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indeed, it is the purest of human pleasures ; it is the greatest refreshment to the spirits of man ; without which buildings and palaces are but gross handiworks'—since all this still remains admirably true, let the silver and gold scattered so lavishly about our gardens at the moment symbolize one

other thing as well. Let them be symbols of the lavish assiduity with which we townfolk, through the coming year, will polish each his link in the long gold and silver chain of gardens, which unites us, here in the smoke-drift, with the clean world of Nature lying outside the walls.

The Family and Religion of L. Sergius Paullus, Proconsul of Cyprus.

BY SIR W. M. RAMSAY, D.C.L., LL.D., LITT.D., D.D., EDINBURGH.

THE province Galatia has been fruitful in discoveries bearing on the history of the family of Sergius Paullus, who came into friendly relations with Paul and Barnabas at Paphos about A.D. 47 (Ac 13¹⁰⁻¹²), and who was perhaps converted to the Christian faith. The words of Acts certainly suggest this, but they do not constitute a complete proof that conversion in the fullest sense took place. This is pointed out in my book on the *Bearing of Recent Research on the Trustworthiness of the New Testament*, p. 164, where the twelfth chapter discusses the religion and subsequent history of his family. It is there argued from one inscription found in Pisidian Antioch that the son of this Sergius Paullus was governor of the province Galatia about A.D. 70-74, and from another that his sister Sergia Paula was married to the noblest citizen of Antioch, doubtless during the time that her brother was governing the province. It is a somewhat unusual fact in Roman social history that a lady belonging to a patrician senatorial family should marry a citizen of a remote provincial city, even though that city was a Roman colony and had played an extremely important part in Roman history during the first century of Imperial history. In this way the generation of the Sergii immediately following the proconsul of Cyprus came into close relations with the province of Galatia generally and the military capital Pisidian Antioch in particular.

A discovery which was made by Professor Calder of Manchester and myself renders it possible to pursue the subject further, and to trace the history of the family for nearly a century and a half after the incident in Paphos. There is of

course a certain amount of hypothesis needed in the reconstruction of family history. The strength of hypothesis like this depends on familiarity with the conditions and facts of society in the Imperial time, and can be properly estimated only by reference to the whole circumstances and history of Roman society and administration. So far as the part of the reconstruction already published in my book is concerned, I had the advantage of confirmation from Professor Dessau, to whose special department in Roman work this class of investigation belongs ; but the conditions which have prevailed in Europe since August 1914 have interrupted co-operation and friendly association between scholars of the opposing belligerent countries. The most hypothetical part of the whole hypothesis is the presumed continuity of the Sergian patrician family, and this continuity was accepted as self-evident and certain¹ by the author of the *Prosopographia of the Roman Empire*.

Some vague idea of the remarkable nature of this inscription (which Professor Calder had found some years previously, and which we recopied in company in 1913) occurred to us at the moment ; but, in the actual work of travelling over the plateau, visiting often several sites in a single day, there was no further time to think over the bearing of the document, and I forgot about it until 1916 when I chanced to be revising the whole series of inscriptions in Professor Calder's

¹ Lightfoot also regarded the later Sergii Paulli as lineal descendants of the proconsul of Cyprus. The fact is too simple to be susceptible of proof, but scholars in historical research recognize it forthwith.

notebook (my own notebook having unfortunately been lost).¹ It is very fortunate that the testimony of my friend to the discovery can be invoked to corroborate my own eyes, because the nature of the inscription is so remarkable, and historically so suggestive and wide-reaching, that I might perhaps have hesitated before venturing to publish it, if I had been the only authority for it, lest I should be exposed to the charge of finding always what suited my own purposes and corroborated my own prepossessions. Had it not been for the closer study of the Sergian history required in the attempt to illuminate the episode in the Acts, the importance of the monument here published would have probably escaped notice, because in itself it belongs to a common class of memorial.

In one of the most lonely and deserted parts of northern Lycaonia, in a region which we have taken to consist entirely of one vast Imperial estate or group of estates (*tractus*), stands the following inscription :

MEMORIAE
CN. CORNELI L[IB] . . . ANI
DECURIAL[IS] VIATORIS
SERGIA L. [F.] PAULLINA
CORNELI SEVERI

TO THE MEMORY OF
GNAEUS CORNELIUS, FREEDMAN [COGNOMEN LOST]
VIATOR OF THE DECURIAE
SERGIA PAULLINA [DAUGHTER] OF LUCIUS
(WIFE) OF CORNELIUS SEVERUS.

