

[113] *IJO* II 168

Honours by a Synagogue for Julia Severa and Others

Akmoneia area (Phrygia) late I CE or early II CE (Ameling)

Publications: Salomon Reinach, "Chronique d'Orient," *RA* (3rd series) 12 (1888) 224–26 (no. 13; first edition); Ramsay, *IPhrygR* 559 (Oehler 1909, 298 [no. 65]); Ramsay, "Deux jours en Phrygie," *REA* 3 (1901) 269–79, at 271–72 (Krauss 1922, 232 [no. 64]; Lafaye, *IGRR* IV 655; Frey, *CIJ* 766); Buckler and Calder, *MAMA* VI 264 (with plate 47; Lifshitz, *DFSJ* 33; Brooten 1982, 158 [no. 6]; Rajak and Noy 1993, 91 [no. 20]; White 1997, 2.307–10 [no. 65]; B. Wander, *Gottesfürchtige und Sympathisanten: Studien zum heidnischen Umfeld von Diasporasynagogen* [Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1998] 133; Donald Binder, *Into the Temple Courts: The Place of the Synagogues in the Second Temple Period*, SBLDS 169 [Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 1999] 145–46; Ameling, *IJO* II 168; Anders Runesson, Donald D. Binder, and Birger Olsson, *The Ancient Synagogue From its Origins to 200 CE: A Source Book* (Leiden: Brill, 2010) 134–135 (no. 103; Eng. trans.); *AGRW* 145; PH270132.

Publication Used: *IJO* II 168.

Last known location: Museum at Afyon Karahisar, in the 1930s (Buckler and Calder)

Similar or related inscriptions: *IJO* II 36 [106] *comments*: Women and Judean associations in Asia Minor. *IJO* II 172–178: Judean family graves at Akmoneia. *IJO* II 1, 25, 30, 43, 46, 148, 168, 184, 214, 217, 256 (Asia Minor); *CIG* II 2007f.2 [66] (Kassandraia, I CE) *comment*; *SEG* 42:625.6 [75] (Thessalonikē, 90–91 CE); *SEG* 46:800 [72] (Pydna, 250 CE): Synagogue-leaders (ἀρχισυνάγωγοι). *IJO* II 32 (→ *IEph* 719 [129] *comments*); *IJO* II 36 [106] (Kyme), with *comments* citing *IJO* II 43 (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. *Iapambith* 35 [99]; *IJO* II 36 [106] (Kyme or Erythrai); *SEG* 28:953 [108], with *IMT* 1431 in the *comments* (Kyzikos); *TAM* V 972 [123] (Thyateira); *ISmyrna* 653 [138]; *TAM* III 4 and 62 [147] (Termessos): Women as benefactors and/or leaders.

Slab of white marble with a panel and traces of handles (*ansae*) on the right and left, found re-used as a support for a veranda of a home (49 x 58 x 15 cm; letter height: 1.75–2.25 cm).

τὸν κατασκευασθέντα οἴκον ὑπὸ
Ἰουλίας Σεουήρας Π. Τυρρώνιος Κλά-

- δος ὁ διὰ βίου ἀρχισυνάγωγος καὶ
 Λούκιος Λουκίου ἀρχισυνάγωγος
 5 καὶ Ποπίλιος Ζωτικὸς ἄρχων ἐπεσ-
 κεύασαν ἕκ τε τῶν ἰδίων καὶ τῶν συν-
 καταθεμένων καὶ ἔγραψαν τοὺς τοί-
 χους καὶ τὴν ὀροφὴν καὶ ἐποίησαν
 10 τὴν τῶν θυρίδων ἀσφάλειαν καὶ τὸν
 [λυ]πὸν πάντα κόσμον, οὕστινας κα[λ]
 ἢ συναγωγὴ ἐτέιμησεν ὄπλω ἐπιχρύ-
 σω διὰ τε τὴν ἐνάρετον αὐτῶν δ[ι]άθ[ε]-
 σιν καὶ τὴν πρὸς τὴν συναγωγὴν εὐνοϊάν
 τε καὶ σ[που]δῆν.

