

Colossian Problems  
Part 1:

**Jews and Christians  
in the Lycus Valley**

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In antiquity several rivers in Asia Minor were called the Lycus River.<sup>1</sup> The Lycus River pertaining to Colossians watered part of southwestern Phrygia and flowed into the Maeander River. When one speaks of the cities of the Lycus Valley, he usually means the three which are mentioned in the Book of Colossians: Colossae, Laodicea, and Hierapolis (Col. 2:1; 4:13). Of these three, Colossae was by far the oldest; it was a city when Xerxes and his army passed that way in 480 B.C.<sup>2</sup> Laodicea was founded by the Seleucid King Antiochus II (261-246 B.C.); Hierapolis received the constitution of a city from Eumenes II, king of Pergamum (197-160 B.C.).

The region formed part of the Persian Empire from Cyrus' overthrow of Croesus, king of Lydia, in 546 B.C. to Alexander the Great's conquest of Asia Minor in 334 B.C. For the next century and a half the Lycus Valley was ruled by Alexander and his successors, but by the Peace of Apamea, imposed by the Romans on Antiochus III in 188 B.C., it was taken from the Seleucids and added to the kingdom of Pergamum, which was in alliance with Rome. In 133 B.C. the last king of Pergamum bequeathed his realm to the Romans, who four years later reorganized it as the province of Asia. The Lycus Valley was then incorporated in the Roman Empire, and remained so for many centuries.

The cities of the Lycus Valley enjoyed economic prosperity in spite of the severe damage they suffered from time to time because of earthquakes. Their prosperity was based on their prin-

cipal industry -- the manufacture and preparation of woolen fabrics, which were carried by river to the Aegean coast and exported to various parts of the ancient world.

### **Jewish Settlers in Phrygia**

Some Jewish settlement in western Asia Minor can be traced back to the sixth century B.C.; apparently Jewish exiles were in the Lydian capital, Sardis, at the time of the Prophet Obadiah.<sup>3</sup> Josephus said Seleucus I (312-281 B.C.) granted Jews full civic rights in all the cities he founded.<sup>4</sup> (It is wise to consider carefully what is meant by "full civic rights" when their enjoyment by Jews in a Hellenistic city is mentioned by Josephus or other Jewish writers.) Antiochus II is said to have planted Jewish colonies in the cities of Ionia.<sup>5</sup> But Jewish settlement in Phrygia on any significant scale is to be dated late in the third century B.C., when Antiochus III, having recovered Lydia and Phrygia from his rebellious uncle Achaeus (214 B.C.), ordered his satrap Zeuxis to send 2,000 Jewish families with their property from Babylonia as military settlers in the garrisons and other vital centers of those two regions. Houses and cultivable lands were to be provided for them, they were to be exempt from taxation for 10 years, and they were to have the right to live under their own laws.<sup>6</sup>

The essential credibility of this report by Josephus, and of the royal decree which it embodies, may be confidently accepted. The king's letter to Zeuxis, says Rostovtzeff, "undoubtedly gives us exactly the normal procedure when the Seleucids founded a colony."<sup>7</sup> One Zeuxis was satrap of Babylonia about 220 B.C.;<sup>8</sup> he may be identical with the Zeuxis who was satrap of Lydia between 201 and 190 B.C.<sup>9</sup>

An explanation of Antiochus III's belief that Babylonian Jews were the kind of settlers who would help stabilize disaffected areas of his empire may perhaps be provided in an enigmatic allusion in 2 Maccabees 8:20. There Judas Maccabaeus is said to have encouraged his troops on one occasion, when they were threatened by a much superior army, by reminding them of "the battle with the Galatians that took place in Babylonia, when 8,000 in all went into the affair, with 4,000 Macedonians; and when the Macedonians were hard pressed, the 8,000, by the help that came to them from heaven, destroyed 120,000 and took much booty." This tradition, which has doubtless lost nothing in the telling (particularly with regard to the numbers on the oppos-

ing side), probably refers to the earlier part of the reign of Antiochus III. The Galatians habitually hired out their services as mercenaries; presumably on this occasion Galatian mercenaries were engaged on the side of some of Antiochus' enemies. The help then given him by Babylonian Jews could well have moved him to settle a number of them in Phrygia and Lydia to safeguard his interests in those territories.

