211 or 244-249 A.D., concerns a petition from peasants in the region of Philadelphia directed at the 'most divine emperors ever.'[55] Numerous examples show reactions directly from the emperor. For instance, one inscription dated 131 A.D. shows how Hadrian received a Milesian petition through an embassy about creating the association of *naukleroi*. The inscription indicates that Hadrian granted them this and confirmed their rights as an association.[56]

In conclusion, Local civic constructions were left intact and aligned to Roman power by loyalty rather than by force. Thus, the implementation of Asia as a Roman province did not mean the impoverishment of local government. Instead, the two functioned side by side, while the provincial governor only intervened when it was deemed necessary. The autonomy of the city was affected only in cases that required Roman intervention. Local citizenship still played a significant part in decision-making in urban settlements. It forced many inhabitants to actively negotiate with the existing power structures through petitions and embassies to the governor, senate, or the emperor. In many instances, it was the only viable option left for the inhabitants to participate in local decision-making.

[53] Mitchell, "The Administration of Roman Asia', 36.
[54] Thomas Drew-Bear, 'Deux Décrets hellénistiques d'Asie Mineure', *Bulletin de correspondance Hellenistique* 96 :1 (1972) 435-471, there 443f.
[55] Hauken, *Petition and Response,* 35-57.
[56] *SEG* 63-974.

Chapter II: Ephesos

2.1 *Introduction*

This chapter will study the Jewish community residing in the city of Ephesos. The other two chapters focus primarily on the epigraphical and archaeological sources originating from their respective Jewish groups. This chapter, however, will utilize the literary evidence that discusses the rights and customs that the Ephesian Jews were granted. The choice for addressing literary evidence when studying the Jews of Ephesos is not necessarily a deliberate one. Most of our knowledge about the Jewish community of Ephesos is handed down to us by the writings of Josephus. Of the thousands of inscriptions that have been recovered from the city, only five are connected with the Jewish community, of which four are very brief and fragmentary.[57] Because of this limited epigraphic evidence, a chapter on the civil rights of the Ephesian Jews prompts a study of Josephus' collected works. Thus, this chapter intends to offer insights into the formation of Jewish civic rights and values that otherwise would have been neglected if only the epigraphic evidence of the Jews of Asia was studied. In this way, this chapter fills a lacuna left open by the epigraphic and archaeological evidence of Hierapolis and Sardis: these monuments are testimonies of Jewish day-to-day life and shed light on Jewish commemoration and how their cultural values were embedded in their specific civic community, while Josephus' writings deliberate on elements of Jewish civic rights on a local and regional level. This research question that this chapter will answer is: which civic rights are discernible in the writings of Josephus, and what do they tell us about the relationship between the Jewish communities and Greek cities from the province of Asia?

The research question will be answered by first elaborating on the validity of Josephus as a historical source (paragraph 2.2). Subsequently, paragraph 2.3 will discuss Hellenistic and Roman Ephesos, while section 2.4 will discuss a selection of paragraphs of Josephus' *Antiquities* and *Against Apion*. This chapter will omit passages from the New Testament, most notably from of Acts of the Apostles. While these passages mention a synagogue located in

[57] *IJO* II no. 30-35.

Ephesos, they instead shed light on early Jewish-Christian contacts in the city and tell us little about Jewish civic life.

2.2 *Employing Josephus as a historical source*

Titus Flavius Josephus (37-100 A.D.) was a Roman-Jewish historian. He is the author of the *Jewish War*, in which he dealt with the conflicts between the Romans and the Jews in the First Jewish-Roman War (66-73 A.D.), and the *Jewish Antiquities*, which entails a history of the Jewish people up to and including the Jewish War. Furthermore, in *Against Apion,* Josephus defends Judaism as a religion against the criticisms of the grammarian Apion. The value of Josephus writings, at least for this thesis, lies in the fact that he sheds indispensable light on matters of Jewish rights and privileges that otherwise would have gone unattested by other sources. He uses official Roman correspondence, decrees, and *senatus consulta* to demonstrate how, between the first century B.C. and the first century A.D., the Romans constructed their favourable policy towards the Jews across the diaspora or living in Judaea.[58]

Through the centuries, Josephus' works have been criticized many times based on their authenticity and legitimacy. Around the 19th century, Josephus' authorship was put into question, while later historians have tried to argue that his background, motifs, and ambitions heavily influenced his writings.[59] Without a doubt, it is clear that Josephus wrote his works from a particular perspective: before his function as advisor of emperor Vespasian, he fought against the Romans as a Jewish rebel leader, and it is clear that he tries to reconcile both Roman and Jewish worlds through his *Antiquities*.[60] This background is no reason to assume, however, that he counterfeited imperial documentation. On the contrary: more recently, it has been agreed that overall, the writings of Josephus cannot be seen as forgeries and are therefore

[58] Miriam Pucci Ben Zeev, *Jewish Rights in the Roman World. The Greek and Roman Documents Quoted by Josephus Flavius* (Tübingen 1998) 1.
[59] Per Bilde, *Flavius Josephus between Jerusalem and Rome. His Life, his Works, and their Importance* (Sheffield 1988) 18.
[60] Catherine Hezser, 'Correlating Literary, Epigraphic, and Archaeological Sources', in: Idem (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of Jewish Daily Life in Roman Palestine* (Oxford 2010) 9-27, there 10.

justified to use as historical sources for studying diaspora Jews.[61] Thus, it is possible to employ Josephus, with some reservations, for this chapter.

2.3 *Hellenistic and Roman Ephesos*

Ephesos was most probably founded as a Greek colony following the migrations of the Ionians across the Aegean Sea and into the coast of Asia Minor between 1130 and 1000 B.C.[62] The Ephesians prospered during the Archaic and Classical Period and launched the Ionian Revolt against Persian suppression in 499 B.C.[63] The city was "liberated" by the forces of Alexander the Great after the battle of Granicus in 334 B.C. and later became part of first the Seleucid kingdom and later the Ptolemaic kingdom.[64] Following the treaty of Apamea, Ephesos was ruled by the Attalids, who, in 133 B.C., left the city of Ephesos to the Romans, who incorporated it in the province of Asia.[65] Under Roman rule, the city became the seat of the governor and the capital of the province of Asia.[66] Around the time of the Julio-Claudians, Ephesos was said to be 'thickly populated and richly spread with dwellings.'[67]

The importance of Ephesos within the confines of the Roman imperial landscape of Asia Minor is best illustrated by its employment of the title *neokoros*. This designation, which at first signalled the 'warden of the temple', became a highly sought after title that distinguished prominent cities within the Roman East and became the centre of civic competition.[68] Although Pergamon was the first city in Asia Minor to employ the title *neokoros*, Ephesos donned the title from Nero's reign up until the Severans.[69] In the Christian

[61] Tessa Rajak, 'Was There a Roman Charter for the Jews?', *The Journal of Roman Studies* 74 (1984) 107-123, there 109; Paul Trebilco, *Jewish Communities of Asia Minor* (Cambridge 1984) 7; Paul Trebilco, 'The Jewish Community in Ephesus and Its Interaction with Christ-Believers in the First Century CE and Beyond', in: James Harisson and Louis Welborn (eds), *The First Urban Churches 3. Ephesus* (Atlanta 2018) 93-126, there 94f4.
[62] Hans Willer Laale, *Ephesus (Ephesos): An Abbreviated History from Androclus to Constantine XI* (Bloomington 2011) 6.
[63] Laale, *Ephesus (Ephesos)*, 47.
[64] Ibidem, 100.
[65] Ibidem, 145.
[66] Steven Friesen, *Twice Neokoros: Ephesus, Asia, and the Cult of the Flavian Imperial Family* (Leiden 1993) 158.
[67] Sen. *Ep.* 102.21.
[68] Sviatoslav Dmitriev, 'The *Neokoriai* of Ephesus and City Rivalry in Roman Asia Minor', in: James Richardson & Federico Santangelo (eds), *Priests and State in the Roman World* (Stuttgart 2011) 529-552, there 529.
[69] Barbara Burrell, *Neokoroi: Greek Cities and Roman Emperors* (Leiden 2004) 71-77.

tradition, Ephesos is seen as one of the main places from which Paul preached and launched his missionary activities across the Aegean.[70]

2.4 *The Jewish community*

Chapter I has already highlighted the importance of a direct petition to regional and central Roman government for local participation; it was one of the primary forms of communication through which specific communities and individuals could ensure representation and involvement in local decision making. The passages from Josephus clearly show that the Jews eagerly made use of this petition-and-response model. Let us first explore the petitions of the Jewish Ephesians before diving into the actual rights they pleaded for.

2.4.1 *Conflicts, requests, and petitions*

In almost all instances, Josephus' documents concerning the Jewish Ephesians are organized in the following manner: first, it is stated that a Roman official received a petition from either the local Jews, the populace, or from a Jewish embassy. In some cases, this includes the claims or wishes of the petitioning party. This is followed by a decree or proclamation of the official. This announces that based on his authority, the authority of the emperor or any other official, or because of past understandings between the Jews and the Hellenistic kings, the Jews are allowed to retain their rights.

Ephesos does not form any exception within the writings of Josephus. The author recounts cities from all over the Roman East to show how the local populace disadvantaged the local Jews and how, in turn, the Romans met the demands of the Jews. Other cities of Asia that feature in the *Antiquities* are Parium, Sardis, Laodicea, Miletus, Tralles, and Halicarnassus, while outside of the province Josephus mentions, among others, Ascalon, Tyre, Delos, Antioch, and Cyrene.[71] What is especially interesting to see is that often the Jews of Ephesos functioned as an organized body that spoke on behalf of all the Jews residing in Asia.

[70] Trebilco, 'The Jewish Community in Ephesus', 104.
[71] Rajak, 'Was There a Roman Charter', 112.

For example, *AJ* 16.172 mentions that the 'Jews that dwell in Asia' had come to the proconsul to ratify their rights. The letter, in turn, is directed to 'the people of the Ephesians'.

The fact that the Ephesian Jews often functioned as the spokes group for Jewish rights in the province is understandable because the governor of Asia resided in Ephesos. The Ephesians would, under normal circumstances, be the first to have the opportunity to address the governor and thus be at the forefront in communication with the imperial administration. Of course, this does not undermine the fact that the Jewish community of Ephesos must have been of considerable size and importance.[72] This is once again clearly exhibited by the fact that the Greek inhabitants of Ephesos went to considerable lengths to diminish the rights of the Ephesian Jews. Only because the Jews were such a substantial portion of the Ephesian inhabitants, the Greeks felt threatened and made extensive petitions against the advancement of Jewish rights. The question remains what caused this resentment among the Greek populace. Why were they so determined on undermining Jewish civic rights?

An answer might be found in the context of the petitions. As argued by Barclay, the province of Asia went through financial hardships following the conquests of Sulla against Mithridates (88-63 B.C.), the Romans 'imposing fines and hefty taxes, which were the subject of complaint for decades'. [73] One of the privileges that the Ephesians petitioned against was, as will be discussed in deeper detail in paragraph 2.4.3, the right for Jews to send money to Jerusalem as part of the Temple Tax. The *Pro Flacco* of Cicero demonstrates that this must have been a considerable sum that fluxed out of the region and thus out of the local economy, thus inciting uneasiness and resentment amongst the gentile population.[74]

This does not mean that the Jews and Greeks had an unceasingly lousy relationship or that hostilities between the two factions in Ephesos were continuously occurring during Roman rule. As argued by Trebilco, 'relations were not always and everywhere bad, nor were there no Greeks who were well-disposed towards the Jews.'[75] However, it indicates that the Jewish Ephesians were significant and economically potent enough to be perceived as a

[72] Trebilco, 'The Jewish Community in Ephesus', 96.
[73] Barclay, *Jews in the Mediterranean Diaspora,* 265.
[74] Trebilco, 'The Jewish Community in Ephesus', 99.
[75] Trebilco, *Jewish Communities in Asia Minor,* 11.

competitor. Furthermore, it clearly shows that its religiously based decisions about how it participated in Ephesian economic life impacted others. Josephus wrote his *Antiquities* to highlight how the Romans defended the rights of the Jews in opposition to the Greek inhabitants, and his passages support this message.[76] Usually, when Jewish rights conflicted with the local law or customs, the Romans did not need to intervene, and any difficulties were resolved privately.[77] It is quite possible that many of the conflicts brought to our attention by Josephus could not be resolved through negotiations and that only hereafter, the Jews petitioned the higher authorities. When we compare this with the petitions of paragraph 1.3, it becomes clear that the Jews followed the route that was to be expected as they petitioned the Roman administration: they did not 'cheat the system' by asking for Roman intervention but used the existing options for higher appeal to their advantage. In turn, the petitions did not fall on deaf ears but were considered and granted by the Roman authorities.