This epitaph rouses astonishment. How shall we explain the appearance of Sergia Paullina and Cornelius Severus, bearing two of the noblest Roman patrician names, in a solitary part of Lycaonia like this? Neither Paullina² nor her husband can possibly be supposed to have travelled in this region, or to have been present at the performance of such an act as the making of the tomb of one of their freedmen who was a *Viator*³ in their service (the term *Viator* might be roughly translated Summoner: perhaps the slaves on the estate were classified in *decuriae*).⁴

The only possible explanation is that the lady was the owner of an estate here. The estate belonged to her personally, and not to her

¹ The inscription should have been published (with the inferences here stated) in my book, had it not been for this forgetfulness.

² Both Paullina and Paula were used as the feminine counterparts of Paullus.

³ A *viator* occurs also at Laodiceia of Lycaonia, close to the great Imperial estates of Zizima.

⁴ The republican *viatores dec.* cannot be taken as furnishing any evidence about *viator* on a Lycaonian estate.

husband, because she is said to make the tomb, and the act originates from her as the landlord and owner of the estate, although she was not present and probably knew nothing about this Summoner or his death. Gnæus Cornelius was a freedman of her husband, and belonged therefore to his household; yet the *Viator* is acting on her behalf as her representative on her property; and this incidentally is a proof that the family life and interests of Sergia and Cornelius continued united (which was not always the case in Roman patrician families).⁵

Both husband and wife belong to well-known families in Roman history during the first and second century. Sergia Paullina is especially well known, because inscriptions mentioning incidents or persons on her estates are rather numerous, and it would appear from the evidence already known, when compared with the present inscription, that she was the heiress in whose hands was concentrated the property of the

Roman patrician family which bore the name Sergius Paullus. Borghesi, a very high authority, considered that she was the daughter of Lucius Sergius Paullus, who was consul II. in A.D. 168; but Dessau, the more recent authority, suggests as more probable that she was the sister or the aunt of that consul; and the lettering in the Lycaonian inscription decides in favour of Dessau's last suggestion. She belongs to a generation earlier than the consul of 168, and she is the same person whose estates are mentioned in the inscription on a tile dated A.D. 134.

The fact that Sergia Paullina was the heiress of the Sergian properties implies that the stock in the direct line nearly died out, and there was no male heir in her generation. This furnishes the explanation of the striking fact that there is a gap in the annals of the Sergian family, so that the consul of 168 shows the reappearance of the name after

⁵ It is possible that Paullina gave her husband's name to her own freedman. Examples occur, where two friends are concerned; so Dionysius united the names of Cicero and Atticus, but was freedman only of Atticus.

a long interval, during which it makes no show in Roman administrative history. Before the time when Dessau was publishing his monumental *Prosopographia*, this gap seemed to extend unbroken between the proconsul of Cyprus about A.D. 47 and the consul of 168; Dessau moved Sergia Paullina into the intermediate period, suggesting that she might belong to the generation earlier than the consul; but still the gap remained very long, and the relationship between the later Sergii and the old Sergius, who is mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles, was therefore by no means certain.¹ In itself, however, the relationship was highly probable, and had been accepted, e.g., by Lightfoot. That fortunate discovery at Pisidian Antioch revealed a Roman official of senatorial rank, L. Sergius L. f. Paullus, 'the son,' who belonged to the latter half of the first century; and, although the inscription which mentions him is incomplete, there can hardly be any other possible reason why an official of this rank should be in the province Galatia, except that he was its governor and that the inscription in his honour was erected when he visited Pisidian Antioch, probably somewhere about A.D. 72. This name helps to fill up the gap in the Sergian family, and there remains now no difficulty in regarding all these Sergii Paulli as representatives of the family in successive generations. The proconsul of Cyprus and the legatus of Galatia had not yet attained the consulship when they held these offices, and they were therefore probably not over forty years of age at the time. It would appear therefore quite feasible that Sergia Paullina might be the daughter of the governor of Galatia, and the aunt, as Dessau suggests (or the mother, as we shall see), of the consul II. of 168. We notice also that the names Sergius with the derivative Sergianus, and Paullus, Paula and Paulina are exceptionally common in the southern part of the province. When the name Paullus occurs in Christian inscriptions of Lycaonia, as it frequently does, the use of it is in all probability due to the memory of the Apostle Paul; but even setting this consideration aside with all the names which it affected, there remains sufficient evidence (inde-

¹ In the *Prosopographia* the relationship is not even suggested; but Dessau regarded it as quite probable, though that work was restricted to definite facts. He now considers the relationship proved by the discovery of the Galatian official, the missing link.

pendently of any epigraphic mention of L. Sergius Paullus the son) to suggest the hypothesis that there must have been a governor of the province bearing the name Sergius Paullus at some time not later than the second century. Sergia Paula, probably the sister of the governor of Galatia, married a Roman knight belonging to the most prominent family of Antioch, named Caristianus, and her husband was elevated to senatorial rank in 74,² and thereafter filled a number of high offices in the Roman Imperial service, governing Lycia and Pamphylia, and afterwards being proconsul of Asia (which implies that in the interval he had been honoured with the consulship). Reasons are stated in my book for thinking that her sons were Christian.