The political changes by which the Lycus Valley passed successively under the rule of Pergamum and Rome made little difference to the Jews who resided there. Even the overrunning of proconsular Asia by Mithridates in 88 B.C., and the ensuing 25 years' war, did not seriously disturb them. Almost immediately after the end of the Mithridatic war evidence points to a large and prosperous Jewish population in the Lycus Valley and the neighboring parts of Phrygia.

In 62 B.C. Lucius Valerius Flaccus, proconsul of Asia, impounded the proceeds of the annual half-shekel tax which the Jews of his province, in common with male Jews 20 years of age and older throughout the world, contributed for the maintenance of the temple in Jerusalem. His action was in line with the official ban on the export of gold and silver from the Roman Empire to foreign countries. But it may well be that by use and custom, if not by senatorial decree, an exception was made in respect to the Jewish temple tax; and in any case it could be argued that from 63 B.C. Judea itself was part of the empire and no longer counted as a foreign country. Flaccus was brought to court in 59 B.C. on a charge of acting illegally in the matter; he was defended by Cicero, whose speech for the defense has been preserved.<sup>10</sup> Cicero claimed that the province was being impoverished by the export of so much wealth year by year; therefore he may have exaggerated in his estimate of the sums of money involved.

However that may be, he stated that at Apamea gold amounting to just under 100 Roman pounds had been impounded: at Laodicea, just over 20 pounds. At that time the Pompeian standard of 36 *aurei* (gold *denarii*) to the gold pound (*libra*) was in force, and the aureus was reckoned to be equivalent to 25 *drachmae* or *denarii*. Therefore it has been calculated that nearly 45,000 half-shekels (*didrachma*) were collected at Apamea, and over 9,000 at Laodicea.<sup>11</sup> This does not mean that there were 'respectively 45,000 and 9,000 male Jews of the appropriate age resident at Apamea and Laodicea; these cities were centers to

which the money collected in the surrounding districts was brought for conversion into more manageable form and eventual dispatch to Judea. But even when allowance is made for some exaggeration, the Jewish population of Phrygia was considerable.

Later in the same century the collection and export of the half-shekel were expressly authorized in successive decrees of Julius Caesar and Augustus.<sup>12</sup> Augustus' right-hand man Marcus Vipsanius Agrippa took specific measures in 14 B.C. (at the request of Herod the Great) to protect the Jews of Asia Minor against interference with this privilege (and also against being compelled to appear in law courts on the Sabbath day).<sup>13</sup>

Josephus quotes a letter sent by the magistrates of Laodicea about 45 B.C. to a Roman official, probably the proconsul of Asia, confirming that, in accordance with his directions, they would not impede Jewish residents in the observance and other practices of their religion.<sup>14</sup> In A.D. 2/3 Augustus issued a full statement of Jewish rights in that part of the empire; it was posted up in Ancyra, capital of the province of Galatia.<sup>15</sup>

After the end of the second Jewish commonwealth in A.D. 70 the Jews of the dispersion continued to enjoy their privileges, apart from the diversion of the half-shekel tax to the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus in Rome. There is documentary evidence for the maintenance of their privileges in Alexandria<sup>16</sup> and Syrian Antioch;<sup>17</sup> the situation was probably no different elsewhere in the eastern provinces. Ramsay thought that evidence for a specific provision safeguarding Jewish privileges at Apamea was to be found in a tomb inscription of the third century A.D. directing that no one was to be buried in the tomb except its owner and his wife. "If any one acts [contrary to this direction]," the inscription concludes, "he knows the law of the Jews."<sup>18</sup> Ramsay inferred at one time that "the law of the Jews" here invoked could not be the Mosaic Law but was a local regulation registered with the city authorities, protecting the burial privileges of the Jewish community.<sup>19</sup> This is possible; but two Jewish tomb inscriptions of the mid-third century, from Blaundos and Akmonia, in west-central Phrygia, threaten the violator with "the curses written in Deuteronomy" (presumably in Deut. 28:15-68),<sup>20</sup> so "the law of the Jews" in the Apamea inscription could very well be the Mosaic Law. (A similar inscription from Hierapolis, dated around A.D. 200, stipulates that for any unauthorized burial in the tomb a fine must be paid to the Jewish community in that city.<sup>21</sup>)