2.4.2 Isonomia *and Jewish citizen-rights*

Let us now turn to the content of the passages of Josephus. One of the most prominently illustrated rights of the Jews, as demonstrated by Josephus, is that of citizenship. Although we do not know precisely when Jews began to settle in Ephesos and the region of Ionia, Josephus tells us in three instances that the Jews already gained citizenship during the time of the Seleucids. One passage tells us the following:

> And what occasion is there to speak of others, when those of us Jews that dwell at Antioch are named Antiochians, because Seleucus the founder of that city gave them the privileges (πολιτείαν) belonging thereto? After the like manner do the Jews that inhabit Ephesos and the other cities of Ionia enjoy the same name with those that were originally born there, by the grant of the succeeding princes.[78]

The above mentioned Seleucus is Seleucus Nicator (r. 306-281 B.C.). In another instance, Josephus once again mentions that it was Seleucus who granted the Jews their citizenship:

[76] Barclay, *Jews in the Mediterranean Diaspora*, 262-263.
[77] Rick Strelan, *Paul, Artemis, and the Jews in Ephesus* (Berlin 2014) 34.
[78] Joseph. *Ap.* 2.39.

> The Jews also obtained honors from the kings of Asia when they became their auxiliaries (συνεστράτευσαν): for Seleucus Nicator made them citizens (πολιτείας) in those cities which he built in Asia, and in the lower Syria, and in the metropolis itself, Antioch: and gave them privileges (ἰσοτίμους) equal to those of the Macedonians and Greeks, who were the inhabitants, insomuch that these privileges continue to this very day.[79]

A few sentences later, however, Josephus informs us that it was the grandson of Seleucus, Antiochus II Theos (r. 261-246 B.C.), who granted the Jews their citizenship:

> For when the people of Ionia were very angry at them, and besought Agrippa that they, and they only, might have those privileges of citizens which Antiochus, the grandson of Seleucus, had bestowed on them, and desired that, if the Jews were to be joint-partakers with them, they might be obliged to worship the gods they themselves worshipped.[80]

It is clear that already under Hellenistic rule, from the 3d century B.C. onward, the Jews possessed at least some civil rights. Josephus shows us that they possessed equal rights to the Macedonians and Greeks and were free to practice their religion. Furthermore, *AJ* 12.125-126 tells us that these civil rights were upheld and defended to at least the time of Marcus Agrippa, the general, son-in-law and designated successor of Augustus, who lived between 63 and 12 B.C. What was the nature of these rights, and did this place them on equal footing with their pagan surroundings?

It is necessary to look for answers in the ancient Greek wording that Josephus employed. In the three segments mentioned above, the 'privileges of citizens' are translated from the Greek πολιτείας. This corresponds with three other Ephesian passages of Josephus, where he refers to the 'Jews who are Roman citizens' as πολίτας Ρωμαίων Ιουδαίους.[81] Unfortunately, these terms do not designate what might be understood as 'privileges of citizens'. In one final instance, however, Josephus uses another designation to describe the rights of the Asian Jews:

> The cities ill-treated the Jews in Asia as well as those who were oppressed in Libya near Cyrene. While earlier kings had given them equal rights as citizens (ἰσονομίαν), the

[79] Joseph. *AJ* 12.119.
[80] Joseph. *AJ* 12.125-126.
[81] Joseph. *AJ* 14.228, 234, 240.

> Greeks now persecuted them to the point of stealing their temple money and harming them in other ways.[82]

The term used here for 'equal rights as citizens' is ἰσονομίαν. *Isonomia* originates from the 6th century B.C. and was a term that was occasionally employed as a substitute for 'democracy' and loosely matched the description 'equality before the law' and 'equality in rights of civic participation.[83] To whom does this term place the Jews on equal footing? With the inhabitants of Greek or Macedonian descent? Or the free-born Greek speakers with local citizenship? Moreover, is this only how Josephus understood it or how the monarchs and Roman officials applied the term?

Unfortunately, the term isonomia is not used by Josephus concerning other Diaspora communities in the Roman east and leaves no room for comparison. In several instances, however, Josephus uses the terms *isotomia* and *isopoliteia* to describe the relationship between the Jewish and Greek inhabitants. For example, the Jewish inhabitants of Alexandria were awarded 'equal privileges with the Greeks' (*isotimia*).[84] In the same fashion, the Jewish Alexandrians were granted 'the same citizenship as the Macedonians'.[85] Furthermore, Josephus recounts in *AJ* 20.173 how the Caesarean Jews at one point came into conflict with the Syrians living there 'about their equal right as citizens' (*isopoliteia*) and how an official of Nero took bribes 'cancel the equal privileges that the Jewish citizens had so far enjoyed'.[86] Josephus used the terms interchangeably through one another, and it is hard to distinguish any significant differences between them.[87] What is more telling is that Josephus, in all instances, either refers to Jews gaining or losing civic rights *as opposed* to those who were the original inhabitants of the cities, who had the advantage of already holding full citizenship and opposing Jews from becoming part of that group.

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[82] Joseph. *AJ* 16.160.
[83] John Lombardini, '*Isonomia* and the Public Sphere in Democratic Athens', *History of Political Thought* 34:3 (2013) 393-420, there 394.
[84] Joseph. *BJ* 2.487.
[85] Joseph. *AJ* 12.8.
[86] Joseph. *AJ* 20.183.
[87] Gruen, *Diaspora Jews amidst Greeks and Romans,* 71.

What did it mean to hold citizenship? A civic decree from Ephesos, dated between 86 and 85 B.C., sheds light on the matter (appendix I, inscription 1). The inscription differentiates between those who possess full citizenship status (εἶναι ἐντίμους), resident-foreigners (Πάροικοι), and foreigners (Ξένοι).[88] Throughout Hellenistic and early Imperial times, citizenship is defined by the right to participate in political and judicial practices. Furthermore, it meant that a citizen was allowed to live in the city, own land, and was obligated to support the urban settlement financially.[89] Resident foreigners were allowed to live in the city and were obligated to pay taxes and could, to some extent, partake in civic procedures. Furthermore, they were expected to pay distinctive contributions to the city and, when called upon, to enter the army.[90]

Coming back to the Jews of Ephesos: it is hard to find a sufficient meaning of isonomia within the writings of Josephus. The author used the term to explain the origin of civic turmoil between the Jews and indigenous inhabitants, not only in Ephesos but also in Alexandria and Caesarea. As such, isonomia must not be understood so much as an expression of equal footing between the Jewish and gentile Ephesians. Instead, isonomia would entail that the Jewish customs, laws, and rights would be equally respected.[91] This was a thorn in the side of the Greek inhabitants, who lobbied that only those who worshipped the gods of their ancestors were granted equal citizenship.[92] Even still, it underscores that the Ephesian Jews already enjoyed citizen-rights from Hellenistic times on, which were perpetuated at least once by the administration of Augustus and might have carried on to exist for many years to come. These rights, although probably not entirely on par with the indigenous population, must have at the very least had some serious consequences for the position of the Jews in Ephesos. What civic rights does Josephus further mention?

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[88] *SEG* 52-1129.
[89] Bradley Ritter, *Judeans in the Greek Cities of the Roman Empire. Rights, Citizenship and Civil Discord* (Leiden 2015) 55-58.
[90] Ritter, *Judeans in the Greek Cities of the Roman Empire,* 65.
[91] Gerard Mussies, 'Pagans, Jews, and Christians at Ephesus', in: Pieter van der Horst & Gerard Mussies (eds), *Studies on the Hellenistic Background of the New Testament* (Utrecht 1990) 177-195, there 186.
[92] Ritter, *Judeans in the Greek Cities of the Roman Empire,* 29.

2.4.3 *The granted rights of the Ephesian Jews*

Josephus informs us in many passages what precisely the Jews of Ephesos were granted and against what kind of privileges the Ephesian Greeks appealed. One of the most ostensibly noted grievances that the Ephesian Jews underwent by the Greek city is denoted in *AJ* 16.28: τῶν εἰς Ιεροσόλυμα χρημάτων ἀνατιθεμένων ἀφαιροῖντο στρατειῶν ('[they] were deprived of the money they used to lay up at Jerusalem'). This passage refers to the temple tax that all Jewish men of 20 years and older were required to pay to the Temple in Jerusalem, as accorded by pentateuchal law. After 70 C.E., this tax was replaced by the didrachmon tax after the Second Temple's destruction.[93] Henceforth, emperor Vespasian ordered every Jewish inhabitant of the Roman Empire to pay a tax annually to the temple of Jupiter in Rome, the *Fiscus Iudaicus*.[94] The complaint mentioned above was again brought before Agrippa while he was passing through the province and is discussed in *AJ* 16.45:

> Now our adversaries take our privileges away in the way of injustice; they violently seize upon that money which is owed to God, and called sacred money, and this openly, after a sacrilegious manner.

Josephus tells us that Agrippa was well-favoured towards the Jews in this matter and stated that 'their sacred money be not touched, but be sent to Jerusalem, and that it be committed to the care of the receivers at Jerusalem' (*AJ* 16.163, 167). This statement was later promulgated by Iullus Antonius, the proconsul of Asia Minor, in 7/6 B.C.[95]

Another injury that befell the Ephesian Jews, as recalled by Josephus, is that they were forced to join military service. *AJ* 14.223 tells us that Hyrcannus sent an embassy to Dolabella, who was governor of Asia Minor in 69/68 B.C., who decided that the Jews were to be dismissed from military service. *AJ* 14.227 tells us that Dolabella granted the Jews of Asia Minor exemption, which was also reiterated by the Roman consul Lucius Lentulus in 49 B.C.[96]

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[93] Sara Mandell, 'Who Paid the Temple Tax When the Jews were under Roman Rule?', *The Harvard Theological Review* 77:2 (1984) 223-232, there 223.
[94] Marius Heemstra, 'The *Fiscus Judaicus*: Its Social and Legal Impact and a Possible Relation with Josephus' Antiquities', in: Peter Tomson and Joshua Schwartz (eds), *Jews and Christians in the First and Second Centuries: How to Write Their History* (Leiden 2014) 327-347, there 327.
[95] Joseph. *AJ* 16.172-173.
[96] Joseph. *AJ* 14.228.

By the time of Agrippa, again, the Ephesian Jews petitioned against the military service (*AJ* 16.27-30), but Josephus recalls no direct response to the matter by Agrippa.

A final request that the Jews made to the Romans was the right to ἄγωσι τὰ σάββατα ('observe the Sabbath'). This appeal is first mentioned in *AJ* 14.263, as the Jewish Ephesians petitioned proconsul Marcus Julius Pompeius and is dated around 42 B.C. Josephus then records a positive response of Augustus in *AJ* 16.163 and by Agrippa in *AJ* 16.168, 172-173, of which the latter is dated between 9 and 2 B.C. To this, it must be added that Agrippa stipulates that it is forbidden to compel Jews to appear in court on the Sabbath.

2.5 *Conclusion*

This chapter has sought to answer the question of which civic rights are discernible in the writings of Josephus and what do they tell us about the relationship between the Jewish communities and Greek cities from the province of Asia. Although Josephus' writings must be considered with extensive care, the evidence suggests that the Jewish community of Ephesos not only has existed long before the arrival of the Romans but also was of such a considerable size that it was in the position to address the Roman administration on behalf of not only the city but moreover the Jews living in the province. In this, they followed the expected path of communication with the Roman authorities. This suggests that the Jews were integrated to such an extent that the Roman administration did not pose boundaries on their participation in the civic community.

The problem remains that Josephus offers only a limited perspective on the relation between the Jewish and the Greek Ephesians: he shows, time and again, that the Romans supported the appeals of the Jews and that the Jews were granted to observe their religious rites, such as the Temple Tax, exemption from military service, and the Sabbath. However, he fails to mention to what extent Jews were able to participate in other aspects of civic life, such as participation in public magistracies and civic events. Josephus hints at an equal standing between Jewish and Greek Ephesians but does not give a comprehensive overview of what this entails. Josephus' perspective, instead, sheds light on the aspects of animosity and

marginalization of the Jews, while it might be argued that at times, relations might have been respectable and amicable.