The building (*oikos*), which was built by Julia Severa, was renovated by P. Tyrronius Klados, head of the synagogue for life, Lucius son of Lucius, also head of the synagogue, and Popilius Zotikos, leader, from their own resources and from the common deposit. They decorated the walls and ceiling, made the windows secure, and (10) took care of all the rest of the decoration. The synagogue honoured them with a gilded shield because of their virtuous disposition, goodwill, and diligence in relation to the synagogue.

Notes

- I. 1: οἶκον → *IJO* II 36 [106] (Judeans at Kyme or Phokaia); *ILydiaKP* III 18 (devotees of Zeus and Angdistis at Philadelphia). Shippers used the term both for a meeting-place and as a self-designation of the group: *BCH* 25 (1901) 36 (no. 184) [98]; *TAM* IV 22 (70/71 CE); *BE* 1974, 572 on *TAM* IV 33 (Nikomedia); *SEG* 51:2016 (Askalon); *ITomis* 60, 132; *IG* II² 1273AB.7 [18] (265/4 BCE); *IThraceLPZ* E18 [83] (III CE?); *IJO* I Mac 1.10 [73] (Stobi, II–III CE); *IG* X/2.1 255 [77] (I–II CE).
- I. 3: διὰ βίου, “for life” → *BCH* 25 (1901) 36 (no. 184) [98] (Amastris); *TAM* V 972 [123] (Thyateira); *IG* II² 1328 [34] (183/2, 175/4 BCE); *IG* II² 1326.36 [36] (176/5 BCE); *IG* II² 1368.7 [51] *comments* (164/65 CE); *IG* II² 2361.10, 68 [52] (200–211 CE); *IDionysosJ* 7.5 [60] (141 CE).
- II. 3, 4: ἀρχισυνάγωγος, “head of the synagogue” → *IJO* II 1, 25, 30, 43, 46, 148, 168, 184, 214, 217, 256 (Judean uses in Asia Minor); *CIG* II 2007f.2 [66] *comments* (Kassandreia, I CE); *SEG* 42:625.6 [75] (Thessalonikē, 90–91 CE); *SEG* 46:800 [72] (Pydna, 250 CE). The term was also sometimes used by non-Judean associations → *ILydiaHM* 85 [119] *comments* (citing an inscription from Macedonia).
- I. 11: συναγωγή, literally “gathering” → *IJO* II 196 [116] *comments*.

Comments

The earliest evidence for Judeans settling in the towns of Phrygia and Lydia comes from Josephus’ reference to a letter written by the Seleukid king, Antiochos III, some time between 212 and 204 BCE. In this document, Antiochos

writes to the governor of Lydia requesting that 2000 Judean families from Babylonia be resettled in Phrygia and Lydia in an attempt to help control disturbances there (Josephus, *Antiquities* 12.148–153; cf. Trebilco 1991, 5–7). It is not until about three hundred years later, the time of our inscription in this entry, that we first encounter epigraphic evidence for immigrant groups of Judeans gathering together as an association or “synagogue” in Asia Minor generally. Still later, there is evidence for gatherings of Judeans in Phrygian towns such as Hierapolis (→ *IJO* II 196 [116] *comments*).

Although the self-designation “synagogue” (συναγωγή) could be used by associations of various kinds (beyond Judeans), the leadership title ἀρχισυνάγωγος (though not συνάγωγος) is somewhat more characteristically Judean (but do see *CIG* 2007f [66], *SEG* 46:800 [72], *SEG* 42:625 [75], and *IPerinthos* 49 [86], for this position in other associations or guilds). So we are likely dealing with a synagogue of *Judeans* here at Akmoneia (modern Ahat). This gathering of Judeans meets in an οἶκος, which can mean “house,” “building” or “room” within a building. The same term is used for the meeting-place of the Judeans at Kyme or Phokaia, as we have seen (→ *IJO* II 36 [106]). It is possible that the building at Akmoneia was, in the past, merely owned by Julia Severa, in which case there would be no reason to suppose a relationship between this prominent woman and the Judeans (cf. Rajak 2001, 464, who nonetheless does *not* adopt this option). If this was the case, the Judean gathering simply acquired a building previously owned by Severa and later made incidental reference to this. However, it seems more likely that her inclusion here along with later benefactors, which would result in attributing her honour, was a response to Severa’s active support for the Judeans in the past. In this case, Severa had shown her beneficence by contributing the building in which the Judean gathering met sometime around the period 60–80 CE. It is worth mentioning the author of Luke–Acts’ similar story of a Roman centurion donating a building as a gathering place at Capernaum:

After Jesus had finished all his sayings in the hearing of the people, he entered Capernaum. A centurion there had a slave whom he valued highly, and who was ill and close to death. When he heard about Jesus, he sent some Jewish elders to him, asking him to come and heal his slave. When they came to Jesus, they appealed to him earnestly, saying, “He is worthy of having you do this for him, for he loves our people, and it is he who built our synagogue for us” (Luke 7:1–5 [NRSV]).

Along with others who later renovated the building at Akmoneia, Severa was honoured by the association with a gilded shield and this monument.

Julia Severa was a noteworthy benefactor and civic leader within Akmoneia in the decades of the mid- to late-first century, but she was not Judean (Jewish), as some had suggested (e.g. Ramsay, *IPhrygR*, pp. 639, 650–51, 673; see Trebilco 1991, 57–60). The local elders organization honoured her with a monu-

ment, also mentioning her role as high-priestess and director of games for the civic cult of the Augustan (*Sebastoi*) gods (*MAMA* VI 263; cf. *MAMA* VI List 153*):

ἡ γερουσία ἐτε|λιμῆσεν | Ἰουλίαν Γαίου θυγατέρα Σεουή|ραν, ἀρχιέριαν
κα[ι] | ἀγωνοθέτιν τοῦ | σύνπαντος τῶν | [θ]εῶν Σεβαστῶν | [οἰ]κου,
πάσης ἀρε|[τ]ῆς χάριν καὶ τῆς | [εἰ]ς αὐτήν. εὐεργεσί[α]ς | [τὴν
ἀνάστασι]ν πο[ι]η|σαμένου — — —]

The elders' organization (*gerousia*) honoured Julia Severa, daughter of Gaius, high-priestess and director of contests of the whole household of the Augustan (*Sebastoi*) gods, because of her virtue and benefaction towards the elders' organization...

Julia Severa was a member of a prominent family descending from Attalid and Galatian royalty (*IGRR* III 373), a family that came to play a key role within the webs of imperial power in Asia Minor (see Harland 2013, 121–123 = Harland 2003c, 140–143; cf. *IGRR* III 373–75; *IAnkyraB* 105, 156–57; Halfmann 1979, throughout). Together with her Italian husband, L. Servenius Capito, she had a son, L. Servenius Cornutus. Her son became a senator under Nero, assuming positions including quaestor in the province of Cyprus and legate of the proconsul of Asia around 73–77 CE (Halfmann 1979, no. 5). Severa's relative (perhaps second or third cousin), C. Antius Aulus Julius Quadratus, was a prominent Pergamene and senator who assumed the Roman consulate in 94 and 105 CE. He held numerous provincial offices in the Greek East, including legate in Asia, Bithynia–Pontus, Lycia–Pamphylia, and Syria, and proconsul of Asia in 109–110 CE (*PIR*² I 507; Halfmann 1979, no. 17). I have already discussed the dancing cowherds' honours for this same Quadratus (→ *IPergamon* 485 [110] *comments*). C. Julius Severus at Ankyra, who also assumed the office of proconsul of Asia at one point in his career (152–153 CE), is known to be an *anepsios* (often meaning cousin) of Julius Quadratus of Pergamon, and C. Julius Severus's brother was definitely a man named Julius Amyntianus (*IGRR* III 373 = *OGIS* 544). Simone Follet (1976, 133) convincingly proposes that this was the same Julius Amyntianus who was honoured as priest of Isis by initiates of Isis at Tralleis (→ *ITrall* 86 [145]), if not a relative in some other way. So the Judeans at Akmonia, like the cowherds at Pergamon, could claim involvement within important circles in Roman Asia Minor.

