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Familial Dimensions of Group Identity (II):[1] "Mothers" and "Fathers" in Associations and Synagogues of the Greek World

Philip A. Harland
Humanities Division (Religious Studies and Ancient History), Vanier College, 248, 76 Winters Lane York University, Toronto, Canada
pharland@yorku.ca

Abstract

Fictive parental language (e.g. "mother of the synagogue," "father of the association") has drawn limited attention within two scholarly circles, namely, those who study diaspora synagogues, on the one hand, and ancient historians, on the other. This article brings these two scholarly interests together and argues, based on inscriptional evidence, that parental metaphors were more widespread and significant in cities and associations of the Greek East than often acknowledged. Such terminology was an important way of expressing honour, hierarchy, and/or belonging within the association or community, and it could also pertain to functional leadership roles (rather than mere honorifics) in certain cases. The Jewish practice of calling figures "mother" or "father" of the synagogue can be better understood within this cultural framework and in relation to associations specifically.

Keywords

synagogues, associations, identity, family, inscriptions, epigraphy, civic life, leadership, honorary conventions

Introduction

The use of parental metaphors in small group settings or associations of the Greco-Roman world has drawn limited attention within two scholarly

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circles. On the one hand, those who study diaspora Judaism have engaged in some debate regarding the titles "mother of the synagogue" and "father of the synagogue," particularly focusing on whether or not the title also entailed some functional leadership role within Jewish gatherings.[2] On the other hand, classicists and ancient historians have touched upon the use of "father" or "mother" as an honorary designation in connection with guilds and associations, especially in scholarship around the turn of the twentieth century. Franz Poland, for instance, attempted to deal with the question of whether or not the practice was significant in the Greek East, and came to a negative conclusion.[3] Yet, to my knowledge, these two scholarly interests have not

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2) For earlier discussions see, for instance, Emil Schürer, "Die Juden im bosporanischen Reiche und die Genossenschaften der σεβόμενοι θεὸν ὕψιστον ebendaselbst," *Sitzungsberichte der königlich preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin* (1897): 29-32; Harry J. Leon, *The Jews of Ancient Rome* (2d ed.; with an introduction by Carolyn A. Osiek; reprint, 1960; Peabody: Hendrickson Publishers, 1995), 186-88; Martin Hengel, "Die Synagogeninschrift von Stobi," *ZNW* 57 (1966): 145-83. For a summary of the scholarly debate up to 1982, see Bernadette J. Brooten, *Women Leaders in the Ancient Synagogue: Inscriptional Evidence and Background Issues* (BJS 36; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1982), 57-72. Most recently, see Lee I. Levine, *The Ancient Synagogue: The First Thousand Years* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 404-406.

3) Franz Poland, *Geschichte des griechischen Vereinswesens* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1909), 371-72; cf. Paul Foucart, *Des associations religieuses chez les Grecs- thiases, éranes, orgéons, avec le texte des inscriptions rélative à ces associations* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1873), 242; Wilhelm Liebenam, *Zur Geschichte und Organisation des römischen Vereinswesens* (Leipzig: B.G. Teubner, 1890), 218 n.2; Jean-Pierre Waltzing, *Étude historique sur les corporations professionelles chez les Romains depuis les origines jusqu'à la chute de l'empire d'Occident* (Mémoires Couronnés et Autres Mémoires Publié par l'Académie Royale des Sciences, des Lettres et des Beaux-Arts de Belgique 50; Bruxelles: F. Hayez, 1895-1900), 3.446-449. For recent studies which deal with these titles in the Roman *collegia* of the West, see, for instance, Jonathan Scott Perry, "A Death in the Familia: The Funerary Colleges of the Roman Empire" (Doctoral thesis: The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1999), 178-92; Jinyu Liu, "Occupation, Social Organization, and Public Service in the Collegia Centonariorum in the Roman Empire (First Century B.C-.Fourth Century A.D.)" (Doctoral thesis: Columbia University, 2004), 320-21.

met in a substantial comparative study of fictive parental language in connection with synagogues and associations. Such a comparison is especially fitting in light of recent scholarship's emphasis on the ways in which Jewish synagogues were, in important respects, considered associations or *collegia*.[4]

Furthermore, rarely have scholars in either of the two fields fully explored the social and cultural framework of this usage in the Greek-speaking, eastern Mediterranean and in immigrant Greek-speaking settings in the West. Focusing on this material, I argue that parental metaphors were more widespread in the cities of the Greek East than often acknowledged. This includes substantial evidence regarding associations specifically which suggests that such terminology was an important way of expressing honour, hierarchy, and/or belonging within the group. Although questions of cultural influence are difficult to assess, a careful look at the evidence suggests that we cannot explain many cases in Greek inscriptions with a claim of western influence, and it is quite possible that the initial cultural influence was the other way around, from Greek to Roman. Moreover, the practice among diaspora Jewish synagogues can be better understood in light of the practice within the Greek cities and associations. Attention to this evidence for associations from the diaspora provides a new vantage point on the mothers and fathers of the synagogues, including honorific and functional dimensions associated with parental designations.

Parental Terminology in Jewish Synagogues

It is somewhat surprising that scholars who focus on Jewish uses of the titles "mother of the synagogue" and "father of the synagogue" either ignore or only briefly allude to non-Jewish instances within associations or within the

4) See Peter Richardson, "Early Synagogues as Collegia in the Diaspora and Palestine," in *Voluntary Associations in the Graeco-Roman World* (ed. John S. Kloppenborg and Stephen G. Wilson; London; New York: Routledge, 1996), 90-109; Peter Richardson, *Building Jewish in the Roman East* (Waco, Texas: Baylor University Press, 2004), 111-34, 187-224; Albert Baumgarten, "Greco-Roman Voluntary Associations and Jewish Sects," in *Jews in a Greco-Roman World* (ed. M. Goodman; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 93-111; Anders Runesson, *The Origins of the Synagogue: A Socio-Historical Study* (ConBNT; Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiskell International, 2001). Cf. Philip A. Harland, *Associations, Synagogues, and Congregations: Claiming a Place in Ancient Mediterranean Society* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2003), 177-264.

Greek cities generally.[5] This may be due, in part, to the notion that, as Lee I. Levine puts it, "the term 'father' as a title of honor and respect has deep roots in ancient Judaism," which is indeed true in certain respects, and there are hints that some groups in Judea may have used parental titles for authority positions.[6] Yet instead of also exploring Greco-Roman contexts, the focus of debate with regard to diaspora synagogues often pertains to the internal question of whether the titles were honorific or functional in terms of real-life leadership, particularly with respect to women's leadership. Bernadette J. Brooten's and Levine's arguments for the probable *functional* nature of at least some of these positions is a corrective to the standard claim of mere honorifics.[7] Still, these same scholars do not fully explore the evidence for associations in their brief discussion of non-Jewish parallels, evidence which may help to resolve issues in the debate.[8]

I argue that we can make better sense of this Jewish practice within the broader context of parental metaphors in the Greco-Roman world, particularly in connection with cities, cults, and associations of the Greek East.[9] Furthermore, in some ways the scholarly debate concerning the Jewish cases, which sometimes speaks in terms of opposing options of honorific title or

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5) E.g. Leon, *The Jews*, 186-88; Hengel, "Die Synagogeninschrift," 176-81; Brooten, *Women Leaders*, 57-72; Eva Maria Lassen, "Family as Metaphor: Family Images at the Time of the Old Testament and Early Judaism," *SJOT* 6 (1992): 257-61; Levine, *The Ancient Synagogue*, 404. Do, however, see G. H. R. Horsley's passing comment that "This Jewish title ['father of the synagogue'] may itself be an adaptation of the honorific 'father of the *ekklesia/boule/polis*' which appears on inscriptions in Asia Minor" (*NewDocs* IV 127, p. 260); cf. David Noy, *Jewish Inscriptions of Western Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993-95), 77-78.

