A Unique Discovery in Lycia:
The Ancient Synagogue at Andriake, Port of Myra

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I. Introduction

Archaeological and literary evidence suggest that a large number of synagogues existed in Asia Minor during late antiquity. The best preserved of these Jewish meeting houses are the synagogues of Sardis and Priene, though less extensive remains of local Jewish communities have been found in most of the major Roman cities, from Nicomedia and Nicaea in the north to Pergamon, Smyrna, Laodicea, Tralleis and Antioch on the Orontes1. The synagogue at Andriake, the port of Myra, was discovered in the first year of Myra-Andriake Excavations in 20092. This impressive building has yielded not only an apsidal synagogue, but the remains of an important chancel screen with images of the seven-branched lampstand, the biblical menorah, significant inscriptions and a number of smaller finds. One panel with menorah depiction was uncovered almost whole, the others are more fragmentary.

Before the start of the excavations, the apse of the synagogue building was visible above ground. Our preliminary evaluation was that this building might be a sebasteion of the Late Roman period or perhaps a Christian chapel, but the masonry indicated a date from the Byzantine period and the orientation of the apse was so much offset from the east that it was thought unlikely to be a chapel. In earlier publications, the synagogue building was referred to as the “Apsidal Building”3. The discovery of a plaque with menorah at floor level, inscribed “Israel” in Greek, resolved the issue of identifying this building4.

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1 For more information on the Jews of Anatolia in antiquity see Trebilco 1994; Foerster 1981; Türkoglu 2000; IJO.
2 We would like to express our thanks to the Ministry of Culture and Tourism, DÖSİM, Akdeniz University’s Scientific Research Projects Administrative Unit, Demre Governorate and Demre Municipality for their support for the excavations at Myra and Andriake encompassing the work at the synagogue as well as Antalya Relevé Directorate for preparing the budget rapidly for the consolidation of the building.
3 Borchhardt states that this “Apsidal Building” could have housed a statue in the niche and may have been related with the Imperial cult (1975, 71).
4 For preliminary information see Çevik 2010a; Çevik 2010b; Çevik 2000; Çevik et al. 2010a; Çevik et al. 2010b; Çevik – Pédarros 2010.
The building was first cleaned of vegetation and then excavations began. Apart from the apse, very little of the walls survived, and the flooring was quite damaged. The synagogue was abandoned shortly after the panels of the chancel screen fell down in front of the apse. The rooms adjoining the building on the east and west were also excavated. Although there are building remains on the north toward the harbour, no connection with the synagogue has been noted as there is a retaining wall standing between. Nevertheless, excavations in this area are planned for 2010 because it is likely that there were rooms here to serve the demand of the Jewish community of Andriake.

The floor of the apse contained a lot of finds, mostly from the Hellenistic and Roman periods but not later than the Early Byzantine period. The latest find is an oil lamp of the 4th century AD. At the very bottom of the apse was a skeleton buried in a natural rock fissure (at -3.40 m.) with no items to help identification. It was covered with a layer of fine red earth 35 cm. in thickness. This is the earliest find predating the synagogue’s period. In addition to these finds from the apse area, few items were uncovered in other parts of the building. Objects uncovered in the synagogue but not related with it can be summarised as follows:

A total of 282 objects were uncovered in the synagogue. Most of these objects were Hellenistic pottery comprising mostly lamps and lamp nozzles. Among noteworthy examples are a lamp with comedy mask and with black glaze, plates with frog depictions in relief, vessels for medicines and cosmetics and a small vessel with an outlet canal. Many terra sigillata plates of local production were uncovered almost fully intact. Only one lamp dates to the Byzantine period while all the rest belong to the Hellenistic or Roman periods. Most of the glass items are goblet-shaped lamps and carinated bowls. The highest number of goblet-shaped lamps was found in the room nr. 2. A total of 68 glass object fragments, metal objects comprising gold and bronze accessories, spatula and packing needle, ivory and bone spatulas and handles as well as a ring with an Eros gem are worthy of note. These early finds, most of which are not related to the synagogue, will be published in a separate article. Rich finds from the filling of the apse reveal the cosmopolitan commercial character of Andriake. The most significant finds are the stonework belonging to the synagogue, which will be discussed here below. Finds worth study are kept in the excavation depot while those worthy of display have already been turned over to Antalya Museum. The almost-intact panel with menorah depiction is on display at Antalya Museum, the only Jewish item in the museum5. Coins uncovered in the synagogue are usually from the Hellenistic League and were found mostly inside the apse and in the flow layers. Some may be helpful for dating. The coins related with the period of the synagogue are from the reigns of Galerius Valerian Maximian (AD 305-311), Valentinian II (AD 375-392), Justinian I (AD 527-565), Justin II (AD 565-578) and Phocas (AD 602-610). Here, those uncovered in the filling of the apse are of importance because the latest from the apse filling will give the terminus for the addition of the apse. The latest coin from the apse filling is the one from the reign of Valentinian II while it is worth noting that those uncovered in the hall are from the 6th century, although this does not constitute a terminus6.

5 The panel on display at Antalya Museum has the museum acquisition number 2009/217.
6 We would like to thank Süleyman Bülut, vice director of Myra-Andriake Excavations, for his evaluation of the coins uncovered.
The low quality of masonry, together with natural deterioration and human destruction, necessitated protection of the site. Following the excavations the risk of collapse and disintegration increased. With the urgent assistance of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism a team of experts cleaned and reinforced the building (Figs. 3, 9)\(^7\). The finds that could be completed were repaired. One panel with menorah depiction was cleaned and put together (Fig. 27); copies were made, one of which was placed in the building for visitors. The flooring was repaired, reinforced and covered with geotextile. The entire building was fenced off for security purposes.

The synagogue building was uncovered by the excavation team\(^8\), and the first identifications were made in the course of field and office work. The function, dating and identifications were discussed on site with visiting experts\(^9\).