This positive connection with a high-priestess of an important family is not the only sign of linkages with the local elites in this inscription. It seems likely that P. Tyrronius Klados, the head of the synagogue, was associated with the Tyrronius family as a relative, freedman, or client (cf. White 1997, 2.309–10 n.48). Members of the Tyrronius family held important civic positions at Akmonia. C. Tyrronius Rapon served alongside Severa at one point, most likely as civic high-priest (*MAMA* VI 265; ca. 70–80 CE). These honourees may or may not have been Judean. Tessa Rajak and David Noy's (1993) study of the

position of ἀρχισυνάγωγος shows that this role need not always require Judean origins. Sometimes non-Judeans may have been assigned the title as a means of honouring them for their material support.

Our present inscription remains the only direct evidence for a *gathering* of Judeans at Akmoneia in the first two centuries. There is a fragmentary inscription from Synnada (about 70 km east) that may attest to a head of the synagogue ([ἀ]ρχισυν[ά]γωγος) there in the first or second centuries and, therefore, to another gathering (*IJO* II 214). What has survived from Akmoneia, however, are several graves of Judean *families*. Yet, while the custom at Hierapolis was (sometimes) to include associations in caring for or protecting the grave, this does not seem to have been very common at Akmoneia, where unofficial associations are seldom mentioned on graves. Instead, Judean families in the third century CE ensured protection of the grave by invoking curses on any potential violators, including curses drawn from passages in Judean scriptures, especially Deuteronomy (*IJO* II 172–178; see Trebilco 1991, 60–78).

There is, to my knowledge, only one exception from the vicinity of Akmoneia in which a family arranged for an unofficial association to care for the grave. The final warning on this epitaph, which invokes the “justice of the god,” may, in fact, indicate either a Judean or Christian identity for the family and, potentially, for the neighbourhood association itself, assuming that they, too, were adherents of the god who was invoked (*IJO* II 171 = *IPhyrgR* 455–57, with corrections to [B] in *MAMA* VI List, p. 151, no. 208; 212–295 CE):

(A) [Αὐρ. Ἀ]ριστέας [Ἀπολ.]λωνίου ἠγόρασεν ἀργὸν τόπον | παρὰ Μάρκου Μαθ[ί]λλου <πή(χρον)> ἰ ἐπὶ ἰ. ἔτει [.]. | <Later addition in small letters:> κατεσκεύασαν τὰ τέκνα αὐτοῦ Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ Καλλίστρα[τ]ος μητρὶ καὶ πατρὶ || [μνήμη]ς χάριν.

(B) ὑποσχόμενος τῇ | [γειτοσύνη] τῶν προπυλαιῶν ἄρμ[ε]να δικέ[λ]λα[ς] || δύο κα[ί] ἄμην | καὶ λ[ί]τρον ὄρου[κ]τόν ἔδωκεν | ἐφ’ ᾧ κατὰ ἔτος ῥ[ο]δίσωσιν τὴν σύμβ[ι]λόν μου Αὐρηλίαν.

(C) [ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ἐθέλωσιν] ῥοδίσαι κατὰ ἔτος, | [ἔσ]ται αὐτοῖς πρὸς[ς] | [τῆ]ν δικαιοσύ[ν]η[ν] τοῦ θεοῦ.

(A) ... Aurelius (?) ... Aristreas son of ... Apollonios (?)... purchased the unused burial ground from Marcus Mathios, measuring ten cubits by ten cubits in the year ... (see A, lines 6–10, below for later addition inserted here). (B) Promising two pitchforks, a spade, and a hoe to the neighbourhood (*geitosynē*) of those in area of the first gateway (*protopyleitai*), he gave (them) on condition that they decorate the grave with roses yearly for my wife, Aurelia. (C) ... But if they are not willing (?) ... to decorate it with roses each year, it will be in the hands of the justice of the God.

(A, lines 6–10, *added later in smaller letters in a second hand*): His (i.e. Aristreas’) children, Alexandros and Kallistratos prepared this as a memorial for their mother and father.