Chapter III: Hierapolis

3.1 *Introduction*

In many instances, inscriptions are our only sources for studying Jewish communities up close. While the multitude of the surviving inscriptions from the Roman East tends to be fragmentary and heavily damaged, they are a precious source of information about Jewish cultural life within the Greek city and offer insights into the (self-)perception of Jews within the ancient community. This chapter will therefore study the Jewish epitaphs originating from the necropolis of Hierapolis. The research question that will be answered in this chapter is: how do the Jewish epitaphs from Hierapolis construct an understanding of the Jewish community, and to what extent did the Jews employ epitaphs to negotiate with their pagan surroundings? The research question will be answered by first elaborating on the position of Hierapolis within the region of Phrygia (paragraph 3.2). Following this, the necropolis and its placement of Jewish grave monuments will be discussed. This paragraph will likewise include an overview of what accounts for a 'Jewish' inscription (paragraph 3.3). Subsequently, the Jewish inscriptions will be studied in paragraph 3.4, which will include an analysis of the designation *Ioudaios* (paragraph 3.4.1), the payment of fines (paragraph 3.4.2), the deposition of copies in the city archives (paragraph 3.4.3), and the importance of the guilds of purple-dyers and carpet-weavers (paragraph 3.4.4).

3.2 *Hierapolis in Phrygia*

Following the conquests of Alexander the Great in the mid 330's B.C., many Graeco-Macedonian colonial settlements were erected in the region of Phrygia. Especially during the reign of the Seleucid rulers, many poleis such as Laodikeia, Apameia, Lysias and Aizanoi were created, through which Hellenistic culture was dispersed throughout the region.[97] Around the same time, Hierapolis was founded. Unfortunately, the scarce archaeological evidence leaves

[97] Peter Thonemann, 'Phrygia: an anarchist history, 950 BC – AD 100', in: Peter Thonemann (eds), *Roman Phrygia. Culture and Society* (Cambridge 2015) 1-40, there 17.

no room for exact dating. Only a few *tumuli,* remnants of a pottery workshop, and some Greek *stelae* remind us of Hellenistic times.[98] Likewise, almost no Republican or early Imperial Roman traces are recovered in the city, which might be accounted for by earthquakes. That occurred during the early principate.[99] However, a *senatus consultum* informs us that the lands of Phrygia were officially incorporated into the province of Asia after 116 B.C.[100] It is only from Flavian rule onward that significant archaeological data can be traced. Around this time, Hierapolis underwent heavy monumental reconstructions that have shaped the city's archaeological landscape and are still visible today.[101] Different emperors of the second and third centuries A.D. undertook new plans to monumentalize the ancient city, which resulted in the construction of an enormous *agora,* multiple theatres, a bathing complex, and various *nymphaea.*[102]

Epigraphic evidence suggests that during the Roman occupation, Hierapolis retained many Hellenistic institutions and magistracies. *Judeich* no. 31, for example, tells us that 'the council and the popular assembly' (ἡ βουλὴ και ὁ δῆμος) erected a statue in honour of Publius Aelius Zeuxidemos between 138-161 A.D. In the same manner, *Judeich* no. 40 (200-250 A.D.) honours one Tiberius Claudius Zotikòs, who was 'first strategos and generous agonothete' of the city (τὸν πρῶτον στραθηγὸν καὶ φιλότειμον ἀγωνοθέθν).

Jewish activity within the region of Phrygia is often attested. Josephus tells us that around 200 B.C., on the orders of Seleucid monarch Antiochus III (r. 223-187 B.C.), as many as 2,000 Jewish families were to be transported to the regions of Lydia and Phrygia.[103] The Acts of the Apostles attests to the presence of Jews in Phrygia.[104] At the same time, the Synod of

[98] Paul Arthur, 'Chapter 10. Hierapolis of Phrygia: The Drawn-Out Demise of an Anatolian City', in: Neil Christie & Andrea Augenti (eds), *Vrbes Extinctae. Archaeologies of Abandoned Classical Towns* (Farmham 2012) 275-305, there 277.
[99] Francesco D'Andria, *Hierapolis in Phrygien (Pamukkale)* (Istanbul 2010) 35.
[100] Brian McGing, 'Appian, Manius Aquillius, and Phrygia', *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 21:1 (1980) 35-42, there 35.
[101] Francesco D'Andria, 'Hierapolis of Phrygia: its evolution in Hellenistic and Roman times', in: David Parrish (eds), *Urbanism in Western Asia Minor. New Studies on Aphrodisias, Ephesos, Hierapolis, Pergamon, Perge and Xanthos* (Portsmouth 2001) 96-115, there 100-101.
[102] D'Andria, 'Hierapolis of Phrygia', 104-111.
[103] Joseph. *AJ* 12.148-153.
[104] Apg. 2.10.

Laodicea (4th cent. A.D.) imposed specific prohibitions on Christian interaction with Jews. Unfortunately, little else information is available on the Jews residing in Hierapolis. It is exclusively through the inscriptions studied below through which most of our knowledge of the Jewish Hierapolitans originates.

3.3 *The necropolis of Hierapolis and its Jewish inscriptions*

More than one thousand funerary inscriptions are scattered over three different cemeteries that sprung from Hierapolis. According to their geographical position relative to the city, these are demarcated as north, south, and west, of which the northern one is the largest.[105] 21 Jewish inscriptions are found at the northern cemetery, while the remaining two epitaphs are located at the eastern one. Of the 23 monuments, all but three are sarcophagi of limestone. Of the remaining monuments, one is a sarcophagus of white marble, one a plate on limestone belong to a chamber grave, and one an inscription next to a *tumulus*. While no exact dating might be established in all cases, they are estimated to originate from the 2nd until the 4th century A.D.

The Jewish inscriptions are not found secluded from Hellenistic or Roman grave monuments and do not point toward an exclusively Jewish cemetery. Williams has argued that this is not an uncommon practice, as 'to date, no separate Jewish burial grounds have been identified in Asia Minor in the Graeco-Roman period.'[106] Accordingly, the Jews of Hierapolis followed suit and buried their deceased alongside their pagan peers.

On the whole, the percentage of surviving Jewish inscriptions might sound negligible. However, it must be stated that only those inscriptions are deemed Jewish, which give a clear reason to believe they belonged to a member of the Jewish community. Unless the author of the funerary inscriptions distinguished his or her Jewishness through a funerary monument, there is no way of discerning with any certainty which monuments belonged to Jews.[107]

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[105] Tullia Ritti, *An Epigraphic Guide to HIerapolis (Pamukkale)* (Istanbul 2006) 43.

[106] Margaret Williams, 'The Meaning and Function of Ioudaios in Graeco-Roman Inscriptions', *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 116 (1997) 249-262, there 256.

[107] Tal Ilan, 'The New Jewish Inscriptions from hierapolis and the Question of Jewish Diaspora Cemeteries', in: D. Dueck, D. L. Gera, D. M. Schaps & R.F. Vishnia (eds), *Scripta Classica Israelica. Yearbook of the Israel Society*

3.4 *the Jewish epitaphs*

In general, the epitaphs from the region of Hierapolis list the same inscriptional patterns: first, they distinguish the owner(s) of the tomb and the area surrounding the monument; second, they stipulate that no one else is permitted to be buried at the location; third, the inscriptions set up prophylactic procedures against future violations, such as fines; fourth, the monuments discern to whom and how much should be paid as a fine; fifth, they state that a copy of the inscription is deposited in the archive.[108] This paragraph will analyze the inscriptions by roughly elaborating on these patterns. First, the identification of the owners with the designation *Ioudaios* will be studied. This paragraph will not include a study of the onomastics of the inscriptions. Second, the preventative measures of fines and, more importantly, to which instances they are to be paid will be analyzed. Third, the stipulations for the deposit of copies will be considered. Furthermore, this chapter will pay specific attention to one inscription that sheds light on Jewish inclusion in the local guilds of Hierapolis.

3.4.1 *the designation* Ioudaios

In several cases, the epitaphs refer to the dedicator or dedicatee by the label *Ioudaios* or a similar conjugation. Many of the inscriptions are identified as Jewish, primarily based on their inclusion of this designation. For example, *IJO II* no. 192 reads: Η σορὸς καὶ ὁ περὶ αὐτὴν τόπος Τατιανοῦ τοῦ Νει[κ]άνορο[ς] τοῦ Μενίσκου Ιουδαίου […]' ('The sarcophagus and the place around it (belong to) Tatianos, the son of Neikanor, uncle of Meniskos, Jew') (appendix I, inscription 2). It indicates that Tatianos, who was buried in the sarcophagus, was a Jew. It might be expected that his father Neikanor and his nephew Meniskos also belonged to the Jewish community of Hierapolis.[109] In the same fashion, *IJO II*. No. 188, 190, 192-195, 197-200, 202-204, 206-209 all designate someone as 'Jew'. Only *IJO II* no. 201 (appendix I, inscription 3) includes the label 'Jew' before the name, at the top of the inscription ('Ιουδαίου.

for the Promotion of Classical Studies, Vol. XXV (2006) 71-86, there 85; on what is to be considered a Jewish inscription, see Walter Ameling, *Inscriptiones Judaicae Orientis. II Kleinasien* (Tübingen 2004) 8-21.

[108] Philip Harland, 'Acculturation and Identity in the Diaspora: A Jewish Family and 'Pagan' Guilds at Hierapolis', *Journal of Jewish Studies* 57:2 (2006) 222-244, there 240n78.

[109] Ameling, *Inscriptiones Judaicae Orientis*, 409.

ἡ σορὸς καὶ ὁ περὶ αὐτὴν τόπος Μ. Αὐ. Καλλιστράτου Ἀπολλοδότου Κασμεινᾶ'). This leaves one to wonder whether this was intentionally done, or that the stonemason might have forgotten to place the designation in the inscription and that it functioned as an addendum.[110]

Why would these inscriptions explicitly include this designation? This question has been the centre of debate for quite some time. It is hindered substantially because no comparable evidence from Hierapolis suggests that other ethnic groups of the city emphasized their origin on epitaphs as much.[111] Going back to an article published by Kraabel in 1982, who argued that the term *Ioudiaos* was employed to establish an ethno-geographical origin[112], many have tried to disprove this view. In 1986, Peter Tomson argued that *Ioudaios* had a more substantial religious component than linguistic or ethnic and became a self-designation of Jews within foreign contexts. The original territorial connotation evolved into a religious one due to the rise of Jewish proselytes.[113] In 1997, Williams argued that the designation *Ioudaios*, on the one hand, emphasized association with the Jewish community, while it, on the other hand, suggested exclusivity from its local surroundings.[114] I tend to agree with the notion that *Ioudaios* on the Hierapolitan inscriptions emphasizes religious affiliation rather than ethnic origin. This proposition is strengthened by Friedrich Avemarie, who suggests that it is more likely that the in *IJO II* no. 193 mentioned Aurelia Apphia (Αὐρηλίας Ἁπφίας), who is designated in the inscription as a Hierapolitan Jew, was a Jew residing in Hierapolis, rather than a person who wandered from Judea to Hierapolis (appendix I, inscription 4).[115] Thus, the indication of *Ioudaios* must be seen as an indicator of Jewish affiliation on epitaphs that otherwise follow the local custom. They are buried alongside pagan graves, and the

[110] Ameling, *Inscriptiones Judaicae Orientis*, 428.
[111] Hallvard Indgjerd, *The Grave Goods of Roman Hierapolis: An analysis of the finds from four multiple burial tombs* (Oslo 2014) 78.
[112] Republished in: Alf Kraabel, 'The Roman Diaspora: Six Questionable Assumptions', in: A. Overman & R. MacLennan (eds), *Diaspora Jews and Judaism. Essays in Honor of, and in Dialogue with, A. Thomas Kraabel* (Tampa 1992) 1-20, there 11.
[113] Peter Tomson, 'The Name Israel and Jew in Ancient Judaism and in the New Testament' *Bijdragen. International Journal for Philosophy and Theology* 47:2 (1986) 120-140, there 124-125.
[114] Williams, 'The Meaning and Function of Ioudaios', 255.
[115] Friedrich Avemarie & Jörg Frey, *Neues Testament und frührabbinisches Judentum* (Tübingen 2013) 51.

inscriptions follow the same patterns. It is through the explicit mention of *Ioudaios* that the epitaph distinguishes itself from its surroundings.