II. Location

Andriake was originally the harbour quarter of Myra and then grew to become a settlement subject to Myra. The grandest monument, the Horrea Hadriani, is in the public centre along the south coast, and the synagogue is located in close proximity to its northwest corner (Figs. 1-4). It is worth noting that this is the heart of the harbour area, and the synagogue is easily visible from the ancient harbour. The sloping narrow band of land between the synagogue and the quay contains many other buildings adjoining each other, but their connection with the synagogue is not clear. However, the granary is the most important structure here, and the synagogue has a select place in the harbour next to the granary. When the synagogue was active, the harbour and the granary were also active and at a time when the highest population is observed at Andriake.

III. Architecture

The structure comprises a main hall with an annex of two rooms adjoining on the south/southwest. Although the wall to the east may suggest an annex on this side too, the available evidence does not support such a conclusion. The main hall is a rectangular room extending roughly in the southeast-northwest direction, measuring 5.15x6.90 m. and terminating in an apse on the southeast side. There are doorways leading into the main hall on the southwest and northwest walls facing the harbour (Fig. 1-5). The apse on the southeast is semicircular with a diameter of 3.90 m. on the interior and five-sided on the exterior to improve resistance. The apse has a niche, which is 1.85 m. tall, 0.98 m. wide and 0.79 m. deep. It originally terminated in an arch on top and is located 4.24 m. above

\(^7\) We would like to thank Mr. Ertuğrul Günay, the Minister of Culture and Tourism, for his broad vision for the restoration and financial support, as well as Sebahattin Küçük and his team for the careful work of consolidation.

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the floor of the main hall. Some vousoirs of the arch have been uncovered. As the upper portion of the apse is fallen at the level of the top of the arch of the niche, the superstructure cannot be traced (Figs. 6-7). However, there is a row of blocks with profile where the vertical wall of the apse meets its superstructure. The masonry in the apse and the body walls of the building are different, and these sections are not organically bound with each other. Thus, it is clear that they were built at different times.

The rectangular main hall is flanked with additional rooms on either side (Fig. 5). East of the main hall's east lateral wall is a short and parallel stretch of wall which could have been the southwest wall of an annex room or could have been the supporting wall for the landing of the main doorway to the upper floor of the main hall. However, on the southwest there are two rooms, into which the southwest doorway of the main hall opens. These two rooms measuring 9.00x5.00 m. were added later because their walls do not betray any pre-planned construction with the main building. Both the main hall and these two rooms have similar flooring of baked clay plaques (Figs. 18-19). It is highly likely that the floor of the main hall was renewed when these two rooms were built. Furthermore, the fact that one inscription related with the synagogue is embedded in the floor of one room may indicate that either these rooms were still in use after the synagogue ceased to be active or the people mentioned in the inscription were the patrons of the floor pavement. Probably the missing elements of the synagogue were destroyed in this period too. The baluster found positioned in the doorway between the main hall and the southwest room was clearly found here, again possibly from this period.

The main hall is bounded by a wall on the southeast, preserved to a height of 1.30-1.40 m (Figs. 6, 11-12). The apse is located behind this wall, and excavations reached the bedrock in that section but brought to light no flooring as expected (Figs. 15-16). Because this wall not only separates the main hall from the apse but also prevents any access in between, thus it should be expected to rise to the level of the upper floor. Indeed the apse becomes part of the main hall only at a higher level (Figs. 6-7). It was seen that the area between the apse wall and the southeast wall of the main hall was filled with ancient rubble/debris, and a platform was formed on its top. From the floor level of the main hall there is no access into the apse section. The filling of the apse section contained numerous items from the pre-synagogue phase of the settlement. On the wall of the apse is a trace of plaster slightly protruding at 3.20 m. above the floor level of the main hall, and this plaster should belong to the skirting of the upper floor. Between this skirting level and the bottom of the niche in the apse wall is a difference of only 1.02 m. which allows a plausible reconstruction for the building. The filling inside the apse must have reached this level. Thus, this suggests the presence of a second floor from which the niche in the apse could be accessed. In case the main hall were single storied, then the level difference between the floor uncovered and the bottom of this niche reaches 4.24 m. This does not allow for any practical use or function for this niche because it is both not the usual position for architectural design and it is already 2.80 m. away from the wall separating the hall and the apse wall. Thus, it is impossible for anybody standing on the floor of the main hall to see or access it. The niche used for holding the biblical scrolls must be accessible and thus, the presence of an upper floor is needed. On the contrary, the roof height of the main hall will reach 8 m. which is unnecessary and unfeasible for such a small-sized building. This height assumes meaning only when a second floor is envisaged.
To the east of the main doorway on the northwest wall of the main hall are the remains, i.e. three steps, of a flight of stairs that rises adjoining the wall (Fig. 14). The presence of stairs supports the hypothesis that the building was two storied. In this case these stairs should have led to the upper floor of the building. However, as no walls of the upper level have survived it is not possible to make any proposals for its layout. In addition to the stairs, the only find related with an upper floor is a console, which should have carried the landing before the doorway upstairs accessed via the staircase, and the short stretch of wall parallel to the east lateral wall could have supported such a landing extending along the north end of the east lateral wall. In this case the main hall exposed in the excavation should be the ground floor of the main prayer hall upstairs which must have been built with a timber-flooring. Not only has nothing of the flooring of the upper floor survived, but also no beam holes are extant as the walls stand below the level of the upper floor. What has survived, however—an intact column (Fig. 36), a base and traces on the apse wall—may be considered sufficient for us to propose a reconstruction for both floors. The extant column has a height of 1.85 m. while the base and capital are 0.25 m. tall. When they are put together, they reach a height of 2.35 m. This column may have been used either for supporting the ceiling of the ground floor or in the aedicula arrangement of the Torah shrine upstairs. In case they were used for supporting the ceiling, above them were probably beams of minimum 0.20 m. thickness and traverses of maximum 0.20 m. thickness, covered with wood straps of 2 or 3 cm. thick. The remaining difference of 0.40 m. should cover the steps before the apse area. Even in this case the upper floor has a height over 4.20 m. These dimensions look plausible for the main prayer hall, which reaches a more monumental overall length of 9.70 m. including the apse with a depth of 2.80 m. An overall height of 2.80 m. for the ground floor, which may have served as a study hall, also looks plausible. Extant remains suggest two possible ways to access the upper floor: The first is via the stairs mentioned above and a landing on the north end of the east lateral wall while the second is with a second stairway extending up to the west lateral wall. In either case, the main hall upstairs was accessed via one of the long lateral walls. As the lateral walls have survived in very poor condition, it is not possible to clarify either way; however, the extant steps suggest the first option.