This epitaph assigns the role of decorating the grave with roses to a neighbourhood association located near the first gate (on the Rosalia festival, see *Philippi* II 133/G441 [69] *comments*; Perdrizet 1900; van Nijf 1997, 64–65). In return, the group was promised tools and digging implements, and this suggests that the members of the group were likely engaged in an occupation involving manual labour. The final warning invokes the “justice of the god” in a variation on the so-called Eumeneian formula (ἔσται αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸν θεόν). This formula was used by both Jesus-followers and Judeans (see Trebilco 2002; cf. Mitchell 1993, 1.189). Based on a lack of clearly Christian inscriptions at Akmoneia and the presence of what seems to be a Semitic name (Math[i]os) in this epitaph, Louis Robert and others suggest that this is more likely Judean than Christian, but this is not decisive (Robert 1960, 410–412; Trebilco 1991, 78–81; contrast Ramsay in *IPhyrgR* 455–57, who identifies it as Christian; Strubbe 1994, 72–73, 90 n.61, who admits it could go either way).

Literature: Calder, W.M. “The Eumeneian Formula.” In *Anatolian Studies Presented to William Hepburn Buckler*, edited by W.M. Calder and Josef Keil, 15–26. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1939; Cohick, Lynn H. *Women in the World of the Earliest Christians*. Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2009, esp. 298–99; Donaldson, T. L. *Judaism and the Gentiles: Jewish Patterns of Universalism (to 135 CE)*. Waco: Baylor University Press, 2007 (esp. 624–26); Follet, Simone. *Athènes au IIe et au IIIe siècle: Études chronologiques et prosopographiques*. Collection d’études anciennes. Paris: Société d’Édition les Belles Lettres, 1976, esp. 133 (Amyntianus); Harland 2013, 121–23, 199–200 = Harland 2003c, 140–41, 227–28; Juster, Jean. *Les Juifs dans l’empire romain: Leur condition juridique, économique et sociale*. New York: Burt Franklin, 1914, esp. 1.431, 437 n. 4; Kraabel, A.T. *Judaism in Western Asia Minor Under the Roman Empire, with a Preliminary Study of the Jewish Community at Sardis, Lydia*. Cambridge, MA: HUP, 1968, 109–114 (Aristeas inscription); Levine 2000, 508–509; Perdrizet, Paul. “Inscriptions de Philippes.” *BCH* 24 (1900) 299–323 (associations and the Rosalia); Rajak, Tessa. *The Jewish Dialogue with Greece and Rome: Studies in Cultural and Social Interaction*. Leiden: Brill, 2001, esp. 463–66; Rajak and Noy 1993; Ramsay, W.M. “Deux jours en Phrygie.” *REA* 3 (1901) 272; Ramsay, W.M. “Nouvelles remarques sur les texts d’Acmonia.” *REA* 4 (1902) 270; Ramsay, *IPhyrgR* 455–57 (Aristeas inscription); Reinach, S. “Chronique d’Orient,” *RA* 12 (1888) 225–26; Robert, Louis. “Épithaphes juives d’Éphèse et de Nicomédie.” *Hellenica* 11–12 (1960) 381–413; Schürer 1898–1901, 3.20; Sheppard, A.R.R. “Jews, Christians and Heretics in Acmonia and Eumeneia.” *Anatolian Studies* 29 (1979) 169–180; Strubbe, J.H.M. “Curses Against Violation of the Grave in Jewish Epitaphs of Asia Minor.” In *Studies in Early Jewish Epigraphy*, edited by Jan Willem van Henten and Pieter Willem van der Horst, 70–128. AGJU 21. Leiden: Brill, 1994, esp. 72–73 (Aristeas inscription); Trebilco 1991, 58–60; Trebilco, Paul. “The Christian and Jewish Eumeneian Formula.” *Mediterraneo Antico* 5 (2002) 63–97, esp. 71 (on the Aristeas inscription); White 1997, 2.307–10; White, L. Michael. “Counting the Costs of Nobility: The Social Economy of Roman Pergamon.” In *Pergamon: Citadel of the Gods. Archaeological Record, Literary*

Description, and Religious Development, edited by Helmut Koester, 331–371. HTS 46. Harrisburg: Trinity Press International, 1998; Wilson, S. G. *Leaving the Fold: Apostates and Defectors in Antiquity*. Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2004, esp. 61–62.