3.4.2 *Fines*

In quite some cases, the funerary inscription stipulates a monetary sanction on violation of the grave. In ten instances (*IJO* II no. 189, 192-193, 198-200, 202, 204, 207-208), the grave specifies that the perpetrator is to pay a fine to the treasury (ταμεῖον) or the most holy treasury (ἱερώτατον ταμεῖον), ranging between the 500 and 1.000 *denarii.* Pieter van der Horst understood fines to the holy treasury as payments to the Jewish community.[116] However, this view is false, given that many pagan grave monuments in Hierapolis specified fines to the 'most holy treasury'.[117] Instead, the holy treasury must be understood as a civic institution of the cities in Asia Minor, deriving from the Greek office of treasurer.[118] Even outside of Hierapolis, many epitaphs, Jewish[119] or pagan[120], stipulate fines to the *hierotaton tameion.* Another public authority is also mentioned in the Jewish Hierapolitan epitaphs. In one case (*IJO* II no. 189, appendix I, inscription 5), the culprit is to pay 2.000 denarii to the *gerousia.* In Hierapolis or elsewhere in Asia Minor, it was not uncommon for epitaphs to stipulate fines to this association.[121]

Significantly, the Jews of Hierapolis relied heavily on the local institutions that the city provided, as many pagan inhabitants of the city did. The inclusion of both the treasury and the gerousia within their epitaphs, as a way of guaranteeing the inviolability of their graves, stresses the esteem that the Hierapolitan Jews held in these civic constructions.[122] In contrast, the epitaphs likewise show that local institutions such as the gerousia and the treasury were

[116] Pieter van der Horst, 'The Jews of Ancient Phrygia', *European Journal of Jewish Studies* 2 (2008) 283-292, there 286.
[117] Carl Humann, *Altertümer von Hierapolis* (Berlin 1898) 184.
[118] Etienne Famerie, 'La transposition de *quaestor* en grec', *L'Antiquité Classique* 68 (1999) 211-225, there 218.
[119] *IJO* II no. 174 (Akmonia).
[120] *SEG* 41-1081 (Kyzikos), *SEG* 63-934 (Ephesos).
[121] Ameling, *Inscriptiones Judaicae Orientis,* 404.
[122] Harland, 'Acculturation and Identity', 240.

open for safeguarding the graves of the Jews and that this practice was not exclusively reserved for pagan Hierapolitans.

The Jews living in Hierapolis did not rely solely on civic institutions for the safeguarding of their remains. *IJO* II no. 191 orders that when someone else is buried in the sarcophagus, the offender is to donate two pounds of silver to the 'most holy synagogue'. Fines of this kind, although rare in Asia Minor, were not uncommon. Three inscriptions from Nicomedia stipulate fines to be paid to either the 'synagogue' (*IJO* II no. 154), the 'synagogue of the Jews' (*IJO* II no. 157) or 'the most holy synagogue' (*IJO* II no. 158). In the same manner, *IJO* II no. 205 requires a donation of 300 denarii to τῇ κατοικίᾳ τῶν ἐν Ἱεραπόλει κατοικούντων Ἰουδαίων ('the settlement of the Jews living in Hierapolis'). In comparison, *IJO* II no. 206 (appendix I, inscription 6) specifies a fine of 1.000 denarii to τῶν Ἰουδαίων ('people of the Jews'). Of course, ancient synagogues were often presided by many Jewish magistrates synonymous with the Greek administration, such as a Jewish gerousia.[123] Moreover, one inscription from Akmonia refers to the fact that the synagogue possessed a community treasury (συνκαταθεμένων), and it is not unthinkable that the community of Hierapolis, if they convened in a synagogue, might have possessed one as well.[124]

Quite possibly, the 'most holy synagogue', 'settlement of the Jews living in Hierapolis', and 'people of the Jews' are all synonyms for the same civic construction and only vary from each other because of chronological differences.[125] Be that as it may, it becomes clear that alongside the civic institutions of Hierapolis, Jews also relied on their social circles for the preservation of their funerary monuments. What is even more interesting is that Jews turned to the synagogue (and quite possibly magistrates of the Jewish community) to collect fines. Moreover, the local administration approved that the community collected these fines rather than themselves. Of course, it remains a possibility that the synagogue was the owner of the plots of land on which these graves were buried, thus seeing themselves as the rightful owner of any fines that are to be paid for the intrusion of the grave monuments. Still, the synagogue

[123] Lee Levine, *The Ancient Synagogue: The First Thousand Years* (London 2005) 286.
[124] *MAMA* VI, no. 264.
[125] Ameling, *Inscriptiones Judaicae Orientis*, 407.

(or the community of the Jews) were held in such a regard that the local administration did not intervene in the practice that profit of possible fines flowed to the Jewish community instead of to the treasury of Hierapolis.

3.4.3 *The local archives*

In several instances, the Jewish inscriptions from Hierapolis include the reference ‘ταύτης ἐπιγραφῆς ἀντίγραφον κ[εῖται ἐν] [τοῖς ἀρχείοις]’ (‘A copy of this inscription is deposited in the archives’), or a similar reference. This phrase is found on eleven of the 23 inscriptions: in *IJO* II no. 189, 191-193, 196, 198-200, 205-206, and 208. More peculiarly, *IJO* II no. 205 (appendix I, inscription 7) indicates that a copy of the inscription was deposited ἐν τῷ ἀρχίῳ τῶν Ἰουδαίων (‘in the archive of the Jews’). What do we know about these archives? What does it tell us about the civic position of Judaism within the confines of Hierapolis?

Shaye Cohen has stated that in the Roman diaspora, especially after 70 A.D., there exists hardly any evidence for public archives or archival records of Jewish communities. Only two other Jewish inscriptions within the region mention a copy of the inscription within a local archive, making Hierapolis an anomaly in the province of Asia.[126] Aside from the inscription from Hierapolis, Cohen recalls a papyrus from Egypt which refers to 'the archive of the Jews', but fails to mention any source. According to him, 'public archives may have existed in various communities. […] various individuals may have kept private family genealogies, but there were no public archives that would have been of use.'[127] In all probability, Cohen referred to *CPJ* II 143, which recalls τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἀρχείου located in Alexandria, around 13 B.C. There is no direct evidence that explicitly mentions the existence of Jewish archives.

That is not to say, however, that no evidence exists. A clue for the existence of Jewish archives might be found in the sources that Josephus used to compile his works. Some have argued that Josephus relied heavily on local Jewish archives for the composition of the *Antiquities*. Proponents of this view have stressed that there existed good contact between

[126] *IJO* II no. 43 (Smyrna), *IJO* II no. 146 (Thyateira).
[127] Shaye Cohen, *The Beginnings of Jewishness: Boundaries, Varieties, Uncertainties* (London 1999) 50.

communities in Rome, Asia Minor, and possibly Palestine and that Josephus made extensive use of their local archives. This view is backed by *senatus consulta* originating from the archives of Pergamon and Sidon, which historians have used to ascertain the existence of Jewish archives.[128] Despite Cohen's proposition, it is not unthinkable that the Jews of Hierapolis maintained a communal archive alongside that of the city.

The use of civic archive is extensively documented by Jewish inscriptions; moreover, it has become clear that the Jewish Hierapolitans, in all probability, maintained their own records. Unfortunately, however, the sources do not record whether or not this archive was part of other local Jewish administrative bodies, such as the synagogue, or housed other archival pieces other than copies of funerary inscriptions. The employment of civic and Jewish archives, in contrast, does tell us something about the position of Jews within the Hierapolitan community. Pieter van der Horst saw the inclusion of the 'archive statement' as an additional threat meant to reinforce the sanctity of the inscription.[129] On the one hand, I believe that the mention of the payment to either Jewish or pagan institutions (and the subsequent copy of a transcript in the local archives) was meant to repel future invaders of the grave monument. On the other hand, it highlights the notion that the Jewish community of Hierapolis was open to following the local custom by utilizing the civic archives. It might even be stated that the Jews of Hierapolis felt obliged to include such references, not only to follow the local custom but moreover to distinguish their Jewish identity. Furthermore, as is also underlined by Harland, it shows a deep integration of the Jews in their pagan surroundings by the fact that it trusted upon- and resorted to their local institutions for justice.[130]

3.4.4 *The guilds of purple-dyers and carpet-weavers*

One epitaph, in particular, has led many scholars to debate the integration of Jews within the confines of non-Jewish guilds. The epitaph *IJO* II no. 196 (dated after 212 A.D.) reads the

[128] Miriam Pucci Ben Zeev, 'Greek and Roman Documents from Republican Times in the *Antiquities:* What was Josephus' Source? *Scripta Classica Israelica* 13 (1994) 46-59, there 52-53.
[129] Van der Horst, 'The Jews of Ancient Phrygia', 286.
[130] Harland, 'Acculturation and Identity', 241.

grave monument of one P. Aelius Glykon, who has bequeathed money for the local purple-dyers and carpet-weavers to carry out funerary ceremonies on Passover, Pentecost, and the Kalends (appendix I, inscription 8). Because of his explicit request to perform funerary rituals on the two most important Jewish holidays, Glykon and his family have been identified as Jews. The *gens* Aelius might refer to the fact that one of his ancestors possibly was a freedman or soldier of Hadrian. Unfortunately, the inscription does not give a definitive answer and the fact that over fifty Hierapolitan inscriptions share the same *gens* also problematizes this assumption.[131] The significance of the inclusion of the typically Roman Feast of the Kalends and the *stephanotikon,* the grave-crowning ceremonies, must not be understated. If Glykon and his family were Jewish, then the inclusion of these pagan festivities underlined the idea that it was not uncommon for Jews to participate in pagan customs. In fact, Glykon's epitaph signals that it was commonly accepted for Jews to contribute to pagan festivities, maybe even signalling a sense of 'belonging' to the local community. This view is accentuated by the fact that the Talmud prohibits any business with non-Jewish worshippers for three days before their holidays, which would undoubtedly include the Kalends.[132]

Glykon chose the purple-dyers and the carpet-weavers to commission his funerary festivities, which led scholars to debate whether or not these guilds were composed solely of Jews. Miranda has argued that the guild of purple-dyers comprises only out of Jews because the inscription orders them to be exclusively responsible for Passover and Pentecost. In turn, the carpet-weavers were only partly Jewish, as they also took responsibility for the Roman festivities.[133] In contrast, Harland has convincingly argued that the purple-dyers cannot be seen as a purely Jewish guild, given the fact that many inscriptions from Hierapolis do not include any Jewish connections. As many as four pagan families, apart from Glykon, are associated with the purple-dyers, and the guild itself set up at least two honorary monuments without any trace of Jewishness.[134] Furthermore, the prominence of the purple-dyers is

[131] Ameling, *Inscriptiones Judaicae Orientis*, 416.
[132] Harland, 'Acculturation and Identity', 232.
[133] Elena Miranda, 'La Comunità Giudaica di Hierapolis di Frigia', *Epigraphica Anatolica* 31 (1999) 109-166, there 140-145.
[134] Harland, 'Acculturation and Identity', 236-237.

exemplified by the sarcophagus of one M. Aur. Alexandros Moskianos, who was a member of the guild and functioned as an official of the city council.[135]

3.5 *Conclusion*

This chapter has sought to answer how the Jewish epitaphs from Hierapolis construct an understanding of the Jewish community and to what extent the Jews employ epitaphs to negotiate with their pagan surroundings. Although the epitaphs only make up a small amount of the total number of inscriptions discovered in Hierapolis, they paint a mixed picture of the Jews living there. On the one hand, they demonstrate a precise degree of integration with their local surroundings. They relied heavily on the civic structures, such as the gerousia or the treasury, to collect the fines for violation of their grave monuments. Furthermore, they made extensive use of the civic archive for the deposition of copies of their epitaphs. In both cases, they follow trends that are discernible elsewhere in Asia Minor and form no exception.
On the other hand, the Jews of Hierapolis also chose to rely on the institutions derived from within their community, which has become the clearest from the stipulation of paying fines to the Jews of Hierapolis and, to some extent, to the inscription that refers to the Jewish archive. This commitment to the Jewish community is best exemplified by the designation *Ioudaios*, which is found on the majority of epitaphs. Rather than referring to an ethno-geographic background, this label stresses the religious affiliation of the family and promotes a certain kind of exclusivity that is shared by a large portion of the Jewish community members. This exclusivity in no way hindered Jews from partaking in the local industry, as the study of the Glykon-inscription shows. Instead, it suggests that Jews did sympathize with their pagan surroundings by relying on non-Jewish guilds and actively promoted the participation of pagan festivities.

[135] Humann, *Altertümer von Hierapolis,* 121, no. 156.