Due to the poor condition of the walls, it is not possible to make proposals for the upper floor. Although the most likely option is a two-storied structure, the probability for the presence of a mezzanine floor in the northern half cannot be dismissed entirely. In this case, the filled part of the apse could reach a maximum height of 1.80 m. only, which brings forth further problems for the inner function of the main hall. However, here the most important point is the great difference in levels between the main hall’s floor and the high and wide apse. What is clearly certain is the presence of an upper floor.

According to the above-mentioned reconstruction proposal, the panels with a menorah depiction and other architectural elements uncovered fallen before the wall separating the main hall from the apse part are understood to have been originally placed upstairs.

Although suggestions have been made above for a proposed reconstruction, there still remain questions arising from the relational evaluation difficulties of the evident construction phases of the building. The Andriake building is an oblong structure but there is no evidence that indicates any aisle separation for a basilical layout (Fig. 3). Furthermore, the structure’s small dimensions do not require such a layout.
In a synagogue, Torah is read on a platform called *bimah*. The most common way to form a bimah was to build a raised area adjoining the wall that contained the Torah shrine\(^{10}\). The Torah shrine must be above the floor level and thus accessed via steps. Many buildings had a chancel screen that separated the bimah from the congregation\(^{11}\). Thus, it is highly likely that the bimah of the Andriake synagogue was located on the floor of the apse area and a chancel screen separated this area from the congregation. Considering the building to be two-storied, the niche in the apse wall could be the place for holding the Torah shrine while the panels decorated with the menorah and other liturgical items as well as balusters and other pieces to be described below must have been used in the chancel screen. No evidence of either a reading platform (bimah) or benches is preserved. At Sardis a platform, probably of wood, stood at the centre of the hall, and we can imagine a similar situation here. Because we have no evidence for stone benches here, it is safe to assume wooden benches were used, as is known from the examples at Bostra and Babylonia\(^{12}\).

The main hall and the apse of this building were certainly built at different times. The construction technique and materials show that the apse was added later (Figs. 5-7). This is supported by the irregularity of the apse mass where the southeast wall of the main hall joins the apse wall. Probably when the apse was being built, it was not possible to see it from outside due to the already existing southeast wall of the main hall. The probability that the apse was integrated from an earlier Roman building does not seem very likely due to the masonry and the brick fragments used in its masonry.

Habas' description of the interior of Byzantine period Palestinian synagogues might well fit our building as well. She suggests that upon entering the nave, the worshipper saw, directly in front of him on axis with the entrance, the bimah enclosed with relief-decorated chancel screens, the entrance to the bimah, and the apse containing the Torah shrine at the back of the bimah\(^{13}\). The Torah shrine, the most important element in the synagogue, was generally placed in a niche or apse in the wall facing Jerusalem, and the focal point of the liturgy was Torah reading. A relief from Beth Shearim may shed light onto the bimah and niche façade arrangement of Andriake. It shows a platform accessed via steps as well as a Torah shrine with double columns on a building without any protrusion outside\(^{14}\).

The synagogues of the Diaspora are a part of a complex sometimes including an atrium. The atrium not only may separate the synagogue from the street but also may be a site for communal gatherings. This atrium may be surrounded with rooms such as a library, study or meeting room, kitchen and dining hall. Dining halls attest to the importance of communal meals. It is known that commercial activities could be held in these auxiliary rooms, and the complex could house a well, olive press, flour mill, bathhouse and a shop. In addition to the main hall, some auxiliary rooms also could have benches to sit, and such rooms are considered study rooms\(^{15}\).

\(^{10}\) Hachlili 1996, 108; Levine 2000, 310-322.
\(^{11}\) Hachlili 1996, 108.
\(^{13}\) Habas 2000, 111.
\(^{14}\) Dothan 1981, 65-68.
\(^{15}\) Levine 2000, 271-272, 303-310; Rosenfeld - Menirav 1999, 268.
Many of the Diaspora synagogues have a cistern or water source\textsuperscript{16}. A basin used for washing before entering the hall was found at the Priene and Sardis synagogues\textsuperscript{17}. Some synagogues at Caesarea, Gaza, Delos and Ostia are known to have been built near water springs or used the local bathhouses\textsuperscript{18} while those at Gamla, Delos, Alexandria and Krokodilopolis were located near the sea, canal or water source and supplied their water needed for ritual baths from those sources\textsuperscript{19}. At Andriake the synagogue is located very close to the harbour, but no cistern or basin has been uncovered yet. However, it is known that fresh water was brought to Andriake from Myra via aqueducts\textsuperscript{20}, and Andriake has many cisterns. For a clarification about water sources and other queries it is necessary to wait for the excavations of the adjoining rooms.

A Byzantine lime kiln by the northwest corner of the building must have been built when the building was no longer in use. It is highly likely that the missing architectural elements were burnt there. Furthermore, the lime kiln was built with the stones taken from the walls of the synagogue building. This happened long after it had fallen into ruins because the marble pieces buried deeply underneath were preserved and have been uncovered in the excavations.

IV. Architectural Sculpture

Architectural sculpture uncovered in the synagogue building includes panels (Figs. 27-30), columns, balusters, coping fragments, and veneer fragments (Figs. 31-43). Particularly interesting are the panels with relief decoration and inscriptions. These finds are the first of its kind in the region and leave no doubt regarding the identity of the building. Other pieces complement these panels and shed light onto the interior arrangement of the building. In addition, local artistic features can also be traced.