6) Levine, *The Ancient Synagogue*, 404; cf. Noy, *Jewish Inscriptions*, 77. The use of fictive parental language for positions of authority in a group context seems to be reflected in one partial regulation of the *Damascus Document* which refers to "mothers" and "fathers." See 4Q270 7 i 13-15, as interpreted by Sidnie White Crawford, "Mothers, Sisters, and Elders: Titles for Women in the Second Temple Jewish and Early Christian Communities," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls as Background to Postbiblical Judaism and Early Christianity. Papers from an International Conference at St. Andrews in 2001* (ed. James R. Davila; STDJ 46; Leiden: Brill, 2003), 177-91, and Moshe J. Bernstein, "Women and Children in Legal and Liturgical Texts from Qumran," *DSD* 11 (2004): 204-205.

7) Brooten, *Women Leaders*, 57-72; Levine, *The Ancient Synagogue*, 404-406.

8) Brooten, *Women Leaders*, 71. Compare Levine, *The Ancient Synagogue*, 404, who devotes one passing sentence to the Greco-Roman material despite several pages of discussing the Jewish cases.

9) Noy makes a similar point, though in brief (Noy, *Jewish Inscriptions*, 77-78).

functional leadership, is problematic. We shall see that addressing leaders or benefactors as "mother," "father," or "papa," as well as "daughter" or "son," were somewhat common ways of expressing honour, gratitude, belonging, or even affection within a variety of contexts. In some cases, it seems that such titles could be used of external benefactors who were not, in fact, members of the group in question. Yet in many others involving associations, parental metaphors were used to refer to members or leaders who apparently served some functional or active role within the group.

Furthermore, the epigraphic evidence for fictive parental language has a broader significance concerning the relation of diaspora Jewish gatherings to Greco-Roman civic life—culturally, institutionally and socially. Although dealing primarily with the position of "leader of the synagogue" (ἀρχισυνάγωγος), Tessa Rajak and David Noy's comments regarding the ways in which certain Jewish groups reflect and interact with surrounding society also ring true in connection with the use of parental designations in the synagogue, I would suggest:

> The echoing of the city's status system within the Jewish group represents at the very least an external acceptance within the group of civic political values. These echoes would necessarily be both the result and the facilitator of interaction. The result of redefining the archisynagogate in terms of a sound understanding of Greek civic titles, is thus to conclude that it belonged in an outward-looking type of community, which did not see fit to run its affairs in isolation, even if it might parade its cultural distinctiveness in chosen ways.[10]

A brief outline of our epigraphic evidence for parental metaphors among Jewish synagogues of the diaspora is in order before turning to the Greek civic context and associations.[11] Jewish uses of the titles "mother of the synagogue" or "father of the synagogue" are found at several locales and many of these cases occur in Greek inscriptions. What is likely among the earliest attested instances of such parental terminology in a Jewish context comes

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10) Tessa Rajak and David Noy, "*Archisynagogoi*: Office, Title and Social Status in the Greco-Jewish Synagogue," *JRS* 83 (1993): 89.

11) Epigraphic abbreviations here follow the suggested new standard outlined by G. H. R. Horsley and J. A. Lee, "A Preliminary Checklist of Abbreviations of Greek Epigraphic Volumes," *Epigraphica* 56 (1994): 129-69. In addition: *IJO* = *Inscriptiones Judaicae Orientis* (3 vols.; Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 2004); *IPhrygR* = W.M. Ramsay, *The Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia* (2 vols.; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1895-97).

from Stobi in Macedonia, dating to the late second or early third century.[12] There a Jewish man named Claudius Tiberius Polycharmos donated portions of the lower level of his home to the "holy place" in fulfillment of a vow, including banqueting facilities (a *triclinium*). In the process, he refers to himself, first and foremost, as "father of the synagogue at Stobi who lived my whole life according to Judaism" (*IJO* I Mac1 = *CIJ* 694). The simplified designation, "Polycharmos, the father," is repeated several times in the fresco floors of the building, which were also donated in fulfillment of a vow.[13] Levine rightly questions the common assumption that all cases are merely honorific, suggesting that the Stobi inscription in particular "conveys the impression that this individual played a crucial and pivotal role in synagogue affairs generally."[14]

Most known references to fathers and mothers of the synagogue involve Greek epitaphs from catacombs of Rome.[15] These inscriptions have not been precisely dated, and recent suggestions range from the late-second to the fourth centuries. At Rome the title "father of the synagogue" occurs in at least eight inscriptions, all of them Greek, which suggests that these were Jews originally from the eastern diaspora.[16] Eastern origins seem even clearer in at least one of these cases, involving the "father of the synagogue of Elaia" (*IEurJud* II 576; cf. II 406). It seems likely that this synagogue was founded by Jewish immigrants originally from a city called Elaia in Asia Minor (either west of Nikomedia or south of Pergamon).[17]

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12) W. Poehlman convincingly argues that the results of archeological investigations (as of 1981) point strongly towards a second c. date for both Synagogue I and the Polycharmos inscription. W. Poehlman, "The Polycharmos Inscription and Synagogue I at Stobi," in *Studies in Antiquities of Stobi, Volume III* (ed. Blaga Aleksova and James Wiseman; T. Veles: Macedonian Review Editions, 1981), 235-47; refuting Hengel, "Die Synagogeninschrift," 145-83. Cf. L. Michael White, *The Social Origins of Christian Architecture* (HTS 42; Valley Forge: Trinity Press, 1997), 355; David Noy, et al., *Inscriptiones Judaicae Orientis: Volume 1 Eastern Europe* (TSAJ 101; Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 2004), 56-71.

13) J. Wiseman and D. Mano-Zissi, "Excavations at Stobi, 1970," *AJA* 75 (1971): 408; cf. White, *Social Origins*, 355 n. 123.

14) Levine, *The Ancient Synagogue*, 405.

15) Cf. Leon, *The Jews*, 186-88; Levine, *The Ancient Synagogue*, 405-406.

16) "Father of the synagogue": *IEurJud* II 209 (= *CIJ* 93), 288 (= 88), 540 (= 494), 544 (= 508), 560 (= 319), 576 (= 509), 578 (= 510), 584 (= 537). Also to be noted are two third-century cases of "father of the synagogue" (one in Latin and the other in Greek) from Numidia and Mauretania in Africa. See Y. le Bohec, "Inscriptions juives et judaïsantes de l'Afrique romaine," *Antiquités Africaines* 17 (1981): 192 (no. 74) and 194 (no. 79).

17) Near the port city of Ostia, one second c. Latin inscription mentions a "father" (with no

There are at least two (possibly three) cases of the corresponding "mother of the synagogue" at Rome, one (possibly two) in Greek and one in Latin.[18] The less fragmentary one reads as follows: "Here lies… ia Marcella, mother of the synagogue (μή]τηρ συνα|[γωγῆς]) of the Augustesians. May (she?) be remembered (?). In peace her sleep" (*IEurJud* II 542; trans. Noy).