Chapter 4: Sardis

4.1 *Introduction*

This chapter will study the Jewish community of the city of Sardis. In contrast with the settlements of Hierapolis and Ephesos, Jewish presence in Sardis can be traced back to the sixth century B.C. through a passage of the Book of Obadiah, which recounts how exiles from Jerusalem had settled around that time in the land of Sepharad (Hebrew for Sardis).[136] This chapter will study the community by analyzing the archaeological remains of the Sardian synagogue. This chapter will not study the epigraphic evidence originating from the synagogue as these almost wholly originate from the 4th century A.D. onwards and thus fall outside of the boundaries of this thesis. Moreover, the epigraphic evidence is highly fragmentary, and an analysis of such would not fit the scope of this thesis. However, since evidence suggests that the synagogue was already in use from the third century onwards, its function as a Jewish institution within the city of Sardis might be analyzed. This chapter will answer the following research question: how does the ancient synagogue construct an understanding of how the community negotiated with the urban settlement and what conclusions about their civic position can be deducted from such an perception? This question will be answered by first summarizing a brief history of the city within the Roman province of Asia (paragraph 4.2). Hereafter, the synagogue, its function, and date will be discussed (paragraph 4.3), followed by an analysis of the synagogue's location, the size, and the role within the city of Sardis (paragraph 4.4).

4.2 *The history of Sardis*

Sardis, probably founded in the 7th century B.C., had endured many rulers but has always been one of the most prominent cities in the region. The Persian ruler Cyrus the Great (r. 559-530 B.C.) made the city the western capital of the Persian empire, from which invasions were

[136] Dietmar Neufeld, 'Christian Communities in Sardis and Smyrna', in: Richard Ascough (eds), *Religious Rivalries and the Struggle for Success in Sardis and Smyrna* (Waterloo 2005) 32.

launched against mainland Greece.[137] After the Persians, the Seleucids also used the city as the political capital for the region of Asia Minor, and it remained of importance until it was incorporated into the Attalid kingdom in 188 B.C.[138] The city was inherited by the Romans in 133 B.C., who annexed the region in the province of Asia after the revolt of Aristonicus.

Unfortunately, not much is known about the first century B.C. under Roman rule, as there are almost no archaeological remains left from this period.[139] Tacitus tells us that, in 17 A.D., the region was hit by a devastating earthquake, which caused enormous damage to twelve cities in Asia and particularly hit Sardis the hardest.[140] Emperor Tiberius gifted 10 million sesterces for the city's reconstruction and granted them five years of exemption of any form of taxes. Through the rebuilding program undertaken in Tiberius and Claudius's reign, the city gained a characteristically 'Roman' outlook. It once again prospered as one of the chief cities in the region.[141] During the principate of the 1st and 2nd century A.D., the city was extended with public buildings such as a gymnasium and public baths and institutions meant for civic and religious congregations. Moreover, commercial and industrial undertakings in the city, such as stonemasons, mosaic workers, wall painters, and carpenters, flourished and enriched the city.[142] The fact that Claudius completed the construction of an aqueduct to Sardis tells of the prominent position the city held within the province of Asia.[143] During the late Republic and principate, Sardis functioned as the conventus for the surrounding region and administered a large part of Asia's province.[144] It remained a prosperous city during the 3d century A.D. and was named the capital of Lydia's province after the reforms of Diocletian in 296 A.D.[145]

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[137] David Gordon Mitten, 'A New Look at Ancient Sardis', *The Biblical Archaeologist* 29:2 (1966) 37-68, there 38.
[138] Paul Kosmin, *The Land of the Elephant Kings. Space, Territory, and Ideology in the Seleucid Empire* (London 2014) 132.
[139] Mitten, 'A New Look at Ancient Sardis', 61.
[140] Tac. *Ann.* 2.47.
[141] George Hanfmann & Jane Waldbaum, *A Survey of Sardis and the Major Monuments Outside the City Walls* (London 1975) 31.
[142] Hanfmann & Waldbaum, *A Survey of Sardis*, 31-32.
[143] William Buckler & David Robinson, *Sardis VII: Greek and Latin Inscriptions, Part 1* (Leiden 1932) no. 10.
[144] Hanfmann & Waldbaum, *A Survey of Sardis*, 19.
[145] Vanessa Rousseau, *Late Roman Wall Painting at Sardis* (Madison 2010) 6.

4.3 *The synagogue of Sardis*

The synagogue of Sardis was discovered during excavations in 1962, which were completed in 1971.[146] Hanfmann and his team discovered a complex unrivalled amongst its peers in the diaspora of the ancient world, as it is the largest found that can be dated to antiquity. It is eighty-five meters long and twenty meters wide, accommodating up to a thousand people.[147] Furthermore, it is located in the north-western centre of the ancient city of Sardis, rather than in the periphery where one would usually find such an institution. It is incorporated into a complex of a Roman bath and gymnasium, with a large *palaestra* and shops on the main street of Sardis (see appendix II, figure 2 for a map of the complex).[148] Since its excavations, as many as 93 inscriptions have been found within the confines of the synagogue. Together with the outlay of the institution, it has served as one of the biggest sources for studies of diaspora Judaism in the ancient world.[149]

The gymnasium-bath complex of which the synagogue eventually became part was most probably built as part of the reconstruction works following the earthquake of 17 A.D., in which the building fulfilled a different purpose.[150] One inscription from the western part of the complex, dedicated to Lucius Verus, shows that this was only completed after 166 A.D. In contrast, the eastern part was not completed until around 211 or 212 A.D.[151] after its completion, somewhere in the third century A.D., the basilica that lay at the *palaestra* at some point was granted to the Jews to use as a synagogue, which it did until the destruction of Sardis by the Sassanians in 616 A.D.[152]

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[146] Marianne Bonz, 'Differing Approaches to Religious Benefaction: The Late Third-Century Acquisition of the Sardis Synagogue', *The Harvard Theological Review* 86:2 (1993) 139-154, there 139.
[147] James Edwards, 'A "Nomen Sacrum" in the Sardis Synagogue', *Journal of Biblical Literature* 128:4 (2009) 813-821, there 813.
[148] Andrew Seager, 'The Building History of the Sardis Synagogue', *American Journal of Archaeology* 76:4 (1972) 425-435, there 425.
[149] Bonz, 'Differing Approaches',139.
[150] Jodi Magness, 'The Date of the Sardis Synagogue in Light of the Numismatic Evidence', *American Journal of Archaeology* 109:3 (2005) 443-475, there 444.
[151] Michael White, *The Social Origins of Christian Architecture, vol. 2: Texts and Monuments for the Christian Domus Ecclesiae in its environment* (Valley Forge 1996) 315.
[152] White, *Social Origins,* 310.

There has been much discussion about when the basilica was turned into a synagogue. In 1967, Hanfmann argued that it was not unthinkable to assume that Lucius Verus, who might have been commemorated on Hebrew inscriptions originating from the synagogue as BEROS, granted or approved the granting of the hall to the Jewish community. This would date the hall in use as a synagogue between 166-170 A.D.[153] In 1972, Seager proposed something else. Although highly speculative, he suggests that the construction of the whole complex was such a strain on the city's treasury that the magistrates decided to sell or grant it to the Jewish community, who would then be responsible for its completion. According to Seager, the constructions might have been finished in the second half of the third century A.D. and would from this point on function as a synagogue.[154]

In 1993, Bonz proposed on the basis of an early third-century inscription found elsewhere in Sardis that the hall first belonged to the gerousia, before it was granted to the Jewish community. This inscription alludes to the fact that a gymnasium was granted to the gerousia as their designated meeting place, which could logically point to the gymnasium-bath-complex under discussion. This would coincide with the practice of the Antonine emperors, who revived many gerousiae in the east during the second century A.D. Like elsewhere in the Greek cities, the gerousiae lost importance and esteem during the early third century A.D., indicating that the Jewish community took possession of the building after the local gerousia relinquished it. The Jews would then, according to Bonz, take possession of the synagogue from the second half of the third century, after which it reached its final form after seventy-five years.[155] Although it remains unclear on what occasion the Jews were granted the hall in the complex, most historians have agreed with Bonz that the hall was converted into a synagogue from the mid-third century onwards.[156]

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[153] George Hanfmann, 'The Ninth Campaign at Sardis (1966) (Continued)', *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 187 (1967) 9-62, there 25.
[154] Seager, 'The Building History of the Sardis Synagogue', 432-433.
[155] Bonz, 'Differing Approaches', 142-145.
[156] See John Kroll, 'The Greek Inscriptions of the Sardis Synagogue', *Harvard Theological Review* 94:1 (2001) 5-55, there 6; Lloyd Gaston, 'Jewish Communities in Sardis and Smyrna', in: Richard Ascough (eds), *Religious Rivalries and the Struggle for Success in Sardis and Smyrna* (Waterloo 2005) 17-24, there 19; Edwards, 'A "Nomen Sacrum", 814.

4.4 *Analysis of the synagogue*

Let us commence with the synagogue location: located in the gymnasium-bath complex amid the vibrant city. The fact that the synagogue held such a central place within the Jewish community and within the cityscape of the Romano-Greek city means that the Jews were in possession of considerable wealth and power. The Sardian Jews were by this time of such size that they could permit themselves to convene in an institution of such a stature. The synagogue of Sardis offers a unique glimpse into the life of the Jewish community living amid a Greek city under Roman control: it shows a community that was not only allowed to perform their religious customs as they pleased but also took this opportunity to bolster their faith and exhibit their religion as an integral part of the cultural landscape of Sardis. The synagogue was part of an enormous bath-gymnasium complex, which took a central position within the cityscape of Sardis. It would suggest not only integration of the Jews within their surroundings but also the central place the synagogue would hold in the Jewish community and the city as a whole. As stated by Trebilco, the synagogue must have impressed passers-by, even those not affiliated with Judaism. It makes extensive use of the prime location that the synagogue has and, therefore, to use Trebilco's words, 'puts Judaism on display'.[157] Steven Fine has recently suggested that one must be wary of seeing the picture sketched of Sardis as too optimistic and that the impressive stature of the synagogue could also be interpreted as an anxious effort of Jews protecting their cultural heritage against the rise of Christianity and pagan persecutions.[158] However, a quick look at the inscriptions instead suggests a community that was very active in Sardis, belonging to the local aristocracy and fulfilling multiple local magistracies such as the boulè.[159] The centrality of the synagogue, therefore, instead fits the picture of a Jewish community who actively participated in daily life and wished to do so.

The importance of the fulfilment of local magistracies, however, must be toned down. This brings us to the matter of wealth and public offices. Whether or not the Jews actually

[157] Paul Trebilco, *The Jewish Communities of Asia Minor* (New York 1991) 53.
[158] Steven Fine, 'Synagogues as Foci of Multi-Religious and Ideological Confrontation? The Case of the Sardis Synagogue', in: Pieter Hartog (eds), *Jerusalem and other holy places as foci of multireligious and ideological confrontation* (Leiden 2021) 97-108, there 101.
[159] Kroll, 'The Greek Inscriptions', 55.

bought the place or if they were granted to house it by the local institutions, the highly decorated interior suggests that they must have accumulated a serious amount of wealth. This is strengthened if one assumes that the Jewish community carried out the remaining construction on this part of the complex. The public offices that the Jews held in the city of Sardis. Still, it would be wrong to assume that the Sardian Jews held public magistracies on the sole basis of their integration with their surroundings. Justinian's *Digest* tells us that under the rule of Septimius Severus (r. 193-211 A.D.) and his son Caracalla (r. 211-217 A.D.) Jews were allowed to hold public offices without committing acts that were forbidden by their religion.[160] This law was not enforced because of the excellent standing relationships between the emperors and the Jews, but instead was a solution to the fact that public magistracies became undesirable to attain in the third century A.D. because of its economic pressure. Because of financial considerations that Jews were able to attain certain civic magistracies from the third century A.D. onward.[161] However, it has been argued that the general decline of public life in the third century A.D. pretty much left the inland of Asia Minor unscathed and that cities such as Sardis and Aphrodisias prospered during this time.[162]

Thirdly, we have the esteem the city council and the Gentile Sardians held with the Jews. The fact that the city council in the third century A.D., allowed the Jews to convene in a synagogue must not be underestimated. It underlines the idea that the Roman central government, as well as Greek local administration, held the Jews in such a regard that they were allowed to uphold such a religious and social institution. Especially after the Second Temple's destruction in 70 A.D., the synagogue offered a place for Diaspora Jews to convene *en masse* and might be seen as *the* central place of Jewish religious life within the ancient city.[163] While no contemporary sources show pagan reactions to the Jews occupying the complex as their synagogue, it seems telling that they could do so until the Persian invasions in the seventh century without it being converted to a Christian church. This once again highlights the high regard the Jews were held in by the Sardians and how they have prospered

[160] *Dig.* 50.2.3.3.
[161] Bonz, 'The Jewish Community of Ancient Sardis', 351-352.
[162] Louis Feldman, *Jew and Gentile in the Ancient World* (New Jersey 1993) 363.
[163] Rachel Hachlili, *Ancient Jewish Art and Archaeology in the Diaspora* (Leiden 1998) 13.

for many centuries in Asia, not under the yoke of Greek or Roman tyranny, but rather side by side. This esteem, however, must be taken with a grain of salt, according to Rajak. She argues that the Jews were both 'tolerated and tolerant'.[164] The Jews were tolerated in that they were allowed to house such a civic space and were tolerant that the Greek and pagan surroundings did not harm their religious affiliation. In the same way, Rajak argues, the transmission of the hall of the gymnasium complex to the synagogue must be understood rather as a compulsive handover, only deriving from the economic hardships that the local economy endured.[165]

4.5 *Conclusion*

This chapter has sought to understand how the ancient synagogue construct an understanding of how the community negotiated with the urban settlement. In conclusion, the sources paint a very diverse picture: we see a community who was of such a considerable size, both in numbers and in wealth, that they were either granted or allowed to convene in a prominently located institution. Although its origins remain unsure, it is clear that from the middle of the third century A.D. the Jews were relocated in the synagogue. The synagogue, who was part of a larger pagan gymnasium-bath complex, promoted Jewish religion amid the Greek city in a remarkable manner. The Greeks not only allowed the Jews to congregate but the Jews were moreover allowed to do so in a massive and central institution. The synagogue allowed them to convene, practice their religion, and bolster their faith amid a tolerant Greek population, although this tolerance might, in actually, have been less lenient than imagined. Even still, the synagogue, a monument of Jewish religion and post-Temple culture, must have been a remarkable feat in the urban landscape of Sardis, surrounded by the Greek gymnasium, local shops, and the bath.