Three marble panels with menorah\textsuperscript{21} depictions in relief are clearly distinguished (Figs. 27-29). Panel nr. 1 is fully complete (Fig. 27) while panel nr. 2 has survived only in half (Fig. 28) and panel nr. 3 (Fig. 29) has survived only as a single fragment. Another marble panel devoid of decoration was found fallen together with other pieces before the southeast wall of the main hall (Fig. 21). Panel nr. 1 has a profiled moulding enclosing the menorah depiction in the centre. The main decoration is a menorah on a tripod flanked with a shofar on one side and an ethrog and lulav on the other side. Spirals beneath the branches are reminiscent of menorah images from Nicaea, Sardis, and on an unprovenanced tablet thought to emanate from Asia Minor, and represent a regional type\textsuperscript{22}. The tripod is depicted with two legs only, which is contrary to the usual scheme uncovered in ancient synagogues to date. On the top frame is an inscription to be discussed in detail below. The text is accompanied with a small engraved menorah, ethrog and shofar. Menorah, shofar, ethrog, lulav and sometimes spirals are commonly found on pieces of

\textsuperscript{16} Rutgers 1996, 74.
\textsuperscript{17} Trebilco 1994, 55 ff.
\textsuperscript{18} Levine 2000, 310 ff.
\textsuperscript{19} Fitzpatrick-McKinley 2002, 61-62.
\textsuperscript{20} Çevik 2010b.
\textsuperscript{21} For more information about the historical importance of the menorah see Levine 2000a.
\textsuperscript{22} Fine - Rutgers 1996.
ancient Jewish art. At the latest, the shofar and lulav had become part of the liturgy by late Antiquity and are frequently depicted in mosaics and art of the period together with the menorah and the Torah shrine. Images of menorahs are known from western Anatolia. Two images from Priene are dated to the 4th century. The panel found in the Christian basilica of Priene has triangular flames while the other found in the synagogue has no flames. The panel from the church has spirals representing the ethrog, lulav and shofar while the one from the synagogue features peacocks flanking the menorah as well as a lulav and possible ethrog. A marble panel from the Sardis synagogue is decorated in engraving and features a central menorah flanked with a lulav and a shofar with spirals beneath the lowest branch. Other examples are known from Antioch, Pergamon, Nicaea and other sites. Outside Turkey, the menorah depictions on the floor mosaics at Hammat Tiberias are thought to have been made in front of the place where menorahs were actually placed in the synagogue. At Ostia a menorah depiction found on two architraves closely recalls the one at Andriake with its semicircular branches but it has no flames. It, too, is flanked with shofar, ethrog and lulav, which is stylized similar to the Andriake example.

A trapezoidal limestone fragment, possibly a coping stone (Fig. 38), was crucial for the identification of the building's function. This piece probably crowned the top of the chancel screen and has broken and chiselled parts on its bottom side. The top moulding of the front side can be dated to the 5th century and features a classical floral band bordered with a rope motif beneath while the bottom moulding features six lamps side by side in low relief. The middle lamp has flames on both sides while the remaining lamps have a single flame rising toward the middle lamp. The middle lamp with double flames is expected to have been flanked with three lamps on each side. On the top side of the piece is an engraved foliate while on the back side is a band of grain ears.

Many menorah depictions feature lamps on top of their branches, but the Andriake panels with menorah depictions, mentioned above, do not feature such lamps or flames. However, the piece shown in Fig. 38 features lamps which are usually found together with a menorah. This piece may have crowned a panel with open-work decoration (featuring a menorah?). A mosaic with menorah depiction at Isfaha, dated to the late 5th-6th centuries, also features lamps on top of the branches, whose handles face out and flames face toward the middle. The middle lamp does not have a handle but rather two wicks. Another menorah depiction in mosaic again at the same synagogue features the lamps in frontal view. Many examples from tombstones, wall paintings and glass objects from the catacombs in Rome feature terracotta lamps on top of menorah branches. Similar decoration is also found on terracotta lamps themselves as well. Many of them have a middle lamp with double flames flanked with lamps with a single flame. Similar examples are seen in

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23 Goodenough, 12; 88-90, Levine 2000, 216.
26 Fine 1996a, 36.
28 Avi-Yonah 1934, 120 ff.
a wall painting at Villa Torlina catacomb in Rome and on a sarcophagus at Villa Randanini catacomb in Rome\textsuperscript{30}. The four menorahs depicted on the inner long sides of the lead sarcophagus at Adana Museum feature only knob-like stylized lamps on top\textsuperscript{31}. Thus, our piece from Andriake synagogue is the only example from Turkey for the time being.

Other trapezoidal pieces were also found at Andriake (Figs. 39-41). Three pieces are similar with respect to form and motifs. On their front sides is a horizontal band with foliate of leaves and spirals. The band on the bottom side features a foliate composition similar to the one on the piece in Fig. 38. The rope motif at the bottom has survived only on one piece. The piece in Fig. 42 (which is the same piece as in Fig. 39) has a hole on one side possibly for fixing something here. A corner piece of the same material and same decorative program (Fig. 43) does not have any decoration on one edge while its decoration on the top row is not discernible. Beneath are the bands with foliate and rope motif. All these four pieces have a band of grain ears on their back sides. The piece with the oil lamps (Fig. 38) and these four pieces are of limestone and have the same style as clearly seen.

These five pieces (Figs. 38-43) also clearly reflect floral decoration widely used in the region. Motifs used in the churches were adapted to Judaism and used in the synagogues. This art reflects both its own tradition and the common taste of its time. It is highly likely that works were produced for Christians and Jews in the same workshops but with different symbols\textsuperscript{32}. The foliate composition is commonly seen on the trapezoidal coping pieces for chancel screens in the Churches D, B, and E of the 5\textsuperscript{th}-6\textsuperscript{th} centuries as well as on the edge border of an early panel of the basilica at Alahan. A similar composition is found on a moulding of the 5\textsuperscript{th} century together with egg-and-dart motif at St. Nicholas Church in Myra\textsuperscript{33}. Parallels of the foliate frieze on top are also found on a panel from Church B of the 5\textsuperscript{th}-6\textsuperscript{th} century in Andriake and on a coping piece for the chancel screen of the 6\textsuperscript{th} century at St. Nicholas Church in Myra\textsuperscript{34}. The example from Church B also features a band of grain ears on its back side. Three pieces of copings from Churches B and E in Andriake are claimed by Tekinalp to have been originally fixed on top of the templon panels based on the clamp holes\textsuperscript{35}. A similar area of use can be considered for the pieces in Figs. 38-40.