In light of the Greek evidence discussed further below, it would be problematic to argue, as does Eva Maria Lassen,[19] that Jewish practice at Rome necessarily reflects specifically Roman (rather than Greek or Greco-Roman) influence, since our earliest examples are in Greek and the majority continue to be so. Added to this is the fact that the titles "mother" and "father" are attested in many other Greek inscriptions involving civic bodies and unofficial associations in the Greek part of the empire at an early period, about which Lassen seems unaware. Conversely, parental titles are not well-attested in Latin-speaking cities and only begin to appear in connection with *collegia* by the mid-second c., as I discuss below.

Other clear cases from the Greek East demonstrate continued use of this terminology within Jewish circles. There is a papyrus from Egypt (dating 291 C.E.) that refers to a city councillor from Ono in Roman Palestine, who is also identified as a "father of the synagogue" (*CPJ* III 473; cf. Levine 2000:404). Two other examples, in this case from Greek cities, happen to date to the fourth century. At Mantineia in Greece we find a "father of the people (λαοῦ) for life" providing a forecourt (πρόναος) for the synagogue building (*IJO* I Ach54 = *CIJ* 720). There was an "elder" (πρεσβυτέρος) and "father of the association (τοῦ στέμμα|τος)" in Smyrna, who made a donation for the interior decoration of the Jewish meeting-place (*IJO* II 41 = *ISmyrna* 844a = *CIJ* 739).[20]

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further designation) alongside another gerusiarch and a leader of some sort (*IEurJud* I 18 = *CIJ* 533). L. Michael White conjectures a reconstruction of this inscription which refers to the "father [and patron of the *collegium*]." See L. Michael White, "Synagogue and Society in Imperial Ostia: Archaeological and Epigraphic Evidence," in *Judaism and Christianity in First-Century Rome* (ed. Karl P. Donfried and Peter Richardson; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998), 57-63.

18) "Mother of the synagogue": *IEurJud* II 251 (= *CIJ* 166), 542 (= 496). For the Latin *mater synagogorum* see *IEurJud* II 577 (= 523). It is worth noting a Latin inscription from Brescia which mentions a "mother of the synagogue" (*matri synagogae; IEurJud* I 5; fourth c. or earlier).

19) Lassen, "Family as Metaphor," 257-61.

20) On the use of στέμμα for a group or association, see the inscriptions from Philippi published by Fernand Chapouthier, "Némésis et Niké," *BCH* 48 (1924): 287-303, esp. 287-92

In later centuries, the titles "father" and "mother" (with no further clarification or reference to "the synagogue") became somewhat common in relation to important figures within Jewish circles, at least at Venosa in Apulia (Italy) in the fifth and sixth centuries.[21] However, in some instances, it is uncertain as to whether the title (attested in both Latin and Greek) pertains to the person's relation to the synagogue specifically or to the civic community more broadly, as in the case of "Auxaneios, father and patron of the city (πατὴρ | καὶ πάτρων τῆς πόλεως)" (*IEurJud* I 115 = *CIJ* 619c; cf. *IEurJud* I 116). It is to the broader civic context and to associations within that framework that we now turn.

Parental Metaphors in Greek Cities and Associations

Mothers, Fathers, Daughters, and Sons

The existence of "mothers" or "fathers" of the Roman *collegia* (beginning in the mid-second c.) and the practice among some cultic associations in the West of calling leaders "father" (*pater*), especially among initiates in Mithraic mysteries, has gained some attention.[22] Yet few scholars have fully investigated parental language within associations in the Greek East. Poland and

(= *SEG* III 499 and 501), which pertain to a στέμμα of gladiatorial huntsmen (II-III C.E.). Cf. *CIG* 3995b (Iconium); *MAMA* X 152 (Appia). It should be mentioned that a passage in the *Theodosian Code* associated with an edict of Constantine lists "fathers of the synagogue" among those "who serve in the synagogues" and are to be free from public liturgies. Cf. Levine, *The Ancient Synagogue*, 405.

21) Cf. *IEurJud* I 56 (= *CIJ* 612), 61 (= 599), 62 (= 590), 86 (= 611), 87 (= 613), 90 (= 614), 114 (= 619b), 115 (= 619c), 116 (= 619d).

22) On the titles "father" and "mother" in *collegia* in the West (and in Latin inscriptions of the East) see Waltzing, *Étude historique*, 1.446-49, 4.369-70, 372-73; and, more recently, Perry, "A Death," 178-192 and Liu, "Occupation," 320-321. Among the inscriptions are *CIL* III 633 (father at Philippi), III 870 ("mother" in a *speira* of Asians at Napoca; 235 C.E.), III 882 ("father" in a *collegium* devoted to Isis at Potaissa), III 1207 ("mother of the *collegium*" at Apulum), III 4045 (father at Poetovio in Pannonia Superior), III 7505 ("mother of the tree-bearers" at Troesmis in Moesia; post-170 C.E.), III 7532 (mother at Tomi), III 8833 ("mother of the *vernaculorum*" at Salonae in Dalmatia), III 8837 ("father" and patron of a *collegium* of craftsmen), III 11042 (father at Brigetio); V 784 (father at Aquileia); VI 8796 (mother of the *collegium*), VI 10234 ("mother" and "father" of the *collegium* devoted to Aesculapius and Hygiae; 153 C.E.); IX 2687 (mother of the *collegium* at Aesernia), IX 5450 (mother at Falerio); X 1874 (father at Puteoli); XI 1355 ("father of the *collegium*" at Luna), XI 5748-49

others point to such Roman instances and too readily dismiss examples in Greek as "late," as under western influence, and as relatively insignificant for understanding association-life in the eastern part of the empire.[23] As a result, they fail to further explore the evidence for such familial terminology, including its relation to the Greek cities generally. Despite the vagaries of archeological finds and the obvious difficulties in precisely dating many inscriptions, it is important to note that, to my knowledge, the earliest datable case of parental titles in *collegia* (in Latin) dates to 153 C.E., with the majority dating considerably later. On the other hand, there are cases in Greek from at least the second c. B.C.E. for Greek *poleis* and from the early first c. C.E. for associations specifically. There is, in fact, strong evidence pointing to the importance of such parental metaphors in the Greek cities and in local associations within these cities. In contrast, Latin parental titles used in civic (as opposed to imperial)[24] contexts in the West and East, such as *pater civitatis*, were a relatively late development (fifth c.), in this case a later designation for the office of *curator civitatis*.[25] Moreover, this evidence suggests the likelihood that (if the practice did not develop independently in West and East) the initial direction of influence in the use of parental titles was from the Greek world to the Roman.

Within the context of honours in the Greek East and Asia Minor in particular, it was not uncommon for civic bodies and other organizations to express honour for, or positive relations with, a benefactor or functionary by referring to him or her as "father" (πατήρ) "mother" (μήτηρ), "son" (υἱός),

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(Sentinum; 260-261 C.E.); XIV 37 ("mother" and "father" in a group devoted to Attis at Ostia), XIV 70 ("father" of the tree-bearers?), XIV 256 (mother at Ostia), XIV 2408 ("father" in an association at Bovillae; 169 C.E.).

23) Poland, *Geschichte*, 371-72; cf. Ulrich Wilcken, "Urkunden-Referat," *APF* 10 (1932): 257-59.

24) "Father of the fatherland" (*pater patriae*) was a standardized term for the Roman emperors (cf. Eva Maria Lassen, "The Roman Family: Ideal and Metaphor," in *Constructing Early Christian Families* [Halvor Moxnes; New York: Routledge, 1997], 112-13), but there is little to suggest that the father metaphor was widespread in reference to patrons or leaders in Roman *cities* of the West in the first century.