[164] Tessa Rajak, *The Jewish Dialogue with Greece and Rome. Studies in Cultural and Social Interaction* (Leiden 2002) 452.
[165] Ibidem, 454.

Chapter V: Discussion

5.1 *Findings*

This thesis' main question has sought to answer was to what extent the Jewish communities living in the Roman province of Asia from the 1st cent. B.C. until the 3d cent. A.D. were integrated into the civic framework of the Greek city under Roman rule. Regarding the research question, the findings suggest that Jewish integration in Asia was not an exercise of homogenization but rather a process of (unconscious) incorporation contrasted with Jewish cultural exclusivity.

Chapter I has shown that the Romans left urban autonomy virtually intact while only creating a veneer of a small provincial administration that was meant to administer a large territory. Because of this, much of the control on judicial, social, and civic level remained in the hands of the local élite. Under Roman occupation, the Greek urban settlements remained and emphasized the importance of citizenship, as attested by a first-century B.C. inscription from Ephesos (SEG 52-1129). Those that lacked citizenship were unable to participate in local politics, as they were barred from elections, public magistracies, and other administrative posts. Those that were unable to participate in local politics were forced to petition the Roman authorities directly. The Jews of Ephesos made eager use of this and followed the custom as attested elsewhere in the province and the Roman Empire. Direct communication with the Roman governor, the senate, or the emperor, became a means to challenge detrimental local legislature.

Josephus' *Ap.* 2.39, *AJ* 12.119 and 12.125-126 show that the Ephesian Jews invoked the confirmation of their rights on the basis of a precedent set in motion under the Seleucids, which were prolonged by the Roman administration. The records show that the Seleucids already conferred the same privileges enjoyed by the Greek citizens on the Jews, confirmed by *AJ* 16.160. Unfortunately, the employment of isonomia by Josephus leaves no room for comparison. However, Greek resistance shows that it, at the minimum must have presupposed serious repercussions for the position of the Jews in Ephesos and elsewhere.

Furthermore, *AJ* 16.163-167 demonstrates how Agrippa, despite attempts by the Greek Ephesians to discontinue the Temple Tax (*AJ* 16.28, 16.45), the Jews were admitted to do so, which might have been practised until Vespasian imposed the *Fiscus Iudaicus*. Moreover, the Ephesian Jews were exempted from military service by governor Dolabella (*AJ* 14.223, 14.227) and later by consul Lentulus (*AJ* 14.228). Finally, Augustus and Agrippa granted the Jews the right to observe the Sabbath (*AJ* 16.163, 168, 172-173).

Despite the hostilities from the Greek inhabitants, Trebilco argued that Jewish-pagan relations were not always as inimical as these snapshots suggest (paragraph 2.4.1). The evidence from Hierapolis and Sardis substantiates Trebilco's view. Rather than animosity, the data suggests that Jews and pagans lived side by side and posed no serious threat to one another. Hierapolis is depicted as a typical Greek city, located in the inland of Phrygia, complete with Greek administrative institutions and a Roman cityscape enhanced by local and imperial benefaction. Although the city was not of the size of Ephesos or Sardis, the Jewish community must have played a substantial part in the community and was well integrated with its local environment. The Jewish grave monuments are found not secluded but integrated with the pagan epitaphs, which is characteristic for the position of the Jewish Hierapolitans: they followed local custom by relying on Greek civic institutions, such as the gerousia and the treasury, for the collection of fines and, just like their pagan counterparts, deposited copies of inscriptions in the local archive. Even still, they emphasized religious exclusivity by adding the designation *Ioudaios*, and they possessed a treasury of their own and possibly a synagogue community. Still, this promotion of 'otherness' was limited, as the inscription from Glykon shows how Jews did participate in local guilds and took part in pagan festivities.

The evidence of Sardis even further substantiates this picture of civic incorporation. Just as was the case in Ephesos and Hierapolis, the Jewish Sardian community was of substantial size and possessed a large complex that functioned as their synagogue from the 3d century A.D. onwards. This institution was not only integrated into the cityscape of Sardis but was moreover placed amid a pagan gymnasium-bath complex. The Jews were allowed to practice their faith and convene not on the periphery but at the city's heart. In this sense, the

placement of the synagogue supported Jewish identity in the same way as the Hierapolitan epitaphs did: both show clear signs of Jewish integration and toleration without yielding its remarkably Jewish cultural aspects. Even if it were primarily economic motivations that led to the acquisition of the synagogue, they still highlight how Jews were allowed to distinguish themselves in the city, thus creating a sharp contrast with the writings of Josephus.

5.2 *Implications*

As stated in the introduction of this thesis, historians and ancient authors alike have tended to be divided into two schools of thought: some see the diaspora communities as well-integrated into their ancient environment, and those that see the ancient Jews, especially after the destruction of the Temple in 70 A.D., as secluded and introvert. For example, Cappalletti, based on her study of Roman Jewish epitaphs, suggests that the Jewish community's "primary interest […] was not to integrate with Roman society".[166] Similarly, the Acts of the Apostles 10:28 recalls Peter telling a Roman centurion that "it is against our law for a Jew to associate with or visit a Gentile." In contrast, the evidence from the three case studies used in this thesis show how Jews actively sought to participate in local civic life, or that at the very least, they did so because of local custom and expectations. While at times, especially in the first century B.C., as recorded by Josephus, tensions between Greeks and Jews called for Roman intervention, the sources attest of no open violence between the two groups. This puts the case of Asia in sharp contrast with other provinces, most notably Alexandria, where since the Ptolemies and reaching far into Roman Egypt, civic conflict escalated into civil strife. Another example that springs to mind is Cyrene, in Libya that rebelled against Roman rule in 115 A.D. and destroyed many pagan temples in the city.[167] Instead of communal discord, however, the evidence from Asia suggests that relations overall were respectable and that Jews and pagans alike tolerated each other's presence and activity. Furthermore, the testimonies

[166] Silvia Cappalletti, *The Jewish Community in Rome: From the Second Century B.C. to the Third Century C.E.* (Leiden 2006) 191.
[167] Martin Goodman, 'Diaspora Reactions to the Destruction of the Temple', in: James Dunn (eds), *Jews and Christians. The partying of the Ways. A.D. 70 to 135* (Cambridge 1992) 27-38, there 34.

that attest confrontation in the city show how this was settled per Roman consultation, rather than open rebellion and violence.

Of course, comparing the case of diaspora Jews in Asia with Rome or Alexandria logically leads to trivial observations. Jewish diaspora communities all underwent varying Roman legislature, were situated within contrasting pre-existing cultures and societies and had to adapt to diverging barriers and environments. Furthermore, the supply of comparable evidence available to the historian (or lack thereof) makes studies of this kind a painstaking process without yielding significant results.

Still, some overarching themes within Jewish diaspora communities have been identified in the past and might provide some tentative last thoughts for this thesis. Rajak, based on Barclays' *Jews in the Mediterranean Diaspora,* suggests that three overarching features separate diaspora communities[168]: first, its members possess both local and trans-local identities. The evidence from Asia alludes to this aspect. The synagogue, on its own a distinctly Jewish institution and both physically and mentally in the centre of the Jewish community, must have played a significant part in the Jewish society of Sardis. In contrast, we have epitaphs that emphasize Jewish as well as Hierapolitan affiliation. The epitaph of Aurelia Apphia (paragraph 3.4.1) might be considered the pinnacle of this feature, as she is identified as Jew *as well as* Hierapolitan.

Second, and related to the first, their 'cultural self-expression is almost inevitably characterized by ambiguity'.[169] A prime example of this aspect is the epitaph of Glykon (paragraph 3.4.4), which has puzzled historians and archaeologists for years. The inclusion of both pagan and Jewish festivities on his tombstone is, on its own, an anomaly within the scope of the epitaphs of Hierapolis, but not so much in the wider framework of diaspora communities as formulated by Rajak.

Third, 'internal contestations of power will be frequent, in large part due to the complications of relating to the host community.'[170] In the case of Asia, these are primarily

[168] Tessa Rajak, 'The Jewish Diaspora in Greco-Roman Antiquity', *Interpretation: A Journal of Bible and Theology* 72:2 (2018) 146-162, there 146.
[169] Rajak, 'The Jewish Diaspora in Greco-Roman Antiquity', 146.
[170] Rajak, 'The Jewish Diaspora in Greco-Roman Antiquity', 146.

contested through the writings of Josephus. The evidence of Sardis or Hierapolis, on the other hand, shows no signs of controversy. Of course, that is not to say that conflict did not arise between these communities; it instead acknowledges that our sources make no mention of it.

In this sense, the case of Asia provides more similarities with other Jewish diaspora communities than imagined. A difference between our perception of the experience of Jews in Asia and elsewhere is attributable primarily to our lack of comparable sources. Still, the fact that there are no mentions of civic unrest between the Asian Jews, the local Greeks and Roman occupier suggests that they were not as marginalized as they have been elsewhere in the Empire. Instead, they intermingled with the Greek urban population, negotiated with Roman authority while emphasizing their distinct Jewish cultural traits.

Conclusion

This thesis concludes by arguing that while elsewhere in the Roman Empire, Jewish relations with its Greek environment and the Roman administration might have been marked by tension and civic constraint, the Jews of Asia (or at least those attested in Ephesos, Hierapolis, and Sardis) were more fortunate. They were able to negotiate with Roman authorities and participated to a certain extent within the Greek urban settlements while simultaneously accentuating their Jewish cultural heritage. More generally, these findings are consistent with what has been published on Jewish diaspora communities but differentiate by showing that the Jewish community did not live on the margins of society, as has been argued by some historians, but rather was well integrated within the civic framework of the Greek city.

It must be stated that this thesis has not covered all Jewish communities residing in the province of Asia. Such an analysis would fall outside the scope of this study, which has intentionally dealt with the evidence of the largest Jewish settlements of Asia Minor, rather than focussing on the smaller communities of, for example, Smyrna, Philadelphia, or Akmonia. Future research should consider the potential of a study of these settlements, as it is only then that a conclusive picture of the Jewish negotiation with the Roman administration in the province of Asia might be sketched. Furthermore, this thesis has employed the third century as the latest perimeter of its research. Because of this, it has intentionally left out the epigraphic evidence originating from the synagogue of Sardis. These sources warrant further research, primarily because excavations in Sardis are still being carried out. Many new sources might be uncovered, thus changing our perspective on the Jewish community residing there. In turn, our understanding of the Jews in Asia (and the Roman Empire in general) is constantly evolving. It is only through innovative research based on new source material that the complicated study of the Jewish diaspora might eventually be disentangled.

Appendix I: Selection of inscriptions

Inscription I

SEG 52-1129

English translation by Ilias Arnaoutoglou, *Ancient Greek Laws. A Sourcebook* (London 1998) no. 90.