Among small finds from the synagogue are limestone and marble baluster fragments, which may have been used with panels. One limestone capital may have been used on top of one of these balusters. A marble baluster with soffit is found fallen by the southwest doorway and this baluster also has a groove for fixing a panel. One baluster knob has been found as well (Figs. 34-35). Among the finds are many marble veneer fragments. One particular piece is decorated with engraved motifs of vines, grapes and a bird, without any setting. The piece is broken on three sides hindering us from understanding its decoration and function in overall. The roughly-worked rear side bears marks of chiselling. Stylized

\textsuperscript{30} Sed-Rajna 1985, 49 ff.
\textsuperscript{31} Aydin 2007, figs. 3-7.
\textsuperscript{33} For the churches in Andriake see Tekinalp 2000, BP1, DP4, DP6, EP9; for Alahan see Gough 1985, fig. 40; for the Church of St. Nicholas in Myra see Ötkemen 2008, 142 fig. 4.
\textsuperscript{34} Alpaslan 1997; Tekinalp 2000, BP51.
bird figures depicted together with grapes are commonly found in many synagogues and churches from late antiquity.\(^{36}\)

V. Inscriptions\(^{37}\)

Three inscriptions were uncovered in the course of excavations (Figs. 24-26). Because they were found within the structure to which they originally belonged and their votive inscriptions were found on panels with menorah depictions make them an important discovery for the region. Similar votive panels are known also from outside Anatolia, both in the Orient\(^{38}\) and the Occident\(^{39}\). However, such inscriptions with Jewish content are the first to be uncovered in Lycia.

Before the discovery of these finds at Andriake, traces of Jewish presence in Lycia were very scarce and limited to some ancient texts and inscriptions. According to the ancient sources Jewish presence in Lycia may go back to the 2nd century BC. 1 Maccabees 15:23 mentions the presence of Jews in Lycia and Phaselis. Josephus tells that (Bel. Iud. I.428) the Judean king Agrippa I (10 BC - AD 44) eased the Phaseltians of their annual pensions. In a later period, Jews are mentioned in the *vita* of SS Leonis and Paregorius of Patara. Symeon Metaphrastes tells that (114.1457) Pataran Jews wanted to bring a Christian *beros* before the court. The presence of Jews in the Middle Byzantine period, as mentioned by this source, can be verified in the future by excavations only. Jewish presence is to be expected at Patara, which was an international port like Andriake.

In addition to these sources, there are two inscriptions that hinted at the Jewish presence in Lycia. The first was an inscription on the Lycian-type tomb of Judas at Limyra.\(^{40}\) Krauss read this inscription as *Eiôðsaìtôs ð̱òν*\(^{41}\) and thus commented that there was a synagogue at Limyra.\(^{42}\) Although this suggestion by Krauss has received wide approval from other scholars,\(^{43}\) no archaeological evidence regarding Jewish presence has been uncovered at Limyra in the course of excavations for over 40 years. The second inscription is from Tlos\(^{44}\) and tells that a Ptolemaios had a *heroon*\(^{45}\) built as a thanksgiving to the Jews of Tlos for their help in his appointment as the *archontia* of the Jewish community. This inscription, dated to the end of the 1st century AD based on its orthography

\(^{36}\) Bahat 1981, 83-85.

\(^{37}\) The inscriptions are currently under study by H. S. Öztürk and their final publication will be made later. Here only the preliminary results are given. Thanks are due to Ph.D. Ch. Schuler for sharing his comments and contributions.

\(^{38}\) For examples in the Orient see *CIJ* II, nr. 798 (Bithynia/Nikomedea - ?); 867 (Gerasa - ?); 961 (Azot-?); 967 (Gaza - 2nd-3rd centuries AD); 1533 (Egypt - 2nd century AD); 131 (Egypt - 2nd century AD or later?); 143 (Macedonia - 3rd-4th centuries AD); 144 (Thessalia - ?).

\(^{39}\) For examples in the Occident see *JIWE* I, nr. 22 (Campania/Nola - 5th century AD); 31 (Campania/Neapolis - 5th century AD); 32 (Campania/Neapolis - 5th century AD); 34 (Campania/Neapolis - 5th century AD); 76 (Apulia/Venosa - 5th century AD); 109 (Apulia/Venosa - 5th century AD); 141 (Italy - ?); 143 (Sicily/Tauroménion - 4th-5th centuries AD); 152 (Sicily/Syrakousai - 4th-5th centuries AD); 169 (Sardinia/Caparotta - 4th-5th centuries AD); 191 (Gallia/Elimberris - 7th-8th centuries AD); *JIWE* II, nr. 203 xi. 205 xii. 248. 331.

\(^{40}\) *Eiôðsaìtôs ð̱òν* (Petersen - Luschan 1889, 66 nr. 129; Oehler 1909, 299 nr. 74; Krauss 1922, 235 nr. 70; *CIJ* II nr. 758; Wörle 1995, 400 N III 30); SEG 45, nr. 1799.

\(^{41}\) For discussions on this phrase see IJO, 471 ff.; Wörle 1995, 400 ff.; SEG 45, nr. 1799.

\(^{42}\) Krauss 1922, 235 nr. 70.

\(^{43}\) Kittel - Friedrich 1995, 808 n. 50; Rutgers 1998, 129.

\(^{44}\) Hula 1895, 99-103; Oehler 1909, 299 nr. 75; Krauss 1922, 235 nr. 69; *CIJ* II, nr. 757; TAM II, 2, nr. 612; IJO, nr. 223.

\(^{45}\) For *beroons* see Kubinska 1968, *s.v.* Index.
and character, suggests the presence of a Jewish community of unknown size in Tlos. Furthermore, another inscription reflecting the Epicurean thoughts of the renowned philosopher Diogenes of Oinoanda mentions the general view of life of the Jews and Egyptians, but states nothing about the Jews of Lycia specifically.

Regarding the Jewish presence in Pamphylia, two inscriptions and one menorah depiction are known from Side. In one inscription dated to the 4th or 5th century based on its characters, Isakis the *phrontistes* (=curator) tells that he had the “first synagogue” (πρώτης συναγωγής) built and completed its marble flooring from the reader’s desk to its sigma. However, in another inscription from Side dated to AD 363, another curator called Leontios states that he had a fountain built for the synagogue. Therefore, Nollé and Ameling doubt the claim by Isakis “to have been built the first synagogue” and think that he may have rebuilt an already existing synagogue. Indeed the inscription mentions a completion, not an entire construction.