25) The *pater civitatis* (or πατὴρ τῆς πόλεως) was in charge of building and renovation projects in some cities. See C. Roueché, "A New Inscription from Aphrodisias and the Title πατὴρ τῆς πόλεως," *GRBS* 20 (1979): 173-85; Gilbert Dagron and Dennis Feissel, *Inscriptions de Cilicie* (Travaux et Mémoires du Centre de Recherche d'Histoire et Civilisation de Byzance 4; Paris: de Boccard, 1987), 215-20.

"daughter" (θυγάτηρ), "foster-father" (τροφεύς), or "foster-child" (τρόφιμος). Evidence for this usage begins as early as the second c. B.C.E. (as at Teos involving "fathers") and continues with numerous instances in the first, second, and third centuries of our era (see the partial list in figure 1).[26] Thus at Selge in Pisidia we find a "son of the *polis* (πόλις)" among the dedicators of a statue of Athena in the late-first or second c. (*ISelge* 2); a "mother of the *polis*" who is an important benefactor and also priestess of Tyche in the second or third c. (*ISelge* 17); and, a "daughter of the *polis*" who is also a priestess of Tyche and Ares in the late third (*ISelge* 20).

Figure 1.

"Daughters," "sons," "mothers," and "fathers" of civic and official organizations (including the πόλις, δῆμος, γερουσία, νέοι)

(Organized alphabetically by city or region name under each title)

"Daughter" (θυγάτηρ):

SEG 37 (1987) 1099bis (Amorion; II-III C.E.); *IGR* III 90 (Ankyra; II C.E.), 191 (Ankyra; mid-II C.E.); *MAMA* VIII 455, 514-517a-b (Aphrodisias; II-III C.E.); *IEphesos* 234, 235, s239, 424, 424a, 1601e (late I-early II C.E.); *SEG* 36 (1986) 1241 (Epiphaneia; III C.E.); Louis Robert, "Les inscriptions," in *Laodicée du Lycos: Le nymphée campagnes 1961-1963* (Université Laval Recherches Archéologiques. Série I: Fouilles; Québec: Les Presses de L'Université Laval, 1969), 319-20 (Herakleia Lynkestis; I-II C.E.); *ICarie* 63-64 (Herakleia Salbake; 60 C.E.); *IGR* IV 908 (Kibyra; II C.E.); *IPerge* 117-118, 120-21, 122-25 (time of Trajan and Hadrian); *IPhrygR* 146-47 (Pisido); *ISelge* 20 (III C.E.); *SEG* 43 (1993) 955 (Sagalassos; c. 120 C.E.); *IG* V.1 116, 593 (Sparta; late II and III C.E.); *IStratonikeia* 171, 183, 185-87 (late I C.E.), 214 (I C.E.), 227 (II C.E.), 235 (time of Hadrian), 237 (time of Hadrian), 327 (imperial), 707 (time of Hadrian); *TAM* V 976 (Thyatira; I C.E.).

"Son" (υἱός):

SEG 45 (1995) 738 (Beroia, Macedonia; I-II C.E.); *SIG*^{3} 813 A and B (Delphi; I C.E.); *IGLAM* 53 (Erythrai); *SEG* 45 (1995) 765 (Herakleia Lynkestis, Macedonia; imperial period); *BE* (1951) 204, no. 236 (Kition); *SIG*^{3} 804 (Kos; 54 C.E.); *SEG* 44 (1994) 695 (Kos; I C.E.); Robert, "Les inscriptions," 309-11 (Lesbos); *SIG*^{3} 854 (Macedonia); H. Hepding, "Die Arbeiten zu Pergamon 1904-1905: II. Die Inschriften," *MDAI(A)* 32 (1907):

[26] The inscription from Teos involves the citizens of Abdera honouring the citizens of Teos, "who are fathers of our *polis*" (*SEG* 49 [1999] 1536; 170-166 B.C.E.).

327-29, nos. 59-60 (Pergamon); *OGIS* 470.10 (Sardians); *TAM* III 14, 16, 21,87, 98, 105, 122, 123 (Termessos; II-III C.E.); *SEG* 44 (1994) 1110 (Panemoteichos; c.240-70 C.E.); *IPerge* 56 = *SEG* 39 (1989) 1388 (81-84 CE); *SEG* 43 (1993) 950 and 952 (Sagalassos; 120 C.E.); *IThasosDunant* 238 (I-II C.E.); *IG* XII.8 525 (Thasos).

"Mother" (μήτηρ):

IGR III 191 (Ankyra; mid-II C.E.); *MAMA* VIII 492b (Aphrodisias; I C.E.); *IG* V.1 499, 587, 589, 597, 608 (Sparta; early III C.E.); *IKilikiaBM* I 27 (early III C.E.); Ch. Naour, "Inscriptions de Lycie," *ZPE* 24 (1977): 265-71, no.1 (Tlos; mid-II C.E.); *SEG* 43 (1993) 954 (Sagalassos; c. 120 C.E.); *ISelge* 15-17 (early III C.E.); *TAM* III 57, 58 (Termessos; early III C.E.); *IG* XII.8 388, 389 (Thasos; early III C.E.).

"Father" (πατήρ):

S. Hagel and K. Tomaschitz, *Repertorium des Westkilikischen Inschriften* (Vienna: Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1998), 42 (Antiocheia epi Krago 21) and 130-131 (Iotape 23a); *SEG* 39 (1989) 1055, line 18 (Neapolis; 194 C.E.); *SEG* 49 (1999) 1536 (Teos; 170-166 B.C.E.); *TAM* III 83 (Termessos; I C.E.); *IThasosDunant* 192 (I B.C.E.-I C.E.); *IG* XII.8 458, 533 (Thasos).

"Foster-father" (τροφεύς):

See Louis Robert, "Sur une monnaie de Synnada ΤΡΟΦΕΥΣ," in *Hellenica*, vol. 13 (Paris: Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1949), 74-81 (examples from Amastris, Athens, Chersonesos, Histria, Metropolis, Pericharaxis, Selge, Synnada); cf. Dio of Prusa, *Or.* 48.

"Foster-child" or "nursling" (τρόφιμος):

IErythrai 63 (c. 240 C.E.; cf. *SEG* 39 [1989] 1240; C. P. Jones, "τρόφιμος in an Inscription of Erythrai," *Glotta* 67 [1989]: 194-97).

As Louis Robert, Riet van Bremen, and others note, these familial analogies imagine prominent persons raising the citizens as though they were their own children, or envision civic bodies and groups adopting as sons and daughters those who demonstrate strong feelings of goodwill (εὔνοια) or affection (φιλία) towards the "fatherland" (φιλόπατρις).[27] Van Bremen, who collects together and discusses the cases of "mothers" and "daughters"

[27] Robert, "Sur une monnaie," 74-81; Robert, "Les inscriptions," 316-22 (in some cases, an actual adoption may have taken place); Johannes Nollé and Friedel Schindler, *Die Inschriften*

specifically, notes that the male equivalents of these titles considerably outnumber the female.[28] Nonetheless, she considers these titles within the context of other evidence for limited participation by women within civic life in the Greek East beginning in the first c.: "elite women were integrated into civic life not only through office-holding and as liturgists, but on an ideological level too, as members of their families, and as such placed in familial and 'affectionate' relationships with the city and its constituent political bodies."[29]

Although the titles were conferred as a way of honouring an influential person, in almost all cases the person so honoured also clearly served some functioning role in the cults or institutions of the cities which honoured them. In fact, sometimes it is clear that it is because they made some contributions or provided services as a functionary or leader that they are honoured by being called "mother," "father," "daughter," or "son," so the distinction between honorary title and functional role can be blurry.