From a comparative study of Greek inscriptions in Phrygia, Ramsay deduced that the Jewish communities of that region were marked by a degree of religious laxity exceptional in the diaspora — that members of Jewish families could combine the office (or at least the title) of ἀρχισυνάγωγος with responsible participation in pagan cults.<sup>22</sup> The evidence is not unambiguous; his deductions depended at times on his identification of the bearers of certain family names as Jews just because they bore those names. From an inscription in Akmonia, Ramsay quoted a reference to one Julia Severa who was honored by the local synagogue<sup>23</sup> and was mentioned on local coins of Nero, Agrippina (the younger), and Poppaea as having held municipal office together with her husband Servenius Capito (say, between A.D. 54 and 65).<sup>24</sup> It was difficult to hold such office without at least some involvement in local cults, not to mention the imperial cult. But Julia Severa appears to have been a descendant of Herod,<sup>25</sup> and members of the Herod family were not typical Jews.

On the inscription which mentions Julia Severa reference is made to one Gaius Tyrronius Cladus as a life-long ἀρχισυνάγωγος. Ramsay judged that "the strange name Tyrronius . . . may in all cases be taken as Jewish,"<sup>26</sup> and went on to draw inferences of doubtful cogency from its other inscriptional occurrences — a course which he himself admitted to be one "of speculation and uncertainty, where each step is more slippery than the preceding one."<sup>27</sup> Some outward conformity with pagan customs on the part of influential Jews in Phrygia may be taken as established; but it would be precarious to draw conclusions from this about forms of syncretism that might be reflected in the beliefs and practices deprecated in Paul's Epistle to the Colossians.

The influence of the Jewish settlements in Phrygia on the folklore of the region is well illustrated at Apamea, where the story of Noah was taken over as a local cult legend, to the point where the Septuagint word for "ark" (Κιβωτός) appears as an alternative name for the city. Probably a local flood legend was there already, before Jewish settlement in the area began, but under Jewish influence it was merged with the Flood narrative of Genesis. On Apamean coins of the third century A.D. there appears an ark with the inscription Νῶε (the Septuagintal form of Noah's name), floating on water; in it are two human figures, while two others, a man and a woman, stand beside it; on top is a raven and above it a dove with an olive branch in its beak. Two

phases of the story are thus represented: in one, Noah and his wife are in the ark; in the other, they are on dry land beside the ark, thanking God for their preservation.<sup>28</sup>

This Phrygian setting for the story of Noah is recorded in the *Sibylline Oracles* (1. 261-65): "In the land of Phrygia is the steep tapering mountain of *Kelaine*, called Ararat, from which springs of the great Marsyas well forth. The ark remained on the peak of that height when the waters abated." The River Marsyas or Catarrhactes (modern Dinar-su) rises in a recess under the acropolis of ancient Celaenae; it flows through Apamea (modern Dinar), on the outskirts of which it falls into the Maeander. Evidently the Sibylline author identified Ararat with the acropolis of Celaenae.

### Christianity in Phrygia

#### PHRYGIA IN THE APOSTOLIC ERA

The inclusion of Phrygia among the places from which pilgrims came to Jerusalem for the feast of Pentecost after Jesus' death and resurrection (Acts 2:10) may be designed to prepare the reader for the eventual evangelization of that region.<sup>29</sup>

Whether that is so or not, the gospel came to Phrygia within a quarter of a century from that date. In Phrygia Galatica ("the Phrygian and Galatian region" of Acts 16:6) the cities of Pisidian Antioch and Iconium — "the last (easternmost) city of Phrygia," as Xenophon calls it<sup>30</sup> — were evangelized by Barnabas and Paul in A.D. 47 or 48 (Acts 13:14-14:4). Phrygia Asiana farther west, including the Lycus Valley, was evangelized a few years later, during Paul's Ephesian ministry, when "all who lived in Asia heard the word of the Lord, both Jews and Greeks" (Acts 19:10).

The Lycus Valley was not evangelized by Paul himself; it is plain from Colossians 2:1 that he was not personally acquainted with the churches there. He had certainly met individual members of those churches such as Philemon, who indeed appears to have been one of his converts (that is the natural sense of his reminder to him in Phile. 19, "you owe to me even your own self"). The preaching of the gospel and planting of churches in the Lycus Valley were evidently the work of Epaphras, whom Paul calls his "fellow bond-servant" (Col. 1:7) and "fellow-prisoner" (Phile. 23).