Ancient Greek	English translation
ἔδοξεν τῶι δήμωι, γνώμη προέδρων καὶ τοῦ γραμματέως τοῦ βουλῆς Ἀσκληπιάδου τοῦ Ἀσκληπιάδου τοῦ Εὐβουλίδου, εἰσαγ[γ]ειλαμένων τῶν στρατηγῶν· ἐπεὶ τῶν μεγίστων κινδύνων ἐπαγομένων τῶι τε ἱερῶι τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ τῆι πόλει καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς πολείταις καὶ τοῖς κατοικοῦσιν τήν τε πόλιν καὶ τὴν χώραν, ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστι πάντας ὁμονοήσαντας ὑ[πο]στῆναι τὸν κίνδυνον, δεδόχθαι τῶι δήμωι, τοῦ πράγματος ἀνήκοντ[ος εἰς] τὴν φυλακὴν καὶ ἀσφάλειαν καὶ σωτ[η]ρίαν τοῦ τε ἱεροῦ τῆς Ἀρτέμ[ιδος καὶ] τῆς πόλεως καὶ τῆς χώρας. τοὺς μὲν ἐκγεγραμμένους ἢ παρα[γεγραμ]μένους ὑπὸ λογιστῶν ἱερῶν ἢ δ[η]μοσίων ὠιτινιοῦν τρόπωι πά[λιν εἶ]ναι ἐντίμους καὶ ἠκυρῶσθαι τὰς κα[τ'] αὐτῶν ἐκγραφὰς καὶ ὀφειλήμ[ατα], τοὺς δὲ παραγεγραμμένους πρὸς [ἰε][ρ]ὰς καταδίκας ἢ δημοσίας ἢ ἐπίτειμα ἱερὰ ἢ δημόσια ἢ ἄλλα ὀφειλήματ[α] ὠιτινιοῦν τρόπωι παρεῖσθαι πάντας καὶ εἶναι ἀκύρους τὰς κατ' αὐτῶν πράξεις· εἰ δέ τινες ἔνεισιν ἐν ταῖς ἱεραῖς μισθώσεσιν ἢ δημοσίαις ὠναῖς μέχρι τοῦ νῦν, τούτοις ἐστάναι τὰς πράξεις κατὰ τὰς προϋπαρχούσας οἰκονομίας κατὰ τοὺς νόμους· ὅσα δὲ ἱερὰ δεδάνεισται, πάντας τοὺ[ς] ὀφείλοντας καὶ χειρίζοντας ἀπολελύσθαι ἀπὸ τῶν ὀφειλημάτων, πλὴ[ν] τῶν ὑπὸ τῶν συστεμάτων ἢ τῶν ἀποδεδειγμένων ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐκδανεισ[τ]ῶν ἐπὶ ὑποθήκαις δεδανεισμένων, τούτων δὲ παρεῖσθαι τοὺς	*The people have decided, following a proposal of the presidents and the secretary of the Council, Asklepiades, son of Asklepiades, who was son of Euboulides, and information provided by the general. Since the biggest danger is pending over the temple of Artemis and over all the citizens and everyone living in the polis and on its territory, it is necessary to be united and face the danger; the people have decided that, because the whole affair is about war, protection, security and salvation of the temple of Artemis, of the polis and its territory, those people who were deprived of their citizenship or their names were put forward for expulsion from the citizens' register by the sacred or public treasurers in whatever way, they shall again be citizens and the inscription of their name and their debts shall be cancelled; those who are registered as accused for a religious or public offence or (are threatened by) religious or civil penalties or debts imposed in whatever way, the accusations and penalties shall be waived and any execution against them shall be void. And if anyone leased a sacred place or public property, the exaction will proceed according to the law and the procedure.* *Anyone who has borrowed from a temple, he shall be released from the obligation to repay the loan, apart from those who borrowed on mortgage from associations or their representatives; in this case the interest will*

τόκους ἀπὸ τοῦ εἰσιόντος ἐνιαυτοῦ, ἕως ἂν ὁ δῆμος εἰς καλλίονα παραγένηται κατάσ[τα]σιν·	*be charged from the following year till the situation of the people improves.*
καὶ εἴ τινες δὲ πεπολιτογράφηνται μέχρι τῶν νῦν χρόνων, εἶναι πάντας ἐ[ν]τίμους καὶ τῶν αὐτῶν μετέχειν φιλανθρώπων· λελύσθαι δὲ καὶ εἶναι ἀκύρο[υς] τάς τε ἱερὰς καὶ δημοσίας δίκας, εἰ μή τινές εἰσιν ὑπὲρ παρορισμῶν χώρας ἢ δι᾽ ἀμφ[ισ]βητήσεως κληρονομίας ἐζευγμέναι· εἶναι δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἰσοτελεῖς καὶ παροίκους καὶ ἱεροὺς καὶ ἐξελευθέρους καὶ ξένους, ὅσοι ἂν ἀναλάβωσιν τὰ ὅπλα καὶ πρὸς το[ὺς] ἡγεμόνας ἀπογράψωνται, πάντας πολίτας ἐφ᾽ ἴσῃ καὶ ὁμοίαι, ὧν καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα [δια]σαφησάτωσαν οἱ ἡγεμόνες τοῖς προέδροις καὶ τῶι γραμματεῖ τῆς βουλῆς, οἳ καὶ ἐπικληρωσάτωσαν αὐτοὺς εἰς φυλὰς καὶ χιλιαστῦς·	*And if anyone was naturalized so far, he will be a citizen and have a share in the benefits. And the religious and public prosecutions are cancelled and are void unless they concern boundary and inheritance disputes. And the resident-foreigners exempted from tax and the resident-foreigners and the sacred slaves and the freedmen and the foreigners and those who shall take up arms and register with the leader, all of them shall be citizens on an equal footing and the leaders shall pass their names to the presidents and to the secretary of the council, who shall allot them into tribes and chilyastai.*
τοὺς δὲ δημοσίους ἐλευθέρους τε καὶ παροίκους, τοὺς ἀναλαβόντας τὰ ὅπλα· προελθόντες δὲ εἰς τὸν δῆμον καὶ οἱ δεδανεικότες <κατὰ> τὰ συμβόλαια τά τε ναυτικὰ καὶ κατὰ χειρόγραφα καὶ κατὰ παραθήκας καὶ ὑποθήκας καὶ ἐπιθήκας καὶ κατὰ ὠνὰς καὶ ὁμολογί[α]ς καὶ διαγραφὰς καὶ ἐκχρήσεις πάντες ἀσμένως καὶ ἑκουσίως συνκαταθέμε[νοι] τῶι δήμωι, ἀπέλυσαν τοὺς χρεοφιλέτας τῶν ὀφειλημάτων, μενουσῶν τῶν [. . .]αι διακατοχῶν παρὰ τοῖς νῦν διακατέχουσιν, εἰ μή τινες ἢ ἐνθάδε ἢ ἐπε-[. . .]ενοις δεδανείκασιν ἢ συνηλλάχασιν·	*And the public slaves who have lent money for maritime loans, loan agreements, deposits, mortgages, remortgages, sales, agreements, contracts and instalments came to the assembly of the people and happily and deliberately and in agreement with the people absolved the debtors from all debts, and possession shall remain with the people who possess now unless anyone, in Ephesos or abroad […] has contracted a loan or concluded an agreement.*
τὰ δὲ πρὸς τοὺς τραπεζεί[τας, ὅσοι μὲν ἐν τῶι ἐ]φ᾽ ἔτος ἐνιαυτῶι τεθεματίκασιν ἢ ἐκχρήσεις εἰλήφασιν ἢ ἐνέ[χυρα δεδώκασιν, ἑστά]ναι αὐτοῖς τὰς πράξεις τὰς προϋπαρχούσας κατὰ τοὺς [νόμους· ὅσα δέ ἐστιν θέμα]τα ἢ ἐκχρήσεις ἐκ τῶν ὑπεράνω χρόνων, τούτων [οἱ τραπεζεῖται τοῖς θεματείται]ς καὶ οἱ θεματεῖται τοῖς	*And regarding bank affairs, those who have deposited money or given or received pledges during the current year, the exaction of the debt shall follow the law. As for deposits or pledges or earlier years, the bankers and the depositors shall arrange the payment from the following year and for the following ten*

τραπεζείταις τὰς ἀ[ποδόσεις ποιείσθωσαν κατὰ μέρος ἀπὸ] τ̣οῦ εἰσι{ον}όντος {εἰσιόντος} ἐνιαυτοῦ ἐν ἔτεσιν δέ[κα, τοὺς δὲ τόκους ἀποτινέτωσαν κατὰ τ]ὸ ἀνάλογον· ἐὰν δὲ ἔν τινι ἐνια[υτῶι — ἀπο]δ̣όντος τὰς ἐν τοῖς νόμοις [—]ος ἐπ᾽ ἐνεχύροις ε[.]	*years and the interest shall be in proportion […]*

Inscription II

IJO II, no. 192

German translation provided by Ameling, *Inscriptiones Judaicae Orientis*, 408.

Ancient Greek	**German translation**
Η σορὸς καὶ ὁ περὶ αὐτὴν τόπος Τατιανοῦ τοῦ Νει[κ]άνορο[ς] τοῦ Μενίσκου Ιουδαίου, ἐν ᾗ κεκήδευται Τατιανός, ὁ πατὴρ τοῦ προδηλουμένου Τατιανοῦ, κηδευθήσεται δὲ ἐν αὐτῇ ὁ Τατιανὸς καὶ ⟨ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ [. .]ΑΝΤΥΧΗ καὶ τὰ ἐσόμενα αὐτοῦ παιδία - εἰ δέ τις ἕτερος κηδευθῇ, θήσει εἰς τὸ ταμῖον (δηνάρια) ,α᾽ καὶ τῷ μηνύ⟨οντι (δηνάρια) ρ᾽ · τούτου ἀντίγραφον ἐν τῷ ἀρχε[ίῳ]	*Der Sarkophag und der Platz um ihn (gehören) Tatianos, dem S. d. Neikanor, Enkel d. Meniskos, Jude; in ihm ist Tatianos, der Vater des vorher genannten Tatianos begraben worden, und es wird ihn ihm begraben werden Tatianos und seine Frau …antyche und seine zukunftigen Kinder; wenn aber irgendein anderer begraben werden soll, wird er (!) dem fiscus 1.000 Denare und dem Anzeigenden 100 Denare erlegen. Eine Abschrift hiervon im Archiv.*

Inscription III

IJO II, no. 201

German translation provided by Ameling, *Inscriptiones Judaicae Orientis*, 428.

Ancient Greek	**German translation**
Ιουδαίου vacat Η σορὸς καὶ ὁ περὶ αὐτὴν τόπος Μ(άρκου) Αὐ(ρηλίου) Καλλιστράτου Ἀπολλοδότου Κασμεινᾶ, ἐν ᾗ κηδευθήσεται Αὐρηλία Μύρτειν καὶ αὐ⟨τοὶ ὁ Καλλίστρατος καὶ ἡ γυ- νὴ αὐτοῦ Ἀντ⟨ιπάτρα	*Des Juden. Der Sarkophag und der Platz um ihn (gehören) M. Au. Kallistratos Apollodotos Kasmeinas; in ihm wird Aurelia Myrtin begraben werden und Kallistratos und seine Frau Antipatra selber.*

Inscription IV

IJO II, no. 193

German translation provided by Ameling, *Inscriptiones Judaicae Orientis*, 410.