On many occasions it is the most important civic bodies, the council (βουλή) and/or the people (δῆμος), who honour a benefactor and mention such titles. Yet this way of expressing positive relations with benefactors and leaders was quite common among other groups and organizations in the Greek East,[30] including gymnastic organizations and unofficial associations. Thus organizations of elders (γεραιοί or γερουσία) at Perge (*IPerge* 121), at Erythrai (*IGLAM* 53), and on Thasos (*IG* XII.8 388-89, 525) in the first to third centuries each honoured benefactors as either "son," "daughter," or "mother" of the group. On several occasions, a gymnastic organization of youths (νέοι) at Pergamon honoured Gaius Julius Maximus—a military official, civic president (πρύτανις) and priest of Apollo—as "their own son (τὸν ἑαυτῶν υἱόν)."[31] Along similar lines, H.W. Pleket reconstructs an inscrip-

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von Selge (IGSK 37; Bonn: Rudolf Habelt, 1991), 71; Riet van Bremen, *The Limits of Participation: Women and Civic Life in the Greek East in the Hellenistic and Roman Periods* (Dutch Monographs on Ancient History and Archaeology 15; Amsterdam: J. C. Gieben, 1996), 167-69; Jones, "τρόφιμος in an Inscription of Erythrai."

28) van Bremen, *Limits of Participation*, 68, and her appendix 3, pp. 348-57.

29) van Bremen, *Limits of Participation*, 169.

30) See, for instance, J. M. R. Cormack, "High Priests and Macedoniarchs from Beroea," *JRS* 33 (1943): 39-44 (involving a "son" of the provincial assembly of Macedonia) and *TAM* III 57 (involving a civic tribe).

31) H. Hepding, "Die Arbeiten zu Pergamon 1904-1905," 327-29, nos. 59-60.

tion from Magnesia on the Maeander River which may refer to a young benefactor as the "son of the friends of the *Sebastoi* (ὑὸς [sic] τῶν φι[λοσ]ε[βάστω]ν)."[32] This is likely an association devoted to the members of the imperial family as gods.

In light of this widespread practice in Greek cities and despite scholarly neglect of the subject, then, it is not surprising that similar uses of parental metaphors are found within *unofficial* associations of various kinds in eastern parts of the empire. The evidence spans Greek-speaking communities across the Mediterranean, especially in the East, and clearly begins as early as the first c. C.E. Here I approach the materials on a geographical, rather than chronological, basis, clearly indicating dates (when known) along the way.

There are several examples of such paternal or maternal terminology from Greece, sometimes in reference to important religious functionaries. In the Piraeus there was an organization in honour of Syrian deities and the Great Mother whose leadership included a priest, a priestess, a "horse" (ἵππος), and a "father of the orgeonic synod" (*SIG*^{3} 1111 = *IG* III 1280a, esp. line 15; c. 200-211 C.E.). The "father" is listed alongside these other functional roles without any suggestion that this is merely an honorific title. In connection with Syria, it is worth mentioning the "father (πατήρ) of the association (κοίνου)" that set up a monument near Berytos (*IGR* III 1080). The membership list of a cult-association devoted to Dionysos at Thessalonica in Macedonia (second or third c.) includes several functionaries (both men and women), including a chief-initiate (ἀρχιμύστης), alongside the "mother of the company (σπεῖρας)," which may also be a functional position (rather than simply honorific) in this case (*SEG* 49 [1999] 814).

Most extant Greek evidence of "fathers" and "mothers" in associations happens to come from Greek cities in the provinces just north of Greece and Asia Minor around the Black (Euxine) Sea. One of the earliest examples of this use of "father" for a benefactor of an association, not known to Poland, dates to about 12-15 C.E. and reflects "Asian" and Greek (not western) influence in important respects. This inscription from Callatis (in Thracia on the Euxine coast) involves the cult-society members (θιασείται) passing a decree in honour of Ariston, who is called "father," as well as "benefactor" of the cult-society and founder of the city (πατρὸς ἐὼν εὐεργέτα καὶ κτίστα τᾶς

32) H. W. Pleket, *The Greek Inscriptions in the 'Rijksmuseum Van Oudheden' at Leyden* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1958), 7-8, regarding *IMagnMai* 119 (late-second or third c. C.E.).

πό|λιος καὶ φιλοτείμου τοῦ θιάσου).[33] The members of this association devoted to Dionysos crown Ariston for his benefactions and virtues in his relations with the citizens of the city and for his goodwill and love-of-honour toward the association during the time of "the foreign Dionysia (τῶν ξενικῶν Διονυσίων)" (line 40). This is very likely among the instances of Dionysiac associations founded by Greek-speaking immigrants from Asia Minor who settled in the cities of Thracia and the Danube (sometimes explicitly calling themselves an association "of Asians"), as M. P. Nilsson also observes.[34] So we should beware of attributing instances of "father" language within associations to western influence and of assuming that such usage was a late development.

Another later instance from this region involves a "company" (σπεῖρα) of Dionysos-worshipers (Διονυσιασταί) in nearby Histria. Here the group is also designated as "those gathered around" (οἱ περὶ)[35] their "father," Achilleus son of Achillas, their priest, and their hierophant in a way that suggests that all three were also members with functional roles within the group (*IGLSkythia* I 99; 218-22 C.E.). The same man was also the "father" of what seems to be a different group called the "hymn-singing elders gathered around the great god Dionysos (ὑμνῳδοὶ πρεσβύτε|ροι οἱ περ]ι τὸν μέγαν θεὸν

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33) *IGLSkythia* III 44 = Théophile Sauciuc-Sâveanu, "Callatis: rapport préliminaire," *Dacia* 1 (1924): 139-44, no. 2, lines 5-6. The dating is based on the forms of the lettering and the mention of king Cotyos, son of Roimetalkas, who reigned from 12-19 C.E. (see the notes by Alexandru Avram in *IGLSkythia* III 44). Also see Alexandru Avram, "Der dionysische thiasos in Kallatis: Organisation, Repräsentation, Funktion," in *Religiöse Vereine in der römischen Antike: Untersuchungen zu Organisation, Ritual und Raumordnung* (ed. U. Egelhaaf-Gaiser and A. Schäfer; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2002), 69-80.

34) See Charles Edson, "Cults of Thessalonica (Macedonia III)," *HTR* 41 (1948): 154-58; Martin P. Nilsson, *The Dionysiac Mysteries of the Hellenistic and Roman Age* (Lund: C.W.K. Gleerup, 1957), 50-55; Harland, *Associations*, 36. Another inscription from Callatis likewise involves a group of "cult-society members" (θιασείται) and mentions that one member, at least, was from Ephesos (*IGLSkythia* III 35 = Sauciuc-Sâveanu, "Callatis," 126-39, no. 1, line 22). For other examples of such associations, some of which explicitly call themselves an "association of Asians," see *BE* (1952) 160-61, no. 100 (Dionysopolis); *IGBulg* 480 (Montana); *IPerinthosHerak* 56 = *IGR* I 787 (196-98 C.E.); *IGLSkythia* I 99, 199 (Histria, Moesia); *IGBulg* 1517 (Cillae, Thracia; 241-44 C.E.); *IG* X.2 309, 480 and Edson, "Cults," 154-58, no. 1.

35) οἱ περί is commonly used as a designation for an association, in reference to "those gathered around" either a leader or a patron deity (cf. *IKilikiaBM* I 34; *TAM* III 910; *IPontEux* IV 207-12).