Possibly when Paul journeyed overland from the east to Ephesus to embark on his ministry there in A.D. 52 he went by way of the Lycus Valley. When Luke wrote that Paul arrived at Ephesus after passing through "the upper country" (lit., "the

upper parts," ἀνωτερικὰ μέρη; Acts 19:1), Luke may have meant the Lycus route. Any district up country could be called "the upper parts" from the standpoint of Ephesus and the Aegean shore. But it has commonly been thought more probable that he went by a higher road farther north, which left the Lycus route at Apamea and approached Ephesus on the north of Mount Messoris, not on the south of it (as the Lycus road did).<sup>31</sup>

A reasonable inference from Luke's account is that, while Paul's personal headquarters were in Ephesus during the years of the evangelizing of proconsular Asia, his fellow workers were active in other parts of the province (such as Epaphras in the Lycus Valley). Probably all seven of the "churches of Asia" to which the Johannine Apocalypse was addressed, as well as other Asian churches, were planted during that fertile period.<sup>32</sup>

The only direct information in the New Testament about Christianity in the Lycus Valley is contained in Paul's letters to the Colossians and to Philemon, and in the letter to the Laodicean church (Rev. 3:14-22). The passage in Revelation 3 suggests that the churches of the Lycus Valley shared the general prosperity of their environment; the cutting edge of their distinctive Christian witness was accordingly blunted. Among various touches of local color in the letter to Laodicea maybe included the lukewarmness for which the church is rebuked. By contrast with the medicinal hot springs of Hierapolis or the refreshing supply of cold water available at Colossae, Laodicea had to fetch its water through high-pressure stone pipes from Denizli, some five miles distant, and by the time it reached Laodicea it was lukewarm. Perhaps, like the water which the villagers of Ecirli are reported as drawing today from the hot springs of Pamukkale (Hierapolis), it had to be left standing in stone jars until it cooled.<sup>33</sup>

The churches of Laodicea and Colossae evidently had free communication; the cities stood 10 miles apart, on opposite banks of the Lycus. Paul directed the Colossian Christians to send on his letter to the Laodicean church when they themselves had read it, and to make sure that in exchange they received and read the "letter from Laodicea" (Col. 4:16). This "letter from Laodicea" may be said to constitute a "Colossian problem" in itself, but no solution to it is to be offered here. The letter has been identified with one or another of the letters to the Ephesians, to Philemon, and to the Hebrews. One of these identifications may be right, or all may be wrong. It is not even certain that the letter in question was written by Paul. If he had sent a letter to

the Laodicean church about that time, why should he have used the Epistle to the Colossians to send greetings to "the brethren who are in Laodicea" (Col. 4:15), including the members of a named house church?<sup>34</sup>

Again, why is Paul's message to Archippus given immediately after the apostle referred to Laodicea? Is it because Archippus' ministry was to be exercised in the Laodicean church? Perhaps it was; if so, has this any bearing on the mention of his name in Philemon 2, where Paul calls him "our fellow-soldier"? To put flesh on these bare bones calls for a measure of creative imagination with which this writer has not been endowed.<sup>35</sup> This at least may be said: the churches of the Lycus Valley were full of vitality, involved in one another's life and witness.

The later references in the New Testament to the churches of Asia leave them under a cloud. In Paul's address at Miletus to the elders of the Ephesian church he warned them of times of trouble ahead, trouble caused not only by hostile assaults from outside but also by false teachers within (Acts 20:29-30). That these forebodings were well founded is evident from 2 Timothy 1:15, where "all who are in Asia" are said to have turned away from Paul, that is, presumably, from the purity of the gospel. One need not suppose that the churches of the Lycus Valley were exempt from this unfavorable report. The apocalyptic letter to the church of Laodicea suggests that they were not.

#### PHRYGIA IN THE POST-APOSTOLIC ERA

Happily the faith of the Asian churches, including the Lycus churches, was revived in the latter part of the first century by the immigration of some Palestinian believers whose association with the Christian movement went back to early days. Among these were Philip and at least some of his four prophesying daughters, whose tombs were pointed out at Hierapolis toward the end of the second century.<sup>36</sup> There is some confusion in Eusebius or his sources between Philip the apostle and Philip the evangelist. The reference is probably to Philip the evangelist, with whom Paul and his companions spent several days at Caesarea in A.D. 57 before completing their journey to Jerusalem to hand over the Gentile churches' gifts to the mother church (Acts 21:8-14). Not surprisingly in due course a church was dedicated in Philip's honor at Hierapolis.<sup>37</sup> Of later date (the fifth century) is the octagonal *Martyrion* of Philip, substantial ruins of which still stand above the city, outside the walls.