As Bishop Lightfoot long ago pointed out, there apparently existed among the Sergii a certain family character and hereditary tradition which led them to take interest in philosophy and in scientific study. The consul of 168 is mentioned by Galen as being devoted to philosophical research, and as having been present at medical demonstrations given by the great physician in Rome. This interest in philosophy is evident in the account which Luke gives of the proconsul of Cyprus; and the marriage of Sergia Paula to a provincial knight suggests that the family did not stand aloof from the social conditions of the province, but were interested and friendly in the intellectual life and society of the East. The Roman character is far from suggesting that there would be any inconsistency between philosophic interest and the acquisition of landed estates in the province. It may therefore be justifiably supposed that this Sergian estate in northern Lycaonia came into the possession of the family during the time when the head of that family was governing Galatia, about A.D. 72. Now there can be little or no doubt that this property was part of the great Imperial estates which had been inherited by Augustus from Amyntas, the last king of Galatia. It is entirely in accordance with the custom of the early Roman Empire that portions of those vast Lycaonian properties were from time to time granted by the Emperor to distinguished

² The inscription mentioning Sergia Paula and Caristianus was published, and this inference as to the date of his elevation drawn, by G. L. Cheesman in *J.R.S.*, 1913, p. 253 (whose death at the Dardanelles was a great loss to the study of Asia Minor).

Romans and particularly to members of the Imperial family. This is well known to have been the case on a very large scale in Egypt (where the whole country except the city-State Alexandria was Imperial property); and a list has been compiled by the distinguished Russian scholar Rostowzew of the large number of estates which were bestowed upon distinguished Romans in the early Imperial period. The custom seems to have passed almost entirely out of vogue in Egypt before the end of the first century, but a striking example of it on a very large scale is known in the Pisidian region of the province Galatia during the latter part of the second and the beginning of the third century, and the history of a series of owners of that property has been written from the inscriptions of south-western Galatia.¹ At any rate, the presumed government of Galatia by Sergius Paullus the younger falls within the time when even in Egypt estates were still being carved out of the vast Imperial properties and given to private individuals. It is not probable that such an estate would be granted to a Roman family in remote Lycaonia, unless a member of that family were in some connexion with the province of Galatia at the time. This, however, must not be regarded as in itself conclusive; the occurrence of the names Annæus and Seneca in this same region of northern Lycaonia suggests that an estate here may perhaps have been given by Nero to Seneca, or (should we say?) taken by Seneca during his period of power in the first few years of Nero's reign. Seneca obtained also an estate in Egypt;² moreover, some of the great freedmen of Claudius, such as the millionaire Pallas (whose brother Felix acted so meanly to Paul at Cæsarea), also got hold of estates in Egypt. The power of acquisition possessed by great financiers like Pallas, or great Spanish Phœnicians like Seneca, was extraordinary and can hardly be supposed to have existed in the patrician family of the Sergii.³

In the inscription of Sergius Paullus the younger the repetition of the word *filio* written in full (as distinguished from its expression by the initial

¹ C. B. Phr. I. ch. 9 and *Prosopographia*.

² Seneca's brother Gallio, governor of Achaia, made a voyage to Egypt for his health, being attacked by fever.

³ While the date when Sergius Paullus held office in Galatia was probably about the period A.D. 71-74, the possibility that he may have already been in office there before 68 under the reign of Nero cannot be for the present set aside as impossible.

letter only in the first case) seems to be evidently intended to distinguish this Sergius from a well-known father. It is not in accordance with Roman usage to repeat the word in this way in full, and the repetition is a clear example of the influence of Greek usage, where this distinction was commonly made by adding the word young or younger (*νεός* or *νεώτερος*). The Antiochian composers of the inscription were already beginning to be affected by Greek usage in the composition of Roman inscriptions. I have long entertained the idea as a hypothesis, still unproved and far from easy to prove, that this addition of the term young or younger in Greek inscriptions implies that the father was still living at the time. This seems in itself quite probable, but the addition might be quite fairly well explained by the supposition that the son is distinguished from a father who happened to be well known, even though he might have died before the inscription was composed.