Διόνυσον)" (*IGLSkythia* I 100, lines 4-5, 10-11).[36] If this was not enough, he was also the "father" of a third association, this one devoted to the Great Mother at Tomis; there he is listed between a priest and an chief-tree-bearer (ἀρχιδενδροφόρος), both figures with functional roles in cultic activities of the group (*IGLSkythia* II 83).

The use of parental language for benefactors and leaders is not limited to Dionysiac groups, then. A board of temple-wardens (νεωκόροι) devoted to Saviour Asklepios in Pautalia, Thracia (south-west of Serdica), refer to the leader of their group simply as "the father."[37] At Serdica in Thracia, an all-female "sacred δοῦμος" of initiates of the Great Mother (Cybele) calls one of its prominent members, likely a leader, "mother of the tree-bearers" (*CCCA* VI 342; c. 200 C.E.).[38] Similarly, a mixed association of "tree-bearers" (δενδροφόροι) associated with this goddess at Tomis includes among its leaders both a "mother" and a "father" (namely, the Achilleus mentioned above).[39] Both western and "Asian" (Phrygian-Greek) elements can be seen in these groups devoted to the Great Mother as, on the one hand, they are clearly based on the Romanized version of the cult of the Magna Mater focused on the March festival. On the other hand, some of these same groups use distinctively Phrygian-Greek terminology for associations, especially "sacred δοῦμος."[40] It is worth mentioning that instances of the titles *mater*

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36) Another inscription from nearby Tomis (between Callatis and Histria), this one involving devotees of Isis, has been reconstructed by D. M. Teodorescu with the phrase "[πατέρα π]αστοφόρω[ν" (third c.). I. Stoian accepts Teodorescu's reading (see notes to *IGLSkythia* II 98), probably in light of the other cases of "fathers" at both Histria and Callatis discussed here. Ladislav Vidman is hesitant to accept this conjecture (Vidman, *Sylloge inscriptionum religionis Isiacae et Sarapiacae* [Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten 28; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter & Co, 1969], no. 709).

37) Ernst Kalinka, *Antike Denkmäler in Bulgarien* (Schriften der Balkankommission Antiquarische Abteilung 4; Vienna: Alfred Hölder, 1906), 157-58, no. 177.

38) Also published, with discussion, in Margarita Tacheva-Hitova, *Eastern Cults in Moesia Inferior and Thracia* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1983), 116-19, no. 101.

39) *IGLSkythia* II 83 = *IGR* I 614 = Tacheva-Hitova, *Eastern Cults*, 93-95, no. 48, lines 14 and 16 (200-201 C.E.). Also see the Latin inscription from Troesmis that involves both "mothers" and "fathers" (Tacheva-Hitova, *Eastern Cults*, 77-78, no. 13; late-II C.E.). Another group near Tomis refers to both the "father of the *dumus*" and the "mother of the *dumus*," preserving in Latin the distinctively Phrygian-Lydian-Greek δοῦμος (*CCCA* VI 454; late II or early III C.E.).

40) For δοῦμος as the title for an association see *TAM* V 179, 449, 470a, 483a, 536 (Saittai and vicinity); Karl Buresch, *Aus Lydien: Epigraphisch-geographische Reisefrüchte* (ed. Otto Ribbeck; Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1898), 58-62; *SEG* 42 (1992) 625 (Thessalonica); Günter

and *pater* (in Latin) in the worship of Cybele from the city of Rome itself are all significantly later (primarily from the late-fourth c. and on).[41]

There are numerous examples of "father of the synod" (σύνοδος) in associations of the Bosporus region in the first centuries. The case of Panticapaion, among the oldest of the Greek settlements of the region, provides us with at least thirty-three extant Greek inscriptions that involve associations of θιασῖται or συνοδεῖται (all but two are epitaphs).[42] In at least eight of these inscriptions, an association happens to mention that one of its leaders was known as the "father of the synod" or simply "father," alongside other standard functionaries such as the priest (ἱερεύς), the "gathering-leader" (συναγωγός), the "lover-of-what-is-good" (φιλάγαθος), and others.[43] The consistency of the appearance of the "father" position in various groups and the inclusion of the "fathers" alongside others who are clearly functionaries who perform duties is suggestive of an active leadership role for the fathers here, rather than mere honorifics. Other fictive family language, including the use of "brothers" for members, sometimes accompanies the use of father for leaders in these groups of the Bosporus, as I discuss in another article.[44]

The use of parental language is also attested for associations in Egypt or in groups of Greek-speaking immigrants from Egypt elsewhere in the empire. Some of these involve devotees of gods with mysteries. One inscription from Rome involves a group founded by Greek-speaking immigrants from Alexandria devoted to Sarapis (*IGUR* 77 = *SIRIS* 384; 146 C.E.). This "sacred company (τάξις) of the Paianistai" devoted to "Zeus Helios, the great Sara-

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Neumann, "δουμος: Belege, Bedeutungen, Herkunft, Etymologie," in *Florilegium Linguisticum: Festschrift für Wolfgang P. Schmid zum 70. Geburtstag* (ed. Eckhard Eggers, Joachim Becker, Jürgen Udolph, and Dieter Weber; Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1999), 345-53.

41) See *CCCA* III 233-36, 241b-43, 246, 263, 283-84, 334.

42) See *CIRB* 75-108; cf. Yulia Ustinova, *The Supreme Gods of the Bosporan Kingdom* (Religions of the Graeco-Roman World 135; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 196-97. Just two inscriptions from Panticapaion (which are dedications, rather than epitaphs) happen to mention the deity that was worshiped: one involving Aphrodite Ourania ("heavenly") and the other Zeus and Hera Soteres (*CIRB* 75 [II B.C.E.], 76 [82 C.E.]). For the Bosporus generally, there is evidence of associations devoted to those above plus Theos Hypsistos and Poseidon (cf. Ustinova, *Supreme Gods*, 198-99).

43) *CIRB* 77 (II-III C.E.), 96 (II C.E.), 98 (214 C.E.), 99 (221 C.E.), 100, 103 (III C.E.), 104 (III C.E.), 105 (III C.E.).

44) See Philip A. Harland, "Familial Dimensions of Group Identity: 'Brothers' (ΑΔΕΛΦΟΙ) in Associations of the Greek East," *JBL* 124 (2005): 491-513.

pis, and the revered (Σέβαστοι) gods" honours Embe, who is called both "prophet" and "father of the company." The use of the term prophet here strongly suggests an active role for this "father" within the group.

Turning to Egypt proper, in a partially damaged third c. C.E. papyrus from Oxyrhynchos, a man pronounces an oath pertaining to initiation into mysteries, making mention of both the leader of the group, "father Sarapion," and his fellow-initiates, the "brothers," perhaps "mystical brothers (μυστικο]ὺς ἀδελφούς)."[45] In connection with mysteries, it is worth mentioning Apuleius' novel, in which the character Lucius, upon initiation in the mysteries of Isis (set at Cenchreae in Greece), refers to the priest as his "parent" (*parens*).[46] Similarly, worshipers of the Syrian Ba'al as Jupiter Dolichenus at Rome (on the Aventine) reflect such terminology, with priests titled "father of the candidates" (*pater candidatorum*) and fellow initiates calling one another "brothers" (*fratres*) in the second and third centuries.[47] Also quite well-known are the associations of soldiers devoted to Mithras in the second and following centuries, in which the seventh stage of initiation was "father" (*pater*) or "father of the mysteries" (*pater sacrorum*).[48] It is important to note, however, that with Jupiter Dolichenus and Mithras we are indeed witnessing largely Roman cultic phenomena, and almost all instances of fictive familial terminology are in Latin for these two gods.