In the first half of the second century the bishop of Hierapolis was Papias,<sup>38</sup> contemporary with Polycarp (bishop of Smyrna) and one who, like Polycarp, heard in his younger days of "John the disciple of the Lord."<sup>39</sup> Even if Papias' intelligence was as small as Eusebius reckoned is to be (probably quoting Papias' depreciation of himself),<sup>41</sup> the loss of his volumes of Exegesis of the Dominical Oracles is to be greatly regretted. Whatever might be the historical value of the remnants of oral tradition which he scraped together in these volumes, it would be interesting to know what they were.

Another bishop of Hierapolis, in the latter half of the second century, was Claudius Apollinaris, who about A.D. 172 presented a treatise in defense of the Christian faith to the Emperor Marcus Aurelius. This treatise is lost, as are also other works of his including five volumes of *Against the Greeks*, two volumes of *Against the Jews*, two volumes of *On the Truth*, and one or more treatises against the Montanists.<sup>41</sup>

The Montanists arose in Phrygia soon after the middle of the second century. Their leader, Montanus, prophesied that the new Jerusalem would soon descend from heaven and take up its location near Pepouza, a city about 30 miles north of the Lycus Valley, between the Maeander and the Senaros.<sup>42</sup> From its place of origin Montanism was known in other parts of the Christian world as the Phrygian heresy. But despite the vigor of Montanism, orthodoxy was far from dying out in Phrygia.

As for Colossae, it apparently retained its importance into the second and third centuries. The city itself stood on the south bank of the Lycus, but its necropolis was situated on the north bank. On the north bank, too, was later erected the Byzantine church of Saint Michael the *Archistrategos*, fated to be destroyed by Turkish raiders in 1189. According to Ramsay, its ruins were still "plainly visible in 1881."<sup>43</sup> It remained the religious center of the district even after the population of Colossae moved to Chonai, the modern village of Honaz, two or three miles farther south, at the foot of Mount Cadmus. (Since the site of Colossae remains unoccupied, it presents an inviting prospect to archaeologists.)

It has been suggested that the angel worship, which, according to Colossians 2:18, was one aspect of the "Colossian heresy," reflected a local tendency which persisted for centuries. Ramsay quoted from the commentary of Theodoretus on that verse and from Canon 35 of the Synod of Laodicea words which indicate

that the practice of praying to angels was maintained for some centuries by Phrygian and Pisidian Christians in face of official ecclesiastical prohibition.<sup>44</sup> At a still later date this practice, which had once been condemned as idolatrous, came to be reckoned as piety in the form of the veneration of the archangel Michael, who was credited from the ninth century onward with being the author of a natural phenomenon in the vicinity of Colossae, "the miracle at Khonai," as Ramsay called it.<sup>45</sup> But it is most improbable that the practices which incurred the disapproval of the Synod of Laodicea and of Theodoretus bore any direct relationship to those deplored by Paul in his Letter to the Colossians.

Laodicea probably profited by John's severe words addressed to the resident Christians (Rev. 3:14-22). Evidence of spiritual life was there for several centuries to come. Similarly, according to the testimony of Ignatius, the church of Ephesus had recovered a good measure of its first love by the time he passed through proconsular Asia on his way to martyrdom in Rome about A.D. 110.<sup>46</sup> (It is not clear whether Ignatius' military escort took the road through the Lycus Valley or the higher road which forked right at Apamea and ran north of Mount Messogis. If they went through the Lycus Valley, they would have turned north at Laodicea, passing through Hierapolis and going on to Philadelphia and Smyrna by the road taken by Xerxes and his army nearly six centuries earlier. Ignatius made no mention in his letters of any city through which he passed before his arrival at Philadelphia.)

In the centuries immediately following, the secular prominence of Laodicea increased; it was the principal city of Western Phrygia and had metropolitan status. Its ecclesiastical status matched its secular importance; its bishop ranked highest among the bishops of Phrygia. A church synod was held there about A.D. 363, but hardly anything is known of its proceedings apart from the 60 "Canons of Laodicea" which it promulgated. (The 60th of these, a list of the canonical books of Scripture, may be of later date.) Several of these rules were probably restatements of decisions reached at earlier church councils, but they were acknowledged by later councils as a basis of canon law.

