

## [106] *IJO* II 36

### Honours by Judeans for Tation Daughter of Straton

Kyme (Aiolis) or Phokaia (Ionia)

III CE (Lifshitz)

Publications: Ὁμηρος: Μηνιαῖον περιοδικὸν τοῦ ὁμωνύμου συλλόγου ἐν Σμύρνῃ (May 1875) 205 (first edition, according to a copy by Gennadios, with all others dependent on this copy) (Salomon Reinach, “Synagogue juive à Phocée,” *BCH* 10 [1886] 327–35; Reinach, “Une nouvelle synagogue grecque à Phocée” *Revue des études juives* 12 [1886] 236–43; Oehler 1909, 297 [no. 57]; Lafaye, *IGRR* IV 1327; Krauss 1922, 231; Frey, *CIJ* 738; Lifshitz, *DFSJ* 13; Engelmann, *IKyme* 45; Horsley, *NewDocs* I 69, at p. 111 [text and Eng. trans.]; Brooten 1982, 157 [no. 3]; F. Graf, *Nordionische Kulte: Epigraphische und religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zu den Kulturen von Chios, Erythrai, Klazomenai und Phokaia* [Bibliotheca Helvetica Romana 21; Rome: Istituto Svizzero, 1984] 470 [I.Ph. 10]; Trebilco 1991, 110 [no. 1.4]; *IPhokaiaMcCabe* 3; H.A. McKay, *Sabbath and Synagogue* [Leiden: Brill, 1994] 220; White 1997, 2.324 [no. 68, with Eng. trans.]; Ameling, *IJO* II 36); *AGRW* 105; PH252856.

Publication used: *IJO* II 36.

Current location: Unknown.

Similar or related inscriptions: *IJO* II 32 (→ *IEph* 719 [129] *comments*); *IJO* II 43 → *comments* below (Smyrna); *IJO* II 168 [113] (Akmoneia); *IJO* II 196 [116], with *comments* citing *IJO* II 191, 205, 206 (Hierapolis); *IJO* II 223 [150] (Tlos); *IMiletos* 940 [135]; *ISmyrna* 697.30–31 [139]: Judean associations in Asia Minor. *BCH* 25 (1901) 36 (no. 184) [98] (Amastris); *TAM* IV 22 (70/71 CE); *BE* 1974, 572 on *TAM* IV 33 (Nikomedia); *SEG* 51:2016 (Askalon); *ITomis* 60, 132; *TAM* V 1539 [117]: Use of *oikos* by associations. *IJO* II 168 [113]; *IJO* II 43 (II–III CE): Women benefactors or leaders of Judean synagogues. *IApamBith* 35 [99]; *SEG* 28:953 [108], with *IMT* 1431 in the *comments* (Kyzikos); *IJO* II 168 [113] (Akmoneia); *TAM* V 972 [123] (Thyateira); *ISmyrna* 653 [138]; *TAM* III 4 and 62 [147] (Termessos): Women as benefactors and/or leaders. *IJO* I Mac 1 [73]: Donation of a portion of a house (*oikos*) to a Judean gathering.

Found in Yeni Foça / Nea Foca, between ancient Kyme and ancient Phokaia. A description of the stone was not recorded by Gennadios.

Τάτιον Στράτωνος τοῦ Ἐν-  
πέδωνος τὸν οἶκον καὶ τὸν πε-  
ρίβολον τοῦ ὑπαίθρου κατασκευ-  
άσασα ἐκ τῶ[ν ἰδ]ίων

5 ἐχαρίσατο τ[οῖς Ἰο]υδαίοις.

ἡ συναγωγὴ ἐ[τείμη]σεν τῶν Ἰουδαί-  
ων Τάτιον Σ[τράτ]ωνος τοῦ Ἐνπέ-  
δωνος χρυσοῦ στεφάνῳ  
καὶ προεδρίᾳ.

Tation daughter of Straton, son of Empedon, having constructed the building (*oikos*) and the open-air enclosure from her own (resources), granted (them) to the Judeans. The synagogue of the Judeans honoured Tation daughter of Straton, son of Empedon, with a gold crown and (the right to occupy) the front seats.