"Papa" as a Functionary

Another metaphorical use of parental language in associations is a more intimate form of address that eventually also found a place within Christianity ("papa" = pope). The more colloquial and affectionate term "papa" or "daddy"

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45) *PSI* X 1162 as reconstructed by Wilcken, "Urkunden-Referat," 257-59. In light of other evidence for sibling and parental terminology in the Greek East, Wilcken too readily takes on Poland's assumption of "Roman influence" here.

46) *Metamorphoses* 11.25; cf. 11.21. Also see the commentary by J. Gwyn Griffiths, *Apuleius of Madauros: The Isis-Book (Metamorphoses, Book XI)* (EPRO 39; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1975), 278, 292.

47) Cf. *CCID* 274, 373, 375, 376, 381; II-III C.E.. Cf. Franz Bömer, *Untersuchungen über die Religion der Sklaven in Griechenland und Rom* (2nd ed.; reprint, 1958-63; Abhandlungen der Geistes- und Sozialwissenschaftlichen Klasse 10; Wiesbaden: Verlag der Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, 1981), 176-78; Eva Ebel, *Die Attraktivität früher christlicher Gemeinden: Die Gemeinde von Korinth im Spiegel griechisch-römischer Vereine* (WUNT 178; Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 2004), 205-207.

48) Cf. *CIL* III 3384, 3415, 3959, 4041; *CIMRM* 623-24; Tertullian, *Apol.* 8.

(πάππας or ἄππας in Greek and variants) was used of religious functionaries within some associations, particularly in Asia Minor, as Karl Buresch noted long ago.[49] In the early second c., a group of initiates (μύσται) devoted to Dionysos met in a "sacred house (οἶκος)" in the vicinity of Magnesia on the Maeander River. This group included in its membership two men called "papa" (ἄππας) or foster-father of Dionysos (the role often taken on by Silenos in mythology), alongside an arch-initiate, priestess, "nurse" (ὑπότροφος), and hierophant (*IMagnMai* 117).[50] Other members of the group may well have addressed these men using this affective term.

A second c. inscription from a village north of Hierapolis in Phrygia involves the villagers of Thiounta honouring a "brotherhood," φράτρα. This was a common, indigenous term for a cultic association in Phrygia, Lydia, and Mysia (not to be confused with civic φρατρία).[51] Within this group at Thiounta, one of the functionaries apparently held the title of "papa" (ἄππας).[52] Similarly, a grave from the vicinity of Gölde, near Saittai, mentions "Apollonios the friend and Julianos the papa" (line 29) among those who honour the young deceased priest, Lucius. These two persons appear

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49) Buresch, *Aus Lydien*, 130-31.

50) As discussed in Robert, "Sur une monnaie," 141-151, Otto Kern suggested that a damaged monument from Phrygian Hierapolis which mentions an "ἄππας" and depicts several figures (Kabiroi, he believed) involved an association devoted to the Samothracian gods with a leader taking on the title of "papa." However, Robert convincingly shows that the accompanying relief is better interpreted as depicting several criminals being led to the circus for execution, one of which was named Appas.

51) For examples of this type of association (devoted to gods such as Men, the Great Mother, and Asklepios) see: *IPhrygR* 506 (Akmoneia); H. W. Pleket, "Nine Greek Inscriptions from the Cayster-Valley in Lydia: A Republication," *Talanta* 2 (1970): 61-74, no. 4 (Almoura village near Teira); *IPhrygR* 64 (town near Hierapolis); *IRijksmuseum* 4 (Ilion; I C.E.); *TAM* V 762, 806, and 1148 (towns near Thyatira); *IGLAM* 1724d (town near Kyme); *TAM* V 451 and 470a (Maionia near Saittai; 28-29 C.E. and 96 C.E.); *IGR* IV 548 (Orkistos); *MAMA* IV 230 (Tymandos); Artemidoros, *Oneirokritika* 4.44; 5.82. In the association devoted to Zeus Hypsistos in Fayum, Egypt, the group goes by the designation "synod" (σύνοδος), but the rules specify that members are not to leave the "brotherhood" (φράτρα) of the leader to join another (*PLond* 2710 = Collin Roberts, et al., "The Gild of Zeus Hypsistos," *HTR* 29 [1936]: lines 14-15; I B.C.E.). For further discussion see Jutta Seyfarth, "Φράτρα und φρατρία im nachklassischen Griechentum," *Aegyptus* 35 (1955): 3-38.

52) Buresch, *Aus Lydien*, 130-131, convincingly challenges Ramsay's view that this is a proper name (Appas) and argues that this is far more likely the title of a cultic-functionary in this case. Both Louis Robert (*BE* [1978] 494) and Josef Keil (in *TAM* V) agree with Buresch.

towards the end of a list and not along with *actual* family members and close relations that appear in the opening lines. This suggests the deceased's membership in an association of "friends" (φίλοι) headed by a "papa," as Buresch also points out (*TAM* V 432; 214/5 C.E.).

Other instances of "papa" do not necessarily involve unofficial associations, but further confirm the use of the term for functionaries in cultic contexts. A second or third c. inscription from Tarsus in Cilicia (*IGR* III 883) involves a professional association (devoted to Demeter) that honours a Roman consul, describing him as director of public works, Ciliciarch, gymnasiarch, and also παπειν (accusative case). Louis Robert shows that the latter term refers to an "indigenous priestly title."[53] In light of such evidence, D. Feissel seems right in arguing that a first c. inscription from Dorla in southern Lykaonia, which mentions "Philtatos, the most blessed papa" (*ILykaonia* 408), likely refers to a pagan religious functionary, not a Christian priest as Gertrud Laminger-Pascher (the editor of *ILykaonia*) too readily assumes.[54]

What is indeed a clear Christian case of the use of "papa" for the leader of a congregation comes from a letter dating sometime between 264 and 282 C.E. (*PAmherst* 13).[55] In it, a certain Christian merchant, then at Rome, writes to his fellow-workers at Arsinoe in Egypt, who are termed "brothers." He writes to these fellow-workers and co-religionists concerning their need to make payment for the shipment of goods either to Primitinos (the shipper) or by way of Maximos, the "papa" (πάπας) of the congregation at Alexandria.[56] We are witnessing similar uses of fictive kinship to express relationships or hierarchies within associations, be they Christian or "pagan."

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53) *BE* (1978), 492-94, no. 510; cf. Robert, "Sur une monnaie," 197-205; Robert, *Documents d'Asie Mineure* (Paris: de Boccard, 1987), 50-51.

54) Gertrud Laminger-Pascher, *Die kaiserzeitlichen Inschriften Lykaoniens. Faszikel I: Der Süden* (Ergänzungsbände zu den Tituli Asiae Minoris 15; Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1992). If this is a Christian inscription, it would be among the earliest examples of such. For Feissel's view see *BE* (1993), 771 or, briefly, *SEG* 42 (1992): 1247.

55) For text, translation, and discussion, see Adolf Deissmann, *Light from the Ancient East: The New Testament Illustrated by Recently Discovered Texts of the Graeco-Roman World* (trans. Lionel R.M. Starchan; reprint, 1927; Peabody: Hendrickson, 1995), 205-13.

56) For a discussion of the origins of the Christian use of "papa," see Deissmann, *Light*, 216-21, esp. 219 n. 2.