The husband of Sergia Paullina bears the well-known name Gnaeus Cornelius Severus.⁴ This person is not known as an individual, nor has there been preserved any other record of the marriage of Sergia Paullina. Children of that marriage would naturally bear the name Cornelius and Cornelia, but it is a justifiable supposition that one of the sons of such a marriage took the mother's name, and became the heir of the Sergian estates.⁵ This son would be L. Sergius Paullus, consul II. A.D. 168. This remains a hypothesis, but it is quite a common fact of the period that a son united the entire names of both his father's and mother's houses, so that the son of Cornelius Severus and Sergia Paullina would naturally be called Cn. Cornelius Severus L. Sergius Paullus, and a person bearing this name might probably prefer to be called L. Sergius Paullus in ordinary society, if he inherited the great Sergian property.

There was a Roman consul A.D. 152 called Manius Acilius Glabrio Cn. Cornelius Severus. We may say with practical certainty that he was the son of Manius Acilius Glabrio and of Cornelia Severa, who is very likely to have been either the daughter or the sister of Cn. Cornelius Severus, the husband of Sergia Paullina. This connects the Sergii with another of the noblest of the Roman families in the first century A.D. The reference

⁴ His prænomen follows from that of his *libertus*.

⁵ According to general custom in the Imperial period, the second son took the mother's name as a cognomen at least.

which Juvenal makes in his fourth Satire to the eighty-year-old Manius Acilius of his time is well known, and there exists considerable evidence that his son, the consul of 91, was more or less tainted with Christianity. This question has occupied the attention of scholars ever since De Rossi drew attention to it; and some account of the facts and of the connexion between the consul of 91 and Flavius Clemens, the nephew of Domitian, who also is suspected of having been a Christian, may be found in Lightfoot's edition of Clement of Rome. Lightfoot discredits the theory that M'. Acilius was a Christian.

Starting then from the evidence recorded by St. Paul of the first of these Sergii, one finds oneself here and there throughout the later history of the family confronted with associations and indications and suspicions of Christian character. I began this investigation some years ago with the feeling and the argument that the words of Luke do not necessarily imply that he regarded the proconsul of Cyprus as being more than sympathetic to and interested in the Christian religion, and yet there appears one case after another suggesting that the fabric of the family history had been tinged (at least here and there) with the dye of Christianity. It would of course not be safe or even justifiable to think that Sergius Paullus, consul II. A.D. 168, could by any possibility have been a Christian; the reasons are stated in my book, pp. 151, 159. The origin of this whole family history is recorded in the Acts of the Apostles, and the narrative leads us on into that circle of the Roman nobility whose Christianity is known or suspected. The question may now be asked whether this was not the reason why, in a history which is so brief and which omits so much, Luke devoted attention to the episode of the proconsul Sergius Paullus in Paphos.

Of course it was not the time nor the place in writing that history to use an expression which was too definite and specific and precise with regard to the conversion of the proconsul. Throughout that whole early period, wherever matters which might come before public notice are mentioned in documents, a veil of more or less vagueness and obscurity is usually drawn over the account. The family of Sergius Paullus is connected with the group of nobles in Rome who were affected by a species of Christianity. Whether they were all Christian converts in the fullest and most complete sense is doubtful and even improbable. Some of them, we may confidently say, were in a position similar to that of the 'God-fearing' Gentiles in reference to the synagogue. They were favourably disposed to this teaching. They thought it high, noble, satisfying in a sense alike to the intellect and to the emotions, but they were not disposed to subject themselves to the entire law of the Jews. The expression which is used by the Roman poet Juvenal about such persons is susceptible of a double sense, and in both senses it has an element of truth. 'Metuens Sabbata' may quite well imply both 'he respected the Jewish ritual' and 'he was afraid of the Jewish ritual,' finding it too exacting for ordinary life. These Roman nobles in whose society we find ourselves were similarly distinctly sympathetic to Christian teaching and their life was coloured thereby, but they still found themselves able to join in the ordinary pagan life to a certain degree (rather unwillingly as a rule and under compulsion of the Imperial orders). They respected the teaching, but they were afraid of it. This colour died out, and Paullus the consul of 168 was evidently pagan. It was not in a privileged class that Christianity could maintain itself, but only in the educated middle class.

Contributions and Comments.

The Release of a Prisoner at the Passover.

THE Gospel narrative of the condemnation of Jesus by Pilate contains a reference to an otherwise unknown custom of releasing a prisoner at the Passover. According to the record of Jn 18³⁹,

the custom is defined as national and a concession of the ruler to the demands of the people. The narrative in Mk 15⁸ states that the ruler was in habit of releasing a prisoner at that time, with which intention Mt 27¹⁶ agrees. However we assume that some ancient religious ritual of cultural significance survives here in which the significance