### Notes

1. 1: Τάτιον (like some other names ending in -ιον) was a common feminine name in Asia Minor → *Ieph* 3130, from Ephesos in Ionia (Κλαυδία Αὐρηλία Τάτιον); *IGRR* 4.1589, from Klaros in Caria (Κοίντου θυγατέρες, Τατάριον καὶ Τάτιον); *TAM* V 470, from Göldë in Lydia (Ἀσκληπιάδης Μ<ε>νάνδρου | καὶ Τάτιον Ἀπολλώνιν ἐτίμησαν τὸν ἑαυτῶν ὕδιν | Ἀπολλωνίων); *TAM* V 554, from Maionia in Lydia (Ἐρμογένης Παπίου | καὶ Τάτιον Μενεκράτου Τάτιν τὴν ἐ[αυ]τῶν θυγατέ[ρα] || ἐτείμησ[αν]); *TAM* V 775, from Julia Gordos in Lydia (Τάτιον Τεμάρχου . . . γυναῖκα δὲ Μηνοδώρου); *SEG* 31:1019, from Saittai in Lydia (Τάτιον | τὴν ἑαυτῶν | μητέρα); *IGUR* 332, from Rome (Ἀμερίμνοι | υἱῶι | Τάτιον | μήτηρ).
1. 2: οἶκον → *BCH* 25 (1901) 36 (no. 184) [98] (Amastris); *TAM* IV 22 (70/71 CE); *BE* 1974, 572 on *TAM* IV 33 (Nikomedia); *SEG* 51:2016 (Askalon); *ITomis* 60, 132 (all involving shippers); *ILydiaKP* III 18 (devotees of Zeus and Angdistis at Philadelphía).
1. 6: συναγωγὴ → *IJO* II 154, 157, 168, 191 (Judean uses in Asia Minor); *IPerinthos* 49 [86] (synagogue of barbers); *IPerinthos* 59 (synagogue of oar-dealers); *IApamBith* 35 [99] (non-Judean uses of this group self-designation).
1. 9: προεδρία → *POxy* XXVII 2476, in the notes to *Ieph* 22 [144]; *TAM* II 910 [146] (Rhodiapolis, Lycia) (as an honour); *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 337 [3] (Piraeus); *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1012 [42] (Athens); *IJO* II 196 [116] (Hierapolis); *IHierapJ* 227; *IHierapP* 23; *OGIS* 595 (Puteoli) (with reference to leadership within an association).

### Comments

Groups of Judeans are attested in several regions of Asia Minor in the first to third centuries CE. As I discuss at length in another work, both external categorizations by outsiders and internal self-definitions by members of Judean gatherings suggest that we can readily approach these groups as further cases of ethnic associations in the ancient context (Harland 2009, 25–46; cf. Harland 2013 = Harland 2003c). Judean groups are, in fact, among the best attested immigrant associations in Asia Minor, perhaps second only to groups of Romans or Italians. Thus, for instance, there was a “synagogue” or gathering of Judeans named as recipient of any fines for violation of a grave at Nikomedia in Bithynia in the

third century CE (*IJO* II 157; cf. 154). South of Aiolis, in Ionia, there was a group of Judeans charged with care of a chief-physician's grave at Ephesos (*IJO* II 32), reserved seating in the theatre for the "Judeans who are also god-fearers" at Miletos (*IMiletos* 940f [135]), and a Judean ethnic group assigned any fines for violation of a grave at Smyrna (*IJO* II 43). Further inland, in Phrygia, there was a synagogue at Akmoneia which, like the group in our present inscription, met in an *oikos*, a building or transformed house (→ *IJO* II 168 [113]). At least three second or third century graves from Hierapolis in Phrygia attest to one or more groups of Judeans with various corporate self-designations used, including "gathering" (συναγωγή), "settlement" (κατοικία), and "people" (λαός; *IJO* II 191, 205, 206; → *IJO* II 196 [116] *comments*). In Lycia, a man at Tlos prepared a common grave for "all the Judeans" there in the late first century (→ *IJO* II 223 [150]). Although the Byzantine era is not our focus in this work, it is important to at least mention the many inscriptions found in connection with the synagogue within the bath-gymnasium complex at Sardis (IV CE; see Kroll 2001) and to note the lists of Judeans, god-fearers and other donors from Aphrodisias, which are now usually dated to the fourth, fifth or sixth centuries, not ca. 200 CE as commonly assumed (see, most recently, Chaniotis 2002 and Gilbert 2004).