The Nature and Meanings of Family Metaphors

Before addressing meanings of parental metaphors, it is important to note the common juxtaposition of parental (primarily paternal) responsibilities and leadership in the civic setting within literature of the classical, Hellenistic, and Roman periods.[57] When authors from Aristotle on discuss the building blocks of society, they stress the household as the basic unit of society, suggesting that good management of the household would mean good management of the *polis* (πόλις). And when they discuss household management, the father's rule over the household is often taken as an analogy for leadership in society more broadly. The household is, in many ways, a microcosm of society or, as expressed by Philo of Alexandria, "a house is a city compressed into small dimensions, and household management may be called a kind of state management" (*On Joseph* 38 [trans. LCL]). So comparisons worked both ways. Actual parental leadership was a model for leadership and beneficence in the civic setting and, conversely, leadership or benefaction in civic contexts and associations could be expressed in terms of parental activity.

Often, inscriptions give us only momentary glimpses of social life, so it is difficult to assess the meanings that would be attached to the metaphorical use of familial or parental language in associations and synagogues.[58] Mere passing mention of a "mother" or "father" of a group on an inscription tells us little about how these figures were viewed within the group (in cases where they were members and leaders) or of what social relations and obligations accompanied the use of such fictive familial terminology. Still, something can be said about the potential meanings of parental metaphors within associations and synagogues in light of what we know about "family values" from first and second c. literary sources, such as Plutarch, Hierocles, and Philo of Alexandria.

First of all, the use of fictive parental terms is consistently related to issues of honour and hierarchy. For Plutarch and others in antiquity there is a hierarchy of honor (τιμή, δόξα) which characterizes familial relations. Brothers come before friends: "even if we feel an equal affection for a friend, we should

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57) On household management see, for instance, David L. Balch, *Let Wives be Submissive: The Domestic Code in 1 Peter* (Chico: Scholars Press, 1981).

58) For a discussion of family metaphors generally in the Roman West, see Lassen, "The Roman Family," 103-20.

always be careful to reserve for a brother the first place… whenever we deal with occasions which in the eyes of the public give distinction and tend to confer honor (δόξαν)" (491B [LCL]). Beyond this, nature and law "have assigned to parents, after gods, first and greatest honor (τιμήν)" and "there is nothing which men do that is more acceptable to gods than with goodwill and zeal to repay favours to those who bore them up" (479F [trans. LCL with adaptations]; cf. Hierocles, *On Duties* 4.25.53). Hierocles also speaks of parents as "our greatest benefactors, supplying us with the most important things" (Hierocles, *On Duties* 4.25.53).[59] Similarly, Philo outlines the nature of the parent-child relation, grouping the role of parent with other socially superior positions, including the benefactor: "Now parents are assigned a place in the higher of these two orders, for they are seniors and instructors and benefactors and rulers and masters; sons and daughters are placed in the lower order, for they are juniors and learners and recipients of benefits and subjects and servants" (*Special Laws* 2.226-27 [LCL]).[60] In choosing to call a benefactor or leader of the group a mother or father, then, members of an association, as metaphorical sons or daughters, were putting that figure on a par with the most honoured persons in society, second only to the gods (or God).[61] Association-members were also to some extent re-affirming their own lower position in social hierarchies, along with their piety and gratitude to those higher in the social system.[62]

Secondly, the use of parental metaphors could also be associated with affection, goodwill, and protection, which would have implications for a sense of belonging within the group in cases where a "mother" or "father" was a member or leader. In his treatise *On Affection for Offspring*, for instance, Plutarch stresses how parents, by nature, show great affection (φιλοστοργία) for children, protecting and caring for the well-being of their offspring as a hen cares for its brood.[63] Conversely, the expectation was that children would

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59) Translation from Abraham Malherbe, *Moral Exhortation, A Greco-Roman Source Book* (LEC; Philadelphia: Westminster, 1986), 91-93.

60) Cf. Philo, *The Decalogue* 165-67; Balch, *Let Wives*, 52-56.

61) As discussions of household management clearly show, there was also the further distinction between the mother (wife) and father (husband), with the mother clearly positioned lower than the father in the hierarchy.

62) Cf. Hierocles, *On Duties* 4.25.53.

63) On the epigraphic use of φιλοστοργία ("affection" or "heart felt love," as G. H. R. Horsley puts it) among family members and in relation to benefactors see Louis Robert, "Lycaonie, Isaurie et Pisidie," in *Hellenica*, vol. 13 (Paris: Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1965), 38-42 and Horsley in *NewDocs* II 80, III 11, and IV 33.

reciprocate or "repay beneficence" by providing or caring for their parents, at least in older age, which would have metaphorical significance for those who were "adopted" as "son" or "daughter" with a city or group acting as parent (cf. Hierocles, *On Duties* 4.25.53). On a larger scale, the vocabulary of goodwill (εὔνοια) and affection (φιλία) which Plutarch and others associate with family relations were also very common within the system of benefaction and honours which characterized social relations in the cities of the Greco-Roman world, and parental metaphors are part of this picture.

Conclusion

Greek inscriptions point to the relative importance of fictive parental and familial language in cities of the Greek East at the beginning of the common era. This is also the case with small, unofficial associations specifically. If there was cultural influence at work between East and West, it seems that, initially, the early Greek practice impacted later Roman developments, not the other way around. In many respects, this is an important framework for understanding the adoption, continued use, and contemporary interpretation of the titles "mother of the synagogue" and "father of the synagogue" within Greek-speaking Jewish diaspora contexts, titles which, due to the happenstance nature of archeological materials, begin to appear in the surviving Jewish epigraphic record in second c. Macedonia.

In cases where we do have enough information, it seems that the titles "father" and "mother" could be used in reference to those who actually belonged to the association in question and who served some leadership role within that context. So although in the Jewish cases we often lack the sort of information necessary to show that such figures served functional roles, the analogy of the associations suggests that this would be highly likely in at least some instances. Furthermore, the fact that parental titles in associations could be used of both function and honour or, perhaps better stated, as a way of honouring those who provided their services or performed duties, suggests that the functionary versus honorary debate concerning the fathers and mothers of the synagogues may be somewhat misguided.[64] In many cases,

[64] Similar debates take place in connection with parental titles in *collegia* of the West (see, most recently, Perry, "A Death," 178-92 and Liu, "Occupation," 320-21). Perry convincingly argues that, in many cases, the use of familial terminology is internal to the group and "indicates something more than a formal patron-client relationship" (Perry, "A Death," 189).

the line between the benefactor or patron and the functionary could be blurry, even non-existent. In recent years, it has also been amply noted that leadership in many unofficial contexts, including associations, synagogues, and Christian groups, for instance, naturally emerged out of benefaction: namely, benefactors that could afford to make material contributions (such as a meeting-place) could naturally take on functional leadership roles within a given group or association.[65] These observations notwithstanding the fact that in a few cases parental titles may have been used of more remote benefactors who were not ever members or leaders of the group in question, but we should not assume that this was the norm.

The use of parental metaphors or titles among both associations and Jewish synagogues places these groups solidly within the social, cultural, and civic landscape of the Greek-speaking Mediterranean. Both share this means of expressing honour, hierarchy, positive relation, and belonging within small-group settings. This practice can be understood as one among the ways in which certain Jewish diaspora groups reflected their social milieu and signaled, whether intentionally or not, their belonging within a Greco-Roman cultural context.

He also correctly rejects Waltzing's view that the "mothers" and "fathers" in the West were actually social inferiors to those honouring them.

65) Cf. White, *Social Origins*; Rajak and Noy, "*Archisynagogoi*," 75-93; Harland, *Associations*, 31-33.