The excavations carried out on the site of Laodicea between 1961 and 1963, under the sponsorship of Laval University, Quebec, uncovered some relics of early Christianity in the city. The most impressive discovery was of a Nymphaeum, a shrine of

the nymphs, with public fountains. After its destruction by an earthquake late in the fifth century this building was repaired for use as a Christian meeting place, as is evident from the Christian symbols which now decorated it.<sup>47</sup>

The site was abandoned in the wake of Turkish invasions of the 13th century; its place as the political center of the region was taken by Denizli. But Christianity survived in the Lycus Valley, as in many other parts of Asia Minor, until 1923. The Treaty of Lausanne, which ended the Greco-Turkish war of 1922-23, made provision for the wholesale exchange of the Greek residents in Turkey (apart from Constantinople) and the Turkish residents in Greece. When the exchange of populations took place, it was carried through effectively on a religious basis. Greek-speaking Muslims in Greece were counted as Turks and transferred to Turkey; Turkish-speaking Christians in Turkey were counted as Greeks and transferred to Greece. A removal of ancient lamp-stands on this scale, however intelligible it may be in terms of international politics, must be deplored as a tragedy by anyone with a sense of Christian history.

### Editor's Note

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### Notes

1 In addition to the Phrygian Lycus (modern Curuk-su) there was one in Lydia (modern Kum Cayi) and one in Pontus (modern Kelkit Cayi).

2 Herodotus *Histories* 7.30.

3 "Sepharad" in Ob. 20, like Akkadian *Sapardu* and Old Persian *Sfarda*, is probably an approximation to the Lydian name of the city.

4 Josephus *The Antiquities of the Jews* 12.119.

5 *Ibid.*, 12.125.

6 *Ibid.*, 12.149.

7 M. Rostovtzeff, *Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1951), 1:492. See also, to the same effect, A. Schalit, "The Letter of Antiochus III to Zeuxis regarding the Establishment of Jewish Military Colonies in Phrygia and Lydia," *Jewish Quarterly Review* 50 (1959—60): 289-318. (He dates the letter between 212 and 205 B.C.)

8 Polybius *History* 5.45ff.

9 *Ibid.*, 12.1, 24; 21.16, 24.

10 Cicero *Pro Flacco*. (Flaccus seems to have been acquitted.)

11 *Pro Flacco* 68. See A. J. Marshall, "Flaccus and the Jews of Asia (*Pro Flacco* 28.67-69)," *Phoenix* 29 (1975): 139-54.