As presented here there is paucity of information regarding the Jews in the Roman province of Lycia and Pamphylia. Therefore, these archaeological finds from Andriake are of utmost importance for the presence and history of Jews in Lycia.

Inscription 1 (inv. nr. 20; Fig. 24)

Three lines of text are found on the top part of the panel nr. 1 with menorah depiction. The panel was uncovered in fragments before the wall separating the apse area from the main hall and has survived complete. H: 0.89 m. W: 0.44 m. Th: 0.04 m. Letter H: 0.013-0.023 m.

εὐχὴ Μακεδόνιος Ρωμα
Πρόχλης καὶ Ρωμανὸς
γνῶν. Εὐλογία καὶ ἱρὴ

1 εὐχή: For this phrase used in the votive offerings in synagogues see IJO, nrs. 63, 120, 123, 125, 127, 128, 138, 144 (Lydia). For also the term “votive” in Hebrew see IJO nrs. 108, 109 (Lydia).

Μακεδόνιος: For other Jews with this name see CIJ I, nr. 370 (Italy/Monteverde); IJO nr. 156 (Bithynia/Nikomedia); 228 (Lykaonia/Sadahattin Han.).

1,2 Ρωμανὸς: For other Jews with this name see IJO, nr. 14B, line 38 (Karia/Arphodias); JIWE II nr. 227 (Latium/Rome).

3 εὐλογία: For examples see IJO, nr. 13 (Thrace/Herakleia of Perinthos); 27 (Karia/Tralleis); 142 (Lydia); 155, 156 (Bithynia/Nikomedia).

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46 About the dating of the inscription see IJO 478; Schurer 1986, 32.
47 Smith 1998, 130 ff.; IJO nr. 222.
48 For more information on inscriptions about Pamphylian Jews see IJO, 456-469.
49 For the Jewish presence in Side see IK Side nrs. 190-192.
50 Rott 1908, 307 ff. nr. 72; van Buren 1908, 195 ff. nr. 29; Oehler 1909, 538 nr. 75a; Krauss 1922, 23; CIJ II nr. 781; IK Side nr. 191; IJO, 462-466, no. 219. About the dating of this inscription see IK Side, 517 n. 23.
51 For similar examples see IJO, 468.
52 IK Side, 517; IJO, 463.
\( \gamma \eta = \varepsilon \iota \rho \gamma \eta \): For changes of \( \eta \) and \( \iota / \epsilon \) see Gignac 1977, 235-242. For letter changes in the Jewish inscriptions in ancient Greek see van der Horst 1996\(^2\), 25; Horbury – Noy 1992: s.v. index, 299 ff; 349 ff.

Inscription 2 (Inv. nr. 21; Fig. 25)

Three lines of text on the top part of the panel nr. 2 with menorah depiction. The panel was uncovered in fragments before the wall separating the apse area from the main hall and has survived only in half. Beneath the inscription is a stylized Hebrew letter shin, abbreviation for shalom. Panel H: 0.41 m. W: 0.38 m. Th: 0.06 m. Letter H: 0.012-0.024 m.

\[ \psi \kappa \alpha \tau \zeta \alpha \nu \zeta \rho \tau \sigma \gamma \alpha \mu \eta \zeta \zeta \]  
\[ \Theta \epsilon \delta \delta \tau \zeta \tau \zeta \iota \omega \tau \zeta \sigma \omega \zeta \]  
\[ \pi \alpha \nu \tau \iota \iota \ \Iota \sigma \rho \alpha \iota \zeta \zeta \lambda \ \alpha \mu \eta \zeta \zeta \ \psi \]

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2 \( \Theta \epsilon \delta \delta \tau \zeta \): For other Jews with this name see Noy – Panayotov 2004, 98 ff. nr. Mac16 (Macedonia). Theodote is the feminine form of Theodotos meaning “gift of God” and encountered in Jewish inscriptions and papyri. Variants of Theodotos like Theodoros and Theodotion are commonly found among Jewish names\(^53\).

3 \( \pi \alpha \nu \tau \iota \iota \ \Iota \sigma \rho \alpha \iota \zeta \zeta \lambda \ \alpha \mu \eta \zeta \zeta \ \psi \): The name Israel is found only in a funerary inscription from Iconium in Lycaonia (CIG, nr. 9270)\(^54\). This name is found for the first time in Anatolian Mediterranean.

Findspots as well as palaeographic and archaeological contexts of the abovementioned inscriptions 1 and 2 suggest that they complement each other. The panels were most probably placed side by side. Thus, both texts must be put together side by side constituting a single inscription as follows:

(Inv. Nr. 1)  
(Inv. Nr. 2)

\[ \varepsilon \gamma \lambda \varepsilon \alpha \zeta \kappa \varepsilon \zeta \iota \zeta \tau \alpha \zeta \iota \zeta \rho \tau \sigma \gamma \alpha \mu \eta \zeta \zeta \]  
\[ \Psi \]

Translation: Offering of Makedonios, son of Romanos, and his (Makedonios’) wife Prokle and their parents Romanos and Theodote. (May there be) peace onto all Israel! Amen! Shalom.

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\(^{53}\) Other names with the same meaning of “gift of God” in Hebrew are Yonathan, Nathanyah, Mattanyah, Nathanael. For more information see Mussies 1994, 244-276.

\(^{54}\) For Hellenic versions of this name in inscriptions see Horbury - Noy 1992, 25 nr. 17; JIWE I nr. 187; CJ II nr. 961 (Palaestina/Azot); 1437 (Egypt). See also inscription nr. 3 below. For Hebrew version of Israel see CJ II nr. 973 (Palaestina/Alma); 974 (Palaestina/Kefr Bir'im); 1391 (Jerusalem/Mount of Olives). For more information on the name Israel see Hayward 2005; see also Dosick 1995, 55.
Inscription 3 (Inv. nr. 27, Fig. 26)

An inscription in six lines on the front side of a marble panel - possibly reused, otherwise should be the inscription of those who commissioned the floor pavement - in the floor of the southwestern auxiliary room. Panel H: 0.26 m. W: 0.37 m. Th: n/a Letter H: 0.023–0.037 m.