Ancient Greek	German Translation
[Η] σορὸς καὶ ὁ περὶ αὐτὴν τόπος Λ(ουκίου) Τατιανοῦ Διογένους[Ι]ουδέου [κ]αὶ Αὐρηλίας Ἀπφίας Λουκιανοῦ Ιεραπολείτιδος [Ι]ουδαία[ς], τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ, ᾗτινι καὶ ἐξεχώρησεν ὁ Τατιανοῦ τὸ δίκαιον τῆς σοροῦ διὰ γράματός τε αὐτοῦ Λ[.]ΕΙ[.], ἐν ᾗ κηδευθήσονται αὐτοὶ μόνοι, ἄλλῳ δὲ οὐκ ἐξέσται οὔτε κηδεῦσαι οὔτε κηδευθῆναι, ἐκτος τοῦ διακομίσαντος ἡμᾶς εἰς τὴν πατρῴαν γῆν, αὐτὸς καὶ καθέξει τὴν σορὸν σὺν τοῖς δικαίοις· εἰ δέ τις ἐναντίον τι [ποιήσε]ι τῶν προγεγραμ[μ]έν[ω]ν, [ἀποτεί]σ[ει ?] προστείμου τῷ διακομίζοντι ἡμᾶς [- - καὶ] τῷ ἱερωτάτῳ ταμίῳ (δηνάρια) χίλια, ὅτι οὕτως ἡμεῖς ταύτης τῆς ἐπιγραφῆς τὸ ἀντίγραφον ἀπεθεί(μεθα ἐν τῆς ἀρχείυς	*Der Sarkophag und der Platz um ihn (gehören) L. Tatianos Diogenes, Jude, und Aurelia Apphia, T. d. Loukianos, Bürgerin von Hierapolis, Jüdin, seiner Frau, der auch der Sohn des Tatianos den Rechtsanspruch auf den Sarkophag mittels einer Urkunde und … zugestanden hat; in dem einzig sie begraben werden werden. Einem anderen ist es aber nicht gestattet, zu begraben oder begraben zu werden, mit Ausnahme dessen, der uns in die heimatliche Erde gebracht haben wird; der wird den Sarkophag mit den Rechtstiteln besitzen. Wenn aber jemand etwas gegen diese Vorschriften tun wird, wird er als Strafe demjenigen, der uns bringt, … und dem heiligsten fiscus 1.000 Denare zahlen, da wir dergestalt die Abschrift dieser Inschrift in den Archiven deponiert haben.*

Inscription V

IJO II, no. 189

German translation provided by Ameling, *Inscriptiones Judaicae Orientis*, 403.

Ancient Greek	German translation
Η σορὸς καὶ τὸ ἡρῶον προγονικὸν Ικεσίου τοῦ [καὶ] Ιούδα τοῦ Θέωνος [ἐνδ]ο[ξ][ο]τάτου (?) ἱερονίκου πλιστονίκου, ἐν ᾗ κηδευθήσεται Ικέσιος καὶ Ὀλυμπιὰς Θυοκρίτου ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ· ἔξουσι ἧς ἐξουσίαν τὰ τέκνα [α]ὐτῶν Ἀντωνῖνος καὶ Ικέσιος, ἄλλῳ δὲ οὐκ ἐξέσται κηδεῦσέ τινα ἢ ἀποτίσι προστίμου τ[ῇ] γερουσίᾳ (δηνάρια) ,β’· ταύτης ἐπιγραφῆς ἀντίγραφον κ[εῖται ἐν] [τοῖς ἀρχείοις]	*Der Sarkophag und das ererbte Heroon (gehören) Hikesios, auch genannt Iudas, dem S. d. Theon, dem berühmtesten Sieger in hl. Spielen, dem häufigen Sieger, in dem Hikesios begraben werden wird und Olympias, die T. d. Thyokritos, seine Frau. Ihre Kinder Antoninos und Hikesios werden die Vollmacht darüber haben, einem anderen aber ist es nicht erlaubt, jemanden zu begraben, oder er wird als Strafe der Gerusia 2.000 Denare zahlen. Eine Abschrift dieser Inschrift liegt in den Archiven.*

Inscription VI

IJO II, no. 206

German translation provided by Ameling, *Inscriptiones Judaicae Orientis*, 436.

Ancient Greek	German translation
ἡ σορὸς καὶ τὸ ὑπὸ αὐτὴ[ν] θ̣[έ]μα σὺν τῷ βαθρικῷ̣ [καὶ] ὁ τόπος Αὐρηλίας Γλυκωνήδος Ἀμμιανοῦ καὶ τ[οῦ] ἀνδρὸς αὐτῆς Μ(άρκου) Αὐρ(ηλίου) Ἀλεξάνδρου Θεοφίλου ἐπίκλ[η]ν [Ἀσ(?)]- ἀφ λ̣αοῦ Ἰουδαίων, [ἐ]ν ᾗ̣ [κ]ηδευθ[ή]σοντα[ι] αὐτοί· ἑτέρῳ δὲ οὐδενὶ ἐξέσται κηδεῦσαι ἐν αὐτῇ τινα· ε[ἰ] δὲ μή, ἀποτείσει τῷ λαῷ τὸν Ἰουδαί[ω]ν προστε<ί>μου ὀν[όμ]ατι δηνάρια χείλια. ταύτης τῆς ἐπιγραφῆς ἁπλοῦν ἀ[ν]τίγραφον ἀπετέθη εἰς τὰ ἀρχῖα.	*Der Sarkophag und der Boden unter ihm mit dem Stufenbau und dem Gründstuck gehören Aurelia Glykonis, der T. d. Ammeianos, und ihrem Mann, M. Aur. Alexandros Theophilos, mit Beinamen Aphelios, Juden. In ihm warden sie selbst begraben warden; einem anderen ist es aber nicht erlaubt, jemanden darin zu begraben. Wenn aber nicht, wird er dem Volk der Juden unter dem Titel "Strafe" 1.000 Denare geben. Von dieser Inschrift wurde eine einfache Abschrift in die Archive deponiert.*

Inscription VII

IJO II, no. 205

German translation provided by Ameling, *Inscriptiones Judaicae Orientis*, 432.

Ancient Greek	German translation
ἡ σορὸς καὶ ὁ περὶ αὐτὴν τόπος Αὐρ(ηλίας) Αὐγούστας Σωτεικοῦ ἐν ᾗ̣ κηδευθήσεται αὐτὴ καὶ ὁ ἀνὴρ αὐτῆς Γλυκωνιανὸς ὁ καὶ Ἄπρος καὶ τὰ τέκνα αὐτῶν· εἰ δὲ ἔτι ἕτερος κηδεύσει, δώσει τῇ κατοικίᾳ τῶν ἐν Ἱεραπόλει κατοικούντων Ἰουδαίων προστείμου (δην.) καὶ τῷ ἐκζητήσαντι (δην.) ,β. ἀντίγραφον ἀπετέθη ἐν τῷ ἀρχίῳ τῶν Ἰουδαίων.	*Der Sarkophag und der Platz um ihn (gehören) Aurelia Augusta, der T. d. Zotikos; in ihm wird sie selbst begraben werden und ihr Mann, Glykonianos, auch gennant Hagnos, und ihre Kinder. Wenn aber ein anderer (jemanden) begraben wird, so wird er der Niederlassung der in Hierapolis wohnenden Juden als Strafe 300 Denare, und dem, der die Untersuchung gemacht hat, 100 Denare geben. Eine Abschrift wurde in dem Archiv der Juden deponiert.*

Inscription VIII
IJO II, no. 196
German translation provided by Ameling, *Inscriptiones Judaicae Orientis*, 416.

Ancient Greek	**German translation**
[ἡ] σορὸς καὶ τὸ ὑπὸ αὐτὴν θέμα σὺν τῷ βαθρικῷ καὶ τῷ περικειμένῳ τό|πῳ Ποπλίου Αἰλίου Γλύκωνος Ζευξιανοῦ Αἰλια[νοῦ καὶ Αὐ]ρηλίας Ἀμίας | Ἀμιανοῦ τοῦ Σελεύκου· ἐν ᾗ κηδευθήσεται αὐτὸς καὶ ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ | καὶ τὰ τέκνα αὐτῶν, ἑτέρῳ δὲ οὐδενὶ ἐξέσται κηδευθῆναι· κατέλι||ψεν δὲ [κα]ὶ τῇ σεμνοτάτῃ προεδρίᾳ τῶν πορφυραβάφων στεφα|νωτικο[ῦ] διακόσια πρὸς τὸ δίδοσθαι ἀπὸ τῶν τόκων ἑκάστῳ τὸ | αἱροῦν μη(νὸς) ζ′ ἐν τῇ ἑορτῇ τῶν ἀζύμων. ὁμοίως κατέλιπεν καὶ τῷ συνε|δρίῳ τῶν ἀκαιροδαπισ<τ>ῶν στεφανωτικοῦ ἑκατὸν πεντήκοντα, ἅτι|vac. να καὶ αὐτοὶ δώσουσι ἐκ τοῦ τόκου || διαμερίσαντες τὸ ἥμισυ ἐν τῇ ἑορτῇ τῶν καλανδῶν, | μη(νὸς) δ′, η′, καὶ τὸ ἥμισυ ἐν τῇ ἑορτῇ τῆς πεντηκοστῆς. | ταύτης τῆς ἐπιγραφῆς τὸ ἀντίγραφον ἀπετέθη ἐν τοῖς ἀρχείοις.	*Der Sarkophag und der Boden unter ihm mit dem Stufenbau und das umgebende Gelände gehören Publius Aelius Glykon Zeuxianos Aelianus und Aurelia Amia, der Tochter des Amianos,d. S. des Seleukos. In ihm wird er selbst begraben werden und seine Frau und ihre Kinder, aber es ist keinem anderen erlaubt (darin) begraben zu werden. Er hinterließ auch dem ehrwürdigsten Vorstand der Purpurfärber an Kranzgeld 200 Denare, damit jedem von den Zinsen sein Anteil gegeben werde im 7. Monat, am Fest der ungesäuerten Brote. Ebenso hinterließ er dem Verein der Teppichweber (?) an Kranzgeld 150 Denare, wovon sie selbst die Zinsen ausgeben werden, indem sie die Hälfte am Fest der Kalenden verteilen, im vierten Monat, am achten Tag, und die Hälfte am Fest des 50. Tages. Eine Abschrift dieser Inschrift wurde in den Archiven deponiert.*

Appendix II: Figures

Figure 1: Map of Asia Minor (ca. 2nd cent. A.D.)
Source : Gabriël de Klerk (2021).

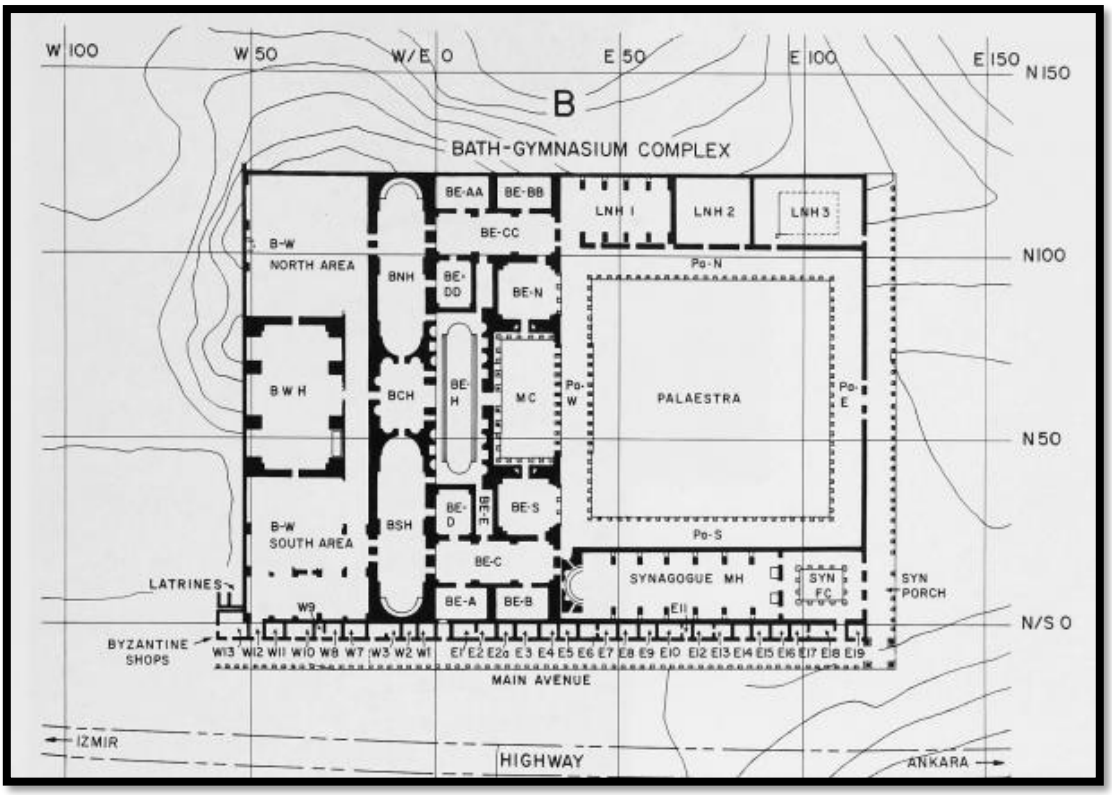

Figure 2: plan of the bath-gymnasium complex

Source: George Hanfmann, *Sardis. From Prehistoric to Roman Times. Results of the Archaeological Exploration of Sardis 1958-1975* (London 1983) figure 206.

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