12 Josephus *The Antiquities of the Jews* 16.162-63; Philo, *Legation to Gaius* 155-57.

- 13 Josephus *The Antiquities of the Jews* 16.27-65.  
 14 Ibid., 14.241-43.  
 15 Ibid., 16.162-65. On this whole matter see E. M. Smallwood, *The Jews under Roman Rule* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1975), pp. 120-43.  
 16 Josephus *The Antiquities of the Jews* 12.121.  
 17 Josephus *The Jewish Wars* 7.100-111. Also see Smallwood, *The Jews under Roman Rule*, pp. 358-68.  
 18 *Corpus Inscriptionum Judaicarum*, vol. 2, ed. J. B. Frey (Rome: Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana, 1952), no. 774.  
 19 William M. Ramsay, *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1897), 2:538, 669.  
 20 *Corpus Inscriptionum Judaicarum*, no. 760; *Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua*, vol. 6, eds. W. H. Buckler and W. M. Calder (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1939), nos. 335, 335a.  
 21 *Corpus Inscriptionum Judaicarum*, no. 775.  
 22 But there is evidence that the title of ἀρχισυνάγωγος could be held by a Gentile, the president of a non-Jewish assembly (see *New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity*, ed. G. H. R. Horsley [North Ryde, New South Wales: Ancient History Documentary Research Centre, Macquarie University, 1981 ], No 5).  
 23 *Corpus Inscriptionum Judaicarum*, no. 766.  
 24 Ramsay, *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, 2:649-50.  
 25 Cf. Smallwood, *The Jews under Roman Rule*, p. 479. In *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*, vol. 3, ed. A. Boeckh (Berlin: Reimer, 1853), no. 4033, one member of the family from Upper Phrygia, Tiberius Severus, is called "descendant of kings and tetrarchs."  
 26 Ramsay, *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, 2:650.  
 27 Ibid.  
 28 Ibid., 2:669-72.  
 29 Luke's list of places differs sufficiently from similar lists which have been compared to his to suggest that he did not take it over as such from some literary source (astrological or otherwise) but was himself responsible for the selection (see Bruce M. Metzger, "Ancient Astrological Geography and Acts 2:9-11," *New Testament Studies* [Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1980], pp. 46-56).  
 30 Xenophon *Anabasis* 1.2.19.  
 31 See William M. Ramsay, *The Church in the Roman Empire before A.D. 170* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1897), p. 94. It is less likely that "the upper parts" should be taken as resumptive of "the Galatian region and Phrygia" through which Paul is said to have passed on his westward journey in Acts 18:23.  
 32 It has sometimes been inferred from Polycarp's Letter to the Philippians (11:3) that the gospel first came to Smyrna after Paul had written Philippians 4:15. But more probably, when Polycarp said, "we [the Smyrnaeans] had not yet known God," he referred not to the time when Paul's Epistle to the Philippians was written but to the time when Philippi was first evangelized. "We need have no hesitation in dating the origin of the Christian church in Smyrna. at some point within the period 53-56" (C. J. Cadoux, *Ancient Smyrna* [Oxford: Blackwell, 1938], p. 310).  
 33 Cf. G. Weber. "Die Hochdruck-Wasserleitung von Laodicea ad Lycum," *Jahrbuch des kaiserlich-deutschen archaologischen Institute* 13 (1898): 1-13; 19 (1904):95-96; M. J. S. Rudwick and E. M. B. Green, "The Laodicean Lukewarmness," *Expository Times* 69 (1957-58):176-78.  
 34 C. P. Anderson suggested that Epaphras was the author ("Who Wrote 'The Epistle from Laodicea?'" *Journal of Biblical Literature* 85 [1966]: 436-40). Later, Anderson suggested its identification with Hebrews ("Hebrews among the Letters of Paul," *Studies in Religion/Sciences Religieuses* 5 [1975-76]: 258-66).

- 35 It is no disparagement of a scholarly work to remark that John Knox's *Philemon among the Letters of Paul* (London: Collins, 1960) gives evidence of such endowment.
- 36 Eusebius *Ecclesiastical History* 3.31.2-5; 3.39.9; 5.24.2, quoting Polycrates of Ephesus and Proclus the Montanist.
- 37 An inscription of Hierapolis commemorates one "Eugenius the little, archdeacon and president of the holy and glorious apostle and divine, Philip" (E. A. Gardner, "Inscriptions Copied by [C. R. Cockerell in Greece, II," *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 6 [1885]: 346; Ramsay. *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, 2:552).
- 38 Eusebius *Ecclesiastical History* 2.15.2; 3.36.2; 3.39.1-17.
- 39 John migrated to Asia Minor presumably about the same time as Philip and his family; his residence at Ephesus and his death and burial there are attested by Irenaeus of Lyons (Against Heresies 3.1.2) and Polycrates (Eusebius *Ecclesiastical History* 3.31.3; 5.24.2). In the so-called anti-Marcionite prologue to the Gospel of John, Papias appears to be called "John's dear disciple." Irenaeus affirms that Papias was a disciple of John (Against Heresies 5.33.4); Eusebius virtually denies it (*Ecclesiastical History* 3.39.2).
- 40 Eusebius *Ecclesiastical History* 3.39.13; but see J. R. Harris, *Testimonies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1916), 1:119-20.
- 41 Eusebius *Ecclesiastical History* 4.26.1; 4.27.1; 5.5.4; 5.16.1; 5.19.1-2.
- 42 *Ibid.*, 5.3.4; 5.16.1-5.18.13.
- 43 *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1895), 1 :215. Michael is called *archistrategos* in both Greek versions of Daniel 8:11 and in several Greek apocrypha.
- 44 *The Church in the Roman Empire before A.D. 170*, p. 477.
- 45 *Ibid.*, 465-80.
- 46 Ignatius, *To the Ephesians* 1:3 et passim.
- 47 J. des Gagniers et al., *Laodicee du Lycos, Le Nymphée, Campagnes 1961-1963*, Université Laval Recherches Archeologiques, Serie I (Quebec: Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 1969).

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