Our present inscription is also notable with respect to women and associations or synagogues (→ *SEG* 28:953 [108], on women benefactors; on women in Judean groups specifically, see also Brooten 1982; Trebilco 1991, 104–126; van der Horst 1991; Levine 2000, 499–518). In this case, the woman Tation donated a building (*oikos*) and a courtyard to the group, presumably for the Judeans' meetings. Following common custom among associations generally, the group reciprocated with honours: a gold crown and the front seats. The latter honour of special seating suggests that Tation would be attending the gatherings of this group, even if she had not previously been a member. This differs somewhat from the case of a female benefactor of the Judeans at Akmoneia (→ *IJO* II 168 [113]). There Julia Severa had provided a "building" (*oikos*) for the Judeans' use. Yet in that case Julia Severa was a high-priestess in the civic temple for the emperors as gods and, apparently, was *not* a member of the group. Severa was subsequently included as recipient of a gilded shield alongside three others who later renovated the structure. Similarly, at Tralleis in Caria a woman named Capitolina—who seems to have been from a prominent family, like Severa (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> C 1085)—donated a platform and stairs within a building. This may have been a gathering place for Judeans, if we can take the reference to Capitolina being a "god-fearer" (θεοσεβής) as a reference to the Judean God (*IJO* II 27 [III CE]; cf. Trebilco 1991, 157–158). Tation's donation of a building at Kyme or Phokaia may also be compared to that of Claudius Tiberius Polycharmos at Stobi in Macedonia, who donated portions of his own house for use by

the Judean gathering (→ *IJO* I Mac 1 [73]). Yet in Tation's case there are no indications that the building was her own home.

The situation at Smyrna in Ionia is again somewhat different, but once again a woman plays a key role. The family grave of Rufina shows that this woman was not only benefactor of the ethnic group of Judeans there, but also the “leader of the synagogue” (ἀρχισυνάγωγος; *IJO* II 43 = *ISmyrna* 295; II–III CE):

Ρουφείνα Ἰουδαία ἀρχισυνάγωγος κατεσκεύασεν τὸ ἐνοόριον τοῖς ἀπελευθέροις καὶ θρέμασιν ἢ μηδενὸς ἄλου ἐξουσίαν ἔλχοντος θάψαι τινά. εἰ δέ τις τολμήσει, δώσει τῷ ἱερωτάτῳ ταμείῳ \* ἀφ' καὶ τῷ ἔθνει τῶν Ἰουδαίων \* ἁ. ταύτης τῆς ἐπιγραφῆς ἢ τὸ ἀντίγραφον ἀπόκειται ἰ εἰς τὸ ἀρχεῖον.

Rufina, Judean, head of the synagogue, prepared the burial-niche for her freedmen and slaves. No one else has the authority to bury anyone else here. Now if anyone dares to do so, that person will pay 1500 denarii to the most holy treasury and 1000 denarii to the people (*ethnos*) of the Judeans. (10) A copy of this inscription was stored in the archive.

This funerary inscription is particularly important as an example of a woman in a leadership position within a local Judean group (on the group self-designation ἔθνος, see *PKöln* 260, line 3 [II BCE]; on storing a copy of an inscription in the civic archive → *IJO* II 196 [116] *comments*). Recent studies have begun to deconstruct an older scholarly tendency both to assume that women could not be leaders of Judean groups and to interpret any titles held by women as merely honorific and deriving from a husband's leadership (see Brooten 1982; Trebilco 1991, 104–113; van der Horst 1991, 102–113).

There are three main titles given to women in the inscriptions that suggest important roles within Judean groups. Though often the evidence is not substantial enough to clarify precisely what functions these women may have served. First, there are women designated “elders” (πρεσβυτέρα, πρεσβυτέρισσα), who may have functioned alongside men as part of a council of elders in congregations that had such councils (cf. Brooten 1982, 41–55; van der Horst 1991, 106–107).