εὐχὴ Θεο<ς> δραῖον
κε Ιουσουα υιόν (sic) Σαμουήν
ηλ τοῦ μακαρίου? ΓΕΡΙΑΜΠΡΑ
4 ΣΙ τὸν (sic) Ελέκονος κε
τὸν (sic) αὐτ[τ]οῦν (sic) πεδίον
ἐρήμη ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰσακήλ.

1 ΘΕΟΙΔΟΣΙΟΥ lapis || 2 κε = καὶ || 4 κε = καὶ || 5 πεδίον = παιδίον

Translation: Votive offering of Theodosios and Iusua, sons of Samuel, son of (?) ..., of Helikonos and his children. (May there be) peace onto Israel!

1 Θεόδσιος: For other Jews with this name see Ilan 2002, 285 (Palaestina); Noy – Panayotov 2004, 82 ff., nr. Mac8 (Macedonia/Beroea). Theodosios, the masculine form of Theodosia, is not very common among Diaspora Jews. This name is frequently encountered in the inscriptions from Cyrenaica (see CJZC, s.v. app. 1).

2 Ιουσουα (Ιουσουα): For this typical Hebrew name of Iusua (Joshua) see IJO, nr. 183, line 2 (Phrygia/Dokimeion); Bottermann 1993, 185 (Karia/Aphrodisias); CIJ II, nr. 962 (Palaestina/Ascalon).

υίον = υίόν: For examples where omicron replaces omega see Gignac 1977, 275 ff.

For examples of the name Σαμουήλ encountered in Anatolia see IJO, nr. 14 A. 14 B (Karia); nr. 90. 122 (Lydia/Sardes); nr. 183. 184 (Phrygia/Dokimeion).

4 τὸν = τὸν.

5 τὸν αὐτ[τ]ὸν = τὸν αὐτὸν.

6 ἐρήμη = εἰρήνη: For letter changes in the Jewish inscriptions in ancient Greek see van der Horst 19962, 25; Horbury – Noy 1992, s.v. index, 299 ff.; 349 ff.

ἐρήμη ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰσακήλ: See above inscription nr. 2. The present inscription contains the word “peace” that is missing in the inscription nr. 2.

Van der Horst states that out of about 2000 Jewish inscriptions from antiquity 68% are in Greek, 18% in Semitic (Hebrew or Aramaic), 12% in Latin and 2% are bilingual while 78% of Jewish inscriptions from Italy are in Greek55. These statistical figures show that Jews widely spoke Greek in the Roman Imperial period. Indeed, the Jewish inscriptions from Andriake and Lycia are only in ancient Greek; therefore, language is the last evidence for identifying the culture of such finds. An inscription can be ascribed to a Jewish person or community only if it bears a biblical name, certain titles like archisynagoges or liturgical

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55 van der Horst 1996, 22.
symbols such as a menorah, shofar, lulav and etrog. As these inscriptions from Andriake are found together with other Jewish elements, their contents ascribe them clearly to the category of typical Jewish votive inscriptions\textsuperscript{56}.

The proper names cited in these inscriptions belong to Jews with Hellenic names. In antiquity, it was very common among Jews to have pagan or imperial family names rather than Hebrew names: e.g., Philippus, Alexandros, Ptolemaios and even Dareios\textsuperscript{57}. In addition to the Greek names such as Makedonios, Romanos, Prokle, Theodote, Theodosios and Helikonos, there is also one Hebrew name attested to date in Andriake’s Jewish community—Samuel and Joshua.

Hebrew inscriptions and names gained wider use among Jewry of Anatolia as of particularly the 5\textsuperscript{th}–6\textsuperscript{th} centuries AD. However, here the Hellenic and Hebrew proper names are seen together which may suggest a date in ca. the 4\textsuperscript{th} century AD.

VI. Conclusions

Architectural evidence reveals the Andriake synagogue as a small apsidal building like the contemporary chapels in the region. Three building phases were identified. The main hall was two storied, and the niche in the apse wall could be used only from the upper floor. The apse’s floor at the level of the upper floor rested on a filling on bedrock. There are auxiliary rooms on the southwest, which suggests the presence of a communal centre - probably for both the local Jews of Andriake and visitors to the harbour. Data obtained and comparisons with other synagogues suggest a date in the 5\textsuperscript{th} century AD.

The synagogue at Andriake proves the existence of a Jewish community at Andriake, strong enough to have a house of prayer. However, as the functions of the adjoining buildings are not known, it is not possible to speak about the size and fabric of this community. As the excavations have just started at Andriake and Myra with the main city almost entirely buried under a thick layer of mud and alluvium, not much is known about the Jews of Andriake and Myra. However, a prominent location in the town centre, e.g., just in front of the granary adjoining the agora and in close proximity with a large church, may suggest a prominent place in the society, like at Sardis, Stobi, Hammam Tiberias and Ostia\textsuperscript{58}.

The other ancient synagogues uncovered in Anatolia are those at Priene (4\textsuperscript{th}, 5\textsuperscript{th} centuries) and Sardis (destroyed about AD 616) while the identity of those at Miletus (late 3\textsuperscript{rd}, early 4\textsuperscript{th} century) and Mopsuhestia (destroyed about AD 528-558) are not verified\textsuperscript{59}. Thus, the synagogue at Andriake is the third one uncovered in Turkey and undoubtedly identified as a synagogue. Although these structures do not resemble the one at Andriake with respect to architecture, they provide us with information about the Anatolian synagogues from the 4\textsuperscript{th} until the early 7\textsuperscript{th} century. Among other finds from Turkey are numerous inscriptions recorded, panels and lamps with menorah depictions and menorah fragments.

\textsuperscript{56} In Asia Minor, Lydia is known with the highest number of votive offerings to the synagogues. See IJO nrs. 60-145.
\textsuperscript{57} For examples see CPJ I nrs. 18, 70.
\textsuperscript{58} Levine 2000, 276-277; Rutgers 1996, 67; Rosenfeld - Menirav 1999, 271, 275; for Ostia see Meiggs 1973, 587-588; Squarcipino 1963, 195.
In the Diaspora synagogues it is thought that local characteristics are also influential in addition to the Jewish features.