Second, there is the title “mother of the synagogue” (μήτηρ συναγωγῆς or *mater synagogorum*; *IJudEurope* II 251, 542, 577). This designation is attested in inscriptions from Rome and Italy and is sometimes found alongside the similar title “father of the synagogue.” As I demonstrate elsewhere (Harland 2009, 82–96), Judean groups were by no means alone in adopting such parental language to describe both leaders and benefactors (→ *IBosp* 75 [94] *comments*). Such parental titles had a long history in the Greek East, and these designations are sometimes attested within associations. For instance, a Dionysiac association at Thessalonikē had a “mother of the company (σπεύρας)” alongside other functionaries (*SEG* 49:814; II–III CE) and the “sacred association (δοῦμος)” devoted

to the Great Mother at Serdica in Thrace had a “mother of the tree-bearers” (*ICybele* VI 342; ca. 200 CE; cf. *ICybele* VI 454; II–III CE). Similar usage is found within associations in the West, particularly in Italy: *CIL* III 870 (“mother” in a *speira* of Asians at Napoca; 235 CE); *CIL* III 1207 (“mother of the *collegium*” at Apulum); *CIL* III 7505 (“mother of the tree-bearers” at Troesmis in Moesia; post-170 CE); *CIL* III 7532 (mother at Tomi); *CIL* III 8833 (“mother of the *vernaculorum*” at Salonae in Dalmatia); *CIL* VI 8796 (mother of the *collegium*); *CIL* VI 10234 (“mother” and “father” of the *collegium* devoted to Aesculapius and Hygiae; 153 CE); *CIL* IX 2687 (mother of the *collegium* at Aesernia); *CIL* IX 5450 (mother at Falerio); *CIL* XIV 37 (“mother” and “father” in a group devoted to Attis at Ostia); and, *CIL* XIV 256 (mother at Ostia). In many of these cases involving associations, parental metaphors were used to refer to members or leaders who apparently served *some functional or active role* within the group; in other words, often parental titles were not merely honorary titles for external benefactors (see Harland 2009, 82–96 = Harland 2007). So although the Judean cases give us little information regarding actual functions, it seems more likely that at least some of these Judean “mothers” were indeed functionaries and leaders within their groups.

Third, there are cases when a woman in a Judean group was given the title “head” or “leader of the synagogue” (ἀρχισυνάγωγος or ἀρχισυναγωγήσσα), as was the case with Rufina at Smyrna. Beyond the Smyrnaian evidence, only two other quite late cases have been discovered so far. There is a fragmentary inscription from Myndos in Caria that refers to Theopempte as a leader of the synagogue (*IJO* II 25; IV–VI CE): [ . . . Θ]εωπέμπτης [ἀρ]χισυν(αγώγου) κέ τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτῆς Εὐσεβίου. And there is a funerary inscription from Kissamos on Crete (IV–V CE) that refers to Sophia from Gortyn as both a female “elder” and a “synagogue leader”:

Σοφία Γορτυνία πρεσβυτέρα κέ ἀρχισυναγώγησσα Κισάμου ἔνθθα. μνήμη  
δικέας | ἰς ἔθνα. ἀμήν (*IJO* I Cre3).

As Bernadette J. Brooten (1982, 12) and P. W. van der Horst (1991, 105–106) point out, none of the attested cases of female leaders of the synagogue mentions any husband. So any suggestion that these titles were mere honorifics arising from the husband’s functional leadership role would be problematic. Yet Tessa Rajak and David Noy’s study of the term ἀρχισυνάγωγος shows that there were indeed some cases when the term was likely used in an honorific way (for *both* men and women) rather than in reference to actual functional roles within the group. So we cannot say with certainty that those who held the title were necessarily “the spiritual and intellectual leader of the synagogue and responsible for its spiritual direction and regulation,” as Paul Trebilco (1991, 104–105) claims. There may have been cases when the title was used of actual leaders (either male or female) who played an active role in group activities and other cases when the title was granted to patrons or benefactors as an honour.

Similar possibilities apply to those with the titles “mother of the synagogue” and “father of the synagogue.”

**Literature:** Horsley, *NewDocs* IV 113 (ἀρχισυνάγωγος); Horst, P. W. van der. *Ancient Jewish Epitaphs*. Kampen: Kok Pharos, 1991, esp. 102–113; Kraemer, Ross S. “On the Meaning of the Term Jew in Greco–Roman Inscriptions.” *HTR* 82 (1989) 35–53, esp. 45–46 (Rufina); Kroll, John H. “The Greek Inscriptions of the Sardis Synagogue.” *HTR* 94 (2001) 5–55; Levine 2000, 499–518; Rajak and Noy 1993 (ἀρχισυνάγωγος); Trebilco 1991, 104–126.