The discovery of a synagogue at Andriake together with some of its Jewish elements has led to some conclusions which can be summarised as follows:

For the first time in Lycia, iconographic, architectural and epigraphic evidence regarding Jewish presence have been uncovered together, thus adding a new dimension to the cultural strata in Lycia. Analyses of the finds point to the 5th-6th centuries. The archaeological and epigraphic evidence from Andriake contributes a wealth of information regarding the Jews of Anatolia in the Late Antique and Early Byzantine periods.

The synagogue at Andriake, a port city, must have served both the Jews working at the harbour and those visiting Andriake for commercial purposes. Therefore, presence of a Jewish community at Myra and other sites along the coast and major trade routes in Turkey must be anticipated. Furthermore, the proximity of the synagogue to the churches and the location of the synagogue at a prominent point may also point to a convivencia of Jews and Christians here.

The relief decorations on the panels uncovered are of great importance for the Jewish art in ancient Anatolia because other objects used by the Jews in daily life reflect the characteristics of their period, thus making it impossible to distinguish between local Greeks, Romans or Jews as producers and consumers. The piece with a frieze of lamps side by side is a unique find for the interior decoration of ancient synagogues in Turkey.

The inscriptions from the Andriake synagogue have contributed to the content of the known inscriptions from Anatolia. The term “Israel” mentioned in the Andriake inscriptions is rarely attested in Anatolian Jewish inscriptions. These inscriptions in ancient Greek also show that the Jews of Andriake were Hellenized and spoke and wrote in Greek.

The debris used for filling the apse of the building provides a small reflection of Andriake before the Middle Ages.

The finds from Andriake should lead to revisions of finds in the excavation depots of other archaeological missions. All these finds suggest that new traces for Jewish presence should be expected across the entire region.

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60 Both its location and other historical evidence suggest that this synagogue served both the local Jews and those visiting the city. An inscription from Jerusalem states that the synagogues served the visitors as well. In the Second Temple Period, visitors had synagogues built in their names; for example, the Synagogue of the Freemen (Acts of the Apostles 6:9). It is also known that guilds had their own synagogues built at centres like Rome and Sephoris. Economic cases could be tried and contracts could be solved at synagogues (Rosenfeld - Meniara 1999, 263-266). Members of guilds and of the same profession are known to have been seated together in the synagogue of Alexandria, Egypt. Thus a visitor could easily find his fellows upon entering the synagogue. This facilitated the contacts between fellows and colleagues, prevented unjust rivalry and a single marketing policy could be developed. Also this seating system was important for the locals (Fine 1996a, 25; Rosenfeld - Meniara 1999, 260, 262). Although these examples are from different periods, they provide us with information about the function of the synagogue within the city.
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Öz

Likya’da Ünlik Bir Keşif: Myra’nın Limanı Andriake’deki Antik Sinagog


Küçük buluntu olarak andriake sinagog döneminine ait olan en önemli bulgular üç menora levhasına ait parçalar ile üç adet yazılır. Tam ele geçen 1 nolu levhada, menora tasvirinin etrafında profili bir çerçeveye görülür. Profili çerçeveyin içinde ana öğe olarak bir menora (yedi kollu şamdan), bir yanında şofar (boynuz) ve diğer yanında etrog (bir tür narenciye) ve lulav (palmiye dahi) bulunmaktadır. Bunların haricinde yarı halde tamamlanabilen bir başka menora tasvirli levha, çok küçük bir parçası günümüzde ulaşan bir başka levha ile bezemesiz bir levha, çeşitli trapez kesiti arşıtrav parçaları, süntence ve korkuluk payeleri sayılabilir.

Andriake'de bulunan sinagog, yerleşimin en anıtsal yapısı olan Granarium'un denize bakan cephesinin hemen kuzeybatısında bulunması ve giriş cephesinin limana yönelik olmasi, bunun yanı sıra yerleşim içinde merkezi konumda olması dikkat çekicidir.


Fig. 1  General view from the east

Fig. 2  Exterior of the apse

Fig. 3  Aerial view
Fig. 4  Topographic location of the synagogue

Fig. 5  Plan of the synagogue
Fig. 6  East-west cross-section

Fig. 7  North-south cross-section

Fig. 8  General view from the east before the excavations
Fig. 9
Restoration/consolidation work on the apse wall

Fig. 10
General view from the north before the excavations

Fig. 11
General view from the north after the excavations
Fig. 12 Excavation inside the main hall

Fig. 13 General view of the apse from the west

Fig. 14 North short wall of the main hall with the doorway and steps

Fig. 15 General view of the interior from the south after the excavations
Fig. 16  The apse area after removal of the filling

Fig. 17  The burial uncovered in the bedrock in the apse area

Fig. 18  Terracotta flooring of the main hall

Fig. 19  Adjoining room on the west
Fig. 20  Finds of earlier periods uncovered in the apse area

Fig. 21  Architectural elements uncovered fallen before the separating wall between the main hall and the apse

Fig. 22  Auxiliary rooms on the southwest

Fig. 23  Floor of the first auxiliary room on the southwest
Fig. 24  Inscription nr. 1

Fig. 25  Inscription nr. 2

Fig. 26  Inscription nr. 3

Fig. 27  Panel nr. 1

Fig. 28  Panel nr. 2
Fig. 29  Fragment of panel nr. 3
Fig. 30  Undecorated panel
Fig. 31  Column fragment

Fig. 32  Chancel screen elements as uncovered

Fig. 33  Column fragment of unusual style

Fig. 34  Baluster capital
Fig. 35  Baluster knob
Fig. 36  Column

Fig. 37  Coping stones

Fig. 38  Architrave fragment with lamp motifs
Fig. 39  Trapezoidal fragment

Fig. 40  Trapezoidal fragment

Fig. 41  Trapezoidal fragment

Fig. 42  View of the fixing hole on the trapezoidal fragment in Fig. 39

Fig. 43  End part of a trapezoidal fragment

Fig. 44  Fragment of a marble veneer decorated with engraved motifs